

Cualláct Oibre Éireann ir Comhairle na Ceáir
Irish Labour Party and Trade Union Congress

TWENTY-NINTH ANNUAL REPORT

INCLUDING THE

Report of the National Executive
For 1922-1923

And the Report of the Proceedings of
the Twenty-ninth Annual Meeting
held in the Mansion House,
Dublin, 6th, 7th, 8th, and
9th August, 1923

*Published by Authority of the National Executive
32 Lower Abbey Street, Dublin.*

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Report of the National Executive Irish Labour Party and Trade Union Congress

National Executive, 1923-1924

ELECTED AUGUST, 1923

Chairman :

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

Vice-Chairman :

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

Secretary :

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

Treasurer :

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

Committee :

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

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

THOMAS FARREN, Senator (Dublin Workers' Council).

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

MICHAEL HILL (Irish Transport and General Workers' Union, Cork).

LUKE J. LARKIN (Workers' Council, Waterford).

THOS. J. O'CONNELL, T.D. (Irish National Teachers' Organization).

JOHN T. O'FARRELL, Senator (Railway Clerks' Association).

MICHAEL SOMERVILLE (Amalgamated Society of Woodworkers).

ALEX. STEWART (Trades' Council, Belfast).

Report of the National Executive for the Year 1922-1923.

1. In submitting a report of the year's work we have confined ourselves to giving a plain record of work done, without including recommendations which would be adopted automatically with the adoption of the Report.

I.—THE STATE OF THE COUNTRY.

2. In view of the improved conditions of affairs and the state of peace which appears now to have been entered upon, we do not think it advisable to recount in detail the various activities of the Executive, arising out of the strife and warfare of the last year. We feel that the tragedies that would be recalled by recounting the many activities of the Executive in these matters would tend to excite antipathies and vengeful feelings. We therefore leave these questions untouched in this report.

II.—RELATIONS BETWEEN UNIONS.

Amalgamation of Unions.

3. The National Executive invited the Executive of the Irish National Union of Vintners', Grocers', and Allied Trades' Assistants to meet them to discuss a resolution of their Conference asking the National Executive to take steps towards bringing the Unions catering for distributive workers more closely together. The meeting took place on October 8th. The Union deputation explained that their ultimate aim was a single Union to include all distributive workers, but they thought some plan of federation of Unions at present catering for distributive workers would be the best course. They wanted advice and assistance from the National Executive, and had no definite scheme to suggest. The members of the National Executive explained that federation had not generally been successful in leading to unification, and frequently had rather retarded it. It was agreed that the National Executive should consider the matter further, with a view to calling a conference of the Unions concerned at a later date.

Inter-Union Disputes.

4. At last year's Congress two resolutions were moved, one by the Irish Postal Workers' Union, and one by the National Union of Railwaymen, both alleging unfair practices on the part of other Unions. After discussion these resolutions were both withdrawn, on the understanding that the National Executive would intervene.

POSTAL UNIONS.

5. In the case of the Postal Workers' Union it was found unnecessary for the National Executive to take any action, because, immediately after the cessation of the Postal strike, the several Unions entered into negotiations for amalgamation. This amalgamation has now been attained, and the Unions concerned are to be congratulated upon the result of their efforts in this respect.

NATIONAL UNION OF RAILWAYMEN AND IRISH TRANSPORT AND GENERAL WORKERS' UNION.

6. In this case we append a copy of the report of the Subcommittee, appointed to hear the case, which was subsequently adopted by the National Executive:—

(1) The Committee appointed by the National Executive—Messrs. L. J. Duffy (in the Chair), M. Somerville, T. J. O'Connell, D. Cullen and Thomas Johnson, Secretary—met representatives of both Unions on March 22nd, 1923.

(2) The N.U.R. was represented by Messrs. Jas. Bermingham, Kavanagh and Kenny, Inchicore.

(3) The I.T. & G.W.U. was represented by Messrs. Thomas Foran and Geo. Spain. Mr. Foran arrived after the case had been discussed.

(4) The resolution of the N.U.R., submitted to the Trade Union Congress last August (reported on page 214 of the Congress Report, 1922), formed the terms of reference.

(5) All the relevant correspondence in the case was placed before us and the matter therein fully discussed.

(6) The cause of the dispute arose out of the fact that two men in particular (Messrs. Noonan and Murphy) who were locked-out at the time of the dock dispute with the L. & N.W. Rly. Co., were unable to obtain employment in jobs controlled by the I.T. & G.W.U. Noonan, who was an unemployed checker, obtained employment at Messrs. Wordie's, and Murphy at Goulding's Chemical Works. Both had clear cards in the N.U.R. The N.U.R. contended that, having cards of any Trade Union, men should be entitled to obtain work anywhere.

(7) The I.T. & G.W.U. argued that members of their own Union involved in the same dispute were not permitted to take up work in outside firms, and that their Admission Committee were not prepared to permit new men into those jobs while men properly belonging to the job were actually unemployed.

(8) Other cases in certain other jobs were cited by the N.U.R. in proof of their contention that the I.T. & G.W.U. were not willing to permit their members to obtain employment in jobs controlled by the latter Union.

(9) In our opinion the case advanced by the N.U.R. falls under two heads: (a) That the I.T. & G.W.U. should have permitted Messrs. Noonan and Murphy, because they possessed N.U.R. cards, to obtain employment at Wordie's and Goulding's respectively, or alternatively that they should be permitted to continue at work and be accepted on transfer by the I.T. & G.W.U., and (b) that any man with a Union card should be free to work any job, whether his card was issued by the Union controlling the job or not.

(10) We have given careful attention to both claims. In respect of the case made on behalf of the two men, Noonan and Murphy, we are satisfied that the I.T. & G.W.U., having prevented their own members who were involved in the L. & N.W. Rly. dispute taking up outside jobs, had no alternative but prevent members of other Unions, locked out because of this dock dispute, taking up other jobs. No Union involved in a similar dispute would have acted otherwise in the circumstances. To act otherwise would have been fatal, and if it resulted in a stampede amongst the members of its own Union, a likely contingency, would have disastrous effects upon the morale of the men and prejudice their chances of success in their dispute. We, therefore, hold the I.T. & G.W.U. were fully justified in preventing the men in question taking up work in both Wordie's and Goulding's.

(11) As regards the general principle raised in the course of the proceedings set out in paragraph 9 (b) above we must in present circumstances hold with the I.T. & G.W.U. We have not reached a stage, and are not likely to for some time, when a Union can safely permit everybody presenting any Union card to take up a job anywhere. If the principle was generally admitted it would, in existing circumstances, inflict great hardship on many groups of workers who have, as the result of much sacrifice, obtained a standard of life that they consider essential. It would periodically flood certain callings with workers from other less favourable employments. Many men would prefer to reap the advantages of other people's sacrifice than struggle to raise the status of their own employment. Men who are unwilling to pay more than a few pence a week to their own Union would avail of the claim of the N.U.R. to billet themselves on the efforts of their less selfish comrades, who have, at much personal sacrifice and as the result

of great cost to themselves, maintained a fighting Union. For these reasons, we cannot agree that any Trade Union card should afford access to any and every Union job.

Signed :

L. J. DUFFY, Chairman.

T. J. O'CONNELL.

D. CULLEN.

M. SOMERVILLE.

IRISH TRANSPORT AND GENERAL WORKERS' UNION AND IRISH UNION OF DISTRIBUTIVE WORKERS AND CLERKS.

7. A misunderstanding having arisen between these two Unions in reference to a dispute *re* employees of Woolworth's, Limerick, the National Executive was requested to intervene with a view to arriving at an amicable arrangement between the two Unions. Mr. T. J. O'Connell, representing the National Executive, presided over the Conference, and a complete agreement was arrived at between the two Unions on the subject in question.

IRISH TRANSPORT AND GENERAL WORKERS' UNION AND THE IRISH NATIONAL UNION OF GROCERS', VINTNERS' AND ALLIED TRADES' ASSISTANTS.

8. A dispute arose between these Unions respecting the organization of shop assistants employed by the London and Newcastle Tea Co., Dublin, and Archer and Co., Dublin. It was decided to refer the matter to a Sub-Committee of the National Executive, both parties agreeing to abide by the decision of the Committee. The report of the Committee, after a review of the evidence, concludes with the following findings:—

“ Had the Grocers' Assistants' Union been the complainants in this case we would find no difficulty in arriving at a definite decision. They were invited, at the hearing of the case, with the connivance of the representatives of the I.T. & G.W. Union, to assume the rôle of complainants, but for some unexplained reason refused. We feel, therefore, that we have to determine a result, rather than a cause, which resolves itself into the question: ‘Are the Grocers' Assistants entitled to picket a shop as a demonstration against non-Union labour when the staff are actually members of another Union?’ To determine this question we think it our duty to examine the cause of the present issue, although we are not called upon to give a decision concerning it.

“ It is clear beyond doubt that the staffs in the London and Newcastle Tea Co. were repeatedly urged to become members of the Grocers' Assistants' Union, but refused to do so. Their refusal was to some extent influenced by the Manager of the firm, who

was not paying Trade Union wages, and for his own ends desired the staff would not join this Union. Beyond doubt the Grocers' Assistants' Union controls the bulk of this type of shop, and have succeeded in standardising conditions in them. They had a right to enforce membership of their Union in the shop in question, and with the exception of some indiscretions, of which their Mr. Gallagher appears to be guilty, they displayed great patience in doing so. For four years they urged these girls—five in number—to join the Union. The girls kept refusing. One of the girls who gave evidence stated that on principle they objected to joining the Union. Clearly she had no Trade Union outlook whatever, and her 'principle' was largely dictated by the Manager's wishes in the matter. Even when stating her evidence she displayed very real anxiety because her Manager was, on one occasion, referred to in a manner that she deprecated.

"It appears that an Agreement exists between the Grocers' Assistants' Union and the Employers' Association, which provides that all Assistants shall be members of the Union. The firm in this case, while invoking the aid of their Association to resist the Union's claim, have ignored their portion of the Agreement, which is binding on them as members of the Association.

"We believe that if the applications of these girls had, in the first instance, been placed before the Admission Committee of the I.T. & G.W. Union, which had before them the Grocers' Assistants' letter of the 24th May, 1922, the application for membership would have been refused. In the circumstances we think the Transport Union can be of little service to a few isolated Grocery Assistants, here and there, and the assistants who come to them in such circumstances will be of infinitely less service to the Transport Union. If every group of members who are pressed to become members of the Union operating in their trade can at the last moment find refuge in some other Union, after having for years evaded their responsibility to the Movement, we believe that the Movement as a whole will be permanently injured. We need hardly refer to the temperament of these people who join one Union to avoid, and indeed, to deceive, the other that forced them to become members of a Union, and even after having joined refused to produce their cards as proof that they were members. That attitude, coupled with the fact that three Branches of the I.T. & G.W. Union emphatically stated that they were not members, justified the Grocers' Assistants' Union in picketing the shop.

"We are satisfied that the I.T. & G.W.U., with its record, would not have accepted these girls as members had they been aware of the facts on June 24th, but would aid the Grocers' Assistants' Union in forcing them to become members of that Union. We think still that is the policy that should be pursued now, but as no claim came before us from the Grocers' Assistants we refrain from further commenting on this aspect of the case

"We do find that the acceptance of these five girls by the I.T. & G.W. Union, on the 24th June, 1922, was irregular; that they rightly belong to the Grocers' Assistants; that it is in the employer's interest to pit one section of the workers against the other; that these girls joined the I.T. & G.W.U. to serve this desire and this interest; that when the picket was placed on the shop the Grocers' Assistants' Union had no proof that the Assistants were members of a Union; that their hostility to the latter justified the belief that they were 'bluffing,' and in the circumstances we are unable to direct the discontinuance of the picket."

MENTAL HOSPITAL WORKERS' UNION AND IRISH TRANSPORT AND GENERAL WORKERS' UNION.

9. A complaint was received from the Irish Mental Hospital Workers' Union respecting the action of the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union taking into membership the staffs of Grangegorman and Portrane Asylums, which staffs had been organised by the Mental Hospital Workers' Union (previously the Irish Asylum Workers' Union), and asking the National Executive to put into operation the Resolution of the Trades Union Congress of 1921 regarding "Inter-Union Disputes—Court of Appeal." The Executive decided to accede to this request. The following is the report of the Sub-Committee appointed, which was confirmed by the National Executive:—

Re the Mental Hospital Workers' Union v. I.T. & G.W.U.

"Having made a complaint that their members were being poached by the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union, the Mental Hospital Workers' Union asked that the resolution of Congress providing that such matters be referred to a tribunal arranged by the National Executive be given effect to in this case. The National Executive accordingly appointed a Sub-Committee of Messrs. Somerville, Cullen, O'Connell, Duffy and Johnson to constitute the tribunal suggested.

"The first meeting of this Sub-Committee, to which representatives of both Unions were invited, was held on June 8th. Four representatives of the Mental Hospital Workers were in attendance. There was no appearance on behalf of the I.T. & G.W.U. As both parties had been invited by letter it was decided to proceed with the Inquiry in the absence of representatives of the latter Union.

"Mr. O'Connor, for the Mental Hospital Workers, proceeded to state that, following a request from their Cork branch that a vote of their entire membership be taken to ascertain if amalgamation with the I.T. & G.W.U. was favoured by their members, the Cork Branch, in 1921, transferred *en bloc* to the I.T. & G.W.U.

His Executive did not lodge any complaint in that case. Later he learnt that Grangegorman Branch had decided by a majority to transfer to the I.T. & G.W.U., but as a matter of fact only a proportion, which, however, was a majority of the Branch, eventually transferred. Finally, Portrane Branch held a meeting for the purpose of transferring over to the I.T. & G.W.U., but the meeting was only attended by a minority of the Branch. That minority actually transferred. A larger number continued membership of their Union, and some of the Staff were not members of any Union. He urged that the members in Grangegorman and Portrane had been poached by the I.T. & G.W.U., and that the latter made no effort to ascertain the wishes of his Union in the matter of the financial position of the people transferring. He asked the Committee to hold with him that their members in Grangegorman and Portrane should be handed back to the Mental Hospital Workers' Union; or, as an alternative, if the Committee held against him on that point, that those who transferred be compelled to pay up all arrears owing by them to the Mental Hospital Workers' Union at the time they joined the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union.

"When the Committee again met to consider the decision they learnt that the notice calling the first meeting was not delivered to the Executive of the I.T. & G.W.U., that it was addressed to the General Secretary of that Organization, and apparently was delivered to him, but that it had not reached the Executive. They were also aware that on the date on which the first meeting was held a crisis had arisen at the Head Office of the I.T. & G.W.U., and it was considered the representatives of the Union should be afforded another opportunity of attending before the Committee to meet charges made against them by the Mental Hospital Workers. It was therefore decided to call a further meeting, and that both parties be again invited to attend with the Committee who were inquiring into the allegations.

"When the further meeting assembled, correspondence showing that the Mental Hospital Workers' Union refused to attend was read. The Mental Hospital Workers claimed that as the I.T. & G.W.U. was not represented at the first conference it was contrary to legal precedent to afford them another opportunity of attending. The Committee, however, felt that they were not bound by any legal precedent or technicalities in a matter of this kind, and that their function consisted in arriving at the truth and pronouncing upon the equity of the case, rather than in following legal technicalities.

"When the representatives of the Transport Workers' Union got an opportunity of being present they produced correspondence which passed between their officials and the officials of the Mental Hospital Workers' Union prior to the acceptance of the members' of the latter Union by the I.T. & G.W.U.

"From this correspondence it appeared that the negotiations took place not at the request of the Transport Workers' Union but under pressure from officials of the Mental Hospital Workers' Union. It appeared also that some of these officials were highly placed, and one of those who actually transferred with the Grangeegorman Staff was the National Treasurer of the Mental Hospital Workers' Union. There is no doubt in our minds that the Transport Workers' Union believed they were acting bona-fide, and that they were under the impression the officials with whom they were dealing had authority to make the necessary arrangements with them. It is, however, undesirable that a Union of this importance should depart from the usual practice of carrying on negotiations of this nature directly with the National Officers and Executive of the Union concerned. Of course, it must be admitted that the fact of Cork Branch transferring to the Transport Workers' Union in 1921 without any protest against the transfer being made by the Mental Hospital Workers, and that amongst those who transferred at Grangeegorman were all the local officials and an Executive officer, would somewhat tend to justify the contention that the Executive of the Mental Hospital Workers' Union acquiesced in the arrangements made by the individual Branches themselves.

"In face of these facts, we submit to the National Executive the following findings:—

"(a) The apathy of the Mental Hospital Workers' Union at the time of the transfer of their Cork members gave some show of reality to the assumption of the I.T. & G.W.U., that each Branch had local autonomy in the matter.

"(b) Notwithstanding this fact the I.T. & G.W.U. were not justified as a general principle in dealing exclusively with the Branches, and that they should have consulted the Executive of the Mental Hospital Workers' Union.

"(c) At this stage, and in view of the relationship that existed previous to the transfer between the Mental Hospital Workers' Union and their members in the Branches concerned, it would not be in the interest of organization amongst Mental Hospital Workers to now order their return to their former Union.

"(d) In the case of Portrane, machinery should be set up to provide either:—

"(1) A working agreement between the two Unions; or

"(2) The complete organization of the institution by one or other of the Unions, in accordance with the wishes of the majority of the employees. If, in the latter event, all the staff revert back to the Mental Hospital Workers' Union, arrangements should be made to provide:—

"(3) A working agreement between both Unions, so as to secure co-operation and a unification of policy concerning the administration of the Grangegorman and Portrane Institutions.

"(e) We hold, with the Mental Hospital Workers' Union, that all arrears of contributions due by the members who have transferred over to the Transport Workers' Union up to the date at which they were actually taken over should be paid by the transferees, and we recommend that the amount of such arrears be collected and handed over to the Mental Hospital Workers' Union."

L. J. DUFFY, Chairman.

M. SOMERVILLE.

T. J. O'CONNELL.

D. CULLEN.

THOMAS JOHNSON, Secretary.

III.—UNEMPLOYMENT.

10. The gravity of the situation in regard to unemployment has been repeatedly pressed upon the Government, both in the Oireachtas and in connection with the Reconstruction and Development Commission. (See the sections of this Report dealing with work in the Oireachtas and with Government Commissions and Committees.) In October, 1922, the National Executive gave special consideration to the unemployment created by the attacks on the railways, but it was found that the matter was already being dealt with by the Railway Unions and the Government.

Unemployment Benefit Administration.

11. In November, 1922, it was decided to circularize Trades' and Workers' Councils in order to ascertain whether, and in what way, the administration of Unemployment Benefit at local Employment Exchanges was unsatisfactory. The replies showed that on the whole the administration was satisfactory. A number of complaints as to the conduct of Courts of Referees and the refusal of benefit in particular cases have been brought to the notice of the Ministry of Industry and Commerce during the year. It is fair to say that the Ministry has shown itself very ready to receive complaints, and anxious to give redress where possible.

Unemployment Insurance Act, 1923.

12. The Government's Bill was considered by the National Executive on April 30th, and their views were transmitted to the Labour Party in the Dáil. (See the section of this Report dealing with work in the Oireachtas.)

IV.—HEALTH INSURANCE.

13. As the change of Government would clearly have a considerable effect on the administration of National Health Insurance, the National Executive set up a Sub-Committee, in January of this year, to enquire into changes in the Health Insurance System that might be desirable. The Committee had hardly begun its work when it became clear that special consideration would have to be given to the position of Trade Unionists resident in Saorstát Éireann, who were members for Health Insurance purposes of Trade Unions with Headquarters in the Six Counties and in Great Britain. It was learned that there would have to be a compulsory transfer of all such members to Irish Societies, to take effect from July 1st. The National Executive could not contemplate the transfer of these Trade Unionists to Irish societies which had no connection with the Labour movement, and it seemed probable that special steps would require to be taken in order to enable them to become members of some Irish Trade Union Insurance organization. Conferences of the larger Unions concerned were, therefore, convened by the National Executive on March 5th and April 17th. The Conferences agreed that it would not be practicable or wise for each group of transferring Trade Unionists to try to form separate new Approved Societies, nor was it practicable to transfer them to existing Irish Trade Union Societies. Accordingly the National Executive undertook the responsibility of forming a new Society, to which the Irish membership of all the Unions concerned could be transferred. In one or two cases, such as those of the Railwaymen and Postal Workers, where the numbers were fairly large and the circumstances somewhat exceptional, separate Societies are understood to have been formed. The great bulk of Cross-Channel members have now become members of the

Irish Trade Union Congress Health Insurance Society,

which commenced actual business as from July 2nd with a membership of 8,108 derived from twenty-seven Unions. There is every prospect that the new Society will be flourishing and prosperous, and that it will be able, in conjunction with already existing Irish Trade Union Approved Societies, to exercise a considerable influence upon the administration of National Health Insurance.

The Society must necessarily be an independent, self-governing organization ; but care has been taken in the framing of its rules to enable the Society to remain in close touch with the National Executive by facilitating the election of a small number of members of the National Executive to the Committee of Management of the Society.

It was not possible in the circumstances under which the compulsory transfer took place to make any attempt towards amalgamating the Irish Trade Union Societies into a single large organization, or even to transfer to the new Society Trade Unionists who were members of an existing Irish Non-Trade Union Society. The Labour Party in Dáil Eireann were, however, able to secure an amendment to the Health Insurance Bill dealing with the Cross-Channel transfers, which will facilitate individual transfers, and so enable the transferred Trade Unionist, who has now become a member of a Non-Trade Union Society, to join the new Society. The larger question of the amalgamation of all Trade Union Societies is, of course, one of considerable complexity and importance, and will require to be considered in the future.

V.—TRADE BOARDS.

14. On the initiative of the Irish Women Workers' Union the National Executive convened a Conference of Unions concerned with the administration of Trade Boards. Three meetings were held, the Unions represented being the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union, the Irish Union of Distributive Workers and Clerks, the Irish Garment Makers' Industrial Union, and the Irish Women Workers' Union. An agreement was arrived at that the Unions should co-operate in making the best use possible of the Trade Boards. It was decided to press upon the Ministry of Industry and Commerce :—

1. The necessity for maintaining the system of Trade Boards, more especially in the badly organized and lower paid industries.

2. That more inspectors, more especially persons having some knowledge of the trades affected, should be appointed.

3. That the present method of selecting "appointed members" should be altered so as to provide for the drawing up of a panel of persons nominated by the national organizations representative of employers and employed, the persons so nominated to be submitted to each side with a view to eliminating objectionable names. The resulting list to be the panel from which the "appointed members" would be selected.

4. It was further agreed that the Millinery trade should be transferred from the "Hat, Cap, and Millinery Board" to the "Dressmaking and Women's Light Clothing Board," this plan being preferable to setting up a new Board for the Millinery Trade.

5. Where Industrial Councils exist in any industry, registered by the Minister for Industry, and have agreed upon any matters which are at present within the purview of the Trade Boards, such agreements should have the effect of an Order made by a Trade Board.

6. Where children are sent from an Industrial School to be apprenticed to a Trade in which a Trade Board is operating, it should be obligatory upon the school authorities to inform the Trade Board where the boy or girl is being placed, so that the Board may be enabled to enforce the Trade Board conditions.

VI.—GOVERNMENT CONTRACTS AND CIVILIANS ON MILITARY WORK.

Civilians on Military Work.

15. A number of complaints were received respecting the policy of the military authorities in compelling men working in Barracks on civilian work to attest. A Conference of representatives of Trade Unions was called to consider this matter, and was held at the Mansion House, Dublin, on the 4th November, 1922. The discussion centred round the three items:—

1. Civilians working as civilians under military roofs.
2. Civilians required to attest before they could carry out their work, and
3. The situation created by the formation of the Railway Protection Corps.

Forty-three delegates attended, representing twenty-eight Unions and Councils. A general discussion took place, in the course of which it appeared that the Railway Protection Corps had been inaugurated as a result of representations made by Trade Unionists working on the Southern Railways, who had been disemployed by the destruction of the lines. The terms of enlistment in this Corps had been approved by the Trade Unions chiefly affected. The case of men working on civilian work on military premises who were being obliged to attest was considered to be in a different light, and it was decided by the Conference that approaches should be made to the Government by the National Executive, in conjunction with the representatives of the Unions affected, to have matters placed on a proper footing. Subsequently Conferences were held: first, between representatives of the Unions primarily concerned, and, second, between representatives of that joint Conference with the Minister for Industry and Commerce, the Minister for Defence and the Chief of Staff of the Army. The Trade Union case was fully argued, and in the course

of the discussion the Minister for Defence pointed out that they had found it necessary for disciplinary reasons, to make a rule that all the internal work of the Army Barracks and Camps should be done by men who were under the authority of the Army. He assured the deputation that this was intended to meet the then present emergency only; that there was certainly no sinister purpose, and that they had no intention of weakening or interfering with the safeguards which Trade Unionists had evolved to protect their interests. If any points of difficulty arose, and the Trade Unions would bring them before the Army authorities, either by personal discussion or by memoranda, the Minister for Defence promised that such representations would receive the closest possible consideration. It was also agreed by the Minister for Defence that if at any time any development or change in the Army policy respecting civilian labour took place, such change would be notified to the Secretary of the Congress. He also said that he did not see any reason why permits should not be granted to Trade Union officials to enter Barracks where work was being done by civilians in the employment of contractors.

On the suggestion of the Chief of Staff that the Trades connected with the Transport Section should meet the officers in charge of that section, a conference was arranged to be held subsequently between those officers and the Unions concerned.

Fair Wages on Government Contracts.

16. The National Executive, in conjunction with the Labour Party in the Dáil, have repeatedly urged on the Government the necessity for a strict observance of Trade Union conditions in the execution of Government contracts. A deputation from the National Executive interviewed the Minister for Industry and Commerce in October, 1922; and as a result an undertaking was given that a Fair Wages Clause, in the terms of the British House of Commons Resolution on the subject, would be included in all contracts made by the Free State Government, together with an addendum that, in considering whether the clause was being complied with, regard should be had to the general conditions of employment as well as to the conditions applicable to a particular Government job.

17. The conditions are therefore as follows:—

“The contractor shall, under a penalty of a fine or otherwise, pay rates of wages and observe hours of labour not less favourable than those commonly recognized by employers and Trade Societies (or in the absence of such recognized hours and wages, those which in practice prevail amongst good employers) in the trade in the district where the work is carried out. Where there are no such

wages and hours recognized or prevailing in the district, those recognized or prevailing in the nearest district in which the general industrial circumstances are similar, shall be adopted. Further, the conditions of employment generally accepted in the district in the trade concerned shall be taken into account in considering how far the terms of the Fair Wages Clause are being observed. The contractor shall be prohibited from transferring or assigning, directly or indirectly, to any person or persons whatever, any portion of his contract without the written permission of the Department. Sub-letting, other than that which may be customary in the trade concerned, shall be prohibited. The contractor shall be responsible for the observance of the Fair Wages Clauses by the sub-contractor.

"In considering whether a contractor is complying with the terms of the Fair Wages Clause, regard shall be had to the conditions of employment generally in the contracting firm."

18. A number of cases of doubt as to whether this condition was being observed in the spirit as well as the letter have been raised in the Dáil, and by letter and personal interview, on information supplied by the Unions concerned.

*** Government Contracts placed outside the Free State.**

19. This question has been raised repeatedly by members of the Labour Party in the Dáil. It must be admitted that in many cases the Government have had good reason, in view of the very high tenders made by contractors within the Free State, and sometimes because of the urgency of the work, for placing tenders abroad; but the Government appear to have been anxious to give any reasonable preference to industries in the Free State and have declared that wherever it is felt necessary to place orders outside the State they will not confine tenders to the Six Counties and Great Britain.

VII.—GOVERNMENTAL COMMISSIONS AND COMMITTEES.

20. The **Railway Commission**, which had about concluded its sittings at the time of last year's Congress, published a Majority and a Minority Report. The Majority Report, which was signed by our nominee on the Commission (Thomas Johnson), recommended the Nationalization of the railways, and management by a railway authority, on which the railway workers would have an effective influence. The recommendation was that the Government should purchase the Irish Railways, and that they should be managed by a Railway Board consisting of a Chairman, who

* This paragraph was referred back to the National Executive.

should be a Railway expert and Managing Director of the whole system, one representative of the Manufacturing Industries, one representative of Trade and Commerce, two representatives of Agriculture, two representatives of Labour, and a representative of the Treasury. Further recommendations were made respecting the establishment of a general Conciliation Board, whose function would be to try to reconcile the differences between the operatives and the management. This Board should consist of twelve members, comprising four representatives of the management, four of the railway Trade Unions, four of the users of the Railways, two of the latter to be nominated by the Trade Union Congress. The financial proposals provided that the railway undertakings should be purchased at a price to be fixed by a tribunal consisting of a person holding, or having held, high judicial office, with the assistance of two experienced accountants (whose functions would be advisory only), one to be nominated by the Government and one by the Railway Companies.

21. This report was not adopted by the Government, whose policy it has been to encourage the Companies to enter into voluntary amalgamation. Failing voluntary agreement, the Government announced in March last that they would propose their own scheme of amalgamation and take steps to enforce it. Up to the time of writing this Report the information available is that the Companies have failed to agree upon a scheme of unification and that the Government has given further time for the production of a voluntary scheme.

22. Concurrently with the sittings of the Railway Commission, a separate Commission was set up by the Northern Government. The Majority Report of the Northern Commission was in favour of the continuance of the present competitive system and private management of the railways, with a further recommendation that there should be set up Conciliation machinery, somewhat on the lines of the machinery established in Great Britain, and a Railway Rates Tribunal. The Minority Report, signed by two Trade Union representatives, recommended Nationalization of the Railways, and strongly urged that any scheme of Nationalization should cover the whole of the railway system of Ireland, North and South. The Majority Report of this Commission appears to have been adopted by the Northern Government.

Proposed Railway Nationalization Bill.

23. On the suggestion of the Railway Clerks' Association we agreed to take advantage of the offer of Mr. A. G. Walkden, Secretary of that Union, to prepare a Bill for the Nationalization of the Irish Railways. It was hoped that it would have been possible to introduce this Bill in complete form towards the end

of July, with a view to laying before the public, the railway companies, and the Government, concrete proposals, fully worked out, for the public ownership and control of the Railways. The pressure of work has prevented the Bill being presented, and the sudden decision to hold a General Election has made it necessary to postpone the introduction of the Bill. Notwithstanding that such a Bill could not go beyond the second reading without Government backing, it is believed that its introduction and discussion would help to focus public opinion on this method of dealing with the railway problem.

Commission on Agriculture.

24. The National Executive nominated Messrs. Johnson and Mansfield as Labour representatives on this Commission, and on the latter's resignation nominated Mr. Michael Duffy in his place.

The Commission is still sitting, and is likely to be continued for a considerable time. Interim reports dealing with home-grown tobacco, with the grading of butter, and with packing and other matters affecting the egg trade, have been presented to the Government and published. Agricultural credit, education, ranching, and other subjects are still under consideration by the Commission.

25. With a view to obtaining information which would be of use to the Labour representatives on this Commission and otherwise, a questionnaire was sent out to all rural branches of the I.T. & G.W.U. early this year. Roughly, one hundred replies were received. These indicated fairly general agreement on certain matters—for example, a substantial increase in the size of labourer's plots and the extension of unemployment insurance to Agriculture—but it cannot be said that they revealed any very definite body of opinion as to agricultural policy based on a study of what is practicable as well as desirable. This is a matter which will, of course, continuously engage the attention of the National Executive, but it is essential that the members of all unions, and particularly those engaged in agricultural districts, should devote thought to the by no means simple question of agricultural policy.

Judiciary Commission.

26. A memorandum was submitted to the Judiciary Commission by the National Executive, making a number of suggestions for consideration, particularly in regard to the removal of political influence in judicial appointments, the decentralisation and cheapening of legal business, the provision of arbitration machinery, and the setting up of municipal legal advice bureaux. The report of the Commission has now been published; while making no radical alterations, the system recommended will make for

simpler and cheaper judicial processes. Legislation on the lines of the report has been promised, but the necessary Bill has not yet been introduced.

Prices Commission.

27. T. Farren and D. Cullen were nominated by the National Executive to act on this Commission, the latter succeeding L. J. Duffy, who was unable to serve. The Commission's Report is understood to be in preparation, but has not yet been presented to the Government or published. As the powers of the Commission were not sufficient to enable it to insist on the production of all the evidence desirable, it is not anticipated that the Commission's recommendations will be very drastic or far-reaching.

Corrupt Practices at Elections Departmental Committee.

28. W. O'Brien was appointed as Labour representative on this Committee. The Committee made a number of recommendations as to an increase in the number of polling places and more stringent measures for the prevention of personation and other corrupt and illegal practices at elections. Its report served as a basis of the Prevention of Electoral Abuses Bill, to which reference is made in the section of this Report dealing with work in the Oireachtas.

Canals and Inland Waterways Commission.

29. W. Davin was nominated as Labour representative on this Commission. The report is understood to be in course of preparation.

Reconstruction and Development Commission.

30. T. Johnson and T. MacPartlin were nominated as Labour representatives on this Commission, after a definite assurance had been given by the Minister for Industry and Commerce that the first business of the Commission would be to make recommendations for dealing with such urgent problems as unemployment and housing. An Interim Report on Roads, recommending a scheme of restoration and improvement which would provide employment for at least 10,000 men on a main roads scheme, and an additional 30,000 men for local roads, has been presented to the Government, and the Labour Party in Dáil Éireann is pressing for speedy action to be taken on it. A further report on housing is understood to be in preparation.

Rent Restriction Act Departmental Committee.

31. T. Nagle was appointed as Labour representative on this Committee. A questionnaire was circulated by the National

Executive to all Trades' and Workers' Councils, asking for information as to the working of the previous British Acts and the Dáil Decree, and T. Farren gave evidence to the Committee on behalf of the National Executive. The Committee's report formed the basis of the Increase of Rent and Mortgage Interest (Restrictions) Act, 1923, to which reference is made in the section of this report dealing with work in the Oireachtas.

Health Insurance Advisory Committee.

32. T. Irwin was nominated as Labour representative on this Committee, which is appointed by the National Health Insurance Commission for advisory purposes.

VIII.—LABOUR DAY, 1923.

33. In view of the abnormal conditions in the country this year, the National Executive made inquiries of Trades' and Workers' Councils as to the advisability of declaring May 1st a general holiday. After consideration of the replies received, the National Executive felt that they could not recommend a general stoppage, but advised the holding of meetings, sports, and other celebrations on the first Sunday in May. The decision was taken with regret, and is not intended to be regarded as a precedent, the Executive believing that it is the wish of the Movement that May Day should, in ordinary circumstances, be made the occasion of the Demonstration by Irish workers, in common with the workers of other countries, of the world-wide solidarity of the workers and their faith in Internationalism as a necessary correlative of Nationalism.

IX.—INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS.

The International Labour Office.

34. The National Executive decided in October, 1922, to subscribe to the publications of the International Labour Office. These have been found to be of very great value as a source of information on Labour matters in other countries, and as they now contain references to Irish Labour matters and the activities of our own organization they serve to emphasize abroad the separate statehood of the Saorstát. Representations were also made to the Government as to the desirability of the Free State affiliating to the International Labour Office quite apart from any question of membership of the League of Nations.

35. It may be explained that the International Labour Office was set up by the Paris Conference at the conclusion of the European War. Its funds are supplied by the League of Nations, but it is independent in its working, and membership is open to States which are not members of the League—Germany, for example, is a member of the International Labour Office. The Office works through International Conferences of delegates representing the Governments, employers' associations, and workers' organizations of the member-states, and has a permanent Governing Body and a Headquarters with an expert staff at Geneva, Switzerland. Its function is to make inquiries and distribute information as to labour legislation and conditions of work in all the countries of the world, and to make recommendations for ratification by the member-states with a view to securing a uniformly high minimum level of legislation and administration in respect of labour conditions.

Great Britain.

36. Cordial relations have been maintained with the Labour movement in Great Britain.

37. A deputation from the British Labour Party, consisting of Messrs. Arthur Greenwood, M.P., and J. Muir, M.P., came to Dublin in April, 1923, in order to interview the Government in the matter of the deportation of prisoners from Great Britain, and were afforded all the assistance we were in a position to give.

38. A regular exchange of information is maintained with the Joint Research and Information Department of the Labour Party and Trade Union Congress, and with the Labour Research Department, and it is desired to record appreciation of the assistance these bodies have given.

Scotland.

39. The fraternal delegates appointed by the last Congress to attend the Scottish Trade Union Congress this year were L. J. Duffy and T. MacPartlin. The latter being unable to act, T. Farren was appointed in his stead. The report of the delegates is appended:—

REPORT OF THE FRATERNAL DELEGATES TO THE SCOTTISH TRADE UNION CONGRESS.

We have pleasure in reporting that we had the opportunity of conveying to our Comrades in the Scottish Movement at their Trade Union Congress, which was held at Dundee on April 18th

and three following days, the fraternal greetings of the Irish workers. Unfortunately, Mr. Tom MacPartlin—who was one of the Fraternal Delegates appointed at our last Congress—was unable, because of urgent business at home, to fulfil his engagement. His place was taken, however, by Mr. Tom Farren.

Your delegates were very cordially received, and had an opportunity of addressing the Congress on the third day of the proceedings. We endeavoured to survey briefly the position of the Movement at home, and to refer as completely as possible in the time at our disposal to its activities, its hopes, possibilities and aspirations, as we see them. We may say that every member of the Congress displayed a very keen interest in our Movement, and exhibited a practical understanding of the position here. In the speeches that followed our address the speakers—notably our good Comrade, Robert Smillie—expressed themselves sympathetically, conveyed messages of encouragement, and renewed their assurance of goodwill and helpfulness. Mindful of the practical application of former assurances given by our Scottish Comrades, we gratefully accepted the renewal of pledges that we felt may eventually mean much to the progress of the working-class Movement in these countries.

The Congress was presided over by Mr. James Murdock, of the Lanarkshire Mine Workers' Association, and was composed of about 160 delegates. We noted with regret that the delegates were somewhat less numerous, and the affiliated membership rather fewer than formerly. To the widespread unemployment that has, during the past year, overwhelmed every occupation in Scotland, this shrinkage may be attributed. The reverse suffered by the Miners in their struggle two and a half years ago, has caused a general set back all over Scotland. Happily, however, there are abundant signs of a revival, although at the moment the evidences of it are more apparent in the political than in the industrial arena. No doubt the very marked success of the Political Labour Party at the 1922 General Election has aroused an interest in that side of the Movement that the Industrial side, which, so far, has not been able to counter with united effort the mass attack of the Master Class, is unable at the moment to call forth.

While we are unable to say which is cause and which effect, the success of the Political Labour Party, or the evidence of political alertness in the Movement—we refer to the fact of the Movement as a matter of interest to our Comrades in this country—there seems to be an abundance of evidence that the Scottish workers have for the moment tilted towards political action and away from the industrial activity that was a few years ago such a marked and promising characteristic of the whole Scottish Movement.

The divorcement of the Political from the Industrial expression of the working-class Movement is very marked. The Political

Movement sent its Fraternal Delegate to the Congress; but it appeared to us that while, of course, his reception was cordial, his relationship with the Congress was that of a welcome guest rather than of the visible expression of the reflex side of the Movement.

Many of the questions—chief amongst them unemployment, which, as we have already noted, is a serious menace to the Movement and a cruel infliction on the mass of the people—with which we are familiar here, were the subject of discussion at the Congress. Listening to the debates we could not fail to be impressed by the fact that a home government, acceptable to the mass of the people, in no wise deemed to be alien either in its composition or outlook, nationally, has utterly failed to raise the burden from the shoulders of the working-class. In Scotland, in America and in Ireland the mass of the people are to-day suffering untold privations as a consequence of the almost total collapse of the Credit System and of the European Market that it regulated. We think the people of Scotland realize, in ever growing numbers, that it is the system of Government rather than its label, that is responsible for their present misery. Although the Congress passed a resolution in favour of Home Rule for Scotland, the whole tenour of the debate from first to last was a positive challenge to the conception of Society that permits Finance-Capital supported by Military Force, whether Home or Foreign in its composition, to sustain an idle propertied class at the expense of the wealth-producers of the country.

A resolution from the Glasgow Trades Council, drawing attention to the presence of a growing Fascisti Movement in Britain, gave rise to a protracted and spirited debate. Many of the delegates seemed to hold the opinion that side by side with a semi-secret and unauthorized militant Movement, originating with and guided by the employing and propertied classes, there was a tendency on the part of the Government of the country to direct its legislation to the equipment of a semi-military force for use outside the law of Industrial disputes. On the other hand several speakers dismissed the suggestion as being unwarranted and foolish. Certainly there seemed good ground at least for the apprehension that the object of certain recent legislation is to provide a counterblast to the alleged revolutionary understanding underlying some of the more serious Industrial disputes. On the methods by which this challenge was to be met there was a very marked divergence of opinion. On this issue there is little likelihood of a united front.

Before the close of the Congress it was agreed that a delegate would be appointed to convey fraternal greetings to the Irish Congress this year. It will be noted that on this occasion the Scottish Congress has decided, on the grounds of expense, to send only one delegate instead of two as formerly.

Prior to our departure from Dundee we were presented by the Chairman of Congress with two volumes each of the Works of two of Scotland's most gifted writers—Burns and Scott—which we much appreciate.

Signed :

L. J. DUFFY.

THOMAS FARREN.

New Zealand.

40. Fraternal greetings and congratulations upon our success at the Dáil elections of last year were sent to us by the New Zealand Labour Party. The Party also communicated a protest against the action of the British Government, at the time of the Turkish crisis towards the end of last year, in issuing what was practically an invitation to the British Dominions to take part in a new war. It was pointed out in reply that the Constitution of the Free State, then just coming into operation, rendered it impossible for our Government to commit us to an external war without the consent of the Legislature.

X.—PERSONNEL, OFFICE ARRANGEMENTS, ETC.

Resignation of Chairman.

41. We regret that, owing to health and private family reasons, the Chairman (Mr. Cathal O'Shannon) was unable to continue his functions as Chairman of the Executive, and in consequence sent in his resignation, which was accepted. The Vice-Chairman (Mr. L. J. Duffy) has since presided over our meetings.

Office Appointments.

42. In November last the appointment was made of Mr. R. J. P. Mortished to the office staff, his special duties being research work and providing information for the use of the Labour members of the Dáil and Senate.

43. In the early part of the year it was decided to appoint Mr. L. P. Byrne as Political Organizer, such appointment to continue for the period to cover the General Election, which was then expected to be held about October. We regret to say that, owing to ill-health, Mr. Byrne was not able to continue his duties after the first week or two, and eventually was obliged to resign.

Weekly Labour Notes.

44. For several months past a series of "Weekly Labour Notes" have been sent to about 50 newspapers throughout the country.

These notes have been compiled with a view to giving information and enlightenment on Industrial, Social, and Political matters from a Labour point of view. They have been designed in a form likely to secure publication rather than to have the appearance of direct advocacy of Labour interests. A fair number of newspapers have made use of these notes, and we believe that they are a valuable means of indirect propaganda.

XI.—WORK OF THE LABOUR PARTY IN THE OIREACHTAS.

DÁIL EIREANN AS PROVISIONAL PARLIAMENT.

Threatened Resignation of Labour Deputies.

45. Following on the decision of the Congress in August, 1922, that unless the Dáil already elected was summoned to meet by August 26th the Labour Deputies should resign their seats, came a further postponement by the Government of the date for the assembly for the Dáil. A deputation from the National Executive interviewed Mr. Cosgrave, the Chairman of the Provisional Government, on August 31st, and reported to the full National Executive, then in Session, that Mr. Cosgrave had given the most positive assurances that it was the intention of the Government that Parliament should meet on September 9th, and explained that the postponement from August 26th was occasioned by the deaths of Mr. Arthur Griffith and Mr. Michael Collins. After consultation with the Labour Deputies elected, the National Executive decided that, in the special circumstances which had not been foreseen at the time of the Congress, the necessity for taking the action contemplated had not yet arisen.

The Dáil did, in fact, meet on the date promised—September 9th. All the Labour Deputies, with the exception of Michael Bradley, Deputy for Co. Cork, who was ill, attended and took their seats.

Post Office Strike.

46. Almost the first business of the Dáil was to discuss the Strike of the Post Office workers then in progress, and the attitude of the Ministry thereto. The Labour Party moved: "That this Dáil repudiates the statement issued by the Minister for Home Affairs, beginning with the words 'the Government does not recognize the right of Civil Servants to strike,'" but the motion was defeated by 51 votes to 24.

Military Action by the Government.

47. A motion "That the Dáil approve of the action that the Government has taken, and is taking, to assert and vindicate the authority of Parliament," was opposed by the Labour Party, but carried by 54 votes to 15.

The Constitution.

48. The main business of the Dáil was, of course, the enactment of a Constitution. The Bill for this purpose, embodying the Draft Constitution which the Government had published on the morning of the General Election on June 16th, was introduced on September 18th. The successive stages of the Bill were not completed until October 25th, and it would be impossible to give a detailed report upon all the amendments moved or supported by the Labour Party. The position may, however, be summed up thus: The Draft submitted by the Government had been shown to the British Government before it was published to the Irish people, and in all the provisions which arose directly out of the Irish Treaty the form of the wording adopted had clearly been very largely conditioned by the historical evolution of political democracy in Great Britain and the gradual development of the British Dominions from subordination to partnership. In the view of the Labour Party, Ireland had no concern with these archaic survivals, and it would accordingly have been both proper and wise for the Dáil to re-cast the wording so as to express, in plain language and without using formulae which had lost their literal meaning, the widest possible interpretation of the rights secured to Ireland by the Treaty. The Government made it plain, however, that they stood committed by agreement with the British Government to the exact wording of these particular Articles of the Constitution. They also insisted that the promise of fair play given by Arthur Griffith to the representatives of "Southern Unionists" involved their committal to the substance of the Articles dealing with the Seanad. The majority of the Dáil supported the Government in this attitude, and the efforts of the Labour Party to remove the objectionable features of the Constitution were therefore defeated.

49. Among the proposals which were made without success by the Labour Party may be mentioned:—

A declaration of the right of children to food, clothing, shelter and education.

A declaration of the nation's primary ownership of the land and waters of the country, and its right to impose limitations on private property therein, in the public interest.

A declaration of service to the community as an obligation of citizenship, and a consequent right of the citizen to support in case of lack of opportunity for work.

A requirement that the King and the Representative of the Crown should swear allegiance to the Constitution and act only on the advice of the Executive Council in matters concerning Saorstát Éireann.

The establishment of an Industrial, in lieu of a Territorial, Second Chamber, the members of which would be elected by Industrial or Service constituencies.

Declarations safeguarding the liberty of the Press and the inviolability of correspondence by post, telegraph, telephone, etc.

An absolute prohibition of the granting of hereditary titles.

Establishment of Military Courts.

50. On September 27th the Government introduced a motion that the Dáil should approve and ratify the action of the Government in authorizing the Army authorities to set up Military Courts with power to inflict sentences of death, penal servitude, imprisonment or fine, on persons tried before them and convicted of attack upon the National Forces, looting, arson and other destruction or damage to property, possession of explosives or firearms, or the breach of any General Order or Regulation made by the Army Council. The Labour Party opposed this resolution in three divisions, but without success.

Franchise Resolutions.

51. The Dáil adopted a series of resolutions authorizing the taking of steps for the preparation of a register of voters on an adult suffrage basis in respect of Dáil elections, and on the existing basis in respect of local elections, and laying down the general principles which were afterwards embodied in the Franchise Act referred to later in this section of the report. The Labour Party's attitude was one of critical approval, as in the case of the Franchise Act itself.

School Attendance.

52. A resolution moved by the Labour Party expressing the desire of the Dáil for an amendment of the compulsory attendance clauses of the Irish Education Act, 1892, was adopted by the Dáil on November 17th, but no educational legislation of any kind has been introduced by the Government.

Financial Resolutions.

53. The Dáil considered and passed the Estimates for the Public Services, but in the circumstances of the case the consideration was necessarily in great degree formal.

DÁIL EIREANN AND SEANAD EIREANN.

54. On the coming into operation of the Constitution on 6th December, 1922, Dáil Eireann re-assembled on that date as the first Dáil under the Constitution, and all the Labour Deputies, with the exception of P. Gaffney, J. Everett and M. Bradley, complied with the formalities required by the Treaty, and took the oath, promising "allegiance" to the Constitution and to be faithful to the King in virtue of the adherence of the Free State to the group of Nations forming the British Commonwealth of Nations. Deputy J. Everett, who was ill for some months, took the Oath and resumed his seat on February 21st, 1923. Deputy Bradley died after a long illness, without ever having been able to take his seat as a member of the Dáil. P. Gaffney declined to take the Oath, and has not since attended at the Dáil.

55. The attitude of the Labour Deputies to the Oath contained in the Anglo-Irish Treaty and prescribed by the Constitution was defined in the following statement made in the Dáil on the occasion of the taking of the Oath:—

"On the occasion of making our Declaration of Allegiance to the Constitution of Saorstát Eireann and of faithfulness to King George V., we desire to place on record the following:— In conforming to Clause 17 of the Constitution we follow the practice of the political parties and the workers in all countries where Capitalism is the established order, whether it works through the institutions of a Monarchy or through the institutions of a Republic. We recognise the act of taking an Oath of Allegiance as a formality, a condition of membership of the Legislature, implying no obligation other than the ordinary obligation of every person who accepts the privileges of citizenship. In complying with such a condition of membership we are giving effect to the will of the organized workers, that we should through our election endeavour to influence the laws and the administration thereof, in such a manner as will lighten the burden of the poor, remove the evils of unemployment, bring to realization the ideals of justice and liberty, and finally lead to the dethronement of Capitalism, and the substitution therefor of a Commonwealth based upon labour and service. The terms of the Treaty between Great Britain and Ireland, signed on the 6th December, 1921, and the Clauses of the Constitution conditioned by that Treaty concerning the relations

between Great Britain and Ireland are accepted by us, as they are accepted by the people generally, under protest, having been imposed upon Ireland by the threat of superior force, and were not freely determined by the people of Ireland or their representatives. We make our Declaration of Allegiance intending to fulfil our pledge, with the proviso that if at any time it shall be deemed wise and expedient by the people of Ireland in the exercise of their sovereign right to denounce the Treaty or alter or amend the Constitution, in any respect whatever, nothing in our Declaration of Allegiance shall be a barrier to our freedom of action. We desire, further, to record that in promising to be faithful to King George V. and his successors we also promise to be equally faithful to the men and women of all nations whether they be rulers or subjects, heads of States, or plain citizens."

Election of Senators.

56. It was decided, after consultation between the National Executive and the Party in the Dáil, that five nominations should be made by the Party for election among the thirty Senators to be elected by the Dáil. Messrs. M. Duffy, T. MacPartlin, T. Farren, J. T. O'Farrell and E. Mansfield were accordingly nominated, and secured the 13th, 14th, 15th, 17th and 23rd places, respectively, at the election on December 7th, 1922. Mr. Mansfield did not take his seat in the Seanad. The National Executive, having considered the matter, Mr. William Cummins was nominated by the Labour Senators to fill the vacancy, and he was elected without a contest by the Seanad on February 21st, 1923.

57. The period of office of the members of this first Seanad depended on the order of their election, so that the Labour Senators will hold their seats as follows:—Messrs. Duffy, MacPartlin and Farren, nine years; Messrs. O'Farrell and Cummins, three years.

LEGISLATION.

58. Prior to December 6th Dáil Eireann passed no formal enactments other than the Constitution Act. The more important Acts passed subsequently are set out hereafter, with a note of their nature and the action of the Labour Party thereon. With regard to the Seanad, it should be explained that as many of the Bills sent to it from the Dáil have been urgent, either from the circumstances of the case or from the lateness of the time at which they were introduced in the Dáil, and as no new legislation has been introduced in the Seanad, very little actual legislative work has been done by that House, and the Labour Senators have therefore had no opportunity to do more than re-state the

criticisms and policy already stated by the Labour Party in the Dáil and to guard against objectionable amendments being put forward by the Seanad.

Local Elections (Postponement) Act.

59. This authorized the postponement of elections to local authorities and the continuance in office of existing members until a date not later than 1st January, 1924.

Franchise Act.

60. This Act implements the provisions of the Constitution establishing adult suffrage at all Dáil elections and Referenda and the suffrage of all men and women citizens of 30 years of age at all Seanad elections. Roughly, one in four of the sections of the Act contain amendments moved by the Labour Party, among the most notable improvements being the application of "P.R." in the form of the "alternative vote" to bye-elections at which more than two candidates contest a single seat, so as to prevent the return of a minority candidate. Unsuccessful efforts were made to remove the disfranchisement of members of police forces, and the disqualification for membership of the Oireachtas of members of the Civil Service and other public servants. In conjunction with the Prevention of Electoral Abuses Bill, introduced in the Dáil on June 26th, this Act provides a complete code of electoral law for national elections; elections to local authorities are not dealt with in these Acts.

Damage to Property (Compensation) Act.

61. Strenuous, but unsuccessful, efforts were made in both Dáil and Seanad to extend this Act, so as to ensure a legal right to compensation for personal injuries. Amendments were also moved, without success, which would have required all re-building under compensation awards to be carried out with Irish materials, if possible, and under the same conditions as to Fair Wages as apply to Government contracts.

Local Government (Temporary Provisions) Act.

62. This Act made provision for legalising and completing the amalgamation of Poor Law Unions and the setting-up of County Boards of Health which had been carried out without formal legal sanction in the previous two years. Attempts were made, without much success, to limit the Bill merely to legalizing what had already been done, to restrict the powers of dissolution of

local authorities and control over their officials conferred upon the Minister for Local Government, and to secure better protection of the rights of officials retired on pension. A slight improvement was secured in the section making employment by and membership of a local authority incompatible.

Enforcement of Law (Occasional Powers) Act.

63. This Act was vigorously but, for the most part, unsuccessfully criticized.

District Justices (Temporary Provisions) Act.

64. This is a measure, limited in duration to one year, providing for the appointment of District Justices, the setting up of District Courts, and the appointment of Peace Commissioners, in lieu of the former Resident Magistrates and Justices of the Peace. The limitation to one year was secured by a Labour Party amendment.

Statutory Undertakings (Continuance of Charges) Acts, Nos. 1 and 2.

65. These Acts authorized the temporary continuance of certain increases in charges by railway, canal and other public companies which were authorized by British war-time legislation. The setting up of a Committee to inquire into the fares charged on the Dublin Tramways (on which Committee the Dublin Workers' Council is represented) resulted from the discussions in the Dáil on these measures.

Griffith Settlement Act.

66. This Act made financial provision for the family of the late Arthur Griffith and was supported by the Labour Party.

Double Taxation (Relief) Act.

67. This Act authorizes the making of agreements so that a person subject to taxation by the Free State on income derived both from the Free State and from Great Britain or Northern Ireland shall pay Income Tax on the total income only at the higher of the two rates charged in the two States, and gives certain other relief from double taxation. It was opposed unsuccessfully by the Labour Party. The other Governments concerned have made reciprocal arrangements.

Local Authorities (Extension of Time) Act.

68. This was a necessary formal measure in connection with the carrying out of public undertakings for which a limited period had been fixed by British legislation.

Governor-General's Salary and Establishment Act.

69. This was a formal measure rendered necessary by the Constitution. The form of it was criticized by the Labour Party.

Unemployment Insurance Act.

70. This Act made provision for the continuance of Unemployment Benefit under temporary special arrangements to take the place of the expiring arrangements made by British legislation, and for a resumption of the normal insurance basis of benefits in future. General support was given by the Labour Party, with a warning that a temporary arrangement as to benefit would probably have to be continued longer than the Government contemplated. A section of the Bill which would have permitted Unemployment Benefit to be paid as a subsidy to employers carrying out works of public utility, at the expense of the workers' rights to subsequent benefit, was withdrawn by the Government in face of the Labour Party's opposition. An unsuccessful attempt was made to improve the provisions for Unemployment Benefit of discharged soldiers.

Oireachtas (Payment of Members) Act.

71. This was a formal measure, carrying out the requirements of the Constitution, and fixing the payment of members at £30 a month as agreed upon by both Houses.

Censorship of Films Act.

72. This measure was not treated as a Party matter. Some amendments designed to prevent oppressive censorship were secured by Labour Deputies.

Land Law (Commission) Act.

73. This was a formal measure, merging the Congested Districts Board in the Land Commission and making certain other administrative changes.

Increases of Rent and Mortgage Interest (Restrictions) Act.

74. This Bill was rendered necessary by the fact that both the British Act and the Dáil Decree expired on June 24th. Failing the enactment of a law dealing with the control of rents, house-owners would have been free to raise rents without restriction. The Bill followed very closely on the lines of the Report of a Committee of Inquiry on which Deputy Nagle acted as Labour representative.

75. Two important amendments to this measure were secured by the Labour Party—the first making an increase of 10 per cent. on the standard rent conditional on the landlord having expended one-half of the standard rent on repairs since 1914, and the second, proposed by the Government as an alternative to the requisitioning of houses, making the landlords of idle houses liable to pay full rates. Amendments to reduce by 5 per cent. of the standard rent the amount of the permitted increase and to retain full protection against eviction were defeated.

National Health Insurance Act.

76. This was mainly a formal measure, dealing with the severance of Health Insurance administration in the Free State from that of Great Britain and the Six Counties.

Army Pensions Act.

77. This measure, which dates back to the Rising of 1916, was amended to include members of the Irish Citizen Army. An amendment was also secured so that the cases of the men of 1916 would all be dealt with, irrespective of rank, on the more liberal scale of pensions and allowances provided for officers.

Land Trust Powers Act.

78. This was a formal measure, necessary to enable the Land Trust, representing the Free State, British and Six-County Governments, to proceed with the provision of houses and land, out of moneys supplied by the British Exchequer for persons who had been members of the British Forces during the European War.

Civic Guard (Acquisition of Premises) Act.

79. This was a brief measure enabling the requisitioning of premises for the Civic Guard.

80. At the time of preparing this Report the following Bills are still under consideration by the Oireachtas:—

Land Bill.

81. The Labour Party's efforts have been directed towards removing the State contribution towards purchase price, discriminating between the large farmer and grazier and the small farmer, in respect of arrears of rent and the amount to be paid in future in lieu of rent, ensuring the utmost possible provision

for enabling land to be acquired by labourers and other landless men, whether individually or collectively, requiring the vesting of a holding in a tenant to be conditional on good farming, and enabling urban local authorities to acquire land under the Act.

Public Safety (Emergency Powers) Bill.

82. This Bill has been fought line by line by the Labour Party and was the occasion of the first night sitting of the Dáil, the House sitting from 3 p.m. to 8 a.m. on Thursday to Friday, July 12th and 13th. It gives the authorities power to arrest on suspicion, and to intern without charge or trial, establishes heavy penalties for certain specified offences, making the penalty of flogging compulsory for arson and robbery under arms, and gives drastic powers to the Executive in connection with trespassing on land and property alleged to be stolen. It is a thoroughly reactionary Bill, and though a few amendments have been secured by the Labour Party, and more may be, it must remain a disgraceful enactment.

The Prevention of Electoral Abuses Bill.

83. This Bill deals with the appointment of personation agents, the prevention and punishment of personation and other corrupt and illegal practices, and other matters in connection with elections, and forms the second part of the code of electoral law of which the Franchise Act constitutes the first part. The Bill is largely based on the report of a Departmental Committee set up in December, 1922, by the Minister for Local Government, on which Deputy O'Brien acted as Labour representative.

Financial Legislation.

84. This involves the consideration of a number of Resolutions, Estimates and Bills for Central Fund, Appropriation and Finance Acts. The Estimates have been subjected to criticism in detail, and the attitude of the Labour Party has compelled Ministers to defend and explain the administration of the various Services in a much more informative way than appeared to be their original intention. On the Finance Bill efforts were made, without success, to reduce the taxation on tea and sugar.

MOTIONS ON ADJOURNMENT, QUESTIONS, ETC.

85. A wide variety of matters has been dealt with by way of questions to Ministers and motions on the adjournment of the House.

86. The subjects raised by Labour Deputies by way of motion on the adjournment or otherwise, included :—

Unemployment.
 Railways.
 Reform of the Educational System.
 Housing.
 Military Executions, the Military Proclamation of 31st January threatening reprisals, the Army Council General Order of 8th January, 1923.
 Deaths of Military Prisoners in Kerry.
 Murders in and near Dublin.
 Employment of Civilian Workers by the Army.
 Conditions of labour on Government Contracts.
 Attitude of military forces in industrial disputes.
 Seizure of cattle by military forces.
 Deportations from Great Britain.
 Pensions of retired Teachers.
 Internees in the Six Counties.

87. The Labour Party also participated in debates on motions for the adjournment or otherwise dealing with :—

Peace proposals by the Neutral I.R.A. Association.
 Peace conversations with Mr. De Valera.
 Prisoners on Hunger-Strike.
 Irish in the Courts.

88. The number of questions to Ministers put by Labour Deputies runs into some hundreds, the Labour Party being many times more active in this way than all the other members of the Dáil combined. The subjects dealt with cover a very wide range, from individual matters such as dependents' allowances, claims for payment for services to the military forces, and the arrest and release of prisoners, to questions of public policy such as the effect on various industries of the new Customs duties and the placing of contracts outside Saorstát Éireann.

Party Discipline.

89. We regret that it was considered necessary to intimate to Mr. Nicholas Phelan, T.D. for Waterford-East Tipperary, on March 4th, 1923, "that he should no longer be considered to be a member of the Party." Since that date Mr. Phelan has not attended the meetings of Dáil Éireann. The reasons for this decision were: (1) His failure to attend a meeting of the Election Committee, with the representative of the National Executive,

called specially to examine into allegations relating to the Election accounts; and (2), his very unsatisfactory attendance at the Dáil, without explanation.

90. After the passing of the Constitution and the close of the Provisional Parliament, Mr. Patrick Gaffney, T.D. for Carlow-Kilkenny, intimated that he was not prepared to take the Oath which was required of members of the Oireachtas by the Constitution, and, therefore, could not resume his attendance as a member of the Dáil. In view of the fact that the undertaking given by Mr. Gaffney, on being adopted and approved as a candidate, was that he would take his seat, and that this assurance was given because of the further assurance that no Oath would be required to be taken by members of the Provisional Parliament, the National Executive thought that there was no breach of undertaking in his refusal to take his seat under the terms of the Constitution. A further consideration was, that there was no likelihood of a bye-election being held if his resignation had been called for.

(Signed) :

L. J. DUFFY.
C. CAHALAN.
DENIS CULLEN.
THOMAS FARREN.
THOMAS FORAN.
L. J. LARKIN.
GEORGE NASON.
T. J. O'CONNELL.
JOHN T. O'FARRELL.
MICHAEL SOMERVILLE.
ALEX. STEWART.
WILLIAM O'BRIEN.
THOMAS JOHNSON.

32 LOWER ABBEY STREET,

DUBLIN, 31st July, 1923.

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE, 1922-23—Meetings, Attendances and Expenses.

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NAME	FULL EXECUTIVE MEETINGS Present at	RESIDENT COMMITTEE MEETINGS Present at	TOTAL EXPENSES as per Scale	SUNDRY MEETINGS, DELEGATIONS, ETC.
CAHALAN, MISS C. ...	1	25	£ s. d. 3 5 0	
CULLEN, DENIS ...	5	34	5 10 0	FARREN, THOMAS—Waterford £ s. d. 3 10 6
DUFFY, LUKE J. ...	5	35	5 10 0	JOHNSON, THOMAS—Cork, Mallow, Water- ford, Kilkenny 7 5 0
FARREN, THOMAS ...	5	30	4 17 6	
FORAN, THOMAS ...	3	12	2 5 0	
JOHNSON, THOMAS ...	7	44	—	
LARKIN, LUKE J. ...	4	—	11 1 0	
NASON, GEORGE ...	7	—	43 17 9	
O'BRIEN, WILLIAM ...	5	38	5 17 6	
O'CONNELL, T. J. ...	5	21	3 17 6	
O'FARRELL, JOHN T. ...	6	29	8 0 0	
O'SHANNON, CATHAL ...	5	18	3 12 6	
SOMERVILLE, M. ...	6	35	8 15 0	
STEWART, ALEX. ...	5	—	10 10 0	

INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT

For the Year ending 30th June, 1923.

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INCOME.		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	EXPENDITURE.		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Balance from last year's Account:—								1922 Congress, Fees, etc.					35	10	0
Cash at Banks, on Deposit		1,438	18	9				1922 Congress, Reporting					42	7	0
Cash at Banks, Current Account		758	15	11				Office Expenses:—							
Cash in Hands		53	11	10				Rent		78	0	0			
					2,251	6	6	Postage, Telephone, Insurance, etc.		125	14	0			
Affiliation Fees					1,762	7	6	Salaries, Office Staff		655	9	8			
Delegation Fees					254	0	0	Salary, Secretary		90	0	0			
Reports sold					25	11	0						949	3	8
Co. Dublin Election—Deposit Returned					150	0	0	N.E. Meetings—Expenses, Travelling, etc.					128	14	3
								Delegations, Conferences, etc.					38	1	1
Election Fund Donations:—								Scottish T.U. Congress, Delegation					24	2	0
Per Municipal Employees		10	0	0				Printing, Stationery and Advertising					476	14	8
Per Irish Bakers		25	0	0				Office Furnishing					38	16	8
Per Postal Workers' Union		20	15	0				Labour Research Department—Affiliation					10	0	0
					55	15	0	International Labour Office Publications					10	0	0
Donation (Anonymous, Limerick)					20	0	0	Delegate's Fee Refunded, R.C.A.					1	0	0
Bank Interest					48	10	6	General Election, 1922—Advertising, etc.					295	15	6
								Co. Dublin Elections—Balance Expenses					285	15	9
													2,336	0	7
								Cash advanced Health Insurance Soc.		254	10	0			
								Cash advanced T.D.'s for Expenses:—							
								R. Corish, £5; J. Lyons, £10; N. F.							
								Phelan, £6 3s. 8d.		21	3	8			
													275	13	8
								Cash at Banks on Deposit		1,483	16	3			
								Cash at Banks, Current Account		472	0	0			
													1,955	16	3
													£4,567	10	6
													£4,567	10	6

WE have examined the books and vouchers of the Irish Labour Party and Trade Union Congress, for the year ending 30th June, 1923, and certify the foregoing Statement of Accounts to be correct. The books have been kept in good order.

GEO. SPAIN,

MICHAEL CONNOLLY (for CORMAC BREATHNACH), } Auditors.

July 30th, 1923.

REPORT

OF THE

29th ANNUAL MEETING

OF THE

Irish Labour Party and Trade Union Congress

August 6th, 7th, 8th & 9th, 1923.

First Day—Monday, August 6th.

MR. LUKE J. DUFFY, Acting Chairman of the National Executive, occupied the Chair during the four days that Congress sat.

The opening of the first day's proceedings was delayed by a hostile demonstration in the street outside the Mansion House.

Welcome to Delegates.

The CHAIRMAN, on behalf of the National Executive, bid the delegates a hearty welcome. The number of delegates appointed this year was, he thought, the largest in the history of the Congress. Some of the delegates, unfortunately, were not present, but they all knew where to place the responsibility for that. It was due to the action of one who had once been a leader in this country—Mr. Larkin—who stated some weeks ago that there would be "No Congress." This gentleman attempted to use the machinery of the law to prevent Congress being held, and having failed in that he now invoked the aid of the rabble. A number of people had been incited by statements made to them outside—false statements—about the Trade Union Movement, and particularly the Irish Transport Workers' Union. It was unfortunate that representatives of the Labour Movement from all parts of Ireland should be prevented by a few excited people from doing the work which they were elected to do. However, the Congress, as it stood, was representative, and they would proceed with their work (applause).

Senator T. FARREN, on behalf of the Dublin Workers' Council, also bid the delegates a hearty welcome to Dublin, and he hoped that they would not judge Dublin hospitality by what was happening outside the Mansion House.

Election of Standing Orders Committee.

The following delegates were nominated to act as the Standing Orders Committee, and on a ballot received the number of votes shown :—

D. R. CAMPBELL..	..	42 Votes.
MICHAEL MCCARTHY	..	37 ,
MR. FITZGERALD (Cork)	..	36 ,
J. A. GORDON	..	36 ,
F. ROBBINS	..	33 ,
M. MARTIN	..	25 ,
P. BIRMINGHAM	..	17 ,

The first five were declared elected. It afterwards transpired that Mr. FitzGerald was not present, and Mr. Martin (Wexford) was therefore requested to act during the absence of Mr. FitzGerald.

Election of Tellers.

MESSRS. J. W. KELLY, BRADSHAW and SEAMUS BYRNE were elected as Tellers.

Election of Scrutineers.

MESSRS. DAWSON GORDON, W. STONE and R. TYNAN were elected as Scrutineers.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS.

MR. DUFFY delivered his Presidential Address as follows :—

COMRADES,

At the outset of these proceedings permit me to express, on my own behalf, and, I am sure, on behalf of the delegates, very profound regret that our Comrade O'Shannon is unable to be with us to-day as Chairman of Congress.

Mr. O'Shannon's retirement has imposed on me the responsibility of conducting these proceedings. I would have wished it otherwise ; I would have been glad that somebody more fitted for the task and more worthy of the distinction had been in a position to undertake it ; I am not unmindful of the greatness of the responsibility or of my own shortcomings ; but, with your co-operation and support, and that spirit of comradeship that has always animated our Movement, I will strive to the extent of my ability and understanding to uphold the highest traditions of the office. I shall endeavour to discharge the duties imposed on me with strict impartiality ; to make allowances where I think they are due, and to assist as far as I can the delegates who have assembled here to perform for the Labour Movement one of the greatest tasks that any body of working-class representatives can have placed upon them.

The Doctrine of Hate.

It will be remembered that when we met at our Annual Congress in this city a year ago the greater part of the country was completely at the mercy of two hostile armies. The Civil War had then reached the zenith of its fierceness ; the social life of the country was being violently interrupted ; brother fought against brother in a contest for political supremacy, while thousands of our Comrades were either aimlessly walking the streets in search of bread or were in arms, dealing death to one another at the bidding of one or other of the opposing forces. The country, with evident enthusiasm, was imbibing freely the doctrine of hate preached by a rampant militarism. The disposition to kill was ennobled into a science, and the taking of life was exalted into a virtue. The avocations of peace and the appeals of humanity and brotherhood were scoffed at and derided. That spirit of Comradeship which, for six years, had welded together the men and women of the Nation in the service of a common country and in pursuance of a common purpose was being ruthlessly destroyed by the hatred engendered by a devastating civil war, the end of which none could foretell, and the ultimate consequence of which, even to-day, is a matter of conjecture. The effects of the civil war on the mentality of a people who, in face of cruel torture, persecution and death, stood as firm as a rock and as trustful as they were valiant, were most disconcerting. Trust, and hope, and courage gave place to suspicion, despondency and despair. The belief that this country will yet take her place amongst the free and independent, distinctive Nations of the world is still held as firmly and as universally as it ever was, and nothing can eradicate it but the despair and despondency sprung from sources not necessarily unassociated with this belief. Underlying these emotions was the consciousness that the spectacle of Civil War fiercely burning its way through the land would be interpreted as evidence of our unfitness for the functions of Government—the old taunt of our enemies—and that to prepare foreign opinion for the reception of this view the war was deliberately planned and forced upon us.

Assassinations and Executions.

The continuance of the Civil War, with its ever-recurring crop of revolting excesses, intensified the bitterness and hatred out of which it arose. As the Nation had become thoroughly militarized in spirit, callousness became the characteristic of our National life and blood-letting became a National passion. Nor was all the lust for blood satiated by the licentiousness of warfare. Whatever may be said in defence of life-taking under the recognised rules of war and in the execution of a soldier's duty (and most people are never wanting in a defence for it), no pretext and no motive, no

matter how excellent in itself, could justify those other outbursts of passion that too frequently culminated in roadside murders and midnight assassinations. One cannot speak or even think of these terrible incidents or of some other notorious incidents associated with the history of the Civil War without feeling how necessary it is that we should all re-examine our notions and views about war and the training and maintaining of Armed Forces. Our recent experiences here at home warn us that armed men, whether in the gaudy attire of an official Army or in the less ostentatious accoutrements of insurgents, possess all the attributes, likes and dislikes, fear and hatred, weakness and passion of ordinary men, without the restraint Society is enabled to impose on the unarmed citizen. Neither side in the recent struggle is free from these reproaches. Every man and woman of our race was shocked when, for instance, the shooting of a member of Dáil Eireann in the open highways of the city was announced, but no language we can employ will describe the feelings of humiliation and despair which overwhelmed all of us when, a few hours afterwards, we learned of the execution, as an official reprisal, of the four prisoners in Mountjoy.

Wanted, an Economic Policy.

For one thing, the last year of war has split the old Sinn Féin Party in two. The presence of a common enemy in the country provided that Party with a common purpose. It was superficially cemented by the desire for political freedom to which each group and sect was enabled, and satisfied, to apply its own definition. Underlying every struggle for liberty there must reside somewhere an agreement on essentials or the struggle will degenerate into a feud. The first and paramount essential is the basis of the new order which it is sought to bring about. If the new order is to be fashioned on the old model it can have no appeal to those who demand a new model; mere political change and nothing but political change may win the adherence of those who see in the existing social conditions of Society under new direction the avenue to future advancement, but it can have no attractions for the masses who are yearning for a change that is not political only, but economic as well.

"The re-conquest of our liberties," wrote Fintan Lalor, "would be incomplete and worthless without the re-conquest of our lands—would not necessarily involve or produce that of our lands and could not, on its own means, be possibly achieved."

The divisions and disunity that plunged us into civil war would not and could not have arisen had the economic basis of the new Ireland been generally understood and accepted as the first principle in the fight for freedom. Herein lies the model and the motive for our future policy.

The End is not yet.

Although it would seem the actual fight has terminated, it would be both dangerous and foolish to cling to the illusion that we have reached the end of the chapter. Who that has studied the varying phases of our history could harbour the impious belief that the whole aim of the people was the transference of the seat of Government from Westminster to Leinster Lawn? To suggest that all our mortal and eternal hopes were centred in a mere political change, no matter how complete or incomplete it may be, is to belie and misinterpret every effort of the common people in the National struggle and to outrage the memory of those prophets of the social struggle whose names we have learnt to reverence. Not to endow one aristocracy at the expense of another; not to displace a foreign oppression to replace it by a native one; not merely to dislodge landlords to make way for slave lords; not to embellish privilege but to destroy it have ever the insurgent forces of revolution been invoked. One of the prophets, whose life and death has inspired thousands of the Irish people, said, with prophetic fervour, "Ireland unfree will never be at peace."

To End Exploitation.

However much we may strive to shut out the fact from immediate consideration the opposition to the present regime is not yet ended. Sooner or later it will find a newer and a more definite expression. The longing for freedom—the freedom of which Connolly was the latest and most perfect exponent—is not stifled. So long as one man or one class, one group or one sex exploits or demands tribute from other men and women the age-long insurgency of the Irish people will find expression in some shape or form, and, demanding rights they have long cherished as a natural inheritance, will find a means to end the political and economic conquest of their country.

The Teachings of Lalor.

Every day the issue is growing clearer. The old shibboleths are worn thread-bare; the magic appeal of the "pathetic oratorical rocket" has gone, and reality takes its place. Fintan Lalor, with greater insight than most men of his time, visualised the evolution of political thought in this country, and gave the future generation of its toilers, and the toilers of all lands, the most definite purpose; the most definite battle-cry, and the most definite appeal yet fashioned for class-conscious democracy, when, in measured terms and in the most precise language, he formulated almost eighty years ago the demand of the Irish Nation:

"Her demand in full and fine," he said, "is for what is of more effective worth and weight than all the political constitutions that were ever fashioned; for what Senates or Sovereigns

cannot make or unmake, but men must make for themselves—her demand is for a new Social Constitution under which to live. . . . Political rights are but paper and parchment. It is the social constitution that determines the condition and the character of a people, that makes and moulds the life of men."

The Materialist Conception.

Political thought and social values have undergone much change since Lalor's time ; indeed, the whole outlook of Society has been transformed even since 1914. What the few propagandists, who were as a voice in the desert, then preached, urged and demanded, the great mass of the people to-day accept as their political creed. Even sentiment dare not now declaim the materialistic conception of Society ; and looking out on our own country, the condition of the people, and the disillusionment that time has wrought, we cannot fail being struck by the reflection on the Paris Revolution of 1848 of the foremost of proletarian writers and their application to the conditions of which we are witnesses :

"The February Revolution," he wrote, "was misnamed the glorious revolution, the revolution of mutual sympathy because the antagonist elements were wrapped up in general enmity against royalty, because the social war which formed the background had only an aerial existence, the existence of a phrase. . . . The fraternity, the brotherhood of the classes, of which one exploits the other ; this fraternity . . . has found its true, frank, and unmistakable expression in the Civil War between Labour and Capital. This fraternity reflected its lights from the windows of Paris when the Paris of the Bourgeoisie illuminated, while the Paris of the Proletariat was burning, bleeding and agonizing."

Partition.

Apart from the compelling influences of economic forces; hunger and unemployment, in a land endowed by Providence with a lavish hand ; unfed children, slums, workhouses, untilled fields, and idle factories ruined and dismantled by the roadside ; emigration and destitution clamouring for attention, there are other sources of discontent, other appeals to reason or passion, whichever you will, militating against internal peace and social order, and they must, as they will, find physical expression. No country with Ireland's traditions, and no people with the tenacity and perseverance of the Irish, can ever be reconciled to the permanent artificial dismemberment of territory and people. The division of the country into two spheres of economic influence on the absurd pretext that we are two distinct peoples is stupid and futile. Not once, but

a hundred times has the one-ness of the Irish people been demonstrated. The working-class, both North and South, have a cherished heritage that neither Frontiers nor Boundaries can destroy; to attempt it is folly. The people on both sides of the present, or any future, Boundary will inevitably, as occasion arises, regard themselves as one and indivisible. Perhaps the passions aroused by the exploiting class here at home and across the Channel may, for a time, keep them apart; perhaps a Boundary to divide, separate and sever them will be tolerated for a time; perhaps the people in high places believe they can for ever fool one half of the people, and intimidate the other half into submission to this monstrous scheme for the partition of the country, but there are still forces inherent in this land and in the common people of the country that will finally thwart this enterprise. Every step in the onward march of the Irish Working-Class Movement challenges this attempt at division. The interests of the Belfast worker are not dissimilar to those of the Dublin worker; neither does a conflict of interests arise between the Galway Peasant-Proprietor and an Antrim Tenant-Farmer. In either parallel usury and profit demand tribute from the wealth producer before he is permitted to earn his bread. The Labour Movement again and again insisted that the interests subsisting between the toiling masses of the North and South will utterly and finally destroy the originators of partition and exclusion. Who doubts it? As the economic basis of our future struggle, on both sides of the Boundary, reveals itself and its ultimate aim becomes understood, "Ulster will not be on our flank, but at our side."

The Prisoners.

We cannot pass away from these considerations without referring to, and emphasizing, the demand for the release of the thousands of men and women who are detained as political prisoners by the Governments here and in Belfast. If the political future of the Belfast Statelet cannot be guaranteed by the abolition of proportional representation, the imposition of Oaths of Allegiance, the suppression of Councils politically opposed to it, by the "Cat," the Gun, and the "black squad," without, in addition, the internment of every suspect bread-winner who escaped with his life from the burnings and wreckage of the last three years, it rests on volcanic substance. These prisoners are detained without trial, and in most cases without being charged with any offence, where the justification for offence is legion, and are huddled together like animals on a Convict Ship, or interned in disused Workhouses. The majority of them belong to the Trade Unions, and have been delegates to their local Councils and some to our own Congresses. We, for our part, will strive earnestly and persistently to secure their speedy release from captivity. Their continued detention outrages all conceptions of civilised Society and Constitutional Government.

Here, on the other side of the picture, we find in this city another Government entrenched behind much the same safeguards as those employed by their Belfast contemporary. Upwards of 12,000 men and women are detained here in Prisons, Internment Camps, and under conditions which may be good or bad but which, at any rate, have given rise to frequent and persistent disturbance within the Prisons. To the ordinary spectator, who is powerless to interfere, evasive replies and self-righteous justification may be vouchsafed for denying these people their liberty, but the common people of the country will not tolerate with impunity the continued violation of all personal liberty.

Enemies of Society.

The case for the indefinite detention of the Government's political opponents no longer exists. Unless the Government realises that feeling in favour of an immediate release of their prisoners is deep and vehement they must accept responsibility for the consequences. Whilst at the first blush one is disposed to accept the view-point, that people guilty of violence against the citizens stand, in the eyes of Society, in somewhat a different position to those who are detained solely because of their political convictions, deeper penetration reveals the insincerity underlying the entire proposition so far as it applies to these prisoners. A special enactment was made to punish by flogging and other indignities the man who uses a gun against the community on the grounds that he is a malefactor, even though admitting that he is inspired with the very highest and most selfless motives, but the man who poisons our children with adulterated milk, or attempts to poison the community with contaminated food, is permitted, in the same Society, to live in peace and opulence in a suburban villa, and is rewarded for his commercial enterprise with a Peace Commissionership or a seat in the Senate. If violence against the community is to be punished impartially in case of the child-murderer and the armed marauder, adapting the punishment to fit the crime in each instance, the public mind may become reconciled to the sincerity of professions that, viewed in the light of public performance, seem unreal and shallow.

The Class Struggle.

The conflict which appears to be developing between organised Capital and organised Labour in the several parts of the country recalls to mind the striking characteristic prophecy uttered at the Derry Congress by our friend, Tom MacPartlin, in his Presidential Address:—

"We workers," said he, "have to remember that the advent of an Irish Parliament will be the signal for the real opening of the Class War."

When that statement was made, the Press of the country united in trouncing MacPartlin and it is questionable if the workers, with any degree of unanimity, accepted the accuracy of his forecast. In the meantime, however, we have been glancing at history and observing the evolution of the new social order. The average worker is not usually concerned so much with what the majority of the historians profess to reveal as with the deductions to be drawn from the facts. For them the most decisive thing to be learnt from history is this: every advancement registered by the National struggle for political independence revealed more clearly the social identity of the participants in each succeeding domestic struggle; whether we think of Catholic emancipation separating the interests of the wealthy Catholic from those of the Catholic wage-slave, or of the various Land Acts erecting the distinguishing Class Bar between the extensive landowner and the landless farm worker, we are reminded that this historical lesson is not a myth. The segregation of the classes has been rendered almost complete by the most recent advancement in the National contest. Another turn of the wheel will complete it. The final disruption of the Nation into two real Nations—into a Nation of property and a Nation of no property—is partially realised, and its realisation will reveal itself in every future industrial dispute arising in the country. Witness Waterford. Farmer and merchant, without reference to political convictions or previous allegiances, have drawn towards one another in resisting the demand of the farm labourers for tolerable conditions of life. Those extraneous considerations that not infrequently ranged, during the last quarter of a century, the more enlightened elements amongst the nationally minded small employers on the side of the workers, no longer prevail, or, if to any extent they do prevail, their efforts are negative. Every future conflict between Capital and Labour will assume yet more definitely a social complexion that heretofore was not always so pronounced. The people in County Waterford who fought and suffered for two or three weary years and those who, in the midst of the fight, remained loyally at their post producing the food which indemnified the Nation against an artificial famine, are not as Pearse would have them: "Lord and Master."

In an attempt to reduce their wages as servants and vassals below the starvation level, their masters, who, themselves, are but one step higher in the social scale than the farm labourers, have, with the aid of, if one might without irreverence quote Winston Churchill, "all the resources of the State," driven them back, and to-day are proudly boasting, as the employers of Dublin did in 1913, that the farm labourers can starve unless they are prepared to accept the Masters' terms.

The Land Question.

Perhaps the passage through the Dáil of the last of the many

Land Acts is the final attempt to separate definitely and finally the men of property from the men of no property. Judged from the view-point of the worker, it represents another milestone towards that absolute ownership of land and property that may one day produce another famine in this country. There ought not and there can be no absolute ownership in land. It belongs to the Nation. As Lalor remarks:—

“The earth, together with all it spontaneously produces, is the free and common property of all mankind; of natural right, and by the grant of God, and, all men being equal, no man, therefore, has a right to appropriate exclusively to himself any part or portion thereof except with the common consent and agreement of all other men.”

All property within the Nation belongs of right to the Nation. It is essential that landholders recognise this eternal truth and act on it. With the help of their comrades in the towns the small landholders have displaced the landlords and destroyed the most rapacious and vicious landlord system in Europe. The landlords had no right in the country except whatever rights Force conferred upon them. The small farmers, the peasant proprietors, the small landholders are the custodians of the Nation's land; they live on it; they work on it; and by tilling it win from it the essential food which the people need and with which a Bountiful Providence rewards their labours. Being the custodian of this, the richest asset of the Nation, they have a duty imposed upon them that the country expects will be discharged; it will be an evil day for them, and for us, when they fail to draw from their land the best it is capable of giving. Amongst the landholders, those who are, and those who are about to be, Peasant-Proprietors, are many thousands scattered all over the country, particularly in the Congested Districts, who are in essence and in fact manual workers. From early morning until late at night they struggle with their small uneconomic holdings to eke out a miserable reward for laborious toil; to-day they pride themselves on Peasant-Proprietorship. Unless they are already aware of the fact, it will soon impress itself upon them that that in nowise distinguishes them from the remainder of the producing class of the country. For, do they, too, not work for hire? In practice they are the slaves of the money-lenders and financiers. Upon their toil, taking precedence over their own food and the food and clothing of their children, is levied as a first charge, rent for the landlord, interest for the Banks, and profit for the financiers. They may call their rent an annuity, but it is rent nevertheless. Just as the miner produces royalties for the landlord or the rail porter produces dividend for the shareholders, and the small shopkeeper produces profit for the middleman, so, too, the peasant proprietor produces rent and interest and profit for

a horde of parasites whose faces, probably, he never sees, but who, nevertheless, live on him and extract a profit from his toil.

Peasants and Workers.

It is essential that this new class in the community, the Peasant Proprietors, the men who till their own lands, work hard on them, and get a poor recompense, should recognise their identity with the other wealth-producers of the Nation. When the battle of the Land League was being fought the farm labourers and the town workers assisted the struggling farmer, recognising that he was, like themselves, struggling for social freedom. He may require their assistance again. Under the Land Act of 1903 alone the Peasantry of Ireland have, it is calculated, saddled themselves with £30,000,000 of purchase money over and above the total value of the lands from which the landlords were driven out. This represents an equivalent of from six to eight years' purchase more than the lands were worth; and the Peasant-Proprietors will be called upon for this generation and the next to find the interest on the capital sums advanced to the landlords by a paternal Government.

Agricultural Co-operation.

Presently the Peasant Proprietors and Tenant Farmers, confronted with ruinous competition from other countries, where agricultural development is more pronounced than here, and handicapped by obsolete methods of farming which their poverty imposes on them, and unable to meet the one or right the other, will find a difficulty in paying their annuities. Forced out of their little homesteads, dispossessed as thousands of other Irish peasants were of the land they enriched with their toil, the Peasant Proprietor, the independent small farmer of to-day, will become, one day, a wage-earner, seeking employment from the rich farmers who to-day control the Farmers' Union, and convert the peasants into vassals. Or, they will come to the cities, and in the queue outside some factory or workshop gate will take their turn with hundreds of other unemployed workers to sell their labour, or attempt to sell it, when it suits the Industrial Magnate to buy. The hope of a better time for our agricultural community, whether to-day they are Peasant Proprietors owning small uneconomic holdings or propertyless agricultural labourers, resides in an agricultural co-operative movement of wealth producers. The antagonism that exists between the farmer and the agricultural labourer arises out of the agricultural depression which is, itself, a reflex on an obsolete agricultural policy. On the one hand, small holdings require extensive expenditure of labour power, and large undeveloped tracts and ranches on the other are ruinous from a national standpoint, and are doubly so from the standpoint of the agriculturists.

Our future policy should aim at a development of co-operation amongst the wealth producers in agriculture. The Peasant Proprietors of economic holdings must, sooner or later—and the sooner the better for everybody—pool their resources and generally assist each other in the management and cultivation of their little holdings. The large tracts of land that are to-day derelict, and the large farms that have gone out of cultivation, must be brought back into the service of the people. Upon these tracts may be planted as co-operators, rather than as Proprietors of uneconomic holdings, the dispossessed farm workers of to-day. At the outset, these proposals are likely to arouse antagonism, but every new development in any other country will, of necessity, impress upon the Irish agricultural community the folly of the existing system, and the foolishness of any development fashioned upon it. It was once said that if a wall of brass was erected around Ireland she could support herself. That contention holds good no more than the other contention that the people of Ireland may continue indifferent to world influences. An alteration in the method of production and distribution, or in the fiscal policy of other countries, no matter how near or how remote, will reflect themselves on the conditions in Ireland just as inevitably as the crash in the German currency is reflected in the conditions of the French and British people. No country is an entity unto itself, or can escape from the influences of its environment, no more than a man living in the heart of the city can escape from the influences exerted by the Society in which he moves.

Power of Financiers.

It may be said in passing that our Policy here and in every other country has been and will be dictated by the controllers of finance : whoever has control of credit shapes the destiny of the country. In the present arrangement of Society we can neither buy nor sell except with the aid of Credit Power. The Banks and the Financiers associated with them in most European countries control and direct the whole Industrial Machine through their financial operations. It may be said that they make and unmake Governments. Their influence in Ireland has not, up to the present, been so perceptible, but it is daily growing. According as the Government and Industrial enterprise require money and borrow it from the Banks, the influence of the Banks will grow. The evil results with which this growing power of the Financiers is attended in other countries should be a warning to us here, and should, above all, be a warning to our Peasantry that their emancipation lies in the opposite direction. By adopting an intelligent policy of co-operative production and distribution, and a co-operative financing of enterprise, these evils may be avoided.

Our Industrial Movement, the Trade Union Movement, as such,

cannot be indifferent to the dangers attending the lethargy so evident in our agricultural life no more than they can ignore the growing power of finance-capital in our Industrial life. Wherever we are organised, whether on the industrial field or on the political field, all our efforts must be directed towards removing from the control of parasites the sources of our National wealth. The bulk of the people of this country—because the parasites, after all, are few—have an interest, and a very deep interest in obtaining for the wealth producers control of the fruits of their labours. Not until the wealth producers of the Nation own the Nation, and govern it according to their needs in defence of their interests without let or hindrance from any power or authority, in Ireland or outside it, can the work of reconstruction, of which to-day we hear so much, be complete, or the final status of this country be determined. Towards this end the full might and force and effect of the Labour Movement in its Industrial, Political and Military expression, must be thrown into the scale now, and towards this end it must be directed, guided and governed.

Labour in the Dáil.

We cannot permit this opportunity to pass without registering our appreciation of the political work of the representatives in the Dáil of this Movement. In spite of the smallness of the group, and in the face of the antagonisms and passions aroused by the military conflict in the country, we may feel a modest pride in contemplating the achievements of the Labour Deputies. They, at any rate, breathed into the assembly a spirit of humanity and understanding, when all was dark and passion-swept. Misrepresentations there will be, and in the main they will originate with those who endeavoured to prevent the independent political expression of the Movement, but history will tell that the Labour Group in Dáil Eireann kept the faith shining when the other parties would extinguish it. We need have no fear that our people are indifferent to the work of the Labour Party. The opportunity of again giving them a mandate to continue their efforts on behalf of the Movement presented by the forthcoming Elections will, no doubt, be availed of to strengthen their position, and increase their numbers. It may be safely said not less than fifty candidates, fully and definitely pledged to this Congress, and rendering allegiance to the Movement, will enter the contest. If those who desire that this country should not be further sullied by the hate and passion arising out of political differences, and that its full and effective natural capacity to sustain the population of the country in abundant prosperity use the power the present extensive franchise confers, the Labour Party in the next Dáil will be an effective check on the tendency towards "mad-dog legislation."

Unemployment.

We have not yet felt the full disastrous consequences of the European War and of the Anglo-Irish and Civil Wars, but indications are not wanting that we are rapidly moving towards a condition of affairs that in suffering and hardship will rival anything we have yet experienced. In this country not less than 70,000 people are either totally unemployed, working at part-time employment, serving in the Armies, or detained as prisoners in the jails and internment camps. Many of these, as a result of continued absence from useful toil for a considerable period, are largely unfitted to resume their ordinary avocations. That, however, is not the most serious aspect of the problem. Under the present system there seems very little probability that the majority of these men and women will find any employment, whether suitable or unsuitable. It is pleaded that money cannot be found to start these idle workers in industry. Yet it seems strange that money can be found for gunpowder, but none for building houses. Thousands of pounds are expended in keeping men idle; half the amount would set going the whole industrial machine of the country, and set men and women to the useful task of producing more wealth. If one-half the money this country expends on purchasing from other countries the things that can be usefully produced at home was diverted to the support of native industries there need be no unemployment. It is no reason for the present policy to say outside competitors can do the work cheaper; cheapness is a relative term; it is not sound economics, nor can it be justified on any rational grounds to import the products of England's mills and factories while our own factories are shut down, and the workers driven out of their employment.

Organise as a Class.

If the claim that the Irish employer is looking for a higher price, and, presumably, higher profit for his products than his competitor is established, it seems possible to devise a method which will, while guaranteeing to the worker a decent standard of comfort, provide the community with the things they need at a reasonable price. Upon the Government, primarily, falls the responsibility for this task, but, although secondary, the responsibility of every citizen to expend the wealth derived from the resources of this country in purchasing their requirements at home, is hardly less important. With these considerations before us, our policy must direct itself towards preventing unemployment by providing constant work for those who are willing and able to undertake it; to prevent the importation of commodities from other countries so far as we are able to satisfy the needs of the people, and, if needs be, to revert to a state of civilisation commensurate with the conditions and possibilities of the people. Money expended on luxuries,

doubly so when they are imported, renders the nation so much the poorer ; every time a wealthy man or woman spends £100 on a continental holiday, that amount of the Nation's wealth is wasted ; every time a fashionable lady expends £250 on a luxurious overcoat, that amount of money is withdrawn from the services of the people who produce it. To correct the state of Society out of which these abuses arise is the first and most important duty before us. If our energies and efforts are wisely and courageously directed towards this end, we will earn the good-will and elicit the support of every honest citizen. The over-taxed peasant, the underpaid agricultural labourer, the artisan who wanders idly around the work-shop gate, the idle docker and the unemployed labourer, all are affected by the wasteful extravagance that bestows luxury on one class whilst degrading by unemployment, starvation and disease, the other. No single unit amongst the wealth-producing masses could alone accomplish the task, together they cannot fail to accomplish it. If, instead of wasting our energies on the small affairs of life, sullenly nursing our wrongs and tearing ourselves asunder about generalities and personalities, we give our whole heart and soul in preparing, by closing our ranks, finding our friends, and cementing our friendships, to reconquering our liberties, conferring on all and each that real liberty that matters more than anything else, the abuses will disappear and the morning of promise will have dawned. First and foremost we must make ourselves worthy of our inheritance. Let us hearken to Connolly :—

“ Let us organise as a Class to meet our Masters and destroy their Mastership ; organise to drive them from their hold upon public life through their political power ; organise to wrench from their robber clutch the land and workshop in which they enslave us ; organise to cleanse our social life from the stains of social cannibalism, from the preying of man upon his fellow-man ; organise for a full, free, and happy life for all, or for none.”

A vote of thanks to the Chairman for his Address was moved by Mr. THOMAS NAGLE, T.D. (I.T. & G.W.U., Blarney), seconded by Mr. THOMAS IRWIN (Plasterers' Society, Dublin), and carried by acclamation. The Chairman returned thanks, and the meeting adjourned until the following day.

Second Day—Tuesday, August 7th.

MR. DUFFY again presided, and there was a full attendance of delegates.

The selection of members of the Standing Orders Committee was ratified at the suggestion of the President.

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE REPORT.

Congress then proceeded with the consideration of the Report of the National Executive :—

Part I.—The State of the Country.

This was adopted without discussion.

Part II.—Relations between Unions.

On the suggestion of the Chairman, Resolution No. 5—

That the Attention of Congress be drawn to the inactivity of the National Executive with reference to our Resolution re the formation of a Distributive Workers' Union.

—from the National Union of Vintners', Grocers' and Allied Trades Assistants—was taken with paragraph 3 of the Report.

The Resolution and Paragraph were passed.

MR. NORTON (Post Office Workers' Union, Dublin) expressed his pleasure at the amalgamation of the two Unions of Postal Workers, and his hope that distrust, dissension and disunion amongst them was a thing of the past. Every grade in the Post Office was in favour of the amalgamation, for they recognised that it was the only good policy for the workers. Without being unduly optimistic he could assure the Congress that the Labour Movement in Ireland would have in the Post Office Workers an active arm.

Part II. of the Report was adopted.

Part III.—Unemployment.

MR. DENIS CULLEN, on behalf of the National Executive, moved, in connection with paragraph 10 of the Report, Resolution No. 30 :

That the prevalence of unemployment is the most serious problem confronting the State; that in view of the failure of irresponsible private enterprise to provide employment for many thousands of willing workers, it is an obligation on the National Government to provide the unemployed with opportunities for useful work at standard Trade Union wages; and that the resources of the State should be availed of to the utmost extent to remedy the most serious of social evils—involuntary poverty caused by unemployment.

They were all agreed, he said, that unemployment was a most serious problem, and because of that agreement there was a certain public apathy. It should be pressed home on the Government that the Congress could not take unemployment to be one of the inevitable evils that the people must put up with. Measures must be taken to deal with the problem, for irresponsible enterprise could not deal adequately with it. The Committee on Reconstruction had made recommendations but the Government were

scandalously apathetic with regard to the matter. If the proposals of the Commission had been carried out some ten thousand men would be employed on road-making. The head of the Government had characterised the proposals of the Commission as scandalous. The country would reap the benefit if the recommendations of hard-headed men were carried out.

MR. J. BERMINGHAM (National Union of Railwaymen) seconded. He said he could not understand the Government when they asked for advice, and got it, turning down and rejecting that advice. It was little more than waste of time, and of public money, to set up a Commission when there was no thought of acting on its recommendations. He hoped that Congress would rouse the workers, and make good the lee-way they should have made up long ago.

MR. S. BRADLEY (Amalgamated Engineering Union), said that while agreeing with the remarks of the proposer and seconder, he hoped it would not be forgotten that the evil of unemployment could not be cured by mere road-making. He referred to the nationalisation of the Railways, and said it was up to the organised worker to propound schemes that would put an end to unemployment.

MISS BENNETT (Women Workers' Union, Dublin) said she thought the Resolution did not go anything like far enough. What it aimed at was to shove the whole thing over on a Capitalistic Government. Resolutions were no use unless they had the rank and file of the Labour Party behind them. It was a great weakness in a Trade Union to depend for its strength on a Government or a political party. She thought it would be a good thing to have a Committee to deal with unemployment, because for women unemployment was a serious problem, for which road-making was no remedy. They should keep their eyes open to what was happening in Italy, and the workers should start something themselves.

MR. W. J. DOWLING (Post Office Workers' Union, Mountrath) endorsed the suggestion made by Mr. Bermingham. The sooner the Free State administration was driven to take action the better. There was a great deal to be done in the way of reconstruction, and the Government had the money to carry out the work, and that money should be used for the development of the country in the interests of the people who produced it.

MR. F. McGRATH (I.T. & G.W.U., Belfast) said it was time to get rid of political bluff, and it was not by passing pious resolutions that the evil could be got rid of. He thought the National Executive were rather weak on the subject. The Labour Party must declare a policy which would make for a change in the Social system. He was convinced that the existing order of Society stood condemned, and until they had the industrial interests controlled by Labour, they would never have a solution to the problem.

The Resolution and the Paragraph were adopted.

On Paragraph II, MR. T. RYAN (I.T. & G.W.U., Waterford) said that the administration of Unemployment Insurance at present was very unsatisfactory. An enormous number of men in Waterford had been turned down because they were affected by the dispute that existed in that county, and city men were improperly disqualified for benefit.

MR. M. NOLAN (I.T. & G.W.U., Belfast) said that they had similar trouble in Belfast where seamen had been locked out, owing to a dispute with which they had nothing to do.

MR. E. P. HART (Amalgamated Transport Workers' Union, Dublin) said that they had a condition of things in Donegal that if a man wished to go before a Referee as to benefit he had first to go to Sligo. He mentioned other instances of similar hardships in other places where payment had been stopped from 400 men who were entitled to be paid since they had paid their contributions regularly and were entitled, therefore, to be paid when they were out of employment.

MR. M. DOYLE (I.T. & G.W.U., Kildare) said that a great number of men received no benefit at all for the money they had paid. Changes were being made in the system every month, which they could not follow. Both employers and employees were of the opinion that the Act was not giving value for the money, and that it would have to be improved or scrapped altogether.

MR. GAULE (I.T. & G.W.U., Arklow) said that the time had come when organised Labour should see about taking over altogether the administration of the Insurance. By that means they could keep out people who had never done an honest day's work in their lives.

MR. T. WARD (National Union of Railwaymen, Belfast) said that the Labour Exchange in Belfast had had serious complaints made against it with regard to the employers not attending the Courts of Referees in order to assist the workers in obtaining the benefits to which they were entitled. They in Belfast hoped that some better plan than the present one would be instituted.

MR. JOHN FARREN (Sheet Metal Workers' Union, Dublin) said that the Act should be amended so that men who were "locked out," when they had no dispute with their employers, should receive unemployment benefit. There were girls out of employment who had been employed in offices, others who had been at millinery and such trades, and the referees decided that such as these could not get benefit unless they took up domestic service. He held that that was very unfair.

MISS O'CONNOR (Women Workers' Union, Dublin) said she was a member of the Court of Referees, and that she knew great injustice was being done by the Court. If extra representatives of the workers could be made members of the Court she thought it would be a very good thing. As a domestic worker she objected to the Court saying that any young girl was fitted to be a domestic servant when she had no training for it. A young woman who

had been a clerk in one of the Banks, and who had been pushed out when the men came back from the war, was offered domestic service. The members of the Court seemed somewhat shame-faced about it, and they did not press it. It was true to say that the workers' representatives did not attend the Court.

MR. S. BRADLEY (Amalgamated Engineering Union, Dublin) said that a great many people forgot that the Act was placed on the Statute Book for the benefit of the workers. Before the Act could be amended to the satisfaction of the workers they should have sufficient representation in the Dáil to enable the law to be administered in the interest of the workers.

The CHAIRMAN said that the Court of Referees could be materially improved, and that, with all its imperfections, it would be a bad thing to scrap the Act. The people who administered the Act had it all their own way. The replies received from the country to a circular sent out by the Secretary showed that the contributing workers were not antagonistic to it. The point that people who were "locked out" by reason of a dispute in other ranks, got no benefit, did not lie with the Court of Referees. It was possible to amend the Act, and to introduce a scheme that would be more acceptable to the workers than the existing one. The employers wanted the Act to be scrapped, and that fact ought to be enough for the workers to see that it was not scrapped. The point with reference to people who were paying contributions for years and never expected to receive any benefit was not understood as it should be. He had discovered last week that any person who had 500 weekly payments to his credit would, when he came to the age of sixty years, be entitled to a lump sum. There was a circular issued by the Ministry under which that lump sum could be secured. The matter was receiving attention from the National Executive to whom any complaints should be sent.

MR. T. IRWIN (Plasterers' Society, Dublin) said that this matter had been discussed at every Congress since the Unemployment Benefit came into being. The Court of Referees was the most farcical thing in the world. In nine cases out of ten the decision was against the worker. The whole Act needed amendment for many reasons. They should insist that when the Court of Referees gave its decision there should be no person to revise that decision.

He believed that Congress would be well advised in appointing representatives to meet the Executive, and to go into every phase of this question.

MR. MANSFIELD (National Teachers' Organization, Co. Tipperary) asked did the President mean that a person should be a subscriber for ten years in order to get the lump sum?

The CHAIRMAN said that he understood that any person who was under fifty when he became insured, on the payment of 500 weeks' contributions would be entitled to the grant when he reached the age of sixty years.

MR. J. COLLINS (Amalgamated Furnishing Trades' Association, Dublin) called attention to a practice in the Labour Exchange of giving cards to young girls who take jobs at a lower rate of wages than men.

Paragraphs 11 and 12 of the Report were agreed to.

Report of Standing Orders Committee.

During the discussion on Part III. of the National Executive's Report the Standing Orders Committee presented the following Report * :—

Standing Orders Committee make report that they have examined the Credentials in respect of 241 delegates, and an affiliated membership of 281,000. They have found all Credentials in order.

In respect to the nominations for the National Executive they report that Mr. D. R. Campbell on the 27th July had wired declining nomination for the position of Treasurer, and that delegate requests Standing Orders to report that, inasmuch as the same Union nominated him last year and he had declined, it would have been only courteous to have consulted him on this occasion before renewing nomination.

The Committee also begs to report that Mr. P. T. Daly, not being a delegate, is ineligible for the position of Secretary.

All other nominations on the list appear to be in order.

They also beg to recommend that Congress extend this sitting till 3 o'clock, and do not resume its sittings to-day.

They wished to draw the attention of delegates to a Notice appearing in the morning Press by the Dublin Trades' Council, inviting them to attend a meeting in the Trades' Hall, and to remind them (the delegates) that the affiliation of that Organisation to Congress was ended two years ago.

MR. T. FARREN (Workers' Council, Dublin), moving the adoption of the Report, said that he had before him a copy of the "Irish Times" which contained an advertisement inviting the delegates to the Dublin Trades Council Hall that evening. There was underlying that invitation a motive that would destroy the Labour Movement that had stood four square before the country. He hoped that invitation would not be accepted by any delegates, coming as it did from the people who tried to prevent them from attending the Congress.

* Recommendations of the Standing Orders Committee, which dealt with such matters as the coupling of Resolutions and Paragraphs of the National Executive's Report and similar details, and which were adopted by the Congress, are not printed, the decisions taken being shown by the form of this Report.

The CHAIRMAN said that he did not think that it was necessary to add anything to what Mr. Farren said. The Dublin Trades Council was a "scab" body and nothing else.

The Report of the Standing Orders Committee was approved.

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE REPORT—Discussion resumed.

Part IV.—Health Insurance.

This part of the Report was taken in conjunction with Resolution 15 and the Amendments thereto.

MR. L. J. LARKIN (Workers' Council, Waterford) moved Resolution No. 15 :—

That this Council requests the Irish Labour Party and Trade Union Congress to take immediate steps to have the medical benefits under State Insurance as at present in force in England put into operation in the Irish Free State.

After a brief discussion the Resolution was withdrawn in favour of Amendment 15A. :—

This Congress demands that medical benefits will be included in the present State scheme of National Health Insurance, and urges on the National Executive to convene a Conference of Trade Union Approved Societies to assist in the preparation of a suitable scheme to give effect to this Resolution.

MR. J. W. KELLY (Distributive Workers' Union, Dublin) moved the Amendment as substantive Resolution.

MR. SEAMUS BYRNE (Life Assurance Workers' Union, Dublin), seconding, said that as to medical benefits only a Conference could get over the difficulty.

ALDERMAN T. LAWLOR (Municipal Employees' Union, Dublin) was of opinion that medical benefits should be made a State question, and should not be confined to those who happened to be insured. These should be something better than the Panel system.

The Resolution was passed.

Irish Trade Union Congress Health Insurance Society.

MR. J. WICKHAM (Vehicle Builders' Union, Dublin) said that the National Executive deserved the congratulations of Congress for their efforts in the formation of the Irish Trade Union Congress Health Insurance Society.

MR. THOMAS JOHNSON, Secretary, explained that the stimulus which led the Executive to take action was this: There were no less than twenty-seven different Trade Union Organisations having Headquarters in Great Britain whose members were, perforce, to be transferred to Societies having Headquarters within the Twenty-Six Counties. There was a risk facing all these Unions that their members would be diverted to friendly Societies and be dispersed, whether they wished it or not, among non-Trade

Union Societies. That was the factor that prevailed upon the Executive to proceed with the organisation of a new Society which would embody all the transferred members. It was not possible to persuade all the Societies to transfer their members to the new Society, as some of them were strong enough to form a separate Society themselves. The new Society had begun with a membership of over 8,000, and as time went on, if no great change took place in the Health Insurance Acts, it might be found possible to use the new Society as the nucleus for a general amalgamation. It was not the present intention to urge the existing Trade Union Societies immediately to come into the new Organisation. That would depend entirely upon the course of events. They hoped that if the movement became even more consolidated than it was, and it was found that the existing Health Insurance Societies could, with advantage to themselves, amalgamate with the new Organisation, then the new Organisation might be the nucleus of a General Health Insurance for Trade Union members.

Part IV. of the Report was adopted.

Part V.—Trade Boards.

MISS L. BENNETT (Women Workers' Union, Dublin) said that they were still opposed to Trade Boards, but they were impressed by the fact that it was necessary for them (Women Workers) to fall in with the common policy of the Trade Unions in regard to Trade Boards, and for that reason they had asked Mr. Johnson to call a Conference. They did not agree that there was any need for Trade Boards in any well-organised industry.

The CHAIRMAN said it was hardly fair to say that the Women Workers' Union were opposed to the establishment of Trade Boards. The Resolution that was passed at a former Congress, and which was adopted, was moved by Miss Moloney.

MISS BENNETT—"One may change one's mind."

MR. JOHNSON, Secretary—"Another point is that it was in consequence of the Resolution of Congress in 1917 that pressure was brought to bear on the authorities of the time in favour of Trade Boards covering Printing and Stationery."

MISS BENNETT—"When there was a proposal that they should be included in the Trade Boards Act there was a Conference held in London on the subject, and the Conference refused to have a Trade Board. That was in 1919."

MR. W. CARPENTER (Garment Workers' Union, Dublin) said that in certain industries Trade Boards were of the utmost importance, and should not be scrapped, but strengthened, if possible. His trade was very much affected by the bringing in of young labour.

MR. W. J. KELLY (Distributive Workers' Union, Dublin) said that one thing to be insisted on was the question of inspectors.

There was not enough of them. When boys and girls went to Industrial Schools and went to work no attention was paid to them by their former guardians. He hoped Congress would endorse the decision come to by the Committee, and that Trade Boards would be maintained.

MR. E. TUCKER (Brushmakers' Society, Dublin) said that Inspectors should have some knowledge of the trade they were looking after.

MR. D. GORDON (Flax Roughers' Union, Belfast) said that employers did not want Trade Boards because they increased the rate of wages, and workers without Trade Boards would be at the mercy of employers.

MR. G. SPAIN (Dublin Workers' Council) and MR. McNAMARA (Workers' Council, Clare) spoke in favour of the Paragraph.

Part V. of the Report was adopted.

Part VI.—Government Contracts and Conditions on Military Work.

Paragraphs 16 and 19 of the Report were taken in conjunction with Resolution 16 :—

This Congress views with grave concern the tendency to place a large volume of Government Contracts outside Saorstát Éireann, and believes the whole Contract system of the Government is open to serious abuses. It demands that an Advisory Committee upon which the Trade Union Movement will be amply represented shall be set up to enquire into the placing of Contracts, and to advise thereon.

MR. J. W. KELLY (Distributive Workers' Union, Dublin) in moving the Resolution said that he was particularly concerned for the Clothing Industry, and mentioned that the Free State Government had on the 18th July invited Tenders for Clothing at prices which would not allow a profit to anybody. The employers came to the workers, and said that in order to secure the Contract wages should be reduced. Contracts for Clothing for the Army were being sent out of the country, with the result that three hundred girls were thrown out of employment. The clothing industry could be extended ten times if the dumping of English-made goods were stopped. Contracts should be kept at home even if prices were higher than elsewhere.

MR. W. CARPENTER (Garment Makers' Union, Dublin) seconded the Resolution, and mentioned that the military authorities had got a sample suit from a man named Schneider in the East-end of London, at 17s. 6d. complete. Irish contractors had told him that if they were allowed the same conditions of tendering as Schneider had, they could make the same or as good a suit in Dublin for 17s. 6d. The Irish Trader was told that the material must be of Irish manufacture, and that the employer must pay the standard rate of wages, while Schneider put no Irish manufacture in the suits.

MR. W. J. DOWLING (Post Office Workers' Union, Mountrath) — "Is it a fact that the officer responsible for Government Contracts is the present Quarter-Master-General, and is he the person who is giving Contracts to Jews in London to be carried out under 'sweated' conditions?"

THE CHAIRMAN—I cannot answer that question. I do not think there is any objection to Jews, any more than there is to alleged Christians, as long as they pay the recognised rate of wages.

MR. I. BAKER (Garment Makers' Union) objected to any discrimination between Jew and Gentile, so long as either did his work right. Work should not be sent out of Ireland.

MR. J. CRONIN (Trades Council, Limerick) said that in his city there was a factory which manufactured uniforms for the military. They pointed out to the Government that the uniforms for the military were being procured from sweated labour in Pimlico. The Government replied that they were very poor, and that they had to go to London to get cheap "shoddy" with which to dress the Army. He would rather see Irish soldiers fighting in their sleeves than wearing British "shoddy."

MR. JOHNSON, Secretary, said that there was one aspect of this question which should not be lost sight of. No earlier than last Friday it was elicited that portion of the work of printing the Register of Electors had been sent to England. It seemed from the information at his disposal that there was absolutely no justification for that action. A certain period of time was allowed for the printing. The Printers were supposed to have had the copy three weeks before it was handed in; and an Inspector from the Stationery Office called and took away a large part of it because it could not be done in time. That was done in direct breach of the arrangement that was made and the assurance given by the Contracts Committee that the work would be done within this country. First of all it was a rushed election, and then, to prepare for that election, the printing had to be sent to England to be finished, while there were, he was told, a considerable number of printing establishments that were not working at full pressure in Ireland.

MR. T. CASSIDY (Typographical Association, Derry) thanked Mr. Johnson for raising this question. Many printers in the country had a great grievance as to the action of individuals who were sent down to rush the printing of the Voters' Lists. In most cases the copy had been handed in several days later than it had been promised, and it looked as if some of the officials were anxious to send the work out of the country to England.

MR. P. J. McNAMARA (Workers' Council, Clare) made a complaint on the subject on behalf of the printers at Ennis.

SENATOR T. MACPARTLIN (Amalgamated Woodworkers' Society, Dublin) drew attention to another Contract given by the Government in which men had been imported from Belfast and London

to do the work, while Dublin men who could do the work as well were idle. He had information to the effect that a Government department was trying to create a practice which the Unions had defeated up to this, namely, of importing an amount of work for building, such as carpentry, etc.

MR. W. CLANCY (I.T. & G.W.U., Cork) suggested that the whole thing should be taken out of the hands of an incompetent Government.

MR. J. WICKHAM (Vehicle Builders' Union, Dublin) supported the proposal to set up an Advisory Committee.

MR. THOMAS BOYLE (Dublin Workers' Council) quoted instances where the Government had purchased Ford Cars and deprived agents in this country of the commission which they should have got, although the Government derived no benefit by the way in which they had purchased.

MISS BENNETT (Women Workers' Union, Dublin) said that the first essential with regard to the placing of Contracts was publicity, for the people had a right to know where they were placed.

The Resolution was agreed to, Mr. Clancy dissenting.

MISS MOLONEY (Women Workers' Union, Dublin) referring to Paragraph 19 of the Report, said that in view of what had happened that portion of the Report could not stand. They had reason to believe, she said, that the Government were not prepared to give reasonable preference in the Free State.

MR. JOHNSON said that it became necessary for the Contracts Committee to scrutinise tenders, and he mentioned that in regard to bedding, tenders to the number of ten or twelve were received, and they were all at an identical price. No matter who the buyer may be—Government or individual—some means of protection against that kind of action must be found; otherwise it would be an encouragement to Trusts and Combines. When certain groups of potential contractors tried to hide themselves behind the preference by combining to keep up prices, not because of wages, but of bad organisation, and what are believed to be exorbitant profits—that kind of combination they could not stand for. He believed it was true that in a number of cases the Contracts Committee had been justified in going outside, because of the attempts to "rook" the Government by Combinations such as had been referred to. Owing to pressure in the Dáil, and outside of it, they had the very positive statement from the Minister that since last March, at any rate, 97 per cent. of all the purchases made by the Government were made from Contractors within the Twenty-six Counties, and of Irish materials so far as it was possible to procure them. He knew of no departure from that except the case of the printing of the Register.

MR. C. CAREY (Typographical Association, Limerick) said the Paragraph should be completely withdrawn.

The CHAIRMAN said that some of them had positive proof that

profiteering was going on. A Contract was given outside Ireland by the Tailtean Games Committee. Certain firms tendered for the supply of a certain commodity at £2,300. The Sub-Committee believed it was an exorbitant price, and they asked for further tenders, and a Dublin house supplied the same commodity, their price being £750. When the first tenderer learned of this he offered to allow a discount of $33\frac{1}{3}$ per cent. or £660. Now, that was ordinary highway robbery and nothing else.

MISS BENNETT (Women Workers' Union, Dublin) said that they should not consent to the sending of Contracts to England because the price was lower. She would rather see all workers in Ireland employed even if the price of an article was higher than it was in England.

MR. F. McGRATH (I.T. & G.W.U., Belfast)—“ I should like to ask Mr. Johnson what plan he has for the overthrow of the system of highway robbery.”

MR. JOHNSON—“ You will be told that later on. Are the Government going to take Contracts knowing that they are being robbed, as in the case mentioned by the Chairman ? ”

MR. M. WADE (Irish Post Office Workers' Union, Cork) said he thought Mr. Johnson was whitewashing the Government.

MR. JOHNSON denied “ whitewashing,” and said there were certain engineering works, such as railway bridges, which could not be supplied in Ireland within a reasonable time. He had been one of the keenest critics of the Government in these matters.

MR. MANSFIELD (I.N.T.O., Co. Tipperary) advocated the keeping of Contracts at home, even though prices were higher, for it meant the circulation of money in the Free State, but the books of the firms to whom Contracts were given should be open to inspection with a view to the prevention of profiteering.

MR. T. LAWLOR (Municipal Employees' Union, Dublin) said that he was not convinced that the Government could show a good case for giving Contracts out of Ireland.

Paragraph 19 was referred back by 76 votes to 41.

Part VII.—Governmental Commissions and Committees.

Paragraph 23, “ Proposed Railway Nationalisation Bill,” was taken in conjunction with Resolution No. 19 :—

That this Congress condemns the attitude of the Government on the question of Railway organisation, involving, as it does, the adoption of the time-honoured policy of its predecessors regarding the findings of the Government Commissions, and tending also to encourage the establishment of big capitalistic combines wielding a monopoly of such a vital public necessity as the principal means of transport.

Further, this Congress re-iterates its conviction that no arrangements short of complete Nationalisation of the Railways, with a Central Board of Control, upon which the organised workers on the Railways shall have adequate representation, will give financial equilibrium to the industry, or prove satisfactory in practical operation, and considers it desirable that a separate State Department should exist to deal with all phases of transport.

SENATOR J. T. O'FARRELL (Railway Clerks' Association), moving the Resolution, said that it had been the policy of successive British Governments when they were not inclined to face the solution of any problem to refer it to a Royal Commission; and when the Commission recommended action its recommendation, in the majority of cases, was turned down. The Irish Government had a strong disposition to follow that example, as in the cases of the Postal Commission, the Reconstruction Commission, and the Railway Commission. In regard to the question of the Railways, they were all aware that a Commission was appointed by the Free State Government, and that that Commission issued a Report last year. Three members recommended State purchase of the Railways and their management by the State as a single system. One member recommended Unification, with State Control. Notwithstanding the fact that a great deal of time, trouble and money had been expended by the Commission, the Government had as much as told the Commissioners that they did not know what they were talking about. The Railway Companies had a monopoly in their hands, and they used it for their own profit. In Ireland more food was produced than the people required for their own consumption. It must be sent out of the country in exchange for coal and other commodities. Therefore transport was of the first importance. The arguments in support of Railway Nationalisation had been worn threadbare. Under one system the various headquarters, offices, stations and centres could be eliminated. In Dublin there were four Railway headquarters; in Belfast three; and in the little town of Collooney there were three separate Railway stations. All that duplication made for inefficiency and waste, and the travelling public suffered as a consequence. By amalgamation they could do better, and by mass purchase of their requirements great economy would be effected. There was great clamour for cheap rates and fares, and the only panacea that was advocated by members of the public was to degrade the working-classes, and to reduce wages. He found in the "Irish Independent" a leading article, an extract from which he would adopt as his own. They were talking about the general stability and recovery of the Free State, and then went on:—"At all the Bank meetings, too, generous tributes were paid to the staffs of the various banks. This is welcome evidence of the soundness of the policy we urged some years ago, when maintaining that properly paid and contented officials would make for a more flourishing banking industry." He would recommend that policy in the case of Railways as well as of Banks. He believed that they should put their proposals in concrete form in the shape of a Bill to provide for the complete purchase of the Railways by the State, and their working for the benefit of the country. If the Railway Companies did not come forward with some solution of the present conditions, it would be the duty of the Labour Party to tell the Government what their scheme was.

MR. J. BERMINGHAM (National Union of Railwaymen, Dublin) seconded. Innocent people believed that when the Government set up a Commission to deal with the Railways they meant business. He would tell the Dáil that they would have to keep the Railway question in the foreground, and perhaps another Commission would be appointed to try whether the findings of the first Commission were correct or not.

The Resolution and Paragraphs 20 and 23 of the Report were adopted.

Paragraphs 24 and 25, "Commission on Agriculture," and Paragraph 26, "Judiciary Commission," were approved.

On Paragraph 27—"Prices Commission"—MR. DAVIN, T.D. (Railway Clerks' Association, Dublin), asked for further information.

SENATOR FARREN, a member of the Commission, said he regretted that they had made little or no headway. The Commission had not been given the powers they required to do their work. They had many private sessions, and the public generally did not take as keen an interest in the business as one would have expected. The Dublin Workers' Council prepared printed forms and distributed them, asking for the prices of various household commodities; and, from the evidence given by various members of the purchasing public, it was made clear many of these commodities could be purchased much cheaper outside Dublin than in Dublin. In no single case did retailers comply with the requests made to them to answer the questionnaires that were sent to them as to the cost of production and distribution. He and his friends had endeavoured to bring out the fact that the purchasing public was not being treated fairly. The bakers, for instance, gave their evidence not individually but collectively, and they brought over from London a chartered accountant to draw up their case at a cost, he was told, of £300. And that gentleman could not tell the Commission what the price of a loaf was in London.

MR. M. WADE (Irish Post Office Workers' Union, Cork) said he was surprised at the statement just made, and he suggested that the price of food was the most important subject that the Congress could engage in. He regretted that the Trades Council of Cork had decided not to give evidence.

MR. P. OSBORNE (I.T. & G.W.U., Dublin) said that without knowledge of the wholesale price of an article there was no use in discussing retail prices. In the trade in which he was engaged—the bacon trade—they sold bacon at 1s. 0½d. per lb., and he saw it being retailed in Moore Street at 2s. 2d. per lb. That was a good profit, but the average profit on bacon was 6d. to 9d. per lb. in Dublin. Unless the Commission got power to examine the books of merchants and retailers it would be useless.

MR. H. DEPEW (Trades Council, Sligo) said that the Dáil had made a mistake in not giving the Commission sufficient power,

and in not making it an offence for any merchant or shop-keeper not to have supplied the information required by the questionnaire.

MR. MACGOWAN (Irish Post Office Workers' Union, Drogheda) said that food prices were the basis of all the industrial trouble. One thing to be regretted was the indifference of the working-classes—the people most directly affected. The Commission was a complete failure, and the abstention of the working-classes from giving evidence contributed to that failure.

MR. E. COONEY (Grocers' and Vintners' Assistants' Union, Dublin) said that if there was any Union that had a grievance against the Commissioners it was the Grocers' Assistants' Union, because Mr. Hewat, an employers' representative, had said that it would be absolutely necessary that the wages of Assistants should be reduced. Had a recommendation to that effect been made to the Government?

ALDERMAN WILLIAM O'BRIEN, (I.T. & G.W.U., Dublin)—
“That statement is untrue and ought not to be made.”

MR. COONEY—“Let me tell you that there are Labour representatives here who heard the statement made by Mr. Hewat and they did not report it.”

SENATOR FARREN—“Mr. Cooney suggests that his Union was unfairly treated by the Commission. I repudiate that. The position, so far as the Dublin Workers' Council was concerned, was that the Union to which Mr. Cooney belongs were invited to send representatives to give evidence and that they refused. There is no recommendation in the Report that the wages of the members of his Union, or of any other Union, should be reduced; and if it were put in the Report it would not be signed by the Labour representatives on the Commission. Mr. Hewat endeavoured to serve the interests of the people he represented, and he always endeavoured to bring out that high wages was the cause of the high price of commodities. Labour representatives gave contrary evidence.”

The discussion was adjourned till next day.

Greetings from Irish National Foresters.

A telegram was received from the General Secretary of the Irish National Foresters sending the Congress “hearty greetings.” The CHAIRMAN said that a suitable reply had been sent. Congress adjourned till next day.

Report of Standing Orders Committee.

Standing Orders Committee reported that certain delegates appealed to the Committee for permission to bring a charge against a delegate for conduct that he was stated to be guilty of on Monday afternoon. When the Standing Orders Committee invited the

men in, it was alleged that Walter Carpenter had committed the offence by moving freely amongst those who were demonstrating against the Congress the previous morning, and that later he was heard to say: "They will be assembling in the morning; be there and have your men here in time." Mr. Carpenter gave an unqualified denial to this. He said that the individual he spoke to was a delegate, and that what he said was that delegates ought to appear here before 9 o'clock. He said that he had no sympathy whatever with the action that was taken; and that he had brought certain ladies with influence to try and keep the disturbers quiet. Standing Orders Committee did not think that any good would be done by pursuing discussion here upon it. The work of Congress would be better served by getting on with the Agenda.

MISS MOLONEY (Women Workers' Union, Dublin) strongly repudiated and condemned the action of those who had tried to prevent the assembling of the Congress.

On the motion of MR. PARKES (Irish Post Office Workers' Union, Dublin), seconded by MR. SEAMUS BURKE, the Standing Orders report was adopted.

Third Day—Wednesday, August 8th.

MR. L. J. DUFFY presided.

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE REPORT—Discussion resumed.

The discussion on Paragraph 27, "Prices Commission," was resumed.

MR. P. HUGHES (Grocers' & Vintners' Assistants' Union, Dublin) said that he was surprised to hear Mr. Farren state that the Commission had no authority to compel any person to give evidence before them, for if that was so he held that his Union was placed in a false position. When they got a summons to attend the Commission they wrote back and pointed out their position, and the reply they received was that the Commission had power to compel persons to attend, under a penalty. The Union then pointed out that such power should not apply to assistants. Mr. Farren went so far as that they were summoned before the Workers' Council where they were told to give the information which was necessary on behalf of the workers. They were pilloried in the Labour Press and the other Press. They were told that something would be brought about by reducing wages. A statement was made by the representatives of Labour that they (the Assistants) had a pact with their employers to keep up prices and profits, so that the Assistants would get their "pound of flesh." That was an

unfair statement from the Chairman of the Commission. They had made no pact with their employers, and for himself he would like to see prices come down.

ALDERMAN O'BRIEN said that the gist of Mr. Hughes' statement was that the Labour members of the Commission had failed to do their duty, and as one who sat on the Commission he gave that statement a flat denial. When it was attempted to be shown that high prices were due to high wages the Labour representatives contested the proposition. Mr. Hughes' Union declined to give evidence because they did not consider it fair to be asked to disclose the business of their employers. The allegation was made that the Assistants had entered into an agreement with their employers to maintain prices, and that that was the reason for their reluctance to come before the Commission.

MR. W. CUMMINS (Grocers' & Vintners' Assistants' Union, Dublin) said that his Union considered the Commission as simply a farce, and the findings of the Commission had proved it. Nobody could tell him why the Commission had been set up. They were told that it was not to mention profiteering, and he was told to shut up about profiteering.

ALDERMAN O'BRIEN—"That is not so."

MR. CUMMINS—"It is so. A delegate has made a statement that no Labour man should stand by. He told us that bacon that was sold wholesale at 1s. 0½d. per lb. was sold by retail at 2s. 2d. per lb. The merchant should refuse to supply the trader who did that. The Commission appeared to attach more importance to the price of porter, and they would lead every one to believe that Irishmen lived on nothing but drink. All the Press and the 'Voice of Labour'—so-called labour—was against the Assistants."

Several delegates protested, and MR. CUMMINS withdrew the offensive expression. He was proceeding with remarks as to the price of clothing, and as to those who sold porter under the standard price.

The CHAIRMAN ruled further discussion of the subject out of order.

Paragraph 28, "Corrupt Practices at Elections Departmental Committee," was taken in conjunction with Paragraph 83, Part XI. "Prevention of Electoral Abuses Bill."

ALDERMAN O'BRIEN (I.T. & G.W.U., Dublin) said that the Committee had been appointed to deal with conditions which prevailed at elections of recent years when personation had been extensively practised. In June, 1922, personation was such as to vitiate the Elections entirely, and it was therefore necessary to take care that the coming elections should not degenerate into a farce. Certain candidates had got as much as 75 per cent. personated votes, and that should not occur again.

The Paragraphs were approved.

Paragraph 29, "Canals and Inland Waterways Commission," was adopted.

Paragraph 30, "Reconstruction and Development Commission" was taken in connection with Resolution No. 31:—

This Congress calls upon the Government to give effect, without delay, to the recommendations made by the Reconstruction Commission in regard to the re-making and strengthening of trunk and main roads, and the repair of local roads throughout the country.

MR. JOHNSON, Secretary, moved the Resolution on behalf of the National Executive. He said that the Commission which was set up in February was told to do certain definite work, and to pay particular attention to any recommendation dealing with work that would have an effect upon the problem of unemployment. The Ministry of Industry and Commerce suggested the appointment of Representatives of Labour on the Commission, and a correspondence ensued in which the Labour Party expressed themselves averse to sending representatives to act upon any Commission of the kind unless they had very definite and positive assurance that the Commission was not being set up as a stop-gap, and that it was intent upon practical work.

MR. JOHNSON read the following:—

CORRESPONDENCE RELATING TO THE COMMISSION ON RECONSTRUCTION AND DEVELOPMENT.

1.—Ministry of Industry and Commerce to the Irish Labour Party and Trade Union Congress.

"30th December, 1922.

"I am directed by the Minister of Industry and Commerce to inform you that he has written to Mr. T. Johnson, T.D., and to Mr. MacPartlin inviting them to act as members of a Commission on Reconstruction and Development which the Government desires to appoint at an early date, and to the work of which it attaches considerable importance. The letters of invitation set out the Terms of Reference of the Commission, and I am to say that the Minister trusts that your Executive will be able to endorse their acceptance of the invitation, if Messrs. Johnson and MacPartlin are willing to act."

"(Signed) GORDON CAMPBELL."

2.—Minister for Industry and Commerce to Thomas Johnson, T.D.

"29th December, 1922.

"The Government has approved the appointment of a Commission on Reconstruction and Development, to the work of which

it attaches very considerable importance. The proposed Terms of Reference to the Commission are as follows:—

“(1) To advise as to the principles on which works of reconstruction and of development should proceed, with due regard to the requirements of the country in the future.

“(2) To investigate and report on the prospects of trade and industry and of employment therein, during 1923.

“(3) To make such recommendations for stimulating trade and industry and employment therein, as, in the opinion of the Commission, are best adapted to the national circumstances.

“(4) To advise as to the provision that should be made for the relief of unemployment and as to the measures necessary to secure that such provision is administered with reasonable stringency, due economy and adequate co-ordination.

“The Commission may appoint a Committee of its members to deal with any specific part of its Terms of Reference, and may make interim reports. The Commission is requested in particular to consider the desirability of improvements in the commercial ports and harbours, of the development of power resources, of drainage schemes and of the betterment of communications.

“It is hoped that the result of this Commission will be to work out a provident and coherent design, according to which the restoration of the economic life of the country and the development of its resources can proceed, and that a firm foundation for the future prosperity of the trade and industries for which the country is best adapted, and of all those dependent on them, will be securely laid.

“The Government has given close consideration to the proposed membership of the Commission so as to secure, within reasonable limits as to its numbers, that all aspects of Trade and Industry will be fully provided for, and has approved my proposal that you should be invited to act as a member of it. I earnestly hope, therefore, that you will see your way to accept this invitation to do so, and that, having regard to the great importance of the matters to be inquired into by the Commission, you will be able, notwithstanding other commitments, to give it the benefit of your special knowledge and experience.”

“(Signed) S. MACGRAITH.”

3.—Irish Labour Party and Trade Union Congress to the Minister for Industry and Commerce.

“2nd January, 1923.

“I am in receipt of yours of the 30th ult., enclosing copy of a letter sent to Mr. Thomas MacPartlin and to the undersigned,

inviting them to act on the proposed Commission on Reconstruction and Development, and same was laid before the National Executive at their meeting yesterday.

Before agreeing to the appointment of any Labour representative on this Commission, my Committee feel that they would require some assurance that the setting up of the Commission is not intended to be substituted for practical action towards meeting the necessities of the unemployed.

"The task proposed to be placed upon the Commission by the Terms of Reference is one which will require many months to inquire into, and will open the road to protracted discussions on many industrial, fiscal and social problems.

"In the meantime, pending the issue of a report, is it to be assumed that nothing will be done towards utilising the labour of thousands of men and women clamouring for an opportunity to work, and are these people who are denied work to be left to beg, steal or starve?

"My Committee fully recognise the wisdom of making careful enquiry before embarking upon new policies or far-reaching schemes, but we cannot overlook the fact that a great deal of time and money has already been expended in pursuing similar enquiries under the auspices of the Government, but without any result except delay.

"For instance, the Commission of Enquiry into the Resources and Industries of Ireland, appointed in 1919 by the late Government, after very careful enquiry issued several reports on various aspects of the country's economic life and made recommendations respecting :—

- | | | |
|---------------|----------------|-------------------------|
| (1) Dairying. | (2) Fisheries. | (3) Industrial Alcohol. |
| (4) Peat. | (5) Coal. | |

So far as I know, no action has been taken on any of these reports.

"In 1922 consultations were held between Ministers and Members of my Executive, when specific proposals were made for dealing with economic problems and the outlines of a policy for the then existing emergency were put forward by us and, in a great part, verbally approved of by the Minister most directly concerned. The proposals then made (see enclosure) are still valid. The needs of that period are the needs of to-day. But while freely acknowledging that the Government is attempting to carry into effect some of the minor proposals then urged upon them, the larger lines of policy which we outlined have been turned down.

"In January a year ago the Minister for Agriculture informed us that it was then too late to do anything towards setting men to work at the production of food from the soil; tillage operations ought to have begun three months ago, he said. We are now in January again, and the agricultural labourers are again un-

employed; the land is again untilled; the food that the unemployed men and their families must consume, if they are to live, or its equivalent in other forms of wealth will not be replaced by their labour. The appointment of a Commission of Agriculture appears to have been adopted this year as a substitute for setting the agricultural labourer to work, and even the work of that Commission has been delayed by the lethargy, or perhaps the obstruction, of the Department.

"The Railway Commission also spent time, money and thought enquiring into their particular problem, and issued a report and recommendations.

"As far as can be gathered, the work of the Commission was of no avail.

"The above facts led my Committee to question whether the Commission now proposed was intended to do anything more than give an excuse for postponing action upon urgent problems.

"We feel that to participate in the work of such a Commission without the knowledge that urgent needs are being provided for would be rather like conspiring to smother the cries of the hungry.

"Awaiting your reply.

(Signed) THOMAS JOHNSON."

4.—Minister for Industry and Commerce to the Irish Labour Party and Trade Union Congress.

5th January, 1923.

"I am in receipt of your letter of the 2nd January on the subject of the proposed Commission on Reconstruction and Development. Your Committee need have no apprehension that the appointment of the Commission is a pretext for delay. The Government intends that the restoration and development of the economic life of the country, and the provision of employment for the workers, shall proceed as rapidly as the political and financial position allows. It desires to improve on the practice of allocating here and there small grants from public funds for works, often of a temporary or makeshift character, and not directly related to any general design, and to make sure that such expenditure as the State can afford is applied on a foundation capable of a continuous expansion. For this purpose a general review of the situation is essential, and the Government anticipates that by April 1st, the beginning of the next financial year, the Commission will have been able to advise as to some of the directions in which the first steps should be taken. No large measures can be undertaken in this financial year for lack of the necessary money, so that three months' inquiry with the view to the adopting of carefully considered measures in the next financial year is in no sense a dilatory measure. Every

method of relieving the burden of unemployment which the resources of the Government reasonably allowed to be adopted, has been adopted and the existing situation is one in which the recommendations, for instance, of the Commission of Inquiry into the Resources and Industries of Ireland, even if it were practicable to adopt them in full, would not afford any very early or substantial relief. These recommendations contemplate more settled conditions than operate now, and are not devised to meet the emergency which admittedly exists.

"The Government is prepared to add to the Terms of Reference as indicated in my letter of the 30th December an instruction to the Commission to regard suggestions for the promotion of employment as a matter of immediacy. In these circumstances I hope that your Committee will not withhold its assistance on the posed Commission.

" (Signed) S. MACGRAITH."

5.—Irish Labour Party and Trade Union Congress to Minister for Industry and Commerce.

"9th January, 1923.

"I beg to thank you for your letter of the 5th inst., which was laid before my Committee last night.

"I am directed to inform you that they will be pleased to assist in the work of the Commission on the understanding that its immediate duty will be to advise as to the provisions that should be made to deal with the problem of unemployment, and that this should be considered as a matter of urgency. On this understanding they beg to nominate:

MESSRS. THOMAS MACPARTLIN AND THOMAS JOHNSON.

They have notified us that they are willing to act.

" (Signed) THOMAS JOHNSON,

"For the National Executive."

6.—Minister for Industry and Commerce to Thomas Johnson, T.D.

"7th February, 1923.

Commission on Reconstruction and Development.

"I enclose a copy of the Minute of Appointment of the above Commission. I would like to meet the members of the Commission in these offices at 11.30 a.m. on Wednesday next, February 14th, for a preliminary discussion.

"The Government desires that the Commission should regard as a matter of urgency the provision of the greatest possible amount of employment, and I suggest that with this object the

Commission might, among other measures, consider the practicability of proceeding with improvements in the Commercial Ports and Harbours, the development of power resources, drainage schemes, the betterment of communications and enlargements in the scope of employment for women, with due regard to the encouragement of enterprise, to prudent finance and to a proper distribution of the responsibility for expenditure.

"I would be obliged if you would kindly confirm that you will be able to attend the meeting on 14th February.

" (Signed) S. MACGRAITH."

7.—Minute of appointment of Commission on Reconstruction and Development.

Senator Sir John Purser Griffith, M.A.I., M.I.C.E. ; Mr. Sean Milroy, T.D. ; Professor C. F. Bastable ; Mr. Frank Daly ; Mr. Thomas Johnson, T.D. ; Mr. Richard Kelly, K.C. ; Mr. M. McDonagh ; Senator MacPartlin ; Sir Walter Nugent ; Professor Pierce F. Purcell, are hereby appointed a Commission on Reconstruction and Development with the following Terms of Reference :

(1) To advise as to the principles on which works of Reconstruction and of Development should proceed, with due regard to the requirements of the country in future.

(2) To investigate and report on the prospects of trade and industry, and of employment therein, in the near future.

(3) To make such recommendations for stimulating trade and industry, and employment therein, as, in the opinion of the Commission, are best adapted to the national circumstances.

(4) To advise as to the provision that should be made for the relief of unemployment, and as to the measures necessary to secure that such provision is administered with reasonable stringency, due economy and adequate co-ordination.

" Senator Sir John Purser Griffith is appointed Chairman, and Mr. Sean Milroy, T.D., Vice-Chairman of the Commission.

" Mr. E. J. Joridan, of the Ministry of Industry and Commerce, is appointed Secretary ; Mr. J. Dunne, of the Ministry of Industry and Commerce, and Mr. Frederick P. Griffith, B.A.I., M.I.C.E.I., Assistant Secretaries of the Commission.

" The Commission may nominate Committees of its members to consider specific matters within its Terms of Reference and may make interim reports.

" AIRE UM TIUSCAL AGUS TRACHTAIL.

" 7th February, 1923."

MR. JOHNSON, continuing, said that the National Executive came to the conclusion that with a definite promise of the kind

contained in the Minister's letter they could not reasonably withhold their assent, and it was decided that Mr. MacPartlin and himself should act on the Commission. On the second day of the Sittings they were informed that while the Government were not prepared to allocate any definite sum of money, they wished the Commission to consider immediately such proposals, and to make such recommendations, as would lead to the early putting into operation of work which would employ a large number of men. The more active members of the Commission were very desirous of submitting schemes which would give effect to the instructions and verbal intimation of the Minister in the matter. With that object in view they went thoroughly into the question of Road Construction. They recommended that trunk roads, and the main roads of the country should be taken in hand immediately, to be strengthened and re-made where necessary, for the purpose of fitting them for the new kind of traffic that had evolved with the coming of the automobile and the tractor. Everyone knew that hundreds of roads had been broken up by the action of military lorries and other means. It was universally admitted that the roads required to be made, whether there was unemployment or not, and having that in mind the Commission recommended that work on the main and trunk roads should be taken in hand, comprising eleven hundred miles of road. They also recommended that the maintaining of local roads should be pressed on the local authorities; and they estimated that all this would provide work for 10,500 men, who could be got to work at once, as the plans were ready. Thirty thousand men could also be employed on local roads for one year. The Commission had made suggestions regarding finance. To put the main roads into proper repair was in great part a National, not a local, obligation; and therefore they recommended that if the local authorities were prepared to levy a rate ranging from 3d. to 9d. in the £ on their valuation, in addition to the road tax, that the Government should be willing to come forward and supplement that local rate by a tax equal to £2 to £1. That would mean a charge upon the State funds of one million for two or three years, after which the matter could be reconsidered.

They had asked last week whether the Ministry had come to any conclusion upon the report, and Mr. Cosgrave told them that not only were the Government not going to adopt it, but he insulted the Commission by saying that they ought to be ashamed of themselves for making the suggestion that the State should come to the aid of the local authorities to the extent of £2 to £1. Mr. Cosgrave further said that there were three main lines of public work which were essentially local, and should be borne by local authorities—health, drainage and roads. When they asked Mr. Cosgrave about providing funds for the work he threw the responsibility upon the local authorities, and said that it must

be borne by the local rates, and he wanted to know "what the State was to get out of it," provided it advanced the money. He also said that it would be all used up in a couple of years, and that the roads would require to be re-made, and that the State would get nothing out of it.

Now, that was an extraordinary conception of the relation of the State to the local authorities upon such a matter as the main roads of the country. The view which the Commission took was that useful and necessary work should be undertaken without delay, and he (Mr. Johnson) asked Congress to endorse that view. Here was a useful and necessary work which could be undertaken without delay if the Government came to the aid of the local authorities and found the money. The position of the Government meant that the unemployed, and all those who were dependent upon public works being initiated, would have to whistle, and that the Government did not intend to give any assistance in the solution of the problem.

The National Executive had decided, although the Commission had been very carefully considering the report upon housing and had begun enquiries into other problems—drainage and the like—that in view of Mr. Cosgrave's statement that no public money was available, it was useless for the Commission to go on sitting any longer, and that the Labour members should withdraw from it.

MR. P. J. MCNAMARA (Workers' Council, Clare) seconded the resolution, and MR. J. P. WELDON (Amalgamated Society of Woodworkers, Cork) supported it.

MR. M. DOYLE (I.T. & G.W.U., Kildare) said that the Cumann na nGaedheal candidates were telling the people in the country that if they were elected there would be no more unemployment.

The Resolution was passed. Paragraphs 30-32 of the Report were adopted. Consideration of the Report was then suspended.

CITIZENS IMPRISONED WITHOUT TRIAL.

SENATOR THOMAS FARREN, on behalf of the National Executive, moved :—

This Congress, believing that the continued imprisonment without trial of thousands of citizens is unjust, tyrannical and detrimental to the true interests of the country, demands that all untried prisoners or internees shall be released or put on trial before civil court forthwith.

MR. FARREN hoped that no delegate would take advantage of the Resolution to urge his political opinion. They did not wish political questions to be introduced into the Labour Movement, but they believed that the prisoners should be released, and he hoped that when they were released a stage would be arrived at when all of them would forget the troubles of the past.

MR. T. IRWIN (Plasterers' Society, Dublin) seconded. He was

not in the least influenced by the disgraceful "scene" that took place in the street on Monday morning, but he wanted it to be understood that Congress did not stand for the continued detention of the Prisoners, nor for the statement of a Minister that they were to be allowed to "rot in jail."

MISS CAHALAN (Distributive Workers' Union, Dublin) and other delegates associated themselves with the Resolution.

MR. DAVIN (R.C.A., Dublin) said that the action of the Labour Party in the Dáil had been the means of getting a number of prisoners released.

MR. A. HERON (I.T. & G.W.U., Dublin) drew attention to the case of those who were detained by the Northern Government on board the S.S. "Argenta" in Larne Harbour. That ship was infested with rats and the prisoners were rotting to death.

MR. F. McGRATH (I.T. & G.W.U., Belfast) suggested that a general stoppage might bring about the release of all the prisoners.

MISS MOLONEY (Women Workers' Union, Dublin), MR. NOLAN (I.T. & G.W.U., Belfast), MR. DOYLE (I.T. & G.W.U., Kildare), and MR. J. T. O'FARRELL (R.C.A., Dublin) having spoken in support, the Resolution was passed unanimously.

SCOTTISH FRATERNAL DELEGATE'S ADDRESS.

MR. WILLIAM SHAW, delegate from the Scottish Trade Union Congress, conveyed to this Congress hearty fraternal greetings from the Scottish Congress. All the workers in Scotland and Ireland were faced with the same problem. It was gratifying to him to find that the Resolutions on their Agenda were very much like the Resolutions in Scotland, and that the discussions were on similar lines, which proved that whether it was under the Free State Government or the British Government the workers were the victims of the economic condition of Society created by Capitalism. Let them not be perturbed about the incidents that occurred there on Monday. They had similar things happening in Scotland, and it was due to the fact that men failed to apply reason and common sense to the problems with which they were confronted. The Labour Movement was far too big for individuals to be put on a pedestal. Leaders were set up only when they stood for a definite policy, and they were made well aware of the fact by the rank and file, and also that leaders were only the instrument of the body's will, and that big body would not allow vanity to take possession of the Movement and side-track it. He concluded from the speeches that he had heard here that the Labour Party in Ireland intended to take care of the Movement. It was a great charge, and meant the uplift of the working-classes, and not of any particular individual or the satisfaction of his vanity. The resolution on unemployment was the most important of any of those on the Agenda. They were faring in Ireland on the

question of Government relief of unemployment just as the workers of Scotland were faring. There were 80,000 unemployed in Glasgow, and less than 4,000 on relief employment. Glasgow City Corporation were proceeding to erect 318 houses, and they saved a big sum of money on the scheme by working on the Guild principle. The Labour Party elected ten out of fifteen representatives to Parliament last November. Their Movement was advancing, and in Ireland they should take similar action or they would fail. When they got a majority in Parliament they could give effect to legislation of a kind that would destroy the existing order of Society.

The CHAIRMAN tendered to Mr. Shaw the thanks of Congress for his presence and his address.

Housing.

MR. T. IRWIN (Plasterers' Society, Dublin) moved :—

That this Congress condemns the action of the Local Government Board in their whole attitude to the Housing question, this attitude being definitely set out in the correspondence received by the Dublin Corporation in respect of the houses to be erected on the Marino site, Dublin, which contains directions to substitute foreign articles for home-manufactured ones in the construction, and many suggestions which will tend to make the houses when completed of an inferior type.

Further, we are of the opinion that, as the workers are being compelled to purchase these houses, and be saddled with the cost of maintenance expenditure, they at least ought to be allowed a voice in the form of construction.

MR. IRWIN said this was an important Resolution and candidates at the coming election would make it one of the planks in their programme. With regard to the question as it affected Dublin he mentioned that some months ago a Committee of the Dublin Corporation prepared a scheme for 420 houses, and tenders were invited. When the estimates were received it was found that every house that was going to be built on the Marino would cost £650. The estimates were submitted to the Local Government Department, and that Department asked that alterations be made in the construction of the houses so as to reduce the cost. He had a detailed list of the substitutions suggested by the L.G.D., and the result of the subsequent negotiations was that a good deal, or most, of the money that should have been spent at home for materials for those houses went to another place. He mentioned one item in the cost—that was the architect's fees. The architect would receive about £4,000. There had been no suggestion that that figure should be reduced. From the Richmond Asylum Board he (Mr. Irwin) was selected as a member of a Committee to consider the question of housing for the attendants at the Portrane Institution. Plans for the erection of twelve houses were submitted. He found that these plans had not been prepared by

a professional architect. He objected to the plans and insisted that an architect should be employed. That Scheme was scrapped by the Local Government Department and notwithstanding that it was scrapped this gentleman would receive over £3,000 for his plans. This same gentleman at a meeting of the Port Board objected to the rate of wages paid to the dockers. He was a candidate for the Dáil in the business interests. The attitude of the Local Government Ministry and the Civil Servants was adverse to the working-classes, but it was the Civil Servants and not the Minister who were responsible. In an interview which they had had with the President, that gentleman stated that a thousand houses could be built in Dublin were it not that there was a shortage of skilled labour in Dublin. He (Mr. Irwin) wrote denying that statement, the result of which was that a deputation of four representatives of Trades waited on the President and convinced him that his statement was wrong. He never corrected it. He (Mr. Irwin) would impress upon delegates from the country that this was not a Dublin question only. If the head-line of "rotten house-building" was to be established in Dublin it would extend to the country.

SENATOR T. MACPARTLIN (Amalgamated Society of Woodworkers, Dublin) said what they wanted was to give the workers a decent house at a reasonable rent, and they held that the man who was to occupy the house should have something to say to its construction.

MR. WELDON (Amalgamated Society of Woodworkers, Cork) and MR. M. SOMERVILLE (Amalgamated Society of Woodworkers, Dublin) supported the Resolution, which was passed unanimously.

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE REPORT—Discussion resumed.

Part VIII.—Labour Day.

This Paragraph was taken with Resolution No. 4:—

That it be an instruction to the National Executive to organise for the celebration of May 1st, 1924, and succeeding years as a National Labour Day.

MR. W. CARPENTER (Garment Makers' Union, Dublin) moved, and MR. T. HUGHES (I.T. & G.W.U., Kilrush) seconded, the Resolution.

ALDERMAN O'BRIEN, National Executive, said that under existing conditions it would have been foolish for them to have called for a stoppage of work on last May Day.

The Resolution and Part VIII. of the Report were passed.

Part IX.—International Relations.

This part of the Report was adopted.

Part X.—Personnel, Office Arrangements, etc.

MR. JOHNSON, Secretary, said that it was due from him to say, in regard to the officials working with him in the office, that there never were in any employment four better servants. That Paragraph dealt with the appointment of Mr. Mortished. He was doing very important work. Mr. Cassidy, who came to the office over a year ago, had been a most willing and helpful officer. Two typists who had come in answer to an advertisement had been exceedingly useful and very good.

MR. BREATHNACH (I.N.T.O., Dublin)—“Does any of the Staff know Irish?”

MR. JOHNSON—“There are three of them—not brilliant, but all in the way of knowing it.”

The CHAIRMAN—“There is not a Trade Union staff in Dublin that can equal them. Mr. Mortished could not be excelled.”

Paragraph 44.—“Weekly Labour Notes,” was taken in conjunction with Resolution No. 3:—

That the Executive be instructed to arrange for the publication of a weekly or monthly journal, and that all affiliated Unions be pledged to its support.

MISS MOLONEY (Women Workers' Union, Dublin) said that she would like to see a Labour Journal that would not preach class feud and hatred, edited by a good man, who would produce a good journal.

MR. H. DEPEW (Trades Council, Sligo) seconded.

MR. P. J. McNAMARA (Workers' Council, Clare) supported the motion.

MR. S. BRADLEY (A.E.U., Dublin) said that the serious question to consider was: Could such a Journal pay its way; and, if not, where was the money to come from to subsidise it?

MISS BENNETT (Women Workers' Union, Dublin) said that now more than ever it seemed necessary that they should have a good Labour paper in Ireland in which the doings of Parliamentary representatives would be criticised.

MR. JOHNSON, Secretary, reminded Congress that a year ago a circular was sent out to the Unions asking what financial assistance they were prepared to give to the project. The response was very meagre. There was no encouragement in it to induce the Executive to move any further in the matter. If this Resolution was passed it would be a matter for the Unions to say what sums they were prepared to contribute. The question of the policy of the paper and the running of it would require a great deal of care and consideration. They wanted a paper that would voice a policy, and there he saw difficulties that would arise as between Unions, some of which would cease to subscribe to a paper that they did not agree with.

The Resolution was agreed to and Part X. of the Report adopted.

Report of Standing Orders Committee.

MR. D. R. CAMPBELL, Chairman of the Standing Orders Committee, reported that a communication had been received through the Lord Mayor from some of the men outside the Mansion House to the effect that the delegates to the Congress of No. 1 Branch of the I.T. & G.W.U. had not been properly elected. A second document had also been sent in, the reply to the first not having yet been sent out, which declared: "We demand a reply by 1 p.m." In reply to the first note the Standing Orders Committee had asked the Lord Mayor to say that they had examined the credentials of all delegates to the Conference, and had found them in order.

A further document had been sent in stating that a deputation wished to be heard "to impress the Congress with the necessity of solidarity in the ranks of Labour."

Standing Orders Committee recommended that the deputation should be admitted for the purpose, and they should be given ten minutes to state their case.

The Report on Standing Orders Committee was agreed to, and Tom Grant and Patrick Linehan were introduced.

Tom Grant said:—"Fellow-workmen, this is just what I drafted. I cannot say a whole lot. I am one of a party representing a deputation of No. 1 Branch of the men concerned in the Strike at the present time, and we have not sent delegates here to represent us from No. 1 Branch; and, second, we object to this Congress sitting under police protection; and, third, that there is no mention of the dock-labourer's strike at this Congress. We didn't send delegates to represent us here. They were selected by twenty-one officials of the Transport Union, and they selected twelve of themselves, and they don't represent us here. That is all I have got to say."

Patrick Linehan said:—"I am a member of No. 1 Branch, that consists of eleven thousand members, and my friend states that we made no selection of delegates to attend this Congress. That is quite true. The twelve delegates representing No. 1 were selected by what is termed the Committee, sitting at Beresford Place. The members outside never had a say in the matter, and consequently we object to any twelve members representing us here when they were not legally elected. No strike would have occurred in Dublin, in my experience, if the Transport Union was acting legally and well. But it is not. You are all aware of that, and I am glad to state that before delegates from twenty-six counties. Just imagine twelve men coming to sit on the Congress and eleven thousand men never having a hand in their selection. The Committee of twenty-one was repudiated by us at the meeting in June at the La Scala. Last Sunday a meeting of No. 1 Branch was held at the Mansion House, and no one of these twelve attended. One gentleman did, and we held a meeting. We object to this conduct in the strongest possible manner, and only for this business you

would have no strike. I was passing by and I counted sixty-two police outside, and we object to a Labour Congress being protected by police."

The CHAIRMAN—"Deal with what you came in to deal with."

MR. LENIHAN—"I have dealt with it."

MR. JOHNSON, Secretary—"I would draw your attention to the fact that the deputation was allowed to be received on the specific understanding that they would deal with the strike and to impress upon the Congress the necessity of solidarity in the ranks of Labour. They have disregarded the written statement that they had sent in, and I think that that should be sufficient."

The CHAIRMAN thanked the deputation and requested them to withdraw, which they did.

MR. E. COONEY (Grocers' Assistants' Union, Dublin)—"We should deal with the dispute of the Transport Union."

The CHAIRMAN—"The members of that Union must settle their own business. This Congress is concerned with the validity of every delegate's credentials and the Standing Orders Committee, having examined the credentials, has reported that they are all in order, and you unanimously accepted that Report."

Congress proceeded to the next business.

ELECTION OF NATIONAL EXECUTIVE.

The result of the ballot for the election of members of the National Executive was declared as follows:—

FOR CHAIRMAN:—

L. J. DUFFY	..	..	147	Votes.
JAMES LARKIN	..	..	27	"

Mr. Duffy was declared elected.

FOR COMMITTEE:—

T. J. O'CONNELL	..	..	157	Votes.
D. CULLEN	..	..	152	"
T. FARREN	..	..	152	"
A. STEWART	..	..	144	"
T. FORAN	..	..	136	"
J. T. O'FARRELL	..	..	135	"
M. SOMERVILLE	..	..	134	"
L. J. LARKIN	..	..	124	"
C. CAHALAN (Miss)	..	..	110	"
M. HILL	..	..	96	"
G. NASON	..	..	93	"
M. MACGOWAN	..	..	84	"
S. BRADLEY	..	..	78	"
T. LAWLOR	..	..	67	"

The first ten were declared elected.

FOR VICE-CHAIRMAN.

T. Kennedy unopposed.

FOR TREASURER.

Wm. O'Brien unopposed.

FOR SECRETARY.

Thomas Johnson unopposed.

ELECTION OF AUDITORS.

Mr. E. O'Carroll (Railway Clerks' Association) and F. Robbins (Dublin Workers' Council) were elected Auditors for the year 1923-4.

ELECTION OF FRATERNAL DELEGATES TO SCOTTISH TRADE UNION CONGRESS (1924).

Messrs. D. R. Campbell and T. Nagle were elected as Fraternal Delegates to the above Congress.

Fourth Day—Thursday, August 9th.

MR. DUFFY in the Chair.

Withdrawal of Delegate.

MR. E. TUCKER (Brushmakers' Society, Dublin) having refused to withdraw a remark to the effect that the newspaper reports of the previous day's proceedings were prepared from the platform, was ordered to withdraw from the room, which he did with some reluctance.

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE REPORT—Discussion resumed,**Part XI.—Work of the Labour Party in the Oireachtas.**

Paragraph 46, "Post Office Strike," was taken in conjunction with Resolution No. 25 :—

That this Congress views as retrogressive the unemployment of Postal Workers by the reduction of Postal Services, and calls on the Government not to restrict services unless alternative employment can be offered to the workers affected.

MR. M. MACGOWAN (Irish Post Office Workers' Union, Drogheda) said he was proud of the Postal Workers' Organisation, which by their strike had asserted the right to act as other workers had done. The Postal Commission had sent their report to the Government last December, and he believed—he hoped he was not unduly optimistic—that certain advantages would accrue to the staff from that report. Up to the present the Government had failed to honour their undertaking in connection with that report. In the so-called interests of economy four hundred

auxiliary postal workers had been dismissed. To show what was going on he mentioned the case of a man who had twenty-three years' service, and who received 30s. per week as part-time man. That man had four children, and to save 30s. a week the P.M.G. dismissed him. Shortly after his dismissal he went to the Labour Exchange and received 24s. a week, out of the same public purse, for doing nothing, while the section of the public which he served as postman was deprived of their usual letter deliveries.

MR. W. NORTON (Irish Post Office Workers' Union, Dublin) seconded the motion. He said the country wanted better postal facilities, and better transport service for the development of its agriculture and commerce. It was bad policy to dismiss the auxiliary postmen, and then to send them to the Labour Exchange for the "dole."

MR. T. J. O'CONNELL (I.N.T.O., Dublin) said that he wanted to emphasise the fact that the official spokesman of the Postal Union agreed that the National Executive at the time of the strike, and the Labour Party in the Dáil, had done all that it was possible for them to do. He said this now because there had been grumblings in certain quarters about it. The final settlement of the strike was brought about by the intervention of a member of the National Executive. The Post Office strike was a success, notwithstanding what had been said to the contrary, and it established the right of Civil Servants to strike. That alone was a great victory. It was, he said, a scandalous state of affairs that the Government had not been able to make up its mind as to what to do with the report of the Postal Commission.

The Resolution and the Paragraph of the Report were passed.

RESOLUTIONS.

Secondary Education.

MR. T. J. BURKE (A.S.T.I., Dublin) moved Resolution No. 20 :—

That this Congress asserts the right to free secondary education of every Irish child capable of benefiting by it; that, further, it is the duty of the State to provide free secondary education, for such children, on a liberal and democratic basis, as well to secure to the lay teachers, who must form an integral part of such a scheme, adequate conditions of employment in regard to tenure of office, salaries and pensions; and that Congress hereby instructs the incoming National Executive to proceed at once with the setting up of a representative Committee within Trade Union ranks to formulate a national system of education adapted to the needs and circumstances of the children of the workers, and to press for its early institution.

MR. MEEHAN (I.N.T.O., Leix) seconded the motion, which was supported by MR. O'CONNELL and MR. E. MANSFIELD, the latter strongly disapproving of the action of the Government in reducing the expenditure on Education. He said that for

every £1 per head spent for education in Ireland £2 was spent in England and £2 3s. in Scotland. The school-houses for the most part were utterly unfit for their work, and both teachers and pupils were badly handicapped.

The Resolution was passed.

Report from Standing Orders Committee.

Standing Orders Committee reported that a letter had been received from Liberty Hall requesting that a deputation be received from No. 1 Branch and the men on strike to place their views before Congress. The Committee recommended that the deputation be not received.

MR. M. NOLAN (I.T. & G.W.U., Belfast) suggested that the men, who were waiting outside, should be heard for ten minutes.

MR. JOHNSON, Secretary, said that they had already heard a deputation appointed in the same manner on the same subject. Two delegates were admitted on the previous day to deal with the strike situation, and they did not deal with it.

MISS MOLONEY (Women Workers' Union, Dublin) said that she agreed that what Mr. Johnson said was true, but she thought that a good purpose would be served by receiving the deputation. It could then be explained to them why Congress could not go into internal affairs of the Union.

MR. D. R. CAMPBELL, Chairman of the Standing Orders Committee, said that the Standing Orders Committee had decided that Credentials of all the delegates were in order, and he declined to enter into negotiations with the people outside on the subject.

The Recommendation of the Standing Orders Committee was approved, and the deputation was not received.

RESOLUTIONS.

Discussion resumed.

School Nurses.

MR. T. J. O'CONNELL (I.N.T.O., Dublin), on behalf of the Irish Nurses' and Midwives' Union, moved Resolution No. 23:—

That this Congress considers that School Nurses should be appointed in all Schools to teach the children the elementary rules of health and hygiene, so that our race may grow up strong and healthy.

He said that teachers had been agitating for a considerable time for the inauguration of a school medical service for the proper care of school children. School clinics were established in every civilised country, and he hoped something on these lines would be set up in Ireland. It would be the duty of the teacher to teach

hygiene, and the Nurses should do the practical work of looking after the children under a properly regulated system of medical inspection.

School Attendance.

On the suggestion of the Standing Orders Committee the following Resolution, No. 21, was taken in conjunction with No. 23 :—

That attendance at school should be made compulsory for all children up to the age of fourteen at least.

MR. F. McNAMARA (I.N.T.O., Technical Instruction Officers' Association, Arklow) moved the following addendum to Resolution No. 21 :—

And steps should be taken to secure the regular attendance of apprentices and juvenile workers at Day Technical Classes, and that the matter be referred to the Executive with instructions to take such action as they shall deem necessary to give effect to this Resolution.

MR. MANSFIELD (I.N.T.O., Tipperary) said that at present teachers in the Secondary schools were so badly treated that they simply used their position as a jumping-off ground for other professions. The entire scheme of education in this country should be remodelled, and more money should be made available for it, and children should be compelled to attend school, and not allowed to be exploited by the employers of child labour.

MISS BENNETT (Women Workers' Union, Dublin) said that she wanted girls to be included in the term "juvenile workers," for a class was required in which girls could finish their education.

MR. M. NOLAN (I.T. & G.W.U., Belfast) said that he would advocate two days out of the week for juvenile workers to be at school.

MR. BRADY said it was the parents of the children that require to be taught. The whole burden of this was far from workable. It would be better to refer it back to the teachers.

MR. T. IRWIN (Plasterers' Society, Dublin) said that nothing could be done for the education of apprentices unless with the concurrence of the employers. The only system of technical education applying to day-schools in Dublin was one in connection with a scholarship scheme, and that meant that a boy of fourteen must pass an examination which entitled him to two years' training in a Technical School. At the end of that period he goes into employment as a third year apprentice. Night classes are not being attended because boys after working all day did not feel like going to work again at night. He suggested that the addendum be not pressed, and that the co-operation of the employers should be invited.

MR. JOHNSON, Secretary, said that the views of the National Executive on the general question of education was that there should be an end to the distinctions between primary, secondary, technical, and university education, that there should be

one system of education for all, and that there should be a single authority, which would co-ordinate all efforts at education. He suggested that all these proposals made that day in regard to education should be referred to the National Executive, or rather to a Committee to be set up which would formulate a general policy. They were in fairly general agreement as to it, but the continued discussion of details may lead to dissension as to what was the mind of the Congress.

It was agreed to refer Resolutions 20, 21, 22, and 23 to the National Executive.

INDIAN FRATERNAL DELEGATE.

MR. D. D. KHANNA, fraternal delegate from the All India Trade Union Congress and Workers' Welfare League of India, said that he had come to this Congress on behalf of millions of labourers in India, who found in the real brotherhood of working humanity the only hope of their ever being able to throw off the nightmare weight of capitalism. He brought them greetings from the workers of India, and sincere wishes for success, and an assurance that Indian Workers would give those of Ireland every help they could render when it was wanted from them. For they in India felt that the troubles of Irish workers were also the troubles of the Indians. The problems in both countries were not merely similar, but interdependent, and, if he was not mistaken, neither Indians nor Irishmen would ever end their troubles apart. "It is this feeling of unity with you," continued the speaker, "and the pressure of trouble in your midst that gives the note of sorrow to this message; for no joy can come of such occurrences as the declaration of picketing to be illegal as soon as a portion of Ireland got the much-desired status of Dominion Home Rule. We, too, are now enjoying a measure of self-government in India, and at the very first opportunity—bringing to truth Dr. Bhat's prophecy to you two years and four years ago—that power transferred to Indians, without previously ensuring the Workers their political rights, would only result in the same pernicious debasement of labour there as has taken place in Canada, in South Africa, in Australia and, I must say, in Ireland. Where will it end? Will you Irish repeat Dr. Bhat's question; Will you start treating Indian labour as the other Dominions are treating it?" In conclusion he said that he was here specially from India to give Irish labour a helping hand, and he hoped, in return, that this Congress would send at least one delegate, or two—one of each sex—to the next Session of the All India Trade Union Congress."

The CHAIRMAN conveyed to Mr. Khanna the cordial thanks of Congress for his presence and his address.

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE REPORT—Discussion resumed.

Part XI.—Work of the Labour Party in the Oireachtas—(continued).

On Paragraphs 54 and 55, MISS MOLONEY (Women Workers' Union, Dublin) said that the attitude of Labour in regard to the Oath of members of the Oireachtas was unsatisfactory. They said that the taking of the Oath was a formality. She thought that was not worthy of Irish Labour-men and women—the taking of an Oath which they did not mean to observe, and the taking part in a Parliament that was part of the British Empire which oppressed India and Egypt, and engaged in exploiting other countries. She thought it was unbecoming in the Irish Labour Party to take part in such an assembly.

MR. P. CURRAN (I.T. & G.W.U., Balbriggan) said that the Labour Party were adopting the policy of James Connolly—that was, that they were doing what they considered best in the interests of the workers.

ALDERMAN W. O'BRIEN (I.T. & G.W.U., Dublin) said that there had been a great deal of unreal talk about the Oath of Allegiance. It never presented any difficulty to him. All his life he had been a Socialist and Republican. If he had been in a Socialist or Republican country he should take an Oath of Allegiance to the State, and that was what he had done here.

MISS BENNETT (Women Workers' Union, Dublin) said that she did not cast any reflections on those who took the Oath, and she believed they took it in all sincerity. Her own opinion was that it was not right for an Irish worker to associate himself with the British Empire. She thought it was a very rotten thing to make little of an oath or a pledged word.

MR. JOHNSON, Secretary, said that the character of an oath or a pledged word resided in this—that one was making a declaration to do a certain thing with the object of securing the confidence of the hearers of that word. If you break that word you are committing a fault. If on the other hand you take such steps as to make it appear to the world that you are not deceiving, then there is no breach. If one is to be a citizen of this country one is told that he or she must observe certain legal formalities. Citizenship in every country involves everything that is implied in this declaration or this oath. People who object to Deputies taking this oath of allegiance to the Constitution will not hesitate to go to the polling booth and vote within the limits of that same Constitution. People talk about breaches of an oath, and of loyalty and honour, and these same people who should be loyal

to the Labour Party will go on opposite platforms and try to break up the Labour movement, pretending to be part and parcel of the Labour Party and loyal to the organisation that is affiliated to the Labour movement, and then will go out and do their utmost to destroy one arm of the Labour movement.

MISS MOLONEY (Women Workers' Union, Dublin)—“Certainly, quite right.”

MR. JOHNSON—“I think there is more disloyalty in that kind of action than there is in any Deputy taking the Oath which has been accepted as a mark of citizenship of the country.”

MISS MOLONEY—“In taking it they are treacherous to the Labour Movement.”

MR. JOHNSON said that certain persons had taken an oath of allegiance to the Republic—a Workers' Republic—but they had not observed it. The Deputies deceived no one when they took the Oath, and the Labour members had maintained their position. When they subscribed to that declaration they said that they would assist in removing it, while at the same time taking advantage of the machinery of Government. There was no deceit, and nobody was misled by their attitude; there was no hedging, no disloyalty, nothing of which any man need be ashamed.

MR. BREATHNACH (I.N.T.O., Dublin)—“Is it the policy of the Labour Party, if it comes into power, to repeal the Oath?”

MR. JOHNSON—“I hope it will be done long before we come into power. We did all we could to have it removed when we were discussing the Constitution.”

MR. E. COONEY (Grocers' Assistants' Union, Dublin) said that there were many delegates who would like to say things that they were afraid to say. (No, no.) This Congress had never given the Labour Party a mandate to go into the Free State Parliament. When he asked the question last year he was put down. It served no useful purpose to have Labour Representatives in the Free State Parliament.

MR. D. A. MEEHAN (I.N.T.O., Leix) said that he understood that it was the policy of the Labour Party last year to enter whatever Parliament was set up for the time being. They all knew that there was some kind of attestation or oath to the head of the State for the time being.

The Paragraphs were passed.

Paragraphs 56 and 57, “Election of Senators,” were taken in conjunction with Resolution No. 7:—

Whereas this Congress having condemned Second Chambers in any legislative assembly set up in this country, we disapprove of the action of persons who, acting in our name, accepted seats in the Second Chamber, An Seanad of Saorstát na hÉireann.

MR. M. DOYLE (I.T. & G.W.U., Kildare) moved the Resolution in the absence of the delegate of the Dublin Fire Brigade Men's

Union, which had placed it on the Agenda. He disagreed with the sending of Labour members to the Senate, because he and those whom he represented were against a Second Chamber. He warned the Labour Party, and the members of it who would go into the Dáil, that if those members did not come and look for directions from their constituents they would fall into the same mistakes as the old Irish Party did.

MR. P. HUGHES (Grocers' Assistants' Union, Dublin) seconded the Resolution.

MISS O'CONNOR (Women Workers' Union, Dublin) said that she was opposed to the Labour Party going into the Parliament, and said that the members of the Dáil had no right to take an oath to the King of England, and as to going into the Second Chamber, didn't they all know that that Chamber was composed of the ascendancy gang.

MR. G. KELLY said they objected to the Second Chamber because it was not elected by the workers.

MR. T. NAGLE (I.T. & G.W.U., Blarney) said that there were lots of things to which they objected. They must work for employers so long as they existed, and they should be sensible enough to see that as there was a Second Chamber they should have as many members there as they possibly could.

MR. T. CASSIDY (Typographical Association, Derry) supported the action of the National Executive.

MR. JOHNSON, Secretary, said that there seemed to be a great deal of confusion in the minds of some delegates on this subject. If the Labour Party gave the Deputies and the National Executive enough support within the next few years it was quite within the bounds of practical politics that a Vocational Chamber might be set up—a Chamber in which Labour members would be more dominant. Did Congress, he asked, want them to take up the position that if they did not get their own way they must leave the institution and let it do what it willed with them? (No, no.)

ALDERMAN T. LAWLOR (Municipal Employees' Union, Dublin) said he objected to the principle of a Second Chamber, but he did not criticise those Labour members who went into it. He objected to their being nominated by the Dáil, or taking any favours of that kind.

ALDERMAN W. O'BRIEN (I.T. & G.W.U., Dublin) said that the five Labour Senators were elected by the Labour Deputies, without favour from any one.

MR. T. RYAN (I.T. & G.W.U., Waterford) said that he believed that the Labour Deputies were responsible for putting the Senators into power.

The Resolution was defeated, the voting being 110 against, and 14 for.

Paragraphs 56, 57 and 58 of the Report were passed.

Paragraph 59 of the Report, "Local Elections (Postponement) Act," was taken in conjunction with Resolution No. 28.

That it is the opinion of Congress that expenses incurred through cost of travelling and loss of pay occasioned by attendance of members at meetings of County Councils (such meetings being held in many cases at long distances from the residences of members) should be borne by the County.

ALDERMAN W. O'BRIEN moved the Resolution on behalf of the National Executive.

MR. P. BERMINGHAM (Plumbers' Union, Dublin) seconded.

The Paragraph and the Resolution were agreed to.

Paragraphs 60 and 61 of the Report were passed.

On Paragraph 62—"Local Government (Temporary Provisions) Act"—ALDERMAN O'BRIEN said that the Local Government Department had taken over all the powers that were exercised by the old Local Government Board, including power to control the staff employed by Borough and Urban Councils. That meant that before a single official could be employed for a day, the sanction of the Local Government Department should be had. It was pointed out in the Dáil that Local Councils should not be deprived of that power, and the Minister said that they would not go so far as that.

MR. T. IRWIN (Plasterers' Society, Dublin) said he thought they were gradually arriving at the time when it would be necessary for Labour to withdraw its representatives from all public boards in consequence of the manner in which the Local Government Department was dealing with those Boards. There were worse things being done with regard to those Boards than were done under British authority.

Paragraphs 62 to 81 were adopted.

On Paragraph 82—"Public Safety (Emergency Powers) Act"—MR. JOHNSON, Secretary, said that there was an extraordinary opinion abroad which ought to be corrected. Certain gentlemen not unknown to fame and to members of Congress, argued resolutely some two or three nights ago that the Labour Party in the Dáil sat up all night "assisting to pass the 'Flogging Bill.'" That was an illustration of the state of mind of many people, arising out of past political practices in this country. People spoke of the Labour Party in the Dáil as part of the Government. They had opposed the measure as a whole, including the "flogging" Clause. They did their best to amend every Bill that came before the Dáil, and the fact that they took part in discussions did not make them responsible for the acts of the Executive. There was a great distinction between the acts of the Government and the acts of the Parliament that was there to criticise the Government.

MR. F. McGRATH (I.T. & G.W.U., Belfast) said the Act was a disgrace to a civilised nation. He thought the Labour members should have left the House, saying that they were definitely opposed to it.

ALDERMAN O'BRIEN (I.T. & G.W.U., Dublin) said that that was entirely a matter of judgment. It was frequently said that the Labour Party ought to withdraw on something or another, as a protest. If they were to act on all these suggestions they would be doing nothing but withdrawing. What would the people think if they were to march out of the House every day? Why, they would simply cover themselves with ridicule. If Congress did not believe in Parliamentary Government it was quite easy to say so, and the Labour Deputies would know where they were.

MR. McGRATH said that he was referring only to something obnoxious like the Flogging Bill. He did not say that they ought to withdraw on other matters.

The CHAIRMAN said that everyone there was in revolt against the Flogging Clause, but he believed that there were other Clauses in the Act that were more dangerous.

The Paragraph was adopted.

The remainder of the Report was approved.

The Report of the National Executive was then adopted as a whole, subject to the reference back of Paragraph 19.

RESOLUTIONS.

Discussion resumed.

Agricultural Policy.—Resolution No. 17 on the Agenda, viz.:—

That Congress approves of coupling in its political programme the interests of the small Tenant-Farmers whereby allotments of land will be granted to uneconomic holdings, say, of fifteen or less acres (Irish) so as to take them to an acreage which will allow a 20 per cent. compulsory tillage with sufficient pasture land to breed and fatten at least two milch cows with six to eight heads of stores, and a horse for the work of the farm; and that such small farmers be given a loan at a moderate interest, to be repaid on the instalment system, for the purchase of up-to-date farm implements and machines; and that propaganda be issued to all Workers' Councils and Trade Union bodies upon application, dealing with the advantages of co-operation amongst small Tenant-Farmers and Town Workers, through one being the off-spring of the other, in so far that the Town Workers in 85 cases out of 100 are recruited from the proletariat tillers of the soil.

was withdrawn and replaced by the following Resolution:—

This Congress declares that the future prosperity of Irish agriculture resides in the co-operative administration and development of small holdings and the planting of the larger farms and untenanted lands with the property-less workers, on the basis of common ownership.

MR. H. McGLADE (Workers' Council, Ballina) moved the Resolution.

MR. A. HERON (I.T. & G.W.U., Dublin) seconded, and the Resolution was passed.

HOUSING.

Resolution No. 18 on the Agenda, viz. :—

That Congress approves of the compulsory acquisition by the Local Elected Public Authority of all derelict and suitable building-sites in towns, where such sites will not be utilized by the owner, for the purpose of relieving the present house famine, and that dead walls leading into or in the principal arteries be removed as so to provide sites; for by this being done there would be more individual enterprise in building, and much relief given to this very pressing housing problem. Also Town Tenants should be given the option of purchasing their houses at a fair price, and the local authorities should be in a position to see that no selfish interest should bar the progress of an enterprising community in the beautification of their town and district, and that urban authorities should have at their disposal a Fund, provided (in part) by the Government, for the purchase of a park to ensure a suitable recreation ground.

was withdrawn and the following Resolution substituted and passed:—

Congress demands the acquisition of derelict building sites in towns and cities at a nominal valuation, and the erection thereon of such houses as may be necessary for local purposes, with State aid.

STATEMENT OF ACCOUNTS.

On the motion of MR. NAGLE (I.T. & G.W.U., Blarney), seconded by MR. JOHN BYRNE (I.T. & G.W.U., Swords), the Financial Statement, which had been circulated among the delegates, was adopted.

MR. C. J. KENNY (Clerical Workers' Union, Dublin) and MR. D. MORRISSEY (I.T. & G.W.U., Nenagh) asked for explanations of certain items in the account, and the Secretary supplied an explanation which was deemed satisfactory.

MR. NAGLE asked if the sum of £90 as the salary of the Secretary (Mr. Johnson) was correct.

ALDERMAN O'BRIEN, Treasurer, replied that it was. Mr. Johnson's salary was £450 a year. His salary (or allowance) of £360 as member of the Dáil was deducted, and therefore he drew only £90 out of Congress Funds.

In reply to MR. FITZGIBBON (Irish Distributive Workers' Union, Cork) the Chairman said that he did not think that Mr. Johnson was being properly paid for his work. He suggested that the matter be left to the incoming Executive. There was a desire in Congress that Mr. Johnson should receive more in the future than he had received in the past.

MR. JOHNSON, Secretary, said that he was receiving his full salary. Before he was elected to the Dáil he gave his time and energy to the Labour Movement. The position was exactly the same as before. He happened to be one of the many who had been selected for attack on the ground of personal aggrandisement. It had been said that he was in receipt of two salaries, and that

since he had come to Dublin from Belfast he had feathered his nest and done well. He was not any better off to day from the Labour Movement than he was before he became an official of the Labour Movement. If he had given to his private interests when he was serving in commerce only one-third of the effort he had given to the Labour Movement he could have earned three times the salary that he now received. He had worked many years in the Labour Movement before he received a penny for his services. The story was going also that he was serving on Commissions and that he, Mr. O'Brien, and others who served on these Commissions were receiving payment for their services in addition to their expenses as members of the Dáil. That was false. They had not received even the price of a cup of tea for service on Commissions, and some of them entailed a good deal of work. The allowance for expenses to members of the Dáil left many of them worse off than they were before, especially those who lived in the country. The allegation that he (Mr. Johnson) was receiving two salaries, and that he was feathering his nest through membership of the Dáil, and through his employment by the Labour Movement, was false, and that was all he would say about it.

ALDERMAN O'BRIEN said that he, like Mr. Johnson, had been attacked on the ground of the many salaries he was drawing. All his income consisted of was a pension of something less than thirty shillings a week from a public body by which he had been employed years ago, and the allowance he was receiving as a member of the Dáil. He was not receiving one penny from any Labour organisation.

MISS MOLONEY (Women Workers' Union, Dublin) said that she paid no attention to the people who criticised Mr. Johnson and the Labour Party. She would like to associate herself with those who considered that Mr. Johnson and others were not adequately paid.

The CHAIRMAN said that calumnies were spread by enemies of the Labour Movement and by personal enemies of Mr. Johnson and Mr. O'Brien. The Executive would consider these matters in connection with the staff of the Labour Party office.

The Congress passed on to the next business.

THE ATTACK ON WAGES.

The following special Resolution was moved :—

That this Congress notes the many attacks now being made by employers on sections of the Irish working-class, and urges upon all Trade Unionists the vital necessity of resisting these attempts to lower the standard of life of the Irish workers.

MR. F. MCCARTHY (I.T. & G.W.U., Dublin) moving the Resolution said that the wording of it, in view of present circumstances,

was rather mild. He would dwell upon two words in it, the "vital necessity." It was hardly necessary to ask Congress to think on on the subject of the Resolution at all. Every delegate ought to be aware that a big industrial war had been launched. They of the Transport Union were engaged in the fight. They had definite knowledge that this fight was to be brought about in the near future. Many people outside imagined that there were a split in the Transport Union. He told them that there was no split. There may be a difference of opinion between some of their members. He spoke as a member of the Executive of the Union when he said that so far as the rank and file of the Union was concerned they were united and strong and stood solid behind the Executive. Within the past day or two Congress had been disturbed by the action of some members of the Union. He would make no reference to the action on Monday of a few misguided men. That had been repudiated by Miss Moloney. A great many of those who "demonstrated" outside the Mansion House had no idea that they were offering any insult to the Labour Movement, as they did. The bulk of those men were led by a few cranks and did not think for themselves. He wanted to remove from the minds of the delegates the idea that the attack showed that there was any split or lack of solidarity in the ranks of the workers.

MR. SEAN BYRNE (I.T. & G.W.U., Swords) seconded the motion. He said that he thought that the attention of Congress should be drawn to the main attack that took place on the Quays of Dublin—the attack on the working hours, not on wages. The workers should concentrate on the attack upon the hours of work. If they allowed the Dublin dockers to go back to the 10-hours' day, the builders and others would go back and it would be 10 or 12 hours. That was what the shippers would go back to. "We should be more solid than we are," said Mr. Byrne, "we do not take into consideration, as we ought to do, attacks upon other Unions. I believe that we should take the strong industrial action that was taken in Scandinavia some years ago. I think we are not revolutionary enough. The bosses take advantage of our differences, and they attack us. If we go down in the fight it won't be we that will stink in the nostrils of the people, but a certain gentleman. I can state without fear of contradiction that the men who led the men yesterday were not dockers. The two Colgans are not dockers, and they are earning their living by running a 'house' game."

MESSRS. L. J. LARKIN (Workers' Council, Waterford), M. HILL (I.T. & G.W.U., Cork), J. HUGHES (I.T. & G.W.U., Kiltrush), T. IRWIN (Plasterers' Society, Dublin), WM. O'BRIEN (I.T. & G.W.U., Dublin) and SEAN MCAULIFFE (Amalgamated Engineering Union, Cork) supported the Resolution, which was passed by acclamation.

RESOLUTIONS.

Discussion resumed.

Industrial Committee.

MISS BENNETT (Women Workers' Union, Dublin) moved Resolution No. 2 :—

That in view of the probable extension of industrial activities in Ireland, the Executive be instructed to arrange without delay for the election of a Committee representative of the chief industrial activities in Ireland which will deal with all industrial matters, and collaborate in an advisory capacity with the Executive on subjects which demand consideration from a social or political as well as an industrial standpoint.

MR. F. McGRATH (I.T. & G.W.U., Belfast) seconded.

The CHAIRMAN said that Congress had agreed to accept the Standing Orders Committee's report with regard to this Resolution, and Resolutions Nos. 32, 33, 34, 35 and 36. All these had to do with changes which could only be given effect to by an actual change in the Constitution. It would be better to leave the matter to a special Congress.*

MISS BENNETT accordingly withdrew Resolution No. 2.

Distributive Workers' Union.

MR. E. COONEY (Grocers' Assistants' Union, Dublin) moved Resolution No. 5 :—

That the attention of this Congress be drawn to the inactivity of the National Executive with reference to our Resolution re the formation of a Distributive Workers' Union.

MR. W. CUMMINS (Grocers' Assistants' Union, Dublin) seconded. After some discussion the Resolution was, on a show of hands, declared lost.

Rights of Civil Servants.

MR. W. NORTON (Irish Post Office Workers' Union, Dublin) moved Resolution No. 10 :—

That this Congress demands that full civil rights be conceded to all Civil Servants.

MR. E. J. O'FLAHERTY (Irish Post Office Workers' Union, Galway) seconded, and the motion was passed.

Factory and Shops Acts.

MISS BENNETT (Women Workers' Union, Dublin) moved Resolution No. 11 :—

This Congress instructs the incoming Executive to approach the Ministry of Industry and Commerce on the subject of the disgracefully lax administration of the Factory and Shops Act in Ireland, and to demand that the life and health of Irish workers be safeguarded through an efficient Factory and Shops Inspection Office, which will use the full legal powers given by the Acts to ensure their fulfilment.

This Congress Claims :—

(a) The appointment of a sufficient number of men and women Inspectors who shall have had opportunities for the specialised education necessary.

(b) That such appointments shall include Inspectors drawn from the ranks of the workers, to whom facilities for specialised education will be given.

(c) That the Panel of Inspectors shall include a certain number of Medical Doctors.

(d) That methods of conference with the workers and the Trade Unions shall form part of the Inspection system.

MISS O'CONNOR (Women Workers' Union, Dublin) seconded, and the Resolution was passed.

Shops Act.

ALDERMAN O'BRIEN took the Chair while MR. L. J. DUFFY (Distributive Workers' Union, Dublin) moved Resolution No. 12 :—

This Congress demands the introduction of legislation to amend the Shops Act, 1912, and urges that such legislation shall provide :—

(1) For the application of the Act to towns other than Urban areas.

(2) For a maximum working week of 44 hours.

(3) A working day of not more than 8 hours.

(4) Payment for overtime.

(5) For bringing shop life under the provision of Truck Acts.

(6) That for the purpose of determining local option as regards the application for orders under the Act all shop workers affected, whether employers or employees, shall have a single vote.

(7) That a clear majority shall, for all the purposes of the Act, be substituted for the existing arrangement.

(8) That all Schedules relating to half-holidays, meal hours, etc., shall be publicly exhibited in the shop; and

(9) For the proper heating of shops.

MR. J. W. KELLY (Distributive Workers' Union, Dublin) seconded, and the Resolution was passed.

Workmen's Compensation.

Resolution No. 13 :—“That insurance against Workmen's Compensation risks be compulsory on all employers; and that, if necessary, the State undertake such Insurance”—submitted by the Irish Clerical Workers' Union, was withdrawn, and the following amendment, No. 13A, moved as a substantive Resolution :—

That having regard to the large sums of money collected by profit-making Insurance Companies, a large proportion of which is spent in administration and in the payment of interest to financiers, and the investment of the surplus by these Companies in Foreign Capitalistic and Monopolistic Concerns this Congress demands that Workmen's Compensation, Employers' Liability, Life, Fire and Endowment Insurance, shall be undertaken by the State to the total exclusion of speculators and profit-making concerns, and we further demand that when the necessary legislation to secure this object is introduced, provision shall be made to protect against loss those small Policy Holders who, in periods of distress, allow their Premiums to fall into arrear.

MR. J. W. KELLY (Distributive Workers' Union, Dublin) moved the Resolution.

MR. M. SOMERVILLE (Amalgamated Society of Woodworkers, Dublin) seconded, and the motion was agreed to.

Amendment 13B to substitute "That the liability incurred and payable under the Workmen's Compensation Act shall be a charge upon the Irish Exchequer," submitted by the Flax Roughers' and Yarn Spinners' Trade Union, was withdrawn.

Income Tax.

Resolutions 14 and 14A were withdrawn, and the following Resolution substituted:

This Congress protests in the most emphatic manner possible against the ill-advised attempt of the Government to empower employers to deduct, with legal sanction, arrears of Income Tax from the workers' wages, and instructs the workers in every employment to resist by any and every means all such deductions, no matter by whom imposed, and further it instructs its political representatives to endeavour to make arrears of Income Tax deductions from wages illegal and subject to recovery.

MR. C. J. KENNY (Clerical Workers' Union, Dublin), moving the Resolution, said they were told that they would be doing a patriotic duty by refusing to pay income tax, and now it was demanded from them, and employers were empowered to deduct arrears of income tax from the employees' wages. They would not allow that to be done.

MR. J. A. GORDON (Distributive Workers' Union, Dublin) seconded, and the motion was passed.

Proposed Ministry of Health.

MISS PHELAN (Women Workers—Nurses' and Midwives' Union, Dublin) moved Resolution No. 24:—

That we are of the opinion that a Ministry of Health should be immediately set up in the new Government, as it is plain that the progress of Public Health Reform is at present being held up owing to the lack of a special Department to deal with it, and we recommend that members of the Medical and Nursing profession should be appointed on the Health Ministry, so that the Ministry would have properly qualified advisers.

MISS MOLONEY (Women Workers' Union, Dublin) seconded, and the motion was agreed to.

Importation of Wireless Apparata.

MR. F. PARKES (Irish Post Office Workers' Union, Dublin) moved Resolution No. 26:—

That this Congress calls on the Government to prohibit the importation of Wireless Apparata, and to undertake the manufacture of same in the Post Office Factory as a State monopoly.

MR. W. NORTON (Irish Post Office Workers' Union, Dublin) seconded, and the motion was passed.

Hours in Licensed Trade.

MR. E. COONEY (Grocers' and Vintners' Assistants' Union, Dublin) moved Resolution No. 27 :—

That we request this Congress to decide what they consider should be the closing hour for Licensed Houses in Dublin and District, consistent with the convenience of the workers in obtaining necessary refreshments, and that they further instruct the Labour Representatives in the Dáil to endeavour to have same made law.

The CHAIRMAN: "The Resolution, if passed, means nothing. Raise the question at the Dublin Workers' Council."

The motion was ruled out of order.

Fiscal System.

The CHAIRMAN, on behalf of the National Executive, moved Resolution No. 29 :—

That any change in the fiscal system, involving import duties, subsidies or bounties, should be opposed, which does not provide for transmitting the benefits derived from such duties, subsidies or bounties to the workers engaged in the industries, and at the same time protect the consuming public from robbery by profit-seeking combines, trusts or monopolies.

To the foregoing the following amendment stood on the Agenda, from the Distributive Workers' Union :

That subject to provision being made (1) for transmitting the benefit which may be derived from a protective tariff to the workers engaged in the industries affected, and (2) for preventing the growth of profit-seeking Monopolies, Trusts or Combines, within Saorstát Eireann, this Congress declares in favour of encouraging Home Industries by means of a protective Tariff.

After some discussion, in which the CHAIRMAN, MR. WELDON (Amalgamated Society of Woodworkers, Cork), MR. JOHNSON, MR. CAMPBELL (Trades' Council, Belfast), MR. DEPEW (Trades' Council, Sligo), MR. STEWART (Trades' Council, Belfast), MR. BERMINGHAM (N.U.R., Dublin), took part, it was agreed to postpone the matter and to refer it to the National Executive.

The CHAIRMAN: "That disposes of the Agenda."

THANKS TO THE LORD MAYOR.

MR. THOMAS CASSIDY (Typographical Association, Derry) moved a vote of thanks to the Lord Mayor for having given Congress the use of the Mansion House.

MR. JOHN WELDON (Amalgamated Society of Woodworkers, Cork) seconded, and the motion was passed by acclamation.

THANKS TO THE CHAIRMAN.

ALDERMAN O'BRIEN was moved to the Chair, and on the motion of MR. DAWSON GORDON (Flax Roughers' Union, Belfast), seconded by MR. H. DEPEW (Trades' Council, Sligo), a hearty vote of thanks was conveyed to Mr. Duffy for the excellent manner in which he had conducted the proceedings during the four days' session.

MR. OWEN HYNES, Chairman of the Dublin Workers' Council, presented on behalf of that body, to the Chairman, a gong, as a memento of the occasion.

MR. DUFFY suitably acknowledged the compliment and the proceedings of the Congress concluded.

NOTE.

The following Resolutions on the Agenda were deferred for consideration at a Special Congress to be summoned for the purpose :—

INDUSTRIAL COMMITTEE.

2.—That in view of the probable extension of industrial activities in Ireland, the Executive be instructed to arrange without delay for the election of a Committee representative of the chief industrial activities in Ireland which will deal with all industrial matters, and collaborate in an advisory capacity with the Executive on subjects which demand consideration from a social or political as well as an industrial standpoint.

Moved by **Irish Women Workers' Union.**

AMENDMENTS TO CONSTITUTION.

Membership.

32.—That Paragraph 3 of the Constitution of the Party be amended by the insertion after the words "local Labour Parties" of the words :—

"Independent Labour and Workers' Parties, Co-operative Societies and other working-class organisations."

And that the following consequential amendments be made :—

Par. 4 (b). After "Trade Unions" to insert "or other affiliated organisations."

Par. 7 (a). After "Trade Unions" to insert "or other affiliated organisations."

Moved by **Irish Clerical and Allied Workers' Union.**

AMENDMENTS TO STANDING ORDERS

Audit.

33.—That Standing Order 4 be amended by the insertion after the word "audited" in Paragraph 2 of the words:—

"By a Public Auditor or Accountant."

and consequentially Standing Order 15 be amended by the deletion of the words "Two Auditors" and the substitution in their place of the words:—

"A Public Auditor or Accountant."

Moved by **Irish Clerical and Allied Workers' Union.**

33 (A).—To insert before the words "A Public Auditor" the words "A Chartered Accountant or a firm of Chartered Accountants or."

Amendment to be moved by the **Irish Union of Distributive Workers and Clerks.**

RECOMMENDATIONS BY THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE.

AMENDMENTS TO CONSTITUTION.

Finance.

34.—Paragraph 7.

(a)—To alter "2d. per member" to "3d. per member."

(b)—To alter "one pound (£1) for each 5,000 members or part thereof" to "three pounds (£3) for the first 5,000 members or part thereof, and a further one pound (£1) for every additional 1,000 members or part thereof."

(c)—To alter "one pound (£1)" to "three pounds (£3)."

National Executive.

35.—Paragraph 8.—To alter "ten other members" to "thirteen other members."

AMENDMENT TO STANDING ORDERS.

Election of National Executive.

36.—To alter the third Paragraph of Standing Order No. 12, to read as follows:—

"The maximum number of delegates from any one organisation that may be elected to membership of the National Executive, otherwise than as officers, shall be:—

"For an organisation with a membership not over 10,000 1

"For an organisation with a membership over 10,000,
but not over 20,000 2

"For an organisation with a membership over 20,000,
but not over 50,000 3

"For an organisation with a membership of 50,000 or over 4."

The following Resolutions were referred to the National Executive for consideration.

SECONDARY EDUCATION.

20.—That this Congress asserts the right to free Secondary Education of every Irish child capable of benefiting by it; that, further, it is the duty of the State to provide free Secondary Education for such children on a liberal and democratic basis as well as to secure to the lay teachers, who must form an integral part of such a scheme, adequate conditions of employment in regard to tenure of office, salaries and pensions; and that Congress hereby instructs the incoming National Executive to proceed at once with the setting up of a representative committee within Trade Union ranks to formulate a national system of education adapted to the needs and circumstances of the children of the workers, and to press for its early institution.

Moved by **Association of Secondary Teachers (I.N.T.O.)**.

COMPULSORY SCHOOL ATTENDANCE.

21.—That attendance at school should be made compulsory for all children up to the age of fourteen at least.

Moved by **Irish National Teachers' Organisation**.

SCHOOL BUILDINGS.

22.—That, as many of the existing school-buildings are quite unsuitable, especially from the point of view of sanitation, and as no systematic arrangements exist for the upkeep and maintenance of school-premises, or the provision of suitable equipment, this Congress urges that legislation to remedy this very unsatisfactory state of affairs should be enacted without delay.

Moved by **Irish National Teachers' Organisation**.

SCHOOL NURSES.

23.—That this Congress considers that School Nurses should be appointed in all schools to teach the children the elementary rules of health and hygiene, so that our race may grow up strong and healthy.

Moved by **Irish Nurses' and Midwives' Union**
(**Irish Women Workers' Union**).

FISCAL SYSTEM.

29.—That any change in the fiscal system involving import duties, subsidies or bounties, should be opposed, which does not provide for transmitting the benefits derived from such duties, subsidies or bounties to the workers engaged in the industries, and at the same time protect the consuming public from robbery by profit-seeking combines, trusts or monopolies.

Moved by **National Executive**.

29 (A).—To delete all after "that" on first line, and substitute therefor

"Subject to provision being made (1) for transmitting the benefit which may be derived from a protective tariff to the workers engaged in the Industries affected; and (2) for preventing the growth of profit-seeking Monopolies, Trusts, or Combines, within Saorstát Eireann, this Congress declares in favour of encouraging Home Industries by means of a protective Tariff."

Amendment to be moved by the **Irish Union of Distributive Workers and Clerks**.

Unions Affiliated, 1922-1923.

With Membership, Affiliation Fees Paid, Secretary, Delegates and Delegation Fees Paid.

Name of Trade Union	No. of Mem- bers Jan 1st, 1923	Affiliation Fees Paid	Secretary	Delegates to 1923 Congress	Dele- gation Fees Paid
Assurance Workers, National Union of Life	250	£ 2 1 8	B. Brooke, 316 Oxford Road, Man- chester	J. Byrne, 6 Whitworth Place, Drum- condra, Dublin	£ 1
Bakers', Confectioners' and Allied Workers' Amalgamated Union (Irish)	2,000	16 13 4	Denis Cullen, 37 Lr. Gardiner St., Dublin	Denis Cullen, 37 Lower Gardiner Street, Dublin Francis Moran, 37 Lr. Gardiner Street, Dublin P. Shanahan, 31 Washington Street, Cork Thomas McConnell, Artisan's Hall, Lower Garfield Street, Belfast R. Beggs, 3 Tennison St., Belfast	4
Building Trade Workers, Amalga- mated Union of	993	8 5 6	General Secretary—G. Hicks, "The Builders," Crescent Grove, Clapham Common, South Side, London, S.W.4 Irish Organiser—M. Coburn, Fort Road, Dowdallshill, Dundalk		
Brick and Stone Layers (Ancient Guild of Incorporated)	600	5 0 0	Owen Hynes, 49 Cuffe Street, Dublin	D. Byrne, 66 Home Villas, Donnybrook Owen Hynes, 49 Cuffe Street, Dublin	2
Brushmakers, National Society of (Dublin Branch)	100	1 0 0	Wm. Murphy 17 Russell St., N.C.R., Dublin	E. Tucker, 37 Capel Street, Dublin	2
Blacksmiths' and Ironworkers' Society Associated (Dublin Branch)			A. Stevenson, 5 Myrtle Terrace, Church Road, Dublin		
Civil Service Clerical Association			M. P. Fitzgibbon, "Leenane," Dolly- mount, Dublin		
Clerical and Allied Workers' Union (Irish)	1,500	12 10 0	W. F. Clifford, St. Andrew's Cham- bers, 1 College St., Dublin	J. J. O'Neill, 14 North Great George's Street, Dublin C. J. Kenny, 1 College Street, Dublin	2
Distributive Workers and Clerks (Irish Union of)	9,120	76 0 0	L. J. Duffy, Cavendish House, Parnell Square, Dublin	L. J. Duffy, Cavendish House, Parnell Square, Dublin Miss C. Cahalan, 94 Mid. Abbey St., Dublin Sister M. Ragnann 78 Lr. Mount St., Dublin Thomas Johnson, 32 Lower Abbey Street, Dublin J. W. Kelly, Cavendish House, Parnell Square, Dublin J. F. Fitzgibbon, 23 South Mall, Cork T. O'Gorman, 54 O'Connell Street, Limerick James Hunt, 15 William Street, Sligo M. M'Greal, 27 Hardwick St., Dublin J. A. Gordon, 29 Lr. Abbey St., Dublin H. Batt, 27 Curzon Street, Dublin S. Bradley, 16 Dame Street, Dublin	11
Engineering Union, Amalgamated (Inchicore Branch)	120	1 0 0	L. Keegan, 2 First Avenue, Inchicore, Dublin	B. Cunningham, 44 Pembroke Cot- tages, Donnybrook, Dublin Sean M'Auliffe, 2 Seminary Villas, Cork P. J. Verdon, 23 Temple St., Dublin P. O'Hagan, 6 Gardiner's Row, Dublin	1
Do. (Dublin No. 1 Branch)	204	1 14 0			
Do. (Cork Branch)	200	1 13 4			
Do. (Dublin No. 2 Branch)	100	1 0 0			
Engineering Industrial Trades Union (Irish)	4,700	39 3 4		Rowland Bent, 7 Fitzroy Avenue, Dublin J. J. Collins, 27 Mount Temple Road, Dublin Jos. Toomey, 55 St. Patrick's Road, Drumcondra F. Magee, 8 Railway Terrace, Dundalk P. Fitzgerald, 1 Brighton Terrace, Cobh	5

Name of Trade Union	No. of Members Jan. 1st, 1923	Affiliation Fees Paid	Secretary	Delegates to 1923 Congress	Delegation Fees Paid
Fire Brigade Men's Union, Dublin	39	£ s. d. 1 0 0	J. Connolly, Tara Street Fire Station, Dublin	T. Gaffney, Tara Street, Dublin	£ 1
Furnishing Trades Association (National Amalgamated)	844	7 0 8	General Secretary—Alex. Gossip, 58 Theobald's Road, London, W.C.1 Irish Organiser—Jas. Collins, 11 Leo Avenue, Dublin	C. W. Taylor, 15 Wesley Avenue, Cook Street, Belfast Jas. Collins, 11 Leo Avenue, Dublin	2
Flax Roughers' and Yarn Spinners' Trade Union	—	5 0 0	Dawson Gordon, 99 Donegall St., Belfast	Dawson Gordon, 99 Donegall Street, Belfast	1
Grocers' and Vintners' Assistants, Irish National Union of	2,000	16 13 4	P. Hughes, 20 Parnell Square, Dublin	E. Cooney, Wharf Tavern, East Rd., Dublin W. Cummins, 58 Benburb St., Dublin T. Lyster, 55 Prussia Street, Dublin P. Hughes, 20 Parnell Square, Dublin	4
Locomotive Engine Drivers and Firemen T.U. (Belfast and Dublin)			Wm. Reid, 9 Canada St., Belfast		
Mental Hospital Workers' Union (Irish)	1,600	13 6 8	M. J. O'Connor, 21 Lr. St. Brigid's Road, Dublin	J. Kelly, Mental Hospital, Portrane J. Burley, Mental Hospital, Ennis C. Flynn, Mental Hospital, Mullingar M. J. O'Connor, 21 Lower St. Brigid's Road, Drumcondra	4
Municipal Employees' Trade Union (Irish)	1,550	12 18 4	Thos. Lawlor, 24 Winetavern St., Dublin	R. Tynan, c/o 24 Winetavern Street, Dublin R. Farrell, c/o 24 Winetavern Street, Dublin J. Delaney, c/o 24 Winetavern Street, Dublin T. Lawlor, c/o 24 Winetavern Street, Dublin	4
Packing Case Makers (Dublin)			W. Shanks, 3 Chamber St., Dublin		
Painters and Decorators, National Amalgamated Society of Operative House and Ship	1,951	16 5 2	J. A. Gibson, 4 Camp St., Lower Broughton, Manchester	P. J. Martin, 71 Foley Street Buildings, Dublin J. Rennie, Mill House, Ayalloage, Co. Armagh	2
Do. (Dublin District Committee)			P. J. O'Neill, 15 Upr. Gloucester St., Dublin	J. Farrell, 37 Upr. Wellington St., Dublin	1
Painters and Decorators, Irish National Union of	1,000	8 6 8	Thos. Fogarty, 27 Aungier St., Dublin	T. Bowes, 9B Ross Road, Dublin C. F. Kelly, 48 York Street, Dublin	2
Plasterers' Trade Society (Dublin Operative)	250	2 1 8	T. Irwin, 32 East Essex St., Dublin	T. Irwin, 32 East Essex St., Dublin	1
Plumbers and Domestic Engineers, United Operative	1,000	16 13 4	General Secretary—L. McDonald, 15 Abbeyville Road, Clapham, S.W.4 Secretary Dublin Branch—R. Boyd, 61 Caledon Road, Dublin	P. Bermingham, 76 Lombard Street, West, S.C.R., Dublin P. Connor, 8 Aughrim Villas, Aughrim Street, Dublin	2
Post Office Workers, Union of	925	7 14 2	J. W. Bowen, 43 Cromwell Road, South Kensington, London, S.W.7	T. Irvine, 13 Cadogan Street, Belfast	1

Name of Trade Union	No. of Members Jan. 1st, 1923	Affiliation Fees Paid	Secretary	Delegates to 1923 Congress	Dele- gation Fees Paid
Post Office Workers' Union, Irish	5,000	£ s. d. 41 13 4	D. R. Hogan, 4 Cavendish Row, Dublin	M. Wade, 82 High Street, Cork E. J. O'Flaherty, Up. Abbeygate St., Galway W. J. Dowling, P.O. Kilbricken, Mount- rath W. Norton, 48 Mount Pleasant Build- ings, Ranelagh F. Parkes, 21 "D," Iveagh Buildings, Patrick Street, Dublin M. MacGowan, 46 Magdalen Street, Drogheda	£ 6
Railway Clerks' Association	2,100	17 10 0	General Secretary—A. G. Walkden 25 Euston Road, London, N.W.1 Irish Secretary—J. T. O'Farrell, 48 Henry Street, Dublin	J. T. O'Farrell, 48 Henry Street, Dublin E. O'Carroll, 5 Abbey Terrace, Howth T. H. Gill, 25 Euston Road, London, W.1 W. Davin, T.D., 48 Henry Street, Dublin	4
Railwaymen, National Union of	9,757	81 6 2	Indus. Gen. Sec.—C. T. Cramp, Unity House, Euston Rd., London, N.W.1 Irish Sec.—J. Bermingham, 33 Par- nell Square, Dublin B. Kavanagh, 55 Stella Gardens Dublin	T. Ward, 54 Eliza Street, Belfast T. Daly, 22 Parnell Place, Cork J. Bermingham, 33 Parnell Sq., Dublin B. Kavanagh, 65 Stella Gardens, Dublin	3 1
Do. (Leinster District Council)					
Slaters' and Tilers' Amalgamated Society (Dublin Branch)	100	1 0 0	J. Sheppard, 77 Eccles Street, Dublin	J. Sheppard, 77 Eccles Street, Dublin	1
Sheet Metal Workers and Gas Meter Makers of Ireland, National Union of (Dublin Branch)	150	1 5 0	J. Farren, 20 Blackhall Place, Dublin	J. Farren, 20 Blackhall Place, Dublin	1
Tailors and Tailoresses, Amalgamated Society of (Cork Men's Branch) Do. (Women's Branch)			W. Lynch, Mechanics' Hall, 47 Grattan Street, Cork Mrs. Josephine Lynch, Mechanics' Hall, 47 Grattan Street, Cork		
Garment Makers' Industrial Union (Irish)	600	5 0 0	W. Carpenter, 44 York Street, Dublin	W. Carpenter, 44 York Street, Dublin I. Baker, 6 Emorville Avenue, S.C.R., Dublin	2
Tailors' and Garment Workers' Trade Union	717	5 19 6	A. Conley, 20 Park Place, Leeds	J. Loughnan, 2 Convent Place, Crosses Green, Cork	1
Teachers' Organization (Irish National)	12,000	104 11 8	T. J. O'Connell, 9 Gardiner's Place, Dublin	J. Harbison, 17 Chestnut Gardens, Cliftonville, Belfast D. A. Meehan, Ballyfin, Mountrath, Leix	14
(A.S.T.I.)	250	12 10 0	T. J. Burke, 9 Gardiner's Place, Dublin	J. E. McNelis, Castlecaulfield, Co. Tyrone C. Breathnach, Marlboro' House, Glas- nevin R. Neilly, 74 Church St., Ballymena, Co. Antrim E. Mansfield, Cullen, Tipperary C. P. Murphy, Annmount, Friars' Walk, Cork Thos. Frisby, Freshford, Co. Kilkenny P. J. Quinn, 10 Ring Street, Inchicore, Dublin	
(I.A. and T.I.O.A.)	30			H. O'Donnell, Cloonanure, Gurteen, Ballymote, Co. Sligo D. F. Courell, Teacher, Ballina, Co. Mayo T. J. O'Connell, 9 Gardiner's Place, Dublin F. M'Namara, Reenmore, Arklow (I.A. and T.I.O.A.) T. J. Burke, 9 Gardiner's Place, Dublin (A.S.T.I.)	

Name of Trade Union	No. of Members Jan. 1st, 1923	Affiliation Fees Paid	Secretary	Delegates to 1923 Congress	Delegation Fees Paid
Typographical Association (Manchester)	1,609	£ 13 s. 8 d.	General Secretary—H. Skinner, "Beechwood," Oak Drive, Fallowfield, Manchester Irish Organiser—T. Cassidy, 41 Chapel Road, Waterside, Derry	T. Cassidy, 41 Chapel Road, Waterside, Derry H. T. Whitley, 12 Frederick Street, Belfast C. G. Carey, 3 Prospect Villas, Rosbrien, Limerick	£ 3
Typographical (Dublin) Provident Society	1,032	8 12 0	W. J. Whelan, 35 Lr. Gardiner St., Dublin	C. J. Timmons, 35 Lr. Gardiner St., Dublin Wm. J. Whelan, 35 Lr. Gardiner St., Dublin Sean P. Campbell, 35 Lr. Gardiner Street, Dublin	3
Vehicle Builders (National Union of)	1,500	12 10 0	J. Nicholson, 195 Oxford Road, Manchester	J. Wickham, 9 Woodville Terrace, Drumcondra	1
Woodworkers, Amalgamated Society of	8,075	67 5 10	General Secretary—A. G. Cameron, 131 Wilmslow Road, Withington, Manchester	M. Somerville, No. 1 "F" Road, Fairbrothers' Fields, Dublin J. O. Delaney, 168 North Stand, Dublin	2
Do. (Dublin No. 4 Branch)			C. Ring, 35 Lr. Gloucester Street, Dublin	T. MacPartlin, 46 St. Thomas' Terrace, S.C.R., Dublin	1
Do. (Dublin No. 5 Branch)			J. O'Kelly, 442 N.C.R., Dublin	M. J. Browne, 25 Innisfallen Parade, Dublin	1
Do. (Dublin No. 6 Branch)			M. Somerville, No. 1 "F" Road, Fairbrothers' Fields, Dublin		
Do. (Dublin No. 7 Branch)			J. Brophy, 32 Lower Ormond Quay, Dublin	J. Brophy, 32 Lower Ormond Quay, Dublin	1
Do. Dublin No. 10 Branch			T. Dunne, 10 Richmond Row, Portobello, Dublin	T. Dunne, 10 Richmond Row, Portobello, Dublin	1
Do. (Cork District)			E. Fitzgerald, 21 Friar's Walk, Cork	J. P. Weldon, 20 Grattan Street, Cork E. Fitzgerald, 21 Friars' Walk, Cork	2
Wood-Cutting Machinists, Amalgamated Society of	820	10 8	W. J. Wentworth, 32 Milton Street, C-on-M., Manchester	George Hill, 11 Beatrice Avenue, Bangor, Co. Down	1
Women Workers' Union (Irish)	3,000	25 0 0	Miss Louie Bennett, } Miss H. Chenevix, } 7 Eden Quay, Dublin	Miss L. Bennett, "Gayfield," Killiney Miss Moloney, 9 Belgrave Road, Dublin Miss Doran, 5 Sheriff Place, Dublin Miss Anthony, c/o Women Workers' Union, 7 Eden Quay, Dublin Miss Phelan, Protestant Hospital, Dublin Union, James's St., Dublin	5
Irish Transport and General Workers' Union	100,000	833 6 8	General President Thomas Foran, 35 Parnell Square, Dublin General Treasurer—Wm. O'Brien, 35 Parnell Square, Dublin	Thomas Foran, 35 Parnell Sq., Dublin William O'Brien, 77 Botanic Road, Dublin Thomas Kennedy, 20 Charlemont Mall, Dublin Michael McCarthy, 35 Parnell Square, Dublin Patrick Stafford, 41 Great Clarence Street, Dublin Michael Duffy, Readesland, Dunshaughlin Patrick Gaffney, Cullen Bridge, Killeslin, Carlow Thomas Ryan, 1 Lady Lane, Waterford Michael Hill, 35 Roche's Buildings, Cork Daniel Clancy, 91 O'Connell Street, Limerick P. Osborne, 25 North George's St., Dublin P. Byrne, 3 Moher Place, Dublin	102

Name of Trade Union	Delegates to 1923 Congress	Delegation Fees Paid
Irish Transport and General Workers' Union—(continued)	<p>W. Stone, 59 Townsend Street, Dublin</p> <p>W. Purcell, 7 Murphy's Cottages, Dublin</p> <p>Tom Butler, 24 Queen's Square, Dublin</p> <p>J. Murphy, 12 Upper Mayor St., Dublin</p> <p>P. Martin, 49 York Street, Dublin</p> <p>H. Hynes, 7 Chatham Street, Dublin</p> <p>J. O'Brien, 31 Lower Erne St., Dublin</p> <p>J. Geoghegan, 7 Lr. Mount St., Dublin</p> <p>Joseph O'Neill, 5 Chancery St., Dublin</p> <p>P. Spain, 30 Upper Mercer St., Dublin</p> <p>James Larkin, 54 Upper Bechwood Ave., Dublin</p> <p>Frank McGrath, 4 Little Patrick Street, Belfast</p> <p>Michael Nolan, 15 New Andrew Street, Belfast</p> <p>Daniel Morrissey, 11 Ormond St., Nenagh</p> <p>Michael Lennon, 7 Mary Street, Clonmel</p> <p>John Davis, 43 Upper Kevin St., Dublin</p> <p>Thomas Brady, Dublin Union, James' Street, Dublin</p> <p>Patrick Murray, 26D Iveagh Buildings, Dublin</p> <p>— Connolly, 131 Cork Street, Dublin</p> <p>Wm. Eustace, 13 Arran Street, Dublin</p> <p>Carroll, 7 Martin Street, Dublin</p> <p>Patk. Norton, 36 South Earl St., Dublin</p> <p>George Bradshaw, 20 William's Place, (off Sheriff Street), Dublin</p>	<p>George O'Driscoll, Chapel Lane, Blanchardstown</p> <p>Jos. Byrne, Trades Hall, Dun Laoghaire</p> <p>P. Curran, I.T. & G.W.U., Balbriggan</p> <p>Patrick Mulvaney, 172 Deansgrange, Co. Dublin</p> <p>Sean Byrne, I.T. & G.W.U., Swords</p> <p>Patrick O'Toole, 29 Eden Quay, Dublin</p> <p>Dom. O'Sullivan, Connolly Hall, Cork</p> <p>James Hickey, Connolly Hall, Cork</p> <p>James Byrne, Connolly Hall, Cork</p> <p>William Clancy, Connolly Hall, Cork</p> <p>William Donovan, Connolly Hall, Cork</p> <p>Joe Forrest, Connolly Hall, Cork</p> <p>Tim Harrington, Connolly Hall, Cork</p> <p>Michael Mahony, Connolly Hall, Cork</p> <p>Timothy Jones, Bandon</p> <p>J. Murphy, Dunmanway</p> <p>Thomas Ingerton, I.T. & G.W.U., Blarney</p> <p>Tadhg Quill, I.T. & G.W.U., Macroom</p> <p>D. Quaid, I.T. & G.W.U., Cobh, Co. Cork</p> <p>T. Nagle, Blarney</p> <p>Thomas Cosgrave, Tullowbeg St., Tullow</p> <p>Liam Ellis, Charlotte Street, Carlow</p> <p>James Foley, I.T. & G.W.U., Portlaoise</p> <p>Thomas McCarthy, 18 Thomas Terrace, Dungarvan</p> <p>James McConnell, 1 Lady Lane, Waterford</p>

Irish Transport and General Workers' Union—(continued)

Patrick Keane, 97 Lower Gardiner St., Dublin

L. Usher, 29 Eden Quay, Dublin

P. Brophy, 2A Harold's Cross Road, Dublin

M. O'Conchubhair, Peter St., Drogheda

Edward Duffy, Chapel Street, Dundalk

M. Murray, I.T. & G.W.U., Ballymahon

Patrick Carroll, I.T. & G.W.U., Killucan

J. F. Gill, New Row, Edenderry

James Daly, Church Street, Rathdowney

Eamon Hayes, Kincora, Portlaoise

Jer. Murphy, 73 Boherbee, Tralee

J. P. Hughes, I.T. & G.W.U., Kilsall

John Cowley, I.T. & G.W.U., Ballina

J. J. McNally, Society Street, Ballinasloe

John Sheehan, 91 O'Connell St., Limerick

Patrick Horgan, 91 O'Connell Street, Limerick

C. Mulcahy, 91 O'Connell St., Limerick

Michael McCann, Knockane, Newcastle West

Richard Kelly, Main Street, Kilfinane, Co. Limerick

P. Lynch, Carnane, Fedamore, Co. Limerick

Patrick Hynes, Kilmannon, Cleariestown, Co. Wexford

John Rossiter, I.T. & G.W.U., Crescent Quay, Wexford

Martin Kehoe, 4 Court St., Enniscorthy

Laurence Smyth, Possextown, Nobber, Co. Meath

Christopher Mathews, Oakestown, Trim, Co. Meath

David Hall, Cultrumner, Drumree, Co. Meath

Charles Gaule, 35 Main Street, Arklow

Laurence Moore, I.T. & G.W.U., Blessington, Co. Wicklow

John Dunne, I.T. & G.W.U., Ardee St. Bray, Co. Wicklow

Name of Trade Union

Delegates to 1923 Congress

Delegation
Fees
PaidIrish Transport and General Workers'
Union—(continued)

Christopher Supple, Duke Street, Athy
M. Carroll, I.T. & G.W.U., Naas
M. Doyle, I.T. & G.W.U., Kildare
John McManus, 144 McCaffrey's Estate,
Mount Brown, Dublin
Alick Leahy, 14 Sarah Place, Inchicore
Patrick Hanratty, 7 South Richmond
Place, Dublin
John Lawlor, 18 Thomas Ashe Street,
Dublin
Michael Donnelly, 22 Lower Gardiner
Street, Dublin
James Osborne, 32 2nd Avenue, Seville
Place, Dublin
Patrick Gray, 27 Summer Place,
Charles Street, Dublin
Andrew Doyle, 17 Albert Place, Grand
Canal Street, Dublin
Archie Heron, 11a Casimir Road,
Harold's Cross, Dublin
Charles F. Ridgway, 36 Belgrave Sq.,
Rathmines, Dublin

Name of Trade Union

No. of
Mem-
bers
Jan. 1st,
1923Affiliation
Fees
Paid

Secretary

Delegates to 1923 Congress

Dele-
gation
Fees
PaidAmalgamated Transport and General
Workers' Union

5,000

£ s. d.
41 13 4

General Secretary—Ernest Bevin, 3
Central Buildings, Westminster,
London, S.W.1
Irish Area Secretary—E. P. Hart, 47
Parnell Square, Dublin

J. Black, 33 Keagan Street, Belfast
J. Laffy, Cross Street, Galway
H. Kelly, 51 Carlisle Road, Derry
E. Armstrong, 9 Queen's Sq., Belfast
J. Prendergast, 19 Cashel Road,
Clonmel
E. P. Hart, 47 Parnell Square, Dublin

FRATERNAL DELEGATES.

Scottish Trade Union Congress

Office:—65 Ingram Street, Glasgow

Councillor Wm. Shaw, 95 Bath Street,
Glasgow

Workers' Welfare League of India

J. E. Potter, Featherstone Buildings,
High Holborn, London, W.C.1

D. D. Khanna

With Membership, Affiliation Fees Paid, Secretary and Delegation Fees Paid
Trades and Workers' Councils, Affiliated 1923-1923

Trades and Workers' Councils, Affiliated 1922-1923.

With Membership, Affiliation Fees Paid, Secretary, and Delegation Fees Paid.

Name of Council	No. of Members Jan. 1st, 1923	Affiliation Fees Paid	Secretary	Delegates to 1923 Congress	Delegation Fees Paid
Athlone	..	£ s. d. 1 0 0	E. Cosgrove, St. Columba's Terrace, Athlone		£
Ballina Workers' (Council)	.. 900	1 0 0	H. McGlade, Ballina	H. McGlade, Ballina	1
Ballinasloe (Worker's Council)	..	1 0 0	— Shaughnessy, Ballinasloe	Stephen O'Connor, c/o Mr. Shaughnessy, Ballinasloe	1
Belfast	.. 15,000	3 0 0	David R. Campbell, 11 Kimberley St., Belfast	Alexander Stewart, 2 Convention St., Belfast	2
				D. R. Campbell, 11 Kimberley Street, Belfast	
Bray and Dun Laoghaire	.. 4,572	1 0 0	P. Byrne, 45 Main St., Bray	Edward Byrne, 9 Florence 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)	.. 800	1 0 0	J. Real, 9 Linnane's Terrace, Ennis	P. J. MacNamara, Steele's Terrace, Ennis	1
Clones	..	1 0 0	M. Johnstone, Trades Council, Clones		
Clonmel	..		W. Prendergast, Trades Hall, Clonmel	A. B. Brady, 17 Anne Street, Clonmel	1
Cork (Workers' Council)	..		G. Duncan, 1 Annville, Ballinlough Road, Cork	G. Nason, 12 Marino Terrace, Cork	2
				G. Duncan, 1 Annville, Ballinbough, Road, Cork	
Cobh (Workers' Council)	..	1 0 0	J. Dunne, 25 The Mall, Cobh	E. Lynch, c/o J. Dunne, 25 The Mall, Cobh	1
Drogheda (Workers' Council)	.. 4,500	1 0 0	Thos. Lynch, Foresters' Hall, Drogheda	P. Byrne, 6 Marsh Road, Drogheda	1
Dublin (Workers' Council)	.. 50,000	10 0 0	Thomas Farren, 37 Lower Gardiner Street, Dublin	G. Spain, Liberty Hall, Dublin F. Robbins, Liberty Hall, Du' lin T. Boyle, 31 Synge Street, Dublin Miss E. O'Connor, 152 Leinster Road, Rathmines Thos. Farren, 37 Lr. Gardiner St., Dublin	5
Dundalk	..		James Smyth, 7 Annville Terrace, Chapel Street, Dundalk		
Edenderry	..	1 0 0	John Gill, New Row, Edenderry, Offaly		
Enniscorthy	..		W. Farrelly, Wofer Street, Enniscorthy		
Fermoy	..		M. O'Regan, Bartlemy, Fermoy		
Galway	..		P. Morgan, 1 Rosemary Street, Galway		
Kildare (Workers' Council)	.. [5,000	1 0 0	M. Mac Gabhann, Liberty Hall, Droichead Nua	M. Mac Gabhann, Liberty Hall, Droichead Nua	
Kilkenny	..		John Reid, Dean Street, Kilkenny		
Killarney	..	1 0 0	D. O'Sullivan, 12 Lower Sunney Hill, Killarney		
Limerick	.. 10,000	2 0 0	James Casey, Mechanics' Institute, Limerick	J. Cronin, Mechanics' Institute, Limerick	1
North Leix (Workers' Council)	.. 1,500	1 0 0	Jas. Lacey, Grattan St., Portlaoighise		
Monaghan	..		P. McEntee, Dublin Road, Monaghan		
Mullingar	..		T. Gavan, Trades Hall, Mullingar		
Ossory and South Leix	..		W. Bonham, Rathdowney, Leix		
Sligo (and District)	..	1 0 0	J. Lambert, Trades Hall, Sligo	Henry De Pew, 58 John Street, Sligo	1
Thurles	..		P. McCarthy, West Gate, Thurles		
Tralee (Workers' Council)	..	1 0 0	J. Leisk, William Street, Tralee	P. Kelly William Street, Tralee	1
Tullamore	..		J. P. Hutton, Earl Street, Tullamore		
Waterford (Workers' Council)	.. 5,000	1 0 0	Leo Dunne, 35 Manor St., Waterford	Luke J. Larkin, 10 Beau Street, Waterford	1
Wexford	..	1 0 0	P. White, King Street, Wexford	Michael Martin, Trinity St., Wexford	1

PAST CONGRESSES, 1894-1923.

Year	No. of Delegates	Place of Meeting	President	Secretary	Treasurer
1894	119	Dublin	Thomas O'Connell (Carpenter)	John Simmons	Patrick Dowd
1895	121	Cork	J. H. Jolley (Printer)	"	J. H. Jolley
1896	93	Limerick	James Dalton (Printer)	"	"
1897	86	Waterford	P. J. Leo (Pork Butcher)	"	"
1898	90	Belfast	Richard Wortley (Tailor)	"	P. J. Tevenan
1899	62	Derry	James McCarron (Tailor)	"	"
1900	77	Dublin	George Leahy (Plasterer)	Hugh McManus	Alex. Taylor
1901	73	Sligo	A. Bowman, T.C. (Flax Dresser)	E. L. Richardson	"
1902	98	Cork	William Cave (Bootmaker)	"	Geo. Leahy
1903	86	Newry	Walter Hudson, M.P. (A.S.R.S.)	"	"
1904	74	Kilkenny	William Walker (Carpenter)	"	"
1905	72	Wexford	Jas. Chambres (Saddler)	"	E. W. Stewart
1906	72	Athlone	Stephen Dineen (Baker)	"	"
1907	87	Dublin	James McCarron (Tailor)	"	"
1908	85	Belfast	John Murphy (Printer)	"	"
1909	108	Limerick	M. Egan (Coachmaker)	"	"
1910	85	Dundalk	James McCarron (Tailor)	P. T. Daly	M. J. O'Lehane
1911	75	Galway	D. R. Campbell (Insurance Agent)	"	"
1912	87	Clonmel	M. J. O'Lehane (Draper's Assistant)	"	D. R. Campbell
1913	99	Cork	William O'Brien (Tailor)	"	"
1914	94	Dublin	James Larkin (Transport Worker)	"	"
1915	—	—	NO CONGRESS HELD	"	"
1916	81	Sligo	Thomas Johnson (Shop Assistants)	"	"
1917	111	Derry	Thomas MacPartlin (Carpenter)	"	"
1918	240	Waterford	William O'Brien (Tailor)	"	"
1919	220	Drogheda	Thomas Cassidy (Printer)	William O'Brien	Thomas Johnson
1920	246	Cork	Thomas Farren (Stonecutter)	"	"
1921	250	Dublin	Thomas Foran (I.T. & G.W.U.)	Thomas Johnson	William O'Brien
1922	244	Dublin	Cathal O'Shannon, (I.T. & G.W.U.)	"	"
1923	241	Dublin	L. J. Duffy (I.U.D.W. & C.)	"	"

DAIL ELECTIONS, 1923—ANALYSIS OF VOTING.

Constituency	Total Poll	LABOUR PARTY		CUMANN NA nGAEDHAL		REPUBLICAN PARTY		FARMERS' PARTY		IND. LABOUR PARTY		OTHER CANDIDATES	
		No. of 1st Preferences	Percentage of Total Poll	No. of 1st Preferences	Percentage of Total Poll	No. of 1st Preferences	Percentage of Total Poll	No. of 1st Preferences	Percentage of Total Poll	No. of 1st Preferences	Percentage of Total Poll	No. of 1st Preferences	Percentage of Total Poll
Cavan ...	33,265	3,749	11.3	9,567	28.8	5,476	16.4	14,473	43.5	—	—	—	—
Carlow-Kilkenny ...	40,161	4,783	11.9	19,047	47.5	9,996	24.9	5,532	13.8	—	—	803	1.9
Clare ...	39,445	4,223	10.7	11,748	29.7	18,691	47.3	4,783	12.1	—	—	—	—
Cork, North ...	20,482	3,716	18.0	2,792	13.6	6,290	30.7	7,684	37.5	—	—	—	—
Cork, West ...	29,723	3,517	11.8	11,503	38.7	6,218	20.9	5,007	16.8	—	—	3,478	11.7
Cork, East ...	30,351	—	—	9,691	31.9	7,131	23.4	7,138	23.5	6,391	21.1	—	—
Cork City ...	42,611	5,281	12.4	19,637	46.1	8,440	19.8	1,616	3.8	—	—	7,617	17.9
Donegal ...	52,730	2,436	4.7	19,498	36.9	13,736	26.1	7,727	14.6	—	—	9,313	17.7
Dublin County ...	57,363	4,721	8.3	27,692	48.2	7,785	13.6	2,206	3.9	—	—	14,959	26.0
Dublin City, North ...	55,320	1,655	2.9	26,694	48.2	9,811	17.7	—	—	2,649	4.8	14,511	26.2
Dublin City, South ...	46,163	933	2.1	25,480	55.1	9,749	21.1	—	—	1,199	2.6	8,802	19.1
Galway ...	48,373	4,890	5.9	21,125	43.8	16,225	33.5	4,810	9.9	—	—	3,323	6.8
Kildare ...	18,692	6,012	32.2	5,056	27.1	3,974	20.2	3,650	19.5	—	—	—	—
Kerry ...	54,845	5,303	9.7	17,808	32.4	24,732	45.1	4,856	8.8	—	—	2,146	3.9
Limerick ...	50,810	8,860	17.4	21,110	41.5	13,404	26.3	5,949	11.7	—	—	1,487	2.9
Leitrim-Sligo ...	45,646	1,470	3.1	21,881	48.0	16,478	36.1	4,337	9.1	735	1.7	745	1.7
Longford-Westmeath ...	35,408	2,934	8.3	9,496	26.8	10,990	31.0	6,468	18.2	4,496	12.7	1,024	2.9
Leix-O'Leary ...	40,372	9,040	22.4	10,735	26.6	11,020	27.3	5,471	13.5	—	—	4,051	10.1
Louth ...	24,506	2,517	10.2	11,461	46.7	6,651	27.17	3,877	15.8	—	—	—	—
Meath ...	23,218	9,805	42.6	5,240	22.6	3,926	16.9	3,974	17.1	—	—	183	.8
Monaghan ...	25,607	2,806	10.9	12,606	49.2	5,745	22.5	4,450	17.4	—	—	—	—
Mayo, North ...	26,241	647	2.6	14,107	53.8	10,444	39.5	944	3.6	—	—	99	.5
Mayo, South ...	32,054	—	—	17,276	53.8	11,376	35.5	929	2.9	1,298	4.1	1,175	3.7
Roscommon ...	31,197	1,545	4.9	12,987	41.6	11,394	36.5	3,824	12.3	—	—	1,447	4.6
Tipperary ...	54,687	5,535	15.6	21,565	39.4	11,632	21.3	6,793	12.4	655	1.2	5,507	10.1
Waterford ...	32,559	5,896	18.1	4,794	14.8	8,265	25.4	5,422	16.6	—	—	1,182	25.1
Wexford ...	38,072	10,452	27.4	6,706	17.6	10,307	27.1	9,153	24.1	—	—	1,454	3.8
Wicklow ...	22,899	5,280	23.1	7,932	34.6	4,218	18.4	4,281	18.7	—	—	1,188	5.2
National University ...	1,202	—	—	829	69.2	237	19.5	—	—	—	—	136	11.2
TOTALS ...	1,033,947	119,116	11.4	406,083	38.6	284,341	27.0	135,354	12.9	12,920 Ind. Labour 4,503 Larkinite	1.0 .4	91,630	8.7

LABOUR DEPUTIES ELECTED

(Constituent Assembly and

Total Number

DAIL CHEANNTAIR

Contaethe Cheatharloch agus Chill Choinnigh (Carlow and Kilkenny)					
Corcaigh Thuaidh, Meadh, Thiar, Theas agus Thoir Theas (Cork, N., Mid., W., S.W., S.)	..	..	..	..	..
Buirg Chorcaighe (Cork Borough)	..	..	..	..	..
Contae Bhaile Atha Cliath (Dublin County)	..	..	..	..	..
Cathair Bhaile Atha Cliath Theas (Dublin City, South)	..	..	..	..	..
Contae na Gaillimhe (Galway County)	..	..	..	..	..
Contaethe Chill Dara agus Chill Mantain (Kildare and Wicklow)	..	..	..	..	..
Laoighis agus Ó bhFáilghe (Leix and Offaly)	..	..	..	..	..
Contaethe Longphuirt agus na hIar Mhíde (Longford and Westmeath)	..	..	..	..	..
Contaethe Lughmhaighe agus na Míde (Louth and Meath)	..	..	..	..	..
Tiobrad Arann Thuaidh, Meadh, agus Theas (Tipperary N., M. and S.)	..	..	..	..	..
Tiobrad Arann Thoir, Portláirge agus Bhuirg Phortláirge (Tipperary E., Waterford and Waterford City)	..	..	..	..	..
Contae Loch Garman (Wexford County)	..	..	..	..	..

* Did not sit after December 6th.

† Died before taking his seat.

LABOUR DEPUTIES ELECTED

Total Number

DAIL CHEANNTAIR

Contaethe Cheatharloch agus Chill Choinnigh (Carlow-Kilkenny)	..	..	..	..	..
Contae an Chláir (Clare)	..	..	..	..	..
Corcaigh Thuaidh (N. Cork)	..	..	..	..	..
Corcaigh Thiar (W. Cork)	..	..	..	..	..
Contae Bhaile Atha Cliath (Dublin County)	..	..	..	..	..
Contae na Gaillimhe (Galway County)	..	..	..	..	..
Luimneach (Limerick)	..	..	..	..	..
Contae Chill Dara (Kildare County)	..	..	..	..	..
Contae Chill Mantain (Wicklow County)	..	..	..	..	..
Laoighis agus Ó bhFáilghe (Leix and Offaly)	..	..	..	..	..
Contae na Míde (Meath County)	..	..	..	..	..
Tiobrad Arann (Tipperary)	..	..	..	..	..
Portláirge (Waterford)	..	..	..	..	..
Contae Loch Garman (Wexford County)	..	..	..	..	..

TO THE THIRD DÁIL, 1922-23.

Provisional Parliament.)

of Deputies—128.

TEACHTAÍ

TEACHTA NA LUICHT OIBRE

4	Padraig Ó Gamhna (Patrick Gaffney)*
8	Micheál Ó Brolacháin (Michael Bradley) †
	Tomás de Nógla (Thomas Nagle)
4	Riobáird Ó Deaghaigh (Robert Day)
6	Tomás Mac Eóin (Thomas Johnson)
4	Liam Ó Briain (William O'Brien)
7	Tomás Ó Conaill (Thomas O'Connell)
5	Aodh Ó Cúlacháin (Hugh Colohan)
	Séamus Eabhróid (James Everett)
4	Liam Ó Daimhin (William Davin)
4	Seán Ó Laidhin (John Lyons)
5	Cathal Ó Seanáin (Cathal O'Shannon)
4	Domhnall Ó Muirgheasa (Daniel Morrissey)
5	Seán Butléir (John Butler)
	Níoclás Ó Faoláin (Nicholas Phelan) †
4	Risteard Mac Fheorais (Richard Corish)
	Domhnall Ó Ceallachain (Daniel O'Callaghan)

† Expelled from the Party on March 4th, 1923.

TO THE FOURTH DÁIL, 1923.

of Deputies—153.

TEACHTAÍ

TEACHTA NA LUICHT OIBRE

5	Eamonn Ó Dubhghail (Edmond Doyle)
5	Pádraig Ó hOgáin (Patrick Hogan)
3	Tomás de Nógla (Thomas Nagle)
5	Tadhg Ó Murchadha (Timothy Murphy)
8	Tomás Mac Eóin (Thomas Johnson)
9	Tomás Ó Conaill (Thomas O'Connell)
7	Pádraig Mac Fhlannchadha (Patrick Clancy)
3	Aodh Ó Cúlacháin (Hugh Colohan)
3	Séamus Eabhróid (James Everett)
5	Liam Ó Daimhin (William Davin)
3	Daithí de Hall (David Hall)
7	Domhnall Ó Muirgheasa (Daniel Morrissey)
4	Seán Butleir (John Butler)
5	Risteard Mac Fheorais (Richard Corish)

GENERAL SUMMARY OF DÁIL ELECTION RESULTS, 1923.

NAME OF PARTY	Percentage of Total Poll	No. of Seats secured
LABOUR	11.4	14
" INDEPENDENT LABOUR "	1.0	2
" LARKINITE " . . . . .	.4	—
CUMANN NA nGAEDHAL	38.6	60
REPUBLICAN	27.0	44
FARMERS	12.9	15
OTHERS	8.7	15
	100.0	150

N.B.—In Dublin University 3 Independent Candidates, giving general support to the Government, were returned unopposed.

LABOUR MEMBERS OF SEANAD EIREANN.

Seanad Eireann consists of sixty members. At its establishment in December, 1922, thirty members were nominated by the President of the Executive Council of Dáil Eireann, while the remaining thirty were elected, by Proportional Representation, by the members of Dáil Eireann. The Senators appointed by the President hold office, one half for twelve years, and one half for six years; those elected by the Dáil hold office, one half for nine years, and one half for three years.

Future elections of members of the Seanad will take place every three years. The electorate consists of all electors to the Dáil who have reached the age of thirty years, and the election will be by Proportional Representation, the result being determined by the aggregate preferences recorded over the whole country. The candidates will be selected as follows:—

Dáil Eireann, voting by Proportional Representation, will select twice as many candidates as there are vacancies to be filled, i.e. 30 candidates.

Seanad Eireann, voting in the same way, will select as many candidates as there are vacancies to be filled, i.e. 15 candidates.

Any person who has been a Senator may add his or her name to the list.

Of the total of at least 45 Candidates on the panel thus formed, 15 will constitute the number to be elected.

Casual vacancies are filled by co-option by the Seanad, the co-opted Senators holding office until the next triennial election. The normal number of vacancies will then be increased by the number of casual vacancies, the Senator elected sixteenth filling the casual vacancy first created, and holding office for the remainder of the unexpired term of the original Senator, and so on in order.

The following are the Labour members of Seanad Eireann:—

Elected by Dáil Eireann.	Term of Office expires in
December 7th, 1922.	
Micháil O'Dubhthaigh (Michael Duffy)	1931
Irish Transport and General Workers' Union.	
*Tomás MacPartholáin (Thomas MacPartlin).	1931
Amalgamated Society of Woodworkers.	
Tomás O'Fearáin (Thomas Farren),	1931
Dublin Workers' Council.	
Seán T. O'Fearghail (John T. O'Farrell),	1925
Railway Clerks' Association.	
† Eamonn Mainséil (Edmond Mansfield),	1925
Irish National Teachers' Organization.	

Co-opted by Seanad Eireann.

Liám O'Cuimin (William Cummins),	1925
Irish National Teachers' Organization. (Co-opted in place of Mr. Mansfield.)	

The vacancy caused by the death of Senator MacPartlin has been filled by Thomas Foran, General President, I.T. & G.W.U.

* Died October 20th, 1923. † Resigned without taking his seat.

cuallact oibne éineann is comaine
na ceárd.

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 the 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 threepence 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 MEETING.—At least two Public Meetings shall be held under the auspices of the National Executive in the town appointed for the Annual Congress, one of these meetings to take place during Congress week.

17.—SUSPENSION OF STANDING ORDERS.—Standing Orders shall not be suspended unless previous intimation shall have been given to the Standing Orders Committee and the Motion agreed to by a two-thirds vote of the Delegates present.

SCALE OF ALLOWANCES FOR NATIONAL EXECUTIVE AND CONGRESSIONAL OFFICERS.

(Adopted by the 28th Annual Congress, August, 1922.)

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

For members who suffer no loss of wages when attending meetings in their home town, 5s. per full day; 2s. 6d. 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 10s. per day, with 5s. additional if required to stay away overnight; a minimum of 15s. 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, 2s. 6d. 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., 25s. 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.

OFFICERS OF CONGRESS.

- Local Assistant Secretary to Congress, 20s. per day.
- Auditors, same as National Executive.
- Scrutineers, 20s. each.
- Tellers at Annual Congress, 20s. each.
- Tellers at Special Congresses, proportionate daily rate.
- Doorkeepers, 20s. per day.
- Standing Orders Committee, 40s. Annual Congress; proportionate daily rate for Special Congresses.

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