

IRISH LABOUR PARTY AND TRADE
UNION CONGRESS.

REPORT
OF THE
TWENTY-EIGHTH
ANNUAL MEETING,

HELD IN THE
Mansion House, Dublin, August, 1922,

AND OF THE
SPECIAL CONGRESS ON ELECTION POLICY

HELD IN THE
Abbey Theatre, Dublin, on February 21st, 1922.

Published by Authority of the National Executive,

32 LOWER ABBEY STREET,
DUBLIN.

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NATIONAL EXECUTIVE FOR 1922-1923.

Elected August, 1922.

Chairman :

CATHAL O'SHANNON (Irish Transport and General Workers' Union).

Vice-Chairman :

L. J. DUFFY (Irish Union of Distributive Workers and Clerks).

Treasurer :

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

Secretary :

THOMAS JOHNSON (Offices, 32 Lower Abbey Street, Dublin).

Committee :

MISS C. CAHALAN (Irish Union of Distributive Workers and Clerks).

DENIS CULLEN (Amalgamated Union of Irish Bakers, Confectioners, and Allied Workers).

THOMAS FARREN (Secretary, Dublin Workers' Council).

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

LUKE J. LARKIN (Waterford Workers' Council and N.U.R.).

GEORGE NASON (Cork Workers' Council and N. U. Vehicle Builders).

T. J. O'CONNELL (Irish National Teachers' Organisation).

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

M. SOMERVILLE (Amalgamated Woodworkers' Union).

ALEXANDER STEWART (Belfast Trades Council and A.E.U.).

REPORT
OF THE
NATIONAL EXECUTIVE

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE

For the Year 1921-1922.

Irish Labour Party and Trade Union Congress.

REPORT OF THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE FOR THE YEAR 1921-1922.

A CHAIRDE,

The report of the year's work which we now submit deals more fully with matters political than industrial. Though it is true that the greater part of the activities of your Executive, in their public aspect, has been necessarily connected with the urgent political and social crises which have arisen, a greater amount of attention than the report would suggest has been given to industrial matters. But these were not of outstanding importance, and, therefore, they are not specifically referred to in our report.

RAILWAYMEN'S WAGES.

At the time of last year's Congress it will be remembered that a discussion took place respecting the demands of the Railway Companies for a reduction of wages and the revocation of the existing agreements. A resolution was passed by Congress calling upon the Irish Railway Workers "to offer a most uncompromising and united opposition to the attack," and instructing the National Executive to take all necessary steps for the purpose, and arranging a concerted plan of campaign against the proposed reduction. Following upon this, the National Executive called a Conference of representatives of the Railway Trade Unions. This was held on August 19th, 1921, and was attended by representatives of the N.U.R., R.C.A., the Joint Committee of Railway Shopmen, and, unofficially, by a representative of the A.S.L.E.&F., and by the resident members of the National Executive. It was explained that the Railway Unions had agreed to the setting up of Conciliation Boards on each of the Irish Railways, but, as a preliminary, they had also agreed to a National Tribunal of Enquiry, composed of five representatives of each side, with a chairman appointed by the Lord Chancellor. This affected what were known as the "Conciliation Grades," *i.e.*, the grades outside the railway shops. The Railwaymen had agreed to no cuts in wages—that was a subject for the Tribunal. There had been an agreement that there were to be no strikes while the matter was under the consideration of the Tribunal, but there had been no giving away of the right to strike after the Tribunal's award had been made. Neither the men nor the Companies were bound to accept the award of the Tribunal. The Tribunal was to make an award on the question of standardisation and the eight-hour day.

The question having been freely discussed, it became clear that the position was such that the Railway Unions did not require any assistance from the National Executive pending the outcome of the enquiry before the Tribunal.

The Award of the Tribunal or rather of the Chairman, Mr. Carrigan, K.C., for the two sides had divided equally into opposing camps, was of such a character as to rouse the Railwaymen all over the country to the point of revolt. They repudiated it entirely, but more especially the portion which dealt with standardisation and the eight-hour day. The Com-

panies asserted that the Unions were bound in honour to accept the Award of the Tribunal. The men denied this, and insisted that their representatives were only allowed to join the Tribunal on the understanding that any award was subject to acceptance by the men. A general strike of Railwaymen was threatened if an attempt was made to enforce the Award. The Provisional Government intervened, and after several conferences with the Railway Directors on the one hand, and the Railway Trade Unions on the other, a decision was arrived at which, in effect, meant that the Companies agreed to suspend the operation of the "Carrigan Award" until August 15th, 1922, and in the meantime a Commission would be appointed to enquire fully into the whole problem of the Irish Railways.

IRISH RAILWAYS COMMISSION.

After a long delay, occasioned by the attempt to arrive at an agreement between the Northern Government and the Provisional Government respecting terms of reference, the personnel of the Commission, etc., the Commission began its sittings about the end of April. Mr. Joseph McGrath, Minister of Labour, who acted for the Government in this matter, requested the National Executive to nominate a member to represent the Labour interests on the Commission, who would act along with a representative of the mercantile community and a representative of the agricultural community, with Lord Justice O'Connor as Chairman. Your Executive nominated the Secretary, Mr. Thomas Johnson, to act. The following were the terms of reference:—

"To advise the Government as to what changes, if any, are desirable in the administration of the railway undertakings in Ireland, and in particular:—

"(a) The financial position and earning-powers of the several railway undertakings, including those in receipt of baronial guarantees.

"(b) The best means of consolidating or otherwise working the different railways in the future, and of providing the rolling stock and other equipment used on the railways.

"(c) The remuneration and conditions of employment of the salaried and wages staff, and arrangements for the future settlement of questions relating to such matters.

"(d) Any other matters affecting the working or administration of the railways, upon which, in the opinion of the Commission, it is expedient to report in the interests of the proprietors of the Railway Companies, the employees, or the public."

Twenty-one public sittings of the Commission have been held and a number of private sittings. The report has not yet been issued, but it is expected that it will appear before the 15th August, the date on which the agreement with the Railway Companies expires. It may be noted here that there was a disagreement between the Northern Government and the Provisional Government, and in consequence the Northern Government set up a separate Commission, which is pursuing its enquiries at the time of writing.

POSTAL COMMISSION.

A threatened strike of Post Office workers, consequent upon the withdrawal of the Civil Service bonus, was averted by an agreement to set up an independent Commission, to enquire whether the remuneration of the workers in the postal service was such as to warrant a reduction; and, further, to enquire into the wider question of Post Office administration, in so far as it affects the conditions of employment, etc.

The National Executive were invited by the Provisional Government to nominate two members to serve on the Commission. We nominated Messrs. T. J. O'Connell and L. J. Duffy, who, together with Sir Thomas Esmonde and Mr. H. J. Friel, nominated by the Postmaster-General, with Mr. J. G. Douglas as Chairman, have conducted a full enquiry into Post Office wages, and have issued an interim report, which in practice restored to the lower grades of the service the bonus which had been withdrawn.

RUSSIAN FAMINE.

Following a resolution of last Congress, the National Executive held consultation with the Ministers of the Dáil, with a view, if possible, of securing that an appeal should be issued which would have a National backing, and that, if possible, assistance might be rendered through the Government's auspices. It was thought possible that some inter-governmental arrangement might be made for the exchange of food, timber, flax, oil, or other raw material which Russia had in the past been able to export. Our hopes in this direction failed. We, therefore, issued an appeal to the Unions on behalf of the starving children of Russia. We recognised at the time how difficult it was for the Unions to organise contributions in face of the great amount of unemployment and distress which had followed the war in Ireland. We, nevertheless, felt that the suffering in Russia was infinitely greater, and that the Labour Movement in Ireland might show good-will and sympathy in some small degree by material assistance.

The following is the appeal:—

DUBLIN, *March 9th, 1922.*

TO THE AFFILIATED UNIONS AND COUNCILS.

Since last year's Congress the National Executive has been endeavouring to arrange that assistance from Ireland for the victims of the Russian Famine should be provided on a larger scale than could be hoped for from a relief fund. We hoped that it would have been possible for the Governments of Ireland and Russia to agree to a direct exchange of commodities—Ireland supplying food and agricultural machinery, and Russia supplying timber and certain other goods. Notwithstanding that the Irish Government has shown a willingness to give favourable consideration to these proposals, we regret that the prospect of any immediate outcome is dim.

We feel compelled now to ask that Irish trade unionists should do something to show that their ears are not deaf to the insistent cries of millions of starving children. To prevent overlapping we have arranged with the Irish "Save the Children" Fund that they should accept any contributions sent in response to this appeal, and to earmark them for the Russian Famine Relief.

This organization has issued an appeal, from which we extract the following:—

“ The Irish Save the Children Fund is part of an international effort towards the relief of child-suffering throughout the world. It is administered by an Irish National Committee (Cumann Cú Saorta na bPaisti) affiliated to the *Union Internationale de Secours aux Enfants*, which has its headquarters at Geneva. Similar national committees have been formed in Great Britain, France, Germany, Sweden, Turkey, Armenia, Greece, Italy, and other countries. Each National Committee has a double duty—to care for the children of its own country, and to bring such help as it can to the children of other lands where need exists. The importance of this movement is not to be measured by the monies received or disbursed (large as these are), but rather by the spread of the idea that children shall be cared for everywhere, without distinction of race, nationality, religion, or class. Almost alone in a world tortured by fratricidal strife, it asserts the principle of International Brotherhood. Founded in 1920, the International Union counts among its ardent advocates such men as Dr. Nansen, Cardinal Mercier, General Smuts, and was twice singled out for commendation in successive Encyclicals by the late Pope Benedict XV.

“ Irish kitchens are now at work in the district of Saratov, and money and foodstuffs (Irish condensed milk) have been remitted to Russia for the maintenance of some three hundred Russian children during the winter and spring months. . . . Eye-witness after eye-witness has testified that the reality of this horror exceeds a thousandfold all our imagination. Thirty millions of human beings, in the famine areas, are dying or dead. For months past they have been struggling to keep alive on a diet of oak-leaves, straw, powdered bones, clay, and horse-dung. And each day even this small store is getting nearer complete exhaustion. Every day famine claims new victims, and typhus fever, as in Ireland in '46 and '47, follows hard upon famine. Months ago Dr. Nansen strove to awaken the consciences of the Governments of Europe. ‘If they had listened to me in September,’ he said bitterly the other day, ‘all could have been saved; now six millions of human beings must inevitably die.’ In default of governmental action, private charity has done something to mitigate the horror. Three great agencies are at work: The American Relief Administration, the Society of Friends, and the *Union Internationale de Secours aux Enfants*, all under the general supervision of Dr. Nansen as High Commissioner. Between them they contrive to support a million

and a half of Russian children out of a total number of not less than ten millions. On its side the Soviet Government has given proof of both good-will and energy. Not only have the stories circulated of alleged pillage of relief trains been shown to be wholly false, but the Soviet Government has plainly exerted itself both in supplying seed for this year's harvest and in bringing relief to the sufferers. The Soviets themselves are maintaining, as Dr. Nansen tells us, over two millions of the famine-stricken. When we remember that Russia has only just emerged from seven years of foreign and civil war, that her railway system is hopelessly disorganized, that the provinces affected by the famine are those which in normal years are the richest part of the country, it will be realized that the Russian Government is loyally doing its part in a work which concerns all Christendom.

"Alas! it is now too late (as Dr. Nansen has told us) to save the bulk of the population—for at this season the remoter villages are quite inaccessible—but we can at least see to it that those who can still be reached receive succour. In particular, we are bound to make sure that those children for whom we have assumed responsibility are properly maintained as long as the need exists, and that as many others as may shall be helped also.

"At the present rate of exchange the gift of *one shilling* will feed a Russian child for *one whole week*; twenty shillings will suffice to maintain it until the next harvest. And just as in '47 the Irish cottier who had survived the famine of the previous year once more planted such seed as he could scrape together, so it is now with the Russian peasant. Incredible as it sounds, so strong is the peasant instinct that not even the pangs of immediate hunger have prevented them from making ready, as far as the gifts of the seed corn go, for the coming harvest. Many districts are and will remain waste, but in others the sowings are said to be not much below the average.

"If we can only help these people to carry on through the next few months, normal prosperity may once more return to the diminished population of South Russia."

THOMAS JOHNSON,

Secretary.

In response to the above appeal a total sum of £258 was subscribed by the Unions.

RESIGNATION OF THE CHAIRMAN.

In October the Chairman, Mr. Thomas MacPartlin, wrote a letter tendering his resignation on the grounds of continued ill-health. He felt that he was obliged to give up all activities outside his own Trade Union. The National Executive deferred accepting the resignation for several months, in the hope that renewed health would enable Mr. MacPartlin to resume his active Chairmanship, but, to the regret of the Executive, he could not be persuaded to resume his place at their head, and in March of this year they felt they had no option but to accept his resignation, with great reluctance, but feeling confident that his valued counsel would always be available.

MUNITIONS OF WAR FUND.

Since last account the sum of £1,035, chiefly balances remaining in the hands of the various Committees, was received, and payments amounting to a total of £1,412, were made to the victimised members of the Great Northern Railway staff.

We are pleased to record that, as a result of the continued pressure upon the Company from the National Executive and from the Trade Unions, with the strong support of the Ministry of Labour, all the victimised men have now been reinstated.

UNEMPLOYMENT.

Early in January, 1922, the National Executive had under discussion reports from the country respecting the state of employment. It was decided to request that a deputation should be heard by Dáil Eireann in public session before they adjourned. The following letter was addressed to the Speaker—Dr. Eoin MacNeill, T.D. :—

" Monday, January 9th, 1922.

" I am directed by the National Executive of the Irish Labour Party and Trade Union Congress, the national exponent of the will of the organised workers of Ireland, now in session, to request that the Assembly will receive and hear a delegation on matters of extreme urgency and gravity affecting the lives of the people whom they represent.

"The desire of the delegation is to impress on the Dáil the critical economic situation in the country, the grave problem of unemployment, the reversion to grass of hundreds of thousands of acres of land in the present year, the imminence of a vast industrial upheaval, due to attempts to degrade the standard of life of the people, and to call attention to the necessity for the functioning of a stable authority which will exercise power and authority in these urgent matters.

" (Signed), THOMAS JOHNSON, *Secretary*.

At the opening of the Session on Tuesday, 10th January, Dr. MacNeill read the above letter, and on the motion of Deputies J. J. Walsh and Sean T. O'Kelly, the Dáil agreed to hear the deputation. It is perhaps desirable to remind delegates that Mr. Griffith had formed a new Government on the morning on which our deputation was received. The delegation comprised the following members of the National Executive:—Messrs. Cathal O'Shannon, Thomas Foran, J. T. O'Farrell, Denis Cullen, George Nason, James Carr, L. J. Larkin, and Thomas Johnson, Secretary.

Thomas Johnson spoke on behalf of the deputation.

He said that they were, perhaps, in a somewhat exceptional position coming before the Assembly, inasmuch as at the last election they refrained in the National interests from participating in it.

The Executive of the Irish Labour Party was in session on the previous day, and reports were received from various parts of the country as to the situation affecting the working people. They had been following the discussion at the Assembly intently, and they decided that, in the circumstances, it would be desirable that they should seek an interview with the Dáil officially, representing, as they did, 300,000 organised workers in the country. Their delegates represented all the various cities, towns, and agricultural districts.

Enemy's Hopes Dashed.

They had reason to know that in the minds of the very highest officials of the British Government were hopes and beliefs that they would at some point of the struggle split the National movement. That was one of the important factors which determined their decision at the last election. They could not but feel that with the stress of the war both the Irish Government and the Deputies seemed to have forgotten to some extent that there was a social problem at home.

130,000 Workless.

There were at the moment probably 130,000 men and women walking about unemployed. Many of them had been only intermittently employed for the last year and a half. In nearly every country in Europe such people had been forced to agitate violently against the powers that be. The feeling of solidarity of the Nation which permeated the working classes in Ireland had tended to restrain that action which they would naturally take. They had not been in a position to agitate against the Irish Government because of the critical situation.

A large proportion of the population was at its wits' end to know how to live. Children were hungry and naked, and from all parts of the country were heard cries of desperation. These murmurs presaged something like an earthquake, and unless something effective was done there would be a grave situation in the country, which would provide a difficult problem for an old-established Government, let alone a new one. The working classes had taken share in the National struggle, and they were prepared to do it again, but in so far as the consciousness of their purpose was concerned they went into the fight not alone for the freedom of Ireland, but for the freedom of the individual, freedom from the bondage of capitalists in Ireland or in other parts of the world.

Rich and Poor.

Something must be done immediately to lessen the burdens they are suffering. Farmers had their grievances, merchants had their complaints about bad trade. They could speak for themselves. They had the means of keeping body and soul together. The workers had not such means, unless someone saw fit to give them employment.

More than 20,000 of these men were agricultural labourers, who ought to be preparing for the next year's harvest. Probably one million acres had gone out of cultivation in the last few years. They had heard suspicions of the perfidy of England, and the danger that when the time came anything promised would be withdrawn.

Give Us Food.

He wanted to suggest to the Dáil that the only real safeguard for Ireland was an ample home-grown food supply. What they were allowing to be done was that in a year they were going to be dependent on overseas ports, and the blockade of Irish ports would bring Ireland to her knees. It was imperative that the land should be tilled for the purpose of national defence, and, incidentally, it would mean the employment of men capable of working on the land.

National Duty.

During recent years Labour in Ireland had developed a new consciousness of its position in the social economy. They saw that the resources of Ireland were capable of keeping the people in reasonable comfort, and it was for those who had the power of organising these resources to provide the people with means of living decent lives.

The workers were not prepared to continue the low standard upon which they were living before the war. When demands were being made in all kinds of occupations to degrade that standard, it meant that the workers were going to resist in whatever way they thought best. Their patience was becoming exhausted, and it was insistent that the problems of unemployment, tillage, and housing should be immediately tackled.

They would not brook delay waiting on political exigencies. They realised the difficulties of the situation, and were prepared to make every allowance for them, but they wanted to emphasise the importance of dealing with the problem effectually. If that were not done, the people would rise and sweep them away, as they would sweep away any Government which failed to do its duty to the common people. (Applause.)

O'Shannon's Reminder.

Speaking altogether in Irish, Cathal O'Shannon said there was little more to say, but much to be done. Johnson had said plainly all they wanted to say. But he would remind that Dáil, the responsible elected National Authority, that when the Republic was established in 1916, and when it was re-established in 1919—and it was they in that Dáil who had re-established it—those who established it had made public declaration that not only did the persons and lives of the Irish people, but the wealth, the property, the land, and all the National resources, belong by right to the Irish people, the sovereign people of Ireland. It was that Assembly's duty to exercise that right, for it alone had authority and responsibility. The workers wanted them to put those declarations of the founders of the Republic into force and effect. On behalf of the delegation, he thanked the Speaker and the Dáil for their hearing.

Presidential Promise.

Replying to the delegation, the newly-elected President, Arthur Griffith, said :—

“ Before the delegation go, I want to thank them for bringing their views here before us. I want to say also that I fully agree with what they say, that the workers of Ireland have taken their full share in this fight for Irish freedom, and that I know and under-

stand perfectly this question of unemployment. We are prepared to appoint a committee to meet Mr. Johnson and his co-representatives, to try and deal with this question."

The deputation then withdrew.

Conferences were subsequently held between the National Executive and the Dáil Ministry, when various phases of the problem of unemployment, and suggested measures for dealing with the problem, were discussed. Amongst the suggestions made on behalf of the National Executive were the following:—

1. That a compulsory Tillage Order should be made.
2. Road making and repairing to be done as far as possible by local Trade Union labour.
3. That architects should be called upon to specify for Irish materials and designs that can be carried out in Ireland.
4. That the Waterford Meat Factory should be proceeded with.
5. The Drogheda Meat Factory should be taken over by the public authority.
6. That seasonal work should be put into operation as far as possible during the winter, especially by public boards.
7. That the question of importation of foreign milled flour should be considered with a view to prohibition until Irish mills were fully employed.
8. That Housing schemes should be pressed forward by finances obtained from the National Government.
9. That the Government should be urged to enter into arrangements with the Russian Government with a view to supplying materials (agricultural machinery, etc.), and foodstuffs, of which Ireland has a surplus, in direct exchange for raw materials for manufacture and building from Russia.

Several of these proposals were looked on with favour by Ministers, and something has been done towards financing local Councils for road repairing, and also for housing schemes, out of Government funds.

The financial position of the Provisional Government was urged as an obstacle in the way of any big schemes, as until political

affairs were straightened out they were dependent upon another Exchequer.

The attitude of some of the Ministers, particularly Mr. Hogan, the Minister for Agriculture, was distinctly unsympathetic. If we judge him aright there will be no compulsory breaking up of the grass ranches while he is responsible for agricultural policy. His nominal objection to a Tillage Order was the impossibility of doing anything at that season of the year. He conveniently forgot that this proposal had been pressed upon his predecessor six months and twelve months before; and that the reason then given for not enforcing a Tillage Order was, that to do so would cause a cleavage in the National ranks!

POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS.

In our last Annual Report we took note of the meetings between representatives of Dáil Eireann and the British Government, then taking place in London. A Truce had been arrived at between the military forces, and peace negotiations had been entered upon. These negotiations resulted in the signing of the Articles of Agreement for the Treaty by the Irish Delegation and the British Delegation. On being submitted to Dáil Eireann for approval a prolonged debate ensued, during which intense feeling was displayed on both sides, finally eventuating in approval of the Treaty by a vote which showed 64 members in favour and 57 against. It became clear during the course of the debate that the opponents of the Treaty (if they proved to be in the minority) would not accept the decision of the Dáil until there had been further reference to the people. The Labour Party had not taken sides in the controversy. The National Executive had no responsibility whatever for the negotiations. They had not been consulted in respect to them and were not called upon to bear any of the blame or praise accruing to those who negotiated the Treaty. In the year or two preceding the Truce the Dáil Ministers had frequently conferred with representatives of your Executive on matters of public concern. But on this matter of the relations between England and Ireland, though it now appears that the Southern Unionist Party, the Ulster Unionist Party, and probably other Parties also, were consulted and secured promises, the Labour Party was not approached nor informed of anything that was proposed or suggested. We make no complaint of this, but we think the facts should be recorded, as a good deal of misconception prevails in some quarters on the subject.

Immediately on the signing of the Treaty the following "Address to the Workers of Ireland" was published:—

LABOUR PARTY'S CALL TO ACTION.

" TO THE WORKERS OF IRELAND.

With the vote of Dáil Eireann approving the Treaty between Ireland and England one more chapter of the still uncompleted story of Ireland's struggle for national freedom has been closed. To-morrow the struggle for the freedom of Ireland's men and women begins anew.

Whatever may be the immediate outcome of the vote of the National Assembly, responsibility for the government of Ireland will rest in future on the Irish people alone.

Henceforward the struggle which you, the workers, must perforce engage in shall be plainly and openly a struggle against capitalism; you are now called upon to fight the fight which is your fight: for the rights of men to life, and to life in abundance.

Henceforward your fight shall be against conditions which make your lives a perpetual struggle against sordid poverty, dirt, and ignorance; a fight against the soul-destroying grind of wage slavery.

During the period of crisis in the Nation's life you have subordinated your claims and demands to the need for National solidarity. Individually and collectively the workers have borne their full share of the pains and sacrifices of recent years; they have freely given of their lives and substance. They entered the fight full of faith that their endeavours would win for the common working men and women opportunities for a fuller and freer life in their own land, untrammelled by a haunting dread of involuntary and degrading poverty.

The Republic conceived of and demanded by the workers is a Republic in which those who give labour and service to the commonwealth—and none but they—are the citizens, the rulers, and the owners; a Republic in which wealth is the servant, not the master, of mankind; where property is forfeit to the State if it is wrongfully used or kept out of use against the interests of the people; where free men and women and children are held to be the real wealth of the Nation; where all the powers of the State are instantly available to protect and succour the meanest citizen; where none may be rich until all have enough; where wealth may not command labour, because labour is supreme; where all who are capable and willing to work may find opportunity to work, and are ensured in exchange for their labour a decent livelihood.

Whatever form of government may be established, whatever name it may assume, Free State or Republic, unless it realises these aspirations it is not a Republic in the eyes of the workers.

No such Republic having been achieved by the party which has been in the ascendant, it is no retrogression on the part of the Labour Party to avail of the machinery of whatever political instrument may be fashioned in pursuance of our objective—*i.e.*, the establishment of a Workers' Republic.

During the war the workers have refrained from pressing their demands for a decent standard of material comfort. Rather than be a cause of weakness in the national struggle, they have been content to accept increases in money wages seldom exceeding, usually not reaching, the increase in the cost of living.

The hour has now struck for the workers to emerge from the shade. When the contest opens in the political arena we shall take our place. At the moment the call to action comes from the industrial field. Our opponents are our employers. During the war and the truce they have been gathering strength and preparing to dispute our claim that we are something more than beasts of burden let out for hire; something other than mere repositories of man-power to be turned on or off according as we are producing a profit or a loss.

These employers, stewards of the Nation's patrimony, being proved incompetent to fulfil their trust of providing for the national household, threaten to close down their mills, factories, railways, docks, warehouses, shops and farms, if we will not work for a starvation wage! We need not be astonished at their incompetence. For the greater part they are men who, fed fat on their privileges as England's faithful garrison, have opposed every effort of the people to throw off the feudal yoke that oppressed the nation. They survive only because they have been sheltered by laws made in the English Parliament by thieves and the friends of thieves to protect thieves and the friends of thieves. Their thoughts are bounded by profits, and interest, and title deeds, and scrip. Such people cumber the ground. When justice comes into the land they shall be cast into outer darkness!

These are the men who are attacking even the low standard of life that the workers are enduring. We call upon all workers to line up for action. You must not suffer a worsening of your standard of life or conditions of labour without resistance and reprisals. We must challenge the employing class of Ireland to find a way out of the economic bog which their incompetence and greed have led us all into. They must find the way out now, if they can, or surrender their power and authority. Hitherto they have thought of one road only—lower wages—but that road leads back into the middle of the bog—and it is blocked by the massed forces of Labour.

True to the traditions of their class, in anticipation of favours to come, our employers are already showing zeal in their professions of adhesion to the new political order. Where patronage, titles, and social power were to be found, there these people and their kind

might always be looked for. Royalist sycophants when kings were in the ascendant, we now discover them seeking favours of the Republic. Upholders of the old régime when it paid, they are now suspiciously eager to make their peace with the new. Always the enemies of the people's cause, they now claim special favours from the people when their own champion has retired from the fight.

If they would prove the sincerity of their professions of loyalty to the new government they will withdraw their threats to reduce wages, to drive the workers down to the barest margin of subsistence. They will refrain from action which seems deliberately designed to cause trouble for the new government.

To the workers, again, we say: Unite and stand fast! Do not allow yourselves to be drawn into opposing camps. As you have shown solidarity in the Nation's cause, let you now show the same solidarity in your struggle for bread!"

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE, IRISH LABOUR PARTY AND
TRADE UNION CONGRESS

January 10th, 1922.

THE LABOUR PARTY'S EFFORTS FOR PEACE.

The discussions in the Dáil on the motion for the approval of the Treaty were expected to conclude and the division taken before the adjournment for the Christmas holiday. It was, however, decided to adjourn the discussion and not to take the vote until the resumption in the first days of the New Year. Taking advantage of certain expressions that had fallen in the course of the debate, representatives of your Executive approached Messrs. Collins, Art O'Brien, Mulcahy, De Valera, Griffith, and McGrath successively, and placed before them certain tentative suggestions which seemed to point the way to the reconciliation of conflicting opinions. These suggestions were formulated as follows:—

"In the course of the discussions it appears that there is to be found a possible means of bridging the gulf between the two main sections of the Dáil.

"The President pointed out that the form of oath quoted by Mr. Milroy was governed by the references to the Constitution proposed in Document No. 2.

"Arising out of a passage in Dr. McNeill's speech it is possible to see light. We submit for consideration by both sides the following rough suggestions as a tentative basis for an agreement:—

"The Dáil to remain in being and to continue as the supreme legislative governing body in Ireland.

"On resumption after the adjournment Mr. Griffith to withdraw his motion by leave of the House, either with or without further debate. No vote on this issue to be taken by the Dáil.

"In accord with the Articles of Agreement the signatories to summon a meeting of the 'Members of Parliament elected for constituencies in Southern Ireland.'

"This meeting will be summoned for the purpose of approving the Treaty. It will be agreed beforehand that a majority will be present to approve.

"Prior to this meeting *it shall be agreed by both sides that, in the framing of the Constitution, the governing clause of the Constitution shall be 'that the legislative, executive, and judicial authority in Ireland is, and shall be, derived solely from the people of Ireland.'* All the acts of the Dáil and the Provisional Government shall be determined by this clause, and the interim Government shall be subject to the assumption that the Constitution containing this clause becomes effective.

"In these circumstances the form of oath in the Treaty would then imply 'allegiance to the Constitution of the Irish Free State (or Saorstát Éireann) as by Law established'—such Law to be established by Dáil Éireann; and the Constitution will be governed by this essentially republican clause. This meets the President's point on this particular question.

"The Constitution will be framed by the Dáil, and subject to its approval.

"The provisional Government would be subject to the decisions of the Dáil. It would be in effect a Committee to whom had been given a Commission by the Dáil to administer certain departments. The British Government would be bound to hand over its powers to the Committee, otherwise the Provisional Government.

"*The Dáil remains in authority, and retains power over the Army, the present organisation and command continuing.* Satisfactory arrangements to be made beforehand respecting finance with the Finance Ministry.

"*Under this arrangement the Irish interpretation of the Agreement can be secured. The sovereignty of the Irish people can be asserted and maintained. Or if there is any controversy or dispute over the Constitution, the Army is strengthened and the united backing of the people assured.*

"When the Dáil is satisfied that the Treaty may safely be ratified by legislation it may then proceed to ratify in due form."

These proposals were submitted to Mr. Collins in person and to Mr. De Valera, per Mr. Art O'Brien, on the Friday before Christmas Day, to Mr. Griffith on Christmas Day, and again to Mr. De Valera

in person on St. Stephen's Day. Their reception by Messrs. Collins and Griffith led us to hope that a basis of agreement had been found, but this hope was shattered at the interview with Mr. De Valera, and the proceedings at the resumed debates in the Dáil confirmed our disappointment.

The decision of the Dáil on the Treaty caused a split in the ranks of the Army and the setting up of a new Army Executive which called for the allegiance of all Republican Volunteers. Much controversy and agitation took place in the months that followed, and many arrests and acts of violence occurred under the alleged authority of one or other of the rival forces. Reports reached us from all parts of the country showing that there was a deep feeling of resentment against these activities. It is not our business to recount the story of the political and military strife which the country was led into, except in so far as the activities of the National Executive in the elections and in their efforts to bring about peace require such reference.

The shame and grief which we are sure the delegates feel at the spectacle of this miserable Civil War, and the evil passions that are being deliberately aroused by mean and venomous propaganda, the poverty, unemployment, and suffering which are thrust upon the civil population by alleged "military necessity," have impressed that story vividly enough into the minds of all.

After long consideration we published, on April 11th, the following statement in the Dublin newspapers:—

MANIFESTO OF NATIONAL EXECUTIVE.

"The National Executive of the Labour Party has had under earnest consideration recent developments in the political and military life of the country. Evidence has accumulated during the past few weeks showing how anxiously the organised workers feel respecting the immediate future, and how strongly they protest against the assumption of authority on the part of military in civil affairs.

"The organised workers in Ireland, as in every country, have in the past set their faces against militarism. We protested against the rule of the gun and the bayonet when handled by foreign armies; we protest against the rule of the gun and the bomb when handled by Irish armies and by irresponsible individuals.

"The Labour movement resolutely opposes, and will use all its power against, any body of men, official or unofficial, regular forces or irregular forces, who seek to impose their will upon the people by virtue of their armaments alone.

"We deplore the growth of the idea that the Army may be a law unto itself; that the possession of arms gives authority which may be exercised regardless of the civil power. This criticism is not directed only against one section of the Army—both forces have sometimes shown that they have learned lessons in arrogance from the British occupation.

"These alarming developments call for immediate and determined action on the part of the civil population. An end must be made of this internecine strife amongst those who so recently were comrades-in-arms, acting under the authority of the civil Government.

"We speak for the masses of the workers of Ireland, who are not willing that their country should be freed from one tyranny only to set loose the elements of fratricidal strife. If the country is to resume warfare we shall endeavour to ensure that it is for something worth while for the workers to enter into the struggle. We are not willing to look on idly while brothers take up arms against brothers, fathers against sons.

"The time has arrived, in our judgment, when the vital forces of the Nation, the workers of town and country, agriculturists and artisans, farmers and labourers, should make known their will that the armed forces of the country should be under, and be amenable to, civilian authority, responsible to the people.

"The National Executive of the Labour Party purposes to ask the leaders of the several organisations to state their intentions in regard to the future. We ask the workers who are members of the several armies to refuse to be drawn into violent actions, and we ask the workers generally to stand ready to take action when the call comes."

Mansion House Peace Conferences.

In accordance with the promise contained in the foregoing, interviews were arranged between members of the National Executive and Messrs. Griffith and Collins, with Mr. De Valera, and with the members of the Army Executive then established in the "Four Courts," for the purpose of obtaining their several views and intentions.

About this time a Conference, having peace as its objective, had been arranged by His Grace the Archbishop of Dublin. The Lord Mayor of Dublin and Mr. James O'Mara, Senior, of Limerick, with Messrs. Eamonn De Valera and Cathal Brugha, Arthur Griffith and Michael Collins, had been meeting in the Mansion House under the Chairmanship of His Grace the Archbishop. On learning that there were grave fears regarding the outcome of the

Conference, the National Executive instructed its Secretary to write to His Grace the Archbishop and the Lord Mayor requesting that the Conference should not be allowed to finish unless all hope of a peaceful settlement had been abandoned, and suggesting that the Conference should adjourn until the following Tuesday, when representatives of the Irish Republican Army Executive, Four Courts, should be invited to attend. The Labour Party would then be prepared to submit definite proposals to such an enlarged Conference. It was also decided to issue a Call to the Workers generally throughout Ireland to stop work on Monday, April 24th, and to hold meetings and demonstrations in support of the policy laid down in the recent Labour Party manifestoes.

Text of Labour Party's Anti-Militarist Manifesto.

The text of the Manifesto calling a General Strike read thus :—

“In conformity with our announcement, we have consulted the leaders of the contending parties and forces for the purpose of ascertaining their views and intentions. We have been assured on all sides that many of the acts of aggression and violence against which we protest have been committed by individuals and groups without authority, and we have been further assured by the leaders of both forces that discipline is being tightened. Every effort is being made to reduce to a minimum military intervention in civil affairs.

“So far as it goes this is satisfactory ; but it does not go far. Important as it is to secure that our people may be free to pursue their avocations without risk of armed interference, we recognise that other questions of paramount concern to the Nation are involved, and we have tried to discover a basis of peace between the contending parties.

“We have suggested to His Grace the Archbishop of Dublin (Most Rev. Dr. Byrne) and the Lord Mayor of Dublin (Alderman Laurence O'Neill) that they should invite representatives of the Executive of the Army Council (Four Courts) to attend the Conference at an adjourned sitting on Monday next, and we propose to submit to this enlarged Conference definite proposals for its consideration.

“In the meantime, it is important that the workers of Ireland, whose spokesmen we are, should have an opportunity to give expression in an emphatic manner to their will in these matters so vitally affecting their lives and liberties.

People Supreme.

"In their name we have protested against the growth of the idea that the military forces may take command of the civil life of the Nation, without responsibility to the people; that military men may commit acts of violence against civilians and be immune from prosecution or punishment; that the possession of arms is the sole title to political authority.

"Our protests have not been directed against one side alone, and in the present conflict we have ample evidence that men in both forces are guilty in many instances of inexcusable aggression and a desire to domineer over the unarmed people.

"We have demanded that this state of affairs should cease, and that the military forces should be brought to recognise the sovereignty of the people.

"We have called upon the men who so recently were comrades-in-arms and fellow-workers in field or factory or warehouse or office to refuse to take up arms against those with whom they so recently fought or worked as soldiers or trade unionists.

"We have also demanded of both parties that they should unite to honour the pledges they gave to the people when Dáil Eireann solemnly proclaimed the 'Democratic Programme' as the social policy of the Republic. It would appear that they all have forgotten this pledge: a pledge to the present generation of Irish men and women, which, in our view, should take precedence over any pledge or promise to a foreign Government, or any pledge or oath to maintain a particular form of Government.

"Had any attempt been made to fulfil this declaration and programme, the country would not to-day have to bear the shame of seeing hungry, unclad children in our towns and countryside, nor would workless men be found wandering, in thousands, hopeless, through the streets, or enrolling in armies to obtain the means to live.

Dáil's Position.

"Dáil Eireann, the Sovereign Assembly representative of the people, re-assembles on Tuesday next. The members of that Assembly have a solemn duty to perform.

"To their charge has been committed the task of safeguarding the lives and liberties of the people—not the Ministers alone, not the army, but the rank and file members of the Dáil. It is for them to assert the sovereignty of the Dáil over all other Councils or Governments in Ireland. It is for them to re-unite the army and bring it under a single command, that it may defend the Nation and its liberties against foreign intervention. The army was enrolled for this purpose; for this purpose it should be maintained,

"The country demands of the Dáil that it should assert its authority and accept the responsibilities of government, or confess its impotence and make way for the people.

"These are the demands we make upon the Government of Ireland at this critical time. We make them on behalf of three hundred thousand organised Trade Unionists, and tens of thousands of others outside our ranks. We ask the workers to confirm our demands; to give strength to our protest.

"To enable them to demonstrate in the most effective and peaceful manner, we hereby call for a General Stoppage of Work for one day on Monday next, April 24th, from 6 o'clock in the morning to 9 o'clock at night (necessary humanitarian services excepted).

"Trade Councils and Trade Unions are asked to organise meetings and demonstrations in support of the Labour Party's action.

A Warning.

"We wish to utter a clear warning to those new apostles of democracy and freedom who are now professing to support the action of the Labour Party.

"The present controversy is one which must be decided by those who have consistently stood by the cause of freedom. The intrusion of 'the ascendancy' and their followers, men who have always been found on the side of the enemies of liberty, is regarded by us as an insult and a danger.

"We wish those people to be under no delusion regarding our intentions. We take our stand against militarism, because we know that the military spirit will surely be exploited by the reactionary elements in defending the tyrannies of capitalism and the entrenchment of the old order. An imminent danger to the country, which we would entreat the friends of Ireland on both sides to guard against, is that the ascendancy party, in one guise or another, will take the field on the pretext of defending civil liberties and maintaining order, and will rally to their banner, and exploit, large and important elements of the historic Irish Nation, whose faith has been shaken by the outcome of the war for freedom.

"Let those who have the destiny of the Nation in their keeping give heed to these warnings!

"National Executive, Irish Labour Party and Trade Union Congress,

"Dublin, April 20th, 1922."

The call for a general strike was received joyously and responded to universally. Immense demonstrations were held in all the large towns and cities, and the people clearly expressed their antipathy to being governed by men who rule by the authority of the rifle and revolver.

His Grace the Archbishop of Dublin invited the National Executive to send representatives to the adjourned Conference. We appointed the Acting Chairman, Treasurer, and Secretary (Messrs. O'Shannon, O'Brien, and Johnson) to attend, and to submit the proposals we had drawn up.

In welcoming our delegation, the Chairman of the Conference (His Grace the Archbishop) informed the delegation that no invitation had been issued to the Executive of the Army Council at the Four Courts to send representatives to join the Conference, as agreement within the Conference to this proposal had not been obtained.

Messrs. Griffith and Collins supplemented this by emphatically stating that they refused to sit in conference with these men. Notwithstanding this, our representatives deemed it wise to enter the Conference.

Labour's Proposals.

The proposals drafted by the National Executive, and submitted on our behalf, were not put forward as ideal from Labour's point of view, but in the hope that they would form the basis of possible agreement. They were as follows:—

“ It is agreed :—

1. “ That all the legislative, executive, and judicial authority is and shall be derived solely from the Irish people.
2. “ That Dáil Éireann is the supreme governing authority in Ireland.
3. “ That the Dáil should call into Council representatives of local authorities and economic organisations from all parts of the country.
4. “ That the joint body should act as a Constituent Assembly to prepare a Constitution for submission to the electorate.

5. "The Dáil to appoint a Council of State or Ministry, not all of whom need be Ministers of Departments or members of the Dáil.
6. "The Council of State or Ministry to act as the Government, and be responsible to the Dáil.
7. "Authority to be delegated by the Dáil to the Provisional Government as a Committee for the purpose of facilitating the transfer of the administrative machinery.
8. "The activities of the I.R.A. to be confined to preparation for National defence. No armed parades except by authority from the Council of State.
9. "The I.R.A. to be united under common command, and to be responsible to the Civil Authority or the Council of State.
10. "A Civil Police Force to be established, and to be under the control of the local Civil Authorities."

Our proposals were fully discussed, both at the full Conference and at separate meetings with each side, as also were several alternative proposals. For a time, when it was seen that Messrs. De Valera and Brugha showed favour to our proposals, there was some hope that Messrs. Griffith and Collins would respond. This hope vanished when it was disclosed that the question of an immediate or a postponed election was predominant in the minds of the rival parties—Mr. Griffith insisting upon an election in June; Mr. De Valera insisting that no election should be held until an adult suffrage register could be compiled.

Two facts worthy of note here emerged out of the discussions. The first was: That Messrs. Griffith and Collins offered to take a plebiscite of the adult population on the question of the Treaty before the General Election in June. This was in accord with the resolution of our Special Congress which we had pressed upon the Ministry, and which we refer to elsewhere in this report.

The second was: That Mr. De Valera declared his willingness to abide by the result of an election at which

all adults are entitled to vote, and to use his influence to ensure that the parliament and government established by such an election would not be interfered with, but would be allowed to carry on without physical opposition. This he agreed to as a principle of order, not of right, and because he could see the alternative was anarchy.

We think it right to state here that the deepest impression received by our representatives during the conferences and conversations was that, as between the two sides, there was an absolute distrust, each of the other. Neither side had any faith in the honour or honesty of its opponents, and each believing the other was merely playing for position. (This last thought was, perhaps, justified, as the history of the subsequent agreement or pact between Messrs. De Valera and Collins goes to show.)

The Prelude to War.

A week or two subsequent to the break up of the Mansion House Peace Conference the Dáil was again in session. Action had been taken by certain officers of the Army from Munster in the direction of uniting the opposing forces. A committee of members of the Dáil from both parties and a committee of military men from both sides were brought into conference. After long discussion and several adjournments these efforts also ended in failure. Then unexpectedly a meeting between Messrs. De Valera and Collins resulted in an announcement that a pact had been made, by which both parties were to stand together at the General Election and secure the return of the retiring members; that a new register should be prepared on an adult suffrage basis; that there was to be a Coalition Ministry, the Minister of Defence to be appointed by the re-united Army. This pact was confirmed by the Ard-Fheis of Sinn Féin and Dáil Éireann itself. The understanding in the Dáil was that the rival military leaders were to consult and agree upon the terms of unity in the Army.

It is known publicly that these Army Conferences took place; it is known by the tragic turn of events that the Conferences failed to arrive at an agreement; it is known that the failure of the Army Conferences precipitated the present warfare; but it is not known why the Conferences broke down. The public has not been informed of anything that occurred, neither the demands of one section nor the offers of the other; the people who have to bear the burden and the sorrow are kept in ignorance.

The Outbreak of War.

Rumours, very confident and well-founded no doubt, but still only rumours, were abroad about the failure of the Army Conferences, when suddenly, without warning, the two armies, whose leaders had so recently been in more or less friendly conference, whose officers were often seen in public places fraternising, found themselves at war! The discussions, controversies, conferences, raids, threats of armed conflict, had culminated in the arrest of an Assistant Chief of Staff, and, presumably as a reprisal, the bombardment of the Four Courts, the headquarters of the "Executive" forces, on the morning of the 28th June.

This attack began in the early hours of the morning, without any warning having been given to the civil population in the neighbourhood. As a consequence a number of people were forced to leave their homes, and many more suffered from shock and terror caused by the bombardment. We saw the probability that the attack upon the Four Courts would be followed by an extension of the fighting area into other parts of the City, and we realised that, if this were the case, preparations would need to be made for the supply of food and protection for the civil population. Messrs. O'Shannon, Duffy, and the Secretary, representing the National Executive, called upon the Lord Mayor on the following day (29th June), and handed to him the following letter:—

"29th June, 1922.

"DEAR LORD MAYOR,

"Messrs. O'Shannon, Duffy, and I (representing the National Executive of the Labour Party) called to consult you in reference to the hostilities now going on in the City. We feel that a strong protest ought to be made to the Government on behalf of the civil population against their action in attacking the Four Courts and other places without any prior explanation to the public in general for the sudden change of policy in respect of the Executive Forces.

"We request that you, as head of the City, should approach the Government to ascertain what provision has been made to protect the people, and to provide shelter for those who are likely to be dispossessed of their homes.

"(Signed), THOMAS JOHNSON, *Secretary.*"

At his desire our representatives accompanied the Lord Mayor the same evening to the offices of the Provisional Government. The Lord Mayor requested to see one or other of the Cabinet Ministers. In response to this request, Messrs. Griffith and Cosgrave invited the Delegation into an office, but with the intimation that a Cabinet Meeting was taking place, and they had not more than a couple of minutes to spare. The Lord Mayor, speaking very courteously, and making no reference to our protest against the action of the Government, said that he had been approached by representatives of the Labour Party on behalf of the civilian population who had been shaken and terror-stricken by the bombardment. Many of them had to leave their homes, and it was feared that they would be homeless and in want unless some arrangements were made for their succour immediately. He desired to know, speaking as the Lord Mayor of the City of Dublin, what arrangements were being made to provide for the civil population. Mr. Griffith, who had remained standing, as also had the Deputation during the few moments of this conversation, replied fiercely that "they were a Government, and were going to govern. They were not going to be drawn aside by the 'red herring' of the civilian population. They were his people as well as the Lord Mayor's." Little else was said, Mr. Cosgrave being silent, and the Deputation left the room.

The following day, however, a joint meeting was held between the resident members of the National Executive and the Executive of the Dublin Workers' Council for the purpose of considering what steps ought to be taken to maintain the food supplies generally and provide shelter for those rendered homeless, and on assembling at the Mansion House the Lord Mayor handed in the following letter:—

" 30th June, 1922.

" MY DEAR MR. JOHNSON,

" In response to a 'phone message from Alderman Cosgrave I called on him this (Friday) morning. He told me that he had arranged with Mr. Hogan and a Committee to deal with the housing of those who were compelled to leave their homes, also with the food supply of the City generally. The means they intend adopting is to send inspectors to the different localities. This is a brief outline of our interview, which I consider it well you should know.

" Yours faithfully,

" (Signed), LAURENCE O'NEILL,

" Lord Mayor."

The Lord Mayor supplemented this by informing the meeting that the Minister of Local Government had accepted responsibility

for the providing of food and housing for those in need as a consequence of the military activities. In view of this statement the Committee felt relieved from the responsibility of taking upon their own shoulders the task of the organisation of the food supplies, and decided to appoint a Committee to report from day to day as to the state of affairs in the City.

Further Peace Efforts.

During the course of this meeting a deputation from a meeting of women's organisations, then being held in another room in the Mansion House, was heard. They urged upon the Labour Party the necessity of intervening to prevent an impending calamity. They had just heard that the garrison at the Four Courts had refused to surrender, that the building was in flames, and they feared a holocaust. Later, at the same meeting, while discussing the course to take, the announcement was received that the garrison had surrendered, and had been taken prisoners. By this time some of the buildings in O'Connell Street had been occupied by the Executive Forces. The decision which had been taken, that the Acting Chairman of the National Executive should approach His Grace the Archbishop and the Lord Mayor, with a view to combined action, was adhered to in the circumstances. To this proposal both His Grace the Archbishop and the Lord Mayor agreed; and in company with the Acting Chairman (Mr. Cathal O'Shannon) they visited the leaders of the Executive Forces then in occupation of the Hammam Hotel, and also the chief members of the Provisional Government at their offices in Merrion Street.

At the interview in the Hammam Hotel the O/C., Brigadier-General Oscar Traynor, made a certain suggestion which he was prepared to act upon under conditions stipulated by him. He further stated that Cathal Brugha could be called in—he was at that moment fighting as a private soldier, but naturally exercised considerable influence. After a separate consultation with Oscar Traynor, Cathal Brugha entered, and when he heard in summary what the deputation and Oscar Traynor had already said he stated that he agreed to the line taken by Brigadier-General Traynor.

At the interview with leading members of the Dáil Cabinet the whole position was reviewed, but as the deputation could not give any guarantee that the conditions laid down by the Cabinet would be agreed to by the Executive Forces, nothing further resulted, and this effort proved abortive.

Later, and acting again at the urgent request of representatives of the women's organisations, the Joint Committee of the N.E. and E.C. of the Dublin Workers' Council agreed on the Saturday evening that a visit should be paid to the leaders of the Four Courts' forces imprisoned in Mountjoy. The women's representatives stated that

they had seen Oscar Traynor in G.H.Q. in O'Connell Street, and that he had informed them that nobody but the leaders in Mountjoy and Mallow could negotiate.

Your Executive had no hope that any result would follow, but agreed that Messrs. O'Brien, Johnson, O'Shannon, and Farren should visit Mountjoy.

Facilities having been obtained from the Provisional Government, your representatives saw Messrs. Rory O'Connor, Liam Mellows, and Joseph McKelvey in Mountjoy on the Sunday. As anticipated, they found that the position taken up by these leaders was exactly the same as that taken up by them when your representatives visited them in the Four Courts a few days before the General Strike of April 24th. Nothing resulted.

On the last day of the fighting in O'Connell Street, the Chairman, Treasurer, Secretary, and L. J. Duffy were approached by a priest, who had been in close contact with the Executive Forces, in order to see if any further effort could be made to bring hostilities to an end. Arising out of this conversation your representatives agreed to meet, informally, some unofficial members of the other parties to discuss the situation anew. Such a meeting was accordingly held, and it was attended by two or three T.D.'s and two or three non-members of the Dáil who were influential advisors to their respective parties. Full discussions took place in a friendly atmosphere, and a selected Committee representing each side was appointed to try to formulate heads for an agreed proposal. This small Committee met twice. Certain proposals were formulated which were to be taken away, considered, and reported upon a day or two later. At the second meeting it was found that the suggested heads of agreement had not had a friendly reception at the hands of those who had been consulted. It was apparent to us that the leaders on both sides had frowned upon the suggestions that had been drafted by the Joint Committee representing the three parties.

Another tentative approach towards Peace had miscarried.

It is necessary to point out that each of these efforts, made after the guns had been set going, were made not on our initiative. We felt that there was little hope of success, in view of the declarations on both sides, but when urged to make the effort by others we felt constrained to do all we could even with the slightest thread of hope. Had we not done so we would have incurred grave responsibility.

POSTPONEMENT OF DÁIL EIREANN.

Associated with the preceding paragraphs, relating to our efforts towards peace, is the story of the calling of the Dáil to meet on

July 1st, and its three successive postponements. At the last meeting of the Dáil, before the General Election, it was decided to adjourn until June 30th, and it was generally understood that that meeting would be a formal one for the purpose of dissolving. The Dáil had passed a Decree calling for an election of new members for the twenty-six counties. Concurrently, steps were taken by the Provisional Government to cause "an Election to be held for Parliament pursuant to the provisions of the Irish Free State (Agreement) Act." The Proclamation of the Provisional Government said that they, "being desirous and resolved to meet the people of Ireland, and have their advice in Parliament, do hereby make known to all our decision to call the said Parliament," and proceeded to say that the said Parliament was to meet on the first day of July. The Parliament was elected, and our part in the Election is referred to in other pages of this report. With the 1st of July came a Proclamation in the morning papers announcing that, in consequence of the hostilities that had broken out, and the difficulties in the way of reaching Dublin from the country, the meeting of the Parliament was "prorogued" for fourteen days.

At the joint meeting of the National Executive and the Dublin Workers' Council Executive, which was held on that day, already referred to, consideration was given to the announcement in the newspapers postponing the meeting of the Dáil. The Secretary reported that, notwithstanding the difficulties spoken of by the Government's announcement, Labour members from various parts of the country, as distant as Moate, Dungarvan, Waterford, and Carlow, had arrived in Dublin on Friday evening and Saturday morning, thus proving that the difficulties of travel were not insuperable. He noted that there were also many other country members of other parties already in Dublin. In every country which pretended to rely upon Constitutional sanctions, when a National crisis arose the practice has been to call the People's Deputies together immediately. In Ireland it appears that we are to follow the opposite course, namely, in time of crisis to prevent a meeting of the National Assembly, even though it has been newly elected, and the Government has not yet received any authority from the Parliament! The following resolution was passed unanimously:—

"The National Executive of the Labour Party and the Executive Committee of the Dublin Workers' Council, in Joint Conference, do hereby protest solemnly and emphatically against the postponement of the meeting of Dáil Éireann. At

this most solemn crisis in Ireland's history the duty of the Government is to call together the people's representatives at the earliest possible moment.

"We demand the revocation of the order postponing the meeting of the Dáil until the 15th July, and that the Dáil should be convoked immediately.

"Professions of faith in the people's will are empty phrases when the people's representatives are treated with contempt."

THE GOVERNMENT'S MANDATE.

The 15th July came in due course, and again the Parliament was "prorogued" for another fortnight. When that fortnight elapsed it was again postponed, and when the next date for assembling arrives it will probably be found that the reasons which were alleged to justify the first, second, and third postponements continue. From present appearances there is not likely to be a meeting of the Parliament for quite a long time. The Provisional Government's "desire and resolve to meet the people of Ireland and have their advice in Parliament," as expressed in their Proclamation, while it has a right royal sound, does not appear to have been very honest or sincere. Two or three years of power as a revolutionary authority, during which time the Dáil was but a pretext to give constitutional sanction to the acts of a revolutionary government, appears to have blurred their vision of the right relations between the Parliament and the Executive Authority. To them it seems that a Government, once having obtained power, no matter how or whence, is an autonomous body, answerable to the National Assembly only when and how and if it thinks discreet.

The Government, in its propaganda, professes to believe that they received a mandate from the electors, and that such a mandate justifies them in any action they may think well to take. This is far from being the truth. The Government appealed to the electorate to vote for the Panel candidates. Despite the efforts made to prevent non-Panel candidates offering themselves for election, forty-seven were nominated in opposition to the wishes of the Government. Out of the forty-seven thus nominated no fewer than thirty-four were returned, in most cases with heavy surpluses. If there is one thing that the elections decided, it was the electors' want of confidence in the Government. Yet, in face of this, the Ministry claim to have received a mandate which

justifies them in carrying on Government while denying the Dáil its right to meet!

PROPOSED MEETING OF T.D.'S.

It had been arranged that the Labour T.D.'s should confer with the National Executive the day before the meeting of the Dáil. This joint meeting was postponed from 30th June, but was held on the 14th July. After a long discussion, during which reports were heard of the state of the country, and the public expectation that the Labour Party would do something effective to bring peace to the Nation, it was decided that an attempt should be made to gather a meeting of T.D.'s of all parties, to enable public affairs to be discussed openly by members of a responsible assembly. Accordingly, a circular letter was sent to every member of the Dáil in the following terms:—

15th July, 1922.

“ A CHARA,

“ The undersigned members of the Labour Party, elected at the recent Elections, believe that it is desirable that as large a number of members as possible of all parties should be given an opportunity to meet together and discuss the position of the country in the light of the experience of the last three weeks, and to consider certain proposals which may, perhaps, lead to peace. With this object in view, we have decided to convene a meeting of all the recently elected members, to be held at the Mansion House, Dublin, on Thursday, the 20th instant, at Three o'clock p.m.

“ We trust that you will find it convenient to attend.”

The names of all the Labour Members were appended.

This proposal had its initiation at the meeting of the National Executive and the Labour T.D.'s. There is no truth in the statement which had been circulated that it was called at the instigation of the Republican Party. We considered that the rank and file members of other parties in the Dáil ought to be given an opportunity to meet and express their views in public on a subject so serious as war in Ireland, as the Labour Party members were prepared to state theirs. In the result only one member outside the Labour group, viz., the Lord Mayor of Dublin, attended the meeting. All the Labour members attended except

the five members from Cork and Waterford, who were held up by the military operations in those counties. An instruction had gone forth from both party headquarters to boycott the meeting. Consequently it was decided not to proceed with any discussions, and the meeting dissolved.

Unknown to us, there was a simultaneous movement in Cork in favour of an immediate meeting of the Dáil, and for a cessation of hostilities, in which the Labour members in Munster took part. So far the result has been failure.

MONEY FOR WAR—NONE FOR PEACE.

During the last two years, whenever the National Executive has tried to impress upon the Government and the various Ministers the need for taking effective action to deal with the problem of unemployment, we have been met with the objection that there was no money. Even since the setting up of the Provisional Government we were told that nothing on a big scale could be done until the financial position was adjusted and money became available. Time was required to organise the various schemes. We wish to draw attention to the ease with which money can be obtained for the purposes of war. When we suggested that unemployed men should be organised for constructive work, and paid out of the National Exchequer, it could not be done; but all the organising ability in the country can be set in motion for the purpose of gathering up armies, equipping them and paying them, not meanly, for purposes of destruction! We venture to say, had the money which has been spent in the last three months on the organisation and equipment of the armies been spent last winter and spring in organising the unemployed in constructive work, the present strife would not have arisen. The existence of large numbers of unemployed youths and men was a potent factor contributing to the "Devil's cauldron" now in our midst.

LABOUR AND REPUBLICAN WAR POLICY.

Our criticisms of the Government Party in this report are to be read as written, and must not be interpreted as implying support of the Republican Party's policy. It is necessary to state this because of the manner in which both parties of the last Dáil have

tried to twist any statements of the Labour Party into partisan propaganda.

We have condemned the political policy of the Government Party in many of its aspects as being dangerous to democracy and freedom. At the same time we denounce the Republican Party both for its political tactics and military policy as quite indefensible, inevitably leading to disaster.

We condemn the Provisional Government for this: that they, having allowed certain acts, *e.g.*, seizures, arrests, etc., by the Army Executive to go on for several months, and after negotiating, on the instructions of the Dáil, with the Army Executive to bring about unity, suddenly reversed engines. Without warning the public, without the sanction of the Dáil, and without giving any satisfactory explanation of their change of policy, they precipitated an attack upon the headquarters of the forces with whose leaders they had been in negotiation, and practically drove the whole political Republican Party into giving active support to the Army Executive's policy.

But, on the other hand, the assertion of the right to take Executive-Governmental action by the Army Council was bound to result eventually in a conflict with the Government which was acting with the authority of Dáil Éireann. Two rival Governments cannot exercise power in the same area without a clash.

And not only do we consider the political claims of the Republican Party to be irrational, but their method of warfare is such as must be strongly denounced. Ambushes in the city streets, the destruction of bridges, railway tracks, and buildings are tantamount to a war upon the people, as these acts are certain to hurt the civilian population more than they damage the opposing military forces. "Military necessity" is offered as an excuse, but that doctrine: that "military necessity" justifies every act of destruction that an army chooses to commit, leads direct to barbarism. It can be used by both belligerents with equal force as providing a moral justification for any outrage, and civilization will be shattered if such a doctrine prevails.

GENERAL ELECTION.

At the Special Congress which was held on February 21st it was decided to adopt the recommendations of the National Executive that official Labour candidates should be nominated in constituencies where there was a reasonable prospect of success. (The report of that Special Congress will be printed and included with the report of this Congress. It is necessary, however, to refer to its proceedings so as to give a connected account of the Labour policy respecting the elections.) As we pointed out in our Memorandum

to the Special Congress, the Labour Party had refrained from contesting previous elections, but had joined with the community generally in placing power and authority in the hands of those who composed the Dáil, content to entrust that revolutionary Government with the conduct of the struggle for political freedom. When the Dáil and the Republican Government entered into the Truce in July, 1921, and consented to negotiations with the British Government, it was done on the responsibility of the Dáil itself, where the Labour Party had no representation. We joined with the country generally in our satisfaction that the entry into Peace negotiations gave, but we realised the unlikelihood that the end of the negotiations, if they resulted in Peace, would be the establishment of an independent Republic. The facts that the British forces still remained on Irish soil; that they had suffered no military defeat; that all the negotiations took place in Great Britain at a venue fixed by the British Government; that the British Ministers emphatically declared that they would not negotiate on the basis of recognition of the Republic; and that the negotiations continued from July to December—all went to justify the people in assuming that war would not be resumed by the Irish side for the recognition of the Republic as an Independent State. The Treaty was the outcome of the negotiations, and the Treaty was accepted by the majority of the Cabinet of Dáil Eireann and by a majority of the Dáil. The debates in the Dáil showed that those in favour of acceptance, for the greater part, accepted in the spirit of protest as something far short of their demands, accepted under duress, as being the lesser evil than the resumption of war under conditions which made defeat certain, and at the cost of the destruction of the economic and social life of the country. The failure of the Dáil and the forces at its command to accomplish what it set out to accomplish in the face of superior forces carries with it no shame, and it is in this spirit that the great majority of the workers are prepared to yield to the terms of the Treaty, while maintaining their demand for the right to choose freely the form of government under which they shall live.

In our recommendations to the Special Congress we advised that any candidates who succeeded in securing election should be bound to take part in the activities of whatever Parliament that was set up, either Republican Dáil, or Parliament set up under the Treaty. We advised that Labour should make the most of whatever instrument of government had been placed in its hands. We advised that we ought to work the new governmental machinery if it is established, "even though it is not built according to our design, provided it could be adapted for turning out the products we require."

ELECTION POLICY AND DEMAND FOR PLEBISCITE.

Our candidates at the election were left free to state their own position on the question of the Treaty, but they were bound to attend the Parliament to which they were elected, if successful. They were bound also to endeavour to embody in the Constitution of the future State the social, economic, and political objects of the Labour Party. They also were to give support to the social, economic programme of ameliorative reforms set forth in the Memorandum, and also to agree to abide by the decisions of the Congress. A resolution was passed at the Special Congress asking for a plebiscite of the people to be taken for or against the Treaty, so that the election for Parliament would not be complicated by this controversy. On this subject some correspondence took place between your Secretary and Mr. Arthur Griffith, President of Dáil Eireann.

The correspondence is as follows:—

" 24th February, 1922.

" Mr. A. Griffith,

" President, Dáil Eireann.

" A CHARA,

" At a Special Congress of the Irish Labour Party, held on Tuesday last, called to discuss the question of the forthcoming elections, a resolution was passed by a large majority demanding that a plebiscite should be taken on the question of acceptance or rejection of the Treaty before any elections for a Parliament take place. The view of the Congress on this matter may be stated as follows:—

" Both parties in the present Dáil have made it known that the elections, when held, are to decide a single issue, namely, 'For' or 'Against' the Treaty. Notwithstanding this contention, the persons to be elected are to have other functions beside that of registering the views of their constituents upon the Treaty. They will have, presumably, to examine clause by clause the Constitution under which it is proposed that the country shall govern itself in the future. They will also be responsible for legislation, and for the administrative policy of the Executive. It cannot, therefore, be said with any truth that in an election for a Parliament the only duty of the electors is to say 'Yea' or 'Nay' to the Treaty.

" If it is desired that such is to be the case a plebiscite on that question alone is the obvious procedure to be adopted, with an election for a Parliament to follow.

"An election for a Parliament ought to be an election of men or women of divergent views on a variety of topics, some of them of vital importance, affecting the daily lives of the people.

"It is easily conceivable that minority parties, which may be united in regard to social or economic policy, may be divided upon the Treaty question, and that such parties may consider these social and economic questions of even greater importance than the political. In such a case the endeavour to hold an election for a Parliament on the single issue of the Treaty will have one of two results, viz. :—

"1. The supporters of the minority parties will vote for candidates who raise the social and economic questions above the question of the Treaty, in which case the declared intention of the two main contending parties may not be achieved ; or

"2. The representatives elected on the Treaty issue will not be competent to speak in Parliament for their constituents on vital social and economic questions.

"A further consideration is that the Party may have decided opinions one way or the other on the Treaty, or may be divided on that issue, and yet may have very definite views upon specific clauses which may be proposed for embodiment in the Constitution.

"The opinion of the Congress, strongly held, is that before any Constitution for Ireland can command the allegiance of the people it must be submitted to a thorough discussion by an Assembly in which all parties have had an opportunity to secure representation.

"(Signed), THOMAS JOHNSON, *Secretary.*"

PRESIDENT GRIFFITH'S REPLY.

"DAIL EIREANN,

"PRESIDENT'S DEPARTMENT,

"11th March, 1922.

"A CHARA,

"I am glad to get your letter of the 24th ult. I am myself in entire agreement with the point of view expressed in the resolution which you enclose. I believe the straight issue before the people of Ireland is whether they desire to accept the Treaty or whether they desire to revert to war. I agree that a General Election is not a proper place in which to discuss so difficult and far-reaching a matter as the Constitution, which should be

examined clause by clause by a Constituent Assembly freely elected for that purpose. Whatever such a Constituent Assembly would have prescribed would therewith have taken the effect of law, provided that it recognised this Nation's solemn contractual obligations in the Treaty.

"So far I am in agreement with you. We have had, however, to deal with opponents who have sought to press every advantage against us. It is they who have required from us that the Constitution should be submitted to the people, simultaneously with the issue of the Treaty. It has been, and is, our desire to make it plain to the people of Ireland that we are willing to meet every objection, provided that this Nation does not violate the Treaty which it has made and ratified. For this reason, and only for this reason, did we agree to the course proposed to us at the recent Ard-Fheis.

"I agree with you that there is grave cause for fear that there may be attempts to confuse the election issue by side criticisms. The plain issue at the forthcoming election will be, whether we honour our Treaty or whether we do not. The Assembly elected as a result of that election will have placed upon it the responsibilities of enacting the Constitution, as an Irish measure passed and prescribed by Irish law.

"Mr. Collins, to whom I have shown this letter, concurs.

"(Signed) ARTHUR GRIFFITH."

SECRETARY TO MR. GRIFFITH.

The Secretary, writing again to Mr. Griffith, on March 18th, said:—

"I fear you have misunderstood the purport of my letter. Recognising that both parties to the Ard-Fheis agreement desire that the sole issue at the forthcoming elections shall be the ratification or rejection of the Treaty,

the Labour Party urges that this single question should be put before the electors and their decision taken thereon by a plebiscite.

The intention to elect a Parliament which, if it is to be a Parliament worthy of the name, must have other work to do than merely to record its vote for or against the Treaty, means that other questions besides the Treaty **must** be brought before the electors. The Labour Party, which, in deference to the need for national solidarity in face of the enemy, held aloof at previous elections, feels intensely that

social questions, such as unemployment, housing, breaking up the ranches, etc., must be dealt with by the Parliament now to be elected.

Labour's Desire.

"It ought not to be 'a cause for fear' that these questions should be brought forward at an election for a Parliament. The Labour Party desires that the plain issue of the Treaty should be decided on its merits, apart from these urgent social and economic problems. Hence our demand for a plebiscite on that issue alone. But if the two parties in the Dáil decide that the Treaty question can only be submitted to the electors through the form of an election for members of a Parliament, then they both must bear the responsibility for having other questions of vital importance to the workers and the poor raised during the election.

"It has been contended that it is not practicable to take a plebiscite before the election for a Parliament. It is certainly practicable that such a plebiscite could be taken **at the same time** as the election for a Parliament. The electors could be presented with two ballot papers, one asking them to vote for or against the acceptance of the Treaty, the other asking them to select men and women to represent them in Parliament to make laws.

Electors' Position.

"This course would make it possible for the electors to choose their representatives with some regard to their views on the varied social, political, and economic problems which must be dealt with by the legislative assembly, whether it be an assembly of a Free State or of a Republic.

"In regard to the Constitution, if we are to understand that the proposals to be submitted to the electors by the Provisional Government must be swallowed whole or rejected wholly without chance of amendment by the new legislature, then we must protest that such a course constitutes a flagrant violation of the claims of minorities to have a voice in the framing of the laws."

MR. GRIFFITH TO SECRETARY.

President Griffith, replying to Mr. Johnson, on March 25th, says:—"It is not quite so clear as you suggest that 'both parties to the Ard-Fheis agreement desire that the sole issue at the forthcoming elections shall be the ratification or rejection of the Treaty.' The complications towards which your letters are directed have been introduced solely by the desire of the opponents of the Treaty to evade the single simple issue.

"With regard to the problems of unemployment, housing, and a hundred other questions of grave social and national importance, I desire as ardently as you that these shall be undertaken at the earliest possible moment, and by persons best equipped for that purpose.

"But it must be clear to you that all work of this nature awaits the people's decision whether there shall be war or peace, anarchy or stability, confusion or construction.

"If we are to have war, anarchy, and confusion, with which this people is being menaced, then there will be no chance for constructive work, for in that case we will be at the end of all government. I am sure you and your party will realise this.

The Proposal.

"As I understand your present proposal, it is this, that at the forthcoming elections each voter will receive two ballot papers, on the first of which to record a vote for or against the Treaty, and on the second of which to record a vote for the election of candidates. As I have already said, my Cabinet have very earnestly considered this proposal. We have debated it from every point of view with the desire to adopt your suggestion and to test its practicability. We have recognised in your suggestion a sincere and constructive desire to help the Nation. We have, however, reluctantly come to the opinion that the influence of two separate ballot papers at one election will be to confuse the voter's mind, whereas everything should be done to keep the issue as simple as possible.

"As for the Constitution, this will be placed by us before the electors. The candidates returned at the election will act as a Constituent Assembly to pass and prescribe the Constitution. This Assembly will be a sovereign body, and no one recognises more clearly than I that it is not for us to bind or diminish its sovereignty in advance. Clearly, an Assembly empowered to pass and prescribe a Constitution has also title to pass and prescribe it in the form most agreeable to itself."

SELECTION OF CANDIDATES.

Having failed to obtain a plebiscite on the question of the Treaty, we proceeded to press forward with the selection of candidates for the constituencies. Local conferences were held of delegates from Trade Unions in accordance with our Constitution. In all but one or two instances, where circumstances prevented their attendance at the last moment, a member of the National Executive attended the local conference. Candidates were chosen in fourteen

different constituencies, for four of which, viz., County Cork, Waterford-E. Tipperary, Wicklow-Kildare, and County Wexford, two candidates were selected, and for each of the remainder one candidate only was selected.

The following list gives the names of the Constituencies, the number of seats, and the names of the Labour Candidates:—

CONSTITUENCY	LABOUR CANDIDATE	Number of Seats
Cork City	.... Robert Day	.... 4
Cork County	.... {Michael Bradley Thomas Nagle }	.... 8
Carlow—Kilkenny	.... Padraig Gaffney	.... 4
Dublin City, South	.... William O'Brien	.... 4
Dublin City, N.W.	.... J. T. O'Farrell	.... 4
Dublin County	.... Thomas Johnson	.... 6
Galway	.... T. J. O'Connell	.... 7
Kildare—Wicklow	.... {Hugh Colohan James Everett }	.... 5
Leix—Offaly	.... William Davin	.... 4
Louth—Meath	.... Cathal O'Shannon	.... 5
Longford—Westmeath	.... John Lyons	.... 4
Tipperary, Nth., Mid., Sth.	.... Daniel Morrissey	.... 4
Waterford—East Tipperary	.... {John Butler Nicholas Phelan }	.... 5
Wexford	.... {Richard Corish Daniel O'Callaghan }	.... 4

The following Programme was published and distributed broadcast throughout the constituencies:—

GENERAL ELECTION.

THE LABOUR PARTY PROGRAMME.

Self-Determination.

That the people shall be allowed freedom to decide the form of government under which they shall live.

National Sovereignty.

That "the right of the people of Ireland to the ownership of Ireland, and to the unfettered control of Irish destinies, is inde-

feasible ; that the Nation's Sovereignty extends not only to all the men and women of the Nation, but to all its material possessions—the Nation's soil and all its resources ; all the wealth and all the wealth-producing processes within the Nation."

Anti-Militarism.

That the Army shall be the servant, not the master, of the Civil Power.

Work and a Living Wage.

That every man and woman willing to work shall be guaranteed work and a living wage.

Care of the Children.

That "it shall be the first duty of the Government to make provision for the physical, mental, and spiritual well-being of the children, to secure that no child shall suffer hunger or cold from lack of food, clothing, or shelter."

Reduction of Taxation of the Poor.

That the Tax on Tea, now sixpence (lately tenpence) per pound, and the Tax on Sugar, now nearly threepence per pound, shall be abolished, and the Tax on Tobacco, now about sixpence per ounce, shall be greatly reduced before any reduction takes place in the taxation of the rich.

Compulsory Tillage.

The tillage of twenty per cent. of all arable land to be made compulsory. The payment of Land Purchase Annuities and Agricultural Rents to be suspended, pending a Governmental enquiry into the whole question of agricultural conditions.

Housing of the Workers.

The Housing of the Workers to be undertaken by a National Housing Authority. This body to be set up immediately, and to be given full powers to prohibit luxury building until sufficient houses have been built for the workers. They shall have power to take over and enter upon the production of building materials as required, and to arrange for the building of houses wherever needed, according to a regular annual programme. The cost of Housing to be borne out of National funds, and the rents to be charged not to exceed the cost of upkeep and depreciation.

Nationalisation of the Railways and Canals.

The Railways and Canals to be Nationalised and controlled by a Board on which the workers in these services shall be fully represented. The Railways and Canals to be used for the purpose of serving the Irish people, not in the interests of foreign traders.

Financial Support for Irish Industries.

Irish productive industries to be encouraged and assisted through the establishment of a National Banking System and the use of the National Credit.

Mothers' Pensions.

Mothers left without support to be granted pensions on account of all their children up to sixteen years of age.

State Pensions for the Victims of the War.

The State to accept responsibility for the support of all widows and orphans, and all men disabled during the Anglo-Irish war.

After a very stirring campaign, in which the majority of the members of the National Executive took an active part, a success was achieved probably without parallel in the history of the Labour Movement anywhere. The only candidate out of the eighteen nominated who failed to secure election was our colleague, John T. O'Farrell, of the Railway Clerks' Association, who stood for the North-Western Division of the City of Dublin. He failed to secure election by the small margin of thirteen votes on the final count.

HAULBOWLINE DOCKYARD.

During the month of March representations were received from the workers at Haulbowline in reference to the future of the Dockyard. The permanent men had all been notified by the British Admiralty that they were required to transfer to English dockyards. If they declined to accept the transfer they were to forfeit all claim for superannuation and other benefits for which they had paid in the years of their employment. This matter was taken up by us with the Provisional Government, and a deputation from the dockyard workers, accompanied by the Secretary, laid the case before the Chairman of the Provisional Government, making suggestions regarding the future utilisation of the dockyard by the Irish Government. As a result of these exertions, temporary arrangements were made for keeping the dockyard open, thereby avoiding the necessity for the men's removal to England, and the subsequent loss to the country of a great deal of specialised skill.

UNEMPLOYMENT CAUSED BY THE "TERROR."

A Commission having been set up jointly by the British Government and the Provisional Government to enquire into the damage to property during the French-Greenwood régime, the National Executive considered that an equally good case could be made for compensation for loss sustained by workmen through unemployment caused by the destruction of works, shops, etc. Representations were made to this effect to the Provisional Government, who promised to support this contention when arranging the terms of reference to the Commission. We have been informed that, notwithstanding their efforts, the British Government would not agree to this view of the case. We circularised affiliated Councils and Unions to the following effect:—

March 9th, 1922.

UNEMPLOYMENT CAUSED BY THE "TERROR."

A CHARA,

"The National Executive advises in all cases where destruction of property during the war has resulted in unemployment that claims should be lodged with both the County Council and the Provisional Government for the amount of loss suffered through such employment.

"It is not expected that these claims can be sustained under the Malicious Injuries Act, but there is a possibility that some compensation may be obtained as consequential damages through the new Government.

"Certainly, in our opinion, if losses of property are to be made good, then loss of wages ought also to be recoverable.

"The enclosed form of claim has been drawn up by Counsel, and a claim in such a form should be made by any of your members who have suffered loss through unemployment consequent upon malicious damages, and sent to the Secretary of the County Council before March 31st, and also to the Secretary, Provisional Government, City Hall, Dublin."

THOMAS JOHNSON, *Secretary.*

This question is one of those which will have to be brought before Parliament when it is allowed to assemble.

AT SCOTTISH CONGRESS.

The Fraternal Delegates elected last year to attend the Scottish Congress were unable to attend. Mr. D. R. Campbell, Secretary of the Belfast Trades' Council, was requested to attend on behalf of the Congress. His report is as follows:—

TO THE MEMBERS OF THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE.

COMRADES,

Acting on the instruction of the Secretary, I attended the Twenty-fifth Annual Scottish Trades' Union Congress as substitute Fraternal Delegate. The Congress was held in Free Gardener's Hall, Edinburgh, on 19th, 20th, 21st and 22nd April, and was thoroughly representative of the organised workers of the country. The address of the Chairman (G. N. Gallie, R.C.A.) dealt with the whole problem affecting the worker, industrial and political, calling for renewed energy on the part of the individual, and organisation to preserve their ranks intact against the determined efforts of employers' organisations, acting directly and through governmental institutions, to drive the workers back to pre-war status.

In the course of his address, so comprehensive in scope, inclusion was found for a congratulatory reference to the successful outcome of the National struggle in Ireland. The Report of the Parliamentary Committee was received by the delegates as a record of "something attempted, something done," under very adverse conditions.

The Agenda which occupied the attention of the delegates was varied and interesting, among the chief items being resolutions dealing with such subjects as Trade Boards, Housing, Care of the Blind, Unemployment, Civic Rights for Civil Servants, Education, Mothers' Pensions, Reduction of Taxation, Self-Determination for Scotland, etc., a number of which gave rise to very interesting debates. Pride of place, however, had been given to the following:

Irish Free State.—"That this Scottish Trades' Union Congress congratulates the Irish people on the establishment of the Irish Free State, and looks forward with confidence to the Irish Labour movement filling an important part in the life of the country."

The wish contained in this congratulatory message at the outset of the proceedings gave your delegate a suitable subject, when he had an opportunity at Friday's sitting, of conveying the warmest greetings from the organised workers in Ireland to their Scottish

comrades, and of assuring them that they hoped to give as good an account of themselves on the political as they had on the industrial field. The privileges of the occasion were also shared by Mr. Bell, representing the Scottish Labour Party, and Dr. Bhat, representing the Indian Workers' Welfare League. Though the universal industrial depression had somewhat affected the attendance, the prevailing tone was optimistic, and a determination expressed to push ahead with the good work.

Comrades Councillor Buchanan, Glasgow Trades' Council, and J. Walsh, Scottish Miners, were elected as Fraternal Delegates to next Congress of the Irish Labour Party.

At the conclusion of the proceedings, which throughout were interesting and sometimes engrossing, I was made the recipient of a souvenir of my visit, a volume entitled—"Edinburgh: A Historical Study," by The Right Hon. Sir Herbert Maxwell, F.R.S., D.C.C., LL.D., etc., which I shall greatly treasure.

Yours fraternally,

D. R. CAMPBELL.

LABOUR DAY—MAY 1st.

Enquiries were made from Local Councils and Unions in regard to the desire of the workers to celebrate Labour Day as a general holiday. As a result of these inquiries the National Executive made arrangements for calling a National General Holiday for that day. The political-military situation, however, necessitated the call for a stoppage of work on the previous Monday, April 24th, and, in consequence, the Labour Day Holiday was not called by the National Executive.

TRADE UNION ORGANISATION AND WAGE MOVEMENTS.

In the year under review, notwithstanding the great difficulties in the way, the great amount of unemployment in Ireland as elsewhere, and the general slump in wages in Great Britain, we are pleased to say that for the main part the Trade Union organisation in Ireland, outside the Six County Area, has been well maintained. While there is, undoubtedly, some retrogression in regard to numbers as compared with the "high water mark" of two years ago, the lapses have not been so great as might have been expected, and the rates of wages have been kept up much better on this side of the Irish Sea than on the other. Allegations are frequently

made in the public press, on the platform, and at meetings of employers' associations, banks, etc., that the unemployment prevailing is a consequence of the refusal of the workers to accept drastic reductions in the rate of wages. In no case which has yet been brought to our notice has it been shown that reductions in wages would guarantee increased employment. That the contention is fallacious is proven by the widespread unemployment of miners, engineers, cotton-spinners, shipbuilders, etc., in Great Britain, where months ago wages were reduced drastically, yet the extent of unemployment shows little or no diminution. The wise course for this country to follow, in our view, is to keep up the rate of wages, and thereby increase the purchasing power of those whose incomes are mainly spent in commodities which can be produced in Ireland, and to promote an economic policy which will ensure that a large proportion of that purchasing power shall be used to stimulate Irish production.

PROPOSED CONSTITUTION FOR SAORSTAT EIREANN.

We have already indicated that in our view the draft Constitution which was presented to the country on the morning of the polling day contains provisions which go far to dash many of the hopes raised by the Party responsible for the Constitution for months before its publication. Mr. Arthur Griffith, in his letter to our Secretary on the 11th March, in dealing with the proposed plebiscite, stated that the Constitution would be submitted to the people simultaneously with the issue of the Treaty. It was submitted, but in such a way that not one out of ten thousand of the voters was able to read it before voting, much less give it any consideration. He further told us in his letter of the 25th March :—

“As for the Constitution, this will be placed by us before the electors. The candidates returned at the elections will act as a Constituent Assembly to pass and prescribe the Constitution. This Assembly will be a sovereign body, and no one recognises more clearly than I that it is not for us to bind or diminish its sovereignty in advance. Clearly, an Assembly empowered to pass and prescribe a Constitution has also title to pass and prescribe it in the form most agreeable to itself.”

The Constitution as published makes it clear that the Constituent Assembly is not a sovereign body. It cannot prescribe the Constitution in the form most agreeable to itself,

Every sign on the face of the Constitution and the circumstances surrounding its birth shows that the Provisional Government has compiled this document in such a way as to harmonise it with the strictest English interpretation of the Treaty.

It is neither uncommon nor disgraceful for people to agree to accept conditions imposed under threat or duress. To work under a Treaty—or under a British Act embodying a “Treaty” as in the present case—with a view to making the most of the situation, is one thing, but to formulate a Constitution, and to let it issue out from a body called a Constituent Assembly, as though it were initiated by that Assembly of its own free, untrammelled volition, is an entirely different thing. We submit to Congress that it should instruct formally the Labour representatives of the Dáil to refuse to be parties to the passing of those clauses in the draft Constitution, which run counter to our own Labour Party Constitution which sets out as one of our objects “the abolition of 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.”

ELECTION FINANCE.

In connection with the elections we decided not to make a public appeal for an Election Fund for several reasons. One was, that in most of the constituencies local collections were being taken up; another was, that if a National appeal were made, the local committees would incline to make upon that National Fund more claims than it could bear, and to relax their own efforts. We issued, therefore, an appeal to affiliated bodies who had not otherwise accepted financial responsibility in connection with the elections, in the hope that many of them would be able to make a direct contribution to the funds at the disposal of the National Executive. So far there has been little response from most of the affiliated bodies.

The National Teachers' Organisation contributed £500, and also accepted liability for the expenses of their Secretary—T. J. O'Connell—in County Galway. The Postal Union and the Distributive Workers' Union each contributed £100, and the Asylum Workers, £50, while smaller sums were contributed by two other Unions, viz., the Dublin Typographical and the National Union of Brushmakers. The Irish Transport and General Workers'

Union became responsible for the whole of the expenses of two candidates, and undertook to subscribe pound for pound of local subscriptions up to £250 in every constituency where one of their members was a candidate—subject to such candidature being approved by their Executive.

We decided, as a National Executive, to bear the expenses of one candidate, and agreed to nominate the Secretary. He was selected by a local conference to contest County Dublin, and was returned on the first count.

OFFICE ARRANGEMENTS.

With the increasing activities and responsibilities of the Labour Party, due to the entry into the political arena, an increase of staff and some re-organisation are imperative. The organisation of the political machinery of the Party in the country will need to be taken in hand immediately, and this will require supervision from headquarters. The provision of some technical and secretarial assistance for the Parliamentary Party is also essential, if the Labour T.D.'s are to be enabled to make the most of their opportunities. These requirements call for an increase in the office staff of at least two responsible officials, with two or three assistants, in addition to the necessary office equipment. This cannot be provided out of the present financial resources. We recommend that Congress should direct the incoming Executive to give consideration to this matter at once, and draw up proposals for submission to the affiliated organisations. To do the work that is required, the income of the Congress, on the barest estimate, would require to be more than doubled. The question also arises as to how to provide for the maintenance and expenses of the Members of Parliament who have been obliged to relinquish their ordinary employment during the period between their selection as candidates and the date on which, if ever, the Dáil agrees to pay its members.

SCALE OF EXPENSES—NATIONAL EXECUTIVE.

As instructed at last year's Congress, a revised scale of expenses was drawn up and put into operation. We append a copy of the scale, which was drafted in conformity with the ideas expressed in the discussion at last Congress, to be retrospective to August last :—

For members who suffer the loss of wages when attending meetings, as compensation for loss, 20/- per full day; 10/- per half-day.

For members who suffer no loss of wages when attending meetings in their home town, 5/- per full day; 2/6 half-day.

In addition to the above, members attending meetings away from their home town shall be allowed third-class rail fare and hotel expenses at the rate of 10/- per day, with 5/- additional if required to stay away overnight; a minimum of 15/- for hotel expenses to be allowed when away from home for a day.

For attending resident committee meetings and formal sub-committee meetings held in the evening where no loss of pay is incurred, 2/6 per meeting.

Permanent paid officials of the Organisation to be allowed rail and hotel expenses at the above rates, but no pay to be allowed for meetings.

Journeys to Great Britain.

Saloon on steamer and third-class rail fare. Hotel expenses, etc., 25/- per day; this to include allowance for meetings.

Hotel expenses at this rate for one day each way to be allowed for travelling. (When night travelling is necessary special arrangements to be made.)

Members of the National Executive shall not draw expenses when they are entitled to payment from their own organisations for the same journey, to cover the same period. In such circumstances a member attending a meeting of the National Executive shall be reckoned as a "Resident Member," and allowed payment accordingly.

Local Assistant Secretary to Congress, 20/- per day.

Auditors, same as N.E.

Scrutineers, 20/- each.

Tellers at Annual Congress, 20/- each.

Tellers at Special Congresses, proportionate daily rate.

Doorkeepers, 20/- per day.

Standing Orders Committee, 40/- Annual Congress: proportionate daily rate for Special Congresses.

(Signed),

CATHAL O'SHANNON, *Acting Chairman.*

L. J. DUFFY.

DENIS CULLEN.

THOMAS FARREN.

HELENA MOLONY.

THOMAS FORAN.

JOHN T. O'FARRELL.

GEORGE NASON.

JAMES CARR.

L. J. LARKIN.

ROSE TIMMON.

WILLIAM O'BRIEN, *Treasurer.*

THOMAS JOHNSON, *Secretary.*

REPORT

OF

Special Congress on Election Policy,

Dublin, 21st February, 1922.

A Special Meeting of the Irish Labour Party and Trade Union Congress was held in the Abbey Theatre, Dublin, on 21st February, 1922, to consider what action should be taken in connection with the forthcoming elections in Ireland.

Mr. Cathal O'Shannon, Acting Chairman, presided.

Credentials were issued to 245 delegates.

The Chairman said he wished to explain the reason why the chairman elected at the last Congress did not occupy the chair that day. Some two months ago Mr. Thomas MacPartlin, on account of ill-health, felt compelled to resign his position as chairman of the National Executive. That decision was much regretted by the N. E. As a result Mr. MacPartlin was not attending the meetings of the N. E. and was not in the chair that day. The first item on the Agenda was the election of Tellers, in case there should be any divisions taken during the progress of the Congress, and he asked for nominations. The following four delegates were appointed as Tellers:—J. McKeon (N.U.R.), W. Bunbury (A.W.U.), Miss Sheahan (D.W.U.), and M. Craig (I.T.W.U.).

As the result of a vote the following five were elected as a Standing Orders Committee:—M. Somerville, T. Kennedy, W. Davin, D. Houston, and Patrick Leo.

CHAIRMAN'S ADDRESS.

The Chairman said that the Special Congress of the Irish Labour Party and Trades Union Congress had been called together to consider the question of the forthcoming general election. They believed, and the probability was that unless

something occurred meantime, there would be a general election within five, six, or eight weeks. The Congress had been called to decide whether the Labour Party as a Labour Party should or should not take part in that election. In 1918 a Special Congress of their movement decided to take no part in the general election of that year. That decision was binding only for that election. Their Constitution made the movement not only an industrial and trade union movement, but a definitely labour political party with political objects. They were committed by their Constitution to local and Parliamentary political action, and under one clause "to secure labour representation on national and local, legislative and administrative bodies." The National Executive have certain proposals and recommendations which would be placed before them, but he desired everyone present to clearly and definitely understand that the governing body in this movement was the delegate Congress here assembled. There might be differences of opinion within that Congress, in the movement, and outside the Congress, but whatever the decision come to by the Congress may be, that was the decision of the Labour movement in Ireland. In coming to that decision, of course outside of any instructions they might have received from the trade unions they represented, they were free to decide whether they would go in or go out, and if to go in, under what conditions, what policy, and what programme. Inside of the programme of the Labour movement they would recommend candidates to be put forward. He wished to direct their particular attention to this fact. They were perfectly well aware that in politics the members of trade unions were not all of one mind, and they wanted, as far as it was humanly possible, for the Congress to decide the question of participation or non-participation in the elections solely from the point of view of the Labour Party, the Labour movement, and the working-class movement in Ireland. He knew there were partisans of one side or the other outside the Labour Party, and they did not want a decision or votes given by partisans in the interests of outside parties. That Congress, as a whole movement, had taken a fair and honourable, and not in any sense ignoble, stand in the big National fight and struggle of these last few years. It may be truly said that the reason Congress decided to take no part in the 1918 elections was in order to keep the National forces whole, solid, and united against the foreign and

Imperial element, in order that there might not be the least suspicion of a split in the ranks of those who were fighting on one field or another against the British Empire. In spite of their abstention from the elections that split had come. They wanted Congress to decide, not the merits or demerits of one section of the Sinn Fein Party or the other section, but to decide the question purely as a Labour Party movement and labour organisation. It would not be very easy to do that, for they were all, or most of them, steeped up to the neck in politics, but there were people in the Labour movement who wanted to get it free from other entanglements. He asked them not to think of the contending parties outside, Free Staters or Republicans, but to give their vote in their own interests, and to sacrifice even their personal opinions in order to reach a decision that, in the judgment of the Congress, would be the best for the Labour Party and the Labour movement.

Mr. Thomas Johnson, Secretary, then read the memorandum and recommendations from the National Executive as follows:—

Memorandum and Recommendations from the National Executive.

TO THE DELEGATES OF THE SPECIAL CONGRESS.

We (the National Executive) have given careful thought to the new political situation. An election is to be held within a month or so for a Parliament to which the Provisional Government instituted under the terms of the Treaty will be responsible. This Parliament will have powers of legislation and administration during its lifetime. It will also be engaged upon a task of enormous importance, *i.e.*, the making of a Constitution. The importance of this lies in the fact that in normal circumstances the Constitution shapes the course of future political activities, limits and governs all future legislation. If the Constitution is faulty or reactionary; if the minds of those who frame it are dominated by a feudalistic or capitalistic outlook; if it is conceived

of as an instrument for the preservation of private interests rather than of human needs; if its intention is to conserve the capitalistic *regime* in society; the damage to the cause of the common working people will be incalculable, perhaps irretrievable.

In these circumstances we submit for your consideration the following statement and recommendations:—

In respect to the national question, the Labour Party has consistently demanded

- (1) The withdrawal of all British military and other Executive forces;
- (2) That the people of Ireland as a single national entity shall be allowed to determine the form of government under which they shall live;
- (3) That while granting the fullest freedom to all local minorities, the political unity of Ireland must be maintained.

The "Articles of Agreement for a Treaty," signed in London by the plenipotentiaries of Dail Eireann and approved of after a long discussion by that Assembly, fall short of the attainment of these objects. Nevertheless, we must recognise that they place the people of three-fourths of Ireland in a position to govern themselves in respect of ninety-nine hundredths of their individual day to day affairs, from the cradle to the grave. This is no small achievement as a result of the struggle and sacrifice of recent years, but the national aspirations still remain unsatisfied and Ireland as a nation is still denied the right of self-determination.

The Labour Party has had no representation in Dail Eireann; it had no responsibility for the negotiations, nor had it any responsibility for the action of the Dail in approving of the Treaty. Labour joined with the rest of the community in placing authority and power in the hands of the men and women who composed the Dail; it was content to entrust that Revolutionary Government with the conduct of the struggle for political freedom. Notwithstanding their failure to achieve their full purpose, we believe that the members of the Dail, both minority and majority, according to their best judgment, have fulfilled their trust faithfully.

Often has it been the case in the history of nations and their struggles, as of Trade Unions in their conflicts with employers,

that a truce has been followed by a peace settlement agreed to sullenly by the representatives of the weaker Power after measuring its resources and counting the cost of continued resistance. Those whom we trusted and who were best able to weigh the forces, material and moral, on either side, arrived at a certain conclusion. They decided that the terms of peace were the best that could be obtained in the circumstances.

The outcome of the struggle of the past six years in Ireland is that a Parliament is to be elected which will have legislative and executive powers, and whose function it will be to make a Constitution. But a Labour Party Congress cannot overlook the fact that other things besides the prospect of an Irish Parliament and an Executive have emerged from the struggle. Problems of poverty, unemployment, and hunger; low wages and high prices; the shortage of houses; an epidemic of lawlessness; the prevalence in many places of the militaristic spirit; the assumption widely held that the soldier is above the law—the master, not the servant of the civil powers. All these are evident in our midst, and organised Labour must endeavour to remedy these economic evils and safeguard their civil rights.

At the elections of December, 1918, the Labour Party abstained, so that the nation might express its demand for self-determination with such practical unanimity as would impress the Assembly of Nations then preparing to meet at Versailles, and to strengthen the hands of those who were demanding that Ireland should be admitted into that International Assembly.

The elections of 1921 were held in the midst of the war, immediately following a threat by the British Premier to intensify the repression, and in circumstances which amounted to a challenge to the Irish people to prove that they really stood behind their leaders in the struggle. Labour again stood down to prove that, despite Lloyd George's threats, Ireland was still united and undaunted.

Notwithstanding the self-abnegation of the Labour Party in the interests of national solidarity, the desired object has not been attained; the national unity has been broken; differences have arisen amongst the dominant party (differences which were bound to come) in respect to the course to be pursued towards the goal of sovereign independence to which both sections still aspire. The party has brought the country to a certain stage in the struggle. A legislature is to be elected, which will have immense influence over the conditions under which the people labour and live.

But our ideal commonwealth—a Republic based upon co-operative labour and service—not upon property and capital—is not to be attained through either party in the present Dail. Neither the Republican Party nor the Free State Party stands for our conception of what Ireland's future should be, nor our view of the place of Labour in the Commonwealth.

On Town and County Councils, on Boards of Guardians, in Farmers' Unions, and Employers' Federations, Labour finds that Republicans, Free Staters, and Unionists are too often to be found merging all political differences in a beatific harmony whenever a proposal to reduce wages comes forward. They agree cheerfully in placing the worker in the category of a commodity to be bought and sold, to be paid for only when hired, and to be hired only when hiring is likely to prove profitable to the hirer.

It is the duty of the Labour Party to make use of whatever instrument and power the political struggle has placed in its hands. As we have been willing to make use of the opportunities which Town and Urban Councils and Poor Law Boards provide to further the cause and protect the interests of the workers, though neither of them accords with our ideals, so we ought to work the new Governmental machine if it is established, even though it is not built according to our design, provided it can be adapted for turning out the products we require.

The suggestion has been made that Labour should again stand down; that the two parties should be allowed to fight on the single issue of acceptance or rejection of the Treaty without the intervention of any other consideration. But Labour cannot afford any longer to be relegated to the background while political parties range themselves in battle array. If the only question to be decided at this election were whether the country confirms or annuls the decision of Dail Eireann, our course would be clear and simple. We would advise unquestionably that Labour, as a party, had no occasion to intervene. But it is not the position. It is not a single issue that has to be voted upon. A Parliament is to be elected—a Parliament which will be forced to deal with urgent social and political problems affecting the workers—and the acts of that Parliament will affect the lives of the workers for good or ill for a generation, altogether apart from the single issue of the acceptance or rejection of the Treaty.

In view of these considerations, it is the judgment of the National Executive that the Labour Party will be denying all its professions if it refrains from participating in the coming elections.

Labour ought to have its representatives in the forthcoming Parliament to work in Labour's interests, to frustrate reactionary measures, and to use every occasion to hasten the progress towards our ideal Workers' Republic.

The National Executive recognises that in the Labour ranks are men and women of acutely divergent views on the question of the ratification or rejection of the Treaty. But there can be no divergence in the Labour Party on the question of whether Labour should have its own independent representation in an Irish Parliament which has to legislate on vital questions affecting the workers of both town and country.

The objection is raised that Labour's entry as a party into this election may bring dissension into the ranks and weaken the forces in the industrial field.

Those who use this argument overlook the change in electioneering practices which the P.R. system brings. This system enables a third party to enter the lists without causing the acrimony and ill-will which such a course invariably entailed under the old system. Labour can stand for its own positive, constructive programme without attacking either of the opponents. We may display our wares before the public and ask for support, without the necessity of trying to smash the wares on our rivals' stalls. Under "P.R." a labour voter may give support to either of the other parties after his first preference has been cast for the Labour Candidate. Similarly the supporters of the other parties, after expending their early preferences upon their own party nominees, may give later preferences to the Labour Candidate.

RECOMMENDATIONS ON ELECTION POLICY.

The National Executive, therefore, submits to Congress the following propositions:—

(1) The Labour Party refuses to accept the contention that the issue at the coming elections is simply and solely the endorsement or rejection of the Treaty. If such were intended a direct plebiscite could have been taken. The Parliament to be elected may live for a considerable time. It will have to build a Constitution for the future Government of Ireland. It will have to pass a legislation dealing with the new franchise under that Constitution, and prepare a new register before the succeeding elections can be held. Before it can do this the question of the

boundaries must be decided. It will also be compelled to deal with such insistent problems as unemployment, housing, high prices, profiteering, railways, etc. The election cannot, therefore, be simply a plebiscite on the question of the Treaty.

(2) Official Labour candidates should be nominated in constituencies where there is a reasonable prospect of success; provided that the election is conducted in accordance with the provisions of the Labour Party Constitution, and provided that every candidate before endorsement by the National Executive shall have signified his willingness to abide by the decisions of Congress.

(3) The policy of the Labour Party and its candidates shall be to translate into law the spirit and purpose of the resolutions of Congress from time to time; and, in so far as the Parliament to be elected acts as a Constituent Assembly, the members of the Labour Party shall use all their power and influence to secure that the Constitution to be adopted shall embody the social, economic, and political objects of the Irish Labour Party and Trade Union Congress set forth in its own Constitution. This Constitution asserts and demands:

That the natural wealth of Ireland belongs by right to the nation and may not be monopolised by any private interest, person or company; that the workers collectively, manual and mental, should own and control the whole produce of their labour, and that those who are actually engaged in an industry or service should administer that industry or service in the interests of the nation; that all adults shall have equal political and social rights and opportunities; and that all the privileges of wealth or birth shall be abolished.

That is to say, our purpose is to establish a Commonwealth wherein all power is exercised by those who give labour and service; where the institution of monarchy and all hereditary privileges no longer exist; where all authority within Ireland of any person, institution or government which is not granted or confirmed by the freely expressed will of the Irish people shall have ceased; in short, and in essence, the object of the Irish Labour Party is, and must be, to establish in Ireland a Co-operative Workers' Republic.

In the course of the struggle to attain this ultimate social, political, and economic freedom, Labour must demand and work for many ameliorative reforms.

Our demands of an urgent nature, based upon the resolutions of Congress, may be summarised as follows :—

UNEMPLOYMENT.

Unemployment to be tackled boldly and the power and credit of the State used to organise productive undertakings. Every man or woman willing to work to be guaranteed work and a living wage.

COST OF LIVING.

The cost of living to be reduced by drastic government action to prevent profiteering in food, clothing, and other necessities.

Governmental encouragement and assistance to be given towards the establishment in every town of a public food supply, where the necessary foods, such as flour, oatmeal, milk, butter, meat, fish, and vegetables may be purchased at the cost of production.

COMPULSORY TILLAGE.

Tillage of a minimum percentage of every agricultural holding to be made compulsory. Payment of land purchase annuities and rents to be suspended pending the recovery of normal economic conditions.

HOUSING.

Housing of workers to be undertaken by a National Housing Authority composed of representatives of the Local Authorities and the Trade Unions in the Building industry. This body to have full powers to prohibit luxury buildings, to take over and enter upon the production of building materials as required, and to build or arrange for the building of houses wherever needed according to a regular annual programme. The cost of housing to be borne out of taxation, and the rent to be charged not to exceed the sum necessary to pay for maintenance and depreciation, apart from rates.

NATIONALISATION OF RAILWAYS.

Railways to be nationalised and controlled by a board, on which the workers on the railways shall have adequate representation.

EDUCATION AND HEALTH OF CHILDREN.

The Education and the Health of the Children shall be the first care of the State. Towards this a reorganisation of the Education system is urgently called for; better schools and a larger number of highly qualified teachers are required, and a proper system of medical supervision and a generous provision for school meals.

NATIONAL BANKING AND CREDIT.

Steps to be taken immediately to penalise investments abroad. A National Banking System to be established forthwith and credits issued for Irish industries on the basis of the productive powers of the country.

MOTHERS' PENSIONS.

Mothers without support to be granted pensions on account of all their children under sixteen years of age.

Signed for the National Executive,

CATHAL O'SHANNON, *Acting Chairman.*

THOMAS JOHNSON, *Secretary.*

Dublin, February 20th, 1922.

He said, on behalf of the National Executive, it was his duty to move that the election policy contained in pages 5, 6, 7 and 8 should be adopted by the Congress. It was hardly necessary for him to say much more on the subject beyond the arguments put forward in the report that he had just read. As the Chairman said in his opening address, it was not the Executive who had the deciding of this question, it was the Congress, as representing the Labour movement in Ireland. It was the duty of the Executive to do its best to interpret what it conceived to be the voice and the purpose of the

movement in the country. It was not in their power, and far from their desire, to try to force the movement to do things in opposition to its will. Such a course would be folly in a matter of this kind; but in reaching their judgment on what the workers desired, weighing that along with their own Constitution and the reason for their existence, and taking into consideration the whole of the circumstances surrounding the present position of affairs, the decision which the Executive came to after very careful thought was contained in the recommendations now being circulated. They would not endeavour to force on the working classes in the country or upon the electorate their desire unless there was a fairly definite opinion in the Congress that such a course was desirable and wise, but they had laid these recommendations before them, firmly believing in their wisdom, and firmly believing in their necessity for the health of the Labour movement. They laid stress upon the fact that this election was not simply a plebiscite. If it were a plebiscite on the one question the parties were trying to make the only issue, then they, as an Executive, would recommend again that on that issue as a party they should take no action. They realised the importance of the fact that there were other purposes behind this election. What was going to happen was that two decisions would be taken in the course of the election—one decision upon whether the voter was going to favour the ratification or rejection of the Treaty, and the other the kind of representatives they were going to put into the Legislature. On the first question they were not proposing to give any advice. On the other issue, the kind of representatives they were going to have to carry out the will of the Labour movement, they were going to advise the workers to take a decision, and support the running of Labour candidates. If the powers that be had done their duty they would have disentangled these two issues, they would have taken a plebiscite, and then they would have elected the legislature. But they have decided in their wisdom or unwisdom to confuse the issue, and to do what political parties have been in the habit of doing. We had heard a lot about the slave mind. It occurred to him that if the workers of Ireland were going to be content to have an election issue set for them by someone else then they were guilty of slavishness of mind. If they had any potency in their movement they could make the issue on which they

were going to fight. He contended that, by allowing other parties to set the issue, by allowing themselves to follow the lead of either party, was in effect the handing over of authority by the Labour Party to one or other of the main contending parties, and saying "we shall no longer have any political opinion, will, or judgment." It was stated that in twelve or eighteen months or two years, when this political question was settled, would be the time for labour to enter the political field. Those who said that gave little thought or study to the experience of political parties in other countries or in Ireland. On one side, at any rate, those who make that assertion have little faith in the steadfastness of purpose of the party which shall be defeated. The defeated party would not take that defeat as final, but would maintain the issue, and have it fought out at succeeding elections. Labour would get no chance in any election until it made that chance for itself. He, personally, and the National Executive were of opinion this was an occasion when labour should make its voice heard and opinions felt in the political life of Ireland. He was perfectly certain that there were very large numbers of men and women throughout Ireland who would welcome as a breath of fresh air the idea of someone going into the political field with some consideration for the lives of the people (hear, hear). What were they going to say in the future if labour did not take its place in the fight? They were going to see some members of that legislature claiming to represent labour and speak for the workers of Ireland, persons who in one breath claimed to be for a Workers' Republic, and in the next breath announced their delight at the prospect of being able to welcome the British monarch as a foreign visitor to Ireland. They had representatives claiming to be Workers' Republicans, who would send the police to interfere with strike pickets (hear, hear). They had representatives of the Free State Party officially and definitely telling them that they dare not make any effort to impose compulsory tillage on the country because it would alienate the farmers from their party. They had them on both sides ready to serve the property interest in the country. He put it to them on behalf of the Executive that the time had come when the Labour Party should enter the political field as an Independent Party, that its representatives should be an Independent Party in any legislature that might be set up. However small it might be, it should go as an Inde-

pendent Opposition Party, and the National Executive believed the introduction into Irish political life of such a party would mean the rallying to the party of all those elements that were democratically inclined and had social ideals, but who had hitherto been bound up with one or other of the political movements in the past and in the present. They believed that the raising of the standard of labour in the political field would mean the coming into their movement as an active, positive, political, as well as social, force of very large numbers of the best elements to support their cause and back up their demands (hear, hear).

Mr. George Nason (Cork Trades Council), in seconding, said he was convinced the time had come when the Labour Party should take their share of the responsibility for the future of the country. Year after year the Congress met and passed resolutions without further effect. This was not sufficient, and they should be up and doing at the election.

Miss Cahalan—I move that the resolution is out of order, because it definitely recognises the partition of the country.

Chairman—Your motion is not in order.

Miss Cahalan—You passed a resolution at the last Congress that the Party was definitely opposed to partition and now you spring a resolution recognising partition.

Chairman—The motion before Congress is perfectly in order.

Miss Molony (Women Workers' Union) proposed—"That the Labour Party do not take part in the forthcoming election." She said she moved her resolution on the ground that such action as was proposed by the Executive would split labour. No matter what programme the Labour Party put forward the election would be fought on the issue of Treaty *v.* Republic. The first claim on all of them was the welfare of the country to which they belonged (hear, hear). The objects of Labour and the Workers' Republic could be achieved as well through their organisation and their own efforts as through Parliamentaryism.

Mr. T. Kennedy (I.T. & G.W.U.), in seconding, said that Mr. Johnson remarked that they should not allow other political parties to decide what issue was going to be put before the electors, and, further, if the issue was only Free State *v.* Republic, he would be in favour of the Labour Party keeping outside the elections. Whether they liked or disliked the political parties deciding the issue, no decision of that

Congress could change the fact that every voter would be asked to declare for or against the Treaty. If they entered the fight it would certainly split the Labour movement in Ireland. If they were going into the elections they should have a well-defined and clear programme. It was all right talking about the Workers' Republic, but when they went before the working-class electors the question they would have to decide was "whether you are for peace or war, and whether you are prepared to support the element prepared to carry the Treaty into effect, or oppose it and put up with the consequences." Could the National Executive inform them why they had not given an opinion on the issue itself? They must have an opinion on it, and why not the National Executive? Every voter must have an opinion on it, and they might as well face the issue as it existed. Under certain conditions he might be in favour of labour going into the fight, but he was not so now, when in many cases they might have an official labour candidate standing on a neutral policy, backed by trades union funds, fighting a political candidate also a labour man. That would split the Labour movement. Under different conditions each and every one of them would seek to get fair representation in any Parliament to be elected. He thought it was unfair to put forward a programme which did not definitely set out their position on the Treaty issue.

Miss Chenevix (Women Workers' Union), in opposing the resolution, pointed out that over and over again labour candidates in the British Parliament had sold the interests of the workers. They stood for the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of a Workers' Commonwealth, and these could only be achieved by direct action.

Mr. C. P. Kelly (Postal Workers), in supporting the motion of the National Executive, said they were told by labour delegates they should do nothing to compromise the present situation existing amongst people who were always against them. If they accepted that view there would always be put forward the same excuse, and labour would be asked to stand aside and let other people manage its affairs in the legislature of the country. They were told they were going to split labour if they contested the elections. Who could suggest that labour had not been split long ago? Here they were, the only people with a definite programme. They knew exactly what they wanted, and he thought there should be no

hesitation on this occasion in giving a definite lead. He had a strong national feeling, and asserted he could fight a good national fight on the labour programme as good as Sinn Fein or Republican. If Irish labour was to make any progress he felt this was the time to formulate their own policy and go forward for election. If their people had the governing of the country in their hands they would make a far better job of it than some people he knew.

Miss Cahalan (Distributive Workers) said she was against partition, and the report definitely recognised partition. This was calculated to injure labour. The workers of Ireland were very badly and scandalously organised, and, indeed, she would say, badly neglected. Whose fault that was she would not say, but she had her own opinions on the matter. She pointed out that the miners and railwaymen had Parliamentary representation, and asked what value was it to them against wages cuts. She implicitly believed that the economic freedom of the working class would be won by industrial rather than political action. By entering the political field they would split the Labour movement from top to bottom. Throughout Ireland families were split at present over the Treaty question. She had absolutely no faith in political parties, and did not believe in tinkering with politics. It meant allowing the Labour movement to be a pawn in the game, as occurred in the case of the Irish Party for thirty years. At the utmost they could not get more than twenty or thirty members of Parliament elected, and they would be playing shuttlecock between the two other contending parties. There would be one price offered by one party and another price offered by the other party. She desired to have labour clear, free, and independent of both parties.

Mr. Keyes (Limerick Trades Council) said—Coming from the country, where they had to face hard, cold facts, in reality they felt at the present juncture labour would not be serving its own interests by going into the elections with candidates. To what extent would they be successful? He supposed they could count the number of successful candidates on the fingers of one hand, or at most on two hands. It would only mean subverting labour. When the present issue was decided between Free Staters versus Republicans, then the time would come to launch their policy. They would then have a better opportunity of consolidating their forces. Some of their friends were split over the question already, and was this the time to run them into an election with their

minds torn and rent? He asked them to stand down, rally their forces in the interval, make the other parties aware of their contribution to the political campaign, so that when the time came they could call for the recognition labour was entitled to.

Mr. Campbell (Belfast Trades Council) said if Miss Molony's amendment was carried he certainly would propose a further one. If the Labour movement were to make any further sacrifices they might as well scrap their Constitution. In company with the Chairman, he thought he was the only one who in 1918 opposed the recommendation of the National Executive on the standing-down principle. Whatever excuse there might have been for standing down then, there was not a shred of an excuse for standing down now. Parliament was going to be elected, as Mr. Johnson said, not on one issue; no representative assembly was ever elected on one single issue. It was to be ostensibly for the purpose of ratifying or rejecting the Treaty; but it was also going to be entrusted with the building up of the Constitution for the whole country, the workers included. And because it was suggested that labour should have representatives there, to endeavour, in however small a measure, to mould that Constitution along the lines best calculated to benefit the workers, they were told they were going to confuse the issue and split the Labour movement. If that were sufficient to split the Labour movement he said it was time it was split. It was suggested they should go along organising on industrial lines. Were they to go back to the days of passing resolutions and sending deputations to the Irish Party or to London? He saw no alternative, if they decided not to go forward at the elections, but to scrap their whole Constitution and start a fife and drum band. It was a signal admission they had failed in their purpose. They were told to wait until the Treaty question was decided. Were they so foolish as to think that the minority on the issue were going to take their defeat lying down, and retreat into the background. No, the minority would not go on the lines of abstention, but would have a vigorous and active party in Parliament to express and carry their views in the House and throughout the country. They were asked to believe that because they only sent to Parliament a number of members that could be counted on two hands, they would be absolutely worthless, and that it would have the effect of splitting up the Labour Party. He refused to accept that reading, and held that if Miss

Cahalan's advice was taken there would undoubtedly be no Labour Party at all. Because they had their "Thomases" now and again they were not to have their Johnsons and O'Briens. They believed they would have a Workers' Commonwealth. Mr. Griffith had assured British capitalists their money would be safe in Ireland, but he for one was opposed to British money levying tribute upon this country.

Mr. Walter Carpenter (International Union of Tailors and Tailoresses) supported the amendment. He said the document handed the delegates was not the opinion of the National Executive as a whole.

Chairman—Practically.

Mr. Carpenter said by sending the document out the National Executive had deceived them, as it was not an Executive document. Miss Molony was a member of the Executive. This was not the unanimous decision of the Executive. Behind that document there was the implication that the candidates going forward from the Labour Party will stand as Workers' Republicans. They could not do this, for it was laid down plainly in the Constitution they must stand as Labour candidates, and as nothing else. Why then talk of a Workers' Republic? Those who worked for a Workers' Republic were the men who seized the mills, the creameries, and the railways. Russia did not bring the Workers' Republic into operation by going into Parliament. (A voice—It did.) No, but through direct action by Lenin and Trotsky.

At this stage some delegates made a request that the public and press should be admitted to the proceedings.

On a division there voted for the admission of the public 49 and 132 against, and for admission of the press 40 and 124 against.

Mr. A. J. Cassidy (R.C.A., Belfast) congratulated the National Executive on the businesslike and constructive policy outlined in their recommendations. It had been asserted that the Irish Labour Party in the past was second to none, and it had been at Congress declared that it not only kept pace, but was ahead of the times. He trusted they would not deviate one iota from the stand they had taken up, but that they would go forward and perfect their political organisation (hear, hear). At present they were face to face with many difficult labour problems, and it was up to Congress to send forward candidates at the coming elections, and to support them financially and otherwise as well as they could, in order to

defeat the attacks which were being made on the workers. It was said they should refrain from taking part in the elections. They of the Labour Party were not tied to the tail of any political party, and should go out independently to improve the position of the workers. He suggested they put forward as many candidates as possible, and call on trade unions to give them their whole-hearted support, and thereby secure their election to the Dáil.

Mr. E. P. Hart (Transport and General Workers' Union) rose to support the amendment.

Mr. T. Foran (I.T. & G.W.U.) asked if Mr. Hart represented the English or the Irish Transport Workers' Union.

Chairman—I think the delegates will have no difficulty in distinguishing between the two Unions.

Mr. Hart said as yet they had not had a correct lead from the National Executive. The issue before them was the Free State or Document No. 2. They had got to support a certain party in the event of those in favour of a Free State setting up a Constituent Assembly. They had not as yet had a lead from the National Executive as to what attitude they should take in that particular case. In the event of running a candidate, they should know from the Executive whether they were in favour of labour members taking part in assisting in framing any Constitution for the country. He strongly maintained the view that the few candidates they would get elected would be so small as to be useless, and their action in contesting the seats would get the political parties up against labour. The time was not opportune for labour to run candidates.

Mr. Brady (Clonmel Trades Council) supported the motion of the National Executive. They in Clonmel recognised the tremendous importance of the matter, and its workers, by an overwhelming majority, decided labour should go forward at the elections, and not stand down for Mr. Griffith. Labour should assert itself in Ireland in the future.

Mr. E. O'Carroll (R.C.A.) considered they were drifting somewhat away from the subject, and that the real question before Congress was whether they were going to enter the future Parliament that would be set up. Had some of these people who have spoken considered the possibility of the Republicans being returned? If that was so, he took it that those who objected to labour entering the arena would be in favour of the Republican Party. A point had been made

that by entering the election at this moment they were recognising partition, but he said Free Stater and Republican alike had already recognised partition. He supported the recommendations of the National Executive, not because he was a Free Stater or Republican, but because he was disgusted with both. The country had been driven into a position no man thought possible six months ago. If in 1918 they had sent forward candidates the country would not be in the stress and turmoil it was that day. He held that the country should have the Constitution the Government was drawing up before the elections could take place, so that the electorate might know what it was voting for. Whatever might be the outcome of the elections the Constitution would be drawn up, and he failed to see how it would be conformable to the rights or interests of labour, which should have a say in drawing it up. When it was drawn up labour ideals should be introduced into it.

Mr. Boyle (Vehicle Builders) said he had been instructed by two branches to vote against labour unions taking any part in the forthcoming elections. He was not speaking for the Union as a whole, but two branches in Dublin, consisting of 800 members. They called a special meeting to consider the question, and 130 members attended, and the voting was 80 against and 50 for, a majority of 30. As a bound delegate he had to carry out his instructions and vote against the resolution. It was neither his or his colleague delegate's opinion that the time was not opportune to go forward for election; on the contrary, he sincerely hoped labour would not neglect this opportunity, but would decide to fight at the elections.

Mr. O'Farrell (Vehicle Builders' Union) said he was exactly in the same position as Mr. Boyle. He was instructed to vote against the resolution, but that was not his personal view. Labour had always been let down by politicians, and left out in the cold in every sense of the word. They always had to wait until the politicians were satisfied. He considered this was a golden opportunity for labour to take its part in the elections. Unless the workers were represented in Parliament their interests would not be attended to or protected. As to placing any trust in politicians, he said the politicians of to-day were the same as those in the past, of whom they had had experience—no use to labour.

Mr. Thomas Irwin (Plasterers' Trade Union and Dublin

Workers' Council) said he was one of the delegates elected by the Dublin Workers' Council to support labour taking part in the coming elections. At the meeting of that body this decision was come to, and he would carry out its instructions. He was wondering if there was any way out of the difficulty by a conference. He complained that Mr. Campbell or any delegate had no right to speak so lightly about a split in the Labour Party. They should do everything in their power to prevent such a catastrophe. Most of the delegates who were not in favour of labour taking part in the elections believed that whatever labour men were elected would identify themselves with the Free State Party. He was considering if they could agree on a policy something on these lines: Labour candidates to make no declarations for or against the Treaty, and that a decision on the question should not be taken without a further congress or plebiscite of the workers of the country. The result of the elections will create a new situation. There might be a majority for or against the Treaty returned, or they might be so evenly divided it would be left for the Labour Party in the Parliament to decide the important question. In other words, the labour members would hold the balance of power in the legislative assembly set up. If such a position arose the Labour Party should preserve its independence and act in the labour interest. The Party would be placed in the position of having to make a momentous decision, and one which he thought should not be made without a mandate from the workers themselves. At the moment the Congress was not in a position to give them any such mandate. It was called for the specific purpose of deciding whether the Labour Party enter the elections or not without making any declaration of policy for or against the Free State or otherwise.

Mr. Gaule (Arklow Trades Council) said he was in thorough agreement with the resolution of the National Executive. If both political parties went forward labour could also enter the field and support neither of them. It was the duty of the workers in the elections to support their own class.

Mr. James Hughes (Clerical Workers' Union) supported the amendment. He suggested that the recommendations of the National Executive were rather retrograde. Nearly all the great authorities who had spoken on the subject held that the strength of trades unions and labour lay outside and

not inside Parliament. The Irish Labour movement in its present condition would be incurring grave danger by adopting the proposals of the National Executive. He submitted the handful of labour people who would emerge from the election struggle could do nothing but plead for justice, and he submitted that was a very poor way of obtaining it. He held they could only effect the desired changes in the position of labour by internal organisation, and contended that Parliament would be dominated by the farming class interests. The farmers were numerous and well organised, and they were determined to get there. The only way to get at the farmer was by organising farm labourers. Of these, counting small farmers, there were 300,000, and some time ago about 60,000 to 80,000 were organised, but at the present time he doubted if one-fourth of that number were trades unionists. When the history of the present was written it would be found "labour also ran." In Irish labour ranks no element was so scarce as the administrative element, which was abundant in Russia in her struggle for economic freedom. He favoured the abstention policy.

Mr. White (Wexford Trades Council) said it was not only the decision of his Council, but of all trades unionists in the county, that labour should fight the present elections. Now was the time if labour was ever going to gain control in Parliament. Labour should not be made the cockpit by other political parties. There was good prospect of returning a candidate in Wexford.

Mr. Fitzgerald (Irish Engineering Union) asked if the terms of the Constitution in course of draft were acceptable to the Labour Party.

Chairman—We have no member on the drafting committee.

A delegate asked if any member of the National Executive was offered a job under the new Government.

Chairman—No.

Alderman O'Brien—We are all waiting for the offer (laughter).

Chairman—My personal opinion is that no member of the National Executive would accept a job under either the Provisional Government or the Dail.

A delegate—Are you speaking for yourself or the whole Executive?

Chairman—The whole Executive.

Mr. Fitzgerald said until the Constitution was before them

they should not decide the question as to whether they would enter the elections.

Mr. James Bermingham (N.U.R.) asked if an elector put the question to a labour candidate if he were a Free Stater or a Republican was he to reply he had no feeling in the matter, and that whichever party was returned the Labour Party should enter and act. He believed that they could not run with the hare and hunt with the hounds. He held that the Labour Party and the Trades Union movement had as much right to be represented in Parliament as any other party in Ireland. They should be a party to the making of the law. He was not opposed to labour representation in their Parliament, but the thing that exercised his mind was, had the psychological moment arrived for that? Difference of opinion existed amongst his members on the question.

Miss Bennett (Women Workers' Union) supported the amendment, and asked if their men and women could do better services for them in the political than in the industrial field. It could not be denied, if the political campaign was entered upon, it would divert many colleagues and interests from the industrial to the political field. At this important crisis in the trades union movement was that a wise thing to do? Could they spare men and women? The probability was that only a handful of labour men would be returned. Would they have the power to control legislation? Would they be strong enough to resist temptation to compromise? She asked what did the Labour Party in England do for the nationalisation of railways, or what were they able to do? Then, as in the case of the miners, they had only one way to achieve their object, by direct action. There was no strike for the nationalisation of the mines.

Chairman—There was a strike.

Miss Bennett went on to say there was no general strike, and politics were useless until the party had some grip of the economic powers of the country. Before they went into politics they should have a stronger grip of these powers than they had at the present time. The money that had to be spent on the elections would be better expended on a big educational and propaganda campaign. She knew that there could be legislation which would meet this immediate question of unemployment. They were already promised £300,000 for repairs to roads, and might get another £100,000 for unemployment. They might remedy the ill of unemployment to-day

by such methods, but they would again have unemployment recurring, and how would they meet that? Trades unions were on the defensive all the time—the employers making attacks all the time. Who could resist the capitalists' attack? Surely not half a dozen men in the Parliament. She was of opinion the workers of Ireland should concentrate their forces in building up and strengthening their trades unions, and in united action in defence of their wages and standard of living. They had not time to be thinking of politics, and supporting the Labour Party in the legislature they might have in the near future in Ireland.

Mr. J. T. O'Farrell (R.C.A.) scouted the suggestion that labour could not go into the political area because, forsooth, it might be defeated. Unity was an essential in order to attain complete success, but unity at the expense of doing nothing was absolutely useless and worthless. They could all remain united if they continued doing nothing. He asked was there one single argument put forward there against the National Executive's recommendations that would not be equally relevant when the next elections came along? They were told by some delegates that they could not go into the elections without being defeated because of dissensions amongst their own members on the great question of the Treaty *v.* Republic, but they would come along again at the following elections and repeat the old hackneyed phrase, "the time is not yet opportune for labour to enter the political field." The real fact of the matter was that labour, having been fairly organised in the industrial sense, and not organised at all in the political sense, had allowed its members to become so embroiled in the toils of political intrigue with other parties that it was the greatest wrench of their lives to get away from them and take their stand with the Labour Party. The issues were quite plain, and he did not think anyone should have any difficulty in making up his mind what was the right thing to do. The body to be elected would function, be it Free State or Republican, with all the powers and responsibilities of government. It could extend its own life at its own will so long as it could control the majority of the country and the assembly. It would have to decide upon the final Constitution under which the workers were going to live. It would have in the meantime to deal with questions of the most pressing importance which affected everything, from the homestead where they lived to

the factory where they worked. It would have to deal with numerous great problems: unemployment, housing, and profiteering, the great questions at present convulsing the economic and social world. He believed when these things were being discussed they should have their representatives there by right and not by permission. It was absolutely unthinkable that in a country so highly organised as Ireland, labour should not have a single representative in the first assembly elected under Irish auspices after the forces of the British Crown have been withdrawn. Was it because they had individual opinions as to the merits of the dispute between the contending parties they were going to allow them to design and build the house in which they were going to live? Take care, instead of building a house, they might not build a bastille. They should not overlook the danger of the whole country being brought under the heel of militarism. It was interesting sometimes to hear each party claiming to have a majority of the I.R.A. Did not that mean that the party who controlled the most bayonets were going to control the lives of the people? The country was in real danger from a military point of view, as it was split into two camps of highly trained men. What was the use of talking of industrial action if the party in power had the authority to stop strike pickets? They should aspire to capture the political machine. A delegate said they would only have a handful of labour members in the assembly. That might be quite true, but were they never to go forward at elections until they were sure of a majority? Half-a-dozen men in the assembly would command influence altogether out of proportion to their numbers. He believed labour entering the arena would have a steadying effect on the whole position. They had no right to stand out while the country was being rent asunder by two political parties. They would be untrue to their country and future generations if at this particular time they did not make up their minds to advance with the whole of their forces into the political arena. He believed their action would not only be a move forward, but also most effective, and in the end be the means of saving their native land.

Mr. Cummins (Dublin Central Teachers' Association) said the question at issue was not one between political parties, but between two National parties. He and his co-delegate agreed that the time had not yet come for labour to go into the forthcoming elections. At the election every voter would

be asked was he for or against the Treaty, and it would be for them to answer that question in the ballot boxes. He thought labour could afford to wait some time longer, as the time was not opportune.

Mr. Rooney (Clerical Workers' Trade Union) supported the amendment, and opposed the resolution on instructions from his organisation. The National Executive document practically endorsed the Treaty, but they had not the courage or manliness to come out and pledge themselves Free State candidates.

Mr. Bent (Irish Engineering Union) regretted they had not the document placed before the Congress a month ago, so that they could have explained it to their members. He thought the Labour Party should stand down and let the country have a rest. He supported the amendment.

Mr. Davin (R.C.A.) moved and Alderman Barry (Limerick) seconded, "the question now be put," and the motion was defeated by 133 votes to 67 for the closure.

Mr. Anthony (Typographical Association) said there seemed to be always the cry, "wait until the next elections." How long were they going to wait? If he were sure this was the last time they would have to wait he should vote for the amendment, but, so far as he could judge, it would ever be "wait for the next elections." Labour had everything to gain and very little to lose by contesting the Parliamentary elections when they came on. No matter what party the politicians belonged to they all combined against the workers. The Labour Party should not tie itself to the tail of any political party.

Mr. Robbins (I.T. & G.W.U.) objected both to the resolution and amendment before Congress. The motion did not state definitely what its attitude was to be towards the Treaty. He agreed with the programme put forward by the National Executive, but he was not in favour of taking a place in the elections, for it would not benefit the movement.

Mr. Whitley (Typographical Association, Belfast) said the theme of the discussion was that the time was not opportune for the Labour Party to move, and that they should stand aside until the two other parties had settled their disagreement.

Chairman—When is it an opportune time for labour to claim its own?

Alderman O'Brien—Tibb's Eve.

Mr. Whitley said the opportune time came always. At the time of the election in the North they were told not to interfere between the Unionists and Sinn Fein, because if they put up labour candidates Sinn Fein would not go in. In the present Ulster House of Commons they had not a single direct labour representative. Here they were told if they went up for election they would be asked were they Free Staters or Republicans, and labour men in the North would be asked if they were Unionists or Sinn Fein. His answer was, he was a labour man pure and simple, and on political questions he reserved the right to exercise his own discretion. He did not care what a man was if he were going to improve his class. They should try and get even half-a-dozen into the assembly, and not have to resort to delegations to members of Parliament. Though politicians might divide the country, they were not strong enough to divide the labour world. The Labour Party should enter the contest and fight their corner.

Alderman O'Brien said he had attended every Congress since 1909, and he was never more disappointed than at that one to-day. They were told in the old days that for labour to enter politics would not be a wise policy, it would defeat labour, and labour could achieve its aims by observing strict neutrality, approaching both political parties impartially; when they got Home Rule would come the proper time for labour to enter the political arena with considerable success. At the Trades Congress in Clonmel in 1910, on a motion of James Connolly, they got a resolution passed that the Congress should be a political party. For twelve years that resolution had been in operation, and when a member moved to put it into practical effect, some reason was put forward why it should be postponed to some distant date. He believed in that motion when adopted, and believed in it since. They heard a great deal about relying on industrial action, but none of those who advocated political action suggested that industrial action should be neglected. They said the one should supplement the other, and let the fight be on both fields. Some members commented upon the fact that the majority of Congress were in favour of excluding the press and public from the session. Personally he was extremely glad the press was not present to chronicle some of the things said by the delegates. The recommendation the National Executive had made was, in their judgment, the correct one. He was convinced of that. If the elections were to be fought

at all the Executive should get the support of a large majority of the delegates, and that majority must reflect not the individual opinions of the delegates, but the opinions of the great mass of the workers. If the majority of the workers did not want labour representation let them say so, and those of the minority who believed labour should have representation could take steps like Hardie and others did, who had to go out on their own. Unless there was a big, enthusiastic, and insistent demand for labour representation, in his opinion it would be foolish for the Executive to force their opinions on the rank and file. Some of the delegates were not in favour of the Labour Party going into politics, while they themselves were steeped up to their lips in politics, and put forward this argument because they wanted to range themselves under the banner of either side of the contending political parties. He had never been a member of any political party but Labour, and did not imagine he ever would be. Labour was big enough and wide enough to fight for every aspiration and ideal he wanted. He believed the Labour movement was large enough to achieve every ideal that they required. If the workers considered the time was not ripe, or never would be ripe, for political action they would have to keep on the same propaganda until they got them converted to their point of view. Those delegates who declared it was foolish for labour to have a political party, and that they should rely on the industrial side, would be quite in order in moving an amendment to cut out the clause in favour of labour representation. They could either accept or reject the resolution, and the Executive would abide by the result.

Mr. Mitchell (Automobile Drivers' and Mechanics' Trade Union) favoured the amendment. He believed that labour should enter into politics, but this was the very wrong time. They kept out of it in 1918, and they never wanted to enter it in a worse time than now. The question of the Treaty *v.* Republic at the elections would defeat the whole Labour movement. It was the Labour movement that had brought them to their present political position in the country. It was a fight between the British Government and Ireland which had to be decided at the elections. They could not get a fair labour representation just now. Even with Proportional Representation he did not think they would return any candidates worth while.

The Chairman said he hoped that adherents of one or other of the political parties would not vote, but leave the question to those who would only exercise their vote on labour grounds. He asked the delegates to cast aside political considerations binding them either to the Treaty or Mr. De Valera.

The amendment was then put, and on a vote lost, 82 voting for and 115 against.

Mr. Robbins (I.T. & G.W.U.) proposed:—

“That this Trades Congress demands as a right that the question of the rejection or ratification of the Treaty should not be made an issue at the forthcoming elections, and that we further claim this all-important question should be decided by a plebiscite, in order to ascertain the true feelings of the people on the Treaty, and, having cleared the position, Labour should then take its place in the election.”

Mr. Magee (I.E.U.) seconded.

Mr. Campbell (Belfast) said 82 was a formidable opposition out of 200 delegates, and, therefore, there was no hope of the Executive's policy being carried into execution. Would it not be better to get a decision which would mean unity amongst all delegates?

Mr. Robbins' resolution was referred to the Standing Committee.

Mr. Magee (I.E.U.) proposed:

Mr. Fitzgerald (I.E.U.) seconded:

“That this Congress instructs the National Executive to take immediate steps, by way of a plebiscite of the trade unions, to ascertain the views of the workers as to whether they should contest the forthcoming elections or not.”

Mr. Cummins (Central Teachers' Organisation) suggested that, in view of the voting, the National Executive should obtain opinions from trades unions in different parts of the country, and then consider whether they could make the election a success. He would leave the matter in the hands

of the National Executive. If they considered they could run successful candidates by all means do so, and if not act otherwise.

Mr. Thomas Farren strongly objected to the amendment. In the first place there was no machinery which enabled the National Executive to take a plebiscite of the workers of the respective unions. They heard a lot of talk about unity, but it struck him that the people who were against the recommendations of the National Executive were the people who did not want to bring about unity. The only way to bring about unity was to elect 20 or 30 trades unionists. There were Republicans and Free Staters in that hall, but he was neither, but of the working class. He knew the Republicans, through their Home Department, to have insulted the working classes up to their teeth by issuing a panel of referees or arbitrators to decide between workers and employers. That panel contained none but the names of farmers, shopkeepers, civil servants, or the middle class, but not a working man or woman. A greater insult was never hurled in the face of the working classes of Ireland by ignoring them, and suggesting that they had not a sufficient sense of justice or responsibility to act as referee or arbitrator. If they could not have an honest working man or woman to do the job they could not have an honest employer either. The election would be held no matter what demand they made for a plebiscite. They had been demanding all their lives and got very little for it. In the face of the vote that day he did not think the National Executive would be justified in putting forward candidates. The Assembly would set up a Constitution that would govern the lives of future generations of men and women, and they, by their action at the Congress, wanted to see there would be no one there but the farmer, the shopkeeper, and the middle classes, the same as on the panel of arbitrators. The working classes would not be represented at the framing of the Constitution. There were men who claimed to be leaders of the Labour movement in this country speaking about direct action, and who were so blinded with political prejudice that they were going to betray the working classes of Ireland, and lose the greatest opportunity that ever presented itself to any generation of Irishmen or women. Constitutions were not made for a day, but to last for years. If they decided the working classes should not be represented they shouldered a terrible responsibility.

Mr. Thomas Foran (I.T. & G.W.U.) said the conclusion he had come to was that they did not want to go into the elections. Their grievances could be remedied without going to Parliament. They never would get from any Government working-class arbitrators. They were asked to launch a model toy Labour Party during a hurricane, the like of which was never witnessed in the history of Ireland, and never would again. At the present time they had as ordinary members of their unions I.R.A. Commandants, Free State D.I.'s, magistrates, judges, etc. If they went into the elections the ground would be torn from them, and were they going to risk all for a few advocates in Parliament who could do "damn all"? With the minority so strong there was no hope whatever of the Labour Party entering the elections, and, personally, he was glad it was so. He was in favour of holding back until the big question was settled.

Mr. Mullen (Ballina) said in his part of the country the small farmers were in the majority, and were well organised. They belonged to a union diametrically opposed to labour, and it would be impossible to return a candidate. He thought the number of candidates labour would return would prove ineffective. On the Municipal Council, out of 24 members, labour had only three representatives, and the other parties joined forces against them.

On a show of hands Mr. Magee's motion was lost.

Mr. P. Kelly (Postal Workers) proposed that the matter be referred back to the National Executive for reconsideration.

Mr. Whitley seconded.

Mr. Keegan (A.E.U.) suggested that the political parties be asked to co-opt 25 per cent. labour members.

The Chariman said the suggestion was out of order.

Mr. Johnson said the argument in favour of Mr. Kelly's proposal, that the matter be referred back, was very strong in view of the new situation. He supported the amendment. There was nothing in the recommendations of the National Executive which limited in the slightest degree their faith in industrial action. The Executive as a whole, and every member of it, placed much more faith in industrial work in the country than it did in political action, but it put forward political action as a splendid supplement and protection for industrial work. They would find later that the National Executive were wise in their advice, and that a big minority had been very far astray in their vote to-day. He supported the amendment, though he was the mover of the proposition.

Mr. Kelly's motion was defeated, 55 voting for and 72 against. The Standing Committee returned Mr. Robbins' motion as follows, recommending it should be put without discussion owing to late hour of the evening:—

“This Congress demands that a plebiscite of the Irish people be taken by the Provisional Government on the acceptance or rejection of the Treaty before any election takes place.”

This was moved as a separate motion by Mr. Robbins, and seconded by Mr. Whelan (Typographical Association).

The motion was carried, 128 voting for and 12 against.

Mr. Johnson's motion was then put for entering the elections on the policy and programme set forth by the National Executive, and carried by 104 to 49.

The Congress concluded.

STATEMENT OF ACCOUNTS,

Year ending 30th June, 1922.

INCOME.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Balance from last year :—						
Cash at Banks on Deposit	1,115	18	3			
Cash at Banks, Current Account	364	4	9			
Cash in hand	36	15	10			
				1,516	18	10
Affiliation Fees Received :—						
On account of 1921-1922	1,486	5	0			
" " 1922-1923	90	11	6			
				1,576	16	6
Delegation Fees Received :—						
On account of 1921 Congress	239	0	0			
" " Special Congress, February, 1922	57	15	0			
" " 1922 Congress	13	0	0			
				309	15	0
Sales of Reports and Pamphlets				108	19	0
Bank Interest on Deposits and C/a				90	16	1
Received for Special Funds :—						
Scottish Congress—Balance Collection	6	13	0			
Miss Charley for Expelled Workers	1	0	0			
Mrs. Waddell, " Russian Famine "	0	10	0			
				8	3	0
Election Fund :—						
Irish National Teachers' Organisation	500	0	0			
Irish Postal Union	100	0	0			
Irish Distributive Workers	100	0	0			
Irish Asylum Workers	50	0	0			
National Society of Brushmakers	2	0	0			
Dublin Typographical Provident Society	5	0	0			
Andrew Clark, London	0	5	0			
				757	5	0

EXPENDITURE.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Congress Expenses :—						
1921 Congress Fees	31	10	0			
" Congress—Special Report	33	6	6			
Special Congress, February, 1922— Report	7	2	0			
Special Congress, February, 1922— Stewards' Fees	3	0	0			
				74	18	6
Office Expenses :—						
Postages, Telegrams, Telephones, Stationery, etc.	119	10	9			
Office Rent	72	0	0			
Gestetner Rotary Duplicating Machine and Supplies	50	19	6			
Underwood Typewriter, New	25	10	0			
Salaries :—						
Secretary	£450	0	0			
Miss O'Keeffe	154	0	0			
A. J. Cassidy	49	0	0			
Extra Clerical Work	36	15	0			
				689	15	0
National Executive Expenses :—						
N. E. Meetings, Travelling, etc.	121	2	1			
Delegations and Election Con- ferences	53	5	10			
				174	7	11
Printing and Advertising				233	8	2
Sundry Accounts :—						
Labour Research Department	10	0	0			
Connolly Labour College— Donation	25	0	0			
Refund to National Amalgamated Painters—Fee overpaid	7	0	0			
Scottish Congress—Fraternal Dele- gate's Expenses	11	13	6			
				53	13	6

Special Donations—Expended as directed 8 3 0

Election Accounts paid to date :—

County Dublin Deposit	150	0	0
" " Expenses paid	360	1	6
General Accounts	104	19	1
	615	0	7

Balances at Banks :—

I.A.W.S., on Deposit	672	2	3
Land Bank, on Deposit	766	16	6
National Bank, Current Account	4	2	6
I.A.W.S., No. 1 " "	162	4	5
I.A.W.S., No. 2 " "	338	12	6
Land Bank " "	424	15	2
	2,368	13	4
Deduct Cheques issued but not cashed	170	18	8
	2,197	14	8
Cash in hand	53	11	10
	2,251	6	16
	£4,368	13	5

We have examined the books of the Irish Labour Party and Trade Union Congress for the period ending June 30th, 1922, and the foregoing Statement shows the correct position at that date. The Accounts have been kept in a satisfactory manner

(Signed)

J. G. GILLOWAY, }
WILLIAM BUNBURY, } *Auditors.*

3rd August, 1922.

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE--Meetings, Attendances and Expenses.

Year ending 30th June, 1922.

NAME	Full Executive : 12 Meetings. Present at	Resident Committee : 27 Meetings. Present at	Total Expenses as per Scale	OTHER MEETINGS, CONFERENCES, ETC.
			£ s. d.	
George Nason	11	—	47 15 8	Thos. Johnson, Deputation to London 14 2 4
James Carr	10	—	28 0 10	do. Limerick Election Conference 3 4 7
Luke Larkin	7	—	11 0 0	do. Drogheda, Election Conference 1 3 10
L. J. Duffy	10	19	3 17 6	do. Meetings—Carlow, Wicklow, Kildare 2 18 9
C. O'Shannon	12	24	4 15 0	L. Larkin, Meetings—Co. Kilkenny 2 0 0
W. O'Brien	12	25	5 0 0	L. J. Duffy, Election Conference, Galway 4 5 6
Thomas Farren	9	17	3 5 0	do. do. do. Limerick 3 16 2
J. T. O'Farrell	11	22	3 17 6	do. do. do. Sligo.... 3 19 6
T. Foran	9	21	3 12 6	do. Meetings, Co. Waterford 6 0 0
Miss H. Molony	7	10	2 0 0	W. O'Brien, Election Conferences, Cork and Midleton 4 16 10
Miss R. Timmon	8	9	2 2 6	J. T. O'Farrell, Election Conference, Maryboro' 1 11 2
D. Cullen	12	21	4 7 6	D. Cullen, Election Conference, Ballymahon 2 18 4
T. MacPartlin	—	3	1 7 6	C. O'Shannon, Election Conference, Wexford 3 6 10
Thomas Johnson	12	24	—	George Nason, Election Conference, Dublin 5 11 0

REPORT

OF THE

28th ANNUAL MEETING

OF THE

Irish Labour Party and Trade Union Congress.

Opening Proceedings—Monday, August 7th.

The 28th Annual Meeting of the Irish Labour Party and Trades Union Congress was held on the 7th, 8th, 9th, and 10th of August, 1922, in the Supper Room of the Mansion House, Dublin.

Mr. Cathal O'Shannon, T.D., Acting Chairman of the National Executive, occupied the chair.

Mr. Thomas Farren, a member of the National Executive, at the opening of the proceedings, said—It was intended that the Lord Mayor would be in attendance to extend a civic welcome to the delegates from all parts of the country, but unfortunately his Lordship was unable to be present to-day. He had, however, forwarded the following letter to be read at the meeting:—

“MANSION HOUSE, DUBLIN,

“6th August, 1922.

“MY DEAR MR. FARREN,

“I had hoped to be with you, as usual, on Monday morning at the opening of the Congress, but I will be out of town on that day.

“I need hardly say I regret not being with you to welcome once more the delegates to the Mansion House. But I hope to look in some time on Tuesday. Wishing your Congress every success.

“Yours sincerely,

“LAURENCE O'NEILL.”

Mr. Farren—The Lord Mayor asked me to specially mention the fact that he regretted very much being unable to be with us to-day, but if he thought his presence was urgently required he was prepared to make any personal sacrifice to attend (hear, hear). I am sure the delegates will be pleased to see him to-morrow, and save him the inconvenience of coming here to-day. I have been asked, in conjunction with the Chairman of the Dublin Workers' Council, to extend to the delegates a hearty welcome on behalf of Dublin Trade Unionists. We sincerely trust your stay amongst us will be both pleasant and profitable to yourselves and the workers of the country (hear, hear).

Chairman—I am sure you all regret the absence of the Lord Mayor, and as he was likely to be present to-morrow they need pass him no compliment to-day.

Mr. Thomas Boyle (Chairman of the Dublin Workers' Council) said—On behalf of the Council I represent, I bid you a hearty and very sincere welcome to Dublin. I regret that, owing to circumstances over which we have no control, it has been impossible for us to arrange for the usual reception and festivities. I am sure you will recognise the difficulties which surround us at the moment, and no one regrets more than the Council that we cannot go through the customary functions. We have decided on having a little function at La Scala to-morrow night, and delegates will get the necessary invitations from the Secretary. I trust your deliberations here will bear fruit, and that you will accomplish something for the material advantage of the workers and for our unfortunate country (hear, hear). I have no doubt you will assist the Chairman in carrying out his onerous duties during the next few days, avoiding anything in the shape of discord, and that your important deliberations will reach the high water mark of previous Congresses (hear, hear).

Chairman—On behalf of the delegates, I must say we always appreciated very highly indeed the compliment the Dublin Workers' Council has always paid to the Congress. Though the premier Workers' Council in Ireland, it is not all that some of us would like it to be, but certainly no local organisation in the Labour movement did more for the movement, and gave the lead to labour in certain directions, than the Dublin Workers' Council (hear, hear). We hope it will continue its good work until it controls the whole civic, political, and economic life of the city.

Mr. Anthony (Typographical Association, Cork)—There are a number of accredited delegates here who have not yet received their cards, under circumstances with which we are all conversant, such as delay of the post, etc.

Chairman—In these cases the usual procedure will be adopted. Anyone entitled to be a delegate will have to go through the ordinary course before the Standing Orders Committee.

Mr. Anthony—There are delegates from Cork, Limerick, Waterford, and Clonmel who have not got cards.

Chairman—Delegates whose names were received, and in the usual course would have received cards if the postal service were normal, will get duplicate cards. Any persons whose names were received late will have to go before the Standing Orders Committee. Are there any delegates from Cork, Waterford, or Limerick area, who would have received cards if the Post Office were working properly, waiting for cards?

A delegate—Yes; I am from Limerick.

Mr. Johnson, T.D. (Secretary)—You should not have been in your seat until you had a card!

ELECTION OF TELLERS AND STANDING ORDERS COMMITTEE.

Congress then proceeded to nominate and elect four Tellers, with the following result:—

Hanratty (I.T. & G.W.U.)	92
Brophy (Woodworkers)	84
Metcalf (I.T. & G.W.U.)	79
Seamus Byrne (Insurance Workers)	77
McCabe (I.T. & G.W.U.)	58
Weldon (Woodworkers)	46
Cullen (Women Workers)	35
Tobin (N.U.R.)	26
Jos. O'Neill (I.T. & G.W.U.)	21

The first four-named were declared elected.

The next business was the nomination and election of the Standing Orders Committee—five members.

The result of the vote was as follows:—

Campbell (Belfast T.C.)	.....	.....	.....	131
Somerville (Woodworkers)	.....	.....	.....	128
Houston (I.T. & G.W.U.)	.....	.....	.....	103
Kennedy (I.T. & G.W.U.)	.....	.....	.....	92
Davin (R.C.A.)	.....	.....	.....	92
McCabe (I.T. & G.W.U.)	.....	.....	.....	52
McKeon (N.U.R.)	.....	.....	.....	35
Miss O'Connor (I.W.W.U.)	.....	.....	.....	30
Pope (Irish Engineering Union)	.....	.....	.....	17

The first five were declared elected.

CHAIRMAN'S ADDRESS.

The Chairman, having first addressed the Congress in Irish, went on to say in English:—

Fellow Delegates—You will all, I am sure, join with me in regretting that, owing to his resignation through ill-health, the President whom you elected last year, our comrade Thomas MacPartlin, is not to-day presiding over your deliberations. You will join, too, in the hope that he may have a speedy recovery of health, both for his own sake and for ours (hear, hear). We have never more than now and in the immediate future needed the great services he gives to the Labour movement, his wise counsel, his strength of character, his very workmanlike brevity and bluntness of speech, and, above all, his freedom from illusion, and his great gift of summing up and getting to the core of a problem, like the realist he is, without in any way discarding that idealism which is as truly his as it is Labour's own.

Unluckily the task of conducting the proceedings of this Congress falls to my lot in the most difficult circumstances and the most delicate situation which have ever beset Irish

Labour. I must, therefore, ask your indulgence if from any cause I should not be able to act in the chair as better and worthier men would, and your help if at any stage in the proceedings that help may be needed in keeping yourselves in order, and in keeping Congress to the serious work and the critical and highly controversial questions before it. The nature of some of those questions is such that discussion upon them will cover a wide field, and may lead to sharp and deep differences of opinion. Well, so far as I can, I shall give a good deal of latitude to discussion—consistent, of course, with our Standing Orders. But let that freedom not be abused. On the other hand, I shall ask each and every one of you not only to give your best attention to the discussions, but to confine your expressions of opinion, and even your differences, to an exposition of the views, not of any party or movement or cause outside this Congress and Party, but of the working class and of the working class alone. To anything that will not serve the interests of the working class and of Labour, to anything brought forward in the interests of any outside party, to anything inspired or suggested in non-Labour sources or quarters, I hope you will not permit me, or force me to give any tolerance at all. This is the Congress of organised Labour, and of organised Labour alone.

INDEPENDENT LABOUR.

This brings me to a statement at the outset—perhaps its most appropriate place—on the independence and the separateness of Labour. There is, or ought to be, little or no need to impress that upon you; it is part and parcel of the principles and the policy of Labour here as everywhere else. But in spite of what might have been the salutary lesson taught by Labour in the recent elections, it is here and now necessary to emphasise our independence as a Party and our separateness as an organisation from all other parties and organisations in Ireland. It is necessary to reiterate that for the benefit, first and most important, of the general body of workers in our movement; and secondly, for the education and enlightenment of the politicians, the press, and the people of all the other camps outside.

The Irish Labour Party and Trade Union Congress is the authoritative organ, and the only qualified mouthpiece, of the organised workers of Ireland, on both the industrial and

the political fields. We are not only the industrial machine of the workers operating through the trade unions for industrial and economic ends, but we are the separate, distinct, and independent political party of the workers with a definite political aim and objective. Combining the two arms of Labour so far organised to any extent, we are separate from, and independent of, any and every political party or grouping in this country. We shall remain separate, distinct, and independent. And as time goes on, and if the need arises, we shall take just such steps and adopt such disciplinary measures to preserve and protect that independence as the working class movement in its various forms has had to do in some other countries.

CONGRESS SUPREME.

In this Congress of the delegates of the Irish workers are vested the supreme authority, the direction and the leadership of the working class movement in Ireland. That is a great and a serious responsibility. We may discharge it faithfully and well, or treacherously and ill. It may be that our leadership is poor, indifferent, bad, or unwise. But it is here, in this Congress, and during the intervals between Congress, in your National Executive, that the leadership of Irish Labour is vested, now resides, and shall continue. From no other party or organisation, from no other movement or interest, from no other source or quarter, will Labour accept leadership, direction, guidance, or authority. It may be that Labour is not sufficient unto itself. Well, if that is so, that is Labour's misfortune. Even so, Labour will continue to stand on its own two feet, and if it falls it won't be from some other party's stilts or props. After all, I wouldn't say at this exact moment in our common history that Labour has a great deal to learn in leadership and wisdom from other parties in Ireland—except from their errors and faults. Indeed, one would not exaggerate very much if one said that Labour had something to teach the others.

Let this much be clearly understood inside and outside this movement of ours: the workers of Ireland, organised in this Labour Party and Trades Union Congress, will take no dictation as to principles, policy, or tactics from any quarter outside their own ranks. Who are those others on platform,

in the press, in or out of parliaments, and what qualification or authority have they, that they should attempt to teach us what Labour's business is or how we should set about it? If they confined themselves strictly to their own business and affairs perhaps they would make less of a mess of it than they have done. This Congress, and nobody but this Congress, shall dictate what is Labour's business—both industrially and politically. Is not that so? Is not that your decision? Of course, it is.

As I have said, this year more than ever we are a political party as well as an industrial organisation. The year's work, the agenda of this delegate meeting, and the problems immediately before us, all fall naturally into two groupings, which dovetail the one into the other.

In common with most of my friends in the movement, I consider our organisation and our struggle in the industrial field of more importance and of more benefit to our class than anything we can do in the political field until by the triumph of our economic strength we attain to political power.

In the past twelvemonth we have not had as many big industrial victories as in the preceding years. But, on the whole, we have not had a great deal to regret. Taking all in all, and with exceptional cases here and there, we have lost less, and therefore gained more, relatively speaking, than the workers in most other countries. That result is to be attributed, in my opinion, in some small degree to the uncertainty of the political situation, but almost wholly to our methods of organisation and the good fighting spirit and readiness to sacrifice which, I am glad to say, are still marked characteristics of the workers in Ireland.

WAGE REDUCTION.

This time last year, you will remember, we were threatened with a general offensive by the employers against our wages, our conditions, and our comparatively short hours of labour—in fact, against all our gains of the last few years, and the very existence in Ireland of Trade Unionism itself. This offensive was not allowed to develop according to plan. It was met with a vigorous defensive campaign on the part of the workers, and if that defence was not as complete as it might have been, if it was not as vigorous and widespread as

some of us desired, yet it was successful enough to ward off the enemy's hardest blows and to save the Irish workers from the disasters and calamities which have befallen their fellow-workers in Great Britain, for example.

Reductions in wages there have been in most industries and services, and in some they have been heavier than many of us think they might have been. But the workers have kept steadily before themselves the maintenance of their newly-won standard of living, and taking things all round, and having regard to reductions in the prices of some commodities, I should say that the workers' standard of living has not by any means been reduced to the level the employing class wanted. We are most certainly not going to go back to the old low standard and slave conditions of the years before the world war. Any attempt to drive us back in that direction will, we hope, be resisted so strenuously that it will not succeed except over the broken remnants of our organisation, and over what little remains of order and civilisation in this country.

If I may single out the most notable factors in the fight against wage reductions and increased hours, I think I am fairly entitled to give more than honourable mention to the dockers of the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union, the agricultural workers, especially in the counties of Dublin and Meath, and the rank and file of the railwaymen—including the rail clerks—and not least among them that section of the shopmen who stood to their guns. I have no hesitation at all in saying that the determination of the Transport Union dockers to resist to the death saved the Irish working class from the terrible consequences that followed in England upon the desertion of the Miners on Black Friday. The rank and file of the railwaymen, however weak and errant they may be in other directions, rendered invaluable service by their revolt on the question of hours and standardisation, and succeeded in suspending the operations of the infamous Carrigan Award until the 15th of this month. In another important service we have all been glad to see the awakening and the triumph of the postal workers, a triumph which they themselves are the first to admit was materially contributed to by the Labour Party, a triumph and awakening for which, it seems now, they are likely to pay a heavy price.

Other sections of workers have fought bravely with a considerable measure of success, and some have even improved

their wages and conditions. Still others have stumbled and suffered grievous enough defeats, and some have taken their beating lying down. Our defeats are serious enough in all conscience, but they should not have any other effect than that of spurring us on to renewed efforts. They are due to three main and one minor cause. The three main causes are: Faulty industrial organisation, poor generalship, and, let us not hide it from ourselves, lack of fighting spirit and vision on the part of some sections of our rank and file. The minor cause is the reaction of the political and military situation.

MILITARISM.

When you consider the forces and the circumstances against which the workers had to strive during the year you will agree that the position maintained by them is no mean one at this moment. Amongst the obstacles facing them in several parts of the country was the growth of that spirit of militarism in sections of the still united Irish Republican Army. At last Congress, as some of you will remember, I had occasion to speak plainly on this. That plain speaking was resented in several quarters, but before many months had passed we all had occasion to object to the interference of military and police—once at the direction of the Republican Minister of Labour—with strikes and strike pickets. When the split in the army came we suffered from the swell-headed militarism of both armies.

UNITY OF UNIONS.

What can we do to perfect our machinery of resistance to the attacks of the employers and of everybody acting on their behalf? Well, in the industrial field we can go ahead, if neither officials nor rankers will stand in the way, with amalgamations of the unions according to industry and service, and push forward towards that One Big Union, organised according to industry, which we have repeatedly blessed. Some progress in that direction has been made, especially in the distributive trades, and I am glad to see that one of those unions is proposing to push forward still further. But the progress being made isn't rapid enough. It needs to be speeded up. To speed it up inter-union conferences, if

necessary with the help of the National Executive, should be encouraged. Is not that kind of thing needed? Take, for example, the half dozen unions in the engineering industry, most of them pulling in different directions and defeating their own interest as well as the general interest. There are too many unions in the railway and postal and even in other transport services. If I may say so, I suggest that in all these there should be more unity and fewer unions, and all of us should bend our energies towards greater and more effective unification in these services. If anybody stands in the way he will be helping to weaken our whole movement, as well as to lay the men concerned open and defenceless against the attacks of the common enemy.

EDUCATION AND PROPAGANDA.

In another direction it is high time for the Labour movement to get a move on—I mean in the organising of working-class education. A not very successful effort has been made, and its lack of success must be put down frankly to the indifference of most of the unions. Now, the unions would do well—in fact, they will have to if they are not to degenerate into mere wage-raising or wage-defending organisations—to make a new start on lines that will ensure the foundation of a successful working-class educational movement in Ireland.

The question of working-class education naturally raises the broader question of general and political propaganda. This must be undertaken in order to counter the misrepresentation we meet with from outside, and to educate our own members and many who are not of us in the first principles of the Labour movement.

If I were to suggest a starting-off point I should say, begin with anti-militarist propaganda, for none is more sorely needed. Even yet, and after all we said before and during the general strike against militarism in April, there is a lamentable ignorance on militarism and anti-militarism. Some foolish people imagine, or pretend to imagine, that the mere adoption and use of armed force for any purpose is militarism, and that anti-militarism necessarily connotes opposition to all armed force and to all armies. The one is not necessarily militarism at all, and anti-militarism is most decidedly not the

other. There is an important distinction between anti-militarism and pacifism. Now, in the Irish Labour movement we have never been pacifists, and, personally, I hope we never shall. But we have always opposed, and always will oppose, any and every manifestation of the military spirit from no matter what quarter it comes. To-day it is rampant in Ireland, as it has been rampant in Europe for six years. It is rampant both in the Irregular and in the Regular forces. Men in both armies have persuaded themselves that, either because they fought for national freedom or now possess and can use guns, they, therefore, are entitled to do as they please, to rule by mere authority of the gun, to ride roughshod over the civilian population, and ignore and trample upon every civilian right and every civilian interest. We contest that, and shall oppose it tooth and nail.

MILITARISM AGAIN.

An example or two will illustrate this more exactly.

You will recollect the order issued by a high officer of the I.R.A. named Aylward in Kilkenny. It read: "Civilians should be commandeered to destroy roads, bridges, etc., and the man who does not obey at present must receive the extreme penalty. You are at liberty to inflict same on any who disobey your order."

Labour has never stood for that kind of thing. I hope that workers will be found to refuse to do these things and to take these risks. The Irregular who shoots a workingman under these orders will inflict more damage on his own cause and forces than any big gun in Ireland.

With strict impartiality let me quote an instance from the other side. You are familiar with the cases of three of my own colleagues, two of them delegates appointed for this Congress, who were imprisoned without charge or trial—Miss Winifred Carney by the Belfast Specials, and Frank Purcell and Charlie Ridgeway by the Regulars. I shall deal only with what happened to Ridgeway at the hands of a full-blown militarist of rank.

Ridgeway, as you know, has never been connected with any military organisation, and I am quite satisfied that his one crime was his fight for the workers of County Monaghan.

Labour will not stand for this kind of thing either.

These are practical examples of what we mean by militarism. We are not opposed to armed force or armies in their proper place, but we would rather see our movement smashed to atoms than permit the workers to go on being bullied and repressed as these people would have them.

In the Annual Report of the National Executive other aspects of the political and military situation have been dealt with at length—Labour and the Truce and the Treaty; the grounds of our opposition to certain policies and tactics of both the Government and the political and the military Republicans; the Labour efforts for peace from last Christmas Eve right up to date; the civil war and the postponement of the first meeting of the Third Dáil; Labour's efforts to secure the tilling of grass-lands and the organisation of peaceful constructive work instead of the damnable destruction of war; the General Election; the Draft Constitution. I need not, therefore, touch upon these things at any length. But there are some points and considerations I want to stress and some questions I want to ask.

GOVERNMENTAL REPRESSION.

And first of all the censorship. Whatever excuse there may be for a censorship of military news, there is none for the political censorship of thought and opinion. The political censorship is a tyranny under the Free Staters in Dublin, as under the Republicans in Cork. It is not only a tyranny, but it is stupid, as has been abundantly shown.

Secondly, there is the question of the legality of many of the recent and present acts of both the Government and its forces and the Republican troops. Under what law, for instance, are men arrested and imprisoned and kept in prison without charge or trial unless they sign away personal liberties which no law ordains that they should sign away? I understand that in theory, at all events, the laws hitherto in force in Ireland are the laws of this new State until such time as they are repealed or amended or replaced. If that is the case, under what laws are military acting as policeman, judge, jury and executioner all rolled into one?

I am told—I don't know whether it is the fact, but if it is not the fact, then I am here giving an opportunity for the publication of the facts—that one of the reasons why

Mr. Gavan Duffy resigned from the Cabinet was the Government's utter and total ignoring of all laws relating to the custody of prisoners.

And are we witnessing a war or a police operation? It must be one or the other. It cannot be neither and it cannot be both. Which is it? If one we should know where we all stand; if the other we should know our position too. No doubt the times are exceptional, but that does not authorise the establishment of a new and lawless tyranny in place of another and equally lawless tyranny.

Upon the question of the police, we in the Labour movement are vitally interested. We have again and again stated our policy on the police, and we have got that policy endorsed by the organised workers and by the electors. We want no armed military or semi-military force masquerading as police, like the R.I.C. What is wanted, what alone is tolerable, is an unarmed civil and peace force, preferably under local control, although possibly receiving a national training.

But no such intention seems to be at the back of the minds of the people who have the responsibility of organising a new police force. An attempt has been made to organise a Civic Guard, but the attempt is really to provide an armed force, based upon a foundation of old members of the I.R.A., and with little or no training in policing. Now, you can never make a policeman out of a soldier—their duties are different and their training ought to be different. I do not think this attempt has been a success. There have been rumours of trouble in the Civic Guard, and an official inquiry has been held. Have the men who conducted that inquiry reported yet? If they have Labour must insist, in our own interests and in the public interest, that that report be published immediately.

There must be no secrecy about these things. There has been too much secrecy about too many things in the past year, and too much secrecy has led to disaster. And we are not going to be put off with a mere promise of publication. We want the facts. The negotiations in London were secret, and in spite of threats from both the pro-Treaty and the anti-Treaty parties the London correspondence is still kept secret—perhaps to save faces on both sides. The negotiations between the two sections of the army—the negotiations whose break-down led to the civil war—were secret, and are being kept secret. Yet, during one of the peace efforts with which

I happened to be associated, a high Minister of the Government said he would publish some of the documents dealing with the army negotiations. They have not been published yet. There must be no more of this kind of thing, because if there is the working class may find to-morrow that just as President De Valera and his Cabinet negotiated with the old Ascendancy gang behind our backs, so our new rulers may settle more firmly upon the workers the very bonds which our movement has been organised to break.

A PLAGUE ON BOTH YOUR HOUSES.

On the civil war our views cannot be too often or too emphatically expressed. They have not found full expression owing to the censorship. In a word, they are: a plague on both your houses. On both sides we find people whose minds are so narrow, so warped and twisted with party passion, that they cannot conceive of any body of people not siding with one force or the other. Well, we side with neither. Neither side serves any working-class interest, and our job is to steer clear of both. You in this Congress, and nobody but you, are the judges of whether that attitude is right or whether it is wrong.

Of course, we will get abuse from both sides, but that is not going to make us swerve from our straight path of playing nobody's game, and helping nobody's interest, but the game and the interest of the working class.

Then there are the lying and the propaganda. They come from both sides, and they are distinguished by the same lack of scruple, and even lack of plausibility. News sheets on both sides spread slander and calumny, dirt and defamation, lies thicker and dirtier than the mud in O'Connell Street when tons of water had been poured on the smoking ruins of the upper half of the street. Incitements to young soldiers, the employment of girls and young boys of 13 and 14 years of age, the raising up of bitterness and all the old damnable cant of "glory," "honour," etc., etc.—all these are the inevitable accompaniment of war, especially of civil war. This civil war, although it is still young, has given a surfeit of all this kind of thing, and revealed more than one stain on the alleged unspotted robes of Ireland's so spiritual and so immaculate nationalism.

And yet civil war may be, and sometimes is, necessary; and in spite of its evils we shall not deny our support to a civil war that is necessary. But is this one necessary? I doubt it. More, I am convinced, on the contrary, that it is unnecessary, that it could have been avoided, and that it will render to the Irish people the greatest disservice they have suffered in this generation.

These things may not be obvious to many people now. But they will come home to the people later.

For these reasons we call upon the organised workers to take no part in the civil war. It is not a war of the masses against the classes. It is not a war that will serve any working-class interest. It is not a war that will make the lot of the worker easier, or his status higher, or his hopes of freedom nearer.

It will not bring that peace with prosperity which the more conservative worker wants. It will not bring nearer that Workers' Republic for which the more class conscious worker works and would die—and many Irish workers may die for it yet.

If any word of ours could persuade one thousand men on both sides to lay down their arms, that word were well spoken now.

But it would have no such effect.

Fellow-workers, keep out of it.

Those of you who have not yet been dragged or inveigled into the hell's broth, keep out of it. Starve to death rather than shed your blood in this civil war. If you are not threatened with starvation, husband your strength and your resources, build up your organisations, and make ready for the day when you will claim and hold your own.

You may have enough fighting to do then to make it wisdom on your part to do no fighting now.

ELECTION SUCCESSES.

Lastly, a word of congratulation on Labour's success in the elections for the Dáil. I have a certain malicious pleasure in congratulating you, because I was one of those whom you put in the minority when you decided against contesting the elections in 1918.

You may well be proud of your victory; it was splendid and unique. It will strengthen the movement, and it may

even bring material gains to the workers. But do not value it too highly. Do not over-estimate, as your British colleagues have done, the value of parliamentary action as against industrial action. And remember, if you are to keep the gains you have won, you will have to pay for them, and you will have to set about re-organising your machinery and broadening and strengthening your central organisation (hear, hear).

Above all, remember that elections and strikes, the day to day successes and reverses of Labour, are small things in their way. They are only skirmishes; they are not the battle. The real battle is the continuous struggle of the working class to free itself from slavery and from wavery, to seize and hold power and wield it in the interests of the workers, to go forward, marching steadily and battling bravely for the establishment of the Workers' Republic.

On that march, in that struggle, let us recall to our heartening the words of an imprisoned fellow-worker of ours in another land:—

“ Mourn not the dead that in the cool earth lie—
Dust unto dust—
The calm, sweet earth that mothers all who die,
As all men must.

“ Mourn not your captive brothers who must dwell—
Too strong to strive—
Within each steel-bound coffin of a cell,
Buried alive.

“ But rather mourn the apathetic throng—
The cowed and meek—
Who see the world's great anguish and its wrong,
And dare not speak!”

THANKS TO THE CHAIRMAN.

Miss Cahalan (Irish Union of Distributive Workers and Clerks) said—I have very great pleasure in proposing that the best thanks of this Congress be tendered to the Chairman for his magnificent and inspiring address, and for the excellent manner in which he carried on the Labour movement as

Chairman of the National Executive for the past 12 months (hear, hear). I would like to say how much I regretted to hear that Mr. MacPartlin, through ill-health, was unable to carry on the work of the office to which we elected him last year. The task of the Chairman of the National Executive and the Labour Party is one of which the rank and file of the movement have very little conception, indeed. The political activities of the National Executive during the last twelve months have taken up a very considerable portion of its time. I, like the Chairman, do not pin all my faith on political action. I never did. As a matter of fact, I would regard political action as a secondary consideration. Even if you had half the National Assembly, or whatever you call it, Labour representatives, I do not for the life of me see how they could secure your wants, unless they had behind them a perfectly organised Labour machine. I firmly believe and am convinced that our salvation, emancipation, and future happiness lie wholly and solely in the hands of the different trade unions. The leaders are only human beings, but if the rank and file only gave one-hundredth part of that thought which their leaders did to the movement, I feel confident we would not be in the deplorable position we are to-day. No doubt we have travelled some distance. We have shaken off or broken some of the chains that bind us. But we are not free. We are anything but free. We are still slaves working for big trusts, for limited companies, for unlimited companies, and for individual bosses. I want to say to the delegates in all sincerity, go back to your trade unions and educate the rank and file of the workers as the Chairman asked you. I say that the use of lethal weapons, and those new instruments of devilry that you see around you every day and night, will never obtain what you want—either emancipation or break the shackles that bind you economically. I am convinced that moral and spiritual force will bring about better results very much sooner than a resort to the instruments of devilry (hear, hear).

Mr. T. J. O'Connell (General Secretary, Irish National Teachers) said in seconding—It requires very few words from me to commend the resolution to Congress, especially after the eloquent speech of Miss Cahalan. We all know Cathal O'Shannon's great work in the Labour movement, and we recognise that the position it occupies in this country is due to a very large extent to the work which he so ably carried on in the journalistic field especially. Time and again he has

rendered great service to the movement by pointing out in no uncertain way that Labour occupied a separate and distinct position in Ireland. He had done nothing better than the address which he delivered to-day, in which he had shown, and it was necessary to show, that the Labour movement was not responsible in any way for what was going on in Ireland, and that it occupied a distinct position from both contesting political parties.

Alderman William O'Brien (National Executive) put the motion, which was carried amid great enthusiasm.

The Chairman, in reply, said—I appreciate very highly indeed the vote of thanks and what has been said about me, but anything I did was not done for thanks. I am glad that the vote of thanks gave Miss Cahalan and Mr. O'Connell an opportunity of expressing their views on points I raised. We have a strenuous week before us, and highly controversial questions will come before you. Some little heat may be generated, but we should remember that we are workers representing the workers, and that we are going to work shoulder to shoulder. No matter what may be said on political or industrial subjects, we will at the end of the Congress be as friendly and as shoulder to shoulder as we were at the beginning of the meeting. I will do my best to give you all the freedom and latitude I can in accordance with the standing orders (hear, hear). I thank you.

CONDOLENCE.

Chairman—I should like in the usual way to pass a vote of sympathy and condolence with the relatives of all those members of the working-class, men and women, combatants and non-combatants, who fell in the military operations of the last few weeks.

The vote was passed in silence, all the members standing.

Congress adjourned to 9.30 on Tuesday morning.

TUESDAY.

Congress resumed at 10.10 o'clock on Tuesday morning.

Chairman (Mr. Cathal O'Shannon, T.D.)—The Chairman of the Standing Orders Committee will read for you the Committee's report.

The report, chiefly formal, contained the following paragraph :—

“We recommend that Mr. Anthony, on behalf of the Typographical Association, be allowed to move:—

“‘That this meeting of the Irish Labour Party and Trade Union Congress demands the immediate withdrawal of all censorship from the Press of Ireland, as in our opinion it is an interference with the liberty and freedom of the Press and the liberty of the subject.’

“We recommend that it be taken before the report this morning.”

The report was put to the meeting and declared adopted.

Chairman—Mr. Anthony, representing the Typographical Association, will now move the resolution dealing with the censorship.

PRESS CENSORSHIP.

Mr. R. S. Anthony (Typographical Association, Cork), in moving the resolution, said—The Chairman, in the course of his remarks, dealt with the censorship as we know the censorship to exist in Ireland to-day. He treated it in no petty or party manner, but rather in the broadest and most liberal manner. He objected, as I object, and as I feel sure you all object, to the way the censorship has been carried out in Ireland for some months back. Now, we in the newspaper industry do not object to a military censorship in the proper sense of the term. That is to say, a censorship which would prevent, or is said to prevent, knowledge of military movements or dispositions of troops reaching the enemy. Now, a censorship as it has always been understood in the Press does not go much farther than that. But what do we find at the moment existing in our own country? We find that the military people have invaded the editorial department. They not alone censor news or matter that might have relation to military business,

but they go so far as to dictate a political policy. Now, many delegates here may not be aware of what is transpiring in the South of Ireland, just as many of us from the South are not, and have not been, aware of what is transpiring in Dublin. The setting up of this censorship has had very ill effects, and I am sure it has been conceived in no other spirit but to produce an atmosphere of hate in our country. What do we find? I want to be very cautious, and it is my intention not to give offence to any party. We find where Republicans are predominant, they set up a rigorous censorship, and by means of their publicity and propaganda departments they circulate any amount of stuff which would lead you to believe that on one side they were all angels and on the other side they were all devils. The same thing obtains in Dublin, where another political party dominates the situation for the moment. Now, my object in moving this resolution is to see that this censorship is removed entirely and absolutely from the Press of Ireland.

Mr. Thomas Johnson—Political and military?

Mr. Anthony—Yes, political and military. We of the Labour Party have always stood up and proclaimed ourselves lovers of liberty. If we do not protest, and protest strongly and effectively in a matter of this kind, there will be no excuse whatsoever when some other party, if they are able to pull the strings in Ireland—which they can do, unfortunately, when they can set up a military dictatorship—get into power, and proclaim us, and proclaim our meetings, and also censor or suppress any journal that we may have. I would like to see this motion passed unanimously.

Chairman—Is there any seconder for Mr. Anthony's resolution?

Mr. James Mitchell (Automobile Drivers' and Mechanics' Union)—I beg to second it.

Chairman—Does any delegate desire to speak on the resolution?

Mr. James Mitchell—I did not intend to speak on the resolution. I thought somebody else would second it. It is an extraordinary thing that everyone is so very quiet on the resolution. There are things happening here in Dublin at the present minute—things that would be a scandal in any civilised country—and there is not a word allowed to appear in the Press. I do not know what is happening in Cork. I have not heard very much about what is happening there and in the South of Ireland generally. I am sure it is pretty much the same thing as we have happening here. The Chairman yesterday said he hoped no one would touch on either side of the political question, but it is very hard in this case to get away from it. Now, the Chairman, or anyone attending this Congress who likes to go, can find out what is happening by going to Wellington Barracks, and he need not go to Belfast

or Waterford to find it out. You can go to Wellington Barracks and see with your own eyes the abuse people are getting when they go to inquire about their relatives and friends. There is no word about them in the papers, and you will not be allowed to send them in any food; you would not be allowed to send them in anything. If you make an inquiry at the gate, you are told there they know nothing about it. You might see them over on the square, if you happen by chance to be lucky enough. If you do not see them that way, you do not know anything about them at all. There are plenty of workers being inquired about, and they cannot be found. I myself saw 150 in Wellington Barracks yesterday evening. They are all workers, every one of them, and I do not see why the workers should not wake up a little more about what is really happening. I believe the Congress ought to do something in this matter. The censorship of the Press is gone beyond the thing; of course, the Press itself is gone beyond the thing. Really the only decent paper that is going straight at all is a real anti-labour paper, the *Irish Times* or the *Evening Mail*. I think this Congress ought to do something pretty quickly to try and regulate the Press, or get the news out of any Government in power at the present minute, if it is nothing else than for the unfortunate men in the jails that cannot be found or heard at all about. I cannot understand how a resolution like this would be taken so quietly as to say that hardly anyone would stand up and second it. It just shows you where we are with the working people. The working people are carrying on the fight. You will find others with the good big jobs that a great many people are looking for (applause).

Chairman—Does any other delegate desire to speak?

Miss Louie Bennett (Women Workers' Union)—I would like to say a word in support of the resolution, if only for this reason—in view of the reports of the Congress which are appearing in the Press. Take, for instance, the Annual Report that is before us. Every criticism of the Free State Government is suppressed, and only one side is given. I do not take one side or the other, but I maintain we ought to have a fair and open Press. Amongst all the rotten things prevailing in the country, there is nothing more rotten than the suppression of freedom of opinion. It would be too bad if this Congress met and passed over such an abominable state of affairs as the censorship.

Mr. Cormac Breathnach (Irish National Teachers' Organisation)—Passing a resolution of that sort is merely camouflage unless you contemplate taking action.

Mr. W. J. Dowling (Postal Workers' Union)—Have the members of the Typographical Association made any protest, apart from this Congress, to the powers that be? He believed the

Chairman in the course of his statement made reference to the case of Commandant Aylward. When the Labour Party was supposed to be adopting a neutral attitude, any political references were not becoming. A lot of things have occurred recently, continued Mr. Dowling, and I am ashamed to say that we as a national body, and the supreme national body that has any respect for public opinion in Ireland, have up to the present been incapable of letting our voice be heard by the public. That is the only platform and the only mouthpiece through which we can give vent to our ideas and what we think of the situation at present.

Mr. P. Fitzgibbon (Civil Service Clerical Association)—The mover of the resolution condemning the censorship in Ireland refers to political parties in Dublin and Cork who are suppressing public opinion. The gentleman who speaks on behalf of the Post Office workers says that we of the Labour movement are neutral on this question. I should like to know whether we are actually neutral on the question, and whether it is possible for the Labour movement to be neutral on a question that has set brother against brother in this country?

Chairman—You must keep to the resolution. It deals with the censorship.

Mr. Fitzgibbon—The speaker for the Post Office workers referred to this question. However, I bow to your ruling. I am very happy to support the motion condemning the censorship. Undoubtedly there are a great many workers of opinion that they should take some definite action in order to make their opinion felt, and not be content with passing mere resolutions.

Chairman—Does any other delegate desire to speak to the resolution? Before I put it there are a few words I would like to say myself. Mr. Anthony moves:—"That this meeting of the Irish Labour Party and Trade Union Congress demands the immediate withdrawal of all censorship from the Press of Ireland, as in our opinion it is an interference with the liberty and freedom of the Press and the liberty of the subject." Unless I heard Mr. Anthony imperfectly, he argued for the abolition of part of the censorship and not for the whole. One other delegate has made reference to the effect that he did not hear what I said about Commandant Aylward. Perhaps that was the fault of my voice. It was true, all right, that portions of the references to militarism were cut out, I think, by the Censor. That is the description of the treatment of Ridgeway. The censorship is bad. It is as bad in Dublin as in Cork. I have seen what is being done in Cork and Dublin. But the military censorship is not the only censorship. There is the ordinary newspaper censorship. Newspapers, on the whole, do not show any courage whatever in fighting against the

ensorship. They take all the dictation the Censor gives them. I was glad to see the *Examiner* in Cork taking up such a firm attitude as it did. But it did not agree with the dominant party there. There is no evidence that in Dublin the Press kicks up against the censorship. I am sorry Mr. Anthony has not made a more practical proposal. A mere protest is not going to get anything. It will express your opinion, but it will not abolish the censorship, and it will not provide any substitute for the censorship.

The resolution was put and declared carried.

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE'S REPORT.

Chairman—Now we shall proceed to the discussion of the National Executive's Annual Report. I wish to formally move the adoption of the Annual Report.

Mr. Denis Cullen (Bakers, Confectioners, and Allied Workers' Amalgamated Union) seconded.

Mr. P. J. McPhillips (Postal Union)—Arising out of paragraph headed "Irish Railways Commission," I think that Congress would like to know what is the situation now with regard to the pending crisis on the railways. I am sure Congress would like to have any information that may be at your disposal.

Chairman—Does any other delegate wish to speak in connection with the Irish Railways Commission?

RAILWAYS COMMISSION.

Mr. Thomas Johnson—Perhaps it is not inopportune for me to say that the work of the Irish Railways Commission has now been finished, and a report has been prepared and signed, and will probably be presented to-day. It is not for me to say anything about what is contained in that report. It will be published, no doubt, within the next week or so. I think it might be worth while just at this moment to draw attention to one or two facts that have come out in the course of the inquiry, and which are deducible from the public evidence which has been presented. In forty years something like 145 millions—these figures are not absolutely accurate, but they are within a million or so near the figure—have been paid by the public for railway services, and out of that sum about 62 millions have gone to railway shareholders. And yet the dividends that they have been receiving have not been extraordinary, not much more than the average of commercial undertakings of a good class. But when you remember that in such circumstances, out of every £100 paid

by the public to the railway companies only about £62 is required for the working of the railways, for the upkeep of the railways, and the renewal of the railways, and that the other £38 goes to shareholders, you then begin to understand why it is a difficult thing for the workers to improve their condition. The same set of facts applies to every other industry that the people have money invested in. Shareholders are able to draw, by virtue of their investment, something like one-third to one-half of the cost of any commodity, whether it is a service or an actual consumable material, as interest on capital. I thought it well to draw particular attention to that, because it stands out in the evidence that has come from the railway companies themselves. I also want to point this out, that the commercial public, the manufacturers, the merchants, the users of the railways on a big scale, desire that that state of things should continue. They want to insure there shall be a fair dividend paid on capital. But yet they are complaining of the rates, and they demand that the workers shall receive less pay for the services they render. They do not demand that the shareholders shall receive less dividends for the services which they don't render. These are the salient facts, to my mind, that have come out from the evidence before the Railways Commission, and they apply equally to every other big industry and most other small industries in this country, or in any other country (applause).

. Chairman—Does any other delegate wish to speak on this matter?

RAILWAY PARTITION.

Mr. John T. O'Farrell (Railway Clerks' Association)—In addition to what Mr. Johnson has said, there is also another very salient point connected with this question of the railways, and it is this: To-day for the first time, perhaps for quite a long time, there are two Governments recognised—at all events officially recognised Governments—in the country, the Northern Government and the Provisional Government. Now, the railway question and all the employees and all others connected with it are affected by the problem of partition perhaps to a greater extent than most other services and industries, if we, of course, except the Postal service and one or two other civil services. As an indication of the difficulties that confront us, you have the case of the Great Northern Railway which crosses the border at fourteen different points. Then you have the case of another railway, the Londonderry and Lough Swilly Railway, whose head and neck are in the North-East and whose body and tail are in the 26 county area. You have something similar in connection with the Donegal Railway, and

the Dundalk, Newry, and Greenore Line has one leg in each of the two divisions of the country. The Railway Commission in Dublin and the other Commission afterwards set up in Belfast each had to very largely ignore the political difficulties arising from this situation. That is a question which will have to be solved by the respective Governments, and it is one of the strongest indications of the evils of partition brought about by the Partition Act of 1920. One of the arguments against nationalisation or unification has been this political difficulty, but those who argue from that point of view seem to forget that, whether the railways remain as they are, or whether some new form of control and administration takes place, this position will have to be dealt with. The question of rates, charges, customs and so forth will affect these railways at every point at which they cross the frontier. The arguments do not hold good, and are no basic or permanent arguments against the nationalisation of the railways. We are not aware of what the nature of the forthcoming report will be. The policy of Congress on this matter has been defined time and again, since, I think, 1897, and will, I hope, be re-affirmed to-day. I hope all those who, in the next few weeks, may be disposed to view with great anxiety any threatened crisis on the railways, will realise the difficulties of a Union catering for railwaymen, inasmuch as you may have the Provisional Government taking action and the Northern Government taking no action, or you may have the two Governments taking action of a wholly dissimilar nature. There is this point of advantage, however. The railway companies have all the disadvantages of a divided command. They are represented by different people in each district. The railway unions are represented by the same organisations all over. Their policy is to maintain the same conditions in the North-east and in the rest of Ireland, and from that point of view they have the advantage over the other side, in the very important exception that they have the disadvantages accruing from endeavouring to function in the same country that has two Governments, with railways running from one part of the country into the other. This is one of the first questions that will have to be tackled by the people responsible for the future government of Ireland either in the South or the North-East.

RAILWAY WORKERS' DEMANDS.

Mr. James Bermingham (National Union of Railwaymen)—It is not necessary to say much on this question, as we are negotiating on the question at issue. I am very glad to hear from Mr. Johnson that the report of the Commission is now, or will be in the course

of a few days, in hand. That will be to me, and those acting with me, of very great assistance. Several points have been very clearly dealt with. There are only one or two points that want to be touched upon. Now, with reference to the two Governments, the Northern and Southern Governments, politicians may fall out and make boundaries, but the railwaymen of Ireland know no boundary to the railway industry of this country (hear, hear). Whatever they may do, we, as railway workers, through our organisations, are determined that we shall have equal rights and equal conditions whether it is North or South. I am hoping that we shall be meeting either the railway companies or the Government probably to-morrow or the day after, but whatever the issue, or with whom we may be negotiating, it matters not—we have made our minds up that the railwaymen must have a living wage, irrespective of the railways they are on. It has been said that big dividends have been paid. Perfectly right; railway managers only think of dividends. They think not of the country, nor of the industries of the country. It is the dividend first, last, and in between. With us it is the method by which our people live, and the way in which they can live in their homes with a certain amount of luxury—and they are perfectly entitled to it. That is our case first, last, and in between. The railwaymen are perfectly determined that if this battle is going to be fought, it will be fought by them with a grim determination to retain their rights (applause).

Miss Helena Molony—Mr. Bermingham declares that the railwaymen must get a living wage whether the dividends are paid or not. Does not that bring us up to the stone wall of nationalisation? Reference has been made to the passing of resolutions from 1897 upwards, but apart from them, how are the railwaymen going to get a living wage? What do we intend doing to enforce the policy of nationalisation on the one or two or the five or six (as the case may be) Governments in this country? Partition is a problem, but a very minor problem. Have we any reason to believe, if the difficulty of the frontier is got over, that the Governments are prepared to sweep away big interests out of the hands of capitalism? I believe they are not. Other countries in Europe have met the problem of frontiers. The real difficulty is whether the capitalists of Northern, Southern, Eastern, and Western Ireland are prepared to accept the policy of nationalisation. If not, what are we preparing to do? It is not enough to re-affirm this resolution without having something else to bring our policy of nationalisation further on the road to ultimate achievement.

Mr. T. Ward (National Union of Railwaymen)—I can assure the delegates here that it was with reluctance that the railwaymen in the North accepted the Commission set up in Northern Ireland.

The railway companies in the North of Ireland were most determined there should be no Commission, and held that it was unnecessary for any Commission to be held there; but the Minister of Labour, with all due respect to him, insisted that it should be set up. It was up to that Commission to prove to the public that the railways of the North of Ireland are able to pay much better than what they are paying. But all the evidence is not brought out at these Commissions as it ought to be. We have not been able to get to the bottom of the thing, because the railway companies will not produce the books and documents which ought to be produced in order to get to the bottom of the whole situation. They plead poverty, but they are not so poverty-stricken in the North. But the railwaymen are determined in this matter. In the North and the South they are going to stand together in the future as they have done in the past. They are prepared to shoulder their responsibilities and fight for a living wage. By joint effort they have got increases in the past. Jointly they will resist any endeavour on the part of the railway companies to interfere with conditions of service and hours of duty. They will never submit to any of the conditions that we had in pre-war times. The railway companies may rest assured that the railwaymen are going to stand together and win or fall in the same fight (applause).

Mr. William Davin (Railway Clerks' Association)—I did not intend to interfere in this debate here to-day were it not for the fact that some of the delegates are more concerned in the future policy of the railways than they are in regard to whatever negotiations are going on regarding wages and conditions. From Miss Molony's remarks it would seem she is much concerned as to what we can do to bring about nationalisation in the least possible time. I regret to say there are within this Congress some delegates who have not done their duty in regard to supporting the Labour movement in the recent General Election (applause). I have nothing to regret, so far as I am personally concerned, in that respect. But I do say this to those who have associated themselves with other political parties in this country: If they do not regret what they have done in regard to that matter, then I would, if I were personally concerned like they are, go back to the parties they have supported in the recent General Election and get them to do what they can to assist the Labour Party by seeing that nationalisation is supported in the Dáil when it assembles, or when it comes to deal with the question. That is the only thing they can do if they cannot assist the Labour Party itself to bring about what the Labour Party has always stood for.

NORTHERN RAILWAY POLICY.

We know that under the terms of the Treaty the Northern Government has no power or right whatsoever to deal with railway policy, and any Commission it has set up is simply a waste of time. It is laid down definitely in the Treaty, so far as the Northern Government is concerned, that if they vote themselves out of the Treaty they have only a share with the rest of Ireland to say what is going to be the future position of the railways. That is the position of the Northern Government. A Commission in the North of Ireland is, in my opinion, only a waste of time. I would say to Miss Molony and others who did not do their duty in the last elections, to go back to the party they supported and get them to support the Labour Party in the Dáil when it comes to this question. If you do your duty in that respect, nationalisation will be nearer than what you realise (applause).

Mr. Lynch (I.T. and G.W.U.)—I am very pleased at one fact which has come out of the discussion of the Irish Railway Commission, and that is the attitude which Mr. Bermingham and the N.U.R. propose to take. Speaking for the railwaymen of the South of Ireland, the area which took action last February against the operation of the Carrigan Award, I can say officially they will be extremely pleased to know that the N.U.R. is about to take action, as Mr. Bermingham and his comrades have said. We in the South intend to do all we said we would do. We don't intend to talk about it, but we propose to act. These men have drawn up a programme which they will lay before the companies before the 15th August, and when action does take place we will be glad to see the example followed officially by the N.U.R.

The discussion on this paragraph of Report then ceased.

POSTAL COMMISSION.

Mr. J. McGowan (Postal Workers' Union) said—I wish to draw attention to page 5 dealing with the Postal Commission. Anything I may have to say in connection with this matter must not be taken as evidence of dissatisfaction at the result of the Commission. As a matter of fact, we were very pleased with the result of the Commission, and I take this opportunity of returning thanks to the two Labour members on the Commission for the very valuable work they performed. In case any of the delegates here are likely to be misled as to the real state of affairs, I would direct your special attention to the last few lines of the report, viz.:—" And

have issued an interim report which in practice restored to the lower grades of the service the bonus which had been withdrawn." Now, lower grades in the services have not shared in the recommendations of the report. For instance, cleaners, charwomen, doorkeepers, etc., the very lowest paid in the service, have not been included in the recommendations. Immediately on publication of the report we made representations to the Commission, and the only satisfaction we could get was that the classes had not been overlooked, but that they could not include them. The portion of the report referring to the bonus, therefore, seems to be misleading. The lower grades and the lower dogs in the service have not been included in the recommendations.

Mr. McPhillips (Irish Postal Union) said—On behalf of my Union I take this the first public opportunity I have got to return to the National Executive of the Labour Party our sincere and hearty thanks for what they did for us. When we were on the verge of a strike, and threatened with the importation of blacklegs from England, the Secretary of the Labour Party took swift and sudden action, and put a stop to that. It is true what Mr. McGowan has pointed out, that some small class, not numbering many, were excluded from the report, but they were not exactly overlooked. The reason they were excluded was because they were employed in other services outside the Post Office classes, and the Commission was bound to deal only with Post Office classes. The Chairman said yesterday that Post Office workers might have to pay dearly for the victory they had gained. I think I know to what Mr. O'Shannon referred. When we acted on instructions we got at last Congress to hold tight to what we had got and refuse to allow our wages to be reduced to the pre-war standard, we were told we were traitors to our country, that it was not an industrial fight, but a political move to embarrass the Government. One man, the chief of the scabs, one of the ringleaders assisting the Government in breaking a strike, is now going round the country victimising our members. One of our members was arrested in coming here. In Drogheda one of our Secretaries was arrested and clapped into jail without charge or trial. There were also cases of victimisation in Waterford, Mullingar, and Cork. We are prepared to face this matter, and will give this man enough of rope to hang himself.

Mr. Carr (Distributive Workers) said—In Limerick the Union has been recognised by the Postmaster. Six men were suspended there without charge, jury or trial, on suspicion of driving men out of the town. On inquiry no evidence was forthcoming to connect them with the charge. They were reinstated last week in their jobs and the Union recognised (hear, hear).

LOWER GRADES IN P. O.

Mr. Fitzgibbon (Civil Service Clerical Association) said—The Commission ignored certain classes—underpaid classes. The pay for girls is wholly inadequate. They said they could not include these classes in their recommendations. The terms of reference were sufficiently wide to make any recommendations they liked in regard to any class in the Post Office service. They might make recommendations for any class other than the principal classes in the employment. It might easily have included charwomen, cleaners, doorkeepers, writers, assistants, etc. I regret to say that we found a most unworthy spirit in the leaders of the big unions. They showed a disposition to ignore our claims. I made representations before the Commission on behalf of our members who were employed in the Post Office, but I was told I had no *locus standi*, and that, therefore, we should not give any evidence or have a voice in the re-organisation of the Post Office. I consider that attitude most unworthy of the Labour movement. I should say any organisation was fully entitled to make representations dealing with re-organisation of the department. It is quite obvious in the re-organisation of the staff the interest of all the members would be affected, and we would be entitled to make representations for the protection of our members. The Commission is now functioning through representatives of the official and not the staff side. A scheme of re-organisation is being produced and discussed, but it would have been far better if the organisations and the staffs had got together and produced the scheme amongst themselves, and they would then be in a better position than they are to-day. As it is the official side can take them piecemeal and beat them. We of the outside service never approached the Government upon matters affecting the interests of members without first having a joint agreement with other organisations concerned. My only object is to draw attention to excluding certain sections, and to protest against interference with small organisations in the re-organisation of the Post Office.

Mr. L. J. Duffy (Distributive Workers) said—I wish to say, as one of the people who got some of the praise and some of the blame for the Postal Commission, that the Commission itself arose out of a dispute between certain employees in the service and the department. The Commission was constituted of two persons nominated by the Government and two persons nominated by the Labour Party, and a Chairman to be agreed upon. You will understand that in order to get an interim report, such as was presented, it was advisable to have the greatest possible amount of agreement. Mr. O'Connell and myself felt it was better to get all we could by agreement than be forced to present two

different reports on the question of the restoration of the cut. That will explain in part why certain people were excluded. When you remember the people nominated by the Government were Sir Thomas Esmonde, the Chairman of a railway company, and Mr. Friel, the Chairman of the Dublin County Council, you will see it was difficult on our side to force these men beyond a certain point. They came to the conclusion at the outset that classes of workers in the Post Office whose work was similar and common to all Government departments, and who had suffered or accepted the cut without protest, could not be included in the recommendations. For instance, the people who it was complained were excluded, doorkeepers, charwomen, writers, assistants, etc.; the number of these in the Postal service is very small indeed. There would not be more than 10, 15 or 20 of each class in the service. There are many more of the same class of workers in other services than the Post Office. Any of these classes are precisely the same in the Post Office as in other Government departments, and I believe there are forty Government departments in Ireland. These workers in the other Government departments accepted the Civil Service cut in March without protest. Some of them accepted the cut in February without any protest. We could not get an agreed report of the Commission if we insisted on having the cut restored in these cases while similar employees in other departments had accepted it without protest. Another difficulty with which we were presented, that some employees in the Post Office refused to give evidence to show why this cut should be restored in their cases. They included some of the higher and some of the lower people. One class refused to give any evidence dealing with the cut. The Green Flag was waved and these people would not jeopardise their positions. The postmasters refused to give evidence, and claimed the right to have a certain organisation represent them rather than be committed to the views of the Postal Workers' Union. Under these circumstances can you blame us to jeopardise a unanimous report? We got a unanimous Commission to favour the cut being restored in the case of 95 per cent. of the Postal Workers. I have the report here, and it contains some recommendations of value, not only to the Postal Workers, but to the workers of the entire country.

COST OF LIVING INDEX.

The document says:—“The Commission was impressed by the fact that the figures of the cost of living prepared by the Board of Trade for the Holt Commission of Inquiry into the Post Office showed that the rate of increase for

a selected limited number of Irish towns from 1904-1913 was proportionately higher than in Great Britain." The Commission proved that the Board of Trade index figure was not exact, and I think that proves of some value, if not considerable importance, for the workers generally. The report goes on to say: "The British index figure does not accurately apply to Irish conditions, and that an Irish cost of living figure should be prepared by the Government as soon as possible." And it adds: "The Commission, therefore, recommends temporary additions to basic wages of certain permanent classes of Post Office servants, and to the consolidated wage of certain temporary classes. The Commission recommends that these temporary additions should date as from March 1st last, and that they should be continued until an Irish cost of living figure is agreed on for use in the calculating of bonus, or until the adoption of the final report of the Commission." I understand the Government is preparing the Irish cost of living figure, and I presume it is the intention to use that figure to vary the wages in the Civil Service on the basis of previous conditions. That figure will also be used by the employers when they seek to reduce wages, but in the first instance it will be applied to Government workers. I should mention that at the Commission it was agreed that the index figure to be accepted must be an agreed figure by both parties. The hopelessness of the Post Office service can be gauged from the fact that there are about forty different departments set up by the Government, and it is intended to keep these people in separate camps. It wanted to keep 2½d. looking down on 2d., and not only that, but it wanted to have a separate union for each of them.

Mr. MacPartlin (Woodworkers)—The Labour representatives on the Commission deserve the highest thanks for the work they have accomplished. Thanks were due not to the Commission or the National Executive, but to the methods used by the Postal Workers' Union. One union which called itself a big union wanted to use the big stick over every other union, and wanted to rule the roost. It was only of mushroom growth, and desired to rule out the brains of the smaller organisations. While I believe they were perfectly justified in looking for as much as they could get, I am convinced only for the political condition of the country they would not have come off so well. It was very disgraceful to see the letters which appeared in the Press trying to get public opinion up against postal servants, and calling on their members to back up the Government against them. I never heard of such an abominable thing before (hear, hear). I say when you are in trouble in any union, take in all the brains of a union, even if it consists of only five or six members (hear, hear).

NORTHERN POSTAL WORKERS.

Mr. Canavan (P. O. Workers)—I don't want to enter into the merits or demerits of the question before Congress. Unfortunately the people I represent here are not affected by the report. They are under the Imperial Government, and have been placed, by reason of that fact, outside the scope of the Commission's work. I do not want to have a wrong impression left on the Congress. Mr. MacPhillips said something about the Postal Workers being endangered by an influx of blacklegs from England. The organisation which I represent have members in England and in Ireland. Immediately the Postmaster-General was seeking to smash the trouble with which he was likely to be faced in Ireland, by importing blacklegs from England, the Executive Council of my organisation took the strongest possible action by warning our members that under no circumstances were they to respond to a call of that kind (hear, hear). At no time was there any possible chance of the Irish Postmaster-General having his interests served by an influx of blacklegs from England (hear, hear).

The discussion ended.

RECONSTRUCTION PROPOSALS.

Miss Cahalan—Has any of the items 1 to 9 on page 13 of the report been put into operation?

Mr. T. Johnson—The Compulsory Tillage Order was refused by the Minister of Agriculture, and his refusal assented to by the other Ministers. "Road making and repairing to be done, as far as possible, by local trade union labour." That has not been insisted upon, so far as I understand. "That architects should be called upon to specify for Irish materials and designs that can be carried out in Ireland." This condition has been imposed within the last few years, but with what success I am unable to say. "That seasonal work should be put into operation as soon and as far as possible, during the winter, especially by public boards." I understand the Local Government has advised that that practice should be adopted. With regard to the question of the importation of foreign flour, nothing has been done. As to the housing scheme, there has been something done by the Government, but, as most of you know, it is comparatively small. In respect of item 9—"That the Government should be urged to enter into an arrangement with the Russian Government with a view to supplying materials (agricultural machinery, etc.) and foodstuffs, of which Ireland has a surplus, in direct exchange for raw material for manufacture and building from Russia"—I am quite con-

fidant in saying that the Government was prepared to receive favourably any suggestion of that kind, but it was found not practicable on the Russian side.

Mr. Alex. Stewart, Belfast, said—The coming winter is likely to be the worst experienced in human memory. If that were true it is essential we should conserve and organise our resources of every kind. The provision made by the local authorities is very meagre and does not go far to relieve distress.

Chairman—There will be a resolution on the subject, and it is better to deal with the matter when it comes up in the ordinary course.

AGRICULTURAL LABOUR.

Mr. Mallon (I.T. and G.W.U., Longford) said—While the delegates from the Agricultural Labourers here are not very large in number, they are not going to let the matter be lightly passed over by the Irish Labour Party. We in the country are organising on a big scale to smash the present system of utilising the land and big ranches for the bullocks, while the workers and their families are driven from the fertile plains into the bogs. When the Executive of the Labour Party decided to send forward candidates for the Dáil, they were told by the farmers, etc., they had no men of ability or talent, but the workers proved they had, and returned seventeen of their men (hear, hear). We will insist on changing the present agricultural system, and re-establishing the workers on the lands now enjoyed by the bullocks (hear, hear).

Mr. Mansfield (National Teachers)—An organised attempt is being made to split the workers in town and country. I was much impressed by those who spoke on the question of the Postal Commission. The policy of those endeavouring to use Labour for their own ends is to divide and conquer. The ranchers, for their own ends, have got in all the small farmers, who were really men on uneconomic holdings, because they know any country professing to be civilized cannot tolerate the present ranch system. They are relying on the rights of property, and expect the smaller man can be used to prop up the present ranch system. It is the duty of those who will have the reins of Government to tackle this question, and I hope the workers of this country will have an important say in the matter. It is their duty to see that the Irish people are not left in the bogs and on the hillsides, while his lordship the bullock reigns supreme over all. How can that be done? In the first place, those who had a great deal of respect in the past for the rights of property in connection with various Land Acts, were able to devise schemes for removing the landlord

system from this country, and I have put already a scheme on paper by which similarly, without any hardship to the community, these ranches could be divided. These ranches are of very little use to the country, and, like the landlords of the past, their owners are getting money from the towns and cities and the workers, and spending it in London or elsewhere. The rancher should be compelled to till a certain portion of his land, or there should be a graduated system of taxation, whereby these ranches will be compulsorily wiped out by means of regulations you are justified in adopting. You can't call it civilization which permits a man to be evicted to make room for the beast, and you can't call it civilization that workers should be stuck in the bog, while the bullock is lord of the country. If the rancher does not take the sop, give him the whip (hear, hear).

Mr. Cunningham (Roscrea) said—The agricultural labourer was not deserving of anything from the official Labour Party. When we were contesting the election in Tipperary the agricultural workers there, to a certain extent, sat down, and officially they gave us no help in the election. Mr. Mansfield said the proper way to deal with the ranchers was to tax them out of existence. Well, I know people prominent in both of the political parties in Ireland who style themselves great patriots, and these are the very people who have big ranches behind them, and these are the people who are in the Dáil. They got kicked out in our district anyway (hear, hear). These are the people who said the Labour Party was not patriotic because they went forward at the election (laughter).

LARGE SCALE TILLAGE.

Mr. M. Duffy (I.T. and G.W.U.) said—I contend that breaking up the ranches into small holdings does not get the general community anywhere or improve the position in any shape or form. You take a holding from 500 to 1,000 acres, and divide it into 20-acre holdings. It is natural that the farmers' men responsible for bringing about that division will get possession of these small holdings. What I say of the situation is this—the moment they get into these holdings they become alienated from the Trades' Union movement. Their position might be improved, but these men would become bitter opponents of Labour. I suggest you should take the question seriously, and not jump to conclusions as to what is the best method to deal with the question. There is a good deal to be said against the ranch system, and in favour of the Tillage Order, but the people of this country must remember that in Ireland last year the farmers could not get rid of their

agricultural produce. A small proportion of home agricultural produce was consumed in the country, and farmers are compelled to seek a market abroad. For the past few years these markets did not seem to be profitable. Hence the question requires serious consideration before deciding it. Dividing the lands into small holdings did not strike a deadly or severe blow at capitalism. If you divide up the land the tenants' or owners' interest is secured, and you are simply perpetuating the old system of landlordism, which had such awful consequences in the past. The aim of the Labour movement should be to get the land worked on a communal system, by which the land would be scientifically tilled and the produce conveyed direct to the workers in the town. By such a scheme the workers of the land would not lose their identity with the Labour movement. To my mind, the communising of the land is the only way the question can be dealt with.

Mr. Bermingham (N.U.R.) said—At the Railway Commission they had experience of where farmers and members of the Cattle Traders' Association were called to give evidence of the wages paid to agricultural labourers, and this was put forward as a gauge on which to base railway workers' wages. If that were the gauge the farmers desired to apply in regulating wages, it was the duty of Congress to see that the agricultural labourer was paid a living wage, and then interested parties would not be so fond of putting him forward as a "well-paid" man.

Mr. Linehan (I.T. and G.W.U., Mallow), said—We should be thoroughly opposed to this policy of dividing up the lands. We have had experience in North Cork where the ranches were divided and the people put on little patches of land that were uneconomic, with the result that they were worse off than before. The only way to attack this problem is on exactly the same lines as the land question was attacked a century ago. When the Government will not clear the ranches and demesnes we should see to it ourselves and have them worked by workers for the workers. Let us open co-operative stores in the towns and sell the produce. We have had experience of Tillage Orders before. Inspectors were sent round to see that they were enforced, but a glass of whiskey in a farmer's house enabled the farmer to get off with the least tillage possible, and the proportion of land he should till was not enforced.

STANDING ORDERS COMMITTEE REPORT.

The Standing Orders Committee reported that they have examined all the credentials of the Delegates to Congress and find them in order. Credentials passed, 244, representing 294,560. They have

also examined the nominations for the Members and Officers of the National Executive; the same applies in their case, with the following exceptions:—

*Mrs Margaret Buckley and
Mr. Peter Daly.*

They not being Delegates to Congress, are, therefore, not eligible.

The name of Mr. E. Mansfield will not appear on the Ballot Paper, he having intimated his withdrawal to this Committee.

The Committee recommends that the name of Mr. James Carr, nominated by the Limerick Trades Council, be included in the Ballot Paper, as owing to the abnormal Postal situation, though posted in time, the nomination was not received until the list had been printed.

Miss Bennett—What is the object of the rule which limits candidates for the Executive to delegates? How is it the rank and file of trades unionists are not eligible for the Executive?

Chairman—Standing Orders of the Congress do not allow anyone who is not a delegate to Congress to be nominated for the National Executive.

DISCUSSION ON UNEMPLOYMENT—CONTINUED.

Mr. Gill (R.C.A.), said—The only way in which unemployment can be dealt with or set right is by a change of the present existing system of things. On the one hand you have a very small number of people controlling land and all other industries, while the great mass of the people are merely producers for the smaller number. So long as that system obtains so long will you have unemployment. The spirit which will emanate from this Congress will solve not merely the question of unemployment, but the future control of production, distribution and exchange (hear, hear).

Mr Carr (Limerick Trades Council), said—I warn you against allowing individual or district action as regards the breaking up of land until we have a scheme for the erection of houses for the workers. My experience of the breaking up of the ranches and estates, in the majority of cases, is that it has been organised by large farmers in the districts where it occurred for their own monetary gain. You must be careful not to perpetuate a worse system of landlordism than ever existed. As an instance of the organising abilities of the farmers to grab any lands worth having, I might mention that a steward on an estate which gave employment to thirty labourers, received a threatening letter to leave

the country within twenty-four hours. He refused to take any notice of the letter, and the labourers agreed to stand by him, and undertook to protect him. The steward was visited by six masked men who were to drive him out of the country. The labourers captured and unmasked four of the six, who turned out to be four of the largest farmers in the district. If the Government ever functions, it might be able to provide land for the labourers, and put some stock and a house on it.

Mr. Ryan (Waterford) said—I understand the Dáil subsidised the Waterford Dead Meat Industry. The Corporation of Waterford have offered the people connected with the promotion of the factory every facility, but they refuse to go on with the industry. Some of us believe the reason to be that the man who is at the head of the probable factory, Sir John Keane, is also head of the Farmers' Union in Waterford. The Government subsidised an industry and did not insist on it going on. This looks strange.

Mr. P. T. Daly (Dublin) said—I read in the report, page 13, second last paragraph, "Several of the proposals were looked on with favour by Ministers, and something has been done towards financing local councils for road repairing, and also for housing schemes, out of Government funds." And then in the next, page 14, "The attitude of the Ministers, particularly Mr. Hogan, Minister for Agriculture, was distinctly unsympathetic. If we judge him aright there will be no breaking up of the grass ranches while he is responsible for agricultural policy." I think at this stage the National Executive might take the delegates into its confidence, and let us know first of all who are the Ministers who were sympathetic? I gather Mr. Hogan was very unsympathetic as to the Tillage Order. He thought the time was not opportune. I did not think he would be favourable to the Tillage Order, for we all know he represents the farming class of Ireland, and occupies the position he holds by virtue of his nomination by the Ministers of the Government. As to road making, so far as Dublin is concerned, I can claim fifteen years ago I made that alone not possible, but compulsory on the local council of which I am a member. I would suggest, instead of appealing in matters of this kind, local representatives on councils should do exactly as I did in Dublin. We gather from Mr. Johnson, notwithstanding the sympathy of some of the Ministers, something has been said, but nothing has been done with regard to local trade union labour carrying out road making. I have heard no explanation as to the Waterford Dead Meat Factory, or about the Drogheda Meat Factory. A man named Du Cros came over here and told us what a philanthropist he was and all the work he intended to do for Ireland. I don't know if the local council in Drogheda has done anything. As to seasonal work I have heard no explanation. Now, as to

"the question of the importation of foreign milled flour should be considered with a view to production until Irish mills were fully employed," I wish to say I have had some experience in this matter, and if you imagine that Irish millers are the philanthropists some people would have you believe, undeceive yourself as soon as you can. The next point is "that the housing schemes should be pressed forward by finances obtained from the National Government." The National Government have met you on that point. They have laid it down if the local authorities raise a rate in aid for housing they are prepared to meet the local authorities financially. In justice to representatives of Labour in the Dublin Corporation, notwithstanding the weeping and gnashing of teeth, we succeeded in getting the rate struck for housing and obtaining the money for dwellings. The same thing can be done all over Ireland. In connection with Russia, I know very little about it, and would like to get some information on the point. Page 12 of the report says: "During recent years labour in Ireland had developed a new consciousness of its position in the social economy. They saw that the resources of Ireland were capable of keeping the people in reasonable comfort, and it was for those who had the power of organising these resources to provide the people with means of living decent lives." That is not one of the things found out by the men of the present day. It is one of the things handed down to us by our fathers and grandfathers, and we should not take credit for the work of the men who have gone before us, even before some of the men now responsible in the Labour movement came to Ireland.

Mr. Dowling (Postal Workers) said—There has been no money grant obtained by Leix Co. Council for road making, and if there has it has not been used for that specific purpose. The road and surface workers' services have been, in most cases, dispensed with. The reason given by the Minister for Local Government, Alderman Cosgrave, is that no money is available at the present time for road making. While members of the Irish Transport Workers' Union, direct labour workers, were dismissed and penalised by the Leix Co. Council, officials such as deputy surveyors were kept in their employment and jobs and drew their full salaries. The labourers might starve while the officials lived in luxury. In addition to drawing their fat salaries from the County Council, some of the officials I have mentioned, assistant district surveyors, are employed as Brigadier-Generals and Commandant-Generals in the Provisional Government's Army, out of which they draw another salary. These assistant surveyors are paid both ways, and have their bread nicely buttered on the two sides. The Labour Party and Congress should protest against this scandal and see that these men should not be paid two salaries, while humble

workers and their families were deprived of their means of living, and were practically starving.

IMPORTATION.

Miss O'Connor (Irish Women Workers) said—I don't blame the National Executive, but I blame the apathy of the workers for the present condition of unemployment of certain industries in Dublin at which women are engaged. Take the confectionery trade. One firm that last year employed 300 workers now employ 130; another firm that employed 200, and have room for 300 hands, now employ 90, and a third firm that had 160 now has 30. For the past two years £3,000,000 of money has gone out of this country for imported confectionery. In the tobacco industry the same condition of things applies. You have only to go through the city and see posted up on buildings "this factory is closed." This has occurred in at least four tobacco factories. Irish women workers two years ago started a propaganda for Irish tobacco, and they succeeded very well indeed to a large extent in increasing the trade and employment, though they did not get the credit of it. When they asked people if they were smoking Irish tobacco, the answer they invariably got was "No, it's no good." That was a poor compliment to the Irish workers, to say they were not able to make it good. The same thing applies to sweets and jams. The Irish article was just as good as the imported article. In shops they will see French, Scotch, and English confectionery, but no Irish.

WATERFORD DEAD MEAT SCHEME.

Mr. Larkin (Waterford) said—It is not correct to say the Government was prepared to finance the Waterford Dead Meat Scheme. We used all our power through the local council, with the full support of the National Executive, to get that scheme on its way, when we finally struck up against the difficulty of finance. About two-thirds of the finance was subscribed, but for some reason the farming community in the South refused to subscribe, thereby holding up the scheme. We took action, through the National Executive, with the Government, but failed to obtain any financial assistance. Had we got the grant we asked for, £50,000, it would have been the means of giving employment, roughly, to 300 workers. We also had some difficulty in dealing with the chief director, Sir John Keane, a large landowner. In regard to housing question in our area, we have availed to the full of the Government's financial assistance, and we have under way, and almost completed, a scheme

of forty houses, and that to some extent has relieved unemployment. The Government should exercise its authority, and not allow local bodies to hold up building schemes. In some places builders' "rings" had been formed, and the prices made prohibitive. There was no support coming from the Government to overcome that difficulty. By forming a guild of workers we smashed a "ring" in Waterford. We first took on ten houses, and this brought down the price of the "ring." The land question affects every worker in Ireland. The mere smashing up of the ranches will not settle the question, but it must be dealt with on co-operative lines, so that every worker will be interested in the produce of the land and its distribution in towns amongst the workers.

Alderman T. Lawlor (Municipal Employees, Dublin)—The Minister for Local Government has made an offer of £1,000,000 in grants for housing, and I should like to know how much of that has been already distributed, and if there has been any further advance made on the £1,000,000.

Chairman—No member of the National Executive is a minister (laughter).

Alderman Lawlor—I did not suggest that.

Chairman—I understand the whole £1,000,000 is available. I don't know whether it all has been paid out.

Alderman Lawlor—Everything is available, but have the goods been delivered?

Alderman O'Brien—Does not the Alderman know there is more money in Dublin than can be applied at the present moment.

Alderman Lawlor—I am dealing not only with Dublin, but with the entire country.

Alderman O'Brien—There is no answer then.

SECRETARY REPLIES TO CRITICISM.

Mr. Johnson (Secretary) said—The National Executive believe that the question of unemployment, in one or other of its aspects, is the most important problem that faces the country at the moment, and we will have to use all opportunities to force some solution of the question. I wish to say that the proposals to which attention was drawn are proposals implied and in some instances specifically enumerated in resolutions of Congress last year or the year before. They were formulated in this manner, and put before the Ministry when we interviewed them. We are not responsible for the failure to apply them, but we claim credit for having pressed sufficiently hard to get some of them adopted,

at least theoretically, and, to some extent practically, by the Government. Housing, undoubtedly, has been dealt with sympathetically, in so far as the Government control the finances, and I don't think the conditions they imposed on local authorities were unfair conditions. The local authorities in many parts have availed themselves of the offer, and in other places they have not availed of the offer. We consider the local authorities, as far as possible, should avail themselves of the Government's offer. We are not responsible for the failure of county and local councils to bind themselves to use only trade union labour in road contracts. That is a matter in which the local workers should exercise their influence, and I think in most places where it has affected trade union organisations that influence has been materially felt and proved effective. Mr. Daly rather blamed us, I thought, for having continued pressing proposals forward which he claims to have fathered years ago. He should not blame us for that. We have no claim to originality in these things.

Mr. Daly—I have not blamed the National Executive. I pointed out if the local authorities did the same as we did in Dublin there would be no necessity of pressing it.

Mr. Johnson—I accept that so far as housing is concerned. I would point out again that the action of the Government followed pressure we applied, and will pass on to criticisms of the suggestion I made in the interview with the Dáil, that "during recent years Labour in Ireland had developed a new consciousness of its position in the social economy." It is a matter of opinion whether that is so or not. Mr. Daly says it is not new, and existed amongst the workers of Ireland many years ago. I am not going to be drawn into blaming the workers, if it is true they had the social consciousness years ago, for not applying it. I am not a theologian, but Mr. Daly knows it is written down as the chief of sins to know and be conscious of what is right and don't do the right. If it is true that that consciousness was in the workers years ago, and they failed to act accordingly, then they are to blame; but I am not going to blame them, for I don't think that the consciousness was aroused when Fintan Lalor tried to arouse it. Mr. Gill referred to the ownership and control of property by a small number of owners in Ireland. I think it will be wise to remind you that, however that may apply to other countries, it is not true of Ireland. Property is held to-day by a large number of small owners in Ireland, and that fact must make a difference in our outlook on social life and remedies for social evils. We cannot apply the same remedies in Ireland for social evils as in other countries, where social organisation is different. Some criticism has been made on the suggestion that land should be divided up. We advocated a Tillage Order; you advocated a Tillage Order last year and the year before. That

does not necessarily mean dividing up the land, but it does mean that the holder of land who does not comply with the Tillage Order shall be relieved of his responsibility. The holder of the land has a duty to perform to the nation, to make the most of the trust that has been given him, and he is not doing that unless he grows out of the land the greatest amount of food that can be drawn out of it. In our view you cannot apply one single plan in Ireland to solve the land question. You cannot go to every district and say, the land here shall be turned into small holdings, or the land elsewhere shall be turned into communal holdings. For my part, I believe a variety of schemes that will bring the land into cultivation should be devised. It has not yet been proved which is the most natural and beneficial holding for Ireland. It certainly has not been proved that the small holding is the most beneficial. The solution of the land and tillage question is going to affect every worker in Ireland. We should devise a plan or scheme that would appeal to the agricultural labourer or small farmer, and detach him from the ranks of the capitalist farmer, who does not work his holding, but lives on the labour of employed men. I think it is possible to draw him into the wider labour movement, for he is really a labourer working the holding. Mr. Duffy pointed out that Ireland consumed to a greater extent imported food than home-grown food, and referred to the very great imports of one kind of food and exports of another kind of food. This problem, which has to be faced, can only be solved by some organisation of export and import. We have encouraged the proposition that home produce, collectively produced, shall be distributed through collectively organised stores, and consumed in the towns of Ireland. I believe that is the way it can be developed, and will add very greatly to the common benefit, for it would mean eventually great saving of waste of labour in transit, etc. We are asked to give the names of Ministers who were sympathetic and unsympathetic. The paragraph referred to is as follows:—After enumerating the proposals we say: "Several of these proposals were looked upon with favour by Ministers, etc." The Ministers listened to our suggestions and asked questions. As a body they listened sympathetically, but when we came to deal with specific propositions, Mr. Hogan was distinctly unsympathetic, and with him, I may mention, Mr. Kevin O'Higgins, who struck us as distinctly unsympathetic on tillage and other schemes. The other Ministers, in fairness I must say, were sympathetic. They were Mr. Arthur Griffith, Mr. Michael Collins, Mr. Joseph McGrath, and Alderman W. Cosgrave. I think that was all. The discussion has been useful in educing the views and opinions from the agricultural districts. We are pleased to hear declarations of policy from agricultural Ireland, and I wish

you to note it was not from the town workers that we got the suggestion of communal ownership (hear, hear).

The discussion closed.

Congress adjourned for lunch.

Congress resumed after luncheon interval.

ELECTION OF SCRUTINEERS.

Chairman—We shall now receive nominations for four scrutineers. Each delegate, it will be remembered, has only four votes.

The following were nominated:—T. Brady, F. Robbins, F. Cluskey (Transport Union); R. Tynan (Municipal Employees); J. P. Weldon (Woodworkers); M. Kiernan (Woodworking Machinists); Dawson Gordon (Flax Roughers).

The result of the voting was as follows:—Brady, 79; Robbins, 91; Tynan, 79; Gordon, 116; Cluskey, 63; Kiernan, 56; Weldon, 87.

Chairman—Those elected are Gordon, Robbins, and Weldon, and there is a tie for fourth place between Brady and Tynan.

On the suggestion of several delegates, and with the approval of Congress, both Brady and Tynan were appointed scrutineers.

LORD MAYOR'S WELCOME.

Chairman—As you are all aware, the Lord Mayor was unable to be present yesterday to extend to you a civic welcome. He is here now. We give him a welcome, and he will give you a civic welcome as hearty as you have got anywhere (applause).

Alderman Laurence O'Neill, T.D., Lord Mayor of Dublin, was received with loud applause. He said: Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen—I had hoped to be with you on yesterday morning, but other calls prevented me. I had hoped to be with you at the opening of your Congress this morning, but a very melancholy and a very sad duty called me elsewhere. And if it is not too late now, I have come, as the Chairman has told you, to offer you a civic welcome, and to extend to you once more a hearty welcome to the Mansion House (hear, hear). I extend to you a welcome to this Mansion House, which, during my tenure of office for the past five and a half years, has seen many changes, and many stages in the Labour movement in this country. It has seen the Labour movement come along, if I may put it so, with a fierceness, and establishing itself in a position from which no one can disturb it. Yes, the Mansion House, which, during

the past five and a half years, has seen many acts in reference to the destinies of our country; which has seen a united Ireland defeating that accursed thing which was about to be forced upon us by an alien Government—conscription; the Mansion House, which has seen many, many changes in the destinies of our country. In the room close by there have been witnessed many scenes some of the gentlemen around me know full well of—scenes of love, of hatred, of anger, of revenge, enacted between some of the self-constituted political leaders in this country—scenes which have culminated in what is going on in Ireland to-day—scenes of wounded vanity (applause). Yes, scenes of wounded vanity that have brought the people of this country persecution; scenes of wounded vanity which have destroyed the industries of our country, and attempts to throttle the very voices of our people and ruin the economic life of our nation. Mr. Chairman, what I have stated on many occasions before I state to-day with a great deal more sincerity, and with a great deal of more fervent hope. I earnestly trust that the deliberations of your Congress may be of great advantage to yourselves, but above all that, at this time of stress in Ireland, I trust it may be of great help and benefit to the country which we all love so well (hear, hear). Some four or five years ago on this platform, actually on this very spot, I had a presentiment of what was coming, and I stated then that the time was rapidly approaching when the people of this country would look to the Labour movement for help, and, perhaps, for salvation. I was never more convinced than I am now that the whole destinies of this country are in the hands of the Labour movement (applause). I was never more satisfied in my life that, if the country is going to wrest itself out of the troubles which are at present encircling it, the only thing the people need look to is the Labour movement. I have been often twitted for, perhaps, paying too much attention to the Labour movement in this country. It has been often thrown in my teeth, and even quite recently, when the representatives of Labour, to my mind, made a great endeavour to steady the country and to see if something could be done, I was twitted that I was the only one outside the Labour movement to accept the invitation which Labour members sent out. As I stand here, I have the screams of sorrow actually running through my brain, which I heard not more than half-an-hour ago in Glasnevin. And when I investigated the cases of the poor boys who were consigned to earth, who were they? Were they the children of the rich? Were they the children of the professional classes? Were they the children of the people with money? No; they were the children of labourers of this city who believed, without perhaps going too deeply into anything, that they were doing the right thing

in the effort they made to free our country from the militarism with which your Chairman dealt so fairly and eloquently yesterday (hear, hear). Mr. Chairman, it is a pleasure, through all the sadness, to come here. I have hopes that you, ladies and gentlemen, will save our country yet. I have hope that what I predicted five years ago will come to pass—that the Labour movement of Ireland will be the movement that will save Ireland from going down (applause).

Chairman—My Lord Mayor, I am sure it is not necessary for me to assure you, on behalf of the delegates to the Irish Labour Party and Trade Union Congress, that we appreciate the welcome that you have given us, not only now, but in the past. You know it as well as we do that the appreciation is not alone personal, but it is an appreciation of your services as the civic head of the city. If I may say it also, it is an appreciation of the efforts in which you were associated along with us some weeks ago—the effort to establish peace, if not in Ireland, at least in the city. Lord Mayor, we differ from you in many things; we shall differ from you in the future in many things; but we must say, in fairness, and justice, and in honour, that since you have been head of the City of Dublin, there has been no place, and no city in Ireland, in which we were more welcome than in the Mansion House in Dublin (applause). Whatever differences there may be, in whatever position you occupy, you will always carry with you the appreciation of the workers of Ireland for your kindness, consideration, and your hearty welcome, and the work, in one way or another, that you have done on their behalf (applause).

The Lord Mayor then retired.

THE TREATY NEGOTIATIONS.

Chairman—We shall go on now with the consideration of the National Executive's Report.

Mr. Denis Cullen (Bakers, Confectioners, and Allied Workers)—Mr. Chairman and fellow delegates, I think it right to draw attention to the end of page 14, where it is stated, in regard to the controversy surrounding the Treaty, that the National Executive had no responsibility whatever for the negotiations. The reason I draw attention to that, so that the point set out there shall be emphasised, is because some of us have found from time to time, and have found recently in quarters that should be better informed, an impression that the National Executive of the Labour Party were in some way consulted, and in some way were responsible for the negotiations and the approval of the Treaty. Now, the report sets out clearly there the position of the Irish Labour Party in

regard to that matter. Of course, there have been big developments since that in the country, but we would like it to be made clear now that the Labour Party were in no way consulted, or had any hand, act, or part in the negotiations that led up to the Treaty. On other matters representatives of the Labour Party did meet certain ministers of certain departments from time to time, but in no way were we consulted or concerned with the Treaty, or the negotiations leading up to the Treaty as such. I think it right to make that clear.

EFFORTS FOR PEACE.

Chairman—Does any delegate wish to speak on the subject matter from pages 17 to 30—the Labour Party's Efforts for Peace?

Mr. P. J. McPhillips (Postal Union)—Mr. Chairman, I should like to ask, in connection with the Labour Party's efforts for peace, has any correspondence passed between the meeting called here about a fortnight ago and the other political parties? I have reason to believe, from the very short account of the meeting given in the public Press, that the censorship was at work there also.

Chairman—Do you mean did any correspondence pass between the Labour Party and anybody else since the date of the meeting of the Labour T.D.'s in the Mansion House?

Mr. P. J. McPhillips—You invited all the other T.D.'s from every political party to meet here. We all know they did not come, with the honourable exception of the Lord Mayor. Did any of the other parties reply or take any notice of the invitation?

Chairman—The only communication that meeting or the Labour Party had from any party or from any individual member of the Dáil since the date of that meeting was the letter already published from a group of Anti-Treaty T.D.'s. It was not published in the daily Press. Why it was not I do not know—whether it was the censorship or not. It was published in the *Voice of Labour*, and went through the censorship.

Mr. James Bermingham (National Union of Railwaymen)—The report says:—"These proposals were submitted to Mr. Collins in person, and to Mr. De Valera, per Mr. Art O'Brien, on the Friday before Christmas Day, and again to Mr. De Valera in person on St. Stephen's Day. Their reception by Messrs. Collins and Griffith led us to hope that a basis of agreement had been found, but this hope was shattered at the interview with Mr. De Valera. The proceedings at the resumed debates in the Dáil confirmed our disappointment." Has the Labour Party any observation to make

on that? It would be a good thing, in my opinion, if these who dealt with the proceedings would give us an outline of what they think of the proceedings.

Mr. Richard Maher (Irish Transport and General Workers' Union)—Whether we ought to get an answer to that question or not does not affect me. I think it is merely a waste of the time of Congress to be discussing matters over which we have no control, good, bad, or indifferent. We are here in the interests of the workers—simply in the interests of the workers. My point is this: That the Labour Party has done all it could in the interests of peace, and Labour has been sadly turned down, and our business here, in my opinion, should be simply concerned with the workers whom we represent. Not for any political reasons are we here. We are here in an absolutely neutral business, and neutral we should remain.

A PROFESSIONAL ARMY?

Miss Louie Bennett (Women Workers)—On page 25, amongst the proposals, is the following:—"The I.R.A. to be united under common command, and to be responsible to the Civil Authority or the Council of State." I think it would be in the interests of the workers that the policy of the Labour Party with regard to an army be made perfectly clear. Does that proposal mean that the Labour Party is in favour of a professional army, or are they going to advocate and fight for an army such as other small European countries have—that is an army practically amounting to a volunteer army? At least it means this: that there is no standing army, and very little expense connected with it, and the training covers only six, eight, or ten weeks in the year. That is the system in Switzerland, Denmark, and some of the other countries. Personally I would prefer to see no army in Ireland. The very existence of an army means fighting, and if it is not fighting for some aggressive purpose, it will be drawn into some European war, or will be turned on the workers, or something of that sort. My views on the army question might not be acceptable to the whole Congress, but I do think we ought to make up our minds as to what form of army there will be in the future, whether it is to be professional, or such an army as is established in other small countries.

Mr. Thomas MacPartlin (Amalgamated Society of Woodworkers).—This is a record of the work done by the Executive, and personally I believe the Executive did the best work possible under the circumstances. The question of a professional army, or otherwise, has nothing to do with what is here. The Executive believed, and I believe, that a good deal of the votes they got at the election came from people who voted for them because they believed

Labour was going to bring about peace. And they did their best, according to their lights, to carry out the mandate they got from the electors. I believe they did it well, but they failed. But any amount of people fail in trying to do the right thing. They did everything possible to try and establish a proper mode of life in Ireland. It was not their fault that they failed; it was the fault of the different political parties. These political parties did not consult with the Labour Party when there was a settlement, or at least when certain agreements were reached. They were glad to consult with Labour in other matters. Let these pages pass, is my suggestion. If they do not want peace you cannot help it. You have done your best and have failed. There is no use in denying that fact. Personally I do not believe there is any need for an army in Ireland, or in any other country, for that matter. The Chairman asked us not to discuss politics too much. Unfortunately for us he went on himself and set us a bad example (laughter). Let us not discuss any more for goodness' sake; let us get on with practical work.

Mr. G. Lynch (Dundalk Trades' Council)—You failed in the peace efforts, with the result that we are still in the midst of civil war. I would like to know whether it would be possible to discuss the position in Ireland to-day on these peace pages, or will we be given an opportunity before the end of the Congress to discuss the question? We are representing workers, as workers, and though we want to take a neutral standpoint, we are faced continually with the fact that owing to the war activities these people we are representing are being brought down to the starvation level, and we must have the courage to protect them. It is all right talking about politics, but we are here in the interests of the workers of Ireland as a whole, and we will not shirk our responsibility. I want a ruling as to whether we will be allowed to discuss your failure to bring about peace now, or whether we shall be given an opportunity before the end of the Congress.

"THE WAR SITUATION."

Chairman—In answer to Mr. Lynch's question, it is quite in order that the whole situation in the country could be discussed on this part of the National Executive's Report—the whole war situation. Whether it would be desirable to do that, as others think it would not be, is another question. It is quite in order to discuss the war situation, or ask such a question as Mr. Bermingham has asked in explanation of anything in the report.

Mr. R. S. Anthony (Typographical Association)—I do not want to interfere in this discussion, but I do not like to leave the remark

of Mr. MacPartlin go unchallenged. That is where he says that we should skip over these pages, because, forsooth, they do not materially affect us, and that we probably will be getting into the realm of politics. I ask any delegate here, does not the present political situation affect us as workers, and affect us very materially? I submit that this is a most vital matter, and one which strikes more potently at the lives of the workers than any question which has arisen in this country within recent years. We are very materially concerned in what is transpiring to-day. To illustrate my point. We have as a result of this civil war, this fratricidal strife, thousands of unemployed. No later than last Friday morning, when we, Southern delegates, were leaving by the Liverpool boat, we had the unpleasant news that another large factory, employing roughly fifteen or sixteen hundred hands, was about to close down. Whether that unfortunate event has taken place yet or not I do not know, but it was intimated to the employees that the firm were not prepared to carry on under existing circumstances. Now, I think this is a matter that requires straight talk and deep thinking. The fault I find with, not alone the Labour representatives, but with many other people representing various interests in Ireland at the present moment, is this: Whilst we Irish people never lack in physical courage, I regret to say many of us do lack moral courage (hear, hear). It is very easy to go with the crowd, and it is very easy to talk to the gallery. At the moment it is dangerous—sometimes involving the loss of life—to say what you believe and what you think. Personally—I do not want to introduce any ego—I have not been afraid to speak out, and never have been. In the South of Ireland, I submit, as far as Cork City is concerned, there is a tendency to hush everything. Under the present régime there are people afraid really to speak out what is in the back of their minds. Well, we are living under a most intolerable militaristic system in Cork City to-day. I disagree with Mr. MacPartlin when he says we should gloss over this matter, and I disagree with him for the reasons I have advanced. If we were to give this portion of the report the go-by without being articulate, it would prove to many of our enemies that we were afraid or ashamed to speak out what we believe to be absolutely true. Let it be Republican or Free State, there is militarism. I have seen examples of Free State militarism in Dublin, and I have seen examples of Republican militarism in Cork City, which would be enough to make any Irishman blush. I arose with the object of encouraging other delegates to let us have the benefit of their experience in other parts of the country, because I believe that we of the Labour Party are not so impotent as some delegates think. I say there is a solution to the question. I challenge

any delegate to tell me, if we people demonstrated as we have demonstrated before when conscription was threatened, and as we demonstrated when other dangers threatened from our then common enemy, that it would not be effective? Were we afraid in the past? No. Had it any effect? I say it had. Quite recently in the South, when the Republican Party were getting most aggressive through their military organisation on the streets of Cork, we in the Labour movement, at twenty or thirty hours' notice, held one of the largest demonstrations that ever took place in the City of Cork, and we protested in public against this manifestation of militarism as we experienced it. I can assure you that had an effect. The moral effect of that was such that for two or three weeks afterwards there was a very marked change in the attitude of the military people towards the civilian population. I submit that we in the Labour movement can demonstrate again. Somebody told us on a different occasion that we were great people for resolution writing. There was a good deal of truth in the accusation at one time, but we have evolved out of that. We have proved that we can translate the verb to say into the verb to do. We of the organised Labour movement should, at a given date, demonstrate in every city, town, village, and hamlet. We are the people who will ultimately have to pay, as we have paid in all great wars. We the proletariat, the common-regarding people, should demonstrate and show these people that we are the masters and that they are our servants. I rose with the intention of getting from others in this assembly their opinions on this matter. A little encouragement is all that is wanted to bring out that instinct which, perhaps, is only latent in some—the instinct which I would like to see made more manifest here. Let us have a little moral courage, and say what we think and feel, and to h—l with all armies (applause).

Mr. Harte (Amalgamated Transport and General Workers' Union) said—Here is a most important communication, so important that I wish to read it to Congress. It is a letter from the Headquarters of the Republican Army, and was received by the members of other Trades' Unions as well as mine. It reads as follows:—

“IRISH REPUBLICAN ARMY,

“FIELD HEADQUARTERS,

“NORTHERN AND EASTERN COMMAND,

“August 5th, 1922.

“To the Secretary,

“..... Union.

“1. I am directed to inform you that the Headquarters Staff of this Command have decided, after careful consideration, that

workers actively co-operating with Free State forces, or assisting in operations undertaken by Free State forces, will in future be deemed to be participants in the war between the Republican and Free State forces, and will be treated as such.

"2. Owing to the use of railways by the Free State Headquarters for the conveyance of troops and war materials, and for the purpose of army communication, the destruction of railways under Free State control is an essential part of our military policy. Unless absolutely essential we are reluctant to interfere with those services, which are a convenience to the civil population. This decision has, however, been forced upon us by reason of the fact that the chief work of the railways at present is army work; that the railway authorities give allegiance to the so-called Provisional Government, and that organised Labour has, up to the present, freely co-operated in assisting the 'Free State' and the British Government in their attempts to exterminate the Republican forces.

"3. Will you, therefore, officially notify your Trade Union that any of its members who assist enemy forces in any such operations as repairing of railways, transportation or handling of munitions and transportation of troops, repairing telephone or telegraph wires, etc., or in any way obstructing our forces in the carrying out of their duties, will be considered combatants in the war, and will take the same risks as the armed forces who are fighting against the Republic.

"..... *Adjutant.*"

That is a communication which places every man employed on the railways and transport service in the position of being likely to be shot at any moment. Even every man employed in the Postal service, from the highest official to the telegraph messenger, can be shot at sight. The document means that members of Trades' Unions are to run the risk of being shot as combatants for pursuing their ordinary vocations, or throw up their jobs at the risk of starvation. We should tell the workers, rightly or wrongly, that it does not matter a d—n how they are to act in the future, or whether they are to agree to the Free State or not. We have shirked our responsibility in the past. At the last Congress I believe it was agreed that delegates who went forward for the Dáil should decide whether they support the Free State or not. Something should be done to give a lead to the country, and say what should be done. The majority operating on either side of the combatants are workers. We don't want to have it said that Labour is co-operating with the Free Staters and the British Government to exterminate the Republicans. That is a d—d lie (hear, hear).

Mr. MacPartlin—Are we in order, Mr. Chairman, in discussing this document? It is not signed.

Mr. Harte—It is signed.

Mr. MacPartlin—Is it in order? Is it signed? We do not know who is responsible for its production. It may emanate from supporters of the other side, and not from the Republicans. You will be wise for a month if you take notice of every document handed to the delegates at the door entering the Mansion House.

Chairman—Mr. Harte is quite in order in reading and discussing the document. The document is signed, or rather initialled. Copies of it have been forwarded to a number of trade unions. Some were personally of the opinion—I was myself up to a few moments ago—that the document was a forgery. Had I not thought so I would have dealt with it yesterday, but I have had enough evidence within the last half-hour to assure and convince me that it is not a forgery.

Mr. Harte—The letter was addressed to me in my official capacity, and I take strong exception to that part of the document which states: "organised Labour has up to the present co-operated in assisting the Free State and the British Government in their attempt to exterminate the Republican forces." I think this Congress should flatly deny and contradict this statement *in toto*. Irish Labour has never assisted in any way the British Government in its attempt. Whatever differences may exist between us, I want my comrades to give an expression of opinion as to what attitude they wish the rank and file to take in the position with which we are faced, either by co-operating or assisting the Free State Government or putting every obstacle in its way.

A Delegate—Who is the document signed by?

Chairman—The document is an exact copy, even to the handwriting and initials at bottom, as that received by the Secretary or General President of the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union, and by myself as Acting Chairman of the Labour Party last Saturday. It is headed: "Irish Republican Headquarters, Adjutant's Department, initials L. O. S., Adjutant." I am not in a position to tell you who is adjutant of the Northern and Eastern Command. If anyone can adduce evidence this is not authentic I will hear him. I have been convinced during the last half-hour it is authentic. I was not yesterday, and, therefore, I did not deal with it.

Mr. MacPartlin—Would it not be possible other parties would produce this document to turn the people against the Republican army?

Chairman—When I got the letter I looked upon it as a forgery for the purpose of playing the game. A delegate in the hall had a discussion with me about it this morning, and unless I am very much mistaken I know the handwriting in the document.

Mr. Harte—Will Congress deny that the workers are assisting the Free State and the British Government? I want Congress to deny it.

Mr. Irwin (Plasterers)—We are considering the Executive's Report dealing with the efforts made to bring about peace in our unfortunate country. The only point I think we are at liberty to discuss is whether the Labour Party Executive made sufficient efforts in that direction or not. If you are going to discuss every aspect and phase of the political movement you are going to split the Labour movement. Capital is sought to be made out of this document, stating the workers, forsooth, were going to be shot for pursuing their work on railways, etc. How many of us are free from being shot any night in Dublin? What is the use of talking about being shot? It is all humbug. People who are going to shoot others don't write letters like that. One speaker asked a very pertinent question, in my opinion, with a view of fixing responsibility for the failure of the peace negotiations as initiated by our Executive, and I appeal to that man not to press for an answer, and if he insists on an answer, let him enter the political arena and get it (hear, hear).

A PRISONER'S STORY.

Mr. Ridgeway (I.T. and G.W.U., Dundalk)—I want to speak as a victim. I do not think any other person present could give you such an idea of what militarism is up North, and I happen to have cause to remember it from my experiences as a Trades' Union Official. I am not taking an attitude against any army in particular; I am only going to give you my experience in Monaghan. I was detained in the barracks by a policeman; they called him a D.I. He did not tell me what I was detained for. I may say what happened me might have happened to any member of this Congress. This officer told me I was in the hands of the military; that they were making no charges, as they were at war. He started to run down the Labour movement, and the Irish Transport Workers' Union in particular. He said we were simply "a murder gang." It did not matter a d—n about a trades' unionist or Transport Union member, they were all of the same kidney, and that I was an organiser and of the "murder gang." I said it was like the days of the Black and Tans. "You are talking like one of them," he said. "If you say I am a Black and Tan I will put you up against the wall and plug you." Next morning I saw standing at the foot of my bed a soldier. He had a revolver. I was told there was no trial for people like me, that they were shot. I heard a lot of soldier talk that night, a lot of very bad

language, and I had to stand a lot of threatening language, and language that I thought soldiers had the monopoly of. At four o'clock in the morning they said they would take me out and shoot me. At four o'clock the same day a policeman and he started the same talk again. I said, "Are you satisfied now?" and he cursed me and struck me. I wanted to fight him and not to talk to him. He noticed that I was a Protestant (laughter). I think it only fair to say that the rank and file of the military appeared to be sympathetic. I was told they could do nothing further that night, and that I was to be brought to Dundalk. In Ballybeag, on the Tuesday night that I spent there, I was told not to try to make an escape. I sent word to the D.I. that I wanted to see a clergyman. I did not mind what religion (laughter). I did not see the joke at the time, but people do not know where they are at the present time in Ireland. The evening came without any clergyman. I was reared up in the North, and was rather conservative. I looked on generals as high people. That evening a gentleman, whom I looked upon as something out of the ordinary, something like a general, came to make an investigation into my case. The general came and said "Good-day," and as soon as he heard my name he said: "You should not have been arrested at all; you should have been taken out and shot." He broke into a greater fury than any I had heard. I told him I thought I should first get a trial. He said: "There was no trial for a fellow like you." I thought they were going to shoot me there and then. He told me "to clear to hell out of that." I was unarmed, and he had a large revolver. He was called Brigadier Terry Magee in that part of the country. He is in charge of the Northern section. That evening I was told to go into the kitchen to get tea, and when I got there, there was the brave general taking his tea. He said: "It is very likely you will not reach Dundalk to-night." For the next ten minutes he raved in that way, and he said: "You did not know your father and mother." He and others went out to the lorry to finish their talk. There were five others with me. He came back, and said that "if there was an ambush none of us would reach Dundalk, and that Ridgeway would be the first to go." It was a black outlook for me. We got to Dundalk, where officers I knew from South Armagh said "I would be all right." The other officer said: "He is all wrong. If he does not get into the cell, kick him across the courtyard." I was put in a cell in the jail with five others, with two blankets between us. Instead of freedom, militarism is growing up more and more in the country. One man died while we were in Dundalk. Workingmen are thrown into jail without any inquiry. What happened me might happen any man. You and I stand for neither one army nor the

other, but for the Labour movement. The great strike in April was a wonderful effort, but it is all no use unless we can put a stop to what happened me, and what is happening everywhere in Ireland, simply because they have got revolvers. Militarism in Ireland is not a paying proposition. We want no military. The position is that I would like to see Congress able to put a stop to the war. Courts of inquiry should be set up to inquire into the case of every person, every man and woman, in jail. If something of this kind is not done there will be no liberty for anyone. It is time Labour put a stop to this (applause). Someone blew a hole in the jail wall and we left through it, and won't go back if we can help it.

CITIZEN SOLDIERS.

Miss Helena Molony—This brings us back to Miss Bennett's question, and what is referred to on pages 18 to 25. We accept the document as to what actually occurred. The last three or four speakers prove that our point of view, that of the Women Workers, should be made clear by the Labour Party. We see the inadvisability of having an army not morally responsible to the people or whatever State it is. The only thing that should obtain is an army of citizen soldiers, where every soldier has the right to refuse to fight when he likes, and, when he likes, not obey the command of any authority, Civil or State. What has occurred is deplorable. Each of us feels as deeply about our particular point of view as anyone in the Dáil. There is no use in talking about peace until we have some foundation for it. Labour, as a whole, should think out some policy as an antidote to militarism, and the provision of means in the direction of bringing about industrial action to put an end to the war. The chief thing ought to be the founding of a Workers' Republic. I admit that a great deal of moral courage is required. We all regret what was done in Cork, and, although many deplorable things were done, we stand by the Republic as the ideal to stand by. No matter what foolish things were done against it, it is a noble ideal, and, although things may be done that are regretted, it does not lower the ideal; if it is right once it is right always. If wrong things are done let us cease doing wrong. It does not alter the fact that the Republic is the right thing.

Mr. J. J. Lynch (Painters)—There is no use in discussing and criticising the Labour Party's action unless we consider some means of stopping the war. It is all very well to have a twenty-four hours' general strike, but then we still have a state of war. What we want is some practical suggestion to stop the war.

Mr. Mitchell (Automobile Drivers)—There is no use in hiding the fact here of what happened in Cork and what is happening in our midst. Members of our association have been commandeered to drive Free State soldiers, with the windows pulled down and the backs of the cars open, looking for snipers. Two or three of our fellows who refused to do so were told by men with revolvers that if they did not go on they would be shot. It was not a nice position for our men to be in, with two or three Free State soldiers going around blind drunk stopping taxi-cabs, and we are told we will be shot if we do not drive them. We should have some definite proposals before us. I agree that if we had the moral courage, the Labour Party could stop the war. The railwaymen made a bold attempt to stop the war in the time of the Black and Tans, and it would not take as big an attempt to stop the war at the present moment. The Labour Party ought to give a lead. I believe there ought to be no arms on either side. I do not believe in armies. The Labour Party must help to bring both sides in the war together.

Mr. Hickey (Irish Transport Workers' Union)—With a view of getting something practical done we had a deputation from the unemployed to the Cork Trades' Council last week. I was one of the many men objecting to taking any action until some definite lead was given by Labour. We deferred taking action. On next Sunday the unemployed will make a demonstration, with the co-operation of the Labour bodies in Cork. It is a sorry position for Labour to be in. The Corporation undertook to do something to remedy unemployment. I suggest that a committee be appointed to put a stop to the war. Some national action ought to be taken to prevent war in Ireland.

Mr. Bermingham (N.U.R.)—On page 24 of the Report I find that there are concrete proposals, 1, 2, 3, 4 to 10. We understand that these proposals were agreed to at a meeting when the Party had a conference. Do we understand that these proposals are with a view to creating what would be a pucker to the military system in this country, and if this is what is required?

The Chairman—I think I may as well butt in and say that you will find in this report that these are not specific proposals of Labour, but proposals to meet a definite case at a definite time, and are not our specific Labour proposals at all.

Mr. Bermingham—The reason I say this is I want a lead. Are we to have something else now? It is perfectly well known in this Congress this letter has been received by myself, as well as others here. I am not going to labour it except to say this—If there is anybody going to be exposed to danger, if there is any danger arising from this letter, no one can be more subjected to

it than the railwaymen, and, in this connection, I cannot sit down here and allow this opportunity to pass without bringing it very clearly before the notice of this Congress. Here you have plate-layers following their employment, working for a railway company, and amenable to orders by the railway company, and who are called upon, from time to time, to make good breaches in the road, and railwaymen called upon at a moment's notice, where an engine has been put off the road, to put it back, and they get it "jacked" up. We know the railways are used to a great extent for military purposes. Drivers, firemen, and guards have got to man these trains, and if there is anything in this letter that could convey a meaning to anybody if there were any source of danger, nobody would be more subjected to that danger than the railwaymen who man these trains. They work under orders, and the railways are responsible to the public, and we, as well as them, have a right to the full protection and advice of this assembly.

Mr. Bonham (Rathdowney)—I am inclined to suggest that this Congress should call on the Dáil to meet at once, and give the Labour representatives a chance of voicing their feelings. We do not know what is happening. The rank and file of the workers are asking what are the leaders doing. They think that the rank and file of the Labour movement should do something to get the Dáil to meet, and get the Labour representatives hear something of what is happening. I am glad to see that some delegates have the courage to speak out, and to speak plainly of what is happening. They are not going to be frightened by any intimidation. I know that in our part of the country Labour is solid. When we had to face the two contending parties, Labour had simply a walk-over. My suggestion is that this Congress call on the Dáil to meet at once.

Mr. Fitzgerald (Woodworkers)—A delegate from Cork spoke of what happened in the Trades' Council at Cork. A deputation of the unemployed came and asked the co-operation of the Trades' Council. They put forward their case in the best manner possible. We were told that they would hold a public demonstration on next Sunday, and that the men were getting out of bounds. Unless something is done to put a stop to the way the contending armies are carrying on at the present time, it would destroy everything around our countryside. We hear a great lot of discussion, without any practical suggestion or any practical proposition, as to how the Labour Party can bring about a settlement. I rise to support Brother Hickey, who will propose that a Sub-Committee of the National Executive will consider this matter, and bring forward the benefit of their deliberations, so that we can go back to Cork and convince the men, who are getting out of hand, that the

National Executive are doing their best to bring about a settlement of the matter.

Mr. Hickey proposed:—"That a small committee should be set up immediately to devise some action to stop the war." They wanted national action to end the war in Ireland.

Chairman—Put the resolution in writing.

Mr. T. Johnson—Mr. Chairman, the suggestion in that resolution is that no consideration has been given to this before. Consideration has been given to this problem, and it is better that any positive proposal that may be in your mind should be expressed now. The Executive has been thinking, very, very seriously, and very, very earnestly, upon the position, and are not capable of saying what ought to be done. We know what the minds of the people of the country are pointing to. We may say certain things, do this or do that, but unless you can determine what is in the minds of the people it is no use in our saying those things. You can call upon the workers in Cork and in the rest of the country to strike. Will they answer? (Voices—No!) What good would it be? We might ask the people on both sides in the country to conduct monster demonstrations, and that has been one positive suggestion here to-day. Well, I would like to have evidence that that is going to have any effect upon the men with the guns. Appeals of a moral nature, and demonstrations or expressions of public opinion, have already been conveyed to the men with the guns, but they are deaf to those appeals. Is there any likelihood of a response to the proposal that the civilian population of the towns and counties in Ireland would rise in mass, and march to Dublin, and make their will known in that way? I throw out that suggestion for your consideration. Unless there is a likelihood of a response to these appeals there is no use in presenting them. You have got this far: There is no use in doing anything on one side unless the same thing is done on the other side. I hope that if the delegates have any positive suggestion to make they will make it in open Congress, and a committee may be set up that will consider it and examine it in detail, and report later to Congress. Perhaps, while I am speaking, I may touch upon one question which has been raised. On page 24 of the Report it states: "The proposals drafted by the National Executive, and submitted on our behalf, were not put forward as ideal from Labour's point of view, but in the hope that they would form the basis of possible agreement," I think that will satisfy those who had any doubt whether that was Labour's policy for the future.

Mr. Collins (Furnishing Trade)—I have been listening to the discussion. We know what the Executive has done, and how matters have turned out. We all know that the feeling of both

parties is that nothing will stop them until they finish it themselves. There is no use in our discussing it ; we must only do the best we can to help the civil population.

Miss Cahalan—I have not any proposal to make ; I just want to say this much. There are only seventeen Labour Members in the Dáil. When we, working in the Labour movement, had an opportunity to put Labour men and women in every constituency, and you had an opportunity of returning three-fourths of the Members of the Dáil on the Labour ticket, you did not take it.

Mr. Lenehan (I.T. and G.W.)—I would like to join in what Mr. Johnson has said. I would like to add that the only way to deal with militarism is to use similar weapons. The people had to stand quiet and neutral while property was commandeered. Unless you use the same weapons you will not stop this war, and these people will go on creating unemployment. If we had demonstrations like that proposed in Cork, it might strengthen your hands.

PROPOSED GENERAL STRIKE.

Mr. O'Neill (I.T. and G.W.)—While we are discussing this question many of our fellow-workers are in danger of being shot down by the opposing parties. I would propose a resolution calling for an immediate truce, and should the call not be responded to, we instruct the workers to refuse to assist in any way the armed forces in Ireland. We might as well take the bull by the horns. There is no use in dilly-dallying, and for that reason I propose the resolution.

Mr. Burden—I beg to second the resolution. It appears to be the view of the delegates that they are prepared to withdraw all services of Labour from both parties. I think there should be an addendum to the resolution, that the Executive of the Labour Party should get into communication with all organisations that are affiliated with this Congress, and tell them it is the unanimous wish of this Congress that, in order to stop this war, they are prepared to withdraw all Labour from both sides.

Mr. Cunningham (Roscrea)—As to men in the Labour movement assisting both parties, all I can say is that every other day some of our men have been commandeered by the Free State Party, and compelled, at the point of the revolver, to drive lorries where ambushes were in operation. It is not fair to our organisation, and no man as a trades' unionist, whether a railway worker or a motor driver, should take part with either side. It is the workers and not the monied classes that are suffering in the present state of things in Ireland.

Mr. Lynch (Dundalk)—We should do all that is humanly possible to bring about peace. Neither side has got any mandate from the country to carry on this war. We see the politicians in a big division of jobs, and the anxiety of these people is to entrench themselves and their comrades and members of their families. As a result no harvest has been reaped, and not sufficient land has been tilled to provide people with the necessities of life. They do not care whether the harvest is reaped or not; they do not care as long as they achieve power somehow. We should do everything possible to carry out the resolution proposed by Comrade O'Neill. A magnificent fight was put up against the power of the British Empire, and what was done once can be done again. All we are waiting for is a lead. It is for the Congress to give it, and it will be followed courageously and fearlessly. If you are prepared to take the risk your lead will be followed.

Alderman T. Lawlor (Dublin)—We heard a lot of criticism of the men of the opposing forces. On one side and the other they are dictating terms at the mouth of the revolver. What we, as a Congress, desire is that the unarmed men should go out and tell both conflicting parties what our position is. I think this is a golden opportunity for Labour to make a demonstration. It has been standing in the breach for a number of years. If the Free State is entitled to be armed, when our lives and the lives of our dependents are in danger, then I suggest the time has arrived when we should be armed too. I think that is a practical suggestion. There is no use in our passing resolutions when nothing is done. The responsibility rests on ourselves as to how far we are to go to protect ourselves. We can only meet force by force, and the only way to meet force is by arming ourselves.

Mr. J. T. O'Farrell (R.C.A.)—I have listened to this discussion, and I think a very serious and a very responsible situation has been discussed in a rather irresponsible manner. The Congress should use the best judgment in the matter. The National Executive dealt with the military situation, and tried to bring about peace, but, seeing that the National Executive failed in its task, we should try some more practical suggestions that might be successful. A number of suggestions have been offered, I believe, sincerely and seriously. I think that there should go forth from this Congress some serious expression of opinion on behalf of the Labour movement. One or two suggestions were made as to what kind of an army there should be, and as to what say the people should have in the conduct of the army. Miss Molony made the suggestion that each man in the army need not fight when called upon. I think that would be an unusual kind of army. Alderman Lawlor seriously suggested that we should take

up arms against militarism ; but how can we condemn the use of arms and militarism if each individual is to be allowed the use of arms ? Such a proceeding would leave the country in a worse position. We have a number of suggestions as to ceasing work and withdrawing labour from each of the armies now operating. That is not going to end the war. Those carrying on the war have carried it on by the commandeering and seizure of motor cars ; they have seized buildings, and even commandeered labour. All this has been done on one side or the other side of the opposing forces. In my opinion, Congress, in order to come to a decision, must come down to fundamentals as to who is right and who is wrong. Congress is more or less divided, but, coming to fundamentals, you have to make up your minds that in any civilised country there can be only one government. And when you have a government in any civilised country, there must be only one army, and that must be under the control of the National Government—the Government or Parliament, the elected representatives of the people. When you make up your minds what is the constituted authority in this country, and we can say who shall control the army and who shall rule the country, we can then tell the workers which side is right and which side is wrong. At present it is only a waste of time to form a committee ; the people must make up their minds. We are up against fundamentals. It should first be decided what form of government we are going to have in this country, and whether you are going to have a military organisation independent of or under the control of the National Government. Until Congress gives an opinion it is only a waste of time ; it is for the people themselves to make up their minds as to what they want.

Mr. Dowling (Postal Workers)—The issue appears to be Treaty or no Treaty, Constitution or no Constitution. Labour has to make up its mind whether it is in favour of the Treaty or not, or in favour of the Constitution or not in favour of the Constitution. It would be well that our Executive, even at the eleventh hour, would put forward some tangible proposition for the delegates to consider. It would be advisable if they would commend the Constitution as a good thing, or say whether it was a bad thing, and should not be ratified.

At this stage, Standing Orders Committee recommended that the Congress do adjourn, and that the subject at present under discussion, arising out of the Report, be taken up immediately in private session on resuming to-morrow at 9.30 a.m.

Mr. P. T. Daly—I move as an amendment that the words referring to a private session be struck out of the recommendation. There is nothing private about what we have to say, and nothing that we need in the least be ashamed of (hear, hear).

Mr. Anthony (Typographical Association, Cork)—I second that. Let the reference to a private session be deleted.

On a show of hands, Mr. Daly's amendment was passed by 138 votes to 26 against.

On the motion of Mr. MacPartlin, the hour for resumption next morning was fixed for 10 o'clock.

FRATERNAL DELEGATES AND AUDITORS.

The Chairman announced that the following delegates had been nominated:—Fraternal delegates to Scottish Trades' Union Congress:—William Davin, L. J. Duffy, Thomas MacPartlin. (The two latter were declared elected on Wednesday.) Auditors:—George Spain, I.T.W.U., Cormac Breathnach, I.N.T.O. (Declared elected—no contest.)

WEDNESDAY.

The proceedings were resumed at 10 a.m. on Wednesday.

Chairman—Congress will resume the discussion on that part of the National Executive's Report dealing with peace efforts.

Mr. P. T. Daly—Has any resolution been handed in on the subject?

Chairman—Not so far.

Mr. Daly—Resolutions will have to be discussed on the matter, and I suggest the wisest thing to do would be to pass over that portion of the report, and hold over discussion until the Standing Orders Committee bring in a resolution dealing with the report.

Chairman—It is a matter for Congress. If Congress likes to do so I have no objection.

Mr. Bermingham (N.U.R.)—I would like to support the suggestion.

Chairman—Is Congress agreeable to go on with the rest of the report until this resolution is brought in? ("Agreed.")

Chairman—On pages 30-34—"Postponement of Dáil Eireann." There is just one thing I should like to say on behalf of the National Executive, and that is with regard to the last paragraph on page 33, dealing with the meeting of Members of the Dáil called by the Labour T.D.'s. This proposal had its initiation at the meeting of the National Executive and the Labour T.D.'s. There is no truth in the statement which has been circulated, that it was called at the instigation of the Republican Party. I want just to express that, because, as some of you may have seen it in at least one newspaper—perhaps the only independent newspaper,

or the only newspaper that has taken anything like a decent line in politics in the country—it was stated that the reason why the Pro-Treaty Party refused to turn up at that meeting was because the meeting was instigated or inspired by the Anti-Treaty Party. That is not so. It was purely on Labour initiative.

"MONEY FOR WAR—NONE FOR PEACE."

Cormac Breathnach (Teachers' Organisation)—Before you pass from that, the expression "Government" is used here on page 32. Which Government is indicated? Is it the Provisional Government or the Dáil Government?

Mr. T. Johnson (Secretary)—The Government which is governing.

Cormac Breathnach—On page 32 your hypothesis or argument is pretty sound. It indicates a certain conclusion, which conclusion you have not drawn. They have, to my mind, no constitutional right for making civil war in the interval between the holding of the General Election and the assembling of An Dáil. Constitutionally the Dáil came to an end on June 30th, and, therefore, the Dáil Ministry should have fallen with the Dáil; and, therefore, they had no power to do what they have done. The people who are now running the country are merely individuals. That conclusion is clearly pointed out in the argument on page 32, but the conclusion is not strained sufficiently. If this report is to go before Congress it is no longer the Executive's Report, but our report, and I would be inclined to add to the paragraph ending on page 33:—"That in the absence of a Dáil meeting this Congress challenges the claim of the Ministry that they hold a mandate from the people to carry on Government; that Congress considers that the plunging of the country into civil strife, in the interval between the holding of the General Election and the assembling of An Dáil, to be utterly unconstitutional, and would not be sanctioned either by An Dáil or by the people at this stage." I propose we add that.

Chairman—The proposition to add Cormac Breathnach's addendum to the National Executive's Report is out of order. It would be in order to delete or refer back that portion of the report for consideration. Therefore, I would suggest to Cormac Breathnach that he bring up his addendum as a separate resolution later on. It is not in order to add an addendum to the National Executive's Report.

Cormac Breathnach—Are we bound to take your report *in toto* or not at all?

Chairman—You are quite in order to make deletions or to refer back, but the report is the actual report of the work of the National

Executive for the year, and the conclusions to which the National Executive has come.

Cormac Breathnach—I bow to your ruling, but, to my mind, this report consists of two parts, one being what you might call expressions of opinion, and not an account of the work done by the Executive. The report is under two different headings.

Chairman—It is an expression of Executive opinion, and I think you will find it very difficult to change the opinion of the Executive by a mere addendum to the report. The addendum to the National Executive's Report is out of order. It will be in order by sending it up to the Standing Orders Committee as a resolution. "Money for War—none for Peace." Does any delegate wish to speak on that paragraph?

There was no response.

REPUBLICAN WAR POLICY.

Chairman—The bottom of page 34 and page 35—"Labour and Republican War Policy." Does any delegate desire to speak on that part of the report?

Cormac Breathnach—On page 35 I notice that while there has been rather a tendency not to come down too severely on the Free State Party, there is no such tendency at all shown with regard to the other Party. On page 35 you say:—"And not only do we consider the political claims of the Republican Party to be irrational, but their method of warfare is such as must be strongly denounced." That may be so, or it may not be so, but I would propose this—"That that portion of the report be deleted."

Mr. Hickey (Cork)—I would like to say, in seconding the motion, that you must admit that the propaganda carried on at the present time by the opposition party is anything but in keeping with Irish ideals. I say that remark is entirely unjustifiable.

The Chairman put the motion to refer the paragraph back to the National Executive for deletion.

On a show of hands it was defeated by 91 votes to 35.

Mr. Joseph Toomey (Engineering Union)—In another paragraph on page 35 you condemn the Provisional Government for this—"That they, having allowed certain acts, *e.g.*, seizures, arrests, etc., by the Army Executive to go on for several months, and after negotiating, on the instructions of the Dáil, with the Army Executive to bring about unity, suddenly reversed engines." Are we to imply from that that in the opinion of the National Executive the Provisional Government were wrong in negotiating for several months, and that they should have started the war several months earlier than they did?

Chairman—No, certainly not. The paragraph is a condemnation of the Government for taking certain steps, after negotiating with these people for so long, and presumably negotiating on friendly terms, without telling the people, up and down the country, what was the result of the negotiations, and why the negotiations broke down. I made reference to it on Monday. During one of the peace efforts a high Minister of the Government held up a sheaf of papers and said: "Here are the documents dealing with the negotiations; I am going to publish them." That is why we condemn the Provisional Government in this paragraph. It means just exactly what it says—for taking these acts without consulting anybody, although they had been negotiating with these people for so many months, and didn't tell anybody how the negotiations were going on or anything like that.

Mr. P. T. Daly—Do I understand the position with regard to it is this, that this is the report of the National Executive that will appear in the Official Report of this Congress? Are we to understand that the explanation which you have given now, on behalf of the National Executive, will be included in the report? because otherwise I am afraid we will be in the same position as our friend who raised this question. It may be read one way by one party and another way by another party. Maybe the purpose here in this would be to let both parties read it in the way it suits.

Chairman—Of course, no matter what we say here, it will be read one way by one party and another way by another, and some of the delegates will help some of them to read it both ways. But in the ordinary course I hope that the National Executive, when passing the report of this Congress for publication, will have the ordinary courtesy to the Chairman of the Congress to include his statement in the report.

GENERAL ELECTION.

Pages 35 and 36—"General Election." Does any delegate desire to speak on these pages?

Mr. P. T. Daly—With reference to this—"The report of that Special Congress will be printed and included with the report of this Congress"—I want to know why the report of that Congress is not in the possession of the delegates to this Congress. I was not a delegate to that Congress, and there are other delegates here who were not delegates to that Congress. I think, in view of the discussion which arose here last evening, and in view of the discussion which will arise later on, that it is due to the delegates to this Congress to be in possession of the decision of that Congress

—the majority, the minority, and all the information in connection with it. I think we are entitled to some explanation.

Chairman—Being a young and inexperienced member of the National Executive, I don't know whether it has been usual to print verbatim, for the consideration of the Annual Congress, all reports. As a matter of fact, we had some Conferences during the year, and some desired the reports of them should be printed in full for Congress, but it was thought there was no great necessity for it. I don't really think there is a single delegate—man or woman—present who doesn't know the conclusions of the Special Congress in February.

Mr. Daly—You are entitled to think what you like, but I have stated my view, and I am entitled to my view and to think what I like.

Chairman—Quite.

Mr. Mitchell—I agree with Mr. Daly. I believe the report of that Special Congress should be printed and published here, but I am not one bit surprised it isn't.

Mr. T. Johnson—The report of the Special Congress might have been printed, but it is a question of expense. It is waiting with the printer, with the proofs partly corrected. A question arose as to what purpose would be served by it. That Congress was equally responsible with this Congress for its decisions, and it could only be for the information of the delegates, and not for confirmation by the delegates, that it would be printed. It will be distributed with the report of this Congress within the next few weeks.

SELECTION OF CANDIDATES.

Pages 41-42—"Selection of Candidates."

Cormac Breathnach—I merely want to ask a question, Mr. Chairman. Now that we have seventeen members elected to uphold our cause in Parliament, may I ask what controlling board will be over them? Does Congress control them, or the Executive, or are they merely an autonomous body?

Chairman—That raises a question which is very well worthy of discussion. Mr. Breathnach's question is whether the seventeen Labour T.D.'s who have been elected are an autonomous body or whether they will be under the control of the Executive or of this Congress. The signed pledge of the Labour candidates, and, therefore, the pledge of the elected T.D.'s, is as follows:—

I.....give my pledge that I accept the Constitution of the Irish Labour Party and Trade Union Congress, and, if selected as Labour Candidate for any Constituency, I agree to

abide by the decisions of the National Congress and the National Executive in carrying out the aims of the Constitution. I also agree that I shall appear before the Constituency as a Labour Candidate only. I promise to abstain strictly from identifying myself with or promoting the interests of any candidature not endorsed by the National Executive."

As you all know, in the Labour movement—this includes, I hope it does include, Labour T.D.'s—the supreme authority is this National Congress or any full Congress that may be called specially during the year. In the intervals between Congresses the supreme authority is vested in the National Executive. Therefore, by the Constitution all constituent bodies of the Labour movement are under the control of the Congress and the National Executive. Of course, there is, and there is bound to be, and, I hope there always will be, a measure of control exercised by the organised Labour body in the constituency which a Labour T.D. represents. There is, if you like, not exactly a dual control, but there is a control in various directions, or coming from various sources, but all the time remember that the supreme authority is the Congress. Congress will, I hope, never let Labour T.D.'s go off on their own outside the general policy of the movement. If they do I hope it will repudiate them. At the Special Congress in February they were given liberty in certain things, but no liberty in other things. If they don't agree with those other things they cannot be Labour candidates.

Mr. T. MacPartlin—You know the old Irish proverb which says—"An té atá thíos buailtear cloch air. An té atá thuas óltar deoch air"—"When a man is down stone him. When a man is up praise him." There is one man who is down, and I don't think we ought to kick him—that is J. T. O'Farrell, who fought this election. He fought as clean a fight as ever was fought, and he was the only member of the Labour Party who was defeated. I want to stand up to congratulate J. T. O'Farrell on the fight he has made. I want to say here now that Ireland and Labour lost a good man when O'Farrell was defeated. I don't know whether I am in order in referring to it, but in congratulating the men who were elected, I want to congratulate the man who was defeated. He went down fighting a clean fight. He would have been a credit to Labour and a credit to Ireland if he had been elected.

Mr. Quinn (I.N.T.O.)—The President says that the Congress will control the Labour Party of seventeen in the new Parliament. That sounds all very well in theory, but it is the Executive for the coming year that will practically control their policy. I will throw out a suggestion, and it is that no one of the seventeen

members be eligible for a position on the Directorate, so that they would have a body that would be able to control them.

Chairman—The suggestion will be considered, I am sure, by them. I would like to add a word to what MacPartlin said in regard to our friend, J. T. O'Farrell, who fought a good, a clean, and a straight fight. I think the three things that beat him—and he was only beaten by a short head—were, first of all, dirt, defamation, and lies, spread for the purpose of disrupting the workers in the constituency; secondly, the defection of a certain number of working voters who voted for other people; and, thirdly, the Pact or Panel. In this constituency, as you know, the four candidates against him belonged to one side of the Panel. We know the voters of the other political party voted for the Panel, although they are now at war with the people of the Panel. O'Farrell fought a good fight. He is the first of the Labour candidates of the new time to be defeated, but he won't be the last. It should be up to this Congress and to the whole of the Labour movement to see that the kind of lies that were trotted out against O'Farrell in that election are not allowed to be trotted out the next time.

COST OF LIVING INDEX FIGURES—TRADE UNION ORGANISATION AND WAGE MOVEMENTS.

Mr. Fitzgibbon (Civil Servants)—I would like to call the attention of the Congress to this matter, as we, the Civil Servants, are very intimately concerned in it because of the reductions in our salaries and wages. We claim that Irish cost of living figures should be calculated, and that the staffs should be represented on the Committee that would proceed to calculate the figures. There is one characteristic of the new Irish Treasury, and it is that it out-Herods Herod; it is more reactionary than what our experience of the British Treasury has been. It has not shown that disposition to meet the staff which has been our experience under the old régime. They have proceeded with the calculation of the figures, and I understand by some calculation they have arrived at the figure of 85; that is, that the cost of living is 85 per cent. above the pre-war cost. It is pretty obvious that the figure produced is bound to have reactions on the wages conditions in Ireland. The bosses and employers will take good care that the evidence provided for them by the Government shall be used in their attacks on the wages of the workers. I was surprised when I found that the National Executive had taken the refusal of the Government so very calmly. We know the basis of the calculation of the figure. It is obvious that, unless urban conditions are properly weighed in calculating the figure, you will get one that will be absolutely

unfair. They have also in operation an inquiry into profiteering. I would like to know whether the National Executive has been acquainted with the findings of that Committee. Some of the figures of which I was informed as to profiteering in Dublin would simply stagger this Congress if they were acquainted with them; for instance, certain articles bought at 32s. a dozen were sold at 15s. each. That is a matter in which the National Executive should be interested. My purpose in rising is to call attention to the figure which the Government has actually prepared, and to warn the National Executive that they should be in some position to produce counter-figures to upset the figures the Government has produced.

Mr. Thomas Johnson—I am glad that question has been raised, because there are two points arising out of it that are worthy of consideration by this Congress. I will take the last first—that we should have a counter-figure prepared that we can rely upon. To do that in the way it ought to be done would require very close inquiry. We attempted month after month to get figures from Trades Councils in 18, 20, or 25 different towns, and we failed lamentably to keep up the record. We could not get the people in the localities to send us the information as we desired. We are not in a position to send around inspectors of our own. If we had the machinery to do this thing in a thorough manner, then we are the people who ought to do it, so that we could rely on our own figures absolutely. The figures we have had published have been fair in so far as the material that was supplied to us was properly authenticated, but we had to cease producing these figures month after month, simply because the people of the movement who ought to have done the work refused or neglected to supply us with the information. As to the question of the Governmental attempt to arrive at a cost-of-living figure, we wrote to the Ministry of Economics some months ago, as soon as we heard that there was being set up an inquiry into the cost-of-living figure. We had heard, by the way, that, in response to a demand from certain authoritative bodies which required some information, a very slap-dash kind of inquiry was being made. The telephone was used, for instance, to ask shop assistants what was the price of so-and-so in 1914. The information that was called for in that manner was not acceptable, and there was a more serious attempt set on foot. When we heard this attempt was being made, we wrote and said that if such a figure was to carry any confidence, the basis of the inquiry ought to be made known and ought to be agreed upon. We were told, in reply, that the basis of the inquiry would be made known when the figure was published. As it was a Departmental-Government inquiry, there was nothing more for us to do except to warn our own people, as

we are doing now, by the opportunity Mr. Fitzgibbon has given us, that they must not accept the figure produced officially until they are satisfied that the basis on which that figure has been produced was satisfactory. It would be folly for us to claim that every inquiry made by a Government Department had to have the sanction of this Congress or the Executive, and unless we were going to claim that it would be folly for us to press our protest in regard to the cost-of-living figure. I say this, that unless the basis on which an inquiry is made is satisfactory to us, no Trade Union ought to accept the figure that is produced as a basis for any further negotiation.

BELFAST PRINTING DISPUTE.

Mr. Whitley (Belfast)—I want particularly to refer to the printing dispute in Belfast at the moment. It may not be common knowledge that Belfast is under an English agreement, not an Irish one. They had two sets of wages, one in its application to Ireland and one in its application to England. In 1919, when we arrived at a National wage agreement, our Belfast friends refused to come under the Irish agreement. For a short period we were in the air, and at last they were graded under the British agreement. Now a demand has been made by the English employers to reduce wages in the printing industry by 12s. 6d. per week. As you may be aware, it was put to an Industrial Court, on the understanding that the finding of that Court would be submitted to the members. When it was submitted to the members it was defeated by a large majority. The Belfast employers being under an English agreement, the printers there are now out three weeks. I want to make it known that the printers in Belfast are depending on the loyalty of the printers in Dublin and all over Ireland. They are not prepared to accept the 12s. 6d. reduction, though it was agreed to across the water. I would like to point out that we have in Belfast four newspapers. Three of them have the same political feeling. One of them has altogether different political feeling, and claims to represent the labour element. To-day that paper is grasping the arm of the other three against labour in an attempt to reduce wages. I refer to the *Irish News*. The *Irish News* has always proclaimed itself to be a friend of Irish labour. To-day it is taking its stand with the other organisations that are death on labour. The Belfast printer has already suffered a reduction of 6s. 6d. in his wages, and they don't want another 12s. 6d. off. Unfortunately, we were under the English agreement, but Belfast is in Ireland, and I have always maintained that Belfast should be under any agreement in Ireland and not under any agreement in England. I would ask the members of this Congress to give us all the assistance they can.

Mr. Whelan (Typographical Society, Dublin)—Mr Whitley did not explain to the Congress that he is a member of an English Trades' Union. So far as our society is concerned we never had scab workers since our inception. During the trouble a few years ago, when we were fighting for an increase of wages, the people whom we had to contend with were members of his Trade Union in Athlone. We don't intend to follow their example, and there is no necessity to ask Congress to ask the Dublin men not to do scab work.

COST OF LIVING (*continued*).

Mr. Tobin (N.U.R.)—I feel very keenly on this subject of the cost of living, because there is no doubt it is a disgrace to Ireland, the shameful profiteering that has been carried on here during the last couple of years. We have got to remember the fact that the cost of living in Dublin City is 23 per cent. higher than it is in London, and we will have to admit that there is something wrong. It is not due, I venture to suggest, to the cost of production, but it is due to the profiteering of the traders and merchants of this city. We find meat and other essential articles of diet, produced in this country, sold in retail shops in London far cheaper than they are sold in the country or city where they are produced. Meat, I am told, is 4d. per lb. higher in Dublin than it is in London or Liverpool. Taking what we all know as the workingman's pint, it is 3d. dearer in Dublin than it is in Liverpool. Why, I would like to know. It is due to the fact of the disgraceful profiteering that is being carried on, and the extraction of the few miserable coppers from the pocket of the worker, who, time out of number, has walked the streets of Dublin, and of other parts of Ireland, to get what he calls a living wage. When he gets that living wage the profiteering rings arrange to extract what he has fought for, and what his wife and children suffered for while he was on strike for a living wage. I was speaking yesterday morning to a delegate from Longford, named Mallon. He gave me to understand that, with the co-operation of his branch, he was able, in the town of Edgeworthstown, to compel traders and merchants to reduce the price of certain articles of diet in that town. Surely we, and the other branches of Trades' Unions, and the National Executive of the Irish Labour Party, could do what our friend Mallon has done.

Mr. McMullen (I.T. & G.W.U.)—In regard to this cost of living I would like to make a suggestion. As the delegates are aware, there is no figure in existence at the present time, with the exception of the British Board of Trade figure, in relation to the cost of living. The Secretary has pointed out the difficulty of getting a figure

that will be accepted by other people. The tendency, therefore, is to accept the figure which is given by the British Board of Trade. We are all aware of the fact that, as far as Ireland is concerned, that figure does not truly represent the cost of living in this country. In the first place, the average family in Ireland, according to the 1911 Census, is larger than in Great Britain. Together with that, the cost of living, as has been pointed out by the previous speaker, is much higher in this country than it is on the other side of the Channel. There is a further danger, and it is a point I want particularly to stress. I find that the Board of Trade figure is accepted generally right through the North of Ireland; and the tendency will be to reduce the figures in other parts of the country to the figure obtaining in the North. Therefore, it would be necessary for the Congress, or some one connected with the Congress, to produce a reliable figure. I think the T.D.'s who have been returned recently could perform this work very usefully. They come from various parts of the country, and they should be able to ascertain the cost of living in the parts of the country they come from, and arrive at a figure which will be truly representative of all parts of the country. It will be the duty of those people, as soon as the Dáil meets, if it ever meets, to take up this question of having a figure arrived at which truly represents the cost of living in this country. I, therefore, suggest to the Secretary of the National Executive that an attempt should be made to get the T.D.'s who have been returned to compile careful statistics in the various parts of the country they come from, in the hope of arriving at a satisfactory figure in regard to the cost of living.

Mr. Irwin (Belfast Postal Union)—The British Board of Trade figure is based on maintaining unaltered the pre-war standard of living amongst the workers. If there is any authority to be set up in this country for arriving at the increased cost of living in the country, we should not accept that as a basis at all, because there is no body of workers in this country prepared to admit that the pre-war standard of living was sufficient. It is vital to see that we do not admit that our pre-war standard of living was sufficient, and we should not be prepared to accept that as a basis.

Mr. Stewart (Belfast T.C.)—I think we were all dissatisfied and disappointed at the old standard. I think the body able to produce the figure we require is the co-operative body. To produce those figures you must go to people for information, and I think the people you ought to go to are the co-operators.

Mr. Mansfield (Teachers' Organisation)—I have just one point or two to raise in connection with this matter. The Government departments on the other side ignore altogether the fact that in the various spheres of life the quality of the stuff—food, clothes,

and so on—is poorer than it was in 1914. In other words, that is not taken into account at present in framing those tables, and, of course, quality affects durability, and it affects also the amount to be consumed. That, I hold, should be taken into account by any Irish department that goes into an inquiry with regard to a table on the cost of living. There is another matter. If we have seventeen members—they are not members yet I understand; they are simply messengers; the doors have been shut on them—in the Dáil, I hold they should be consulted, and should have a certain amount of authority in connection with such an inquiry, affecting as it does the whole body of workers in this country. With regard to Ireland and England, before the war the index figure, taking it for London, was 100; for the principal towns in England, 89½, and for the principal Irish towns, 90½. Even before the war the cost of living in Ireland was higher than it was on the other side. Until an inquiry is made on this side, a full inquiry, in which the views of the Labour Party will be duly weighed, these British figures, or any figures at present in existence, cannot be accepted as an index to the cost of living here. I was put by the workers as President on the Labour Board in connection with creameries. For two years, in those co-operative creameries, at meeting after meeting, we were up against this proposition, that the breach as between employer and employee was, owing to gross profiteering, being widened to such an extent that it was impossible for any Arbitration Committee to bridge it over. If strikes in the future are to be prevented, it will be the duty of the Government and those interested in industrial peace to prevent this gross profiteering. There is another matter. On the other side some authorities take the wholesale figures and some the retail. As you know, there are retail figures, and retail figures. In other words, there is a lower basis still than the ordinary retail shop. A great proportion of the workers are forced to go to the very small retail shops, where they pay still higher prices. I might mention that the Farmers' Union at the present time is endeavouring, so far as I can see down in Tipperary, to split the workers in the country from those in the town. What is the idea they are putting forward? That wool is 6d. a lb. or 2d. a lb.—practically for nothing—while huge prices are paid for clothing, and they say that all the profits are going to the workers of the town. Hides, they say, are practically for nothing, and that leather and boots are at huge prices—that those in the towns, generally, are taking a toll, to a great extent, of what should go to the worker in the country. This is being engineered with the object of splitting the workers in the town and country. I believe it would be good work for the Labour Party to institute some inquiry, and to put forward a definite statement with regard to,

we will say, boots, clothes, and so on, to show that the huge prices that have to be paid by the workers, and through Ireland generally, are not due to the enormous wages paid to the workers in the town. You need two things at the present time—first of all, a proper index figure, and, in connection with that, a definite attempt to put down the gross profiteering that is being carried on.

Mr. Walter Carpenter—I am perfectly in agreement with Irwin when he states that we should not negotiate on the 1914 plan. There is another aspect that our members should consider when the future Parliament will meet, if it ever does meet. I think this is the right time to raise it. I have considerable experience of Trades' Boards, not that I have any faith in them. I simply go there to try and thwart them. In any negotiations that have taken place we have always been met with the British Trade Board Statistics, both for increased wages and decreased wages. I want to impress on the National Executive that at present, when you look into the constitution of those Boards you see immediately that there is no chance of getting away from the 1914 statistics, unless there is a change in the constitution of the Board of Trade. The present Government, if you can call it such, have accepted the 1914 statistics. They have accepted the views of the officials that were acting for the British Government, and they force upon the workers the views of these officials, and the statistics of the British Government and these Trades' Boards. What is the constitution of these Boards? The Chairman is generally a judge, appointed by the British Government. There are two appointed members, and these appointed members are generally solicitors or people drawn from the capitalistic class, and, no matter what the workers do, the appointed people are men to decide, and they always have decided in favour of the employers. I wish to impress this upon the National Executive, and more especially on the men elected at the last General Election. They may have some say, I hope they will, in the working of these Trades' Boards. You must take into consideration that the Trades' Boards are only catering for the lower-paid workers, and it is always the wish of the employers to make the minimum set up by the Trades' Boards the maximum. Until Labour gets representatives on those Boards, as Chairmen or as appointed members, those Trades' Boards are only a farce and a fraud, so far as the workers are concerned. I believe it is a wrong idea to get into our heads to barter on a foreign basis. That is what takes place at the Trades' Boards meetings, and it will continue to take place until Labour makes itself felt, and gets proper representation of appointed members or Chairmen of those Boards.

Chairman—Does any other delegate wish to speak on this part of the report?

There was no response.

CONSTITUTION OF SAORSTAT EIREANN.

Chairman—Pages 48 and 49—“Proposed Constitution for Saorstat Eireann.” Does any delegate desire to speak on that?

Mr. Hickey (Cork)—Am I to understand that the Executive requires this Congress to instruct them not to lend itself to the passing of those clauses of the draft Constitution? If so, I move that this Congress instructs the Labour T.D.'s not to be parties to the passing of any of the clauses in the draft Constitution.

Chairman—I don't know whether it would require exactly a formal resolution. It would be sufficient if this paragraph formally passed. It will be giving them instructions enough.

Mr. W. Carpenter—This last paragraph, on page 49, is the most important paragraph in the whole report. It is the first time that the National Executive has thrown the onus on Congress to give it any instructions. They have now asked for instructions.

Mr. T. Johnson—They never had any members before.

Mr. Carpenter—They didn't ask for instructions as to whether they should take part in the Free State Government or not.

Chairman—They have not got the chance yet.

Mr. Carpenter—They had every chance.

Chairman—They are not even members of the Dáil yet.

Mr. Carpenter—They had every chance when facing their constituents, but they evaded the question every time it was put up to them. They quibbled, and they have not yet definitely stated their policy, whether they are Free Staters or not, or whether they are prepared to accept the Treaty. The Constitution has been drawn up, and we are now asked to throw the onus on Congress as to whether you must work that Constitution or not. I hold, if you want to be true to the traditions of the Labour movement, you cannot work that Constitution; you cannot agree to it in any shape or form. The Constitution, before anything else happens, imposes on you a certain oath of allegiance to the British Government and King George V., and all he stands for. If you can in any way bring your minds down to accept an oath of allegiance to King George V., and accept this Constitution, then I hold you will be traitors, not alone to the country you live in, but you will be traitors to the class you belong to. I don't believe there is a man amongst you who would subscribe to that oath. I have that much confidence in you at any rate. You have thrown the onus on this Congress of telling you what to do. I believe it is very necessary for this Congress to move that we do not subscribe, at any rate, to that oath of allegiance to King George V., his heirs and successors for ever. I will satisfy myself by moving—“That it is an instruction to the Labour Party that they are not to sub-

scribe to the oath of allegiance to King George V., his heirs and successors." There is no necessity for the Standing Orders Committee to move a resolution such as this, when you are asking for it. Seeing that the delegates didn't get the report into their hands until a couple of days before Congress, I don't see how they could have brought resolutions or amendments in on July 15th. As a precedent for this, I would remind you of what happened in Waterford when an amendment was moved to a report. You, sir, when you were there as a delegate, supported it whole-heartedly, though it was lost, and the question then was raised of sending it to Standing Orders Committee by you or the Chairman, or some other member of the Executive. Therefore, on that precedent, there is no necessity for this resolution to go to Standing Orders Committee.

Chairman—I must again point out that the ordinary procedure is, that a resolution like this must go to Standing Orders Committee; it cannot come before Congress otherwise. As to the reference to this Waterford business, I would remind him that I was raw and inexperienced then. It was my first experience of Congress, and while he was an old delegate and ought to have known the ropes, I didn't.

Mr. P. T. Daly—I don't think it is fair to quote Waterford, for obvious reasons.

Chairman—It was Comrade Carpenter introduced Waterford.

Mr. Cooney (Vintners and Grocers)—I think the only alternative left to Congress is to move that this portion of the report be deleted. I believe it is up to the Labour Party to come out and take the voice of the workers of Ireland, who are the majority of the people of Ireland, as to what should be their political policy. I believe that James Connolly's ideals should be still our ideals. What he died for was to break the Imperial link between this country and the Empire. I believe if you go into the Free State Government, and subscribe to that oath of allegiance, you are dishonouring the noblest leader that the Irish Labour movement ever had.

Chairman—Do I understand Delegate Cooney to move the deletion of this reference to the proposed Constitution?

Mr. Cooney—If you rule that Comrade Carpenter's resolution is out of order.

Chairman—I didn't rule any such thing. I ruled just like every other resolution not on the agenda, that Comrade Carpenter will have to go to the Standing Orders Committee and get their permission to move the resolution. Is that clear?

Mr. Cooney—Yes, that is clear.

Mr. Carpenter—I am quite prepared to go to Standing Orders Committee and get their permission.

Mr. M. Somerville (Chairman of Standing Orders Committee)—Mr. Chairman and delegates, Standing Orders Committee recommends that, owing to an important matter which has arisen, they wish to have a conference with the National Executive and the T.D.'s who are present at Congress, and suggest that Congress should adjourn at 12.30 p.m., or as soon as the Ballot Papers have been collected, and resume at 2.30 p.m., and that fraternal delegates will be given an opportunity of addressing the Congress immediately on resumption. I also wish to state that one of the candidates standing for the National Executive—Mr. Houston—states that he is not contesting the election, and wishes to withdraw his name, though his name will appear on the ballot paper.

Mr. Houston—Might I explain that McMullen, who is one of my colleagues organising the North—

Chairman—Order.

The adoption of the report of Standing Orders Committee was moved, seconded, and adopted.

ELECTION FINANCE.

The Chairman explained that the discussion on the proposed Constitution would be suspended, and asked if any delegate wished to speak on page 49—"Election Finance."

Mr. Lynch (Dundalk)—I think we ought to congratulate the Teachers on their magnificent contribution of £500. There are other organisations that didn't contest any seat at all, or render any assistance, financial or otherwise. I believe there is still time to follow the good example given by the Teachers, and I hope the delegates, when they return to their Unions, will emphasise that part of the report dealing with the help given by the Teachers.

Mr. Tynan (Dublin)—Would I be in order in moving a levy?

Chairman—Same order—Standing Orders Committee. You can speak and develop your argument if you like. Does any other delegate wish to speak?

There was no response.

OFFICE ARRANGEMENTS.

Mr. J. T. O'Farrell—Mr. Chairman and delegates, as you are doubtless aware, the responsibilities and financial commitments of the National Executive have increased very considerably in recent years. This increase has been inevitable, because of the development of the Labour movement and the extended activities

of the National Executive and its officers. Up to a couple of years ago, as you are aware, we had no fixed office; we had no permanent staff, and we had no office equipment of any kind. Now, we believe that the Labour Party should be as well equipped in this respect as any other party in the whole country. To-day we have got fairly presentable offices and a fair amount of office equipment, but we are still far behind the requirements of the Party and of the time. Having now entered the political arena, our responsibilities are very considerably increased, and the outgoing National Executive believe that the new body to be elected ought not to be restricted because of lack of finance to carry out the instructions of Congress, and to endeavour to help, as far as is practicable, the newly-elected T.D.'s to be of the utmost possible assistance to the Labour movement. As you are aware, the overwhelming majority of the new Deputies are working men, who have no income except from their every-day work at their usual occupations. They will have to resign those occupations in order to perform their duties as Deputies. Possibly some salaries will be fixed by the new assembly whenever it meets, and whenever it has time to attend to matters of that kind. But we want to be able to avail of these Deputies to the greatest possible extent. We cannot do that unless we are able to supplement in some way the very small incomes which in all probability they will have. We want to have a proper secretarial staff that will assist the Parliamentary Labour Party to function in a proper manner. Those of us who know the duties that have been imposed on our present Secretary realise that it is utterly impossible for one man to carry on the duties that Mr. Johnson has been carrying on. For the past year or two he has been placed on public inquiries, such as the Railway Commission, and he has had to deal with the whole of the machinery of the National Executive, and that has been of a very extensive character during the past couple of years. In addition, he has had to deal with the whole of the correspondence that arises in connection with all these movements. We believe that he should have a thoroughly competent assistant to take over a good deal of that work. We believe he should also have the necessary clerical assistance in the office, and the best equipment that we can supply. After all we must look a little ahead and see that our work is as well done as is the work of any firm, or any company, or any political party in the country. Looking over our income and the possible expenditure, as judged by the past, and taking into consideration the possibilities of the future, we have come to the conclusion that the present rate of affiliation is not sufficiently high, and we think that Congress should recommend to the incoming National Executive to consider the position in all its aspects, and to make recommendations to

the next Congress, or preferably to a Special Congress, to deal with the position. It would be deplorable if the activities of the Labour movement were restricted or hampered because of lack of finance. It will not require a tremendous amount, but it will certainly require more than the present income provides, and, on behalf of the National Executive, I would recommend this paragraph to your serious consideration, and suggest that you authorise or instruct the incoming National Executive to make recommendations to a Special Congress or to the next meeting of this Congress.

Miss Cahalan—I think this recommendation is overdue, because I have seen in the past year or two the enormous amount of work carried on. I know, from watching the operations of my own Union, which is a small affair, the lot of money it eats up for administration. I feel it would be a terrible disgrace, and very un-Irish, if we allowed the National Executive or our Parliamentary representatives to be hampered in the slightest manner or in the least bit by our niggardliness. I regret very much, and I think it is something we all ought to regret, that when an appeal was made for funds for the elections only a few unions sent them in. If we are in earnest about getting our recommendations carried out; if we are in earnest about lifting the working-class people out of the mire; if we are in earnest about changing the social order in this country; if we are in earnest about making our lives better; if we are in earnest about what we think, and believe in the Labour movement, here is an opportunity for you to deliver the goods.

Miss Bennett—I would like to join Mr. O'Farrell in what he has said about Mr. Johnson. I think Mr. Johnson in the past few years has done the work of six men. I don't think this Congress can ever repay him in gratitude for what he has done. I think there ought to go from this Congress a vote of thanks to Mr. Johnson in recognition for that work. I think I know that the whole Congress would like to join with me in appreciation of his work, which, to me, has been simply amazing. I think it necessary to prelude my remarks by that. I don't want in any way to seem to suggest that Mr. Johnson should not get extra help to perform the duties of his office. As representing the poorest class of workers, who have to pay this expense, I was one of those who opposed the Labour Party going forward at the elections. I saw at the time that it would involve an enormous amount of expense, and that it will be an increasing expense. It is all very well for Miss Cahalan to talk about not being niggardly when people are facing unemployment and reductions in their wages. I would like to see the office staff increased, and to see Mr. Johnson have an able assistant, but I think this matter will demand the most careful consideration,

so as to do it in the most economical way at the present time, because we are facing such a time as the Trades' Union movement has not experienced before. We have to pay for the consequences of the present vote, and it is the workers who will have to pay, at a time when they are facing unemployment and reduced wages.

Mr. Mitchell—I want to ask a question. There was a lot of talk around Dublin about a strike at the head office last year. Is it a fact that the head office of the Labour Party could not pay their clerks a living wage?

Chairman—I had better answer that straight off. There never has been any such thing as a strike, or anything like that, at the head office. An employee of the head office of the Labour Party left her work, but that is not a strike. I don't want to go into the matter at all, because if I did I would say things I don't want to say at this Congress. It had no connection with wages or conditions.

Mr. Mitchell—I am sorry if I made a mistake, but it is very doubtful, with four people out on strike.

Chairman—Mr. Mitchell has shown a most lamentable ignorance both of the head office and of other places as well. There was never anything like four of a staff employed, except, perhaps, at election times. There were never more than two.

Mr. Mitchell—What I mean is this, the head office of the Transport Union, 35 Parnell Square.

Chairman—The head office of the Transport Union, 35 Parnell Square, is not yet the head office of the Labour Party.

Mr. Mitchell—I know it isn't.

Miss Molony (Women Workers' Union)—I want to give a little more evidence of what the Chairman would call the illogical mind of people who opposed the Labour Party taking Parliamentary action for honest reasons, because I thought it more or less a waste of time. The fact remains that the Labour Party had every opportunity of considering that question, and they did decide on Parliamentary action, which is most expensive. Now, having done so, it is up to them to pay for it. Miss Bennett has drawn attention to a very real thing. The Labour Party have to pay for what they committed themselves to. If they are not able to pay they ought to have thought of that before they committed themselves to it, and they ought not to make any bones about it.

Chairman—Pages 51-52—"Scale of Expenses." ("Agreed.").

Mr. Gilloway moved the adoption of the statement of accounts for the year from July 1st, 1921, to June 30th, 1922.

Mr. Bohan seconded.

Mr. W. Carpenter—Do the members of the National Executive accept their fees for attendance?

Mr. Thomas Johnson—Perhaps I should say that Congress authorised the Executive last year to draw up a new scale of expenses. That scale has been before you and has just been passed. I ask the Congress do they think it is fair to ask such a question for the purpose of pilloring one or other, or exonerating all, for receiving what you have just now offered them?

Mr. Carpenter—I am perfectly justified in asking had any of the attendance fees been returned, because we ought to know.

Chairman—The balance sheet will answer any questions like the one that Comrade Carpenter wants answered. As a matter of fact, if all the members did or did not take what you offered them, do you mind very much? Is it anybody's business really? ("No.")

The statement of accounts was unanimously adopted.

RESOLUTIONS.

PROPOSED ELECTION OF N.E. BY P.R.

Mr. C. J. King (Irish Automobile Drivers' and Mechanics' Union) moved:—"That in the interests of all affiliated bodies, large and small, and in order to provide fair representation on the National Executive, it is hereby decided that the system of proportional representation, and the rules under which it operates for the election of Irish Local Authorities, be adopted as the system by which this Conference will in future elect the National Executive."

In moving the motion, Mr. King said:—"Proportional Representation, if adopted by Congress, would guarantee representation on the National Executive of the minorities of the Labour movement which they could not hope to have under the present system. Smaller Unions feel out of touch with the movement when they are not directly represented on the National Executive. The various phases of thought in the Labour movement would also be represented, and thus have the National Executive representative of all the constituents of the Labour movement. If the minorities were represented on the National Executive the various differences existing between them and their bigger brothers could be thrashed out at the Committee meetings instead of in the Capitalist Press and in trade disputes as at present, and would eventually result in that unification so much desired in the Labour movement. It was feared by some that under Proportional Representation they would not get the best men, independent of organisation, elected, but they had as good a chance as they would have under the

“Block System,” if not better. Congress in previous years recommended the use of Proportional Representation in elections, and should logically adopt same themselves.

Mr. Dowling (Postal Workers' Union) seconded. He said the points in favour of Proportional Representation had been dealt with very fully, and what transpired at the last Congress in no way took away from the merits of Proportional Representation. The National Executive ought to be elected by this democratic means. When public boards adopted it he didn't see why the leaders of freedom and of thought and action in Ireland should not adopt this democratic means of election. As he said before, the thing was right or wrong. If it was wrong at all it was wrong all the time, and if it was right it was right all the time, and it was the proper means for them to adopt in the election of their National Executive.

ELECTION OF NATIONAL EXECUTIVE FOR 1922-3.

The Chairman announced that the discussion of the motion would be suspended to allow the elections to take place.

Meantime the ballot papers for the election of the National Executive were distributed, and the poll took place.

The ballot papers having been collected, Congress adjourned for luncheon.

On resuming, the Chairman of Scrutineers (Mr. Dawson Gordon), addressing Congress, said:—Mr. Chairman and Delegates, the Scrutineers beg to report that they received a sealed parcel from the Secretary containing 310 ballot papers; 212 ballot papers were delivered to the delegates, and 212 were collected. The Scrutineers very carefully went over the ballot papers, and came to the following result:—Miss Cahalan, 109; James Carr, 71; Denis Cullen, 173; W. J. Dowling, 57; Thomas Farren, 183; Thomas Foran, 156; Denis Houston, 6; Thomas Irwin, 78; Luke J. Larkin, 105; Thomas Lawlor, 64; William McMullen, 102; George Nason, 145; T. J. O'Connell, 172; Miss Ellen O'Connor, 42; John T. O'Farrell 176; Michael Somerville, 160; Alex. Stewart, 138; Joseph Toomey, 42.

The following ten are elected:—Thomas Farren, 183; Denis Cullen, 173; T. J. O'Connell, 172; J. T. O'Farrell, 176; Michael Somerville, 160; Alex. Stewart, 138; Thomas Foran, 156; George Nason, 145; Miss Cahalan, 109; Luke J. Larkin, 105.

I might say, Mr. Chairman and delegates, that because of the close voting between McMullen and Larkin, the Scrutineers went over the papers twice so that there would be no mistake.

The vote for the Fraternal Delegates to the Scottish Congress is as follows:—William Davin, 99; Luke J. Duffy, 110; Thomas MacPartlin, 179.

Messrs. Duffy and MacPartlin were elected.

FRATERNAL GREETINGS.

The Chairman welcomed the fraternal delegates—Mr. Saklatvala (Indian Trade Union Congress), Mr. James C. Welsh (Scottish Miners), and Councillor George Buchanan (Glasgow Trades Council)—who addressed the Congress, and received a very cordial welcome.

Mr. Welsh, who was the first speaker, said:—Mr. Chairman and comrades, the difficulties with which you are faced here to-day are only apparent to one when one comes amongst you, and in coming amongst you with the heartiest good wishes from your Scotch comrades, I feel very deeply the tremendous responsibilities with which you are faced. We read about certain things on the other side, but we never get the grasp of them until we come here. During the last three days I have been amongst you trying hard to find out the main currents of your thought, but it is a very difficult thing to do that. I have been going around your old city. A feeling of sadness takes possession of one when you see those noble monuments of the past destroyed. I have gathered the impression from your conferences that you are all exercising a tremendous restraint upon yourselves, afraid that you might speak a word that might mean irreparable disaster, so that one does not get the true mentality of Irish Labour in this Congress. There are reasons for that I know. We hope and we feel across the sea that you will come through all right. Having the capacity for sacrifice that you have shown in the past, Irish Labour will prevail. We have been going through the mill during the last twelve months or more on the other side, just as you have been, but it was of our own seeking. Yours is not of your own seeking. We, in 1918, went out for vengeance, and when a man or people go out for vengeance they reap it. We violated the great eternal verities in the peace that we imposed upon the great people of the Central Empires, and they are hitting us now. Our own folly came boomerang back on us. These are the problems that are confronting the people on the other side. I was pleased to hear your Chairman, in his opening address, striking a note of absolute independence—that you must remain free from any others. Keep your independence, Irishmen, and hold fast to these things. It is the only possible way in which Labour will triumph. Life ought not to be the mean, sordid, degrading thing it is for most of the people. Life

should be beauty; life should be art; life is literature; life is music; life is happiness; life is love; and if we keep these things in the forefront of our vision we must prevail. We have never had many of these things. They are ideals for which we are striving; they are ideals which we will achieve and attain to. It is always the spirit of a movement, just as it is the spirit of a people, that determines the aim. Patriotism is a thing that may spring from events or may answer an appeal of the politicians, but the spirit that the singer and the seer venerate comes only from the love of brotherhood; it springs from the higher regions. Labour, having that view-point, comes to bring a new morality to the outlook of the people of the world. We can be proud of having been born Irishmen or Scotsmen or in any other country. We can be proud of the traditions and the achievements of the countries in which we are born, but we ought always to remember that we are children of the earth, and the whole world is ours to acquire it when we will. Boundaries ought not to set a limit to brotherhood. We should go on in that spirit—Irishmen, Scotsmen, Germans, Indians, everyone. That is the message that the Scottish workers send to you. They are united, though they are being tried in different ways. After all, we have but the one enemy, the one mean enemy—the enemy of capitalism. In all countries that has got to be the goal—the overthrow of capitalism. I am satisfied that the brain and the brawn of Labour can do it, and will do it.

Mr. Geo. Buchanan—Mr. Chairman, friends and comrades, I have a somewhat difficult task, following on Comrade Welsh. I want to say it gives me great pleasure to be here to-day to convey greetings from the Scottish Trades' Union Congress to this gathering here. I want, first of all, to congratulate the Irish Labour Party on their recent magnificent gains at the last elections. I think it is a tribute to the working people in this country, in view of the recent divisions that have taken place, that in what one might term the first big fight on a new Constitution that Irish Labour has undertaken, they should return, I think, seventeen out of eighteen candidates that they recently put up. I want, therefore, to say that the Scottish Labour movement was pleased to hear of that occurrence. On the other side we have been faced with reductions in our standard of living, greater by far, as your Secretary said this morning, than the people on this side are. The reasons are partly our own and partly not our own, because we have never perfected our Trades' Union machinery as we ought to have done; we have never taken advantage of our electoral machinery as we might have done in past elections. Recently, when we fought our School Board and Town Council election, the same cry went out in the newspapers to the voters:

To vote against the Labour Party because there was an unholy alliance between the Labour movement and the Pope as representing the Catholic Church. One has to remember the Presbyterian sentiment in Scotland, where you had people steeped for centuries in Presbyterianism. In other places you had women coming to our polling booths, who were registering their votes for the first time, because they thought that our local authorities in Scotland were going to be captured by the Irish, to be used on behalf of the Pope of Rome (laughter). That was a common thing, and to that extent our movement was divided, and the working people are suffering to-day in Glasgow. If you compare a working class ward, like the one I represent on the Council, the death-rate, roughly speaking, is five times greater than the death-rate in child life in the Kelvin ward in the West-end of Glasgow. The reason for that is not because the working people love their children, whether they be Catholic or Presbyterian, less than the well-to-do people; it is not because the working men and the working women, taking them in the vast bulk, do not want to see their offspring grow up as healthy, as able, as strong, and as good citizens as those of the well-to-do. The reason you have five more children dying there than in the West-end is not that the people lack love or parental responsibility, but because of the hellish industrial and social conditions under which men, women, and children of the working class are compelled to eke out their existence. In carrying the greetings of the Scotch Congress here I want to say quite frankly, for my part, that I am not a believer, or never have been, for years, in physical force. I opposed the late war with Germany, because war, at all times, never solves anything. The Boer war, the Crimean war, and the Napoleonic wars cleared the people. The Crimean war cleared the Highlands of Scotland of their crofters. The Boer war saw the 1906 and 1907 unemployed marchings right throughout the length and breadth of the country. The German war? See the people—if they were not slaves they would not stand it—in the Labour Exchange queues, in the most degrading fashion, waiting until a pittance is doled out to them! For my part I say the only hope lies not with war, but with the working-class people, whether in Russia, Germany, or here at home, whether they be the black race, white race, or yellow races, whether they be Catholic, Jew, or Presbyterian, no matter what their calling, or what their denomination may be. Unemployment never separates the Catholic from the Protestant. Small-pox or disease does not claim the Protestant child and leave the Catholic child. Disease, ill-health, unemployment, spare none. The only people to face it are those who suffer from it; that is the working people. I do hope this Congress here will go forward to-day united, and bring about a higher and a nobler system, and banish that miserable

system of society that breeds in Belfast, in Dublin, in Glasgow, in London, in Berlin, in Paris, the miserable unemployed men that Burns saw, when he said :—

“ See yonder poor o’er-laboured wight,
 So abject, mean, and vile,
 Who begs a brother of the soil
 To give him leave to toil,
 And see his lordly earthly worm
 The poor petition spurn ;
 Heedless, though a weeping wife
 And helpless offspring mourn.”

That is a picture that is common to all where capitalism reigns. You only can pass that picture away into the abyss of the past—the working people of this country yoked with the working people of other countries—with the one cry: the wealth for the wealth producers ; for the workers have everything to gain and nothing to lose but their chains (applause).

INDIA SPEAKS !

Mr. S. Saklatvala—Comrade O’Shannon and friends. In the first place, in conveying the thanks of the Indian Trade Union Congress, I am particularly asked to assure you that it is not a mere formula, or a mere courtesy, or a mere chance or accident by which they asked me, happening to be in London, to come to you to-day. They asked me specially to tender you their apologies, because they had fully intended to send out a special delegate all the way from India this time to you. If it is not this time, it shall be next time, my friends. The difficulties are great. The travelling expenses would be £150, and the absence of the delegate who comes over here would be three to four months from his ordinary work. That is not all. There is a great passport bogey to overcome. Money could be collected, but law and order could not be overstepped. It is on this account that I have once again to stand up before you. Now, there is one special reason why our Indian friends were anxious not to miss this Congress of the Irish Labour Party. We consider that this Congress of the free and independent workers of Ireland will not make the horrible mistake which the other white countries have made in the past. You, friends, have stood by the Indian workers so far in entertaining the fraternal delegates to three of your Congresses, and we desire that we shall be instrumental in inducing you to continue it. Pray, do not fall

into the error into which other working classes have fallen. I shall not dilate upon it. Do you not know the history of South Africa—how the white workers are mowed down like so much grass, simply because the master classes have at their disposal 250,000 well-disciplined and well-trained coloured slaves? Do you know what is happening in Australia? The other day, when they were giving a contract for repairing and painting their ships, the Australian Labour Government got their ships repaired at 8d. per day, of 11 hours, in the docks of Bombay, and when the white workers went to protest, Hughes said: "You can go to blithering blazes." I have got one special message for you, friends. We are not perfectly sure, but just about two weeks ago our Indian friends wrote to us that the one white man, and the only white man, who had stood by the Indian Trades' Union Congress in India, working and sacrificing himself, and giving them a lesson, a chap named Mr. Millar, who, they say, is an Irishman—perhaps you know him—has been imprisoned by the Government of India for six months. I am asked that you send out your sympathy, whether he is an Irishman or Scotchman, to him and his suffering wife. The hideous part is this, that Millar's real crime was to join a coloured workers' movement. He led them in the great fight. The coloured workers appointed him as their President. Therefore, the white workers persecuted him, and threw him out from their associations. The white Government got hold of him, and put him into prison on some trumped-up charge. The whole thing was a tissue of lies. There are some Irishmen in India who are red-hot Imperialists. They are not only in the army or the Government services, but in the ordinary trade and commercial working services. When here they are members of Trades' Unions, and they sit on the floors of these halls and shout against the oppression by the master classes, and when they get the whip into their own hands they employ coolie labour, and pay them the handsome sum of 2s. a week, working them for 12 hours a day. I ask you to issue a general National Manifesto, pointing out that it shall be a shame and a disgrace for a worker, whether in China, Peru, Dublin or Belfast, if he ill-treats another worker. Organised Labour in the West is successful enough, but remember that the low conditions of organised Labour in the East will ultimately defeat Labour in the West. There is another thing common between us too—that is agricultural labour. In India we are greatly desirous of keeping agricultural labour organised, and keeping it exactly on the same footing as industrial labour. The National Congress of India had before it last year 700,000 applications from the agricultural areas, and we hope that Irish agricultural labour will give whatever assistance they can give, in respect of advice or moral

support, to the Indian agricultural labourer. If industrial labour sees that the man working in the fields and the farms is as happy and as prosperous, and has all the rights of the industrial labourer, he will not give up his farm work and enter into competition, or overstock the industrial market. It is to the benefit of the industrial workers themselves to first see that the man on the farm has got a decent cottage, nice roads and sanitation, even a theatre and other enjoyments, so that he will stay where he is rearing his family in happiness and comfort. I don't think it would be right of me to shirk the main question, however delicate it is. We in India and you in Ireland find it very difficult, as a Labour group, between the variety of political thoughts that divide and obstruct the country or the people. The Trade Union Congress in India has also before it an immense task. You may have heard that the Indian political camp is, at any rate, outwardly divided into what is known as the Moderate Party and the Extremist Party. We have no inclination to give you any advice, but it may be interesting if I give you the information that at the last Trade Union Congress the workers of India unanimously decided for the present that they shall openly and avowedly in their political creed back up the Extremist Party—(applause)—provided that the Extremist Party remains to the last anti-Imperialists in action. Imperialism has been the emblem of starvation, misery, distress, degradation of womanhood, the breaking of the life and moral strength of innocent children. It is duty, it is humanity, it is religion, it is safety, it is interest, it is everything that you may call it, that we should, everywhere and anywhere, stand up against it. The greater danger at the present time to stand up against is not naked, open, Imperialism, but insidious, subterranean Imperialism. We do not want to surrender to it in disguise, just as much as we loathed it when it was open in front of us (applause). We in India had during the last three years looked with faith—we thought a miracle had happened. In the history of Empires, from the times of the Persian Empires, the Roman Empires, the British Empire, there was a great motto: "Divide and rule." We saw Ireland had, for the first time in the history of mankind, proved that it could be made impossible. Just for the last few weeks there has been a little trouble. We request you not to divide. We request you to stand firm. You will break the hearts and hopes of those 350 million people if you must remain divided. Do for the sake of the world, do for the sake of human freedom, remain together; stand together and stick together, and let us hope that once you have done it here, and once we have done it in India, the working classes—the great masses of humanity—shall thus learn a lesson, which you taught

from 1916, and the working classes shall ultimately triumph all over the world, and will come into their own through this force of complete unity. Let me hope, my friends, that there will be a time, not very far off, when your delegate will find it possible to go to our Indian Congress, because, apart from attending the Congress, there are many other things for you to see and learn, many other things for you to go through and teach to our people. Let me hope we shall meet again, and next time when you are here we may be able to send to you delegates fresh from India (applause).

Chairman—Our comrades from Scotland, and particularly our comrade from India, met us all before, and they all know that we have dispensed with the formalities of votes of thanks. For that reason I take it upon myself, in your name, to thank them, and show your appreciation of them, for the messages they brought us from our comrades overseas. Now, the greatest lesson they have got to teach us is the very lesson they have been teaching to-day. That lesson is that no matter what our colour, no matter what our creed, no matter what our country, we of the working class are united in that common slavery, and that that working-class movement in their countries, as in our country, has one aim and object, and that is to get free from that slavery, and to smash the chains that bind us. I personally would have liked to hear you, comrades, stress that even more deeply, because, in my opinion, if the working class of Ireland got a few strong doses of the internationalism of the working-class movement, we would not be rent in twain by Nationalism gone mad. People are blaming all the trouble, and all the suffering, and everything else on the personal vanity of this man, on the pressure or weakness of that one. None of these things are at the root of it at all. Nationalism is all right, and a good, a fine, a beautiful and noble thing, so long as it is kept within its proper stream. On behalf of the Congress I want to ask you to convey our greetings to your comrades, and to tell them how much we appreciate your efforts and their efforts and their difficulties. Tell them there are people in the Labour movement in Ireland, and whether they rise or whether they fall they are going on with the class war, and their comrades and your comrades will one day triumph.

LABOUR T.D.'S THREATEN RESIGNATION.

Chairman of Standing Orders Committee—We had a long consultation with the National Executive and the Labour T.D.'s present at the Congress. They were in consultation for about one and a-half hours, and, after considering all the points of view,

Standing Orders Committee recommend that the Chairman of Congress be allowed to move the following resolution :—

‘That this Congress demands that the elected representatives of the people shall be called to meet immediately as a step preliminary to the ending of the present fratricidal strife, and, in the event of this demand not being responded to and a meeting held on or before Saturday, August 26th, that the Labour Party members shall meet their constituents, hand back the mandate given them by the electors, and resign their seats.’

That will be immediately taken up after hearing the fraternal delegates.

The resolution of the Standing Orders Committee was moved, seconded, and adopted.

Alderman William O'Brien then took the chair.

The President, in moving the resolution submitted by the Chairman of Standing Orders Committee, said :—Fellow-delegates, in moving this resolution I want to say a word or two, first of all, in the name of the National Executive. As you are aware from the reports given to Congress, the National Executive has practically exhausted all the avenues it could explore to find a solution for our present difficulties and the civil war. We have tried in this direction and in that direction, and we have been met with failure at practically every point. We have considered all the ways and all the means that we would conceive to bring about either unity or settlement. We have failed. You may have suggestions of one kind or another to make. Believe me, there is not a single suggestion, in my opinion, that you can make that has not been considered over and over again. Some of them have been tried; some of them have been rejected because we knew that they would bring forth no fruit. Now, our last endeavour, as you know, was to bring an unofficial meeting of the elected representatives of the people together. That meeting was abortive, because the elected representatives in the two main parties were so tied up to their parties that they would not do anything their parties and leaders had not already agreed upon.

In the General Election a few months ago, at your command, as part of your policy, the workers in some fourteen constituencies all over Ireland sent forward Labour candidates. Those candidates went forward with a clean and separate and definite programme and policy. Throughout the length and breadth of those fourteen constituencies we laid it down in as clear and plain language as we could command that Labour and the Labour candidates stood definitely and all the time for peace between Irishmen in

this crisis. We went before the electors and we asked them if they agreed with that policy and with that programme to vote for our candidates. The rank and file—the men and women of the working class—on many a wall along many a roadside and in many a village and hamlet translated into their own words the programme and the policy of the Labour Party; plastered it up in whitewash or in tar in three words: “Peace and Work”—“Peace and Work.”

We asked them, if they did not want our programme, to go and vote for other candidates. We asked them if they wanted to support the official Party on either side, whether anti-Treatyites or pro-Treatyites, not to come and vote for us, because we did not want their votes. We told them we would rather be rejected than be elected under any delusion on any programme other than the Labour Party's. In those fourteen constituencies we got over 100,000 workingmen and women to vote for us, and in several of those constituencies we got most of the electors to vote for us before they voted for anybody else, to give us their first preference.

What happened then? When the seventeen Labour T.D.'s were elected, and the time came for them to attempt to carry out their programme, they were put out of action. The Parliament or Dáil to which the Labour and other T.D.'s had been elected was met with the spectacle of civil war. It has never been allowed to meet since; it may never be allowed to meet. Your seventeen representatives have been put out of action; they have not been allowed to express, much less to carry out, the mandate that was given to them.

We have been told in the public Press that this Party and that Party and the other Party had a mandate for this and that and the other things. They may have had, but they did not give even their own supporters an opportunity of expressing that mandate. Whatever faults the Labour Party may have, whatever errors of judgment or of tactics or errors even of principle it may commit, we hope it will never make the blunder and the crime of keeping its mouth shut when it ought to speak out.

“THE DAIL CANNOT MEET!”

They tell us that there are great reasons why the Assembly of the Nation could not meet. They tell us the country is in a disturbed state, that the elected representatives cannot get transport to bring them to Dublin, and that a number of them on both sides are serving in military operations. I reply that in the very week in which the civil war broke out, and while the big guns and the little guns were being fired in Dublin, there were numbers

of the T.D.'s of both sides in Dublin. I saw them myself. We were able to muster most of the elected Labour T.D.'s that week; we were able to muster most of them on several occasions since. Your delegates, or some of your delegates who had been in invested areas, were able to get outside those areas, even though some of them had to go to Liverpool to come to Dublin. Yet, they tell us the T.D.'s couldn't assemble.

As to the last argument, that because a number of elected representatives are engaged in active military operations, there should be no calling of the Parliament together, I want to ask them this question: Whether they were elected as Brigadier-Generals or Commandant-Generals, or were they elected to voice the opinions of the people who elected them? (Applause.) Your candidates were not elected to be anything but the spokesmen of the working class throughout Ireland and in their constituencies. I do not think the other T.D.'s have any right or any title or any authority to say anything else but this either.

They tell us that we must be democrats and constitutionalists, and we must have law and order. Yes, we must have law and order, but it *must* be law and it *must* be order. If they will have constitutionalism let them give us constitutionalism. Let them give us law and order instead of bullets and bombs (applause). Let them stand up to their constitutionalism, and if they do they will make it impossible for any soldier or for any officer on active service to remain a member of the elected National Assembly (applause). Aye! it would have been well for Ireland these last twelve months if there had been fewer Commandant-Generals and Colonel-Commandants in the Dáil; there would not have been so much fighting as to who were to be top dogs in the army and who were to have the other jobs (applause). There would not have been so much squabbling about this thing and that thing and the other thing.

FIRST PRINCIPLE OF DEMOCRACY.

But they tell us this is a time for action and not for deliberation. Nobody, less than I, will deny that the function and job of an army is to act, but the function and the job of the National Assembly or Parliament or Dáil is to deliberate and to come to decisions and to govern (applause). It is not its job to hand the government and the deliberation of the people over to any army body, whether that army body is a constitutional body or whether it is not. If they want to live up to their constitutionalism and up to their democracy let them come down to the first principle of democracy. As we understand it, the first principle of democracy as interpreted

in these countries is that the body of the people should act and speak through their elected representatives, and not that a half-dozen or dozen of those elected representatives should be the spokesmen of the nation. They tell us there is no need to consult the country or the T.D.'s as to whether or not there should be civil war. No, under their "democracy," when they climb to power, just as the people on the other side, if they had climbed to power, would have done, they would scrap your democracy or constitutionalism altogether and have their own will. On this occasion the argument of democracy and constitutionalism is going dead against them.

In considering this resolution, remember that while the local labour bodies, the labour conferences, and the constituents have a just claim on the services of their elected representatives, this Congress of the Irish workers, and this Congress only, is the authoritative interpreter and director of the policy of the Irish Labour Party—this Congress and this Congress only. It is being suggested to you now that, as the men who became the spokesmen of the workers, as part of your policy, have not been allowed to express the mandate or carry out the job for which they were elected, that those men who are the direct spokesmen of 295,000 organised workers in the industrial field and over 100,000 electors directly at the polls, should go back to their constituents and tell those who elected them when and where and how exactly they stand, remind them of the promises they gave at the election, and of the things they said they would try to do, and tell them plainly and straightly, bluntly and honestly, "we have not been able to do what you want us to do, and what we promised we should try to do. That is exactly the position."

In theory, you will remember, the first and second Dáil was the government of the country. The Dáil elected an Executive, or Cabinet, to carry out Executive functions. I have been told by a member of the present Cabinet that the same applies now, and that every elected representative of the people is equally responsible in the government of the country. I denied it. I deny it now (applause). We were never consulted. None of them was consulted on these things. I personally promised at every election meeting which I held that if at any time I found myself in vital and utter disagreement with the policy of the Labour Party, or with the policy of the people who elected me, I would hand in my checks to them, and let them put in someone who agreed with them more perfectly. On this business I do feel as deeply as I have ever felt on any-

thing, that I can in nowise shoulder responsibility for what is going on.

UNITED LABOUR POLICY.

That is why I agree with the resolution. I want the policy of the Labour Party to be one and the same, complete and united all over the country, and that all the Labour T.D.'s shall do this thing. There may be arguments against it; there are arguments against it. One of the arguments is that we may sacrifice, or you may sacrifice, all the hope and the promise that the election gave. If you sacrifice it you are sacrificing it at the mouth of the gun. It isn't your free will; it isn't our free will. It is forced by the over-riding of every constitutional and democratic principle and procedure. We want you to give this direction, because although your conception of democracy and ours may differ from other people's conception, yet, fundamentally, I think, you and we are all one. If the others are going to stand by the accepted interpretation of democracy and constitutionalism in these countries, we say to you, put it up to them to do so now.

I should like to ask that this should be a unanimous decision, without any minority at all. I should like to ask you that in the name of the great working class of Ireland of which we are part.

In doing this thing you may fall into error, you may fail. But there is nothing dishonourable or discreditable in falling into error or in failing. There are many failures and many errors before you ere you come to the end of your path. But I would ask you with all the strength that I can, with our whole history both as a movement and as a class before us, to unite on this one thing, and if this demand is not conceded, then ask your representatives to resign their seats, and when the due time comes, come together again—it may be in another way—and fight your point. Now is the time to act, if ever. Therefore, friends and comrades, I ask you to accept this and carry it unanimously; send it out in face of the world both to Treatyites and anti-Treatyites—to Republicans and Free Staters—to everybody, including the old gang, whom we will have to watch, as we warned you we would have to watch them—the old ascendancy, the people of property on both sides. Pass it unanimously (applause).

THE PROBLEM OF UNEMPLOYMENT.

Thomas Johnson (Secretary)—Mr. Chairman and comrades, some of us have felt conscience-stricken because the Labour Party officially has not taken as active a part in agitating the question of unemployment as we would have taken in other circumstances. We have held aloof from agitation on this question, believing that the circumstances warranted holding aloof. We put in the forefront of our programme before the electors this question of unemployment and the need for finding a remedy. We felt that we could use the Dáil for the purpose of protesting, of denouncing, and of advocating certain remedies to meet this problem of unemployment, which is touching so many thousands in this country to-day. We have been foiled in that hope and intention. We have the responsibility to our constituents. We refuse to carry that responsibility any further, unless the opportunity is given us to have these questions faced in the Dáil. The Chairman has spoken about the excuses that are given for the non-meeting of the Dáil on the 1st July. It has not been said publicly, I think, but it has been told us that there was a fear, a threat, that the Army Executive forces would not allow the Dáil to meet. Would not it have been better to make the attempt now as was done in the last two or three years? It is mere hypocrisy to make any excuses of that kind. What is at the bottom of this delay in calling the Parliament is the utter contempt for you men and women and those whom you represent (hear, hear). It is a contempt for the people that has grown up within a few years past—the arrogance of power. They have been given authority without criticism, perhaps rightly in the circumstances. But that sense of authority has grown into a sense of arrogance and dictatorship. They say: "There is no need now to call the people into council. We can report to them at some time what we have done and get them to pass commendatory resolutions."

CONTEMPT OF THE PEOPLE.

This arrogance and contempt of the people is the evil that we have to attack. Perhaps I should add fear—fear that they will not be able to carry a majority (applause). I have nothing to add to what the Chairman has said in putting

this resolution except this, that I believe that all the elected members are determined that, if they cannot do the work they were elected to do, they are not going to pretend any longer to represent the people. We demand the opportunity to do the work we were appointed to do. If we are refused that opportunity we throw the responsibility upon the others, and we shall see what we shall see. I beg to second the resolution.

Mr. J. Bermingham (N.U.R.)—I would like to ask a question. Do I understand the resolution to specify that you are giving notice to the 26th of the month?

Chairman—Yes.

Alderman William O'Brien (in the chair) again read the resolution.

Mr. E. Cooney (Grocers' and Vintners' Assistants)—Is it the intention of the Executive to formulate proposals to put before this meeting which you are going to call to end fratricidal strife in the country? Furthermore, if that meeting is held and fails to settle the war, will your resignation hold good?

Alderman O'Brien—This action is taken with the intention of getting a meeting of the elected representatives. If the meeting is held the purpose of the resolution is accomplished.

Mr. Cooney—Will you formulate proposals to carry to that meeting, or would you suggest that Congress should endeavour to formulate such proposals?

Alderman O'Brien—The Report of the Executive, which has been before you, tells you what efforts have been made up to the present. Naturally, if a meeting of the elected representatives is held, the Labour Party will not be dumb there. They will have certain proposals to make.

Mr. Bermingham—I think the object of your meeting is to try to discover some way to end the troubles in the country to-day?

Alderman O'Brien—Yes; I believe that is the first necessity.

Mr. McCormack (Grocers' Assistants)—In view of the fact that this resolution is brought before us at very short notice, can you inform us—we know the Executive met—what number of T.D.'s were present; also if the decision that led up to this resolution was unanimous or otherwise?

Alderman O'Brien—The conference that was held was a conference between the Standing Orders Committee, the

members of the Executive, and all available T.D.'s. The number of T.D.'s present was seven.

Mr. McCormack—Am I in order in asking if the resolution was come to unanimously at the meeting of the Executive and of available T.D.'s?

Alderman O'Brien—There was no vote taken on the question. That resolution represents the general opinion of that conference. That is the only answer I can give you.

Mr. Thomas MacPartlin (Woodworkers) said that it was unfair to criticise the conference which met at the adjournment. They surely represented what Labour was thinking at the present time. I have no doubt, he went on, that those on the platform recognise clearly that they are making a pretty big sacrifice this time in adopting such measures. Everything they have been trying to do up to this to bring about peace has been a failure. Therefore, they are going one further.

LABOUR PARTY NOT WANTED.

Don't we all know that the Government Party and the Party belonging to the Republicans were dead up against Labour going into these elections? Don't we know very well that neither of them wants the Labour men? Don't we know that through personal jealousies they don't want those men there? You have men here in this Congress who are jealous of some of the men elected because they were not there themselves (applause). That is the position you find yourself in when you see men elected, seven of whom have turned up and unanimously agreed to take this manly stand. For 25 years we have been speaking at these Congresses about having Labour represented. I am not talking as a mushroom delegate, because I have been here the whole time. You have always been shouting for Labour representation. These men got it after a hard struggle, and now, in addition to helping the workers as a whole, they are prepared to take this stand. I am very proud of it, and I would expect nothing else from some of the men on the platform after having worked with them for so long. I believe they are doing right. If they believe it is the only means to peace they are perfectly justified in the action they are taking. I am not saying that every delegate here must believe it is the only way. They, anyhow, have considered the matter. They have done everything they

thought possible and they have failed, and they are taking this as a further step. They should get all the encouragement possible from the delegates here, and there ought to be an end to petty questions. We have got it from them unanimously, and we ought to be guided by anything they put up to us. To-morrow or next day we will be up against the big guns, and the real big gun that threatens us is the economic situation. They are prepared to sacrifice what they fought for and earned well to try and benefit the workers of the country as a whole, by bringing about a sane state of things, instead of having a country of damned lunatics.

Mr. McCormack—If the efforts you are now about to make would save one life in Ireland, or provide one meal for a worker's family, I give you my blessing and God-speed.

Mr. Cooney—In view of the fact that your past efforts have been a failure, I would like to know if you have new proposals to bring before this meeting you are calling, and, if not, would you accept proposals from this meeting?

Alderman O'Brien—We would accept them from anybody.

Mr. Quinn (I.N.T.O.)—Is it to be understood that this is an unofficial conference called of all the members elected to the Dáil, as the previous conference was called, or is it to be the regular official calling of the Parliament of the country?

The Secretary—The official calling.

Mr. Quinn—It will be time enough then when the Parliament meets to have proposals put forward, as the discussion will evolve in the Parliament.

IF CIVIL WAR CONTINUES?

Miss Bennett (Irish Women Workers)—I think, like Mr. MacPartlin, that the decision of the Labour members of the Dáil to resign at a certain time is absolutely right, and the only dignified course they could take in the circumstances. But at the same time, if the Dáil is not called within the next few weeks, and if it becomes necessary for you to resign, it will create, I imagine, a very serious situation, and it will not solve the problems which are put up to us, and which led you to make this decision. If civil war continues in spite of your resignation, it means that we are faced with still worse unemployment problems, and the general position for the workers may be considerably worse than it is at the

present time. What is to be the policy of the Labour Party in such circumstances? I suggest, if it becomes necessary for the Labour members to resign from the Dáil, that this Congress should meet again and formulate what new steps have next to be taken in order to deal with the perfectly serious problems that will be before us in that way (applause).

Mr. Bermingham (N.U.R.)—After very careful consideration of the action that has been taken by the Executive of the Labour Party and the T.D.'s present, and by virtue of the fact that it does certainly very much affect, not only the men I represent, but the country as a whole, I think there is nothing for us to do but to fall into line with the suggestion from the platform. However, there are one or two other points that I would like to make clear. I don't know whether you have considered—if on the 26th of this month, if the wishes and desires of this Congress are not given effect to, any further action will be taken with a view to compelling the representatives of the country to meet and discuss the affairs of the country. I think it would be wise, notwithstanding the distance you have gone, that you should even look further into the matter. If you leave it simply on the proposition of resigning, and you have no further method of dealing with the situation, I am afraid you won't take it much further. What I would like to suggest to you is this, that the will and dictates of the Labour Party must be listened to, even if we have to force them by other means (applause).

Mr. Hickey (I.T. & G.W.U.)—I quite agree with the remarks of Mr. Bermingham. I fail to see what purpose will be served by the Labour T.D.'s resigning on the 26th. I believe if what the resolution asks for is not conceded, in the meantime the Labour Party should devise some means by which sufficient pressure should be brought to bear on the other parties to meet.

Miss Cahalan (Distributive Workers)—I am fully in agreement with the decision come to by the National Executive and the T.D.'s. It seems to me that our representatives have been placed in a most undignified position. I am very glad that they have taken steps to show the country as a whole that they are not satisfied to be put into that undignified and humiliating position. This gesture that they are making to-day ought to appeal to the imagination of the people of this country. I have sufficient faith in them to feel that it will appeal to their imagination if the sacrifices they are about

to make do not bring about the desired effect—that is, if the Dáil or National Assembly is not called together to carry on the affairs of the nation in a civilised fashion, I feel quite sure that we have imagination enough and courage and spirit enough to think out a new method to fight it. In any case we will be in a position of saying to the people of this country we stood for this. “Do you stand,” other people have said, “for war and destruction”? Isn’t it a question of clearing the air as to where we are? I am very glad, indeed, to support the motion of the Executive.

Mr. E. P. Hart—I had intended moving an addendum or an amendment to the resolution, but after hearing the explanation of the Chairman, and on further consideration of the resolution, I feel it is a very good one, and it would be the most effective protest Labour could make for the Labour T.D.’s to resign, in order to show the people of Ireland that they will not shoulder responsibility for what is going on at the present moment.

Alderman O’Brien—There seems to be a general disposition to accept this. Believe me the very fullest and most careful consideration was given to the proposition. The various suggestions made have been noted, and will be acted upon if we think them practicable, and, if necessary, we won’t hesitate to call you together in a special Congress again. I will now put the resolution.

The resolution was then put and declared passed unanimously.

ELECTION OF EXECUTIVE BY P.R.

The discussion on Mr. C. J. King’s resolution on “Proportional Representation” was then resumed, Mr. Cathal O’Shannon presiding.

Mr. Bermingham (N.U.R.), in supporting the resolution, said—I do so for this reason, that in my opinion it will be one of the greatest acts that could be performed in bringing about a state of democracy in connection with the election of the National Board of this Congress. I do it because I want to knock out if I can any cause of jealousy in the ranks of Labour. This system that has been proposed here is a system that has worked well in the political and also the municipal and Local Government elections. It has been so satisfactory that we were all out in praise of it, and nobody more so than the Labour people. If it is good enough to apply to outside

governments, surely to heaven we ought to apply it to our own elections. I believe it will be one of the means of creating greater harmony, and bringing about greater solidification of the methods of carrying out our work. I, therefore, recommend it to Congress to carry it.

Mr. L. J. Duffy—If the resolution, as I understand it, is passed, it creates a situation that it not contemplated by the Constitution. I submit that you cannot alter the Constitution by passing the resolution, and that if you pass this resolution you are altering the Constitution. A question occurs to me that I think is being overlooked by those who are supporting the resolution. It is being put forward that this is the means of getting representation for the small unions on the National Executive. I submit it is not, but that it is going to give a monopoly to the big unions. I want to ask the Chairman, if this resolution is carried, does it mean abolishing the clause of the Constitution which says no Union shall have more than two representatives on the Executive. I submit it does. I submit the wording of this resolution, if it is carried, means the doing away with the limitation to two members from any union, big or small. I want the Chairman to give a ruling on that before you vote, because if you carry the resolution, and my interpretation is right, it means that any union that has sufficient voting power can elect an unlimited number on the Executive, for instance, the union that is probably aimed at by the people who are proposing the resolution. I personally am satisfied that the best men should be on the Executive, no matter what union they are from, and I don't care if the whole fourteen come from one union. But I say this, that it is no use in our voting for something that is the very contrary to what I believe we are voting for. If my interpretation is correct, it may be the means of one union here electing six people by the single transferable vote. One union has, for instance, as the capitalistic Press was careful to point out, 102 out of 240 delegates. On a single transferable vote it is quite capable for that union to elect six members on the National Executive. Therefore, before I vote on this matter, I want the Chairman's ruling as to whether the resolution has the implication that I read into it.

Chairman—Mr. Duffy has asked for a ruling as to the effect of the carrying of the resolution. Mr. Duffy is quite correct. On page 7 of the Constitution you will find, "Not more than one delegate from any organisation shall be entitled to

membership of the National Executive, except that a trade union having a membership exceeding 10,000 shall be entitled, if elected by Congress, to one additional representative. This shall not apply to the election of officers." That rule limits the number of members which any union can have elected on the National Executive to two. If the resolution were carried it would mean that one union, by virtue of that new rule, could have five or six, or possibly the whole membership of the Executive, elected from its ranks.

REPRESENTATION OF MINORITIES.

Mr. E. P. Hart—I want to support this resolution, and to point out that there is nothing in the resolution which aims at altering the representation of the National Executive. This resolution does not aim at altering the Standing Orders. It simply wishes that the method of election should be altered. Mr. Duffy has repeated practically word for word what Mr. Johnson said at the last Congress. I believe the delegates who were present will remember that Brother Campbell, of Belfast, answered Mr. Johnson on that occasion, and answered him very well. It is a fact that the reactionary party presently in power in the six counties are endeavouring to do away with the principle of Proportional Representation, in order that they should control absolutely the government of those six counties. Proportional Representation we were told was a good thing for minorities. The proposer of the resolution is a representative of a small union. The resolution aims at giving representation on the National Executive to persons who may not belong to an organisation whose delegates would be considered suitable to be put on the list, because everybody knows that unless a candidate is on the list he has not a chance of getting on the Executive. The resolution does not attempt in any way to alter Standing Orders in regard to the limitation of delegates from a particular union. Therefore, I have the greatest pleasure in supporting it.

Mr. Thomas Irwin—I want to say personally that I am not one of those who were enamoured with this thing called Proportional Representation. When we talk about Proportional Representation I think we ought to be prepared to apply the word in its broadest sense. If we talk about proportion it means that the organisation with the greatest membership is entitled

to more representation than the smaller organisation, if I understand the word rightly. Further than that, I am a bit worried as to the cause or reason why we should have Proportional Representation in a body like this. If we mean anything, we are all here for the sake of the working-man, and we should elect men who are fit and have ability for the positions we put them into. I cannot see the necessity for the resolution. As I said before, if we want to apply Proportional Representation, let us apply it in the broadest sense, and let us give the organisation with its big membership its proportion on the Executive.

Mr. D. R. Campbell (Belfast)—I want, if possible, by shocking some delegates' sensibilities, to see if we could find out what I have been endeavouring to find out for a number of years, and that is the real logical objection of certain delegates to the system of Proportional Representation. I have been trying to understand the mentality of the individual who believes in Proportional Representation as a method for selecting, say, representatives on a body he would like to sit on outside, but is prepared to deny its applicability inside the confines of his own particular body. The single transferable vote is not necessarily the method of election. It is a system of assessing the value of votes, which is quite a different proposition, and the interpretation put upon our Constitution at the moment by the Chairman is not my interpretation of our Constitution. It is quite possible to have a system of assessing the value of votes and at the same time to have certain other safeguards against the abuse of representation, even in the transferable vote. I have been told a particular union has 102 delegates out of 240, and in the single transferable vote you would have six. I know that in the method of the calculation of the transferable vote that 102 voting out of 240 would be four seats. Under the system of Proportional Representation it would not be unfair to my mind, and it would require no further safeguard in our Constitution that a union with 102 of a membership would have four seats. The safeguard was introduced because there was no other method of limiting the power of majorities in this Congress or in any assembly.

SAFEGUARDING THE BIG UNION.

Let me point out that Proportional Representation acts as a safeguard in the interests of big bodies, because if there was a

tight block to-day here between the minorities it would result in a union of 102 delegates having no representation whatever on the Executive. Fifty-one per cent. of this Congress could exclude 49 per cent. from representation, and that 49 per cent. may be from one union. The proportion here is 45 per cent., and that 45 per cent. could be excluded from any representation. Under Proportional Representation no coalition of the 55 per cent. could exclude 45 per cent. from its measure of representation. Doesn't it seem humiliating that we who advocated the application of Proportional Representation through our Councils should stand here discussing whether we would apply it to the selection of our own Executive. To me, at any rate, as a student of Proportional Representation, and one who believes in it because of its inherent equity, it is exceedingly humiliating to find that we still find it necessary to advance certain arguments, logical or otherwise, in support of the retention of the old block system. I feel quite confident if Proportional Representation were adopted there would be no longer any necessity to retain these safeguards in our Constitution.

P.R. WITHOUT LIMITATION.

Mr. Thomas Foran—Chairman and delegates, I am one of those people who is in favour of Proportional Representation without any limitations, and if I understand the mover of this resolution to mean Proportional Representation in the full sense of the word, I am going to vote in favour of it. But you cannot have it both ways. We in the Irish Transport Union are representing three-fifths of the affiliated unions to this Congress. We have one, and only one, representative on the National Executive. Under Proportional Representation, as I understand it—and even as the champion and great exponent of Proportional Representation, Mr. Campbell, thinks—we would be entitled to four. I would also ask Mr. Campbell does he know any body in this country, or outside of it, that elects an Executive body on Proportional Representation? Has he been sent here on the principle of Proportional Representation? Has any union in this Congress sent their delegates here on the principle of Proportional Representation? Has the Executive of the Automobile Drivers' Union, or of any other union in the Congress, elected their own Executive on the principle of Proportional Representation? These are matters that I would require to be enlightened on. Mr. Hart, of the British Transport Union,

says all the brains of the Labour movement are not in one union. If he was not the fool that he is he would not make that statement. (Cries of "Withdraw.") I withdraw the word, but I have my own opinion. I meant to say if Mr. Hart was not so foolish he would say that all the brains of the Labour movement should be in one union, and if we are ever going to get anywhere all the brains of the Labour movement will be concentrated in the one union, whether it is this Congress, the Transport Union, or any other union, so long as there is only one union in Ireland. As I said in opening, I am in favour of Proportional Representation without any reservations, but if there are going to be any reservations I am against it. You cannot have it both ways. If you are in favour of Proportional Representation, then we in the Irish Transport Union are certainly going to have a greater monopoly of the National Executive than ever we had before. The motive behind the resolution is really to curtail and limit the Irish Transport Union. It is not Proportional Representation—a democratic system of election—that is urging on this matter at all. It is really an attempt to limit the Transport Union on the National Executive. If that is the idea I am against it, but if the movers will say they want no limitations on any union, then I am for the resolution.

Mr. Thomas Johnson — I feel challenged to say a few words on this matter after Mr. Campbell's speech. He followed me last year. I have got the advantage this time. Mr. Campbell has spoken about the logic of this case. We are not arguing it on logic at all, but we are willing to deal with the logic of the case, and with the obstacles to Proportional Representation which appear in the Constitution. Now, these obstacles were placed there for the deliberate purpose of preventing monopolies of seats on the Executive by any union or group of unions, and they have been effective. I don't know whether this Congress or the Labour movement desires a change for change sake. I hope we are conservative enough not to desire a change unless the change is demanded in the interest of a very good purpose. What is the good purpose here? To secure that small unions shall have representation, to secure that monopolies shall not be obtained by the large unions! Will you point to any of the recent years' Executives, since this Constitution was drawn up, where the Constitution has failed to provide for reasonable representation of all unions? You cannot. Take the result of the ballot that has just been taken. We have a draper, a baker, a railwayman, vehicle builder, teacher, railway clerk, joiner, and engineer, none of whom are members of the Transport Union. There are two others, one a stonecutter and one a warehouseman.

NO MONOPOLY.

They were elected by this system which was devised for the purpose of securing that there should not be a monopoly. If you are going to introduce a new system you must carry your logic a little bit further, and give numerical representation to those whose members would demand it—to all as a matter of fact. Following the advice which I gave last year, the Automobile Drivers altered the terms of the resolution, but again they have proposed a resolution which defeats their end. They have introduced in the beginning of the resolution these words—and you cannot read the whole without reading the preliminary—"That in the interests of all the affiliated bodies, large and small, and in order to provide fair representation on the National Executive"—certain things shall be done. Then it goes on to say that the system of Proportional Representation, which is designed to give representation to people in proportion to their numbers, and the rules under which it operates for the election of Irish local authorities, shall be adopted. If you had been sensible enough, wise enough, thoughtful enough, in this matter you would have proposed your resolution in the terms of the last clause alone, and that would have secured what you want. I believe that the Chairman's ruling in this matter is right, because of the form in which this resolution has come forward, but I suggest to you, no matter how logical it may be for you to propose this system of taking the vote, that once you begin to change the method you will have to change it very much further than you have designed to do, and unless you can bring reasons, good, sound, valid reasons, why the change should be brought forward, I would suggest to you, in the interests of the Congress, that it is not desirable to make the change.

Mr. T. Ward (N.U.R.)—There is just one remark I would like to make. You said there is a railwayman on the National Executive. There is no railwayman on the National Executive as such. Mr. O'Farrell is a railway clerk.

Chairman—Of course, that is quite true. As a matter of fact, on the new Executive there are direct representatives of eight unions and two councils, and the railwayman whom Ward refers to comes from one of the councils.

Mr. Bermingham—When it was asked was there any delegate at this meeting appointed by Proportional Representation, I think it was argued there was not. I want to say there is, for the official delegate of the National Union of Railwaymen is elected on that system.

Mr. Fitzgerald (Woodworkers, Cork)—Though not an expert on Proportional Representation, I can recite a little incident that

occurred in Cork. In the Trades' Council in Cork the representation of the Transport Union is confined to five members. When we were going forward with our Labour candidate, Proportional Representation was put forward, and under Proportional Representation the Transport Union had twenty-seven delegates in the Cork Trades' Council. I think that should prove that under Proportional Representation the very body that the Automobile Drivers are trying to fight against would have full sway.

The Congress adjourned till next morning.

THURSDAY.

The Congress was resumed at 10 o'clock on Thursday morning, Mr. Cathal O'Shannon, Chairman, presiding.

PROPOSED ELECTION OF N.E. BY P.R. (*continued*).

The discussion on resolution No. 1 was continued.

Mr. P. T. Daly—I rise to support the resolution. May I point out that there seems to be a great divergence of opinion in regard to the operation of this resolution amongst the members of the Executive. Mr. Duffy stated that if this resolution was carried it would change the whole constitution of the Congress, and that if it were put in operation one union would control the Congress. You, sir, agreed, and very shortly afterwards Mr. Foran, in a characteristically eloquent speech, told the Congress that if they went whole hog for this resolution, and there were no limitations, he would support it. So if you can make up your minds as to the reading of the resolution we will get the support of the majority of this Congress, and if the Executive is to be elected by Proportional Representation it will be elected on a first alternative vote—a single transferable vote. That would mean that the day of ringing the changes, when any man who has the courage to give expression to his views is to be wiped out, will be done away with. Mr. Johnson told us that Proportional Representation was not workable in this Congress. I remember Mr. Johnson in the years gone by being just as eloquent in pointing out to the Congress that if there was one thing we needed in order to have proper elections carried out it was Proportional Representation. What is the reason of the change? Is it because this proposal comes from a small union? If it is, it is the negation of all that has been said here, because practically all sections have agreed that you may get amongst the membership of small unions a man of outstanding ability. For my part, I have not heard one speech delivered during this discussion which could be said to be a logical

speech against the proposal. Everyone that has spoken against it up to the present has been hedged around with a desire to allow what has been going on for some years past to continue, when outside of this Congress people are elected, not selected, to carry on the work of the Congress for the next twelve months, and statements are made about men in their absence which the people who make them know are absolutely untrue. If this resolution is carried it will give Proportional Representation. Mr. Duffy was very anxious to point out that if the Irish Transport Union exercises its wish and will under Proportional Representation they could collar the whole of the representation on the National Executive. Don't we know very well if they wished to do that now they could do it. We know there is not a Trades' Council or Workers' Council in the country represented by members of the Transport Union but could get on the National Executive if they so desired. The Transport Union is too wise in its generation, and they know that if they were only to attempt that the game that is carried on behind backs would be brought into the front.

Mr. Lynch (Dundalk)—I think we ought to know definitely where we stand. It is not sufficient that you say what you believe. We ought to have a definite ruling. The resolution says Proportional Representation for all unions, great and small. If they mean that they want Proportional Representation, in my opinion it automatically rescinds that part of the Constitution which limits the representation of any union. I think we ought to have a definite understanding as to where we exactly stand, and if the decision is what we believe it to be, there will be no fear about this resolution passing.

Chairman—There can be no doubt at all about the correctness of my ruling. The Standing Orders of the Congress provide that no union can put on the National Executive more than two members except officers. This resolution, if carried without changing the Standing Orders, would still confine any union to two members, and none of the delegates I asked—Mr. Campbell and some others—deny that. If this resolution was carried, in my opinion what would be necessary, if this were to apply to the election of the National Executive next year, would be to make arrangements for the changing of the Standing Orders of Congress. There is no doubt about that at all.

Mr. Mitchell (Automobile Union) said the resolution stated every union, great and small. They never intended or they didn't pretend to be able to alter Proportional Representation. They were proposing the resolution in that sense, and Congress could take it what way they liked and say whatever they liked about it. Mr. Campbell, Mr. Birmingham, and others made it quite plain that Proportional Representation could be

worked to give the Transport Union more representation on the National Executive. He was not going to object to that, and no one had known him to twist about anything. Their T.D.'s were elected under the Proportional Representation system, and he was very glad they were elected. He could not see what objection could be raised by those same men to Proportional Representation in that Congress. Mr. Foran was the only man who asked a straight question about it. He was the only man who spoke any way straight about it. He would answer the question that their union was not to stop the Transport Union from getting any delegates they were entitled to on the National Executive.

Mr. Seumas O'Brien (I.T.W.U.) moved the closure. Delegates were talking about this little union and that little union. One union was enough for them in Ireland.

A Delegate—I want to know exactly what I am going to vote on, for or against.

Chairman—The motion before Congress is that a vote be taken immediately on this resolution.

Congress decided to take the vote, on a show of hands.

Mr. Campbell asked if the mover of the resolution was to have an opportunity to reply.

The President said he had no option but to put the resolution.

The resolution having been put,

The Chairman said—The voting is:—

For the Resolution	....	....	....	40
Against the Resolution	....	....	....	112

The resolution is lost.

PROPOSED ENLARGEMENT OF EXECUTIVE.

“That this Congress recommends that, in order to secure adequate attention to purely industrial affairs, the number of the National Executive shall be increased by six, and from the members of the Executive a Special Committee shall be appointed to deal with purely industrial matters; this Committee to represent the major industries, and to contain a due proportion of women.”—Proposed by Irish Women Workers' Union.

Miss Bennett—Mr. Chairman, it is obvious to us that the duties of the National Executive have enormously increased in the past few years, and they have directed more and more attention to National affairs. Several complaints were made in this Congress in the last few days that there was too much talk about politics,

time wasted, and so on. I don't agree with that at all. I think National affairs are affairs of the Labour Party, and must continue to be so more and more. I think it is absolutely right that this Congress should consider National affairs very seriously. At the same time, some of us who represent Trades Unions feel that there are a great many minor matters—industrial and trade union matters—that are of vital importance to the workers, and if the National Executive is composed of men who are faced with these big National problems, it is inevitable that smaller industrial matters would be a little bit pushed to one side. In the future that lies before the Labour movement it seems to me there is needed a small Committee in connection with the National Executive who will devote themselves altogether to industrial affairs, because we all know very well what we have to face in the future is unemployment and threatened reductions of wages. I would be very sorry to see happen here what has happened in England, where the slump has gone on to such an extent that the English workers are almost back to pre-war wages. I think every little industrial move needs to be watched. It is for that reason that we think a special committee should be appointed to look after such industrial matters. I also propose that such a committee should represent the major industries, and should contain a due proportion of women. I won't be accused, because I want to see such a committee, of wanting to assail one big union. I don't care from what union the representatives may come so long as they are good representatives. I think on an Industrial Committee you ought to have the major industries represented, such, for instance, as the railways, particularly at a time like the present. I also think it is necessary that women should have due representation. Time after time I have had cases where men workers wanted women to be still lower under-dogs than they are. Many a time the fight women want to have is to keep women in their jobs from which men want to drive them. I am sorry to have to say that, but it is true. In addition to that, there are many cases where the interests of women are different from the interests of men, and require special consideration. For that reason I consider that on an Industrial Committee women ought to be represented by women, not by men. I, therefore, propose this resolution for the formation of an Industrial Committee.

Miss Kelly—I beg to second the resolution.

Alderman O'Brien—This resolution appears to be a sincere desire to meet the situation that has arisen as a result of recent events in the political field, but I greatly fear it doesn't go far enough. It seems to me the time has come when we ought to consider the whole position rather than a single proposal of this kind. We should carry our minds back a few years and realise

the immense strides this Congress and Labour movement, as a whole, has made in Ireland. Some years ago, when the Irish Labour movement was not one-sixth of its present size, we had perhaps twice the number of the present unions operating. The tendency in recent years has been for the movement to grow rapidly and the number of individual unions to grow less. Many of the unions we knew in the old days have disappeared, and I am sure there are none, not even those who were members of them, who regret their disappearance. The members, I am sure, will realise that the tendency of the times, both here and elsewhere, in the Labour movement is to pursue the policy of reducing the number of unions, grouping the old unions, in accordance with industry, as far as possible, so as to conduce to the greater efficiency of the movement as a whole. I wonder would it be possible, after what we have gone through for the past couple of days, for, say, half an hour or so, to forget our individual unions and think of the movement as a whole? ("Hear, hear.") Because we have a great multiplicity of unions in other countries is no reason why we cannot go a great many steps further here in Ireland. Some delegates seem to live in mortal terror of a particular union. Night and day they seem to think about it. If they could leave aside their prejudice for a moment and consider the simple fact that here in Ireland, so far as this Congress is concerned, 50 per cent. of the entire organised workers affiliated with this Congress are in our union. That is a simple fact, and probably there is no other country which shows such a state of affairs. If you consult any union affiliated it is in favour of one big union. If you speak to the average whole-time official he will also assent to the one big union, with the proviso that is not the Transport Union.

BETTER ORGANISATION NEEDED.

Miss Cahalan—I cannot support the resolution in the form it has taken. I recognise the idea behind the resolution is a good one, and we ought, if we cannot pass the resolution, handle it in some other fashion, because I believe, with a great many others, that we have too many unions. We have too many unions in each industry. I am a victim of that at the moment myself, a willing victim, I admit. I think what is wanted is to push on the industrial unionism ideal, and when you have that done—when you have industries organised industrially—you can set up some machinery, not necessarily the National Executive, and have direct representation of each industry. I am not an expert in these things, but I think each industry ought to have representation on a particular Council. A Workers' Council is the nearest to it, but the

machinery there I find is not sufficiently co-ordinated. I think the workers in each industry ought to have some kind of machine, so that if a disturbance takes place there will be machinery ready to start operations to remove it or put up a fight against it. At the present time you have half-a-dozen, or may be ten or twelve little bodies of people to be consulted. The machinery we have is too laborious and unwieldy. I wish we could devise some kind of machinery that would deal with industrial matters in this sense, and when one industry is affected all the other industries in the country will be in a position to know why they are affected and how other industries are affected that are not in the fight at the moment.

Mr. Luke Larkin (Waterford Workers' Council)—I agree with Alderman O'Brien that undoubtedly Miss Bennett deserves thanks for bringing forward this resolution, but I should be inclined to reduce the number on the Executive rather than increase it. I believe a small Committee could do far more effective work than a large Committee. In view of the re-organisation of the general machinery of the Party being under consideration, I would suggest to Miss Bennett that the resolution be not moved, but let the matter go along with other questions to the incoming Executive.

Mr. Anthony (Cork)—I only want to intervene in this debate just to say our friend O'Brien reads into Miss Bennett's resolution something that is not in it at all. Miss Cahalan follows somewhat on the same lines. Our friend O'Brien used it as a peg on which to hang a dissertation on the benefits to be derived by joining the Transport Workers' Union. I don't want to follow on those lines at all. I suggest seriously that there is something in this proposal of Miss Bennett's union. She does not seek, as some delegates seem to think, to set up another small union. Neither does she appear to be so much in love with the Transport Union that they want to rush into that particular union. With regard to adding six delegates, I agree with friend Larkin when he says it would be rather unwieldy. Remember, at the same time, earlier in the Congress, we heard the question of expense raised. If we want to get our work efficiently done we have got to pay for it. I suggest to Miss Bennett to delete the portion that the Committee be increased by six, and that she would ask the already existing Executive to form a Sub-Committee to deal with these industrial matters, on which they would be prepared to co-opt an additional lady member. That would meet Miss Bennett's idea and also meet Mr. Larkin's objection with regard to the expense. I think the National Executive have quite enough work to do without setting up this small Committee. At the same time, I think it would meet a want that undoubtedly does exist if they delegated some of their powers to a small Sub-Committee to take up the idea

expressed in Miss Bennett's resolution. I have pleasure, therefore, in supporting the resolution if Miss Bennett will accept the alteration I suggest, to delete the six members.

USE THE WORKERS' COUNCILS.

Mr. L. J. Duffy—I think we ought to consider what the resolution itself is, because, apparently, the discussion is around something that is not in the resolution, but has been raised in the minds of most people by the very fact that the resolution is on the paper. There is a desire manifestly that those people who are involved in industrial disputes, and who are confined to their own individual unions, and not in close touch with the movement outside, should be brought in touch. So far as Dublin is concerned, that is being done by industrial sections of the local Workers' Council. The other areas, if they desire it, by the constitution of the Workers' Council, can have precisely the same machinery that is suggested here, and much more efficient machinery, because it is machinery drawn direct from the shops themselves. That, I suggest, is the cure for the disease that this resolution indicates. But I want to put it to you that the resolution is not in order and cannot be sustained. If you pass the resolution, what does it mean? You say this Congress recommends to do something. Recommend what and to whom? Again I suggest this is an alteration of the Constitution, and should be put down in the form of a definite alteration—to delete certain words and substitute some other words in their place. Supposing you pass the resolution, is it not *ultra vires*? You recommend to somebody that the Executive should be increased by a certain number, but that does not provide the means for increasing the Executive, and it does not tell us how it is going to be increased. It is only a recommendation, a pious hope. I suggest the sensible thing to do with the resolution, in view of the discussion, is that it be withdrawn, and that the Congress itself and the Executive should take into consideration the views that are being expressed and the desire for some alteration in the Constitution, as well as various other questions that are arising with regard to the supervising or strengthening of the whole industrial movement. They might form the subject of a special congress.

Mr. Davin, T.D.—Mr. Chairman and fellow-delegates, I rise to oppose this resolution. The resolution says: "That this Congress recommends that in order to secure adequate attention to purely industrial affairs." My view is that, no matter whether the number of unions be large or small, it devolves on the unions to secure adequate attention to what are termed industrial affairs,

Therefore, I say the mover of the resolution has no right to come before this Congress and ask for what is demanded in the resolution. I quite agree with Alderman O'Brien, that we in this Congress, and Trades' Unionists in Ireland in general, should be more concerned with what is the welfare of the Labour movement than whether or not one big union or the other small unions should exist, and on what lines they should exist, but, unfortunately, through certain things that are going on from day to day—through coercion of one kind or another—we have a certain amount of jealousy engineered into the movement, because officials of unions cannot get their own way in regard to certain things. I trust that that thing will die down, and the Transport Union will come to the conclusion, sooner or later, if they want to bring about the ideal of one big union, that it is better that they should try to bring it about by education rather than by coercion or some other form of that kind.

Mr. MacPartlin—I rise again to say that you cannot discuss the Transport Union in connection with a resolution of this kind.

Mr. Duffy—I am opposing the resolution simply and solely because I believe it is the duty of the unions themselves to look after their industrial affairs. Although I believe that, sooner or later, we must have one big union, personally I believe at the moment that small unions are in a better position to look after industrial affairs than a big National Union.

AN EXECUTIVE WITH AUTHORITY.

Mr. T. Johnson—I also suggest to Miss Bennett and the Women Workers' Union that it would be well, having brought this discussion on, to withdraw the resolution. It cannot have authoritative effect until the next Congress. I think the ideas intended to be conveyed are fairly generally held, that it should be a direction to the new Executive to take this idea into account in proposing changes in the Constitution. There is provision made in the Constitution for political committees and for industrial committees of the National Executive, but I think one will have to bear in mind the possibility or desirability that, in making changes in the direction of industrial overseership, something more is necessary than the mere setting up of another committee which is going to remain in the same relationship to the affiliated bodies that the present National Executive is. Bear in mind that the reality within the movement is not exactly the same, or anything near the same, as the public impression is. The National Executive has no authority over the unions to say they shall do this, or they shall do that, or they shall refrain from doing the other. The

National Executive, even with this added industrial committee, are only going to be able to supervise and advise, and I think it will be found necessary, if we are going to accomplish what is in the mind of the movers and supporters of the resolution, that the body, whatever it may be, will need to have more authority, will need to be able to say whether a union having disobeyed an order is any longer within the confines of the Trades' Union movement. It will need to have power. Whether that is a desirable thing or not I am not going to pursue. It may be a desirable thing, but it may be that the instrument is not capable or not fitted for carrying that power. That is the problem that is going to face us. If you desire that the industrial machine be tightened up and improved in the way Miss Cahalan suggested—as an advisory body I think it has done its work fairly well; but if you want it to do what it probably is intended to do, it must be invested with more authority than it has yet received.

Miss O'Connor—I think there has been a great deal read into this, from what I have listened to, that Miss Bennett in moving the resolution did not mean at all. I think that Miss Bennett had in her mind, when drawing up this resolution, that there were so many members of the Executive Committee now members of Parliament—

Mr. Johnson—Four out of fourteen.

Miss O'Connor—And that a great deal of their time would be devoted to the political question. I may be wrong, but I think it was in her mind that by increasing the Executive by six more, time would be given to industrial questions. Now, Mr. Chairman, anybody who has been here since Monday morning must really come to the conclusion that there is no need for an Executive at all, because there has been no question whatever dealt with in the industrial field. Here is Thursday morning, and we are only come to the resolutions that really concern the Congress. All the time has absolutely been taken up with political discussions. I, for one, think it would be a very great improvement if a Committee for industrial questions would be set up.

Mr. A. Stewart (Belfast)—I want to call attention to one little item that comes very naturally from me. This resolution would involve very considerable expense. We are expecting to obtain double contributions. I think it will be quite time enough when we get the contributions to begin spending them. To come to other aspects of the resolution I think they are quite fallacious. I think we are most anxious to obtain the co-operation of women workers.

Mr. T. Foran—I would like to follow the line of action taken up by Mr. Larkin in this matter, and ask Miss Bennett to withdraw this resolution, with the permission of Congress, for this reason—there was a possibility of industrial matters being made secondary

to political affairs, and Congress here, very wisely in my opinion, did away with that possible objection yesterday evening. Consequently if things go as I anticipate there won't be very much worry in the coming year in the political side of the Labour movement. We will be thrown back on the real strength and power of the working class. If we are to develop as a political party in this country, then I believe it is not six members you ought to have on a Committee of the present National Executive, but a real Industrial Executive in addition to the Political Executive. In other words, that you have two wings to the Labour movement, and you are not going to get anything like that done by a resolution such as we have before us. If Congress would suggest that the new Executive would make provision for this in the coming year I think it would be doing the right thing, as this resolution does not nearly go far enough in my opinion.

Miss Bennett—May I be allowed to explain a little further what we mean by our resolution? I notice, from the way it was taken up, that very few people understood what we were driving at in the resolution.

Chairman—I was about to ask you as to whether you would withdraw or not.

Miss Bennett—I can see from what Mr. Foran said that we only touched the fringe of the question. My own idea was that there would be a number of resolutions on the agenda with regard to the re-constitution of the Executive generally. I was greatly surprised there were not. I suggest the reason why the agendas for the Congress have been growing smaller and smaller each year is that there is so little interest taken in the programme for the future. I would like to see any idea at all, such as the Committee we propose to deal with inter-union disputes. I don't care how they are settled. I wanted to see some constructive work done. I want to see things done now, and some preparations made for the difficulties that are facing us to-morrow. In the next couple of years we are going to see a terrible industrial situation here. I don't agree with Mr. Foran as regards political association. I think the Labour Party will have a tremendous lot to do. I don't want to propose the resolution as it stands now, but I do want to propose that some sort of an Industrial Committee, or such Committee, will be appointed for this coming year, and that the National Executive or the whole Congress will in the coming year consider this problem of the re-constitution or reform of the Constitution of the Labour Party. What was in my mind that needed looking after was, for instance, education, formation of co-operative societies, and problems of that sort. Helping industries in Ireland will help to put money in the bosses' pockets, but don't forget this also, that it will be putting money in the

workers' pockets. We have got to put aside that objection of filling the employers' pockets in order to keep our own people from starving. That is the reason why I want to see an Industrial Committee formed. I am satisfied to recommend the whole problem to Congress.

Chairman—I take it Miss Bennett withdraws the resolution.

Miss Bennett—If I may with a recommendation that the incoming National Executive will consider the possibility of appointing a sub-committee.

Congress agreeing, the resolution was withdrawn.

INTER-UNION DISPUTES.

Mr. T. J. O'Connell (I.N.T.O.)—I would like before Resolutions 3 and 4 are taken up to make a suggestion to the movers of those two resolutions. That is that they should not proceed with the resolutions. They can do no good to the Trade Union movement as a whole by discussing here in public Congress their disputes. They may do the movement a lot of harm, and I respectfully submit that this Congress is not, and cannot be, a judicial body to decide as between the rights and wrongs of those disputes. They wash a lot of dirty linen in public, but it will lead nowhere. Whether we decide in favour of the resolution or against it, it will not end the disputes. Surely there are bound to be disputes always between unions, just as there are bound to be disputes between members in their branches. This is not the best way of settling them. We have a National Executive.

Mr. McGowan (Postal Workers' Union)—On a point of order I don't consider this in order.

Chairman—Do I take it, Mr. McGowan, that you want the resolutions to go before Congress?

Mr. McGowan—Yes.

POST OFFICE UNIONS.

Mr. Parkes (Irish Postal Workers' Union) then proposed the following resolution:—

“That this Congress condemns the action of the Irish Postal Union for their insidious propaganda, which has for its aim the disorganisation of the membership of the Irish Postal Workers' Union; and, furthermore, for accepting or poaching members or branches, most of whom were in default with their subscriptions to the Irish Postal Workers' Union, as being against the fundamental principles of Trades Unionism, and likely to create chaos in Postal Trades Unionism in Ireland.”

I quite agree with Mr. O'Connell that a matter of this kind should not be brought before this Congress, but if Mr. O'Connell knew as much about the dispute that is going on at the present time as I do there is no other resort. We have done our very utmost with the other people to come to some arrangement. The Irish Postal Workers are out for one union in Ireland. We have just come away from one big union through the political changes that have taken place. We belonged to the Union of Post Office Workers, numbering 100,000, and we have to take you back to 1919 to let you know the conditions of the Union in Ireland. At that time we had the Postmen's Federation, with headquarters in London; Postal Telegraph Association, which had a small membership, and the Fawcett Association. We had the biggest union next to the Postmen's Federation. We had the Irish Post Office Clerks, which had been re-named the Irish Postal Union. At that time a great movement in Ireland sprung up for one big union, and the Postmen's Federation voted themselves into that big union, and they remained in it up to the 3rd of March last. During that time the Postal Workers had come out on a two days' strike. It was a new thing for Postal Workers to strike. They joined hands with the Post Office Clerks at that time to endeavour to make the thing a success, and it was a success to a certain extent, locally anyway. But the Irish Postal Union thought they could see there an opportunity of getting the Irish membership of the Post Office Workers. Some time afterwards their Executive decided to re-name the Post Office Clerks the Irish Postal Union, and to take anybody at all into their Union. We didn't mind that. They had every right to do what they liked so far as their own Union is concerned, but unfortunately in Irish Postal Trades' Unionism we have always had to contend with what are called the "in-and-outs." They are in when there is anything to be obtained, and they are out when there is anything to be paid. There is no compulsion on any Post Office individual to be a member of a union, unfortunately for us. Those people we had to contend with all along found they had a grievance against the branch officials. The Irish Postal Union were doing what they thought was right to increase their membership, and they took anybody at all. They didn't care whether they were in arrears or not. Matters did not stop there. We maintained our membership with the exception of about 900 postmen, who have gone over to the other people. Just when the Irish Postal Union Conference had decided to take in all Irish Postal Workers, the Union of Post Office Workers called a special conference of Irish branches, and gave the members an opportunity of deciding for themselves as to what they would do. That was in March, 1921, and that conference unanimously elected to remain with the big union—the Union of Post Office Workers—until

such time as Ireland got an Irish Postmaster-General. Their contention was that their interests were better served in the one big union. In 1922, because of further political changes, the Union of Post Office Workers called a special conference of Irish branches to allow them to decide for themselves. The Irish membership elected a Provisional Executive to take over the membership of the Union of Post Office Workers to protect their interests and to negotiate immediately with the other unions of Ireland. We did that. We have published the correspondence in our journal. There has been no move from the Irish Postal Union. We are now told there is a clash of interests. So far as we are concerned there is no clash of interests. The interest in their case is they want to shove back the postman to where he was twenty years ago. We are not going to allow that for one moment. They have been spouting about amalgamation and one big union; they have been waving the National Flag; that is the only thing they can wave. You must belong to something green. One of our branches complained about the taking of members in arrears. We wrote to Mr. Johnson. Mr. Johnson replied that our complaint had been sent on to the other union for their remarks. We heard nothing further. Perhaps the other union put it in the wastepaper basket. We have no paid officers. We are just carrying on the membership to hand over to the amalgamated body. Why the other people won't amalgamate I cannot say.

The Chairman explained that the procedure of the National Executive was, when a complaint was received, it was sent on to the other union for their reply. That was a kind of standing order, and it was done.

HOPES FOR AMALGAMATION.

Mr. McGowan—I want to second this resolution. Mr. Parkes does not complain as regards the procedure adopted by the Executive. The National Executive communicated with the Irish Postal Union, but the Irish Postal Union were not courteous enough to reply. I regret very much that we are at the present moment taking up your time discussing domestic squabbles, when the Labour movement as a whole is faced with serious issues. At the same time I want to make it clear that this resolution was not put forward with the object of washing dirty linen or to attack the Irish Postal Union. I am chairman of our own union. I can say here now that I have no ill-feeling against the Irish Postal Union or against its members. I have tried by every means in my power to bring about amalgamation between the two bodies,

and notwithstanding all that has occurred, and the tabling of this resolution, I hope to continue that. At the same time, when one of the fundamental principles of Trades Unionism—and it is fundamental principle—is violated, we have no other alternative but to bring this matter before you and to try and get a ruling, if it is possible to get a ruling, on the matter, and to put an end to these tactics, for after all, even among thieves, there is a certain code of honour. I say it reflects very little credit on any union, and it reflects less credit on the Parliament of Labour, that there should not be a code of honour amongst Trades Unionists. I have asked for a ruling on this question from Congress, but I think myself, from what I have heard since I came here, that this is not a disease peculiar to the Irish Postal Union that it is a malady from which many suffer, and, in fact, I am not quite sure that I am not going to law with the devil and holding the court in the place in which he resides. I don't want the delegates to be under any wrong impression. I do not want you to believe for one moment that is a cry from our union because the pressure of the other union is too great. We are in no way afraid of the loyalty of our members. After all our members are only a section, and if the whole membership of the Postal Union were put together it would still be a small union, and that is a remarkable aspect of the case.

CALL FOR A CONFERENCE.

Mr. T. Foran—I would like to ask the two bodies here are they anxious to perpetuate two unions in the Postal service, and if they are not would they have any objection to three members of the National Executive who are not members of the Transport Union—because I can see Mr. McGowan and his friends have been getting the dope, and consequently I want to have what might be called absolutely neutral individuals—trying to bring about a fusion between the two unions? If this Congress is going to condemn one side or the other, it is going to make it far more difficult to bring about a fusion amongst the Post Office workers. I don't know whether it is greed or class distinction that is responsible for two unions in the Postal service. If there is any service in this country for which there ought to be one union it certainly is the Postal service. If we are going to capture the administration of industry here is one that we can

certainly use in the interests of the Labour movement with great effect, that is if we have a united union in the Postal service. On the occasions mentioned by Mr. McGowan there was certainly, as far as I know, a considerable divergence of opinion as to whether the action of the Labour Party was right or wrong. One section had to go and picket to bring out another. If there was one Executive governing the Postal workers I believe that would not occur; it would make for greater harmony and greater power certainly, and it is power I want to see in a union after all. Consequently, I would like to intervene here at this stage before the other union replies, to know whether that suggestion would meet with the approval of both sides in this matter, and I do so for this reason, because the next resolution deals with our own union pretty much on the same lines. I want to say at the outset that I would not deny you your annual attack on the Transport Union for anything, but I don't want the sins of the Transport Union or any other union to prevent the possibility of harmony amongst the Post Office workers, whether it be in the higher grades or the lower grades. They are affiliated to this Congress as workers, and as such they ought to be recognised. They have a common ideal, and that ideal will be best served by one union uniting on a common policy for the workers. One union in the Postal service is my object in intervening at this stage.

Mr. MacPhillips (Irish Postal Union)—I regret very much that there should be a union—an important union—found to misuse Congress to gain a tactical advantage over another union. If I were pressed I could give this Congress rather startling reasons why there should be a clash of interests. The suggestion thrown out by Mr. Foran relieves me of a very disagreeable task. We of the Irish Postal Union are anxious for amalgamation, but at present there is a clash of interests, and that fact cannot be removed. If this resolution is persisted in I will be forced to say nasty things. Some people may call it washing of dirty linen, but I call it truth. If this resolution was persisted in it would please one man in Ireland at any rate, it would please the Postmaster-General. Mr. Foran's suggestion relieves me of a disagreeable task, and I willingly place my union in the hands of the National Executive.

Mr. Parkes—I am quite agreeable to agree to Mr. Foran's suggestions.

Congress then agreed to the withdrawal of the resolution.

N.U.R. VERSUS I.T.G.W.U.

Consideration of the following resolution was then taken up:—

“That this Congress emphatically protests against the action of the Irish Transport and General Workers’ Union in preventing members of the N. U. R.—now locked out of employment—from obtaining employment with various firms in Dublin. We consider such action on the part of the I. T. & G. W. U. as highly provocative, and calculated to provoke dissension and disunion and personal recrimination amongst all ranks of the workers. We further condemn the spirit of compulsion and coercion adopted by this Union, which is a gross violation of the principles of Trade Unionism.”

—Proposed by National Union of Railwaymen
(North Wall Branch).

Mr. Dowling—Did not the last Congress adopt a resolution in favour of a court of appeal being set up by the National Executive to deal with these matters?

Chairman—Yes.

Mr. Bermingham (N.U.R.)—I agree with Mr. O’Connell when he said that the less bickering that would be brought into Congress would be for the good of Congress. But on this occasion I am driven to move the resolution standing in the name of the North Wall Branch of the N.U.R. It is a matter of depriving two of my members of the means of earning their livelihood. You will remember, of course, there has been a strike at the North Wall. You will, of course, know that arising out of that a large number of the North-Western men were thrown out of employment. Now, as to the two specific cases I want to bring before you, I shall do so in the shortest possible way. The first case I take is that of a man named Thomas Noone, labourer. This man got a job at Wordie’s, who are railway agents, on the 23rd May last, and shortly after he got this job the Transport delegate brought the foreman at Wordie’s and ordered him to discharge this man. Eventually the man was discharged under a threat, that if he was not discharged the Transport

delegate would call out his men. I have written Mr. Foran on this matter, pointing out what was being done:—

“*Re* Thomas Noone, North Wall Branch N.U.R.

“The above man obtained employment in Messrs. Wordie’s on the 23rd. On the following day the foreman is stated to have been directed by Transport delegate to discharge him. He continued working until Saturday, when your delegate is stated to have given the foreman final notice to discharge him. He threatened to take out his men on Monday. Noone informs me he saw the delegate and Mr. O’Brien at Liberty Hall on Sunday, when he was informed that he had no business working in a Transport job, and that he would not be let work. This intimation is stated to be confirmed by the Chairman, Mr. O’Neill, and likewise by yourself, but that you went further and stated that he would not let him nor any other member of the N.U.R. work, nor would he let him join the Transport Union.

“If these statements are correct it is going to create a very unpleasant situation amongst the members of Trades Unions, and amongst whom we ought naturally to expect the greatest harmony. I think it most unwise that any rivalry between Trades Unions should be encouraged, and if persisted in it will only end in bitterness and prejudice towards each other. I will be glad, however, to hear from you relative to this particular case in point, and you will oblige.”

I received a reply:—

“We are in receipt of yours of the 31st ultimo. It is having attention.”

It is still having attention. That is my case for that man.

Now I have a man named Murphy. He also belonged to the North Wall Branch. He obtained employment on May 3rd last at Goulding’s Manure Works, but he was prevented from continuing by the Transport delegate. He was told he could not continue in the employment as long as a Transport man

was idle. I wrote Mr. Foran on this matter also. I received a reply from Mr. Foran on the 26th May, 1922:—

“In reply to your letter of yesterday’s date, we are directed to inform you that our Branch Committee has decided that members of other unions are not permitted to obtain work where Transport Union labour is employed while our members are idle.”

However, my object in bringing this question before this Congress is to ascertain whether members belonging to other unions looking for employment are debarred from getting that employment by one section of the Trades Union movement. If that is so I will say with great respect that there is only room in this Congress for a body of men of that description. I will ask this Congress to weigh this fairly, clearly, and honestly. I will accept the verdict, and I hope it will be in my favour.

TRANSFER OF SLACKERS.

Mr. Ward (N.U.R.)—I rise to second this resolution. I am sure we all regret that it has been necessary to bring such a resolution before this Congress. We feel that a grave injustice has been done to members of a Trade Union by members of another Trade Union. Then we have no alternative but to try and have that remedied. There is an agreement for transferring members from one union to another. The National Union of Railwaymen has no objection to transferring a man from one union to another; but what do we find in the Transport Union? They have accepted members contrary to that arrangement; they are accepting members who are considerably in arrears on transfer, which ought not to be done. If they want transfer members the members should be clear in the society they are leaving. That has been violated by the Transport Workers’ Union. (“Prove it.”) We have a member, Patrick Gleeson, who has been a member of the Broadstone Branch. He has been accepted by the Irish Transport Workers’ Union. Patrick Gleeson was in arrears to the amount of £1 3s. 11d. (A Delegate—“Is that in the resolution?”) You have asked me to prove my statement, and I am prepared to prove it.

A Delegate—Mr. Bermingham's complaint is that the Transport Union won't take members. This gentleman's complaint is that they will.

The Chairman—He is quite in order.

Mr. Ward—I will give another case. The case is that of Patrick Treacy, who has been accepted, with £1 2s. 9d. in arrears; Patrick Costelloe, £1 4s. 11d. in arrears; James Reilly, 11s. 6d. in arrears; R. Breslin, 11s. 5d. in arrears. There are proofs, because I have been asked to prove it. The question Mr. Bermingham has been dealing with is that of not allowing our members to work. Is that the spirit of Trades Unionism? I say the railwaymen have played their part as far as the Trades Union movement is concerned. Many other Trades Unions looked at the railwaymen for a lead, and they followed that lead. Therefore, I say we have every right to complain of the action of one union not allowing our members as Trades Unionists to work. It actually means denying that the members of the N.U.R. are Trades Unionists at all. I think it is unfair and unjust, and I hope this Congress will decide in favour of the resolution submitted by the Broadstone Branch.

ANOTHER APPEAL FOR UNITY.

Mr. Luke Larkin—I regret that I didn't get an opportunity earlier in the discussion of expressing my views on this question. I am a working railwayman and permanent member of the N.U.R., though some people think I am not, and in that capacity I rise to make an appeal to both sides here. I am going to make an appeal following on the lines taken on the last resolution, and that is to recognise at the moment that there is no room for bickering in the Irish Labour movement. We have too many enemies outside watching us at all points. I recognise my organisation has a grievance, and a very bitter grievance. Perhaps we could go on reciting cases, but I am not going to do that now. The railwaymen in particular feel sore in these matters, in view of the sacrifices they have made during the recent struggle, and the praise they received from all parties, particularly from this Congress. That is one of the reasons at least, apart from Trades Union principles, why they feel so bitter. I think there never was a moment in our whole history when it was so necessary to—

forget our differences than the present, and I am going to appeal to the mover and seconder of the resolution, who come from my own union, to withdraw the resolution. Even if they get the verdict of this Congress in their favour it will not help to heal up the feeling outside between the rank and file. This is not a time for differences; it is a time for common and united action. I would prefer to see every other item on the agenda postponed and our force concentrated to meet the terrible emergency that is hanging over us at the present time. We have political parties watching us; we have the capitalist Press against us, and we have the capitalists threatening us with reductions of wages. Every organisation is threatened. I think when all these things are looked at in the proper light we can convince ourselves it isn't by bickering we are going to face the enemy. I appeal to them to rise to the occasion. I am satisfied if they do they will make a greater impression on the Trades Unions here, and it will have a greater effect outside than any technical verdict they will get here to-day.

Mr. T. J. O'Connell—I would like, as one who has no connection whatever with either of the unions, to support the appeal made by Mr. Larkin. In the first place, not knowing anything about this dispute, I for one would not be in a position to give a vote on one side or the other, and I believe there are many delegates in the same position. I do so because I do not believe this Congress could act in a judicial capacity. To have things like this settled you want to have them discussed fully before a small committee. I do also because I understand a resolution was passed last year setting up a court of appeal. Our Chairman has told us no case has come before that court.

Chairman—What I said was this particular case was not brought up before the National Executive. Some other cases have.

Mr. Bermingham—A report was made some time ago and forwarded to Mr. Johnson, but there was no reply.

Mr. Johnson—I don't remember having received it.

Mr. O'Connell—Evidently this court of appeal has not been put into operation.

Chairman—Not in this case.

Mr. O'Connell—This is a case in which it should be put into operation. It should be left to them to settle it. I am sure it is within the power of the National Executive to have

this case settled in such a way as will be satisfactory to all, a thing which this Congress cannot do.

Mr. McKeon (N.U.R.)—I would ask the Executive to see that Branch Secretaries of the Transport Workers' Union would act straightforwardly and honestly, so that any members they would take over in the ordinary course were Trades Unionists and not shirkers. I have no objection to any man being transferred from one union to another, but it is necessary to find out what branch he belongs to before he transfers to another union, and to see that he is a Trades Unionist.

The Chairman said he was going to rule out of order discussion of transfers. The resolution was not dealing with transfers; it was dealing with employment.

Mr. L. J. Duffy—In view of the fact that those two unions are going to vote, one for and the other against, and the rest of us not having a sufficient opportunity of getting evidence that would permit us to come to a decision that is going to be beneficial, I think the intelligent thing for both parties to the dispute is to utilise the machinery that was set up last year. Complaints like this come before the National Executive, and the Court of Arbitration was invoked with success, and the disputes settled. We have heard nothing about them since. There is no reason why in a dispute of this kind the machinery set up by Congress would not be invoked. Therefore, I suggest that Congress is not entitled, or is not competent, to pass a resolution of this kind, or to give a decision at all on a matter of this kind, without having before it, simultaneously with the resolution, a report from that Court of Inquiry. I think the proper procedure for the mover of the resolution would be to withdraw it, and let the matter be placed before the Executive, and that they be asked to set up an independent Court of Inquiry to investigate the charges made in the resolution, and give a decision which would be binding on both parties.

Mr. MacPartlin joined in the request to the railwaymen to withdraw the resolution.

THE NORTH WALL DISPUTE.

Mr. T. Foran—I am going to confine myself strictly to this resolution, and give you some of the history that led up to it. What you ultimately decide on is a matter for yourselves. The facts are

that for a long time the dockers in Dublin have been suffering from the inactivity of the N.U.R., by allowing their members in the London and North-Western Railway to work for a very much lower rate of wages than the standard rate in the Port of Dublin, which I am proud to say is the highest in these countries. In every dispute we had, the London and North-Western Railway was always thrown in our face, the wages they had, and so on. We had no authority over those men, but we realised that so long as those men were working for considerably lower wages they were a menace to the other dockers in the Port of Dublin. The men came to us, feeling that they were scabbing on the other dockers in the port, and asked us to organise them in our Union. The proper procedure, even to the dotting of the i's and crossing the t's, so far as your interests were concerned, was adopted in the case of those men. They were four or five weeks members of our Union when they came out on strike for the port rate of wages. We raised no objection to the members of the N.U.R., who were railway porters and so on, who were thrown out of employment owing to the strike. A number of them were employed by other shipping companies in Dublin, and in other employments in Dublin. No objection was raised for a period of over three months. These men were working with our approval and consent for over three months. No protest was raised by our Union, although we discovered that the N.U.R. were standing with the London and North-Western Railway to force the dockers into a settlement on their terms. When we found out that the N.U.R. was standing with the bosses we told the members of the N.U.R., "if you are going to stand by the N.U.R. in this matter you are helping the London and North-Western Railway to beat the men, and you are not going to do it with our approval; you will stand with your hands in your pockets, because we are not going to allow the members of our own Union, who fought and suffered and paid for the positions they have now, to walk around idle, while men who were not members of the Union were standing by a gang of employers to break the strike." They may say they were going to stand by the N.U.R. We said, "very well, you will stand by the wall." Now that is our crime. What is the difference in the wages paid to the dockers to-day after six months' strike? If these men in the London and North-Western Railway were still members of the N.U.R. their wages to-day would be 45/- per

week of 48 hours, night or day, and no overtime. Their conditions after six months' strike is at the rate of 84/- per week of 46 hours nominally, actually 45, with overtime for any hours worked before 8 o'clock in the morning or after 5 in the evening. Was that worth fighting for? ("Certainly.") Was the N.U.R. justified in saying that, in the event of the Dublin dockers securing those wages, it would lift up the whole of the North-Western system? In other words the men across Channel might look for the same wages. They went further and said this country had achieved a certain measure of political independence. We were going to see to it, as a Union at any rate, that we were going to have a very large measure of industrial independence. What was Mr. Cramp's reply? "You can have political independence. You can get the opportunity to create industrial independence. The London and North-Western is a British Company, and consequently the men in that employment must be subject to British conditions." For doing that we are condemned by the N.U.R. If you think we did wrong in refusing to allow these men to go on working and helping the N.U.R. to beat the dockers, then your conception of justice is a very poor one. I am merely dealing with the resolution as set down there. You can send this matter to a court of appeal. You can vote on it, but any man who has a sense of justice will recognise and admit that the Transport Union was perfectly justified in the action it took in this matter. No other union is going to allow its members to walk around idle while members of another union take their employment.

Chairman—An appeal has been made. I want to ask the mover of the resolution whether it is agreed to fall in with the appeal.

Mr. Bermingham—An appeal has come from a quarter for which I have the greatest respect, and knowing perfectly well the motives behind it, and being one of the last men who would lift a finger to disturb the harmony of the Labour people, I will accede to the request. I shall do so, however, on these grounds, that it be an instruction to the Executive that they shall deal with the whole matter that has already been reported and re-reported back to them. Further, that it shall also be recognised that any man working anywhere, when he presents his card, irrespective of what union he belongs to, shall be allowed an opportunity to work.

Chairman—Mr. Bermingham is agreeable to withdraw the resolution on two conditions. The first condition is practically the same as in the previous case. The second condition is one which I am not very willing to ask Congress to agree to.

Mr. Bermingham—I can see your difficulty there, but I am also prepared to leave that subject to the inquiry.

The resolution was withdrawn with the consent of Congress.

CANVASSING FOR PUBLIC EMPLOYMENT.

Mrs. Broder (Irish Nurses' and Midwives' Union) moved :—
 "That this Congress disapproves of the system of canvassing for posts under Public Authorities, as it does not make for justice in filling appointments." She said—Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, I wish to draw your attention to the system of canvassing in public boards. The members of the Irish Nurses' Union believe the practice a very undignified one, considering they hold their certificates. Nurses ought to be able to stand a chance of getting appointments on their certificates and experience without having to go around begging votes beforehand. At present, very often an election for a position is an utter farce, as very often the position is given away beforehand. I am sure you will all agree that the sooner the Labour Party takes a stand against that the better it will be for all of us. I formally move the resolution.

Miss O'Connor seconded.

The resolution was carried unanimously.

LABOUR ATTENDANCE ON PUBLIC BOARDS.

"That Labour bodies should insist on the regular and punctual attendance of their representatives on Public Boards and Committees"—proposed by Irish Nurses' and Midwives' Union (Irish Women Workers' Union)—was next taken up.

Chairman—There is an amendment to No. 6, and I am compelled to rule the amendment out of order. It is not an amendment to the resolution.

Miss Bennett—Mr. Chairman, the Irish Nurses' Union have found that very often their interests have suffered by the fact that Labour representatives on Public Boards don't attend to their duties. The Irish Nurses' Union, therefore, thought it was necessary to bring this matter before the Congress, and to ask the Congress to make a ruling that if Labour members are elected to the Boards they ought to attend to their duties, if it is only in the interests of the workers.

Mr. Foran—I second that. I do so on the special instructions of my own Union. I believe I am one of the greatest offenders in this respect in the Labour movement. I certainly would offer apologies here if I wanted to, but I don't want to do it now. I believe

if there were more Labour members there and if they were more punctual in attendance, it would be possible for me to give more regular attendance at the Board of Guardians of which I am a member. Any time it was possible for me to attend I attended fairly regularly, but at one period a new set of people came along who had more time than the old Board, and they adjusted the time for meeting, and that rendered it almost impossible for me to attend unless I neglected the interests of the Union I am directly concerned with, and with me that Union comes first. If there had been more members there I would not be in the minority in which I was put by this new Board when I voted against an alteration of the time. I think the resolution is worthy of not only the endorsement of this Congress, but it should be insisted on in the unions throughout the country.

THREATENED DISFRANCHISEMENT.

Mr. Johnson — I think there is one matter in connection with this resolution that is worthy of mention, and that is that a good number of communications have been received at the office of the Executive in regard to the attendance of Labour members at country boards, and the difficulty that they are in in regard to payment for loss of time. That is a factor that has to be considered in coming to any judgment on this question. It is a matter of very great importance in the country, and especially on County Councils, for instance, where the meetings are held some distance away from the residence of the elected member. Perhaps one might be permitted to say on this resolution that there would be a little minimisation of that difficulty in the future if a recent decision is allowed to prevail. It was decided very recently by a body which should be authoritative and deliberative, but had no deliberation whatever, that no employé of any local governing body shall be permitted to be a member of any other local governing body. Now, that is going to affect the attendance of quite a large number of members of one or other of the local governing bodies throughout the country, and if that Decree of the Dáil, which was passed without any opposition, without any consideration, on the last day of the last meeting, is allowed to be maintained, then to a very great extent this particular problem will have been solved, because it must be borne in mind that at the last elections it was difficult to get people who would stand for local governing bodies, and men who were in public employment were allowed to stand because of the situation that prevailed at the time. Having been elected to serve a particular temporary purpose then, the powers that be want to deprive them of the franchise which the electors

gave them. It is, perhaps, stretching orders somewhat to raise this question on this resolution, but it does appertain to the question that is raised by Miss Bennett. Certainly, regular attendance in the future in the lives of the present boards will not be possible for very large numbers of the members of those boards if the Decree that was passed, as I say, in the last hour of the last day of the last meeting of the last Dáil is allowed to remain in operation.

Miss O'Connor—I would like to say a few words on this subject, because I was one of the members who were returned to the Board of Guardians, and I personally have had very great difficulty there because of the absence of some other members who were elected with me. Only on last Wednesday a deputation from the unemployed came along to that Board and there was not a solitary member of the Labour Party present but myself to say a word on their behalf. That has occurred over and over again. We all know that the people who go in for, at least, Poor Law elections are closer in touch with the under-dog, and it is their interests they can serve by being there. I think a little consideration to the poor and destitute of Dublin should be given by the members who are returned. That is my reason for saying a word here to-day.

PAYMENT OF COUNCILLORS NEEDED.

Mr. D. Houston (I.T.G.W.U.)—We are always talking, myself included, that we must have labour representatives on the various public institutions throughout the country. We are not going to get the interpretation of those acts that should be put on them unless the workers are there. How is it going to be done in existing conditions? We have returned Rural District Councillors galore all over the country. We find if one of these Rural Councillors is working for the County Council he is excluded. The result is that you have corruption more rampant now than ever you had it before. You find Rural Councillors advocating the giving of contracts to certain farmers and certain contractors in order that they might get jobs themselves with those particular contractors. That is the state of affairs we are up against now. I submit the time has arrived when the Irish Trades Union Congress and Irish workers generally will need to have a fund to pay these people whom we return. Otherwise you are not going to have the interpretation of the various regulations in the interest of the workers. The interpretation will, to a large extent, be in the interest of the employing class. The Dublin and South-Eastern Railway Company prevented a member of the Wexford County Council from going to these meetings. The result is the employer is exploiting the Wexford County Council. You cannot wonder at private employers

such as railway companies taking such action when you find local authorities prepared to do it. We have also a great Nationalist in the same county—a clergyman—preventing a Rural Councillor from attending meetings in the afternoon of Saturday. How then are we going to have representation of the workers if we are not going to make some financial provision to pay those people properly? I hope the Congress will take serious notice of this, and I hope the new Executive will take steps to provide funds to pay those men for their lost time, and that they will also take action with the various authorities and the other various employers to see that men when they are returned will have an opportunity of attending.

Mr. P. J. Curran (I.T.W.U.)—The Dublin County Council at the present time includes three Labour men, two agricultural workers and myself. We live twenty-three miles from the City of Dublin. We have to come in here on a Thursday at 3 o'clock, and very often we have to stay overnight. I don't see how workers can attend punctually except Congress decides that they are to be financed in some way.

The resolution was carried unanimously.

PENSIONS FOR POOR LAW OFFICIALS.

Mr. Carr (Limerick Trades Council) moved :—

“That this Congress of Workers of Ireland condemns the procedure adopted by the various P.L.G.'s, or Committees of same, in computing the amount of pensions or gratuities to be granted to tradesmen and officials on their service being compulsorily vacated on account of the various amalgamations of Unions throughout the country, and we call on the Labour Party to at once take this matter up with the Local Government Department, so that those various officials, tradesmen, nurses, etc., may get their just allowance as guaranteed to them in the terms of their appointments.”

There was a circular letter, he said, issued by the Local Government Board, Dáil Éireann, on September 28th, 1921. In the course of that circular they laid down the number of years to be added to the actual service of an officer who resigns. It says: “This scale could be applied to officers who retired on the ground of old age or permanent infirmity, but officers whose employment had been terminated as a result of reforms or changes in the public services would be in a different position, and could justly claim

higher pension as compensation for loss of office and prospects in the service. The Ministry consider that the maximum number of years to be added in these cases might be half the actual number of years served. To ensure that the pension is not unduly affected by immediate fluctuations of salary or emoluments, it should be calculated on the average of the salary and pensionable emoluments for the three years concluding with the end of the quarter preceding the termination of the office." The Poor Law officials and tradesmen, labourers, nurses and so forth, in the south of Ireland had accepted that circular, although it had not come up to what they would get under the terms of the old Local Government Act. In the case of tradesmen, for the purpose of abolition allowance or gratuity, sixtieths on the same lines to be allowed on the 1914-15 rate of wages, and 40 per cent. of the additional wages since granted, as in the case of war bonus for the ordinary official. As they knew, an average on wages for 1914-15 and wages for 1920-21 makes a big difference in the pensions. I will give you two instances as drawn up by a local committee in Limerick. In the case of the tailor in the Limerick Union, his pension would be £76, and under this circular he gets a gratuity of £136; the pension of the baker would be £106 11s. 3d., and under this circular, £170. So on right through the whole budget. In the case of the nurses it was far worse, because, while they have been granted gratuities and pensions under this scheme, they have been held up.

Mr. Casey (Limerick) seconded.

Mr. Thomas Grady said he would like to endorse the points made by the proposer of the resolution. Some of those services were not properly understood by the general body of the workers. The rulers of this country at present had accepted the responsibility of the old government, and they were supposed to take over and grant the same allowances as were granted formerly. Formerly you were given 37-60ths of your pay on attaining a certain number of years' service. Now a man comes forward who has 20 years' service, and unless he is a local personality, or what is more powerful—political influence—he won't get a number of years added to bring him up to anything like a decent pension. To give a case in point. A man who had ten years' service got ten years added. He had considerable influence. There was a woman who happened to have thirty years' service, and that Committee which met, in its great generosity of heart, added ten months to bring her up to thirty-one years. There is any amount of that sort of thing going on.

Miss Bennett—May I be allowed to read the remarks our nursing delegate (Mrs. Broder) would have liked to make. I have only got to remind the Congress that nurses have not opportunities of speaking, as their work is from 76 to 84 hours a week.

Miss Bennett then read the following statement :—

"In the past year a very considerable part of the time of our Union Secretary has been spent in correspondence over individual cases of hardship connected with pensions from local authorities. But in justice to these local authorities I would say that we have found them usually fairly generous when left to themselves. It is the Local Government Department, which is so keen to prove that it is cutting down the rates, that will only sanction the lowest possible pensions and gratuities, as a rule.

"Under the present system the officials with the lowest salaries come off far worse in proportion than the higher officials, so that a woman, who has had such a small salary that she has never been able to save anything, gets a pension on which she could not possibly live, while a higher official, who has had a big salary for years, gets a big pension also. We have members who have given thirty years in the Poor Law service, and nursed the poor on miserable salaries, and then, when old and in broken-down health, been awarded with £20 or £30 a year to live on. Sometimes, by continuous agitation and argument for months, we have got these increased to the magnificent income of £40 a year. The Local Government Department allow 15s. a week, or £39 a year, as home help allowance to paupers living out, but people who have worked for them faithfully for years are grudged even as much.

"Some form of amalgamation of unions was a long needed reform, but the present schemes seem more designed to save the ratepayers than to benefit the health of the community, and I would emphasise once more the fact that it is the lower officials who are suffering in the matter of their employment being taken from them and very inadequate compensation being given."

Mr. Houston—I would like to call the attention of Congress to the fact that even our Local Government Department at the present time is not consistent in this matter. In asylums the Local Government Act of 1909 is being made to apply in the case of pensions, and the pension now is computed on the last ten years. I think this is a very great injustice to a much-harassed section of our workers.

The resolution was passed unanimously.

COMPETITIVE EXAMINATION FOR PUBLIC SERVANTS.

"That this Congress demands that the method of recruitment for State Services and Public Boards shall be by open competitive examination"—was withdrawn, with the consent of Congress.

NATIONALISATION OF RAILWAYS.

"That this Congress reiterates its emphatic opinion that the only satisfactory solution of the vital question of transport is the complete Nationalisation of the Irish Railways, and further considers it desirable that a separate State Department should exist to deal with all phases of transport."

Mr. J. T. O'Farrell (R.C.A.)—Mr. Chairman and fellow-delegates, this may be looked upon as one of the hardy annuals of Congress. However, at the present time I think we are very appreciably nearer to the fruition of the ideals of this resolution than we have been at any previous Congress. For the first time there is in existence an Irish Governmental authority with power to put the policy of Nationalisation into operation. A Commission has been appointed to advise the Government on the whole subject. That advice has been tendered, but we are unaware up to the present as to what kind of advice it is. However, Congress has a right to have its own policy on the subject, irrespective of any findings of the Commission, and they have a right to instruct the Labour Deputies in the assembly to work for the realisation of that policy. Outside of Ireland, every country in the world, with the exception of the United States of America and Great Britain, have adopted Railway Nationalisation as a policy. In all cases the experiment has proved eminently successful from the point of view of the services rendered to the community. In all cases, with the exception of one, the railways have worked far more economically than under the private ownership system. It has also to be noted that the condition of employment of railwaymen under Nationalisation has been, almost without exception, more favourable than for the railway employees under private ownership and control. Perhaps the standard case in support of Nationalisation is that of Germany. There the railways have reached a state of perfection unequalled in any other country. The rates of goods traffic in Great Britain are 50 per cent. dearer than in Germany, while the services rendered were far below those rendered by the railways of Germany. Regarding conditions of employment, Mr. Clement Edwards in his book, "Railway Nationalisation," says:—"Though the conditions of employment of most classes of German workers are considerably worse than in the case of similar classes in England, the State railway servant is certainly better off than our English railway worker." There you have a case of better service, better conditions of employment, and lower rates on goods. In spite of their great dividends before the war, the British railways were bringing into the National Exchequer a profit of £30,000,000 per

annum. Great industrial and great agricultural development followed on this splendid system of State railways. In the case of New Zealand and Australia, the railways conducted and administered by the State had been the precursors of civilization in the promotion of industry throughout these great lands, which may be considered continents in themselves. The only country in the world in which State administration is more expensive than private administration is France. This was due to the fact that railways taken over by the State were almost in a state of bankruptcy. We are told the present time is an exceptional one for the Nationalisation of Irish railways. There is no use in condemning the management for not making them a success. It would have been impossible to make them a financial or economic success, because of the present conditions obtaining and the multiplicity of railways and boards of directors and departments. In the city of Cork, with a population of 80,000, there are five railways, and you have Collooney, with a population of 300, and three railways. One might go on *ad infinitum* orating on the ridiculous system of administration existing at the present time. Then in regard to the manner in which railways have served industry. We had during the war the case of the Wolfhill Collieries, where the Great Southern and Western Railway repeatedly refused to run a small length of rail that would render the working of these coal mines possible at a time when the country was threatened with a fuel famine. It would not pay to construct the line, and consequently they were prepared to accept the consequences of a coal famine rather than run the risk of losing on the transaction. The Government had to build the line to save the situation. You had a similar instance on the Portumna railway. The line was built by loans advanced by the Government and partly by funds subscribed by private investors. The Great Southern and Western Railway were induced to work that line for a consideration and guarantee against loss. When they found it would not pay they refused to work it any longer. The railway was closed down and eventually was stolen (laughter), it being the only thing the shareholders and others could get in return for their money. Then you have the case of Arigna, dual control, where the coal had to be transferred from the waggons of one system to another. Under Nationalisation there would be extensive savings in the way of administration by unification of departments and offices. In addition to that there could be a standardisation of rolling stock and amalgamation of railway workshops, and the whole of the rolling stock and plant could be manufactured in Ireland instead of across Channel, as a large part of it was at the present time. That would assist in giving employment, and tend to the general prosperity. In addition to this you would have the railways under a central

authority, working the lines for the benefit of the people as a whole, just as the lines of Denmark were worked for the development of agriculture there, with the result that the Danish farmer was able to beat out the Irish farmer in the British markets, because the produce of his land is conveyed at special rates. There were also special subsidies for lines of steamers that conveyed the produce.

Mr. J. Bermingham (National Union of Railwaymen)—I second the resolution. Nobody is satisfied with the railways as they exist presently in Ireland, not even the shareholders. The trading community are not satisfied, nor are we satisfied. All these things go to show the country desires a change in the working of the railways. The railways are quite different from any other commodity used in connection with the State. A proper system of railway facilities should be given, and we know that these facilities cannot be given as long as railways are working under private control. Private profit must be eliminated and a system brought in which will cater for the needs of the Nation. We have thirty-two railway companies in Ireland with less mileage than one big railway in England, where there is only one general manager to look after it. The system cannot maintain its present financial condition. The Nation desires a change. The Labour Party in the Dáil will be able to give substantial assistance in this direction. For the first time in our history we have been able to form a party of our own. It is useless adducing arguments which have been used from time immemorial. I have been speaking on the question for the last twenty-five years.

Congress adjourned for luncheon.

Congress having resumed after the luncheon interval,

Alderman O'Brien, T.D., was moved to the chair in the absence of the Chairman and Vice-Chairman.

The motion was agreed to.

THE GUILD SYSTEM.

Miss E. O'Connor (Women Workers' Union) moved:—

“That this Congress welcomes the formation of Building Guilds, and urges all workers to study the Guild system, both in theory and practice, with a view to extending its application in the building and other industries.”

We have all heard, said Miss O'Connor, of the advantages that have resulted from the Building Guilds. Houses were

able to be built with very much greater advantage to the worker, and the worker was assured of his wages when there was unemployment elsewhere through stress of weather or other difficulties. This system, I think, could be extended to other industries. For the moment I have in my mind laundries. We in the Women Workers' Union are up against the unemployment question to a very great extent. We see our members going around the city in hundreds, with no work to do. If this Guild system could be extended to the laundries the working class could be thereby benefited. I am sure delegates here could tell us a great many more trades that the Guild system could be applied to.

THE DUBLIN BUILDING GUILD.

Mr. T. Irwin (Plasterers' Trade Society)—I desire to second the resolution in connection with the Guild system, and in doing so I want to review the system as it is at the present moment in the Dublin Building Guild. I may say at the outset that the object we had in view in forming a building guild was, first to build houses by the workers, for the workers, and at the lowest cost to the community, by eliminating the employers' profits. I may also say I had an idea of my own when the Building Guild was started that there was no section of employers so easily done without as building employers. I believe everyone connected with the building guild will agree with me when I say that we proved that building employers are not necessary. When we met this time twelve-months the exact position in Dublin was, we were engaged in the construction of 25 houses for the Dublin Corporation. Since then those houses have been completed. The exact figures in connection with the contracts are not at the moment available, but I may now use an expression of opinion from the City Architect, and he says there is at least a saving of £5,000. My own opinion is that there is probably more. Since that we have taken on the construction of 58 further houses, and the prices of these houses were based on the contractors' prices for similar houses on the same site. These 58 are well advanced and rapidly nearing completion. As well as that, we are engaged at the moment in putting in foundations upon the same site for 140 houses or thereabouts. The position with regard to them was, that

the Corporation themselves had already engaged in the work of putting in foundations for 198 houses, and after experience gained in the actual work itself, they found it was better for the Corporation as a body to give the putting in of the foundations to the Building Guild. I think that in itself is a tribute to the Building Guild in Dublin. The existence of the Building Guild in Dublin depends on the amount of sympathy that is for the Guild in the Dublin Corporation. A certain amount of sympathy exists amongst a section of what is known as the Housing Committee of the Corporation; but I want to tell this Congress there would not be much of that sympathy were it not for the efforts constantly being made by the members of the Housing Committee who belong to the Labour movement (hear, hear). I also would say that the greater number, if not all, of the houses that will be built in Ireland in the future will be done under the control of different councils or municipalities. I have been in communication with people in different parts of the country on this subject. The chairman of the Building Guild in Dublin and myself have gone through different places in Ireland. We went to Cork and Waterford with the idea of starting building guilds, and we found there an utter lack and an utter want of sympathy among public representatives on the different councils in these places. I say to the people who want to push the guild idea forward in regard to houses that they must first see and get their own representatives on these councils, and if they do not do that, they will get very little sympathy from housing committees as a whole in Ireland. I am glad to see indications from a few people lately in different parts of the country asking for information as to the starting of building guilds. I asked them to wait until this Congress meets, so that I might be able to fix up a conference of some kind, whereby we could discuss the whole guild system. I would suggest to those interested in the subject that they should wait after the Congress is over and have a chat, when a lot of things could be explained that need explanation.

Mr. J. P. Weldon (Woodworkers)—I wish to add my measure of support to this proposition, and I wish also to take this opportunity of tendering the best thanks of the Cork building trades to Messrs. MacPartlin and Irwin. They came down amongst us, and we called a meeting of the building trades of the city. The result of their visit was the formation of a Guild, and a committee was elected. They tendered for the

first lot of houses that were to be built in Cork. Messrs. MacPartlin and Irwin appeared before the Housing Committee, and I am glad to say that ten houses have been reserved for the building guild of Cork. When the builders, whom I maintain are only brokers of the labour of the building trades, heard the building guild was tendering for the houses, they decided unanimously not to let us have anything to do with the tendering for the other houses—there were 68 in all. They got into collusion with the architects, and it was with great difficulty that the building guild could get a specification. Anyway, I am glad to say the guild there secured ten houses, and are bidding for the other 58 houses. We owe that progress particularly to Messrs. MacPartlin and Irwin. Very likely the Government will make available a certain amount of money in connection with these guilds, and I would advise that applications be made for this money, so that building guilds can be started in different towns. Again, I thank the Dublin Building Guild for their efforts on behalf of Cork.

Mr. L. J. Larkin (Waterford)—I am very pleased this resolution is brought forward. In reference to Mr. Irwin's remarks regarding the apathy of local authorities, I must admit that not alone is there apathy and lack of sympathy amongst the public representatives, but it is likewise amongst the working classes. We have now entered on it successfully, and in our first attempt we have been the means of creating such an amount of work, by forcing the hands of the local councils and contractors, that for the period up to quite recently there was not a skilled worker belonging to the building trades in Waterford idle. The biggest percentage of the men engaged in the building trades were employed. In addition to that, I am satisfied that the guild has saved the local council an enormous sum of money. The guild has thereby saved public money, provided work for the unemployed, and at the same time maintained a standard rate of wages. In Dungarvan and Cork at present the housing schemes are held up by the local contractors. There are no guilds established in these areas, and no third party has intervened to smash the ring. We hope very soon to have the guilds established there. In a press report I read where in Cork the guild tender for houses was higher than the contractors'. I do not know if that is correct or not. I should like to see the National Executive taking up this question with a view to instructing and educating the workers on the value of organising guilds in their different areas. There should be a

proper system of control, because I believe if there is not national control by this Labour Party or some committee there is a danger of the guilds killing themselves. I hope if we take up the question seriously we will see that the guilds, in the administration of their work, are properly controlled in different areas (applause).

Mr. Thomas MacPartlin (Woodworkers)—The success of the guilds does not depend on the employers nor on the members of the Co. Councils; it depends solely on the workers on the guild job (applause). The Dublin Building Guild was formed with the idea of providing houses for Dublin workers. Any man working on them had a two-fold object. He had first the object of providing for his own family and living as best he could, and secondly he had the object of providing more houses for his own class. We have found that the same selfish spirit exhibited by Dublin employers is exhibited by the workers on the contract. They get it into their heads that they have the right to fix any wages they like. That is the idea that will not make for the success of the guild system. When the workers go to a guild job it is not to lie down or get a soft living. It is to do some good for the class to which they belong. I want to try and get that into their heads. Perhaps someone will blame me, and say I do not work so hard myself. Anything I put my hand to I work hard at it. Workers on the guild job should do the same. They ought to put their heart into it. The members of the guild committee do not want to make anything out of it. Members do not even get their tram-fare to the room where they meet. The whole thing is for the benefit of the working-class community, and it is up to them to produce the cheapest and the best houses. It is not altogether a question of price. I would like to draw special attention to Mr. Larkin's appeal. The wider Labour movement ought to interest itself in this matter. It is time the control went out of a section; there is only the building section engaged now. If the wider Labour movement took up the guild system, and endeavoured to run it, it would be much better. We would like if the National Executive took it off our hands. In the meantime all the members of the National Executive ought to impress the importance of the matter on their different unions. The guild work is to turn out as much and more and better work than when working for employers.

THE EXAMPLE OF ITALY.

Mr. Cathal O'Shannon—This letter has been received from Mr. George Russell ("Æ"). He says:—

"84 MERRION SQUARE,
"8th August, 1922.

"DEAR O'SHANNON,

"I wonder whether the Irish Labour movement would consider sending anyone on a mission of inquiry into the Italian Labour movement, which is the most advanced in the world. There are over 900 trade unions, which have turned themselves into productive associations, undertaking the largest contracts—building railways, roads, canals, bridges, hospitals, reclaiming waste lands, managing estates which they own. They run shipyards, ironworks, and in Northern Italy obtain most public contracts. They are the models for Ireland. Information can be had from the International Bulletin of Economics, June, 1914, purely official, given by Italian Government. There were fourteen articles by Odon Por in 'New Age' last year. There are books by Strickland and Darling, of the Indian Civil Service, full of amazement at the Italian developments. If you want a policy, send some person out there who understands either Italian or French in the Labour movement, and get a report. It might cost three hundred pounds to send a man and print a report, but it would be well-spent money.

"Yours sincerely,

"GEORGE RUSSELL (Æ)."

Well, as Mr. Russell has shown, there is something to be learned by the Irish Labour movement, particularly in the running of guilds, from the work of the Italian Trade Unions. It is not possible at this Congress to go into anything like detail on the work that is being done there, but it is a fact, as Mr. Russell says, that a large number of Italian Trade Unions have practically done away with the contractor, not only in the building of houses, but in the construction of railways, in the running of whole steamship lines, and so forth. There is something to be learned there. I do not know, but I rather fancy it would be out of the

power of the Congress at the moment to agree to the suggestion that Mr. Russell makes. I am sure, however, that the new Executive will consider it with as much favour as it can. However, I should like to say that it would be very well worth while, particularly for those engaged in the setting up of building guilds, to give some attention to, and attempt to learn something, not only from the guilds across the water in England, but from the work of the Italians. It sometimes is argued against us that we have got good enough people, and good enough brains, in Ireland to do these things for ourselves, but that argument is a narrow one. We are not so good, so wise, so able, or so capable, as that we have got all the wisdom or ability of the world in Ireland. If we can get something good from outside Ireland, no matter where it come from, we should take it up and see if we can apply it to Irish conditions. There is no place where this class of work has been so successful in as Italy, and it would be no harm to study Italian experiments. On the road, land, railway, and the sea they have been successful, and I do not see any reason why success could not be attained here also. Just as in the co-operative movement, just as in the running of a productive co-operative enterprise, or in a distributive co-operative enterprise, a good deal of the success or failure of the experiment depends on the management. I believe we have within the movement in Ireland capable and able enough managers if they will only come forward, or if they only got a chance of coming forward. These are not things that can be settled at popular elections or by Proportional Representation. They are matters of selection rather than election. I think the movement should take up much more extensively than in the past the question of guilds; but at the same time a warning note should be struck. There is a tendency in Ireland to rush into a thing, to try to break out on a big scale, and to cover the whole county or country, instead of beginning at the very foundations, and gradually building up until we spread all over. That should be aim, object, and method. I think we can assure Mr. Russell his suggestion will have our best consideration. I am afraid, however, it will not be practicable for us to carry it out within the next twelve months.

The resolution was put to Congress and declared carried.

Mr. Cathal O'Shannon again took the chair.

EDUCATION.

Mr. James Carr (Limerick United Trades and Labour Council)—I beg to move:—

“That we, the Irish Labour Party and Trade Union Congress, representing the workers of Ireland, demand that a full and satisfactory scheme of education be open to all our children; that school attendance be compulsory till the age of sixteen years; and that a co-ordinated system be devised whereby children of ability may be enabled to proceed from the Primary Schools to Secondary and Intermediate Schools, and thence to Universities.”

We also claim that technical education should be free for the children of the workers. The continuation schools for apprentices should be free, and they should be continued during working hours. Apprentices should get off during working hours to attend continuation schools. We put on this resolution to draw attention more or less to the number of pupils in Ireland not attending any school at all. The workers of Ireland will not send their children to school; if they do not there will have to be some form of compulsion. If the children of the workers are brought up in ignorance the Labour movement goes back. Now the average daily attendance for the whole of Ireland is only about 66 per cent. In England and Scotland it is over 90 per cent. The number of children absent from school every day in Ireland, practically all without any cause, is 220,000. The number of children not on the roll of any school is 200,000. That is nearly half a million away from school every day. Many of the cleverest children, some of poor parents, are forced to leave school at 10 or 11 years of age. In Limerick 90 per cent. of the boys leave the primary schools about the age of 13; only 35 per cent. of the people are in the fourth or higher standards. In some rural districts the figures are lower than these. There should be some system by which a clever child could be enabled to proceed from the primary to the higher schools, as in Scotland. There should be compulsory education to the age of 16, and the Compulsory Act requirements should be rigidly enforced, and should be entrusted in its working to servants of the State, and its administration should not be left

under local control. The present programme is very heavy in both English and Irish, and if present-day low and irregular attendance is not vastly improved the rising generation will have neither English nor Irish to help them in the battle of life. School books, stationery, etc., should be supplied by the State to needy children, who are often impeded in their progress by the want of books (which the teacher, in many cases, has hitherto supplied to such children at his own expense). Every child in the State is entitled to proper education in a suitable and healthy building under a competent teacher. Now, these are the general heads to which I would like to draw attention. I am sure Congress will agree with them all. There is nothing contentious. I would like to emphasise that the motive we had in bringing this to Congress was that an educated Labour movement might grow up around us. If workers do not send their children to school they are traitors to the Labour movement, and the Labour movement will have to set up some sort of compulsory system to have children sent to school.

SCHOOL BUILDINGS.

Chairman—May I ask if you would be willing that the addendum to your resolution should go along with it? The addendum reads:—

To add—"That it be incumbent on the Government to devise such measures as will secure the provision of suitable school buildings, and the proper sanitation, equipment, repair, lighting, heating, and cleaning school-rooms."

—Moved by Irish National Teachers' Organisation.

Mr. Carr—I am quite agreeable.

Chairman—I would ask a representative of the Teachers' Organisation to second it.

Mr. T. J. O'Connell (Teachers' Organisation)—I beg to second the joint resolution. It requires very few words from me to commend it to Congress. We ask that suitable provision should be made for school buildings, and proper sanitation, equipment, etc. Congress may not be aware that there is at the present time no regular machinery and no

arrangement whatsoever for the provision of these facilities. So far as sanitation, repairs, etc., are concerned, there is no machinery. It is all left to voluntary effort. We all know what the school buildings in the country districts are like, and what voluntary effort means in these matters. The parents of the children going to school have to contribute anything that is necessary for the voluntary upkeep of the school, while those who have no children, and are best able to pay, get off scot free. To get this carried we must have Parliamentary legislation. What we are anxious to do is to get Congress to adopt this resolution, and to bring it to the notice of the workers, so that this matter will be taken up at the local branches of the various unions. It has been neglected simply because the people as a whole have not taken a sufficient interest in the matter. If they did circumstances would not be as they are at the present time.

Resolution and addendum were put to the Congress and declared carried.

IRISH UNIONS FOR IRISH WORKERS.

Mr. J. Carr (Limerick)—I wish to move on behalf of the Limerick United Trades and Labour Council :—

“That we are of opinion that some concerted action should be taken by the Irish Labour Party whereby all Irish Workers should be catered for by Irish Unions.”

I would like to tell Congress that it is in no aggressive spirit that that has been proposed. We, like everybody else, have found our difficulties in settling disputes between various unions, and we only ask the National Executive to devise some means of getting over the difficulty. We feel Dublin ought to give the lead in this matter to the various Trades Councils in Ireland. We are quite willing the workers of Dublin should take it up and settle it in their own household fashion. We are quite prepared to submit to a Workers' Council or to the National Executive. We feel there is a weakness in the Labour movement in Ireland to-day or a hesitancy of action, because the Labour movement is listening to two voices. The great majority of the members are listening to the voice of the English Trades Union Congress, and afterwards they come here and listen to the voice of the Irish Trades Union Congress. Between the two stools there is a hesitancy and a weakness. The outlook

on the Labour question is not the same by both bodies. It would be a good thing if we had a National Labour movement suited to our own needs, necessities, and so forth. We do not, of course, want to build a wall outside Irish Labour, but I think we ought to have Irish Labour before we have International Labour. As regards the engineering section of trades unionism, the Chairman remarked there were five or six unions catering for it. Before the Irish Engineering Union started there were twelve unions in Dublin and nearly twenty-four in the country. We claim that the number of unions should be considerably reduced.

Mr. James Hickey (Cork)—I beg to second the resolution. The men engaged on the boat in which we travelled from Cork to Liverpool had no less than six unions catering for them. The Labour Party in Ireland should take some action with regard to settling the disputes that are taking place all over Ireland. In Cork we have men in the seafaring line who have strong objections to belonging to two unions. They are in our union, but when they get across to the other side their cards are not recognised. It is unfair that these men should be forced into other unions. I would suggest a committee representative of the unions concerned should be set up with a view to meeting the representatives of the amalgamated unions on the other side and bring about an understanding whereby both cards could be recognised.

Chairman—You cannot move a resolution like that without going before the Standing Orders Committee; but if you are agreeable, a suggestion could be made to the National Executive.

Mr. Hickey—I would like it to be put in the form of a recommendation to the National Executive.

PHYSICIAN, HEAL THYSELF.

Mr. J. T. O'Farrell (Railway Clerks' Association)—I am opposing the resolution, and I hope Congress will not spend much time discussing it. It is a green resolution from green people. Limerick Trades Council has had a brain wave. It is very interesting to have this coming from the Limerick Trades Council. They talk about concerted action. I would seriously advise them to try concerted action at home. Is Congress aware that after half a dozen conferences and months of deliberation down there they were unable to muster up sufficient labour conscience as to run a Labour candidate at the last election? It is very funny to hear people prating loudest about the international outlook in regard to Labour, and having their being in the very narrowest parochialism. Congress is faced with the position that they will have to tell what are known as the amalgamated unions that they are not eligible for

affiliation to this Congress, or they will have to leave it to these unions to decide for themselves what they shall belong to. I hope none of the members at present in Irish unions are there merely for sentimental reasons. I hope also the members of the amalgamated unions are not there simply because they are amalgamated unions. Every man is in a trade union because he believes it is the one that is going to function best for him. If we are to believe one-tenth of what we heard within the last few days about the tyrannies of Irishmen against Irishmen, one would imagine it would be better to be in an amalgamated union than an Irish union. We have seen and heard a lot about mushroom unions that have sprung up. We have seen the manner in which they have bifurcated and split themselves up after they seceded from the amalgamated unions. We talk a lot about internationalism, and we practise parochialism. I think it is better it should solve itself in the natural evolution of events. The unions represented here will, by their own deliberations, and after consulting their own economic interests, eventually decide to what unions they will belong, but they are not going to do it at the dictation of any body, no matter what that body may be. I hope Congress will turn down this resolution, or tell the Limerick Trades Council to go back and settle its own house in order before it comes to teach the Irish unions. It is not a fact that the members of amalgamated unions are listening to two voices. The amalgamated unions do not seek representation in the British Trade Union Congress. No body or no set of bodies in this Congress carries out the dictates of Congress better than the amalgamated bodies. They have proved themselves as good trade unionists as any body in the Congress, and we are not going to start an era of freedom by imposing conscription or coercion on any workers affiliated to this assembly.

Mr. T. Ward (National Union of Railwaymen)—I rise also to oppose the resolution. The branches of the National Union of Railwaymen in Ireland have had an opportunity of deciding what should be done in this important matter, and at a representative conference they decided to remain as they are, and they have acted, in my opinion, very wisely. We know what assistance we got from the other side of the Channel in placing the railwaymen of Ireland in the position they are in to-day. The eight-hour day was secured through the agreement we had with the railwaymen of Great Britain, that any concession should apply automatically to Ireland. That concession of the eight-hour day was put into operation all over the Irish railways. We need their experience. Mr. O'Farrell and Mr. Johnson know perfectly well that the Irish railway companies are up against the eight-hour day. We ought not to decide at this Congress that we are going to set up a purely Irish organisation at the present moment. The time may come

for the introduction of an Irish society,¹ but the present time is not opportune.

Mr. Thomas Foran (I. T. and G. W. U.)—I rise to oppose this resolution. I do not want to be taken as against the principle underlying it—that Irish workers should be organised in an Irish union. This resolution sets out that we should start out on the new. I am a one-union man; I do not believe in a variety of unions. There ought to be one union for all the workers in Ireland. I believe the Executive of the Labour Party should be the Executive of the one big union. I am opposed to this resolution; at the same time the arguments used by the railwaymen in favour of amalgamation do not impress me one bit. Amalgamated unions did some good work in this country for the workers, and did some bad work too. Some Irish unions have done good work for the Irish workers, and there are some very bad unions in the country too. I am not one of the mushroom adherents to the Irish union idea. Many years ago I believed in the principle when it was less popular and far more difficult to carry on than it is to-day. I am still in favour of an Irish union for Irish workers. I am opposing the resolution because it leaves the door open for perpetuating the weakness we all must recognise if we have any keenness at all in this matter—the weakness of our present organisation. I would appeal to the representatives of the Limerick Trades Council to withdraw this resolution. We do not want it to get out that a Congress of Irishmen is opposed to the principle of an Irish union for Irish workers. I believe if we went about the thing properly it would be more effective than any amalgamated unions have ever been, but this is not the way to do it.

Mr. Joseph Toomey (Engineering Industrial Trades Union)—As regards this resolution of the Limerick Council, I do not believe it would mean that Congress was against the idea of the workers organising an Irish union, nor do I think it would be right for this Congress to start compelling all the members of amalgamated unions in Ireland to-day to do anything. If the workers of this country think it would be in their own interests to form an Irish union they are quite at liberty to do so. It is up to themselves to make a success of it or a damn bad job of it. I am entirely in agreement with Mr. Foran's suggestion that the resolution should be withdrawn.

Mr. Thomas MacPartlin (Woodworkers)—The whole resolution appears to me to be silly, and it must have emanated from men who are silly. The resolution ends: "whereby all Irish workers should be catered for by Irish unions." Does not that exist already? Is it not a silly trades union would propose a resolution like that? There is no Irish union at present, we were once told, with sufficient brains to guide the Irish worker (laughter). Foran.

knows that as well as I do (laughter). Later on you will find there will be brains enough. The amalgamated unions and one or two Irish unions have been keeping up the conditions for some years past; they are not mushroom unions—unions dictating to those who have been their lifetime fighting as to what union they should join. We are not going to submit to that. This resolution ought not to be withdrawn. It is working for what already exists. There are plenty of unions catering for Irish workers, and there is no need for any more; what we want is less.

Mr. R. S. Anthony (Typographical Association)—I oppose the Limerick motion. To guard against a repetition of this—a resolution of this kind appearing at another Congress—I will illustrate for you what occurred at Cork recently. In Cork the branch of the Irish Engineering Union was enabled, owing to the wave of political thought passing over the country at the time, to get a resolution placed on the books of the Cork Corporation and the Harbour Commissioners to the effect that in all future vacancies arising under the Corporation or Commissioners they should be reserved exclusively for the members of the Irish Engineering Union. We who prate about our love of liberty and the rest of it have here one of the most coercive measures fathered by a patriotic and green union, asking the Corporation and Commissioners to debar any trade unionist who did not hold the card of the Irish Engineering Union. We reported to the usual channels, and sent application after application to both bodies. After considerable waste of time and money we got this obnoxious resolution rescinded. This is one of the results of the schisms we complain of in our ranks.

Chairman—May I ask Mr. Carr whether he would be agreeable to fall in with the suggestion of withdrawing the resolution?

Mr. Carr—I am quite satisfied. The only remark I would like to make is that I regret the trade unionists of Ireland have such a poor opinion of the brains in the country that they do not think they would be able to run an Irish trade union on their own.

The resolution was, therefore, withdrawn.

COMPULSORY HALF-HOLIDAY.

Chairman—We will now take the substituted resolution on the Compulsory Half-holiday, as follows:—

“That the weekly half-holiday should be the same all through the country, namely, Saturday, the existing system being an injury to the commercial life of the country, and that this Congress demands that legislation be introduced and enacted establishing Saturday a weekly half-holiday for all workers.”

Mr. L. J. Larkin (Waterford)—This was originally a local question with us, but we have considered it advisable to bring it up at Congress. At the present time the half-holiday is in operation at different places on different days of the week; some have it on Wednesday and others on Thursday or Saturday. The greatest injury of all is there are a large number of workers who get no weekly half-holiday. The Postal Workers are very keen on this question. They recognise that whilst the present system regarding the half-holiday exists, it renders their position very difficult. Some uniformity in this matter would remove present complications and place many workers in a better position. If we can bring about uniformity we would be helping all parties, business concerns as well as the workers.

Mr. L. J. Duffy, in seconding, said—It is an agreed resolution embodying in principle the resolution and amendment on the Agenda. At present a number of workers have their half-holiday on Saturday, and the principal shops are closed on Saturday. Carters as well as managers have their Saturday half-holiday, and I don't see why one class should be favoured by closing at one o'clock on Saturday, while another class has to work until ten p.m. There are shops open to midnight. These workers in small shops, toiling from early morning to midnight, are paid only 16s. a week, and port workers, if they did business up to midnight, would receive 2s. 6d. an hour. Until you pass a resolution like the one before Congress, and see it carried out, you will not be able to get the working hours reduced.

Mr. James Byrne—Do you mean to shut down trains, trams, shops, etc.?

Chairman—That is what it will mean.

Mr. Byrne — I would ask you, sir, what the workers thought of the holidays they had when there was a general sit down of labour in April and the Labour Day previous to that. Is that the class of half-holiday you want, with no trains, cars, or trams to bring you anywhere? I understand that railway-men work 48 hours, and have their half-holiday. If all trains, trams, and humanitarian services are to cease —

Alderman O'Brien—And jockeys and stable boys.

Mr. Byrne—Yes; that would be the most serious portion of it.

A Delegate—And no funerals (laughter).

Mr. Byrne—Yes; if all these services were to cease there would be nothing left but to go for a walk, and that would be the half-holiday!

Miss O'Connor—I would like to oppose that resolution. How are the workers in factories and workshops to do their shopping if the shops are closed down? There is a suggestion that the

wages should be paid on Friday, but what is the use in giving money to workers when the shops are closed?

Mr. Houston—I am opposed to this motion in the form it stands. As you can well understand, I would like to see every person having a half-holiday, but I don't think a half-holiday, especially by legislation on Saturday, would suit this country. The agricultural interest, the most important we have in the country, has not got much attention here. What are you going to do with rural workers situate nine miles away from a shop? Do you want to close the shops against them on a Saturday and prohibit them from getting anything for Sunday? We should press for legislation to fix a holiday for all workers on suitable days.

Mr. R. Maher (Irish Transport Workers)—If this resolution is passed some of us need not go home, so I oppose it (laughter). It will mean some of us, at any rate, will have to go hungry until Monday morning, and that I am not prepared to do even in the interest of the Labour cause (hear, hear). If you make the pay-day Friday there may be some use in the resolution. As it stands it has nothing to commend itself to the workers of Dublin.

Miss Cahalan—I support the resolution. All the arguments put forward here against a general Saturday closing order have been put up by the employers against the half-holiday for shop-workers. I find people going into shops at 10 p.m., just as they are closing. There is no reason why workers who get paid on Friday could not get their groceries, provisions, clothing, etc., on Friday or Saturday morning. I see them going into butchers' shops a few minutes before 10 o'clock on Saturday nights and buying bits that have been handled by many people during the day, instead of going in the morning and getting them fresh and untouched.

Mr. Thomas Farren—As a teetotaler, I will speak on behalf of a number of delegates who were too modest to say anything in their own interest or on their own behalf. To close on Saturday evenings would be doing an injustice to poor people who are fond of a little nourishment (laughter).

Mr. L. J. Larkin—Nearly every argument advanced here is the same arguments used by employers when we moved in the case of the Drapers' Assistants in Waterford. The resolution is simply an instruction to the Labour Party to bring in legislation.

Mr. Johnson—Which would be an impossible thing.

Mr. Larkin—It does not stipulate the strict method by which the holiday shall be regulated. Some delegates appear to think it would be a black holiday in their lines. Sunday is supposed to be a day of rest, but it does not prevent workers from enjoying a train or a tram journey. I am surprised to see representatives of women workers opposing this resolution. The resolution comes

from Waterford and District Workers' Council, representing every organisation affiliated with the Council. The women on the Council want it more so than any other body of workers on the Council. I have suggested provision can be made to have pay-day not later than Friday in each week. There is nothing in the argument put forward in the case of the agricultural labourers. We are really aiming at a National half-holiday for workers, and you should not allow the bodies opposing it to prevent it. I trust Congress will pass it by a large majority.

The resolution was lost on a show of hands, and a division was not called for.

CO-OPERATIVE PRINTING WORKS.

Mr. McPhillips (Postal Workers) proposed — "That a Sub-Committee be appointed by the incoming National Executive to consider and report on the question of founding a co-operative printing works in which the stationery and journals of this Congress and of affiliated unions might be printed." He said—Mr. Irwin said there is no class of employers who can be so well done without as the builders, and I say the same applies to the printers. Printing, publication, and propaganda were as great a need as housing. You have a great and important organisation here, and we spend a considerable amount of money in printing and stationery. I would prefer to give that money to a printing works run by the workers than to capitalists. At our first day's sitting Mr. Anthony raised the question of censorship, and we condemned it. But when asked for a practical proposition to deal with it we found ourselves in a bog. I believe the *Voice of Labour* was the only paper that made any real effort to defy the censor. I simply make the suggestion that the Executive set up a special committee to inquire into the matter and report. I know there will be difficulties such as finding the necessary capital. We are at present considering a Labour Weekly, and we desire to have it considered in connection with this proposal. I can promise you all the available funds we have will go whole-heartedly into a project like this. My union, a small union, what Mr. MacPartlin called a mushroom union, is spending £500 in printing. What must Labour in general then be spending? and all that money is going into the pockets of capitalists, whereas we could run our own printing office. I suggest there should be some members of the Typographical Society on the Committee.

Mr. Norton (Postal Union), in seconding, said—In the printing of journals and stationery of every description trades unions spend a lot of money, and would it not be a very good thing,

economically and constructively, if this work was done by a co-operative printing works founded by this Congress, instead of going to private capitalists to pay their dividends? Can we not build up an industry that will be a valuable asset to the trade union movement? What support the works might receive from the trades union movement deserves consideration. In addition to the *Voice of Labour* there were three small Labour journals published in Dublin, not to speak of the enormous number of members' cards, etc., used by trade unions. I think trades unions would be expected to put a little money into the works, and I think they would do so. This matter is so big and complex it is impossible at this stage to form any settled opinion as to the support such an enterprise would receive. We are convinced, however, it would be a great advantage to the Labour movement.

The resolution was passed, with the exception of one delegate, who said he opposed the resolution.

BLACK LIST OF NON-UNION FIRMS.

Mr. Gilbert Lynch (Dundalk) proposed the following resolution:—

“That this Congress instruct the National Executive of the Irish Labour Party and Trade Union Congress to draw up a ‘black list’ of firms producing goods under sweated conditions throughout Ireland; that all Trades Unions be supplied periodically with a copy of this list, and that all members of affiliated Trade Unions be instructed not to handle any goods produced or handled by firms on the said ‘black list.’”

He said he knew the difficulties that are in the way, because the resolution pre-supposes the Labour movement has a research department.

Mr. Lynch—The position is this. We are out to maintain a reasonable standard of living for workers organised in Dundalk Trades Unions. Dundalk is the frontier town, and we are seriously menaced by conditions obtaining in the six counties. For a certain class of work 56s. was paid for a 47-hour week in Dundalk, while 26 miles from it 36s. was paid for a five-hour longer week. There is no use in maintaining the standard in Dundalk if competition from the Northern Counties will cause the factories to close down. Something must be done to meet this.

Mr. L. J. Duffy seconded. He said—The question is an important one, and the task it seems to impose on the Executive quite an

impossible one with the machinery at the disposal of the Irish Labour Party. A few days ago I came into possession of information that a proposal was made to the workers in Lyons' Mills, Co. Cork, to reduce the Transport workers' wages, which were 55s. The Union refused to discuss the reduction, with the result that the mills are practically idle, while Dinsmore's, of Ballymena, are flooding the country with goods. They broke the Transport Union, and are paying a wage of 27s. There should be something done to draw attention, not from political, but from an economic point of view, to this matter and the conditions obtaining in the country in sweating dens.

Mr. O'Farrell—I move the previous question, which means "next business." I am in sympathy with the principle of the resolution, but I don't think it is practical to carry out in the near future. In every town in Ireland you have to make inquiries into what may be termed sweating conditions, and when the information is obtained, you have to send to every union a list of every firm or shop coming under this category. You have to revise it periodically owing to conditions prevailing. To carry out all this work you would require twenty of an Executive, and I do not think they should be burdened with the task. I think the Trades Councils can do it more effectively than the Executive I think, Dundalk, you might withdraw it.

Mr. Ward (N.U.R.)—I will second that. I don't think we should burden the Executive with it.

Mr. O'Farrell's amendment was carried.

UNEMPLOYMENT ALLOWANCE.

Miss O'Connor (Women Workers) proposed:—"That this Congress demands an unemployment allowance of £1 per week for all adults and 5s. per week for each dependant, to be immediately put in force as a temporary measure, pending the organisation of industry for the whole of the people of Ireland."

Mrs. Broder (Women Workers) seconded.

Mr. Boyle (Dublin Workers' Council) proposed as an amendment:—"That as the Unemployment Act, at present being administered in Ireland under British regulations, does not meet the requirements of the Irish workers, this Congress calls on the Irish Government to remodel the Act to meet Irish conditions as regards benefits and administration generally." He said—I content myself with moving the amendment.

Mr. Irwin (Plasterers) seconded. He said—I don't wish it to be taken that I am in opposition to the terms of the resolution.

The matter of unemployment insurance was considered by the Dublin Workers Council, and the subject placed on the agenda in the usual way. They thought, and some members of the Executive also thought, that the motion he seconded was the best way of dealing with it. All the members are familiar with the methods of making claims the benefit for loss of employment. The claims had to be verified by the Labour Exchange, who got into communication with the employer. There are several grounds of disqualification depriving an applicant of the benefit. One is if he has been negligent in his last employment—losing it from negligence is a good and valid reason; while another was refusing suitable employment. The latter affected the Irish worker the most. It was applied to Ireland without giving a thought to the different conditions prevailing here and in England. If a tradesman connected with the building trade makes a claim for benefit, and is offered a job outside his own district in which lesser wages are paid, say, 6d. an hour less, and that is the fair wage in that district, should he refuse the job he is disqualified from benefit. To take up that job at less wages would mean he would have to go to the country and keep his home going in Dublin. That did not so much matter in England, as it was more of an industrial country than Ireland. When he is disqualified by the insurance officer he can appeal to the Court of Referees. I happened to be one of the first members of these Courts in Ireland. At that time there was a system of election to the Courts, and there are some in the room who happened to be elected. Gilbert and Sullivan, in their happiest moments, never composed anything so farcical. He went on to quote a case cited in last month's Labour Exchange, in which a man lost his employment on the 4th March, and claimed for benefit on the 11th March. The report from his employer was that he was locked out on the 11th March owing to a dispute in the industry. A man discharged on the 4th March could not be regarded as employed on the 11th March. It was recommended by the Court of Referees that the claim should be allowed, but the insurance officer refused to accept the Referees' recommendation, and the claim is disallowed and the man deprived of benefit. We should insist on the terms of the amendment as published by the Dublin Workers' Council.

Mr. Nason (Cork Trades Council), in supporting, said—The National Executive should ask for a return of the salaries paid to these gentlemen. I understand the Chairman of the Court of Referees, a Cork R.M., calls three meetings a day and gets £10 10s. 0d., while he is also paid as a magistrate as well. These offices are all in the hands of the Irish Government. At the moment to every office in their gift they have appointed men in direct opposition to the wishes of the people. The working classes should

have the right to appoint Referees. We want men who would be more favourably disposed towards us than Resident Magistrates.

Miss Bennett—I am going to oppose this amendment, for it calls on the Irish Government, whatever that may be, to remodel the Act framed to suit British conditions. Until the Labour Party itself sits down and thinks out a scheme of unemployment insurance which will suit Irish conditions, I will oppose the amendment. No Government, British or Irish, will bring in an Unemployment Insurance Act which will meet the needs of the workers.

Mr. Collins (Furnishing Trades)—Apropos of the remarks of Mr. Irwin, I should like to say that last Christmas I gave members their Insurance cards. The following week a strike occurred in another part of the district, and when the dismissed men belonging to the first firm applied for unemployment benefit they were turned down, because a strike existed in the district. Here is another case in the Dublin Labour Exchange. A girl living with her father and mother, and whom she assisted, was turned down. According to that decision, she would have to leave her mother's home to get the benefit. The Labour Exchange here had helped them in every way they could, but they cannot go beyond the Act.

The amendment was carried and passed as a substantive motion.

LABOUR'S ELECTORAL POWER.

Mr. McPhillips (Postal Union) moved the joint resolution of his Union and Dundalk Trades Council:—

“That this Congress instructs the incoming National Executive to lose no time in setting up machinery through the affiliated Unions which will ensure that the full Labour voting power will be available at Parliamentary and Local Government Elections.”

“That this Congress instructs the National Executive of the Irish Labour Party and Trade Union Congress to take the necessary steps to see that all Parliamentary Elections and Bye-elections be contested in future in the interests of Labour.”

He said—It was no harm to prophesy that there is plenty of work to be done. It is quite possible a new election will be fought under adult suffrage, and that would mean a tremendous increase on the register and a great asset to Labour if properly worked. There is hardly a T.D. who contested the last election who is not aware that our machinery is by no means perfect. Trade Union machinery should see that every one of the workers entitled

to have a vote should get it. My experience in the last election was that many entitled to votes were without them. In Mr. O'Farrell's constituency, North-West Dublin, the most abominable personation was perpetrated by his opponents' tools. They should get personation agents from suitable bodies to end this.

Mr. Gilbert Lynch (Dundalk), said—In these proposals we speak from the point of view of a Workers' Republic. It was not when an election came round they should be selecting their candidates or building up this machinery. Elections are won by hard work, long previously undertaken, and propaganda. We must educate the workers up to our standard, and we must make the constituency suit our standard.

Mr. Johnson—I want to oppose this resolution, because if you pass it I think you are instructing or asking the National Executive to do something that certainly is unwise and disastrous. The second part of the resolution instructs the Executive to see that in future all Parliamentary Elections will be contested. That gives no discretion to the Executive. It definitely instructs that no matter in what part of the country a vacancy occurs we shall put forward a candidate to fight the election. I suggest that is an unwise direction to give the Executive. You ought to give them some discretion and not tie their hands in this fashion. I ask the mover and seconder to withdraw the resolution.

Mr. McPhillips—We have no responsibility for the Dundalk resolution. Mr. Johnson takes exception to Standing Orders Committee coupling the Postal Workers' and the Dundalk resolutions.

The resolutions were withdrawn.

FAIR WAGES IN PUBLIC CONTRACTS.

Mr. L. J. Duffy (National Executive) proposed:—

"That this Congress demands that the Irish Government shall take such steps as may be necessary to secure that all contracts on which public money is expended shall be given only to firms, societies, or individuals employing members of Trade Unions recognised by the Irish Trade Union Congress, and are able to satisfy the Government that the work will be performed under fair conditions."

He said—In proposing this resolution I wish to remind the delegates that previous Congresses have discussed and adopted motions dealing with what is known as the Fair Wages Resolution. The bulk of the unions, and particularly the Congress, has from

time to time raised the question of encroachment or infringement of the Fair Wages Resolution of the House of Commons. It was a resolution sought to be inserted in all Government contracts, guaranteeing that the work contracted for should be performed under fair conditions of labour, and paid for at Trades Union rates. One of the things this alleged freedom has brought to Ireland is the most desirable freedom to scrap everything calculated to benefit or improve the condition of the working classes of this country. The Fair Wages Resolution has been wholly and utterly scrapped. The Irish Government is importing from abroad the cheapest articles they can get, irrespective of the conditions under which they are made. In giving contracts they have absolutely and definitely refused to insist that these contracts will be carried out under fair conditions. We have interviewed several Ministers of the Government, and asked them to insist that articles contracted for and used in their departments shall be performed under fair conditions by Trade Union labour, but these Ministers have refused and turned down our request. We will take one case in particular, the uniforms in which Free State soldiers are clothed. The price of a uniform is made up as follows:—There are three yards of material, at 7s. 6d. a yard, £1 2s. 6d.; trimming, 5s.; for making the tunic workers are paid 3s. 10½d., and for making the breeches, 2s. 0½d. Anybody here who has experience of getting a suit of clothes made will understand the conditions under which a soldier's tunic is made for 3s. 10½d. The girl machinist, who sews the bulk of the tunic, receives the princely remuneration of 2s. 6d., and the finisher the munificent sum of 1s. 1d., and the pressing off costs 2½d. Let us come back, at any rate, to where we were before the truce, and see there is no sweating.

Mr. Johnson seconded.

The resolution was agreed to.

ENFORCEMENT OF SHOPS ACT.

Mr. L. J. Duffy (Distributive Workers) proposed:—

“That this Congress protests against the action of those local authorities that are, under the pretext of economy, displacing officials who were engaged as Inspectors under the Shops Act, 1912, and calls upon the Minister for Local Government to insist upon the enforcement of Section 13 of the Act.”

Mr. Duffy said—I again want to draw attention to some of the things that are being done this time, not only by the Government, but

with the sanction and with the knowledge of the Minister for Local Government. This Congress and the Parliamentary Committee sent deputations, and started an agitation for the application of the Shop Hours Act of 1913 to Ireland. It provided for certain improved conditions of labour for Shop Workers, who in many instances were amongst the most sweated workers in the country. The Act included an obligation under Sec. 12 that the local authority shall administer the Act, and for that purpose appoint inspectors. Our complaint is this, that since the application in 1920, when local public bodies in Ireland repudiated the British Local Government Board, these councils have not taken any steps to enforce the terms of the Act. We have had instances in Kilkenny, the constituency of the Minister of Local Government, and in Skibbereen, the constituency of the President of the Local Government Board, where the councils have dismissed their inspectors, though it is mandatory on them to appoint inspectors for the purpose of administering the Act. Other councils who have retained their inspectors put them at other work, and have failed to carry out any prosecutions under the Act. I ask you to pass the resolution unanimously.

Miss Cahalan seconded the resolution, which was passed unanimously.

At the conclusion of Congress, Cathal O'Shannon vacated the chair, which was taken by L. J. Duffy, Vice-Chairman.

Mr. Thomas MacPartlin, in proposing a vote of thanks to the Chairman in Irish, said—I am sure everyone will agree with me that this Congress has been conducted up to as high, if not a higher standard than previous Congresses. The Chairman gave the delegates a great deal of freedom and latitude in expressing their opinions. Perhaps he may have let us go too far, but it might have been necessary under existing circumstances. The position of Chairman this year was a very difficult one indeed. We had no division of opinion or friction during the Congress that will leave one section of workers bitter against another. That in itself was an achievement of which any Chairman might be proud, especially where so many contentious subjects were deliberated. Were it not that I fell ill last year I would have found myself in a very difficult position as Chairman conducting the proceedings this week. I hope in the future the same unanimity will characterise our meetings of Congress.

Mr. Gilloway (Distributive Workers and Clerks), in seconding, said—I fully endorse the tribute to the Chairman, not only for the splendid manner in which he conducted the business of Congress, but also for the magnificent work he accomplished as Acting Chairman of the National Executive for the past year (hear, hear). We all realise that Mr. O'Shannon is endowed with outstanding ability.

and, as workers, we feel highly honoured at having a man of his calibre presiding over this Congress. Let me express the hope he will be long spared to give the movement his invaluable assistance and guidance (hear, hear).

The resolution was passed with enthusiasm.

In tendering the vote of thanks to Mr. O'Shannon, Mr. Duffy said—I am in full and entire agreement with the resolution and with everything that has been so well said by the proposer and seconder. I am only voicing the view of every man and woman here when I say we all agree. You, sir, have conducted the affairs of Congress with dignity, great benefit and advantage to the Trade Union movement, which you have given your very best. In the course of the deliberations you gave every delegate an opportunity of expressing freely his views, and succeeded in preventing friction and unpleasantness from entering into the debate (hear, hear).

Mr. O'Shannon, in replying in Irish, said—I need not say I appreciate very highly the vote of thanks proposed by my old friend and comrade, Thomas MacPartlin. At the beginning of the Conference I asked you not to introduce any personal or extraneous matter. I can say with perfect truth and justice that, on the whole, you carried out that. Anything that was said or done was not said or done in the interest of any outside party (hear, hear). I want to make that quite clear. Certain captions were put by newspapers to things done at that Congress, but that is not the delegates' fault. You did not do anything in a party spirit, and you are not to blame for the captions (hear, hear). I asked you to help me to conduct the proceedings, and if there is any credit due for the conduct of the proceedings it is due to you. There has been no Congress conducted in a more fair or purely Labour spirit than this Congress. I think there was only one disagreeable incident. A delegate referred to the place of origin of one of the men of whom this Congress has every reason to be proud, Tom Johnson. I am not going to ask you to pass a vote of thanks to Johnson. During the election there were party attacks made on Johnson's antecedents. They were mean, scurrilous, and lying. The attacks were made about his connection with Belfast. We know him for twenty years. We knew him in Belfast, where he consistently fought the cause of Labour with all the vigour and ability at his command. Everyone in Belfast knows that the statements circulated about him were concoctions and lies. That was the only really disagreeable incident at the Congress. There was another little disagreeable incident. I gave certain privileges to certain people not of the Congress, but outside the Congress, and one of these privileges was abused in order to make a kind of attack on me. I am thick-

skinned in some things, and don't mind attacks or how they are used outside. I hope when we come together again we will be as united and determined as we have been in the last twelve months. I am not modest enough to deny that I have not had a prouder moment than this in the last few years, because it has fallen to my lot in my year of office to be Chairman when Irish Labour for the first time was successful in the political field. It is a big and historic event. I feel it so strongly I can hardly express my feelings. You have done well to make it clear that you are prepared to make the biggest sacrifice that any party did in the common interests of the Irish people (hear, hear). I trust you will continue to strike the note you have struck during the past twelve months, and we shall not only be united, but separate and independent (hear, hear).

The Chairman, Cathal O'Shannon, was then presented by the Reception Committee with a beautiful gong.

Mr. T. Boyle, who made the presentation, spoke in the most eulogistic terms of the great services given by Mr. Cathal O'Shannon to the Labour movement, and hoped he would be long spared to continue his good work. They were proud of Mr. O'Shannon, and he asked him to accept the presentation with the best wishes of the Reception Committee and the Labour movement in the city.

Mr. O'Shannon, in accepting the presentation, said he would appreciate it as a memento from the Dublin workers, and later on would look back upon it with pride and pleasure.

Mr. Anthony (Cork) proposed a vote of thanks to the Lord Mayor for the reception he gave the delegates, not only on this, but on previous occasions.

Mr. A. Stewart (Belfast) seconded. The Congress was under a debt of gratitude to the Lord Mayor, as the official head of the city.

Passed unanimously.

Mr. Harbison proposed a vote of thanks to the Reception Committee. He said the delegates appreciated what they had done to make their visit to the city pleasant.

Mr. Hill (Cork) seconded, and said that Dublin had carried on the Congress as if they had none of the recent unpleasant happenings. He thanked the Reception Committee for the arrangements they had made to make their visit enjoyable.

The resolution was passed unanimously.

Mr. Thomas Farren said the Dublin Workers' Council, representing all the Trades Unionists of Dublin, regretted on this occasion they were not able to extend to them the welcome they would like. In consequence of the existing conditions in the country, they understood it was not wise to go on with the usual festivities, so they limited the entertainments to the delegates.

Irish Labour Party and Trade Union Congress.

UNIONS AND COUNCILS AFFILIATED.

WITH

*Membership, Affiliation Fees Paid,
Secretary, Delegates and
Delegation Fees Paid.*

1922-23.

UNIONS AFFILIATED.

WITH MEMBERSHIP, AFFILIATION FEES PAID, SECRETARY, DELEGATES, AND DELEGATION FEES PAID.

Name of Trade Union	No. of Mem- bers, Jan. 1st, 1922	Affiliation Fees paid	Secretary	Delegates to 1922 Congress	Dele- gation Fees paid
Assurance Workers, National Union of, Life	300	£ s. d. 2 10 0	B. Brooke, 316 Oxford Rd., Manchester	J. Byrne, 6 Whitworth Place, Drum- condra, Dublin	£ 1
Asylum Workers Union (Irish) ...	1,800	15 0 0	Patrick Casey, District Mental Hospital, Limerick	Michl. Kenna, Grangegorman Mental Hospital, Dublin Jas. J. Harding, District Mental Hospital, Clonmel Patrick Casey, District Mental Hospital, Limerick	3
Automobile Drivers and Mechanics' Union (Irish), now amalgamated with Irish Transport and General Workers' Union	1,000	8 6 8	Ciaran J. King, 47 Parnell Sq., Dublin	Jas. Mitchell, 47 Parnell Sq., Dublin Ciaran J. King, 47 Parnell Sq., Dublin	2
Bakers', Confectioners and Allied Workers' Amalgamated Union (Irish)	2,000	16 13 4	Denis Cullen, 37 Lower Gardiner St., Dublin	James Brown, 233 Cregagh Street, Belfast Christopher Noonan, 37 Lower Gardiner Street, Dublin F. Moran, 37 Lower Gardiner St., Dublin Denis Cullen, 37 Lower Gardiner Street, Dublin	4
Building Trade Workers, Amalga- mated Union of	—	—	General Secretary—G. Hicks, 58 South- work Bridge Road, London, S.E. 1 Irish Organiser—M. Coburn, Fort Road, Dowdallshill, Dundalk	Owen Hynes, 49 Cuffe Street, Dublin	1
Brick and Stone Layers (Ancient Guild of Incorporated)	600	5 0 0	Owen Hynes, 49 Cuffe Street, Dublin	Owen Hynes, 49 Cuffe Street, Dublin	1
Brushmakers, National Society of (Dublin Branch)	100	1 0 0	Wm. Murphy, 17 Russell St., N.C.R., Dublin	Edward Tucker, 37 Capel Street, Dublin	1
Civil Service Clerical Association (Late Civil Service Assistant Clerks)	500	4 3 4	M. P. Fitzgibbon "Leenane," Dolly- mount, Dublin	M. P. Fitzgibbon, "Leenane," Dollymount, Dublin	1
Clerical and Allied Workers' Union (Irish)	1,500	12 10 0	W. F. Clifford, St. Andrew Chambers, 1 College Street, Dublin	P. J. Rooney, 1 College Street, Dublin W. F. Clifford, 1 College Street, Dublin	2
Dock and Riverside Workers, National Union of	1,000	12 10 0	See Amalgamated Transport and General Workers' Union		
Distributive Workers and Clerks (Irish Union of)	8,040	67 0 0	General Secretary—J. G. Gilloway, Cavendish House, Parnell Sq., Dublin Organising Secretary—L. J. Duffy, Cavendish House, Parnell Sq., Dublin	Miss C. Cahalan, 94 Mid. Abbey St., Dublin. J. G. Gilloway, Cavendish House, Dublin L. J. Duffy, Cavendish House, Dublin J. Paterson, Cavendish House, Dublin Miss F. Joyce, Cavendish House, Dublin H. Batt, 27 Curzon Street, Dublin T. Downey, 7 Newbridge Ave., Sandy- mount Thos. Johnson, 32 Lt. Abbey St., Dublin P. J. Doyle, c/o. Cavendish House, Dublin N. Cosgrave, c/o. Cavendish House, Dublin	10
Engineering Union, Amalgamated (Inchicore Branch)	116	1 0 0	Branch Secretary—L. Keegan, 2 First Avenue, Inchicore, Dublin	L. Keegan, 2 First Avenue, Inchicore, Dublin	1
Do. (Dublin No. 1 Branch) ...	180	1 10 0	B. Cunningham, 44 Pembroke Cottages, Donnybrook, Dublin	B. Cunningham, 44 Pembroke Cottages, Donnybrook, Dublin	1
Do. (Dublin No. 2 Branch) ...	100	1 0 0	P. J. Verdon	P. J. Verdon	1
Engineering Industrial Trades Union (Irish)	4,000	33 6 8	P. F. McIntyre, 6 Gardiner's Row, Dublin	Joseph Toomey, 6 Gardiner's Row, Dublin J. Bassett, 6 Gardiner's Row, Dublin W. A. Pope, 6 Gardiner's Row, Dublin P. O'Hagan, 6 Gardiner's Row, Dublin P. Fitzgerald, 6 Gardiner's Row, Dublin J. Connolly, Tara Street Fire Station, Dublin	5
Fire Brigade Men's Union, Dublin ...	—	1 0 0	J. Connolly, Tara Street Fire Station, Dublin	J. Connolly, Tara Street Fire Station, Dublin	1
Furnishing Trades Association (National Amalgamated)	967	8 1 2	Alex. Gossij, 58 Theobald's Road, London, W.C.1	J. Collins, 11 Leo Avenue, Dublin J. Maginnis, 87 Howard St., Sth., Belfast	
Flax Roughers and Yarn Spinners' Trade Union	—	5 0 0	Dawson Gordon, 99 Donegall Street, Belfast	Dawson Gordon, 99 Donegall Street, Belfast	1
Grocers and Vintners' Assistants, Irish National Union of	1,500	12 10 0	P. Hughes, 20 Parnell Sq., Dublin	E. Cooney, 20 Parnell Square, Dublin P. McCormack, 20 Parnell Sq., Dublin P. Hughes, 20 Parnell Sq., Dublin	3

Name of Trade Union	No. of Members, Jan. 1st, 1922	Affiliation Fees paid	Secretary	Delegates to 1922 Congress	Dele- gation Fees paid
Locomotive Engine Drivers and Firemen T. U. (Belfast and Dublin)	636	£ s. d. 5 6 0	Wm. Reid, 9 Canada Street, Belfast		£ 2
Labour Union (Meath) ...	150	1 5 0	James Blunt, Bellewstown, Meath		
Municipal Employees' Trade Union (Irish)	1,550	12 18 4	Thos. Lawlor, 24 Winetavern Street, Dublin	Thos. Lawlor, 24 Winetavern Street, Dublin Robert Tynan, 24 Winetavern St., Dublin Robert Farrell, 24 Winetavern St, Dublin Jas. Delaney, 24 Winetavern St., Dublin	4
Packing Case Makers (Dublin) ...		1 0 0	W. Shanks, 3 Chamber Street, Dublin		
Painters and Decorators, National Amalgamated Society of Operative House and Ship	2,166	18 1 0	General Secretary—J. A. Gibson, 4 Camp Street, Lower Broughton, Manchester	Albert Wright, 7 Victoria Street, London- derry Jas. J. Lynch, 65 St. Joseph's Place, Blessington Street, Dublin	2
Do. (Dublin District Committee)			P. J. O'Neill, 15 Upr. Gloucester St., Dublin	Jos. Farrell, c/o M. J. O'Neill, 15 Upper Gloucester Street, Dublin	1
Painters and Decorators (Irish National) Union	1,250	8 6 8	Thos. Fogarty, 27 Aungier Street, Dublin	Thos. Fogarty, 27 Aungier Street, Dublin	
Plasterers' Trade Society (Dublin Operative)	250	2 1 8	T. Irwin, 32 East Essex Street, Dublin	Edward M'Cabe, 27 Aungier St., Dublin T. Irwin, 32 East Essex Street, Dublin	1
Plumbers and Domestic Engineers, United Operative			Secretary, Dublin Branch—Robert Boyd, 61 Caledon Road, Dublin		
Pork Butchers, Limerick ...			Martin Barry, Limerick		
Postal Union (Irish) ...	3,748	31 4 8	D. R. Hogan, 4 Cavendish Row, Dublin	John Normile, 4 Cavendish Row, Dublin J. C. M'Closkey, 4 Cavendish Row, Dublin P. J. M'Phillips, 4 Cavendish Row, Dublin P. O'Kane, Carlow. W. Norton, 4 Cavendish Row, Dublin Miss A. M. Flanagan, 88 Agamenon Rd., West Hampstead, N.W. J. D. Canavan, 24 Gilford Ave., Moston, Manchester T. Irvine, 13 Cadogan Street, Belfast	4
Post Office Workers (Union of) ...	1,067	8 17 10	J. W. Bowen, 43 Cromwell Rd., South Kensington, London, S.W.		3
Postal Workers' Union (Irish) ...	3,000	25 0 0	F. Parkes, 65 Parnell Street, Dublin	M. J. M'Gowan, Magdalen St., Drogheda W. J. Dowling, Kilbricken P.O., Mount- rath F. Parkes, 65 Parnell Street, Dublin T. Ward, 54 Eliza Street, Belfast J. Kelly, 33 Glengariffe Parade, Dublin Jas. Bermingham, 2 Beresford Place, Dublin	3
Railwaymen, National Union of ...	14,594	121 12 4	C. T. Cramp, Industrial General Secretary, Unity House, Euston Road, London, N.W. 1 Irish Secretary—Jas. Bermingham, 2 Beresford Place, Dublin		3
Do. (Broadstone No. 1) ...			B. Finnigan, 16 Avondale Road, Phibs- borough, Dublin	Thos. Tobin, 3 Prospect Ave., Glasnevin, Dublin	1
Do. (Broadstone No. 2) ...			W. Walsh, 195 Phibsborough Road, Dublin	W. Walsh, 195 Phibsborough Road, Dublin	
Do. (Kingsbridge Branch) ...			W. Dalton, 77 Old Kilmainham, Dublin	Robert Holmes, 99 M'Caffrey Estate, James's Street, Dublin	
Do. (Mullingar Branch) ...			John M'Keon, 5 Parnell Terrace, Mullingar	John M'Keon, 5 Parnell Terrace, Mullingar	1
Do. (Leinster District Council)			B. Kavanagh, 55 Stella Gardens, Dublin	Jas. Slevin, 43 Kennedy's Villas, James's Street, Dublin	1
Do. (Bray No. 1 Branch) ...			M. Doyle, 2 Marino Terrace, Bray	Edward Byrne, 9 Florence Road, Bray	1
Railway Clerks' Association ...	2,500	20 16 8	Irish Secretary—John T. O'Farrell, 48 Henry Street, Dublin General Secretary—A. G. Walkden, 25 Euston Road, London, N.W. 1	John T. O'Farrell, 48 Henry Street, Dublin W. Davin, 48 Henry Street, Dublin T. H. Gill, 77 Lindley Street, York E. O'Carroll, 48 Henry Street, Dublin John Sheppard, 77 Eccles Street, Dublin	4
Slaters and Tilers' Amalgamated Society (Dublin Branch)	—	1 0 0	J. Sheppard, 77 Eccles St., Dublin		1
Sheet Metal Workers (Dublin) ...	150	1 5 0	John Farren, 20 Blackhall Place, Dublin		
Tailors and Tailoresses, Amalgamated Society of (Cork, Men's Branch)	120	1 0 0	Wm. Lynch, Mechanics' Hall, 47 Grattan Street, Cork	Jas. Harty, 1 Sunview Terrace, College Road, Cork	1
Do. (Cork, Women's Branch)	120	1 0 0	Mrs. Josephine Lynch, Mechanics' Hall, 47 Grattan Street, Cork	Mrs. Josephine Lynch, 8 Alverna, Mar- dyke, Cork	1
Garment Makers' Industrial Union (Irish)	550	4 11 8	Walter Carpenter, 44 York Street, Dublin	Walter Carpenter, 44 York St., Dublin	2
Tailors and Garment Workers' Trade Union	653	5 8 10	A. Conley, 20 Park Place, Leeds ...	C. Nelis, 19 Upper Violet St., Waterside, Londonderry	1

Name of Trade Union	No. of Members, Jan. 1st, 1922	Affiliation Fees paid	Secretary	Delegates to 1922 Congress	Delegation Fees paid
Teachers' Organisation (Irish National)	11,441	£ 95 s. 6 d. 10	T. J. O'Connell, 9 Gardiner's Place, Dublin	Cormac Breathnach, Central Model School, Dublin John Harbison, 17 Chestnut Gardens, Cliftonville, Belfast John E. M'Neilis, Castlecaulfield, Co. Tyrone Robert Neilly, 74 Church Street, Ballymena Edmund Mansfield, Cullen N. S., Tipperary C. P. Murphy, Annmount, Friar's Walk, Cork T. Frisby, Freshford, Kilkenny P. J. Quinn, 10 Ring Street, Inchicore, Dublin H. O'Donnell, Cloonanure, Gurteen, Ballymote D. F. Courell, Arran Street, Ballina T. J. O'Connell, 9 Gardiner's Place, Dublin	11
Do. (Dublin Central Teachers' Association)	—	—	P. Cummins, 3 Abbey Tce., Howth	Miss R. Timmon, 113 Harold's Cross Rd., Dublin	1
Do. (A. S. T. I.)	250	2 1 8	T. J. Burke, 9 Gardiner's Pl., Dublin	T. J. Burke, 9 Gardiner's Place, Dublin	1
Typographical Association (Manchester)	1,603	13 7 2	General Secretary—H. Skinner, "Beechwood," Oak Drive, Fallowfield, Manchester	T. Cassidy, 41 Chapel Rd., Waterside, Derry R. S. Anthony, 5 St. Anthony's Villas, Porladuff Road, Cork H. T. Whitley, 12 Frederick St., Belfast	
Typographical (Dublin) Provident Society	1,000	8 6 8	W. J. Whelan, 35 Lr. Gardiner Street, Dublin	W. J. Whelan, 35 Lr. Gardiner Street, Dublin W. Paxton, 35 Lr. Gardiner Street, Dublin	2
Vehicle Workers, United (Dublin Tramwaymen)	—	—	[See "Amalgamated Transport and General Workers' Union"]		
Vehicle Builders (National Union of)	1,500	12 10 0	General Secretary—J. Nicholson, 195 Oxford Road, Manchester	Joseph Wickham, 9 Woodville Terrace, Botanic Ave., Drumcondra, Dublin Wm. Boland	

Woodworkers, Amalgamated Society of	5,559	46 6 6	General Secretary—A. G. Cameron, 131 Wilmslow Road, Withington, Manchester	J. P. Delaney, 168 North Strand, Dublin	1
Do. (Dublin No. 4 Branch) ...	—	—	C. Ring, 35 Lr. Gloucester St., Dublin	Thomas MacPartlin, 35 Lr. Gloucester Street, Dublin	1
Do. (Cork District) ...	—	—	E. Fitzgerald, 21 Friar's Walk, Cork	J. P. Weldon, 20 Grattan Street, Cork E. Fitzgerald, 21 Friar's Walk, Cork	2
Do. (Dublin No. 5 Branch) ...			J. O'Kelly, 442 N.C. Road, Dublin		
Do. (Dublin No. 6 Branch) ...			M. Somerville, 23 Armstrong Street, Harold's Cross, Dublin	M. Somerville, 23 Armstrong Street, Harold's Cross, Dublin	1
Do. (Dublin No. 7 Branch) ...			J. Brophy, 32 Lower Ormond Quay, Dublin	J. Brophy, 32 Lower Ormond Quay, Dublin	1
Do. (Dublin No. 13 Branch) ...			T. Dunne, 10 Richmond Row, Portobello, Dublin	T. Dunne, 10 Richmond Row, Portobello, Dublin	
Wood Cutting Machinists, Amalgamated Society of	800	6 13 4	General Secretary—W. J. Wentworth, 32 Milton Street, C-on-M., Manchester	G. Hill, 32 Milton Street, C-on-M., Manchester M. Kiernan, 28 Upper Erne Street, Great Brunswick Street, Dublin	2
Women Workers' Union (Irish)	4,000	33 6 8	Secretaries—Miss Louie Bennett and Miss Helen Chenevix, 7 Eden Quay, Dublin	Miss E. O'Connor, 152 Leinster Road, Rathmines, Dublin Miss Cullen, 68 Rialto Buildings, S.C.R., Dublin Miss B. Kelly, 9 Upper Camden Street, Dublin Miss Brennan, 1 Ross Road, off Bride Street, Dublin Miss Bennett, Gayfield, Killiney Mrs. Broder, St. Gabriel's, Dalkey	6
Irish Transport and General Workers' Union	100,000	833 6 8	General President—Thomas Foran, 35 Parnell Square, Dublin General Treasurer—William O'Brien, T.D., 35 Parnell Square, Dublin General Secretary—Jas. Larkin, 35 Parnell Square, Dublin	Thomas Foran, 35 Parnell Square, Dublin William O'Brien, T.D., 35 Parnell Square, Dublin T. Kennedy, T.C., 20 Charlemont Mall, Dublin M. McCarthy, Liberty Hall, Dublin	102

Name of Trade Union	No. of Mem- bers, Jan. 1st. 1922	Affiliation Fees paid	Secretary	Delegates to 1922 Congress	Dele- gation Fees paid
£ s. d.					£
Irish Transport and General Workers' Union—(Continued)					
				Patrick Stafford, 41 Great Clarence St., Dublin	
				Patrick Gaffney, T.D., Killeslin, Carlow	
				M. Duffy, Readslan, Dunshaughlin	
				T. Ryan, 1 Lady Lane, Waterford	
				M. Hill, 33 Roche's Buildings, Cork	
				Jas. O'Brien, 91 O'Connell St., Limerick	
				C. O'Shannon, T.D., 35 Parnell Square, Dublin	
				Miss Winifred Carney, 122 Corporation St., Belfast	
				P. Curran, c/o P. Sheridan, Branch Sec., Market Street, Granard	
				Denis Hayden, 23 South Cumberland St., Dublin	
				Ed. Stenson, Harbour Street, Mullingar	
				P. J. Curran, Market Fields, Balbriggan	
				G. O'Driscoll, I.T.G.W.U., Blanchards- town	
				Michael O'Connor, Peter St., Drogheda	
				John Johnston, Magdalen St., Drogheda	
				T. Stapleton, Affane, Cappoquin, Co. Waterford	
				K. Kelly Brewery, Rathdowney	
				Patrick Buckley, I.T.G.W.U., Clonroche	
				Thomas Foley, Liss, Oldcastle, Co. Meath	
				James Brunton, I.T.G.W.U., Ashbourne, Co. Meath	
				John Melia, Drehid, Carbury, Co. Kildare	
				C. Branigan, 15 Emer Terrace, Castle- town Road, Dundalk	

**Irish Transport and General
Workers' Union—(Continued)**

P. Glenny, Factory Street, Mountrath
Seamus MacSweeney, I.T.G.W.U., Kells
Philip Murphy, Gracedieu Road, Upper,
Waterford
J. Masterson, Beherna, Virginia
Joseph Byrne, Trades' Hall, Dun
Laoghaire
J. J. Carroll, Dunlavin, Co. Wicklow
Patrick O'Byrne, 2 Main Street, Camolin
M. Nolan, Burrowfield, Baldoyle
Matthew Curran, Lowergrange, Gores-
bridge
John Murray, I.T.G.W.U., Virginia, Co.
Cavan
James Mallon, Kilesursey, Edgeworths-
town
Robert Day, T.D., 80 Oliver Plunket St.,
Cork
F. Cluskey, 83 St. Ignatius Road, Dublin
J. Connolly, 131 Cork Street, Dublin
J. Davis, 32 Beresford Street, Dublin
W. Eustace, 13 Arran Quay, Dublin
P. Hanratty, 7 South Richmond Street,
Dublin
P. Murray, 26n Block, Iveagh Buildings,
Dublin
J. Lawlor, 18 Thomas Ashe Street, Dublin
Miss E. Joyce, 88 Upper Church Street,
Dublin
Miss J. Doran, 58 Bellview Buildings,
Dublin
A. Brunnell, 183 Parnell Street, Dublin
T. Brady, Dublin Union
J. Whelan, 5 Castle Terrace, Phibsboro',
Dublin
F. Sartini, 24 Marrowbone Lane, Dublin
J. Bohan, 36 Blackhall Place, Dublin
Christopher Mulvey, Newbrook, Rath-
farnham
Philip Grogan, 3 Curragh View Cottages,
Kildare

Name of Trade Union	No. of Mem- bers, Jan. 1st, 1922	Affiliation Fees paid	Secretary	Delegates to 1922 Congress	Dele- gation Fees paid
£ s. d.					
Irish Transport and General Workers' Union—(Continued)					
				Matthew Caul, I.T.G.W.U., Swords	
				William McMullen, 122 Corporation St., Belfast	
				James Fennell, 50 Upper Library Street, Belfast	
				M. P. Linehan, 101 Main St., Mallow	
				J. Metcalfe, Trades' Hall, Bray	
				C. J. Supple, Duke Street, Athy	
				D. Houston, c/o. Alderman R. Corish, Crescent Quay, Wexford	
				Markes Carroll, c/o. P. Nestor, Naas	
				Henry O'Neill, Newbawn, Wexford	
				Martin Cunningham, Roscrea	
				Richard Dalton, Knockaderry, Kil- meadon, Co. Waterford	
				C. F. Ridgeway, Town Hall, Dundalk	
				Patrick Comyn, Cuttean, Kilrossanty, Kilmacthomas, Co. Waterford	
				John Connolly, 35 Phoenix St., Inchicore	
				Christopher McMahon, 8 Park Street, Inchicore	
				George Spain, Liberty Hall, Dublin	
				L. Murphy, 29 Eden Quay, Dublin	
				Richard Maher, Liberty Hall, Dublin	
				George Bradshaw, Liberty Hall, Dublin	
				P. Kane	
				John Hawkins, Liberty Hall, Dublin	
				John McCabe, Liberty Hall, Dublin	
				John McCabe, 8 Clarence Place, Dublin	
				John Dillon, 9 Campbell's Row, N.C.R., Dublin	
				William Stone, 59 Townsend St., Dublin	
				Patrick Gray, 27 Summer Place, Charles Street, Dublin	

Irish Transport and General
Workers' Union—(Continued)

Peter Spain, 30 Upper Mercer St., Dublin
Peter Osborne, 25 North Great George's Street, Dublin
Henry Hynes, 7 Chatham St., Dublin
William Fairtlough, 27 Lower Jane Place, Dublin
Thomas Butler, 30 Queen's Square, Dublin
E. Martin, 49 York Street, Dublin
M. Donnelly, 22 Lower Gardiner Street, Dublin
John McDermott, 6 Wall's Villas, Canning Place, Dublin
Joseph O'Neill, 5 Chancery Street, Dublin
Patrick Byrne, 3 Maher's Place, Dublin
— Maguire, c/o. W. Gleeson, Rathleen, Nenagh
Philip O'Neill, I.T.G.W.U., Birr
— Manwhelher, Liberty Hall, Dublin
Wm. Kenneally, Connolly Hall, Cork
Jas. Hickey, Connolly Hall, Cork
Jeremiah Murphy, Connolly Hall, Cork
Patrick Barry, Connolly Hall, Cork
Patrick Murphy, Snoore, Durhill, Co. Waterford
Jeremiah Murphy, 73 Boherbee, Tralee
Michael Lynch, c/o John Lynch, Liberty Hall, Sligo
John Southwell, c/o The Secretary, I.T.G.W.U., The Mall, Newry
John Rowan, Belleek, Ballina
E. P. Hart, 47 Parnell Square, Dublin
P. T. Daly, 7 Clonliffe Road, Dublin
W. Carrick, Fish Market, Galway
D. J. Blood, Foresters' Hall, North Quay, Drogheda
W. Leeburn, 25 Gargill Street, Belfast
P. Healy, 9 Wellington Street, Derry

Amalgamated Transport and General
Workers' Union

Including National Union of Dock
Labourers, United Vehicle Workers
(Dublin Tramwaymen)

8,000 66 13 4 General Secretary—Ernest Bevin, 3
Central Buildings, Westminster,
London, S.W. 1.

TRADES AND WORKERS' COUNCILS AFFILIATED.

Name of Council	No. of Mem- bers, Jan. 1st, 1922	Affiliation Fees paid	Secretary	Delegates to 1922 Congress	Dele- gation Fees paid
Athlone	...	£ s. d. 1 0 0	E. Cosgrove, St. Columba's Terrace Athlone.		£
Ballina (Workers' Council)	...	1 0 0	E. Mullin, Ballina.		
Ballinasloe	...	...	W. Griffin, Brackernagh, Ballinasloe		
Belfast	15,000	3 0 0	David R. Campbell, 11 Kimberley St., Belfast	David R. Campbell, 11 Kimberley St., Belfast	2
Bray and Dun Laoghaire	2,000	1 0 0	P. Byrne, 2 M'Cormack's Terrace, Bray	Alex. Stewart, 2 Convention St., Belfast Patrick Austin, c/o Miss Brookes, Dargle Road, Bray	1
Carlow	...	...	D. Fenlon, Carlow		
Castlebar	...	...	J. P. Waters, Spencer Park, Castlebar		
Cavan (Workers' Council)	...	...	R. Lynch, 17 Main Street, Cavan		
Clare (Workers' Council)	...	...	Jas. Real, 9 Linnane's Terrace, Ennis	Jas. Real, 9 Linnane's Terrace, Ennis	1
Clones	...	1 0 0	M. Johnstone, Trades' Council, Clones		
Clonmel	...	...	W. Prendergast, Trades' Hall, Clonmel		
Cork	...	...	G. Duncan, 1 Annville, Ballinlough Road, Cork	G. Nason, 12 Marino Terrace, Cork G. Duncan, 1 Annville, Ballinlough Road, Cork	2
Cove	...	1 0 0	Sean O'Connor, Lr. Midleton St., Cove	G. Duncan.	
Derry	12,000	3 0 0	E. M'Cafferty, 11 Northland Avenue, Derry		
Drogheda (Workers' Council)	2,500	1 0 0	Thomas Lynch, Foresters' Hall, Drogheda	Thos. Lynch, 30 Magdalene Street, Drogheda	1
Dublin (Workers' Council)	50,000	10 0 0	Thos. Farren, 37 Lower Gardiner Street, Dublin, and 1 Joannaville, Crumlin Road, Dublin	Thos. Boyle, 31 Synge Street, Dublin Frank Robbins, 17 Lower Summerhill Parade, Dublin Jas. Lightholder, 91 Kent's Fort, Mount Brown, Dublin Vincent Doyle, 1 Ballymerock Terrace, East Road, Dublin Thos. Farren, 37 Lower Gardiner Street, Dublin, and 1 Joannaville, Crumlin Road, Dublin	5
Dundalk	...	1 0 0	Jas. Smyth, 7 Annville Terrace, Chapel Street, Dundalk	G. Lynch, Lorne Hotel, Clanbrassil St., Dundalk	1
Edenderry	...	1 0 0	John Gill, New Row, Edenderry, Offaly		
Enniscorthy	...	...	J. P. Kelly, 16 Market Square, Ennis- corthy		
Fermoy	...	1 0 0	W. O'Reilly, Abbey Street, Fermoy		
Galway	...	...	P. Morgan, 1 Rosemary St., Galway		
Kildare County (Workers' Council)	...	1 0 0	M. MacGabhann, Liberty Hall, Droichead Nua	M. MacGabhann, Liberty Hall, Droichead Nua	1
Kilkenny	...	1 0 0	John Reid, Dean Street, Kilkenny	Jas. Reade, 3 Blackmill Street, Kilkenny	1
Killarney	...	1 0 0	J. Murphy, Killarney Workers' Council, Killarney		
Limerick	10,000	2 0 0	Jas. Casey, Mechanics' Institute, Limerick	Wm. Boland. Jas. Casey, 23 Bowman Street, Limerick	2
North Leix (Workers' Council)	1,500	1 0 0	James Lacey, Grattan Street, Port- laoighise		
Monaghan	...	...	P. M'Entee, Dublin Road, Monaghan		
Mullingar	...	...	P. Doonan, Mullingar		
Ossory and South Leix	700	1 0 0	W. Bonham, Rathdowney, Leix	W. Bonham, Rathdowney, Leix	1
Sligo	...	...	J. Lambert, Trades' Hall, Sligo		
Thurles	...	...	P. McCarthy, West Gate, Thurles		
Tralee (Workers' Council)	2,000	...	John Leisk, William Street, Tralee	John Leisk, William Street, Tralee	
Tullamore	...	...	J. P. Hutton, Earl Street, Tullamore		
Waterford (Workers' Council)	5,000	1 0 0	Leo Dunne, 7 Canada St., Waterford	L. J. Larkin, 123 The Quay, Waterford	1
Wexford	...	1 0 0	P. White, King Street, Wexford	Thomas Walsh, High Street, Wexford	1

FRATERNAL DELEGATES.

Scottish Trade Union Congress ...

Office—156 George Street, Glasgow ...

George Buchanan (Patternmakers),
28 Pollock St., Glasgow, S.S.
J. C. Walsh (N.U.S. Mineworkers),
Miners' Office, Hamilton
S. Saklatvala, 2 St. Alban's Villas, High-
gate Road, London, N.W.

Workers' Welfare League of India

J. E. Potter Wilson, Featherstone
Buildings, High Holborn, London,
W. C. I.

IRISH TRADE UNION CONGRESSES, 1894-1922

Year	No. of Delegates	Locality	President	Secretary	Treasurer
1894	119	Dublin ...	Thomas O'Connell (Carpenter)		
1895	121	Cork ...	J. H. Jolley (Printer)	John Simmons	Patrick Dowd
1896	93	Limerick	James Dalton (Printer)	"	J. H. Jolley
1897	86	Waterford	P. J. Leo (Pork Butcher)	"	"
1898	90	Belfast ...	Richard Wortly (Tailor)	"	"
1899	62	Derry ...	James McCarron (Tailor)	"	P. J. Tevenan
1900	77	Dublin ...	George Leahy (Plasterer)	"	"
1901	73	Sligo ...	A. Bowman, T.C. (Flax Dresser)	Hugh McManus	Alex. Taylor
1902	98	Cork ...	Wm. Cave (Bootmaker)	E. L. Richardson	"
1903	86	Newry ...	Walter Hudson, M.P. (A.S.R.S.)	"	Geo. Leahy
1904	74	Kilkenny	Wm. Walker (Carpenter)	"	"
1905	72	Wexford ...	Jas. Chambres (Saddler)	"	"
1906	72	Athlone ...	Stephen Dineen (Baker)	"	E. W. Stewart
1907	87	Dublin ...	James McCarron (Tailor)	"	"
1908	85	Belfast ...	John Murphy (Printer)	"	"
1909	108	Limerick	M. Egan (Coachmaker)	"	"
1910	85	Dundalk ...	James McCarron (Tailor)	"	"
1911	75	Galway ...	D. R. Campbell (Insurance Agent)	P. T. Daly	M. J. O'Lehane
1912	87	Clonmel ...	M. J. O'Lehane (Draper's Assistant)	"	"
1913	99	Cork ...	William O'Brien (Tailor)	"	D. R. Campbell
1914	94	Dublin ...	James Larkin (Transport Worker)	"	"
1915	—	—	NO CONGRESS HELD	"	"
1916	81	Sligo ...	Thomas Johnson (Shop Assistants)	"	"
1917	111	Derry ...	Thomas MacPartlin (Carpenter)	"	"
1918	240	Waterford	William O'Brien (Tailor)	"	"
1919	220	Drogheda	Thomas Cassidy (Printer)	"	"
1920	246	Cork ...	Thomas Farren (Stonecutter)	William O'Brien	Thomas Johnson
1921	250	Dublin ...	Thomas Foran (I.T.G.W.U.)	"	"
1922	244	Dublin ...	Cathal O'Shannon (I.T.G.W.U.)	Thomas Johnson	William O'Brien
				"	"

IRISH LABOUR PARTY

AND

TRADE UNION CONGRESS.

CONSTITUTION.

1.—NAME.—IRISH LABOUR PARTY AND TRADE UNION CONGRESS.

2.—OBJECTS AND METHODS.—

(a) To recover for the Nation complete possession of all the natural physical sources of wealth of this country.

(b) To win for the workers of Ireland, collectively, the ownership and control of the whole produce of their labour.

(c) To secure the democratic management and control of all industries and services by the whole body of workers, manual and mental, engaged therein, in the interest of the Nation, and subject to the supreme authority of the National Government.

(d) To obtain for all adults who give allegiance and service to the Commonwealth, irrespective of sex, race or religious belief, equality of political and social rights and opportunities.

(e) To abolish all powers and privileges, social and political, of institutions or persons, based upon property or ancestry, or not granted or confirmed by the freely expressed will of the Irish people; and to insist that in the making and administering of the laws, in the pursuit of industry and commerce, and in the education of the young, Property must always be subordinate to Humanity, and Private Gain must ever give place to the Welfare of the People.

(f) With the foregoing objects in view, to promote the organisation of the working class industrially, socially, and politically, *e.g.*: in Trade Unions, in Co-operative

Societies (both of producers and consumers), and in a Political Labour Party.

(g) To secure Labour representation on all national and local legislative and administrative bodies.

(h) To co-ordinate the work of the several sections of the working-class movement.

(i) To promote fraternal relations between the workers of Ireland and of other countries through affiliation with the international Labour movement.

(j) To co-operate with that movement in promoting the establishment of democratic machinery for the settlement of disputes between Nations; and in raising the standard of social legislation in all countries to the level of the highest; and

(k) Generally to assist in the efforts of the working class of all Nations in their struggle for emancipation.

3.—MEMBERSHIP.—The Irish Labour Party and Trade Union Congress shall consist of its affiliated organisations, *i.e.*: Trade Unions, Branches of Trade Unions, Trades' Councils, Local Labour Parties, together with those men and women who are individual subscribing members of a recognised local Labour Party group and who accept the Constitution and Policy of the Irish Labour Party and Trade Union Congress.

4.—NATIONAL CONGRESS.—

(a) The supreme governing authority shall be the National Congress, which shall meet as provided for in the Standing Orders.

(b) The basis of representation at the National Congress shall be as follows:—

Trade Unions or Branches of Trade Unions having less than 500 members—one delegate;

500 members or over, but not exceeding 1,000—two delegates;

Over 1,000 members, but not exceeding 1,500—three delegates;

Over 1,500 members, but not exceeding 2,000—four delegates;

and one additional delegate for every complete 1,000 members above 2,000.

(Where a Trade Union has paid affiliation fees on the whole of its membership in Ireland, the payment by a branch of affiliation fees on the branch membership shall not entitle it to additional representation.)

Trades' Councils shall be entitled to send one delegate for 5,000 members or fraction thereof for whom affiliation fees have been paid by the Council, and one additional delegate for every additional 5,000 members.

(c) Where the local Trades' Council undertakes the duties of a local Labour Party, it shall be entitled to send one additional delegate to represent the Labour Party in each parliamentary constituency covered by the activities of the Council, provided that there shall have been three months prior to the date of the Congress not less than 100 individual subscribing members of the Party in the constituency claiming to send a delegate, such delegates to be individual subscribing members of the Party, men or women, and voters in the constituency they represent.

(d) In towns or constituencies where a local Labour Party has been formed according to Clause 5 (below), such local Labour Party shall be entitled to send one delegate for each constituency covered by its activities, provided that there shall have been three months prior to the date of the Congress not less than 100 individual subscribing members of the Party in the constituency claiming to send a delegate, such delegates to be individual subscribing members of the Party, men or women, and voters in the constituency they represent.

5.—LOCAL LABOUR PARTIES.—Where a local Trades' Council does not discharge the functions of a local Labour Party, or in the opinion of the National Executive has failed to do the work in a satisfactory manner, the National Executive shall have power to organise a local Labour Party independent of the Trades' Council, such local Labour Party to consist of individual subscribing members of the Party, Trade Unions or Trade Union Branches, and such other working-class organisations as subscribe to the Constitution and Policy of the Irish Labour Party and Trade Union Congress, and are approved of by the National Executive.

6.—INDIVIDUAL SUBSCRIBING MEMBERS.—Individual subscribing members shall be organised into Divisional or Ward Groups under the direction of the Trades' Councils or local Labour Parties. They shall be expected to undertake the electoral activities and propaganda work of the Party in the constituencies.

7.—FINANCE—

(a) Trade Unions or Branches of Trade Unions shall pay to the Central Funds of the Irish Labour Party and Trade Union Congress 2d. per member on the full certified membership in Ireland on the first day of January in each year.

(b) Trades' Councils shall pay one pound (£1) for each 5,000 members, or part thereof.

(c) The minimum annual contribution from affiliated Societies shall be one pound (£1).

(d) Individual subscribing members shall pay at the rate of three pence per member per month, of which sum three half-pence shall be paid to the Central Fund and three half-pence retained by the local Trades' Council or local Labour Party for organisation and labour representation purposes, subject, where necessary, to a payment out of the local moiety of one half-penny for the expenses of collection.

(e) A woman member who has paid a total of one shilling and sixpence within the year shall be deemed to be a fully-paid subscribing member.

(f) The National Executive shall be authorised to make special appeals for funds for political and other purposes from time to time as may be desirable.


(g) Any Society whose affiliation has been accepted shall be considered to be permanently affiliated and liable for affiliation fees unless such Society has given six months' notice of withdrawal or has been excluded by the special decision of Congress.

8.—NATIONAL EXECUTIVE.—There shall be a National Executive, consisting of a Chairman, Vice-Chairman, Treasurer, Secretary, and ten other members 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 ;

* 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.]

One delegate for each additional 100 members up to 500 ;

One delegate for each additional 250 members up to 1,000 ; and

One delegate for each additional 1,000 members afterwards.

(c) Before any action towards the selection of a Candidate for Parliament is taken the National Executive shall be consulted. No candidature can be promoted by an affiliated organisation until endorsed by the National Executive.

(d) In constituencies or divided boroughs where no Trades' Council or local Labour Party exists, or where in its opinion special circumstances warrant such action, the National Executive shall have power to promote a candidature.

(e) The expenses of Candidates for election to Parliament shall be borne by the organisation or organisations nominating the Candidates, with such financial assistance as the Central Fund can afford.

(f) The expenses of Candidates for election to local bodies shall be borne by the organisation or organisations nominating the Candidates. In special circumstances financial assistance may be given out of the Central Funds at the discretion of the National Executive.

(g) Candidates for election to Parliament must have been for not less than twelve months prior to the election, and if elected must continue to be, members in good standing of a Labour organisation eligible for affiliation to the Irish Labour Party and Trade Union Congress. They shall also pledge themselves to accept this Constitution, to agree to abide by the decisions of the National Congress and the National Executive in carrying out the aims of the Constitution, and to appear before their constituencies as " Labour Candidates " only.

(h) Candidates for election to Parliament and members of the 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 the Trade Union they represent; or Delegates to or officials of a Trades' Council or a local Labour Party recognised by the National Executive.

The names and addresses of the Delegates, together with the Delegates' fees, must be forwarded to the Secretary three weeks prior to the date fixed for the Annual Meeting.

3.—DELEGATION FEES.—A delegation fee of one pound (£1) for each Delegate attending the Annual Congress shall be paid. For Special Congresses such lesser fees as may be decided upon by the National Executive shall be paid.

All Fees—delegation and affiliation—and the expenses of Delegates attending Congress must be borne by the affiliated organisations.

4.—FINANCIAL YEAR.—The financial year shall end on the thirtieth day of June, and all affiliation fees shall be paid and accounts for the year closed on that date.

A Balance Sheet and Financial Statement shall be prepared, audited, and sent to the affiliated Societies at least seven days before the opening of the Annual Congress.

5.—CONGRESS ARRANGEMENTS SUB-COMMITTEE.—The National Executive shall appoint a Congress Arrangements Sub-Committee to act with the local Committee in the town where the next Congress is to meet, for the purpose of arranging the business of the Congress. This Sub-Committee shall be empowered to consider the Agenda before the Congress meets, to make suggestions to the Standing Orders Committee (to be appointed by the Congress) respecting the grouping or re-drafting of the Resolutions, and respecting any other matter which in their opinion will facilitate the business of the Congress.

6.—STANDING ORDERS COMMITTEE.—A Standing Orders Committee of five members shall be elected on the first day of the Congress from the Delegates present, and their duties shall be to :—

(a) Verify and report upon the credentials of the Delegates.

(b) Co-operate with the movers of Resolutions and Amendments, in order that composite Resolutions may be obtained whenever possible.

(c) Submit to the Chairman of Congress a programme of all propositions and amendments approved by them as being in accordance with Standing Orders, together with any suggestions for the proper conduct of the business of the Congress.

(d) Control the distribution of all literature.

(e) Transact any other special business not provided for in these Standing Orders.

They shall meet not later than half-an-hour prior to each sitting of Congress for the purpose of arranging the despatch of business and carrying through the Agenda. They shall report to Congress any violation of the Standing Orders that may be brought to their notice, together with any recommendations agreed upon.

7.—TELLERS AND SCRUTINEERS.—Three Delegates, or such other number as may be agreed upon at the time of election, shall be appointed as Tellers, whose duty shall be to count and record the votes on every occasion on which a division is taken. Their decision as to the numbers recorded on any vote shall be final. In cases where the Tellers disagree the Chairman shall order a recount.

Three or more delegates shall be appointed as Scrutineers. They shall be responsible for the arrangements for the election by ballot of the National Executive and Officers for the coming year. They shall take account of the number of ballot papers printed and distributed, shall, before the ballot is taken, destroy all unused ballot papers in excess of the number distributed to the delegates, and take such other steps as will ensure the validity of the election.

8.—METHOD OF VOTING.—The voting on resolutions shall be by show of hands, except when a proposition to be voted upon involves financial liability to the affiliated Societies, in which case a "card vote" may be demanded. Cards will be issued to delegates of Trade Unions on the basis of one card for every 250 members on which affiliation fees are paid; to Trades' Councils and local Labour Parties: one card to each delegate attending the Congress.

9.—RESOLUTIONS AND AMENDMENTS.—Propositions for the Congress Agenda must be signed by the authorised officials of the Organisations submitting them, and must reach the Secretary of Congress at least eight weeks before the meeting of Congress. They shall be printed and copies sent immediately to the Secretaries of affiliated organisations.

Amendments to the propositions on the Agenda must be sent to the Secretary in writing, endorsed by the authorised officials of the organisations submitting them, at least three weeks before the opening of Congress. They shall thereupon be printed and sent to the Secretaries of affiliated organisations immediately.

In order to ensure that important questions affecting Labour may not be omitted from the 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 in by affiliated organisations three weeks prior to the opening of Congress, the list of Nominees to be printed and sent to the Secretaries of affiliated organisations at the same time as the Final Agenda.

Not more than one delegate from any organisation shall be elected to membership of the National Executive, except that Trade Unions having a membership exceeding ten thousand shall be entitled, if elected by Congress, to one additional representative. This paragraph shall not apply to the election of officers.

Members of the National Executive shall attend the Congress by virtue of their office, and remain in attendance until the disposal of their Report. They shall not be entitled to vote unless they are duly qualified as delegates. If qualified as delegates they shall be eligible for re-election.

The officers for the year shall remain in office until the close of Congress.

13.—**MEETINGS AND QUORUM.**—The National Executive shall meet at least once a quarter, five members at any meeting to form a quorum.

14.—**NATIONAL EXECUTIVE REPORT.**—The Report of the National Executive, which shall have been transmitted to the delegates at least three days before the assembly of Congress, shall be presented and considered immediately following the Presidential address. The report shall be discussed paragraph by paragraph, each speaker being limited to five minutes on any one paragraph.

Interim reports of the activities of the National Executive shall be issued periodically throughout the year and sent to all affiliated bodies for their information and guidance. Consideration of the Balance Sheet and Statement of Accounts shall follow as the next business after the Annual Report is disposed of.

15.—APPOINTMENT OF AUDITORS.—Two Auditors for the succeeding year shall be appointed at the Annual Meeting, who shall have access to all the papers and documents relating to the income and expenditure of the National Executive.

16.—PUBLIC MEETINGS.—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.

A.	Page
Affiliation Fees Paid	257
Agricultural Labour	125
Amalgamation of Unions	211
ANTHONY, R. S. (<i>Typographical Association</i>), 81, 94, 110, 140,	154
Accounts and Balance Sheet, 1921-22	88, 173
Auditor's Report, 1921-22	90
Auditors, 1922-23	154
B.	
Banking and Credit	66
BARRY (<i>Limerick</i>)	81
BENNETT, MISS (<i>Women Workers</i>) 78, 112, 128, 139, 171, 190,	201, 208, 222, 226, 250
Belfast Printing Dispute	162
BENT, — (<i>I. E. U.</i>)	81
BERMINGHAM J. (<i>N. U. R.</i>) 78, 116, 138, 148, 188, 191, 198, 214,	221, 230
BONHAM W. (<i>Rathdowney</i>)	149
BOHAN J. (<i>I. T. G. W. U.</i>)	172
"Black List" of Non-Union Firms	247
BOYLE, T. (<i>Dublin Workers' Council</i>)	75, 93, 248, 255
BRADY, — (<i>Clonmel Trades Council</i>)	74
BRODER, MRS. (<i>Women Workers—Nurses' Section</i>)	228, 248
BROPHY, J. (<i>Woodworkers</i>)	94
BREATHNACH C. (<i>I. N. T. O.</i>)	112, 125
BUCHANAN G. (<i>Scottish Trade Union Congress</i>)	176
BURDEN, —	151
BYRNE, SEUMAS (<i>Insurance Workers</i>)	94, 244
Building Guilds	230
C.	
CALAHAN, MISS (<i>Distributive Workers</i>) 69, 71, 107, 151, 169,	191, 203, 245, 253
CAMPBELL, D. R. (<i>Belfast and District Trades Council</i>) 50, 72,	84, 95, 195
Canvassing for Public Employment	222
CARPENTER, WALTER (<i>Irish Garment Makers</i>) 73, 166, 167, 172	

	Page
CARR, J. (<i>Distributive Workers</i>)	120, 128, 225, 237, 243
CASEY J. (<i>Limerick Trades Council</i>)	226
CASSIDY, A. J. (<i>Railway Clerks' Association</i>)	73
Chairman's Address (C. O'Shannon)	57, 95
Censorship of Press	110
Children, Save the Fund	11
Children, Health of	66, 238
Chairman (see under O'Shannon, Cathal)	
Competitive Examinations for Public Servants	227
Compulsory Half-Holiday	243
Compulsory Tillage	65
Condolence, Vote of, on Deaths during Military Operations	109
Co-operative Printing Works	246
Constitution of Labour Party	271
Constitution of Saorstat Eireann	167
COLLINS, J. (<i>Furnishing Trades</i>)	150, 250
COONEY E. (<i>Grocers and Vintners</i>)	168, 188, 190
Councils Affiliated	257
CHENEVIX, MISS (<i>Women Workers</i>)	70
Cost of Living	65, 122, 160, 163
CULLEN, MISS (<i>Women Workers</i>)	94
CULLEN, DENIS (<i>Bakers, Confectioners, and Allied Workers</i>)	114, 137
CURRAN, P. J. (<i>I.T.G.W.U.</i>)	225
CUNNINGHAM, — (<i>Roscrea</i>)	126, 151
CUMMINS, — (<i>Central Teachers</i>)	80, 84

D

Dail, Authority of	26
Dail, Postponement of	34, 181, 182
Dail, Proposed Conference of Members...	37
DALY, P. T. (<i>Amalgamated Transport Union</i>)	129, 133, 153, 157, 199
DAVIN, W. (<i>Railway Clerks' Association</i>)	81, 95, 118, 205
Delegates, List of	257
DOWLING, W. J. (<i>Postal Workers</i>)	112, 153, 174, 214
DUFFY, L. J. (<i>Distributive Workers</i>)	121, 130, 193, 205, 206, 244, 247, 251, 254
Dublin Building Guild	230, 231
Disputes, Inter-Union	209

E.

Education	101, 237
Education and Health of Children	66, 238
Election, General	39, 157
Election Programme	46, 59, 64

Election Finance	53, 169
Election Successes	106
Executive, National (see under National Executive)	

F.

FORAN, THOMAS (<i>I.T.G.W.U.</i>)	74, 86, 196, 207, 212, 219, 222, 242
FARREN, THOMAS (<i>Dublin Workers' Council</i>)	85, 92, 245, 255
Fair Wages in Public Contracts	251
FITZGERALD P. (<i>I.E.U.</i>)	84
FITZGERALD, E. (<i>Woodworkers</i>)	149, 198
FITZGIBBON, P. (<i>Civil Service</i>)	113
Fraternal Delegates	154, 175

G.

GAULE, — (<i>Arklow Trades Council</i>)	76
General Strike (Proposed)	151
General Election	39, 253
GILLOWAY, J. G. (<i>Distributive Workers</i>)	172, 253
GILL, T. H. (<i>Railway Clerks' Association</i>)	128
Governmental Repression	103
GRADY, T.	226
Guild System	230, 231, 235

H.

Half-Holiday, Compulsory	243
HART, E. P. (<i>Amalgamated Transport Union</i>)	74, 142, 144, 192
HARBISON, JOHN (<i>Irish National Teachers</i>)	255
HICKEY, J. (<i>I.T.G.W.U.</i>)	148, 156, 167, 191, 240
HILL, — (<i>I.T.G.W.U., Cork</i>)	255
HANRATTY, — (<i>I.T.G.W.U.</i>)	94
Haulbowline Dockyard	48
Housing	65
HOUSTON, D. (<i>I.T.G.W.U.</i>)	95, 169, 224, 227, 245
HUGHES, J. (<i>Clerical Workers</i>)	76

I.

Importation, and Effects on Home Industries	131
Inter-Union Disputes	209
IRWIN, THOMAS (<i>Plasterers' Trade Union and Dublin Workers' Council</i>)	76, 145, 194, 231, 248
IRVINE T. (<i>Post Office Workers</i>)	164
Irish Trade Unions	239
Italy	235
India	178

J.

JOHNSON, THOMAS (<i>Secretary</i>)	111, 114, 132, 133, 150, 155, 158, 161, 173, 187, 197, 206, 218, 251, 252
--------------------------------------	--

K.

KELLY, C. P. (<i>Postal Workers</i>)	.... 70, 86
KELLY, MISS (<i>Women Workers</i>)	.... 202
KENNEDY, T. (<i>I.T.G.W.U.</i>)	.... 69, 95
KEYES, — (<i>Limerick Trades' Council</i>)	.... 71

L.

Labour Day	.... 51
Labour Party—Election Contests	.... 53, 106, 169, 250
Labour Party on Public Boards	.... 222, 223
Labour Party and Proposed Resignations from Dail	.... 181
Labour Party and Republican War Policy	.... 38, 156
Labour Party and Anti-Militarism	.... 25
Labour Party and Peace	.... 23
Labour Party and Plebiscite	.... 41
Labour Party Election Programme	.... 46
Labour Party Manifestoes	.... 19, 23, 25
LARKIN, L. J. (<i>Waterford Workers' Council</i>)	.... 204, 217, 233
LAWLOR, ALDERMAN T. (<i>Municipal Employeess</i>)	.... 132, 152
LINEHAN, M. P. (<i>I.T.G.W.U.</i>)	.... 151
LYNCH, E. (<i>I.T.G.W.U.</i>)	.... 119
LYNCH, G. (<i>Dundalk Trades' Council</i>)	140, 152, 169, 200, 247, 251
LYNCH, J. J. (<i>Painters</i>)	.... 147
LORD MAYOR OF DUBLIN (Laurence O'Neill)	.... 92, 135

M.

MAGEE, — (<i>I.E.U.</i>)	.... 84
MALLON, J. (<i>I.T.G.W.U.</i>)	.... 125
MANSFIELD, E. (<i>I.N.T.O.</i>)	.... 125, 164
Manifestoes of National Executive	.... 19, 23, 25
MAHER, R. (<i>I.T.G.W.U.</i>)	.... 139, 245
Militarism	.... 25, 100, 102
MITCHELL, J. (<i>Auto Drivers</i>)	.... 83, 111, 148, 158, 172
Meat—Waterford Factory	.... 131
METCALFE, — (<i>I.T.G.W.U.</i>)	.... 94
Mothers' Pensions	.... 66
MOLONY, MISS (<i>Women Workers</i>)	.... 69, 117, 147, 172
Membership of Trade Unions and Councils	.... 257
MULLIN, E. (<i>Ballina Trades' Council</i>)	.... 86
MACPARTLIN, T. (<i>Woodworkers</i>)	123, 139, 144, 154, 159, 189, 206, 219, 234, 242, 253

	Page
MACPARTLIN, T. (Resignation from Chairmanship)	13
MCCABE, J. (<i>I.T.G.W.U.</i>)	94, 95
MCCORMACK, P. (<i>Grocers and Vintners</i>)	188, 190
MCGOWAN, J. (<i>Postal Workers</i>)	119, 211
McKEON, J. (<i>N.U.R.</i>)	219
McMULLAN, W. (<i>I.T.G.W.U.</i>)	163
Munitions of War Fund	13
McPHILLIPS, P. J. (<i>Postal Union</i>)	114, 120, 138, 213, 246

N.

National Executive for 1922-23	2
National Executive Report	3, 114
National Executive, Proposed Enlargement of	201
National Executive Manifestoes	23
National Executive, Members' Attendances and Expenses	91
National Executive, Proposed Election by P.R. System	173, 192
National Executive, 1922-23 Election Result	174
Nationalisation of Irish Railways	65, 228
Northern Government and Railways	119
National Banking and Credit	66
NASON, GEORGE (<i>Cork Trades' Council</i>)	69, 249
NORTON, W. (<i>Postal Union</i>)	246

O.

O'BRIEN, ALDERMAN WM. (<i>I.T.G.W.U.</i>) 77, 81, 82, 109,	
132, 182, 188, 192, 202, 228	
O'BRIEN, SEAMUS (<i>I.T.G.W.U.</i>)	201
O'CARROLL, E. (<i>Railway Clerks' Association</i>)	74
O'SHANNON, CATHAL (<i>Chairman</i>) 77, 81, 86, 92, 93, 109, 113,	
137, 140, 144, 148, 154, 155, 157, 158, 160, 181, 182, 193,	
198, 200, 243, 254	
O'CONNELL, T. J. (<i>I.N.T.O.</i>)	108, 218, 233
O'CONNOR, MISS (<i>Women Workers</i>) 95, 131, 207, 222, 224, 230,	
244, 248	
O'FARRELL, JOHN T. (<i>Railway Clerks' Association</i>) 79, 115,	
152, 169, 228, 240, 248	
O'FARRELL, — (<i>Vehicle Workers</i>)	75
O'NEILL, LAURENCE, Lord Mayor of Dublin	92, 135
O'NEILL, JOSEPH (<i>I.T.G.W.U.</i>)	94, 151
Office Arrangements	169
Organisation....	203

P.

Peace, Efforts for	21, 24, 33, 138
Public Boards, Disqualification of Members for Public	
Employment	223

	Page
Pensions of Poor Law Officials	246
Pensions for Mothers	66
PARKES, F. (<i>Postal Workers</i>)	209, 213
Plebiscite on Treaty	41
Postal Commission	9, 119
Post Office Unions	209
Propaganda	101
Press Censorship	110
Programme of Labour Party at Elections	46
Proportional Representation, Application to Election of National Executive	173, 192
POPE, W. A. (<i>I.E.U.</i>)	95
Printing Dispute in Belfast	162
Printing, Co-operative Works	246
Public Boards, Labour Representation	222

Q.

QUINN, P. J. (<i>I.N.T.O.</i>)	159, 190
----------------------------------	----------

R.

Railway Nationalisation	65, 228
Railways Commission	8, 114, 115
Railways in North-East	119
Railway Workers' Demands	116
Railwaymen's Wages and Conditions	7, 116
Republican War Policy	38, 156
Report of National Executive	3, 114
Resignation of Chairman (Mr. T. MacPartlin)	13
Reconstruction (Proposals of National Executive)	17, 124
Representation of Minorities on National Executive	194
RIDGEWAY, C. (<i>I.T.G.W.U.</i>)	145
ROBBINS, F. (<i>I.T.G.W.U.</i>)	81, 84
ROONEY, P. J. (<i>Clerical Workers</i>)	81
Russian Famine	10
RUSSELL, GEORGE ("Æ"), Letter from	235
RYAN, T. (<i>I.T.G.W.U.</i>)	129

S.

"Save the Children" Fund	11
SAKLATVALA, S. (<i>Workers' Welfare League of India</i>)	178
Scottish Trade Union Congress	50, 176
Scrutineers, Election of	135
SECRETARY (see under Johnson, Thomas)	
Selection of Candidates (Election)	46, 158
Secretaries, List of	257

SOMERVILLE, M. (<i>Woodworkers</i>)	....	....	95, 169
Shops Act, Enforcement of	....	....	252
School Buildings	....	....	238
Standing Orders Committee	....	57, 95, 128, 153, 169, 181,	277
Strike, Proposed General	....	....	151

T.

Tellers at Congress, Election of	....	....	94
Tillage	....	....	126
TOOMEY, J. (<i>I. E. U.</i>)	....	....	156, 242
Trade Union Congresses (List of previous Congresses and Officers)	....	....	270
Trade Union Organisation	....	....	51, 160
Treaty Negotiations	....	....	18, 137
TOBIN, T. (<i>N. U. R.</i>)	....	....	94, 163
Truce with British	....	....	18

U.

Unemployment	....	13, 15, 17, 49, 65, 128,	187
Unemployment Insurance Allowance	....	....	248
Unity of Unions	....	....	100
Unions and Councils Affiliated	....	....	257

W.

Wage Movements	....	....	51, 160
Wage Reductions	....	....	98
Waterford Dead Meat Scheme	....	....	131
WALSH J. C. (<i>Scottish Trade Union Congress</i>)	....	....	175
WARD, T. (<i>N. U. R.</i>)	....	117, 198, 216, 241,	248
WHITE, P. (<i>Wexford Trades' Council</i>)	....	....	77
WHITLEY, H. T. (<i>Typographical Association</i>)	....	81, 82, 86,	162
WELDON, J. P. (<i>Woodworkers</i>)	....	....	94, 232
WHELAN, W. J. (<i>Typographical Society, Dublin</i>)	....	....	163