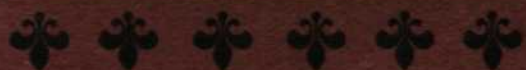


Irish Labour Party and
Trade Union Congress



Official Report

OF PROCEEDINGS OF THE

TWENTY-SEVENTH Annual Meeting

HELD IN THE

MANSION HOUSE, DUBLIN

Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday

Thursday, August 1, 2, 3 &

1921

PUBLISHED BY THE
NATIONAL EXECUTIVE
32 LOWER ABBEY STREET
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IRISH LABOUR PARTY AND TRADE UNION CONGRESS.

Offices: 32 LOWER ABBEY STREET, DUBLIN.

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE FOR YEAR 1921-1922.

(Elected at Dublin Congress).

Chairman:

THOMAS MacPARTLIN, Amalgamated Society of Woodworkers.

Vice-Chairman:

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

Treasurer:

WM. O'BRIEN, Irish Transport and General Workers' Union.

Secretary:

THOMAS JOHNSON, Irish Union of Distributive Workers.

Committee:

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

Miss HELENA MOLONY, Irish Women Workers' Union.

THOMAS FARREN, Irish Transport and General Workers' Union.

DENIS CULLEN, Irish National Operative Bakers.

THOMAS FORAN, Irish Transport and General Workers' Union.

L. J. DUFFY, Irish Union of Distributive Workers.

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

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

LUKE LARKIN, Waterford Workers' Council (National Union of Railwaymen).

JAMES CARR, Limerick Trades Council (Irish Engineering Union).

REPORT OF THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE FOR THE YEAR 1920-21.

SUBMITTED TO THE ANNUAL CONGRESS, AUGUST, 1921.

FELLOW DELEGATES,

We again meet in Congress under conditions of political unsettlement. While it is true that at the time of preparing this report a truce from actual warfare is being enjoyed, we cannot say how long it may last, or whether it will develop into permanent peace and freedom. Nor do we wish to anticipate the discussion which will take place during the Congress in the light of greater knowledge than is at present at our disposal. But in the conditions under which the national struggle has been carried on during the year the struggle of the working class in Ireland to win and maintain its rightful place in the scheme of things has inevitably been somewhat overshadowed and to some extent obstructed. In the national struggle for political freedom the stress of the struggle is borne by thousands of men and women members of our affiliated organisations who realise, dimly perhaps in many cases but in many more very clearly, that the fight for national freedom is but part of the greater world wide struggle of the dispossessed against the greedy and the powerful.

We believe that the year's work, slightly touched upon in many phases in this report though outward signs of great advance may be absent, nevertheless has shewn a steady development on the right lines.

Belfast Expelled Workers.

Immediately after the Cork Congress, two members of the Executive visited Belfast to interview the Committee who were responsible for the collection of funds and conducting the agitation on behalf of the workers expelled from the ship yards and other establishments because of their political and religious opinions. A grant was made of £50 to assist in furthering the collection of funds and propaganda in Great Britain. We have endeavoured to assist in any way practicable to secure the reinstatement of these expelled workers, but regret that virulent intolerance still prevails (as the newspaper reports give evidence) and that large numbers of men and women who were driven from their employment a year ago have been compelled to subsist upon the charity of the public for these twelve long months. We confess we can see no light ahead,

and no sign of an improvement. The general depression in trade which is especially marked in Belfast, can no doubt be attributed in some measure to the Trade Boycott following the pogrom.

A notable event in connection with Belfast was the action of the Executive Council of the Amalgamated Carpenters and Joiners (now the Amalgamated Society of Woodworkers) in respect to the expulsion of their members from the ship yards on account of their political and religious opinions. The Executive Council in Manchester demanded that the ship building and other firms from whose employment men had been driven, should allow the men to return to work and be given protection as had been done on a previous occasion. Failing to obtain any satisfaction from the firms concerned the Union called upon its members to cease work. About 2,000 of them refused to obey the instructions of their Union. The Executive, to their credit, therefore expelled the recalcitrant members from the Society. Had this course been followed by other Union Executives the story of the Belfast ship yards for the past year would have been very different. Had there been no division amongst the workers, Belfast would not have borne the discredit of being the only ship-building centre where the woodworkers have accepted a 12s. 6d. per week reduction in wages, thereby giving encouragement to the employers for the general attack on shipyard wage rates.

In this fact we may find the inner reason why religious and political animosities are fomented in that city.

Interviews with Ministers.

In a series of interviews, formal and informal, with Ministers responsible for the conduct of various Departments, industrially and socially, your Executive has placed before them the views of last year's Congress respecting Increase of Tillage, the Financing of Housing Schemes, Compulsory Arbitration in Trade Disputes, and other matters of importance to the working classes. We are pleased to acknowledge that our representations have been received cordially, and several of them have been given effect to. We believe it is only the lack of means to enforce many items in our policy, which has prevented their adoption.

Council of Action.

When in the month of August last the British workers decided at a special Congress to establish a Council of Action, for the purpose of preventing, by industrial methods, the entry of Great Britain on the side of Poland in its war with Russia, a telegram was sent by your Executive to the Secretaries of the Congress promising that Irish Labour was willing to co-operate with British Labour, if the special Conference decided that active measures were necessary.

Unemployment Insurance Act.

On the coming into operation of the Act extending compulsory Unemployment Insurance to practically all trades except Agriculture and Domestic Service, a number of enquiries were received respecting the attitude which should be adopted by the Unions and Councils in relation to the Act.

The following letter was thereupon printed and circulated:—

TO THE AFFILIATED SOCIETIES.

"Enquiries have been received from a number of Unions and Councils respecting the Unemployment Insurance Act. This Act is an extension and an amendment of Part 2 (the Unemployment Section) of the National Health Insurance Act, which applied only to a limited number of trades.

The new scheme applies to practically all wage-earners (men and women) over 16 years of age, excepting those engaged in agriculture and domestic service, and certain other public or semi-public employments where the employees work under special agreement.

The Act is compulsory and the workers generally will be automatically insured; the onus of paying the contribution being placed on the employers, who are entitled to deduct the worker's share from his or her wages.

Unless the workers are willing to strike against paying the contribution, they cannot avoid payment. The National Executive is not prepared to advise this course in the present state of the country, even though the scheme were one to be opposed on general grounds.

The evils of the Unemployment Insurance Scheme as hitherto experienced by the trades already insured lie chiefly in the manner of its administration. It remains to be seen whether the new Act will be administered with more consideration for the just claims of the workers than the old one.

At a latter date a decision will have to be taken whether the scheme should be continued or brought to an end. In the meantime, we advise that the workers should not resist the obligations of the Act, but should make the most of the benefits that are provided.

Respecting the suggestions circulated by the Irish Women Workers' Union that the Trade Unions in Ireland should seek to contract out of the Act and devise a scheme for the establishment of an Irish Unemployment Fund to be centralised in Ireland and administered through the Irish Trade Unions; we wish to point out that this course is not possible under the terms of the Act. Anything of the kind could only be done in opposition to the Act and at considerable financial disadvantage."

Your fraternally,

THOMAS JOHNSON, Secretary.

November 10th, 1920.

Munitions Strike.

At the time of the last Congress the strike of the railwaymen against carrying munitions of war had been in progress for nearly three months. It continued for nearly four months longer. The policy that had been carried through from the beginning, of accepting individual dismissals, was continued, with the result that notwithstanding the efforts of the military to force the issue the railways of the country were never compelled to close down. The plan adopted by the military geniuses then in residence in Dublin Castle was to force the issue by such means as these: Armed police, or soldiers with fixed bayonets, would be sent to a certain station to board every train leaving that station, no matter in which direction it was going; or, as became a fixed practice later on, on each of the main lines of railway, except the Great Northern, to send a company of military to meet a certain train each day. They would board the train as passengers (although sometimes these were goods trains and not legally allowed to carry passengers) and on the refusal of the guard or driver to proceed with the train, the "passengers" would leave and the train would continue its journey. At the end of the journey the guard or driver, or both, would be suspended or dismissed. The object of this procedure was, of course, to rapidly wear down the number of the drivers, and, as was ultimately admitted, it was the intention of the British authorities to force the railways to close. This course of events was continued until towards the end of October-November, when the Midland Great Western system and the Great Southern both began to feel that they would not be able to continue much longer. A number of the smaller services were suspended. Certain agitations began to be voiced in the newspapers respecting the dangers to the industries of the country if the railways were allowed to be closed, and hinting that the railwaymen should reconsider their position. This agitation was mainly the work of the small trader and cattle jobber who were afraid of the loss of their export trade. Although undoubtedly their pleas seem to have influenced a number of railwaymen, it was the imminence of the close-down of the Midland Great Western which brought the matter to a crisis and which led to the calling of the special All-Ireland conference held in the Mansion House, Dublin, on November 16th.

We are embodying in this Report a somewhat lengthy record of the proceedings which took place at the Mansion House, and as that record contains full information respecting the situation up to the date of the conference, it is not necessary to go into further detail here.

There are just a couple of items which we think necessary to deal with shortly in this Report, inasmuch as the future historian of these times will, without doubt, give some attention to the struggle of the railway workers on this issue. It is therefore desirable that two of Sir Hamar Greenwood's malicious and

characteristic lies should be nailed to the counter in this official Report. We refer, first, to the alleged facsimile of "one of the orders issued to railwaymen in Ireland and signed by the Ministry of War of the Government of the Republic of Ireland. This one fell into the hands of the British police" Verily, it had not far to fall! The alleged facsimile order reads as follows; and was published in American newspapers at the instigation of the British propaganda:—

"Government of the Irish Republic.

"Acting under instructions, you are hereby notified that after this date you are forbidden to drive any train, or to assist in any way the transport of armed forces of the English Government.

"By Order,

"Minister of War.

"Dated 20-8-20."

Of course, this production was a simple forgery. No such order was ever issued to Irish railwaymen in the name of the Government of the Irish Republic, by the Minister of War, or by any Governmental or military authority. The railwaymen acted from the beginning on their own initiative, and were supported by the National Executive, by the Trade Union movement, and by the country generally. They dictated their own policy independent of any instructions from any authority outside the Labour Movement. As a piece of war propaganda, seeking justification from the ethics of war as learned in Europe during 1914-1918, this forgery might be justified!

The second statement which we wish formally to correct is that of Sir Hamar Greenwood, repeated quite lately in the House of Commons by Mr. Lloyd George, that Irish railwaymen refused to carry police and soldiers. This was merely another characteristic lie. "They would not carry a single soldier," said Mr. Lloyd George. During the whole of the munitions struggle police and soldiers were constantly to be seen on the railways. So long as they were not carrying arms nobody sought to interfere with them.

The railwaymen's position was stated quite clearly hundreds of times, and loyally adhered to. It was that they were not to facilitate the transport of munitions of war for the slaughter of their fellow-countrymen, meaning by munitions of war actual killing material. We hope we have made this perfectly plain.

DANGER TO FOOD SUPPLY.

Prior to the holding of the National Labour Conference, the Lord Mayor of Dublin called together representatives from the Borough Councils and County Councils throughout the country to a meeting in the City Hall, Dublin, to consider the national food supply, in view of the approaching railway crisis. This

conference met upon November 12th, at which representatives of the National Executive were present. This conference was attended by the Lord Mayor of Dublin, the Lord Mayor of Cork, the Mayor of Limerick, Alderman Cosgrove, T.D., Alderman MacDonagh, T.D., and about fifty other representatives of local governing bodies. The Lord Mayor of Cork, Alderman Donal O'Callaghan, speaking from the Chair, suggested the appointment of an all-Ireland Committee such as that which controlled the anti-conscription movement, and which could be looked to for general instructions. It was thereafter agreed, on the motion of Alderman Cosgrove, seconded by Mr. P. Hughes, Dundalk, "that the Lord Mayor of Dublin be requested to convene an all-Ireland Committee which would, under full public confidence and support, deal with the serious position which had arisen owing to the economic onslaught on Ireland." The whole tenor of the meeting was in favour of the railwaymen continuing in the stand they had taken, and, while clearly facing the gravity of the consequences, believed that they could be surmounted if all sections would make common cause in rendering mutual aid to each other to resist the attack.

The meeting in the Mansion House followed a few days later, and we give a report of that meeting in extenso as an appendix. It is sufficient to say here that the situation was very fully and freely discussed from all points of view, the National Executive making it clear that in their opinion the men should persist firmly in their refusal to carry munitions of war, and that it would be the duty of the whole Labour Movement to rally as a united force behind the railwaymen and show themselves ready to bear all sacrifices which continued resistance would involve. It was also their opinion that all the valuable elements in the country would be compelled by the course of events to rally to the support of the railwaymen and to share fully the sacrifices. The outcome of the conference was the following resolution, which was passed with only two dissentients:—

"This all-Ireland conference of Labour delegates, representing all sections and trades of the Irish working class, endorses the action of the National Executive in calling us together in the crisis arising from the threat to close down the railways.

We recognise that the action of the railway and dock workers in refusing, on their own initiative and without outside pressure, to handle weapons of war or convey armed men on the railways, was a decision inspired by patriotic and unselfish motives, and that the country has freely and generously supplied the funds necessary to sustain the men in their struggle

We also fully realise the sacrifice that will be entailed by the continuance of the resistance against "The Tyranny" should the railwaymen adhere to their decision, and solemnly

call upon our fellow citizens of all classes to throw all their resources of wealth and services into the struggle.

We authorise the National Executive to appoint representatives upon the Lord Mayor's Committee to act with other representative citizens on that Committee to organise the defence and preservation of the national life now being menaced by the withdrawal of transport facilities by order of the British Military Authorities."

The effect of this resolution was to leave the railwaymen still free to change their policy, but to assure them that if they persisted they would receive the full support of the organised national movement.

At a time earlier in the year when it seemed certain that the whole railway service would be suspended steps were taken, on the initiative of your Executive, towards the establishment of a Central Food Committee and of Local Food Committees, whose duties it would be to organise the food supplies, nationally and locally, and to make provision for the necessary transportation. Local authorities showed every willingness to take action in this respect and to co-operate with the Trade Unions in doing so. Plans of organisation were prepared, and practically complete arrangements were made respecting the utilisation of motor waggon and light vehicles, also for the use of the canals and coastwise shipping. Shortly after the special conference the rigours of military repression grew in intensity. Large numbers of men who were capable of giving active assistance in the organisation of distribution, active Trade Union officials and others, were either arrested or driven "under ground." One consequence of this intensified repression was that the Lord Mayor's National Committee was not brought into formal existence. Another consequence was that the elaborate preparations that were made respecting organisation of food supplies, transport services, etc., were seized by the British military during raids on Municipal offices and Trade Union offices. There also were issued about this time special orders restricting the use of motor vehicles to narrow areas. Concurrently with these developments outside the realm of the Trade Union Movement there were numerous meetings and discussions taking place between the railwaymen and their officials. The newspapers continued their advocacy of a policy of retreat rather than face the admittedly serious consequence of persistence. Notwithstanding all the influences being brought to bear to weaken the men's resolve, they showed no intention of failing when facing the gravest perils. Towards the middle of December, however, there came the British Government's decision to establish martial law in Munster, accompanied by the destruction by fire of a great part of the City of Cork by the armed forces of the British Crown. In the circumstances thus created the Executive met to consider the position, and decided to advise the railwaymen and dock workers to alter

their decision and to offer to carry everything that the British Military Authorities were willing to risk on the trains. The following statement was issued on December 14th:—

" TO THE RAILWAY AND DOCK WORKERS.

Over six months ago responding to a patriotic impulse you decided that you would not handle Munitions of War or drive trains containing armed men. In this protest you were supported by all right thinking men and women, and when after the struggle began you asked this National Executive for advice and guidance, we readily gave you all the support within our power.

In response to our appeal for funds to support the dismissed men the country has subscribed most generously.

At an early stage of the struggle it became evident that the British Government's design was to force a quick close down of the Railway services while at the same time seeking to make it appear that the Railway workers were responsible. We advised you to frustrate this plan by refusing to strike but rather to accept individual suspension. We assured you that every new development would be watched and would be met by new tactics when such were called for.

As a result of your loyal acceptance of the advice given the country has been spared much hardship and loss, and your protest for six months has been unique in the annals of the Labour Movement.

Notwithstanding the defeatist campaign in the press inspired by that section of the trading community which reckons National well-being in terms of £ S. D., we have during the past few weeks received ample evidence of the willingness of the Railwaymen and workers generally to suffer whatever loss and sacrifice the National interest may require.

We have been well aware that the cessation of Railway transport would necessitate a drastic re-organisation of the country's economic life calling for considerable sacrifice and entailing a great organising effort which would require the unimpeded activities of the nation's best brains.

The British Authority which assumes governmental power in Ireland has with deliberate intent sought to interfere with and destroy the preparations being made to cope with the problem of providing food, milk and fuel for the people; they have seized the papers and records of our food committees, have arrested and imprisoned without charge the members of these committees and have placed a barrier against the organisation of the Motor Transport service for the distribution of food supplies.

These acts have been followed by the proclamation of Martial Law, accompanied by Mr. Lloyd George's insulting offer to allow the elected representatives of the Irish people to meet together under police protection for the purpose of denouncing their colleagues and discussing subjects strictly defined beforehand by himself. Not to be niggardly in his insolence he couples this so-called

"peace offer" by a threat to intensify the campaign of frightfulness. His cue is immediately taken up in the city of Cork; the published threats to utterly destroy the city being carried a long way towards fulfilment.

In the light of the foregoing, the National Executive has given careful thought to the position as it lies before us to-day; changed conditions require a change of tactics, and *we have decided to advise the Railway and Dock Workers to alter the position, and to offer to carry everything that the British Authorities are willing to risk on the trains.* Whatever the risks that may be involved in carrying out this advice, we feel confident that the Railwaymen are not less willing to face them than the travelling public.

We ask the Railwaymen to continue to hold themselves ready to respond, *on the instant*, to any call that may be made by this Executive in pursuance of our policy, assuring them that no call will be made without the fullest consideration and only when vital national interests justify it."

Signed for the National Executive,

THOMAS FORAN, Chairman.

THOMAS MacPARTLIN, Vice-Chairman.

WILLIAM O'BRIEN, Treasurer.

THOMAS JOHNSON, Secretary.

14th December, 1920.

Immediately following the issue of this statement the officials of the Railwaymen's Unions had communication with the Ministry of Transport and the Railway Managers. The result of these communications was generally satisfactory in respect to the general resumption of railway services and the reinstatement of the men. One grave exception, however, to this general statement has to be made, that is in respect to the employees of the Great Northern Railway.

A general return to work took place immediately after Christmas, and no victimization was reported on any lines except on the Great Northern. On this line the manager demanded that every man should make personal application for reinstatement and to give certain written guarantees. The following is a copy of the form submitted to the men:—

"I ————— hereby undertake that if I be re-employed in the service I will obey the rules and regulations of the Great Northern Railway Company and work all traffic without exception, including all armed forces of the Crown and all Government traffic.

"I also recognise that my admission into the Company's Pension Fund rests with the Pension Fund Committee, and if they refuse to admit me I have no claim on the Company in respect of pension."

As these conditions were held by Mr. Cramp, General Industrial Secretary of the National Union of Railwaymen, who had conducted the negotiations for reinstatement with the Ministry of Transport, to be contrary to the understanding arrived at, the men were advised by their E.C. not to sign any such undertaking. The consequence of this has been that about thirty-five men, employees of the Great Northern Railway Locomotive and Traffic Departments, have been refused reinstatement. Negotiations between the Union and the Ministry have continued, but without very satisfactory results, the Ministry apparently refusing to exercise their authority, the Company being obstinate and domineering, as usual, and the Unions being unable to bring adequate pressure because of the special character of the problem as affecting the Great Northern Line. Members of the A.S.L.E. and F. were instructed by their Executive to offer themselves for duty and to give the guarantees asked for. Notwithstanding this, a number of members of the A.S.L.E. and F. have not been reinstated. Within the last three months the N.U.R. has agreed for its members to sign the undertaking, but the curtailment of services consequent upon the coal shortage has left most of the men still without employment. Recently, however, a number have resumed work, and it is expected that all except fifteen or sixteen will shortly be re-employed. Of these fifteen or sixteen exceptions there is reason to fear that it is intended that they shall be permanent victims. We do not desire to prejudice any efforts being made for their reinstatement by any condemnatory language, but we feel that any permanent victims (especially such as those men on the Great Northern, acting, as they did, in opposition to the sentiment of the majority of their fellow-workers in the employment of that Company) should receive a substantial grant towards compensating them for their loss. In this connection, it should be known that the National Union of Railwaymen has allowed the sum of fifty shillings per week as a special allowance to those members of the Great Northern Line who were refused reinstatement and who declined to sign the conditions presented to them by that Company.

There has already been published a balance sheet of the Munitions of War Fund to the end of April, audited by a firm of chartered accountants. A copy of this balance sheet is circulated with this report. It shows that there was received a total of nearly £120,000 during the course of the dispute, and there was a balance in hand at that time of a little over £500.

In respect to the struggle as a whole, it is our belief that despite the losses which it entailed and despite the apparent ineffectiveness of its conclusion, it was a fight well worth waging, if only as an example of the willingness of Irish workers to risk their chances of livelihood for a noble cause. We said last year that the fight was not only the challenge of the right of an Imperial power to subjugate a small nation by armed force, but that it was an assertion of the claim of the workman to decide whether or not he would participate

in work according to the bidding of his employer, no matter whether the purpose of that work was worthy or degrading. We are convinced that the assertion of this claim and its maintenance for seven long months by two thousand men—even though in the end circumstances prevented the enforcement of that claim—has set a headline for all the workers who aspire to the mastery of their own lives and to control the means by which they live.

Other Labour Disputes.

There have been during the year a number of disputes as usual in various trades, arising from a variety of causes, but they do not call for special comment. The prolonged strike of bricklayers and plasterers in Dublin for an advance in wage rates has been settled after eight months. In Belfast the building trades are still resisting a reduction, the greater number of the workers in those trades having been locked out since January.

As an indication of the trend of thought amongst the workers in the smaller country towns, the method of conducting a labour dispute in places as far apart as Knocklong, Co. Limerick, and Arigna in Co. Leitrim are significant.

At Knocklong the creamery workers employed by Messrs. Cleeve were on strike, at Arigna the miners employed in one of the coal mines were on strike. In neither case did the men consider that a break in the financial relations between employer and worker required that accumulated wealth in the form of creamery buildings and machinery, or the natural mineral wealth of the earth, should be allowed to go out of use. They accordingly decided to carry on the usual work of making butter and hewing coal. At Knocklong the farmers agreed with the creamery workers to supply milk as usual, and the milk was turned into butter as hitherto, the financier was not missed. The butter was sent to market, and out of the return farmers were paid for their milk and workers for their labour. The strike was settled satisfactorily in a week! At Arigna also the miners decided to continue their work, or rather they decided to resume work after a week or two holiday. But they resumed work on their own account. They produced coal and sold it to local buyers, and continued doing so for two months, thus being able to support themselves generously while the "strike" continued. The strike is now at an end, the terms of settlement in this case also being quite satisfactory.

POACHING.

A number of complaints have been received from affiliated Unions respecting the action of other Unions "poaching" their members, the basis of complaints in most cases being a resolution passed at the last Congress. The resolution referred to was so vague and irregular that it presented no reliable guide to the Executive. It "condemned the action of affiliated Unions poaching the membership of other Unions without taking a plebiscite of the full Union

to see whether or not the Union would go over to the One Big Union." This reference to the One Big Union presumably referred to the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union. But the majority of the complaints that came before us were about other Unions. In our opinion it is unwise to think of the present form and constituents of the Unions as fixed, or of the various Unions which have sprung up in recent years as being entitled without question to a monopoly of the workers in the particular occupation for which they have staked a claim. Our aim should be to reduce the number of Unions, to encourage the consolidation of Unions and their amalgamation according to industry, while giving scope for the association of men and women with their fellow workers in similar occupations. We have recommended that "a Union before accepting as a member any person who is already a member of another Union should satisfy itself that the applicant has paid up the arrears of contributions in the old Union, it being understood that a limit is set to the period during which arrears are allowed to accumulate before the member is lapsed."

Educational Programme.

At the invitation of the Irish National Teachers' Organisation, Messrs. J. T. O'Farrell, Thos. Farren, and the Secretary were appointed to act on a Joint Committee with other bodies interested in Education to consider the Educational Programme for National Schools and to draw up a scheme. Satisfactory progress is being made, and it is expected that the Committee which has been formed, representing as it does, various educational interests, will extend its plans so as to bring under review the wider subjects of the control and administration of educational affairs.

Scottish Trade Union Congress.

We regret that the Delegates appointed at the last Congress (Messrs. Campbell and O'Brien) to attend this year's Scottish Congress at Aberdeen, both found it impossible to attend. It was the intention of your Executive to send substitutes, but on enquiry it was found that as a consequence of the Miners' Lock-out, the railway and boat services were seriously disarranged, and there would be great difficulty in journeying to Aberdeen in time for the meetings. The following telegram was sent on behalf of the Irish Labour Movement to the Secretary of the Congress:—

"Referring letter explaining absence of appointed fraternal delegates. Had hoped to send substitutes but regret that dislocation boat and rail services prevents arrival in time. National Executive meeting yesterday sends cordial greetings to Scottish workers in name of Irish working class. We trust your Congress will succeed in rallying all sections to resist general attack on position won during last few years. Your fight is our fight; your enemy is our enemy—Capitalist Imperialism. To our pain and grievous loss you have enthroned him and given him power

to crush others besides yourselves. The Irish Workers join in resistance to Imperialism and its executive arm and through the defeat of Imperialism shall attain power to destroy capitalism in Ireland and in our own day and generation build a co-operative commonwealth based firmly on Labour as its foundation."

JOHNSON, Secretary.

To this telegram the following reply was received:—

"Congress deeply regrets absence of delegates, but appreciate your difficulties. Rest assured of our sympathy and wishes for success in prolonged struggle."

• ALLAN, Secretary.

Irish White Cross.

On receipt of a letter from the Lord Mayor of Dublin inviting the Irish Labour Party to appoint representatives on to the Council of the Irish White Cross, Messrs. Foran, O'Brien, Farren, Duffy, Cullen, O'Farrell, Miss Timmon and the Secretary were appointed.

The object of the Organisation was to establish a Fund, to be administered irrespective of party or religious beliefs, for the relief of distress and suffering arising primarily out of the present disturbed condition of the country.

The work on the Council and on the Executive Committee has demanded a good deal of time and attention. By far the greater portion of the Fund that is at the disposal of the White Cross has been collected in America, but it is hoped that much required additional sums will be forthcoming from other countries, and from the more fortunate in our own country. The need for assistance in a very great number of cases of crying distress is great. The funds in hand, generous as the American people have been, are by no means sufficient to meet the needs. It is hoped that every Trade Union and every Labour representative on public bodies will give all the assistance in their power to further the work of the Irish White Cross.

Your representatives on the Council have consistently urged that the best way to distribute the Funds at their disposal is by providing opportunities for useful employment. In this respect there has been a general agreement on the Council, and steps have been taken towards expenditure of their Fund in this direction.

Alleged Russian Gift for Railway Men.

Frequent statements have within the last year been published in the London Press respecting an alleged connection between the Irish Labour Movement, and the Russian Bolshevik Government. It has been suggested that the Irish Labour Movement is financed from Russia. We would not take any notice of such silly suggestions, which are of the kind familiar to Irishmen who know anything of past political activities, or anyone who knows anything of the

history of Labour or Socialist Movements in other countries. Supporters of the established order in any country usually assume that any opposition to its continuance in power can only exist if financed by enemies abroad. We don't expect to be immune from these silly charges, but there was brought to our notice a paragraph published in an authoritative organ, "The Russian Press Review," dated 15th October, 1920, which stated:

"The Provisional International Council of Trade Unions made an appeal a few weeks ago to the Russian Trade Unions regarding the necessity of coming to the assistance of our comrades abroad who are carrying on a class struggle against capital. The appeal was called out by the Strike of the Irish Railwaymen which was the result of their refusal to Transport equipment intended for quelling disturbances in Ireland. A certain amount of money was collected at that time by the International Council of Trade Unions; this Fund was taken to Ireland by the Delegates of the Irish Railwaymen as a concise proof of the solidarity of the Russian proletariat."

On this statement being brought to our attention we sent a communication to the Secretary, International Council of Trade Unions, Moscow, of which the following are the essential paragraphs:—

"My Committee was responsible for the collection of the Funds for the maintenance of the men on Strike, and were also responsible—at the request of the men themselves—for the direction and control of the Strike. Any monies subscribed for the purpose of assisting the men, would in the ordinary course have come under our supervision.

"I am directed to inform you that we have had no communication from anybody relative to the contribution referred to in the paragraph enclosed. No person had any authorisation to seek financial support from our fellow workers in Russia, who we realise were probably in greater need than our colleagues in Ireland.

"We appreciate the generous feelings that prompted your offer of assistance, but we wish you to understand that no money has reached us, and we have had no communication from anybody in regard to same.

"I am directed also to inform you that no delegate authorised to speak for any body of Irish Railway men, officially or unofficially, was sent to Russia.

"Will you please forward me the names of the persons who purported to speak for the Irish Railway men, and say what credentials they produced?

THOMAS JOHNSON, Secretary."

Similar communications have been sent to Russia since the date of our first communication, but so far no reply has been received. We assume that our letters have not been delivered or that the

replies have been intercepted. We are still pursuing the matter and hope to be able to trace the persons, if there are such, who received money for the Irish railwaymen and who have not delivered it. We may say quite frankly that if any monies had been received from Russia we would gladly have accepted it, and publicly acknowledged it.

Amalgamation of Unions.

The Movement towards unification, though not presenting any sensational development, has proceeded steadily. Several Unions have decided to amalgamate, and others are, we understand, considering proposals of that kind. Definite amalgamations have taken place between the Irish Stationary Engine Drivers, the Whitesmiths, the Brass Finishers' Unions and the Irish Engineering Union, between the Irish Agricultural and General Workers' Union, the Cork Brewery Workers, the Tipperary Workingmen's Union, and the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union, between the National Union of Shop Assistants and the Irish Drapers' Assistants' Association, and between the General Union of Carpenters and the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters. Your Executive has great hopes that the movement towards unification will be accelerated during the coming year.

The policy of united action by Unions to maintain wage standards already dealt with in this report will, if adopted, lead naturally and rapidly to amalgamation.

We do not wish to be understood as approving of the policy of secession from an already established Union for the purpose of starting a new Union, even though the secession is urged under the specious cloak of patriotism. Sometimes secession is justifiable, but the primary test must always be whether or not it will strengthen or weaken the workers in their relations with the employers. Where it is thought that a change is required the proper course to adopt is to work within the existing Union until a majority of the members are agreeable for the change. Then a secession can be carried through without causing weakness.

Elections under Partition Act.

The position of the Labour Party in the circumstances created by the announcement that the elections for the Parliaments of Northern Ireland and Southern Ireland would take place in May was fully discussed by your Executive. While the discussions were proceeding, the British Prime Minister, Mr. Lloyd George, made a speech announcing the determination of his Government to "enforce the authority of the law" at all costs—i.e., to continue the policy of repression and strengthen the military forces in occupation.

Your Executive thereupon published the following Resolution, which had been carried unanimously at a specially convened meeting :—

" Having carefully considered the position created by the passing through the British Parliament of the Government of Ireland Act, commonly known as the " Partition of Ireland Act," and the latest announcement of the British Prime Minister, stating that it is the intention of the British Government to enforce this Act, we re-affirm our declaration that this Act has no valid sanction, being in contravention to the declared will of the Irish people, who alone are entitled to determine the forms of Government under which they should live. Having also duly considered whether the Labour Party should or should not nominate candidates for the elections in the expectancy that the members elected may function either as (1) a Constituent Assembly, or (2) as an open Legislative Assembly, we resolve that the statement by Mr. Lloyd George announcing war to the knife removes any doubt as to our decision. In order to defeat the obvious design of the British Prime Minister to divide the democratic forces, the Labour Party should take no part in the elections beyond calling upon all workers North and South to demonstrate their loyalty to Ireland and freedom by voting only for those candidates who stand for the ownership and government of Ireland by the people of Ireland, or, in the words of the Labour Party Constitution :—" For the abolition of all powers and privileges, social and political, based upon property and ancestry, or not granted or confirmed by the freely expressed will of the Irish people."

Following upon this decision, no candidates were put forward by or in the name of the Labour Party, and so far as we are aware, amongst those elected in the 26 counties, only one is an active Labour man, viz., the Mayor of Wexford (Richard Corish) of I.T. & G.W.U.

While there is nothing in the Constitution of the Labour Party formally prohibiting the acceptance by a delegate to Congress of a Parliamentary seat at the instance of another political party, the National Executive considers that for an avowed member of the Labour Party to accept a seat in such circumstances is a breach of the spirit of the Constitution. While we are willing to make every allowance for the special conditions of the times through which we are passing, and the manner in which the National and Labour organisations have been thrown together in the present struggle, we feel bound to point out, more especially in respect to Parliamentary contests, that it is imperative that Labour should keep its political party independent. No matter how friendly other political parties may be, as political parties they are distinct and separate, and having both the immediate and the ultimate future in view, the Labour Party must maintain that independence or it will fail of its purpose.

Touching the decision not to nominate any Labour candidates in this election, it is worthy of note that no announcement was made by those in authority that the successful candidates were to be acknowledged as the new National Assembly, Dail Eireann. It appears to us somewhat anomalous that such an announcement was deferred until after the elections. It is conceivable that had the electors been informed by a proclamation that the election was to be something more than a demonstration of political allegiance, that the persons elected were to function as the new Legislative authority, a different choice may, in some cases, have been made.

Interned Trade Unionists.

In the early part of May communications were received from the Internment Camp, Ballykinlar, respecting the condition of the Trade Unionists who had been interned in that Camp. This was followed by a number of communications from Trade Union branch Secretaries all couched in similar language, of which the following is an example :—

“ As many Trade Unionists in the Camp are not being looked after in the matter of sustenance by people outside, we are requested to write to the Irish Labour Party, to have done for them what was done for the Railway Workers during the recent railway crisis. The Irish Labour Party are being approached direct, but it will help if, as suggested by several branches of various Unions outside, our friends in all Unions should have Resolutions forwarded immediately on the following lines :—

1. That members of Trade Unions in prison for other than criminal offences should have their Union Cards kept clear.
2. That such members be entitled to benefits allowed to members ordinarily unemployed owing to Trade Union action.
3. That positions held by members be open to them on release.”

The view of your Executive on this matter was summarised in a letter to Ballykinlar stating that :—

1. The provision of comforts for Trade Unionists interned is a matter which should be dealt with locally, and not by the National Executive. We could not believe that friends of Trade Unionists were less generous or less thoughtful towards the internees than were the friends of those who were not Trade Unionists.

2. That the question of allowing members unemployment benefits was a matter as between Unions and their members. That the Rules governing the various Unions differ, but that in the main any such grants would probably have to be provided out of local benevolent funds.

3. That Trade Unions should not be expected to assume financial responsibility in matters which are beyond their influence and control.

The request that an appeal should be made by the National Executive for a special fund for the maintenance and support of the families of interned Trade Unionists became emphasised in later correspondence, after we had been assured that we were wrong in assuming that the internees were complaining of the lack of sustenance for themselves. On being informed that there were a number of cases in the country where the families of interned Trade Unionists were practically destitute, we requested that the names of such should be supplied, and promised to ensure that some assistance should be rendered. We discountenanced the proposal that a special fund should be established on behalf of Trade Unionists. We believed that to do so would be tantamount to separating the Trade Unionist internees from the non-Trade Unionists. Their internment was part of the general attack upon Irish citizens, and it seemed to us that to start a special fund for Trade Unionists would only result in segregating them from their fellow political prisoners.

A list of names has lately reached us of men who complain that their dependents are not being cared for. These cases have been taken in hand, and wherever the complaint is justified assistance will be given by the Dependents' Funds or the White Cross.

So far as the enquiries have gone the widespread complaints made against the Unions seem to have been based on imaginary grievances.

Choice of Union by the Employers.

A complaint reached us from the Amalgamated Engineering Union to the effect that the Corporation of Limerick had passed a resolution that no skilled mechanic be employed by that body unless he were a member of the Irish Engineering Union.

Inasmuch as a number of old-established and recognised Trade Unions catering for workers in the Engineering Trade are affiliated to this body, we called the attention of the Corporation of Limerick to the effect of the carrying out of such a resolution. We pointed out that while we did not think they were conscious offenders in the matter, as a Corporation they were dictating to the workman which of several recognised Trade Unions he was to become a member of. This is an attitude which the Trade Union movement in Ireland has strenuously set its face against, that the employer should have the right to dictate as to the workman's

choice of a Trade Union. We asked that the resolution which had been passed should be rescinded. We have since learned that the resolution in question merely decided that, other qualifications being equal, a preference should be given to members of the Irish Engineering Union. This explanation does not materially affect the principle involved. It still leaves the employer in the position of "patron" of one Union to the detriment of another. Such disputes and differences as there are within the ranks of the Trade Unions will eventually be settled by the Trade Unionists themselves. The position that the Labour movement must adopt towards the employers in such cases—even when the employer happens to be a democratically elected public authority—is that it is not the province of the employer to patronise or give character certificates to one Union over another, and it is not in keeping with the good name of Trade Unionism for any Union to look for such a certificate from any employers.

Dublin Trades Council.

Representations have been made to us on several occasions during the year that the National Executive should take steps towards the formation of a new Trades' Council in Dublin. It was alleged that the existing Trades' Council was no longer qualified to speak for any large proportion of the organised workers in Dublin. The view of your Executive on this matter was, that in the absence of evidence of a widespread desire on the part of Unions affiliated to this Congress, the Executive had no justification for intervening, and we expressed the view that the matter was in the hands of the local Unions. Steps have recently been taken towards the establishment of a Council for Dublin, which appears to have the general support of the Unions in that city.

Application has been received from the new Council for affiliation but the application came too late for consideration by the Executive and it was decided to leave the matter in the hands of Congress itself, as it involves the question whether the old and presently affiliated Council shall remain in affiliation or the new council take its place. There cannot be two Councils for the same city, both affiliated to Congress.

Coal Lock-Out.

For the purpose of assisting the British Miners in their struggle, the Transport Workers' Federation decided (the Railwaymen concurring) that no coal imported from overseas should be discharged at British Ports by members of that Federation. For a considerable time back negotiations had been taking place with a view to the importation of American coal into Ireland. This proposal in its origin had nothing to do with the decision of the Transport Workers, or indeed with the Coal Dispute, except in so far as the shortage of coal accentuated the demand, and

when the decision of the Transport Workers' Federation was announced certain American cargoes had already been ordered, and the question arose as to whether the Irish dock workers should acquiesce in the decision of Transport Workers' Federation, to which body a large proportion of them (members of the National Union of Dock Workers) were affiliated.

Your Committee met to discuss the advice which should be given to the Irish dock workers. We decided that cargoes of coal coming from America or Belgian to Irish ports for normal Irish purposes should be discharged, but that we should not allow Irish ports to be used as coaling stations where American or Belgian coal could be discharged and then reshipped into ocean going steamers as bunker coal.

To prevent misunderstanding it was decided that the Chairman and Secretary should proceed to London, and interview the officials of the Miners' Federation and of the Transport Workers' Federation, to explain the reason for the decision we had arrived at. In the course of our discussion we pointed out that in adopting this attitude, the Irish Transport and Dock Workers were acting in harmony with the International Transport Workers Federation. It was an attitude which had not been questioned by the British Miners or the British Transport Workers' Federation. The International Transport Workers did not refuse to handle French, German, Belgian or American coal at ports on the continent of Europe or in other parts of the world which heretofore have been supplied with British coal.

We are pleased to acknowledge that the views and decision of your Executive on this matter were quite acceptable to both Mr. Hodges, as representing the Miners' Federation, and Messrs. Gosling and Williams, as representing the National Transport Workers' Federation. Our deputation readily gave an assurance to the latter gentlemen that in the case of a coal steamer being refused discharge at a British port and being diverted to an Irish port, that she would not be discharged at an Irish port if notification were received from the officials of the British Federation. In view of the failure of the policy of boycotting over-seas coal in British Ports, your Committee feel a certain sadness mixed with their satisfaction at having decided to advise the dock workers as they did. Had we decided that they should join in the refusal to discharge American and Belgian coal such a decision would have been loyally carried out without question. We should then have witnessed the spectacle of Irish workers risking Irish industrial interests and their own daily work in the hope of defeating the enemies of the British Miners, while the close industrial allies of these miners had failed to fulfil their compact! We assured the Miners' Federation, and we are confident that our assurance was justified, that if they could show us that any action taken by Irish dock workers could materially assist the miners in defeating the British Government and their mine owner allies, the Irish workers would suffer much privation joyously.

The Political Situation.

At the Special Conference held in Dublin on November 16th, after the questions dealing with munitions had been disposed of, Alderman Wm. O'Brien, on behalf of the National Executive, submitted to the Conference a special resolution dealing with proposals for a truce. Mr. O'Brien said—"It was thought by the National Executive that the opportunity presented by this special Congress should be availed of to say something regarding the general political situation and the recent developments. You have here to-day just decided upon a certain issue, and the wisest amongst us can hardly foretell what the ultimate effect of that may be. It is a test of strength between two opposing forces, and time only will tell which side will survive. Personally I have the fullest confidence that our side will survive, and I venture to think, although the opinion may not be generally shared, that we may be at the darkest hour before the dawn, and although there are certain factors on our side which are putting our endurance to a great test, I feel confident that on the other side also there are evidences that that side is not nearly so solid or strong as it would like to be. I feel certain that the rising tide of condemnation of the new tactics which have been adopted in the war upon the Irish nation has had its effect, and recently we have seen an important development, inasmuch as our comrades in the English Labour movement have taken a significant step in advance by declaring their policy on the Irish question. Up to this the English Labour movement has not been in harmony with the Irish Labour movement upon the Irish question, but during the last few days we have seen a pronouncement made by Mr. Adamson, speaking on behalf of the English Labour Party, which we think we ought to take full notice of and express our complete agreement with. Mr. Adamson has put himself in line with our demand as Irish workers for a settlement of the Irish question, and he has accepted certain minimum conditions which we, as an Irish Labour movement, are prepared to accept, and that being so we think we ought to take public notice of that and express our agreement with the position they have now taken up. I will now propose the following resolution:—

"This conference, representative of organised Labour in Ireland, welcomes the statement of policy made by the leader of the Labour Party in the House of Commons, Mr. Adamson, speaking on behalf of the British Labour Movement, in declaring for:—

- (1) The withdrawal of the British armed forces from Ireland.
- (2) The calling of a Constituent Assembly elected on the basis of proportional representation by a free, equal, and secret vote.

- (3) That such assembly should draw up a Constitution for Ireland, on the understanding that such Constitution shall be made operative, subject only to two conditions; namely that it affords protection to minorities and that the Constitution shall prevent Ireland from becoming a military or naval menace.

This Conference declares, on behalf of the Irish Labour Movement, its readiness to advocate the acceptance of this policy as being the fulfilment of Ireland's demand for the right to choose and decide its form of government, and assures the the British workers that the realisation of the policy outlined will lead to goodwill and fraternity between the two peoples.

And, further, we endorse the statement already made by our National Executive to the leaders of the British Trade Union Movement, that the only obstacle to peace and good order in Ireland is the presence of British armed forces; and we endorse with confidence the assurance they have given that the withdrawal of these forces from any district, leaving responsibility and power for the maintenance of order to the popularly elected representatives, will secure peace and good government in that district."

Mr. J. J. White (Chemists' Assistants) seconded.

Mr. J. T. Farrell (Railway Clerks) said he wished to support the resolution. He knew that amongst British labour men there was a sincere desire to see this question settled on an honourable basis. There was a thirst for definite information on the subject at the present time, and he thought that instead of first of all judging them and then condemning them they should try to educate them. He believed there was a growing peace party in England, and they had only to bring all the pressure they could on the labour movement in England in order to win a victory in the near future. He knew that the coming months were full of potential difficulties so far as Ireland was concerned. They had seen that it was proposed to send emissaries here on behalf of the British Labour Party, and he hoped they would facilitate them in every possible way. They welcomed this action of the British Labour Party as proclaimed by Mr. Adamson in the House of Commons as a distinct advance on their previous policy. It was putting into direct effect the resolution they adopted at Scarborough. That was one of the bright lights in the present dark horizon. He believed that although the present hour might be full of darkness they were in view of eventualities on their side, and that with the skilful use of propaganda they would be able to pull through successfully.

The resolution was then put to the Conference and passed with only two dissentients.

British Labour Party Commission.

In November an invitation was received from Mr. Arthur Henderson, Secretary of the British Labour Party, intimating that it had been decided that a Commission appointed jointly by the National Labour Party and the Parliamentary Labour Party should visit Ireland to inquire into the allegations respecting reprisals, etc. The Commission consisted of: Mr. Arthur Henderson, M.P., as Chairman; Messrs. Lawson, M.P., Adamson, M.P., and Lunn, M.P., of the Miners; J. Bromley, of the Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen; A. G. Cameron, of the Woodworkers; F. W. Jowett, of the Independent Labour Party; Capt. C. W. Kendall, Legal Adviser; Brig.-Gen. Thomson, Military Adviser; W. W. Henderson, Press Secretary; and Arthur Greenwood as Secretary of the Commission.

We decided to give every assistance to this Commission in their inquiries, and to collect all the reliable information that could be gathered for this purpose.

The delegation arrived in Ireland in December. A Sub-Committee of the National Executive, appointed for the purpose, met them on two or three occasions during their stay in Dublin, and also at the close of their tour.

We deal in later paragraphs with the discussions which took place respecting proposals for a truce and a settlement.

Mr. Johnson was deputed by us to accompany the Commission on their tour, and they have recorded in their Report their appreciation of the action of the Executive and the assistance that our Secretary was able to give. The Commission visited a large number of places, particularly around Dublin, and in the counties of Cork, Limerick and Kerry. Their Report, a booklet of over a hundred pages, illustrated with photographs of a number of the destroyed buildings, facsimiles of British official documents, and containing a number of sworn affidavits, has made a great impression and received a very wide circulation in Great Britain; also in the United States of America, South Africa and Canada.

The Report of the Commission was presented at a special Labour Party conference held in London on December 29th, where it was accepted and ordered to be printed, and it was decided that it was to be the basis of a special campaign to take place during the month of January throughout the constituencies, culminating in a great meeting held in Albert Hall on the day of the opening of the new session in the House of Commons. At this special Labour Party conference, a sub-committee of the National Executive—Messrs. MacPartlin, O'Brien, Farren, and Johnson attended. Our Vice-Chairman, Mr. Thomas MacPartlin, and Secretary, Mr. Johnson, spoke as fraternal delegates and stated the case from the Irish Labour point of view. At a later meeting during the same visit our delegation met in private conference the Executive Committee of the Labour Party, of the Trade Union Congress and a large number of

Labour Members of Parliament, and Labour candidates for Parliament. At this conference, by question and answer, many misunderstandings were cleared up and any doubts respecting Irish Labour's position were dispelled.

LABOUR PARTY CAMPAIGN.

The campaign in the constituencies above referred to was assisted, at the invitation of the British Labour Party, by Messrs. Johnson, O'Farrell and Duffy. Mr. Johnson spent a fortnight in England taking part in this campaign and speaking at over twenty meetings. His report at the time was that the meetings were generally large and sympathetic, especially those in the north of England, and this was confirmed by the experience of Messrs. Duffy and O'Farrell. They all agreed that there was a lamentable ignorance of the condition of affairs in Ireland; but, even more lamentable was the sense of helplessness which seemed to pervade every gathering. No matter how strongly they felt, how bitterly they denounced their Government, the impression created on our minds was that, having handed over the reins of government to the people in power, they could do nothing.

In connection with the Labour Party Commission and their campaign on Ireland in the constituencies, we decided to publish on our responsibility a pamphlet on the destruction of the city of Cork. This pamphlet, entitled "Who Burnt Cork City?" contained a large number of sworn affidavits collected in Cork, and brought home the responsibility, in a manner incapable of denial, directly to the forces of the British Crown. About 25,000 copies of this pamphlet have been sold at sixpence per copy.

We also published an edition of three thousand copies of "The Handbook for Rebels" which we presented to the British Labour Party, to assist them in their propaganda. Our total expenditure in connection with this propaganda campaign in Great Britain was about £200.

AN OPEN LETTER.

The following "open letter" from your Executive was printed and circulated by the British Labour Party in tens of thousands in pursuance of their campaign:—

FROM IRISH LABOUR TO BRITISH LABOUR.

FELLOW WORKERS:—

When the South African War was being engineered the conspirators made their appeal to the British people to "save the women and children of Johannesburg!" When that war was officially declared, it was proclaimed to be for "liberty and justice for the oppressed Uitlanders!"

In August, 1914, the call which proved potent to rally the masses to the Colours was the call to succour little Belgium, whose

people were being scourged for the folly of belonging to a small nation !

Always, when the rulers of nations plan to make war, they pay tribute to the nobler attributes of the people by appealing to their sense of justice and human sympathy. Too often, alas, the people are deceived. They are led into paths from which they are unable to withdraw; they spill their blood and spend their substance for villainous causes, for the aggrandisement of thieves, for the enthronement of liars.

It is because we feel that, though statesmen and political conjurers exploit your virtues for their own evil purposes, the truth remains that you *are* responsive to the cries of the oppressed, and you will not knowingly assist the tyrant to perpetuate his tyranny, that we, representing the organised workers of Ireland, join in the effort of the British Labour Party to open your eyes to the "methods of barbarism" by which your agents are trying to hold Ireland, willy-nilly, to the British Empire.

In saying this we would have you understand that when we lay emphasis on the recent manifestations of tyranny—the torture and shootings of prisoners, the burning of houses, farmsteads, and crops, shops, factories, and creameries, the looting of movable property—we do so in the hope of bringing home to your minds what is involved in ruling Ireland by force. We know that if you consent, knowingly, to "government without the consent of the governed" you can only govern by such methods as now prevail—either the calculated tyranny of a disciplined force or the tyranny of marauding bands of freebooters, under partial control, but armed and supplied by engines of war by government authority—either of these—or freedom.

And unless you are agreeable that "English democracy" shall be linked in the minds of men through the ages with "Czarism" and "Prussianism," you must take action immediately to clear your name of the ignominy. For, in this struggle between the "Empire" and the "nation," between armaments and spiritual forces, between the rich and the poor, between capitalism and labour, Ireland must win, sooner or later.

In this struggle organised Irish labour stands solidly with the nation demanding freedom; demanding that right to determine the form of government and allegiance which the British statesmen declared with President Wilson was to be guaranteed to all nations as the outcome of the great war.

We demand this national freedom for many reasons. First, because as becomes a virile race, the Irish people have never acknowledged conquest. For over seven hundred years England's statesmen and soldiers have tried by force and fraud, by bribery and corruption, to subdue utterly the Irish people. Yet never a

generation has passed without an attempt being made, in arms, to throw off the yoke. We demand freedom because we desire our political, cultural, social, and economic life to develop on lines in harmony with the genius of our people. We mean to resist the current which would leave Ireland dependent upon the whims and fancies of British politicians and economists. We refuse to accept for our country the status of a grazing ground for John Bull's cattle. We demand freedom because we believe that when Ireland is released from the toils of the British political system, by means of which British capitalists are provided with a mighty army wherewith to enforce their decrees, the Irish people will devise and fashion a social system harmonising with their human needs and suited to the economic potentialities of their country.

In an Ireland politically free we would be enabled to change the basis and objective of our social life. The social structure would be based upon labour and service, property being relegated to its proper place as the servant, not the master, of humanity. To-day, thanks to the imposition by force of the English social system, our workers and small peasants live laborious lives for small recompense, producing food in abundance, yet condemned to live penuriously.

To take the last financial year as an example, we learn from official reports just published that no less than £50,600,000 worth of the produce of the labour of those workers and peasants was confiscated by your Government in taxation, of which only £29,200,000 was spent in Ireland, chiefly to keep the machine of coercion running, and in maintaining an army, of, for the most part, unproductive officials.

Year by year, even under the limitations which your governmental system imposes, we produce food enough to feed millions more than our own population. We produce woollen and linen goods enough to clothe and adorn every family and household in the land; we have material and labour to build substantial houses for all our requirements, and can still spare abundance of beef and agricultural produce to exchange for goods we require to import.

Yet when an attempt is made by our people to organise their resources, to take stock of their industrial opportunities, to plan schemes of a constructive character of permanent value to the nation, when "self-reliance" is translated from a mere phrase into practical political and economic action, the agents of British capitalism are on the pounce instantly, and these beneficent schemes are frustrated.

The secret of the antagonism to freedom for Ireland lies here—that capitalism fears the example which a co-operative commonwealth based upon labour in Ireland may supply for the awakening

workers of Great Britain. Hence it is that we see reactionary lawyer-politicians like Sir Edward Carson; capitalist mine-owning aristocrats like the Duke of Northumberland; and the organ of the British junkers, the *Morning Post*, allies in the attack both on British trade unionism and Irish freedom, and joining in a demand that all the forces of law and authority shall be ruthlessly used to smash up the organisations of the working class, both in your country and in ours.

We have spoken in this letter of Ireland's demand for freedom. By this we mean the right to choose and decide, without the intervention of any outside authority, without limitation or fetters, upon the form of government and allegiance under which the Irish nation shall live.

It shall be for Ireland to decide what the future constitution shall involve, whether it be—

- (1) A closer political unity with Great Britain; or
- (2) A unity of consent similar in character to that which connects Australia, Canada, or South Africa with the British Empire, or
- (3) An entirely separate political entity free to work out its own destiny untrammelled by political eyes.

We emphasise the word "political" in this connection, being fully conscious that economic conditions will inevitably involve the closest relations between the two peoples. Indeed, it may be admitted that the economic power which Britain wields is potent enough, even were we to bargain as enemies, to enforce almost any terms upon Ireland short of the forfeiture of her honour and liberty.

We know that the nations of the world are and must be inter-dependent economically. Ireland's demand from Great Britain is for political freedom and the withdrawal of the military force which makes political subjection possible, and whose absence allows a nation self-expression.

Given political freedom for their country, the workers of Ireland will then have a free field to fight their own fight against economic oppression, and to achieve the objects they have set out to attain, viz. :—

The possession by the nation of all the natural resources of the country;

The ownership and control by the workers collectively of the whole produce of their labour;

The management and control, by the workers, manual and mental, of the industries and services in which they are

engaged, subject to the supreme authority of the national government, and

The abolition of all privileges based upon property or ancestry, or not granted or confirmed by the freely expressed will of the Irish people.

The British Labour Party has formally and definitely pledged itself to work for the solution by genuine national self-determination of the age-long struggle between the two nations. As befits a party speaking in the name of the exploited masses, it has declared in effect that before the British workers can free themselves from the yoke of capitalism they must make a resolute fight against the imperialist exploitation of their neighbour nation.

Irish labour has declared that the policy of the British Labour Party when made operative will be accepted as the fulfilment of its demand for self-determination.

We venture to hope that you, the workers of England, Scotland, and Wales, will awaken to a realisation of your duty and your privilege to bring to an end the tyranny which has brought to Ireland the disgrace of suffering the worst housing conditions in Europe, which by a systematised robbery of the fruits of their labour has condemned the great majority of our workers and peasants to lives of grinding toil and permanent poverty, and which has dispersed the Irish race to the ends of the earth to be a thorn in the side of England so long as freedom is denied to their Motherland!

FOR THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE OF THE IRISH LABOUR PARTY AND TRADES UNION CONGRESS.

THOMAS FORAN, Chairman.

THOMAS JOHNSON, Secretary.

Dublin, January 8, 1921.

LABOUR PROPOSALS FOR A TRUCE.

After the arrival of the Labour Party Commission in Ireland, Mr. Henderson, as Chairman, informed the members of the Executive that it was the hope of the Commission to find means for bringing about a truce to hostilities and final peace between Ireland and England. Mr. Henderson explained that certain conversations had taken place in England between himself and Mr. Lloyd George, and this had been followed by a letter written by Mr. Roger Sweetman, T.D., for North Wexford. In this letter Mr. Sweetman had suggested a conference between the British Labour Commission, the Irish Labour Party, the Irish Peace Conference, and the Catholic Hierarchy. This was a suggestion made entirely on his own responsibility. Mr. Henderson had considered it wise to communicate to the press a statement expressing his readiness on behalf of the Commission to co-operate in any such move, but clearly

stated that they would require to confer with the Irish Labour Party Executive before committing themselves to any definite line of policy. This raised a new question for the Executive, and after careful consideration we agreed to enter into a discussion with the Labour Party Commission respecting their suggestions, which were: that the Irish Labour Party and the Catholic Hierarchy should join the British Labour Commission in an appeal for a cessation of hostilities; we, on our part, to direct our appeal to the Irish side in the conflict, and the British Labour Party to direct their appeal to the British Government. We made it clear that we would not agree to call for a temporary truce, unless there was reliable evidence that such an appeal would be responded to on both sides and would be followed up by a complete armistice. We put forward these points:

(1) That a truce must mean a complete armistice, that is, the cessation of all provocative acts and acts of violence;

(2) That if any other bodies were to be approached, such as the Catholic Hierarchy, it would be better that the Commission should do so, not the Labour Party. (We did not think it would be desirable to approach the Irish Peace Conference.)

(3) That the Commission should ascertain as a necessary first step how far the British Government were prepared to go in respect to a truce.

We expressed the view that the impression must not be created that Ireland was seeking a truce. We submitted the basis for the terms of a truce, which, if they were agreed upon by both sides, would warrant your Executive in joining with the Catholic Hierarchy in making a public appeal for a cessation of hostilities. The terms were as follows:—

On the Irish Side.

1. Cessation of all armed attacks on British troops, police and barracks.
2. Cessation of raids, arrests, and of all other provocative acts.

On the British Side.

1. Cessation of attacks upon Irish Volunteers, Sinn Fein, and Labour by the military and police.
2. Cessation of arrests, and release of members of Dail Eireann, and freedom of meetings.
3. Cessation of raids, searches, burnings and other provocative acts.

These terms were approved of by the Labour Party.

Messrs. Henderson and Adamson met the late Most Rev. Dr. Walsh, Archbishop of Dublin, and Mr. Arthur Griffith, who was then in Mountjoy Prison. Afterwards Mr. Henderson motored to Armagh

and was there received by Cardinal Logue. Having thus made themselves acquainted with the situation, and, as they believed, in the existence of a sincere desire for peace in Ireland so long as no compromise of principle was involved, they returned to London and interviewed the Prime Minister. The Prime Minister's reply was made in the House of Commons and was a declaration of intensified warfare. He declared that they "had no option but to continue, and indeed to intensify their campaign," and announced the decision to proclaim martial law in certain areas. He accompanied these declarations by a promise to afford facilities to "peaceably disposed members of Dail Eireann to meet and discuss questions of peace"; but he made it very clear that any such meeting was to be by gracious permission of the military authorities and under their guardianship. An unavoidable, and probably intended, consequence of this speech, was that the movement towards a truce was brought to an end.

It might be remarked, not unfairly, that the meetings which, as we write, are taking place in London, might well have taken place six or seven months ago (to the advantage perhaps of the British authority!) and these long months of struggle and bloodshed possibly been avoided.

Raids, Arrests and Murders.

During the course of a year the raids on Trade Union Offices, arrests of Trade Union Officials, thefts and destruction of their property by Crown Forces, have continued in an increasing degree. We do not propose to enumerate the many cases in which Trade Union officials seem to have been selected for attack because of their participation in Trade Union activities. We take it as all a part of the general struggle, and, in fact, as a proof of our contention that imperialism and militarism are the enemies of the working class, in whatever guise they may be found, and that the servants of imperialism and militarism recognize in any body of militant workers an inevitable enemy. We cannot refrain, however, from making special mention of the murders of Thomas Connole, Secretary, I.T. & G. W. U., Ennistymon Branch, and Tom Hand, Secretary, I.T. & G.W.U., Skerries. In both of these cases the victims were shot at night in their homes; and in the case of Connole his body was deliberately flung into the flames of his burning house. Another case which stands out is that of the shooting by armed police of the railwaymen in Mallow station while on duty. The story of the Mallow shooting has had considerable publicity, but we regret that the truth does not seem to have been appreciated to the full extent by the members of the railwaymen's organisations in Great Britain. While it is true they compelled the Government to grant an open enquiry—it was an enquiry by the culprits or the friends of the culprits, and like so many alleged enquiries, was a mere white washing interlude.

At the request of your Executive the workers of Dublin unanimously refrained from work on the morning of March 14th, 1921, the day of the judicial murder of six patriot men in Mountjoy Jail, Thomas Whelan, Patrick Moran, Patrick Doyle, Thomas J. Bryan, Frank Flood and Bernard Ryan.

Four of those were members of Trade Unions affiliated to this Congress.

An exhibition of cold-blooded vengeance such as this, and similar events on other days in Cork and Dublin, serve only to show how impotent is the tyrant who relies upon force to subdue a people inspired by the ideal of liberty. As a deterrent capital punishment in these cases fails utterly. It neither causes men to fear a similar fate, nor does it lead the people to execrate the action of the victim. On the contrary, for every man whose life is taken vengefully "by process of law," a hundred are ready to tread the same path, and a whole nation hails the sufferers as men who have given their lives for a noble cause. And the Government which perpetrates such deeds formally and officially professes to hold in reverence "the Noble Army of Martyrs"!

Labour Organisation.

Notwithstanding the difficulties which have been met with in many parts of the country due to the presence of British Military and Police Forces and their active campaign of repression, we are pleased to report that the state of Organisation gives many grounds for satisfaction. Despite the facts that many Trade Union meetings have been dispersed, head offices and branch offices of Trade Unions raided, their books stolen and their officials imprisoned, speaking generally, the workers have remained loyal to their Trade Union allegiance.

When the obstacles to branch business meetings, and public propaganda meetings, arising from curfew regulations, and the activities of the White Guards—ever ready to shoot—are remembered, we have reason to be proud of the steadfastness of our membership. Where there has been slackness in payment of dues, we are convinced that the duties of those members has only to be brought home directly to their notice for them to re-establish themselves as loyal members of their Unions.

Though the depression in Trade has been general for months past, reports have reached us of quite a considerable number of advances in wage rates, particularly during the latter part of last year and the early part of this year. It is true that in sympathy with similar demands being made in Great Britain and in America, Irish employers have, in many cases, given notice of reduction in wages. Your Executive believes that speaking generally there is no justification for these reductions. We consider that every effort must be made to maintain the present wage rates, and that if necessary the whole movement should unite in the struggle to obtain a real wage standard 30 per cent. higher than the standard prevailing

in the days before the war. We believe that the real wealth of Ireland, if properly administered, is easily capable of providing such a standard, and that we should not agree to the reduction policy at a time when immense sums are being paid for Rent, Interest, and Profit, and in Taxation to a foreign power.

Equally important is it that the reductions in hours of labour which have been achieved should not be allowed to be lost. The Labour Movement for many years has striven for a shorter standard working week. The opportunity for achieving this reform came during the war. It must be our duty to maintain this and not allow ourselves to go back to the condition of the old days of 55, 60, or 70 hours a week working for an employer's profit.

Wage Reductions.

In order that the workers' organisations in Ireland should adopt a common line of policy in respect to wage reductions, the circular which follows was issued to all affiliated Unions and Councils:—

“The attack on wage standards which has developed rapidly in Great Britain during the past few weeks is fast extending to this country. From all parts of Ireland we learn of notices of reduction in wages and proposals respecting the lengthening of the working day. The attack upon the miners; the failure of the Triple Alliance—the most powerful combination, on paper, ever known in the British Labour movement—has given encouragement to the employers everywhere to make a frontal attack on labour. Reductions in wage rates are being accepted in many trades without even a show of resistance, and if a stand is not made in this country we shall find that a large proportion of workers have had their wages cut in sympathy with reductions on the other side of the channel, but inevitably entailing a much greater proportionate loss, because, generally speaking, wages in Ireland during the war did not rise as high as in Great Britain, though retail prices rose higher.

Any break in wages in Ireland will mean the disorganisation and grave weakening of the movement. To prevent such a break united resistance is essential. While it is true that every trade or group of trades must be dealt with separately and the special conditions affecting each trade must be taken into account, it is equally true to say that to prevent a debacle some unity of policy and plan is called for.

We therefore submit the following outline plan of a scheme to promote the unity of action that is needed:—

(1) The general guiding policy of the unions to be: to oppose reductions, and to claim advances in the lower paid occupations. On no account to agree to any reduction which will mean a decline in real wages, that is to say, a reduction greater than the decline in the cost of living.

(2) An improvement of 30 per cent. over the pre-war standard of living to be demanded and striven for.

(3) In the case of the lower paid occupations where the adult pre-war wage was below 25s. per week, it shall, for the purpose of any wage negotiations be deemed to have been 25s.

(4) Before considering proposals for wage reductions a demand should be made that all other items in the expenses of the business or industry in question, e.g., rent, interest, director's fees, managerial salaries and expenses, etc., shall be reduced.

(5) Workers' Industrial Councils, or Joint Committees of the Unions—local and national—for the various industries, should be formed where not at present existing. The Unions to be represented on the Councils in proportion to the number of their members engaged in the particular industry. (Some Unions will have members in several different industries; for instance, the Engineers, Clerical Workers, Woodworkers, Women Workers, Transport Union, etc. These Unions will, therefore, be represented on the several industrial Councils roughly in proportion to the numbers of their members engaged in the trades embraced by the Council.)

(6) The Industrial Councils to be convened whenever any action affecting the industry or any of its component sections is threatened. The Councils will keep in close touch with the National Executive in all matters appertaining to proposals for wage reductions.

(7) All proposals to resist wage reductions by a strike or to accept such reductions are to be considered with due regard to the powers of resistance of the Unions affected; the possibility of a "counter-offensive," e.g., a demand for an increase instead of a reduction; of any special circumstances attending the grant of war time advances; the effect on the future of the industry and the prosperity of the workers in general.

(8) On notice of any wage reductions being served on any Union or body of workers, information to be sent immediately to the National Executive by the Union, giving particulars of the current rates, the proposed reductions, the number affected in each trade, etc., etc., so that they may be in a position to advise.

(9) To enable Unions to meet the cost of any struggle which may be entailed in resisting wage reductions it is essential that a special Wage Defence Fund should be provided. For this purpose we recommend that each union should make immediately a substantial general levy, to continue for, say, three months.

(In this connection it is worthy of note that recent decisions of the Umpire make it plain that "out of work pay" under the Unemployment Insurance Act will not be paid when the unemployment arises from a refusal of the worker to accept a reduction of wages. If an employer closes his establishment because he will not pay the current rate of wages the unemployed person is entitled to unemployment benefit, but if the employer offers to continue his operations on condition that the worker accept lower wages and the workers refuse, then it is held to be a dispute within the meaning of the Act and unemployment benefit is disallowed).

For the National Executive,

THOMAS JOHNSON, Secretary."

May 17th, 1921.

The Unions in the Engineering industry in the Dublin Federated area being threatened with a reduction (since accepted in Great Britain) were called into conference by your Executive and agreed to the formation of a Joint Committee comprising the following Unions, viz.: the Irish Engineering Union, the Amalgamated Engineering Union, the U.K. Patternmakers, the Boilermakers Union, and the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union. This Committee has been in conference with the Employers' Association, and claims, notwithstanding the decision of any ballot effecting wage contracts in Great Britain, that separate negotiations shall take place in respect to Ireland.

At the time of writing this Report, the Engineering Unions in Great Britain have accepted a reduction (3/- July, 3/- August) with a promise to consider a further reduction equalling about another 10/- or 12/- in September. It remains to be seen what decision will be arrived at between the Employers' Association in Dublin and the Joint Committee of Engineering Trades in respect to separate negotiations.

In several other trades notices have been served by the employers for reductions. Many of them appear to have been awaiting the result of the miners' struggle before taking any action. Now that the miners have been compelled to surrender, the notices have been tendered. We reiterate the advice given in the circular above for a united stand in Ireland to maintain and improve real wage standards in all trades.

Cost of Living.

A series of inquiries have been made periodically during the last six months respecting food prices in Irish towns. The object of these inquiries was to obtain reliable data respecting the reduction in the cost of living and to compare the figures thus obtained with the figures issued in the official "Labour Gazette." The following circular letter was issued early in June:—

June 9, 1921.

TO THE SECRETARY OF EACH AFFILIATED SOCIETY.

A CHARA,

I have been inquiring into food prices in Irish towns, comparing 1914 with 1921.

I have obtained detailed particulars from different towns in all parts of the country. The inquiry was based upon the food ration of a third-class officer in the Belfast Union, pre-war, as sanctioned by the Local Government Board. This ration, it may be assumed, was such a one as was considered requisite by the Board of Guardians on the one hand and the Local Government Board on the other, for the proper sustenance of an adult worker in the institution and may therefore be taken as a fair basis of what should constitute a fair sustenance for the average adult worker. The ration comprises in different quantities and weights: bread, butter, milk, tea, sugar, beef, mutton, potatoes, eggs, bacon, flour, raisins, sago, fish and luttermilk.

The method adopted was to present a form of invoice for these articles in their stipulated quantities to grocers and provision dealers throughout the country, with the request that they should, after reference to their books for 1914, fill in the cost of this ration at that date and also fill in the cost of the same ration at the present date. Having collected these various invoices, an average over the whole country was taken, and this is the result:—

In March, 1914, the average price for the ration in question was 7/8

In March, 1921, the average price for the same ration was 22/-
(or 187 per cent. above pre-war).

In May, 1921, the average price for the same ration was 21/4
(or 178 per cent. above pre-war).

The Board of Trade figures of comparative food prices over the same period show an increase of only 149 per cent. for March and of 132 per cent. for May, over the average food cost for the working class family in July, 1914. The Board of Trade figures relate more particularly to Great Britain. It is doubtful whether any Irish figures are taken into account at all, but if they are, they will have little effect on the average which is almost entirely based on British returns.

The latest returns from the Board of Trade show a decline from March to May this year of 17 per cent, or 132 per cent. above the July, 1914, basis, for food alone.

It is worthy of your notice that in the "Labour Gazette" for May the official estimate on April 30th of the level of retail prices of clothing, quality for quality, taking goods of the kind purchased by the working classes, shows an average of 210 per cent. higher than July, 1914. It should be borne in mind that in Ireland, at any

rate, fully three-quarters of the income of the worker is expended for food and clothing. It is also probable that prices for clothing have risen higher in Ireland than in Great Britain, just as prices of food have risen higher. We may therefore take it as conclusive that while the official "Labour Gazette" reports the cost of living on May 1st (all items included) as being 128 per cent. above pre-war level, the cost of living in Ireland is still about 175 per cent. above pre-war level.

It may be adduced in contravention of this statement, that as wages have not increased to anything like this extent throughout industry as a whole, the figures quoted are obviously fallacious. It must be remembered, however, that the basis of these calculations is a standard ration, considered by the Poor Law authorities as the time it was compiled to be necessary to maintain a healthy body. Unfortunately, the people have been compelled to *lower their standard* by buying inferior qualities and stinting their supplies.

In any discussions or conferences respecting wages the above facts should be borne in mind.

Yours fraternally,

THOMAS JOHNSON, *Secretary*.

We have since had an opportunity of comparing the result of our inquiries with a similar inquiry made on a different basis and comprising different areas. We take this opportunity of supplementing the figures given in the above letter.

A separate inquiry, based upon the dietary scale in the Dublin workhouse in May, 1921, showed that the diet for a second class official which before the war cost $5/7\frac{1}{2}$ d., in May, 1921, cost 16/-, or an increase of 186 per cent. as against the Ministry of Labour figures at that time of 132 per cent. A further calculation was based upon the dietary scale for a family of two adults and four children, pauper inmates of the Dublin Workhouse. The cost, at retail prices, of a weekly ration for this family of six was $47/11\frac{1}{4}$ d. We must add to this an additional sum for extra food which an active life demands above the sedentary life of a workhouse inmate, and for rent, clothing and the other minimum requisites for a decent existence. A special Commission which was appointed by the Cork Corporation in March, 1919, to inquire into a maintenance standard for a working class family, and which comprised merchants, professional men, clergymen, as well as Trade Union officials, fixed a figure equalling $34/2$ for these requirements. That gives us a sum of $82/2$ as the cost of keeping a family of two adults and four children at the level, in respect of food, of pauper inmates of a Dublin workhouse. If, however, it is accepted as a reasonable proposition that the workman should be in a position to provide a diet for his family equal in nutrition to that scheduled for *second class officers* in the Dublin workhouse, we find that the cost of the weekly ration for two such officers and four pauper children in May was $61/11\frac{1}{4}$, i.e., for food alone. If we add to this the allowance for

rent, clothing, etc., of 29/6, based upon the Cork Commission's recommendation, we arrive at a sum of £4 11s. 5d. as being requisite to provide a standard.

Assuming that prices were to fall to the level ruling in the month prior to the war, it would require 16/10 to provide a Dublin family with food alone on the workhouse pauper dietary scale, and making the very low estimate for rent, clothing, fuel, household requisites, insurance, etc., of 20/—, we arrive at a figure of 36/10 as the sum necessary, even at pre-war prices, to keep a family on the workhouse inmate's standard.

These figures show how necessary it is to make a firm stand against reductions in wages. We demand a standard of life for the workers considerably higher than that which prevailed before the war. It is in the belief that freedom for our country will mean freedom from the care and grind of an existence always on the verge of hunger, with never a sufficiency of clothing or comfort or healthful pleasure for their children that thousands of our fellow workers are devoting their thoughts to the struggle for national liberty. We must therefore strive to maintain for the workers such small installment of the substantial basis of liberty—economic security—as has already been attained.

The Country in Danger.

Taking into consideration the gravity of the problem of unemployment (then grown to about 110,000 persons out of a total of wage earners in the whole country of about 700,000) we decided at Easter time upon issuing an appeal to the country in the form of a democratic programme, with the object of trying to direct the country's mind to the social economic problem that is looming heavily before us and which can only be satisfactorily met by very drastic measures—measures which call for governmental action certainly, but which also call for the personal action of every citizen. The "Manifesto" reads as follows:—

UNEMPLOYMENT AND THE NATIONAL CRISIS.

According to a recent estimate, based upon official figures, there are to-day in Ireland considerably over a hundred thousand, one out of every six of the whole wage-earning population, unemployed. This figure is exclusive of those only partially employed—i.e., working short time.

It is a figure of grave significance, and points to a problem which must be faced.

The evil is partially a result of the campaign of devastation, and partially a consequence of the world war, with the economic disturbances arising therefrom. The civilised world, by wasting its substance in riotous living for five years, has contracted overwhelming debt to its moneylenders, and is now bankrupt. It cannot pay off its loans, and

its rulers are at loggerheads over the question how the interest shall be made secure, and which set of moneylenders shall be manoeuvred into the best position for the future international struggle. Until this quarrel is composed, at least temporarily, productive activities in industry will be impeded, and widespread unemployment will continue. For, under the prevailing economic system, employers will not enter the market for either raw material or labour power unless they see a reasonable prospect of disposing of the manufactured article at a profit. As there is no immediate likelihood of making this profit, and as, in respect to most trades, there will not be until the international quarrel subsides, the capitalistic nations of Europe may look forward to a prolonged period of trade depression.

In the degree that Ireland is content to participate in the scramble for profit-making trade—buying in the cheapest market, and selling in the dearest—Ireland will have to suffer the evil that this scramble involves; Irish manufacturers, farmers and traders will have to bear their share of the gambler's losses, and large numbers of the less fortunate among the Irish workers will be relegated to the reservoir of unemployed labour power.

Those for whom we are entitled to speak—the organised wage-workers—are not content to be classed with raw material in an employer's book of costs. They are asking for a valid reason why willing workers should be unemployed, why they should be without the means of livelihood, why their families should be hungry. They look around and see fertile lands and mineral wealth in abundance, the means of transit easily available; the ability, experience and strength of willing men, all waiting to be brought into fruitful contact. And they also ask why the food and clothes and comforts now on hands awaiting customers, or the means to buy them—the tokens called money—cannot be paid to them in exchange for their labour, to enable them to live as self-respecting citizens while reproducing further wealth.

These are questions which must be answered, whatever the political future may be.

TO SAVE THE NATION.

During the Great War every belligerent power called upon its people for sacrifice. To "save the nation" governments felt justified in demanding that all the resources of the nation should be placed at their disposal to be utilised in whatever manner they thought best. To "win the war" millions of men were organised to fight; millions more were organised to produce and transport the fighting material, and the remainder of the population was organised to provide food, clothing, and other essentials, both for the fighting men and the industrial army which supported the fighting men. By such organised effort for a definite purpose, the warring nations were enabled to continue the process of annihilation for over four years with a prodigality hitherto inconceivable.

In a "war emergency" such a result was achieved. Can we not by organised effort attain equally great results in a civil emergency? There was no unemployment problem in England during the war. Every man was utilised; his labour was valuable, and it was devoted to the national service. To-day in Ireland there is hunger because of unemployment; there are silent looms and idle weavers watching half clothed labourers; there are lands left untilled, and agricultural labourers walking the roads.

This is wrong, and must not continue. The time has come for a rally of all good citizens to prevent Ireland from being drawn into the economic whirlpool.

How can it be done? How is it possible for us to evade the economic consequences of the war, and the "peace"? Only by a supreme effort of will and a determination that personal interests shall be subordinated to the national salvation!

We must free ourselves from the toils of the competitive individualist commercial system, or be content to suffer the penalties attached thereto—penalties which inevitably fall with greatest force upon the working class.

Farmers, merchants, manufacturers, and shop-keepers; artisans and labourers; factory, shop and office worker will have to bring themselves to that state of mind provoked by the cry, "The Country in Danger."

When a nation is attacked, all citizens are summoned to its defence. If the defence is well organised, every available man will be mobilised, every natural advantage made use of, every resource drawn upon, and personal interests, tastes, fancies, and social customs either voluntarily resigned, or pushed aside. So it must be in this day of Ireland's trial.

Is it too great a thing to ask, in the light of the sacrifices that are being made daily, that for a year, or two years, or as long as the crisis lasts, Irishmen and women should consider that from a date to be fixed their possessions and their personal faculties shall be dedicated to the service of the Nation? This is not to demand the sacrifice of their property. It is to ask, without calling upon the power of the state, as in other countries, to compel—that the land and wealth-producing machinery should be loaned without charge to the nation "for the duration of the war," and that the labour and ability of its citizens should be devoted to its service for adequate reward.

That is the gist of our proposals, and it is only by action imbued with the spirit underlying them, that the Nation can be saved. We shall be told that what we ask is unprecedented in history: that the propertied class of any nation should voluntarily offer their estate and services to the nation to save the social and economic life of that nation! It may be so. But who shall say that Ireland is not capable of giving an example to the world? If we refuse to take heed of the signs of the times we shall see many thousands of our people brought to a condition which, seeing that it is avoidable, they are in no mood

to bear with patience. Property will then be in danger of losing infinitely more than it is herein asked to forego.

In England, during the war, cries were raised for "equality of sacrifice" and "unity of classes." That these were but empty phrases covering a game of grab is seen in the sequel. Equality and Unity have meant this: that the working masses were to lose their lives, their limbs, their chance of a decent livelihood, while the wealthy classes were to make things balance by lending their money at a high rate of interest, and draw 400 million pounds per annum as a perpetual draft upon the blood and sweat of the people.

The reason those idealist phrases did not become translated into actualities was because there had not been introduced any change in the economic relations between the possessing class and the dispossessed. The end of the war found greed still enthroned, using its power to keep the workers still in subjection.

If in Ireland during the period of storm and stress, when men are united as never before in a desire to serve their motherland, there can be diffused through the mind of the nation this thought: That mutual labour and personal service for the common good is the only basis upon which a just and stable society can be built: then when our political freedom has been won, the way will have been cleared for a peaceful settlement of the social-economic conflicts which are certain to emerge.

THE DEMOCRATIC PROGRAMME.

At the inaugural meeting of Dail Eireann, held on January 21st 1919, a Democratic Programme was adopted which contains the following:—

"We declare that the nation's sovereignty extends not only to all the men and women of the nation, but to all the material possessions of the nation; the nation's soil and all its resources; all the wealth and wealth-producing processes within the nation; and we affirm that all right to private property must be subordinated to the public right and welfare of the nation.

We affirm the duty of every man and woman to give allegiance and SERVICE to the commonwealth, and declare it as the duty of the nation to ensure that every citizen shall have opportunity to spend his or her strength and faculties in the service of the people. In return for willing service we . . . declare the right of every citizen to an adequate share of the produce of the nation's labour."

We say that the time has arrived when all loyal citizens shall be expected to co-operate in giving practical effect to these principles.

LABOUR'S PROPOSALS.

Recognising the difficulties of the time and the limitations of power in the hands of our representative institutions, we submit the following programme as reasonable and practicable, and, while not pretending that it is sufficient to permanently solve the problems of unemployment

and poverty, it provides a means of saving our country from imminent economic destruction at the hands of external forces.

THE STANDARD OF LIVING.

1. We hold as fundamental that the standard of living amongst the workers must on no account be lowered (in the case of the lower paid it must certainly be improved) until it can be shown that the available resources of the country economically utilised are insufficient to maintain the standard, and that all classes are willing to conform to the lower level. All the evidence on this subject leads to the conclusion that so far from a reduction being necessary, a general improvement is possible. There is abundance of food produced in Ireland to supply every family with a sufficiency, and leave an ample surplus to export in exchange for necessary imports. If the people have food, and, being fed, if their labour is directed to providing the other necessities and comforts of life, we shall suffer neither unemployment nor destitution.

A MORATORIUM.

2. A moratorium should be announced suspending the payment of rents and land purchase annuities "for the duration of the war." In order to create a fund to mitigate any hardship on individuals that might ensue from this moratorium, a proportion, say ten per cent. of the rents and annuities should be collected by the national authority.

IRISH LABOUR AND IRISH RESOURCES.

3. A serious attempt should be made without delay (a) to ascertain and collate the material requirements of the four and a-half million people in Ireland, and (b) with this knowledge at hand to proceed to organise the means of fulfilling these requirements to the fullest possible extent with commodities produced by Irish labour from Irish resources.

4. A concerted effort is required to organise the consumers' demand. This may be divided into two parts—that of the individual purchasers and that of the public bodies.

In respect to the individual demand, the requisite knowledge can best be obtained through the shopkeepers. In their hands lies the power to assist or thwart a solution of the problem of how to keep Irish industries active. Those who pledge themselves to assist should be encouraged; those who decline should be left severely alone. This is not a time when the normal relations between trader and customer can prevail. Ordinarily the shopkeeper's duty is to satisfy his customers' wishes. To-day, while every effort must be made to educate the customers to call for Irish produce, the trader must cease his (generally unconscious) anti-Irish propaganda; that is to say, the practice of displaying and pushing and advertising cheaper, perhaps more attractive, foreign materials.

This is high protection, we admit. We advocate it as an emergency measure, subject to this necessary condition: that the protection shall be for the workers, and that profits shall be strictly limited.

In the case of public institutions—Poor Law boards, hospitals, schools, town and county councils, religious institutions, etc.—these should all be asked to prepare an estimate of their requirements for a year ahead of materials of every kind; food, clothing, stationery, printing, bedding, domestic utensils, repairs to buildings, etc.

5. A central bureau should be established to tabulate these various estimates, together with estimates of a similar kind obtained from private shopkeepers, and to ascertain the extent to which they can be supplied by Irish manufacturers.

6. It will be found in many instances that there is no established industry in Ireland capable of meeting the demand. It should be the duty of the national authority to promote wherever possible productive industries to undertake the work required. In many cases these would be crude and comparatively uneconomic in the commercial sense, e.g., hand production or small machine production would have to compete with large scale power machine production from overseas. It is not suggested that this policy should be carried to ridiculous extremes, or that vested interests in wasteful and inefficient processes should be allowed to become established; but within reasonable limits, consumers, especially public institutions, should agree in the present circumstances to sacrifice something in price, in taste or fancy, for the sake of the national well-being.

NATIONAL INDUSTRIAL SERVICE.

7. In every town a list should be compiled of traders, merchants, and manufacturers who are willing to pledge themselves to conduct their business "for the period of the War" in the service of the nation. They would work under a certificate which would be granted under certain conditions, including the following:

(a) That as far as possible all goods, bought and sold, raw materials or manufactured articles, shall be produced in Ireland.

(b) That all employees are Trade Unionists, working under Trade Union conditions.

(c) That a maximum rate of gross profit shall be charged according to a schedule to be drawn up by expert accountants after careful inquiry and consultation, taking into account the nature of the business, local conditions, and any special or peculiar circumstances.

8. Manufacturers, shopkeepers, public bodies, and the citizens generally should be called upon to transact all their business with traders holding these National Service certificates.

9. The effects of the operation of these proposals will be to stimulate Irish industrial activities right through from the production of the raw material to the final disposal of the manufactured article; to provide steady employment at a living wage; to guarantee to manufacturers, merchants, etc., a fair payment for their services as organisers of industry, and to reduce the amount extracted from the national pool of wealth by those who live upon unearned incomes.

10. Inevitably, as the plans begin to operate successfully, many present day businesses will be deranged, those engaged in handling imported commodities will decline, and many that may be called parasitical employments will be rendered obsolete. Provision must be made for the maintenance of those who may be disemployed from these causes until they become absorbed in the revived Irish industries.

11. It is imperative that the nation must accept responsibility for ensuring that every citizen shall have an opportunity of doing useful work, and be adequately rewarded therefor. This is a duty already accepted on behalf of the nation by its elected representatives. It still awaits practical application.

THE LAND FOR MEN—NOT FOR BULLOCKS.

12. There must be no lessening of the area of land under tillage. The standard fixed for the year 1919 is the absolute minimum, and from that there must be a progressive increase. The cry that the land is for men—not for bullocks—must be taken to heart by those who farm fifty acres, just as much as by the graziers. The national well-being requires that the land shall be made to grow the greatest possible amount of food. This can be attained only by good tillage. If it is contended that tillage isn't profitable, our answer must be that cattle grazing will be made even less profitable!

13. Farmers and landholders who hold more land than they, with their families, can work, must be required to pay for hired labour less than the standard trade union rates, or, in the alternative, they must resign the occupation of that portion of their holding which is beyond their capacity to work, to those who are willing to work it. Let it be remembered that the land is held in trust for the nation; it must be made the most of in maintaining the largest possible number of persons. If a genuine effort is not made to effect this result, the trust is forfeit.

14. We contend for a fair living for all who work at agriculture—farmers and their families, as well as labourers and their families. In agriculture, as well as in every other industry, the first charge upon the proceeds must be a fair standard of comfort for all who labour in the industry. If curtailment is necessary in the expenses of the farm, let the cutting begin with rents, purchase annuities, interest charges, etc. If, after all outgoings to people who have given no personal service are stopped, there is still need for retrenchment, then the workers' reward may have to be reduced.

IRELAND'S TRUE PROSPERITY.

15. We accept the view that agriculture is, and must remain, the foundation of Ireland's true prosperity. We would go far in the direction of guaranteeing land-workers against the risks of bad harvests and placing on the general community the burden of meeting the difference between the price of imported foods and the cost of production of Irish-grown food. But we will not agree that agriculture should be handicapped by carrying an army of non-producers on its back.

16. Provision should be made to enable agricultural labourers, road-workers, and others capable of agricultural work, who desire to tide over the present stress by work on the land, to take tillage land on conacre terms, either for individual working or collective working by co-operative groups, the latter for preference. Many farmers, no doubt, will be glad to be relieved of the responsibility of tilling the land by hired labour, and there should be no difficulty in coming to an agreement with those in respect to conacre lettings and the use of tools, machinery, etc., if the problem of providing "keep" pending the harvest can be overcome.

FINANCE.

17. One of the obstacles to success in any scheme for Irish industrial development lies in the fact that most of the banks conducting business in the country are bound up too closely with London institutions. At least fifty per cent. of the money lodged in Irish banks finds its way to London for investment in British industrial undertakings and British Governmental and municipal stocks.

If Irish bank depositors were to transfer their funds to those banks which exist solely to benefit Irish industry and agriculture, the greater part of the financial difficulty in the way of reconstruction efforts would vanish. We go further and say that if Irish depositors would lend their money to those banks at a reduced rate of interest (say pre-war rates) on the understanding that borrowers from the banks would obtain the advantage for strictly productive enterprise in Ireland, it would in the long run turn out to be the best possible and most patriotic investment. In very few cases would this entail any personal hardship on the part of the lenders, yet it would give an impetus to dozens of sound schemes for reconstruction, and go a long way towards the solution of the house-building problem.

A VOLUNTARY TITHE FOR NATIONAL SERVICE.

18. In connection with the provision of funds for national purposes, we submit the following suggestion for the consideration of all whom it may concern:—

Let every holder of twenty acres of land and upwards set apart one-tenth—a tithe—of his holding (or even one-twentieth) to be dedicated "to the service of the nation." Let that portion be tilled and sown and tended with especial care, with a view to obtaining the largest possible crop "for the nation." Let it be a model plot on each farm in friendly competition with its neighbours as to which will be the most fruitful. Let the labourers work these national plots free in their own time. Let there be established in every market town centres for receiving the produce, and let the proceeds be devoted directly to national service. For the first year the landholders should advance the necessary seeds and manures; in subsequent years these could be provided out of the national funds. By such means a very large income in the aggregate would be obtained, and the burden

would be lightly borne. Other methods on similar lines could be devised to enable town industries to pay their quota for national service in as easy a manner.

WORKERS' CONTROL.

19. In submitting the foregoing programme of action we have not said anything respecting the claim for extension of the sphere of workers' control over the industries in which they are engaged. We have dealt with the subject mainly with a view to promoting productive activities. The question of the enfranchisement of the working-class industrially will be easier to answer satisfactorily if the problems of economic production and equitable distribution are dealt with on the lines we have herein laid down.

TO BUILD A NATION OF FREE MEN.

20. We are aware that several of these proposals have already been approved and adopted. Some of them have been advocated for many years with admirable persistence and eloquence by men whose voices to-day are involuntarily suppressed. Whatever is new or unfamiliar in our programme is necessary in order to protect the interests of "that large and respectable class of the community—the men of no property." It is incumbent on all who have the ultimate well-being of the people at heart to take warning from the experience of other industrially developed countries, whose prosperity has been built up by the exploitation of the workers in the interests of capital, where industrial development is accompanied by the degradation and slavery of the people who do the work.

For our part, we insist that while Ireland's industries must be encouraged, protected, and developed, the purpose of it all must be kept clearly in mind, dominating all our thoughts on the subject, inspiring all our activities, that purpose being to build a nation which shall be the master, not the slave, of its material wealth—a nation of free and fearless, healthy, happy and noble men and women.

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

THOMAS FORAN, Chairman.

THOMAS JOHNSON, Secretary.

Dublin, Easter, 1921.

We close this report believing that whether freedom and peace is to come or war is to continue, the social condition of the people demands that drastic action shall be taken on the lines laid down in the above programme.

THOMAS FORAN, Chairman.
 THOMAS MacPARTLIN, Vice-Chairman.
 J. T. O'FARRELL.
 C. O'SHANNON.
 ROSE TIMMON.
 THOMAS FARREN.
 WM. CUMMINS.
 GEORGE NASON.
 DENIS CULLEN.
 T. C. DALY.
 LUKE J. LARKIN.
 L. J. DUFFY.
 WM. O'BRIEN, Treasurer.
 THOMAS JOHNSON, Secretary.

32 Lower Abbey Street,
 Dublin, July 25th, 1921.

“ MUNITIONS OF WAR.

REPORT OF THE SPECIAL CONFERENCE HELD AT THE MANSION HOUSE, DUBLIN, NOVEMBER 16, 1921.

Delegates, numbering three hundred and forty-one, assembled in the historic Round Room of the Mansion House, Dublin, yesterday as an All-Ireland Labour Congress, specially summoned to consider the critical situation created by the impending stoppage of the railways.

The delegates came from all parts of the country.

Mr. Thomas Foran, Chairman of the National Executive, presided.

Before the proceedings commenced the Lord Mayor took a seat on the platform, being received with loud applause.

The Chairman said it was hardly necessary for him to introduce the Lord Mayor of Dublin to them. His reputation was known all over the country, and it would be painting the lily white to refer to the numerous occasions on which the Lord Mayor of Dublin had taken a man's part in labour and national fights in this country. He (the chairman) was sure it would be a pleasure to the Lord Mayor—as it was to him—to welcome them to the Mansion House. He called on the Lord Mayor to address them.

THE LORD MAYOR'S HOPE.

The Lord Mayor, who was received with applause, said that once more it was his privilege to welcome the Irish Trades Congress to the Mansion House, and once more to express the hope that their deliberations would be useful to themselves, and, above all, of benefit to their country. In his opinion never in the history of organised labour were the eyes of the people of this country more firmly fixed upon any meeting of organised labour than on the present occasion. All their previous meetings were mainly concerned with dealing with labour problems, but that day they had to face a grave national problem and a grave national crisis. He hoped that when the history of the present time came to be written it would be recorded that the action they had taken there that day was for the benefit of the country. He had come there out of compliment to them and to their President and not to dictate to them what they should do or what they should not do. As one who had the interests of labour and of the country at heart he trusted their action that day would be for the benefit of their poor persecuted country.

CHAIRMAN'S WARNING.

The Chairman said he wanted every delegate to realise, as the National Executive realised, that that was one of the most momentous gatherings that had ever taken place in the Irish Labour movement. They were about to discuss a matter of life and death not only for the Labour movement, but for all Irish workers.

"You already see evidence," he continued, "of agencies at work to spread a poison gas and mislead and misconstrue the whole position as regards the action of your Executive and you railwaymen. For that reason it is very necessary, at the outset, that we, as a National Executive, should put the whole position plainly and clearly before you. This fight against the carrying of munitions was started by the railwaymen of their own free will.

"They, as the members of one of the greatest Unions in these countries, believed that when their fellow-workers in England, Scotland and Wales declined to carry munitions to wage war in Poland, and that decision was backed up by their Executive, they had every reason to think that when they, as Irishmen, took similar action in regard to their own country, they could at least rely on the support of their own Union. In that they were deceived; but, nevertheless, they decided to carry on, and they declined under any circumstances to handle munitions to make war on their own people. That fight had gone on for a certain period, and the railwaymen, thrown out by their own Union, appealed to the National Executive of the Labour Party.

A JUST AND HONOURABLE FIGHT.

"The Labour Party believed the men's fight was just and honourable, and was a fight to which all the resources of the Labour movement should be pledged to support. They advised the railwaymen as to how they ought to conduct the fight. After forming a Joint Committee they organised support for the railwaymen, and their success in that direction has never been equalled in the history of any dispute in the Labour movement (applause), so much so that up to now the railwaymen in Ireland have suffered very little, if anything at all—certainly nothing compared with great numbers of other workers who have been thrown out of employment consequent on the reduction of the train services (hear, hear). These men have got no support, yet we are accused, as a Labour Party, of coercing railwaymen into doing a thing they did not want to do. As a result of the conference with the railwaymen the National Executive decided that, as the whole Labour movement was likely to be affected by any decision that might be come to by the railwaymen, representatives of all sections of Labour should be called together to discuss the whole situation. Realising that the closing down of the railways in general will naturally cause great suffering and privation, we sincerely hope that the delegates will remember that nothing has ever been gained in this country without sacrifice (applause).

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE'S OPINION.

"The National Executive are practically unanimous that, notwithstanding the threat of Sir Hamar Greenwood, if it has been a good fight up to now, it is a good thing to go on and fight it out (applause).

"While that is our opinion, we want you to calmly and deliberately discuss the situation as representatives of your own classes. You are called on now to bear the brunt of this great struggle. Discuss every aspect of the crisis, believing in the justice of the fight, and that at no period of Ireland's history have the working classes let down the national movement. The National Executive believe steps can be taken to organise support should the railways be closed down, and the ideas of the British Government of starving us into submission can be frustrated as the decision of the British Cabinet was defeated in 1918, when all classes decided they would have no blood tax—no conscription—and we had no conscription (applause). If all classes make up their minds, no power on earth or in hell can make us do a thing we do not want to do" (applause).

Mr. Thos. Johnson, Secretary of the Irish Labour Party, said neither the leader writers of the newspapers nor the anonymous correspondents who wrote to the Press realised more fully than those on the platform the importance of the issues to be considered at that congress. The gravity of the position entailed in the refusal to handle munitions of war in Ireland had not come upon the National Executive now.

THE ISSUES AT STAKE.

It was present in their minds on May 21st of this year. They knew quite well that when Irish dockers and Irish railwaymen, or any other body of workmen refused to do the bidding of the British military authority they were challenging that British military authority, and if that authority were prepared to go through, the people of this country would have to go through also. They knew that quite well. One would think that it was only now the people were raising their minds to appreciate the importance of the decision the workmen took six months ago. That Congress was perhaps even more important than the historic meeting of workers which dealt with the conscription menace. Before that meeting concluded they would have come to realise that perhaps upon the decision of that meeting they would have to go through suffering and sacrifice during this winter.

He proceeded to review the course of events which led up to the present crisis. There was a change in the personnel of Dublin Castle Executive last spring. Macpherson had had his fling, and had failed. Macready had been brought in, and had planned a new method of attack. They saw all the paraphernalia of warfare coming into the country. Recruits were being asked for, of a new kind for the R.I.C. There were all the signs of a new offensive in the attack on Ireland, and simultaneous with that development

here in Ireland there was a threat of an alliance with Poland in the fight upon Russia.

THE "JOLLY GEORGE."

Struck by a glimmer of light and determination, the dockers in London decided to refuse to load the "Jolly George," and, in another moment of light and genius, the National Executive of the N.U.R. passed a resolution ordering its members throughout these countries not to handle munition of war for Poland. Irish railwaymen inevitably took that decision in regard to Poland to be equally applicable to Ireland, and spontaneously, without any pressure from the Labour Party or any other body in this country, resolutions were passed by the different branches, and decisions were come to, in one part of the country and another, not to handle munitions of war in Ireland.

RESTRAINT NEEDED.

Mr. Johnson next referred to the refusal of the dockers and railwaymen to handle munitions in Dun Laoghaire and other places, and pointed out that Mr. Bermingham, Irish Secretary N.U.R., stated in the public Press that railwaymen would refuse to handle munitions in any circumstances, and that that course was taken by the men themselves. It was only when asked for advice that the National Executive gave all the assistance and advice and used all the restraint that they considered necessary to help the men to conduct the fight with the prospect of ultimate success. He repeated with emphasis that they used the restraint which was necessary to prevent the railwaymen from going further and faster than they did. He related how the National Executive had kept in touch with the railwaymen, and said that all their decisions had had the approval and support of the railwaymen's representatives at their meetings and conferences.

They had now come to the stage when there was a prospect of the railway services being closed down. Let them face that and understand what it meant.

It meant that not only would the railwaymen be affected, but that the citizens in general would have to bear an equal share of suffering and the responsibilities for the continuance of the struggle.

The country had responded with great generosity to the appeal that was made and he believed if they, representing their trades unions, determined to stick to their resolve the country would again respond magnificently and enter into the fight. But this was not going to be a fight that would be sustained by funds. It would mean throwing back the social life of Ireland, temporarily, perhaps by 100 years. It meant that they would be running the economy of the country without railways, and that the people would have

to live perhaps without certain luxuries, and without many of what they thought were necessities, but were really not necessities at all.

THE COMMON GOOD.

It would mean that the wealthy, the moderately wealthy, and the little better off people would have to throw in their resources for the common good. It would mean that the localities would have to organise themselves to be self-supporting. It would mean a complete change in the social outlook while the struggle lasted. It might mean actual physical suffering, and it was for them to decide there that day whether in their opinion it was worth while to enter on the path of actual physical suffering for the sake of a principal and a moral ideal. What, then, did this struggle mean? It meant that men, individually and collectively, decided that they would not enter into a compact with their employers or with the Government to take an active part in doing an evil and a bloody thing. It meant that they would not actively and consciously take up arms or help in the distribution of arms and munitions of war to carry on a fight for the destruction of the Irish nation. While acknowledging all that, they might decide that the sacrifice was too great, and that they had to bow to superior force. It was for them to decide. They, as the Executive, had given their opinion.

OTHER ISSUES.

There was another issue entailed which affected them as Trade Unionists in two ways. It was as though the printer were asked, under pain of dismissal and under pain of suffering of his wife and family, to set up in type something blasphemous and obscene; it was as though the shop assistant were compelled, under pain of dismissal, to put poison in the food he was selling at the dictates of a tyranny, whether employer or Government authority. It was a challenge to the morality, the spiritual sense, the conscience of the people. But in another way it affected the Labour movement in a manner which had not been quite realised. In refusing to participate in certain work of an abominable kind they were making an assertion that as workmen they had a right to be conscious co-operators in the end that was being sought; that in their work they were not merely cogs in the industrial machine, but were human beings, and had a right to know what was the end of the work, the purpose of the industry in which they were engaged. That was a claim which he contended was even greater in its import than the other claim, which was of a patriotic kind. The consequences, therefore, were all the greater. They had to decide whether freedom of action of the people was worth the sacrifice it entailed.

SIX MONTHS AGO AND NOW.

There was another argument that might be placed before them, though he did not know whether he should mention it. It was this. They knew that a sign of wavering would be hailed with delight

all over the country. They knew that, while there might have been some doubts and hesitations six months ago as to the purpose in which the new armies were being imported there was no doubt to-day as to the purpose for which they were imported.

They knew that there was an attempt to drive the country and the mass of the people into open revolt. They knew there was an attempt to break up the solidarity of this nation.

They knew what was happening day after day throughout the by the Churchills and the Geddes. If, as the Church of England clergymen said the other day in the Press, they "stuck it," the forces of righteousness throughout the world would rally to their support. Darkness and trouble faced them. If they decided that the sacrifice was demanded by the end sought, they all believed that righteousness would prevail. If they did not believe that—if they had no faith in that—let them bow to the god of war.

Mr. O'Flanagan (Dublin) said the issues of the present struggle were stupendous as far as the future history of Labour in Ireland was concerned. From past experience they were aware they could not expect sympathy in their struggle from across the Channel. He was of opinion there should be an individual ballot amongst the individual members of all Unions affiliated through the Irish Labour Party and Trades Union Congress. If Irish organised Labour determined to carry on the fight, each man would be a participant, in so far as he recorded his vote. He moved that the question of continuing the munitions strike be decided by individual vote.

On the suggestion of the Chairman, Mr. O'Flanagan decided to defer his motion for the present.

WHAT RAILWAYMEN "KNOW IN THEIR HEART AND SOUL."

Mr. T. C. Daly (Broadstone) said that at the Court of Conscience Conference a delegate declared—"We are going to fight on." Two days previously that very man came to him and asked him to try and effect a settlement. That was the class of heroics they had to deal with to-day.

The railwaymen would never be found wanting in their duty to their beloved country. They were not afraid of the issue, but they were not going to be content with false talk about fighting on when they knew in their heart and soul they could not in the present circumstances.

Could anyone seriously suggest a continuation of the struggle would end in the defeat of the British Government. (A Voice—"Oh, yes.") "Well," remarked Mr. Daly, "I am glad there is one optimist in the hall." (Several Voices—"Yes, and five or six hundred.").

Proceeding, Mr. Daly said that very shortly fifteen or sixteen thousand railwaymen would be unemployed. To support them would, in his opinion, be an absolute impossibility. If the Congress

ordered the fight to be carried on he would fall in with that order, and they would not have a more sincere or honest advocate; but he feared such a fight would end in disaster.

"If this fight continues," he added, "and we plunge Ireland into an abyss of misery and starvation, how can we expect support from an impoverished country? Can we do it? I hope so, but I am not optimistic enough to think it.

VITAL TO LABOUR.

Mr. Hart (Dockers' Union) appealed to the Congress to look at the situation from the point of view of the people who were suffering, and those who were likely to suffer. The idea of the Government was to bring about starvation and break the spirit of the Irish people through their children. If men were thrown out of employment, and if they saw their little children going hungry, they would clamour for a settlement. The railwaymen would not alone be affected by the struggle. The industries of the country would be involved. The present question was one of vital importance to Ireland, and was vital to Labour.

Mr. Bermingham, Irish Secretary of the National Union of railwaymen, pointed out that whatever the future might be, the railwaymen had a right to be proud of the stand they had taken. They were imbued with the great ideal that they would not handle instruments intended for the destruction of their people. If Ireland could only be saved by the action of the railwaymen, theirs would be one of the greatest efforts ever made. Had the strike prevented distribution throughout the country of munitions of war? No, he declared. At least, anyhow, they were not conveyed by railwaymen.

If the struggle was continued it would mean that at least fifteen thousand railwaymen—all except those in the North-East corner—would be within a week or two thrown on the industrial scrap heap.

"MOCK HEROICS."

If the strike could be confined to the number of men now involved, said Mr. Bermingham, we could keep them out indefinitely. But, he proceeded, there would be a much larger issue, and support would have to be given to a far larger number of people who would be affected. Not alone the railways, but the country's industries would have to close down. There would be thousands swelling the ranks of the unemployed. Even the farming community would be vitally affected. Mock heroics, declared the speaker, cannot keep all these alive. Very little privation has taken place amongst railwaymen so far, but under altered circumstances that condition of affairs could not exist. He did not want to say to the railwaymen to do this, that, or the other. Whatever decision was arrived at, the onus would rest on the men themselves, not on the Executive.

" PRINCIPLE FIRST."

Miss Bennett, Irish Women Workers' Union, said the question would be before many of them—What would be the position of the women and children in the struggle? She had heard the matter discussed that morning, but what would a little suffering be when compared with the winning of the freedom of the country? (Applause.) They should put principle first, because the principle now involved not only affected the entire nation, but the whole of the Labour movement in the country (hear, hear). If they were not now true to the great principle they would give a set-back to the Labour movement for a long time, and leave the workers to be again the slaves of the capitalist classes. They were all prepared to meet extra problems in order to gain a great principle (hear, hear).

Mrs. Buckley, Irish Women Workers' Union, said the women and children of Ireland were not going to whinge at the prospects of having a little less bread and butter (hear, hear).

It would not be such a great disaster at all if the railways were closed down for some time, because the railways were the main arteries through which the Irish life blood flowed and through which the food was conveyed to England. If they could only make England feel the hunger pinch they would have the English on the hip (hear, hear).

" WOULD BE DESPISED."

Miss McCarthy (Waterford) said if she went home and told her brothers and sisters that they would have enough to eat through their country being sold she would be for ever despised (applause). They would let their children die—but there was no fear of that—rather than sell the freedom of their country (applause).

Miss Cahalan (Drapers) uttered a protest against the bringing of women and children into the discussion. The women and children were quite prepared to take their place in the present struggle, for if the present crisis was ended the British Government would soon get them some other difficulty to face.

Mr. O'Donnell said he represented the workers of Derry, and he would tell the Congress that in the North they would carry the foodstuffs in their bare feet on their backs through the country rather than give in in the present fight (applause).

Mr. Limerick (N.U.R., Derry) said on behalf of the railway workers of Derry he came there with a mandate for peace. They had fought a good fight and a good battle (hear, hear). He asked them not to be carried away by the speeches of those who had no stake in the country. He asked all present to come to a proper conclusion, and that was for peace (applause).

LIFE IN CORK.

Mr. Walsh (Cork No. 3 Branch, N.U.R.) said they were told that they were heading headlong to total destruction if they did not now give in and resume work, but he would welcome that destruction rather than live in the servitude they were living in at

the present time. In the South and in Cork those who had to attend Labour meetings by night had to go to their homes by the highways and byways to evade the armed troops who were following them about. When they heard the tread of these troops outside the doors at night time they did not know what moment their doors would be smashed open and themselves taken out, to what fate they did not know. He was for a continuance of the fight.

Mr. Byrne (N.U.R., Bagenalstown) said he hoped it would be the unanimous decision of the meeting that the fight would be carried on, and not have it said in later years that, like the soupers of old, they sold their country for a bowl of soup or something like that. The shutting down of the railways would mean a great commercial loss to England, and when England was faced with commercial losses her commercial mind was bound to advocate some changes in that respect.

Mr. O'Carroll (Railway Clerks) drew attention to the statements in the Press that the Irish railwaymen had placed their case in the hands of Mr. Thomas for settlement. If that was not the case it was the business of responsible officials of the N.U.R. to contradict it, but they had not done so. Mr. O'Carroll said there was a marked similarity between the resolutions passed at Dun Laoghaire and Longford.

"SINISTER AGENCIES."

Proceeding, he pointed out that there was plenty of food in the country to feed the Irish people, and if they starved it was their own fault.

"Whether you open the railways or not," declared Mr. O'Carroll, "the militaristic spirit ruling this country is determined on having no industries in the country. It occurs to me there are sinister agencies at work. Those who endure most will win this struggle."

Mr. James Kelly (N.U.R., Claremorris) said he would wish to ask Mr. Daly one question. He wanted to know if it was a fact that Mr. Daly had spread amongst the railway employes at Broadstone the rumour that every man could go back to work if he wished to do so.

Mr. Daly—No; that is an absolute falsehood.

On resumption after luncheon the Chairman intimated that Mr. Johnson had received the following telegram:—

"Cork Chamber of Commerce.—A general meeting protests against the threatened closing down of the railways of the country and the limitation of motor service. Unanimous expression of opinion that Irish railway directors should work the railways, notwithstanding the Government's threat to withdraw subsidy (applause), believing such action would be supported by the railway stockholders and employes, who, we believe, would be prepared to make any sacrifice to prevent such a national disaster.

"CLERY, Secretary."

(Applause.)

" ENOUGH OF ORATORY."

Mr. Carr, President of the Limerick Trades Council, said they had had enough of oratory, and should anxiously turn their attention to the consideration of what nature their support for the persons affected by the present struggle should be, and would it be successful. It was no use deciding on a continuation of the strike if they were not able to support the railwaymen. They should consider the question, could they support the railwaymen, and, if so, make definite arrangements in that direction.

Mr. Keown (N.U.R., Mullingar) said that when he suggested at the Court of Conscience meeting that an honourable settlement might be arrived at he did not get much support. When they appointed a Committee in Mullingar to try and arrange means of transport the workmen attended a meeting of the Committee, but the traders did not. They sent a motor lorry to Dublin for three tons of coal, and the carriage of that coal cost £11. On behalf of his branch he suggested that the Lord Mayor of Dublin, the greatest arbitrator Ireland ever produced, Mr. Arthur Griffith, Mr. Thomas (Lissey), representing the railway workers, and Mr. Thomas Johnson be appointed by the Congress to go forward and effect an honourable settlement.

WHERE ARE THE FARMERS

Mr. Anthony (Cork Typographical Association) said there was no constructive scheme put forward as to how they were to defeat the military machine of Ireland. He commented upon the absence from the Congress of the farming element. They had no guarantee that the farmers would come to their rescue, although they and their sons had been saved from conscription. He had intended to move that delegates representative of Dail Eireann and the Irish Labour Party and Trades Union Congress should confer on the present crisis, but in view of the motion put forward on behalf of the railwaymen he would withdraw. He was very much impressed by the moral courage shown at the meeting, and he commended to the serious consideration of the delegates the suggestion in favour of which he was withdrawing his proposal.

PART TAKEN BY THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE.

Mr. Thomas Farren said the railwaymen had a right to be proud of the fight they had made, and they of the National Executive did their best to assist them during the fight.

Instead of spurring on the railwaymen, they did all that was possible to keep them in check, consistent with the principle that was at stake, and, had the railwaymen got their head at the commencement of the strike, the Conference that day would never have been called to consider the possibility of shutting down the railways, because the railways would have been shut down long ago (hear, hear).

They of the National Executive were fully alive to their responsibilities. The job of the Executive was not a light one, for they were shouldering a heavy responsibility, and, after weighing the whole facts of the case, they were of the opinion that the fight should go on (applause). It was stated that there would be 45,000 men out of work on the railways if the fight went on, but there would be more than 150,000 other workers involved, so that if the fight went on it would not be a railwayman's fight; it would be the fight of a nation (applause). The ultimate decision at the present moment rested with the railwaymen, who, if they had the assurance that the people of Ireland would stand behind them, would prove themselves as good as any other body of men in the country.

THE OFFICIAL RESOLUTION.

Proceeding, Mr. Farren said he had done his best during the progress of the fight to restrain as far as possible the railwaymen from doing unwise things. "I believe," he added, "that this fight has become bound up in the national fight of the country, and I believe for the preservation of the Irish people it is absolutely necessary and essential that we should stand together and show a bold front (applause). If we continue for a short time I believe the other side would bend and break before the will of the Irish people."

Mr. Farren moved the following resolution:—

"That this all-Ireland conference of Labour delegates, representing all trades and sections of the Irish working class, endorse the action of the National Executive in calling us together in the crisis arising from the threat to close down the railways. We recognise that the action of the railway and dock workers in refusing, on their own initiative and without outside pressure, to handle weapons of war or convey armed men on the railways was a decision inspired by patriotic and unselfish motives, and that the country has freely and generously supplied the funds necessary to sustain the men in their struggle. We also recognise

fully the sacrifices that will be entailed by continuance of the resistance against the tyranny should the railwaymen adhere to their decision, and we solemnly call on all our fellow-citizens of all classes to throw all their resources of wealth and services into the struggle, and we authorise the National Executive to appoint representatives on the Lord Mayor's Committee to act with other representative citizens on the Committee to organise the defence and preservation of the national life now being menaced by the withdrawal of transport facilities at the order of the British military authorities."

Mr. Farren pointed out that that resolution hung on the decision of the railwaymen, who had the right to decide the question for themselves.

Mr. Hickey (Cork) seconded Mr. Farren's resolution.

THE RAILWAY CLERKS.

Mr. Henderson (N.U.R., Athlone), said it should be distinctly understood if they were continuing the fight that the whole Trade Union movement should be in it. Why leave it to the engine-drivers, guards and the workmen of the railways to refuse to carry armed troops, when the clerks, the members of the Railway Clerks' Union, issued these people tickets. (Applause.) The present question was a national one, and should be dealt with as such. A representative body of traders wanted to come there that day to discuss the matter, but he understood that Mr. Johnson did not consider it right they should do so. He ridiculed the idea put forward by some of the younger trades unionists that they could go into the shops and seize food. Where would they be, he asked, when the armed forces of the Crown were around? (Applause.)

Mr. Kelleher (N.U.R., Athlone) proposed as an amendment that, as the railway workers were only a section of the nation that the whole matter be referred to a meeting representative of every section of the Irish people, whose duty it was to review the situation and make provisions for those whose sole means of existence were jeopardised.

Mr. Kenny (Broadstone N.U.R. No. 2), Dublin, seconded Mr. Kelleher's amendment.

Miss Maloney said the material question was whether they were prepared to keep the body of Ireland alive at the expense of the soul. They were not waging the fight because they had a chance of success, but because they were right, and that was the only basis upon which they should wage any fight. She did not believe there would be any good result obtained by sending a deputation to the railway directors, because, if the train service was resumed, the Government would still insist on the carrying of troops and munitions. She believed the food problem could be met. The National Executive would not

advise the continuation of the struggle without having first given every consideration to every aspect of the situation.

THE CONSCRIPTION FIGHT.

Mr. Thomas Irwin said it was solely a matter for the railwaymen to arrive at a definite decision as to what attitude they would adopt.

Mr. Mitchell (Motor Drivers' and Mechanics' Union) said he did not see why the same tactics should not be adopted as was adopted during the conscription fight. If the present strike was developed properly no food would be got out of the country and the English people would be fighting for their Christmas dinner, as they did before (applause). He supported Mr. Farren's motion. He would like to know how many railwaymen would be taken back if the strike was over to-morrow. The country was as willing to fight the present crisis as they were the conscription crisis (hear, hear).

"A NEW WEAPON."

Mr. Cathal O'Shannon said whoever took responsibility for the calling off of the existing strike should of necessity have the confidence of the people resident in every part of the country. There was no one who did not realise that the consequence of the continuance of the strike would mean. It might mean the lives of five out of ten people from Newry to Cork, and they were facing it. They realised that it would mean privation, want and suffering to each individual.

It might mean on the body of the people such want, suffering and privation as has never been experienced since the days of the great famine—and may be it was not experienced even then.

"In my opinion," proceeded Mr. O'Shannon, "all the tanks, the machine-guns, the 'Black and Tans,' and all their bombs cannot, in the long run, win out against a new weapon if we decide to adopt a new weapon."

"It would be better," he declared, "that we all go down in this fight than that we should stain our souls, our movement, and our whole generation with dishonour" (applause).

Mr. Hughes (Dublin) followed.

BALLOT SUGGESTED.

Mr. Houlihan (Dublin Supervisors' Branch) said it was only fair that the railwaymen should decide themselves whether they should continue the fight or not. A ballot for or against the continuance of the strike should be taken on all the Irish railways.

The Chairman said the railwaymen always had that right and no one wanted to take it from them. If the railwaymen wanted to decide their own issue, no compulsion was used on the railwaymen, and they always had the right suggested by Mr. Houlihan.

Mr. Redmond (Irish Engineers) said if the time had arrived that the railwaymen should surrender the National Executive would be the first to tell them to do so (hear, hear). He hoped the majority of the trade unionists of the country were still prepared to suffer in order to win. He thought the speeches of the women that day were symptomatic of the feelings of the women of the country, who were prepared to suffer very much more than they were suffering at the present time (applause). He asked those present to vote for Mr. Farren's resolution—the resolution of the National Executive—because he thought they had found a way out of the difficulty, as they knew more about the inner workings of Dullin Castle than anyone present knew (laughter and some applause).

Mr. Redmond explained that his remarks were not meant to convey what some people might think they did, but by their actions in the past they showed they were very good prophets (hear, hear).

The Chairman suggested, and Congress agreed, that the time had come for a vote to be taken. Ample opportunity had been given for expressions of opinion from all parties interested.

Mr. Kelleher intimated that he would withdraw his amendment.

The announcement was received with loud applause.

No further amendments forthcoming, the Chairman put the resolution, and it was declared carried, with only two dissentients.

"VERY SERIOUS IMPORT."

Mr. Johnson said he had been asked by the National Executive to move a resolution of very serious import to Trades Unionism as such. It was asking all organised labour in Ireland to make the initial sacrifice of many sacrifices that they may be called upon to make. He moved:—

"This Conference of Trade Union representatives, called together to deal with the crisis involved by the threatened closing down of the railways, having decided that the struggle shall continue, recognising the gravity of the situation that faces the country, and the necessity for all sections of the people to rally to the defence and preservation of the national life, earnestly urges on the trades unions at present involved in strikes for improved conditions of labour to withdraw their demand without prejudice to future action." (Applause.)

Mr. M. Kenny seconded the resolution, with which Miss Maloney associated herself.

Miss Maloney referred to the desirability of supporting Irish-manufactured goods in the present crisis.

The resolution was declared carried, there being only one dissentient.

The Chairman having announced the conclusion of the Congress.

Mr. Johnson issued a few important instructions to the delegates. He advised them to take particular note of people who would be endeavouring to lay in unduly large stocks. Profiteering, and taking advantage of the necessities of the people, would not, he declared, be condoned. They had, he added, to make preparations for living on localities as far as possible. It was not necessary that unemployment should continue provided they all took their share in the work to be done.

With a reorganisation of employment it would go far to remove many of the fears of privation that had been prophesied.

The discussions on this subject then terminated.

STATEMENT OF ACCOUNTS TO 30th JUNE, 1921.

INCOME.		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Balance from last year's Account ...		1582	9	5			
Affiliation Fees—							
A/c 1920-21	...	1443	18	6			
A/c 1921-22	...	220	6	10			
					1664	5	4
Delegation Fees:—							
A/c 1920 Congress	...	171	0	0			
A/c 1921 "	...	14	0	0			
					185	0	0
Sales of Reports							
...	...	19	19	0			
" Pamphlets							
...	...	362	16	10			
					382	15	10
" (A/c outstanding							
Bank Interest	...	75	0	0			
					60	14	7
Special Funds (" White Cross ") :							
Collected by " Forward,"							
Glasgow	...	350	0	0			
Collected by Scottish Congress							
P.C.	...	117	5	6			
Collected by U.I.L., West							
Gorton	...	25	0	0			

EXPENDITURE.		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Cork Congress Expenses:—							
Audit Expenses	...	7	5	6			
Congress Fees	...	36	0	0			
Reporting Congress	...	30	7	4			
Sundry Expenses	...	15	8	0			
					89	0	10
Belfast Expelled Workers:—							
Donation	...				50	0	0
Miners' Children Fund (" Daily Herald ")							
	...				100	0	0
National Executive Expenses:—							
N E. Meetings	...	120	9	4			
Other Meetings, Delegates, etc	...	234	16	6			
					355	5	10
Printing and Advertising:—							
General Account	...	369	6	8			
Pamphlets	...	549	2	1			
					918	8	9
Labour Research Department					20	0	0

STATEMENT OF ACCOUNTS TO 30th JUNE, 1921.

INCOME.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Balance from last year's Account...	1582	9	5			
Affiliation Fees—						
A/c 1920-21	1443	18	6			
A/c 1921-22	220	6	10			
				1664	5	4
Delegation Fees:—						
A/c 1920 Congress	171	0	0			
A/c 1921 "	14	0	0			
				185	0	0
Sales of Reports	19	19	0			
" Pamphlets	362	16	10			
				382	15	10
" " (A/c outstanding	75	0	0)			
Bank Interest				60	14	7
Special Funds ("White Cross"):						
Collected by "Forward,"						
Glasgow	350	0	0			
Collected by Scottish Congress						
P.C.	117	5	6			
Collected by U.I.L., West						
Gorton	25	0	0			

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	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Cork Congress Expenses:—						
Audit Expenses	7	5	6			
Congress Fees	36	0	0			
Reporting Congress	30	7	4			
Sundry Expenses	15	8	0			
				89	0	10
Belfast Expelled Workers:—						
Donation				50	0	0
Miners' Children Fund ("Daily Herald")				100	0	0
National Executive Expenses:—						
N.E. Meetings	120	9	4			
Other Meetings, Delegates, etc	234	16	6			
				355	5	10
Printing and Advertising:—						
General Account	369	6	8			
Pamphlets	549	2	1			
				918	8	9
Labour Research Department ...				20	0	0

Collected by Bradford Labour Party	...	...	25 0 0
			<hr/> 517 5 6
			<hr/> £4892 10 8

Sundry Office Expenses:—			
Postages,			
Telegrams, Stationery, etc....			140 4 9
Office Rent	...	...	52 0 0
Salaries: Secretary	...	£442 6 2	
„ Typist	...	180 0 0	
„ Extra Typing	...	11 0 0	
			<hr/> 633 6 2
Subscriptions A/c White Cross			517 5 6
			<hr/> 2875 11 10
Balance: Cash at Banks, Deposit		1115 18 3	
„ Current A/c	...	364 4 9	
„ in hand	...	36 15 10	
			<hr/> 1516 18 10
			<hr/> £4892 10 8

AUDITOR'S REPORT.

We have examined the books of the Irish Labour Party and Trade Union Congress, and certify the above Statement of Accounts as correct. Vouchers were produced for all items of expenditure and books were kept in very good order.

J. J. REDMOND,
WILLIAM DAVIN, Auditors.

22nd July, 1921.

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

Name.	Full Executive (10 Meetings)		Dublin Resident Committee— (19 Meetings)		Total Expenses and rail fare as per scale.			Other Meetings.		£ s. d.
	Present	Absent	Present	Absent						
Thos. Foran	8	2	15	4	1	5	0	J. T. O'Farrell, Deputation to Belfast	...	2 13 2
Thos. MacPartlin	7	3	11	8	8	5	0	J. T. O'Farrell, Labour Party Meetings, S. Wales	...	8 14 8
J. T. O'Farrell	7	3	13	6	1	5	0	L. J. Duffy, Expenses to Tralee	...	3 15 6
Miss Timmon	9	1	16	3	2	10	0	L. J. Duffy, Labour Party Meetings, England	...	11 13 9
Wm. O'Brien	8	2	17	2	2	10	0	Thos. MacPartlin, Expenses Manchester	...	3 12 0
T. O. Daly	5	5	8	11	6	8	0	Thos. Johnson, Expenses Belfast (August and Sept.)	...	5 6 7
L. J. Larkin	8	2	—	—	31	0	4	do. Expenses, Belfast (January)	...	3 2 8
O. O'Shannon	2	8	4	15	2	10	0	do. Expenses Manchester (October)	...	4 14 5
Thos. Farren	10	—	17	2	2	10	0	do. Expenses London (September)	...	8 4 8
L. J. Duffy	6	4	10	9	2	10	0	do. Expenses Cork (October)	...	5 19 9
Geo. Nason	10	—	—	—	42	16	0	do. Expenses Labour Party Meetings, England and Wales	...	32 9 5
D. Cullen	10	—	10	9	1	5	0	Thos. Johnson, Expenses Waterford (May)	...	2 10 6
Wm. Cummins	8	2	—	—	13	5	0	Joint Delegation Expenses:		
Thos. Johnson	10	—	18	1	2	10	0	July 1920.—London: Messrs. Farren, MacPartlin, O'Brien, O'Shannon, O'Farrell and Johnson	...	38 10 1
								September, 1920.—London: Messrs. O'Brien and O'Shannon	...	17 13 2
								October, 1920.—London: Messrs. MacPartlin, Farren, O'Shannon, Johnson	...	31 18 1
								December, 1920.—London: Messrs. MacPartlin, Farren, O'Brien, and Johnson	...	41 18 1
								May, 1921.—London: Messrs. Foran and Johnson	...	11 19 4

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

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

Name.	Full Executive Dublin Resident (10 Meetings)		Committee— (19 Meetings)		Total Expenses and rail fare as per scale.			Other Meetings.		£ s. d.
	Present	Absent	Present	Absent						
Thos. Foran	...	8	2	15	4	1	5	0	J. T. O'Farrell, Deputation to Belfast	2 13 2
Thos. MacPartlin	...	7	3	11	8	8	5	0	J. T. O'Farrell, Labour Party Meetings, S. Wales	8 14 8
J. T. O'Farrell	...	7	3	13	6	1	5	0	L. J. Duffy, Expenses to Tralee	3 15 6
Miss Timmon	...	9	1	16	3	2	10	0	L. J. Duffy, Labour Party Meetings, England	11 13 9
Wm. O'Brien	...	8	2	17	2	2	10	0	Thos. MacPartlin, Expenses Manchester	3 12 0
T. O. Daly	...	5	5	8	11	6	8	0	Thos. Johnson, Expenses Belfast (August and Sept.)	5 6 7
L. J. Larkin	...	8	2	—	—	31	0	4	do. Expenses, Belfast (January)	3 2 8
O. O'Shannon	...	2	8	4	15	2	10	0	do. Expenses Manchester (October)	4 14 5
Thos. Farren	...	10	—	17	2	2	10	0	do. Expenses London (September)	8 4 8
L. J. Duffy	...	6	4	10	9	2	10	0	do. Expenses Cork (October)	5 19 9
Geo. Nason	...	10	—	—	—	42	16	0	do. Expenses Labour Party Meetings, England and Wales	32 9 5
D. Cullen	...	10	—	10	9	1	5	0	Thos. Johnson, Expenses Waterford (May)	2 10 6
Wm. Cummins	...	8	2	—	—	13	5	0	Joint Delegation Expenses:	
Thos. Johnson	...	10	—	18	1	2	10	0	July 1920.—London: Messrs. Farren, MacPartlin, O'Brien, O'Shannon, O'Farrell and Johnson	38 10 1
									September, 1920.—London: Messrs. O'Brien and O'Shannon	17 13 2
									October, 1920.—London: Messrs. MacPartlin, Farren, O'Shannon, Johnson	31 18 1
									December, 1920.—London: Messrs. MacPartlin, Farren, O'Brien, and Johnson	41 18 1
									May, 1921.—London: Messrs. Foran and Johnson	11 19 4

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

20
" MUNITIONS OF WAR " FUND.

AUDITOR'S REPORT.

13 Westmoreland Street,

Dublin, 5th May, 1921.

To the Committee of Management,
Munitions of War Fund,
Dublin.

Dear Sirs,

We beg to report that we have audited the Munitions of War Fund for the period of its inception to the 30th April, 1921, and we send you herewith a certified copy of Receipts and Disbursements Account for that period.

The first Subscriptions were received on the 18th June, 1920, and from that date to the date of the close of the audit period the total amount received was £118,234:13:9. In addition, Bank interest to the amount of £691:16:2 was earned, making a total of £118,926:9:11.

The Disbursements, in the way of Victimization Pay, were in nearly all cases made payable to the Secretary of the local Union concerned, the exceptions being where Grants were made to a few individuals. We have shown the amounts disbursed for Victimization in alphabetical order arranged according to localities. The total amount so disbursed was £117,265:0:10.

Representatives of the various Unions were called together on two or three occasions and their expenses were paid. This is shown under the heading of " Conference Expenses " and amounted to £245:17:11.

The Administration Expenses of the Fund came to £908:14:2. This works out at 1.86 pence on every £1 paid for Victimization, and is equal to 1.83 pence on the amount received. This low cost reflects the highest credit upon those concerned with the administration of the Fund.

There is a balance remaining in Bank of £506:17:0.

The Receipts and Disbursements were vouched to our entire satisfaction.

We are, Dear Sirs,

Yours faithfully,

D. O'CONNOR & CO.

MUNITIONS OF WAR FUND.

RECEIPTS.

		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
1921.							
Apr. 30.	To Subscriptions ...	118	234	13	9		
" "	" Interest allowed						
" "	" by Bank ...	691	16	2			
					1189	26	9 11

Carried forward 118926 9 11

DISBURSEMENTS.

		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Amiens St.	N.U.R. ...	586	10	0			
" "	A.S.L.E.&F. ...	1275	10	0			
					1862	0	0
Armagh	N.U.R. ...				42	0	0
Athenry	do. ...				294	5	0
Athlone	do. ...				2575	15	0
Baliybofey	do. ...				94	10	0
Ballybrophy	do. ...				1104	5	0
Ballyshannon	do. ...				50	5	0
Bandon	do. ...				121	15	0
Beifast	do. ...				374	10	0
Bray	do. ...				301	10	0
Broadstone	A.S.L.E.&F. ...	371	10	0			
"	No. 1 N.U.R. ...	1280	10	0			
"	No. 2 do. ...	162	5	0			
					1814	5	0
Burtonport	do. ...				462	10	0
Cahir	do. ...				10	0	0
Castlebar	do. ...				64	10	0
Castleblayney	do. ...				363	10	0
Cavan	do. ...				865	0	0
Carried forward	...				10400	10	0

MUNITIONS OF WAR FUND—continued.

RECEIPTS.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Brought forward	118926	9	11

Carried forward ... 118926 9 11

DISBURSEMENTS.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Brought forward	...	...	...	10400	10	0
Clara N.U.R.	...	...	...	107	0	0
Claremorris do.	...	...	...	31	10	0
Clones A.S.L.E.&F.	...	490	10 0			
" N.U.R.	...	429	12 6			
Clonmel Workers' Council	...			920	2	6
Cobh I.T.G.W.U.	...			1111	0	0
Collooney N.U.R.	...			59	0	0
Cork A.S.L.E.&F.	...	1073	18 6	13	0	0
" No. 2 N.U.R.	...	1129	5 0			
" No. 3 do.	...	2433	10 0			
" Automobile Drivers	...	10	0 0			
" Dockers' Union	...	4	15 0			
Derry N.U.R.	...	117	0 0	4651	8	6
" do.	...	1747	0 0			
" A.S.L.E.&F.	...	66	0 0			
Drogheda N.U.R.	...	541	0 0	1930	0	0
" A.S.L.E.&F.	...	179	0 0			
Dublin No. 1 I.T.G.W.U.	...	79	0 0	720	0	
" Unattached Members	...	30	0 0			
Dundalk A.S.L.E.&F.	...	1368	0 0	109	0	
" N.U.R.	...	934	5 0			
Dunleary N.U.R.	...			2302	5	
Dunmanway do.	...			66	10	0
Ennis do.	...	1657	0 0	366	10	0
" Labour Union	...	92	10 0			
Enniskillen N.U.R.	...			1749	10	0
Ennistymon do.	...			72	10	0
				76	0	0
Carried forward	...	...	...	24685	16	0

MUNITIONS OF WAR FUND—continued.

RECEIPTS.

	£	s. d.	£	s. d.
Brought forward	118926	9 11

Carried forward ... 118926 9 11

DISBURSEMENTS.

	£	s. d.	£	s. d.
Brought forward	...	...	24685	16 0
Fermoy N.U.R.	...	...	40	0 0
Galway do.	...	...	271	0 0
Glanworth do.	...	...	4	15 0
Grand Canal St. do.	...	...	28	10 0
Inchicore I.T.G.W.U.	...	36 0 0		
" N.U.R.	...	1798 19 0		
" A.S.L.E. & F.	...	315 5 0		
Kildare N.U.R.	...		2150	4 0
Kilfree Junction do.	...		118	0 0
Kilkenny do.	...		77	0 0
Killarney do.	...		628	0 0
Kingsbridge do.	...		50	10 0
Letterkenny do.	...		4916	0 0
Limerick Trades Council	...		1070	5 0
Limerick Junction N.U.R.	...		16525	10 0
Mallow do.	...	1377 5 0	584	15 0
" A.S.L.E. & F.	...	296 10 0		
Maryborough N.U.R.	...		1673	15 0
Mullingar do.	...		91	0 0
Newry A.S.L.E. & F.	...		301	10 0
Newtownbutler N.U.R.	...		106	0 0
North Wall do.	...		79	0 0
Omagh do.	...		35862	0 0
Pallas do.	...		15	0 0
Rosslare Harbour do.	...		60	15 0
Sligo do.	...		10588	10 0
Strabane do.	...		628	0 0
Terenure do.	...		131	0 0
			21	0 0

Carried forward ... 100677 15 0

MUNITIONS OF WAR FUND—Continued.

RECEIPTS.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Brought forward	1189	26	9 11

118926 9 11

DISBURSEMENTS.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Brought forward	...	...	...	1006	77	15 0
Thurles N.U.R.	...	...	...	128	15	0
Tralee A.S.L.E.&F.	...	708	1 0			
" I.T.G.W.U.	...	19	5 0			
" N.U.R.	...	1587	1 6	2314	7	6
Tuam N.U.R.	...	2313	0 0			
" R.C.A.	...	18	10 0			
" Automobile Drivers	...	25	0 0	2356	10	0
Waterford N.U.R.	...	4991	0 0			
" A.S.L.E.&F.	...	5000	13 4	9991	13	4
Westland Row N.U.R.	...			316	10	0
Westport do.	...			15	15	0
Wexford do.	...	1456	5 0			
" I.T.G.W.U.	...	7	10 0	1463	15	0
1921.						
Apr. 30. Total amount of Vic-				117265	0	10
timisation Pay...				245	17	11
" " Conference Expenses						
				117510	18	9
ADMINISTRATION EXPENSES.						
" " Salaries and Wages	...	444	10 0			
" " Printing, Postage	...					
and Stationery	...	84	18 6			
" " Advertising	...	365	9 0			
" " Cheque Books	...	13	16 8	908	14	2
" " Balance in Bank	...			506	17	0
				118926	9	11

We have compared the foregoing Receipts and Disbursements Account with the Books and Vouchers submitted to us, and we certify them to be correct.

13 Westmoreland Street,
Dublin, 5th May, 1921.

D. O'CONNOR & CO.,
Chartered Accountants, Auditors.

IRISH LABOUR PARTY AND TRADE UNION CONGRESS.

Opening Session—August 1st, 1921.

The Twenty-Seventh Annual Meeting of the Irish Labour Party and Trade Union Congress was held in the Supper Room of the Mansion House, Dawson Street, Dublin, opening on Monday, August 1st, under the presidency of Mr. Thomas Foran, Chairman of the National Executive.

The first day's sitting began at 11 o'clock.

Alderman W. T. Cosgrave, T.D., Minister for Local Government, Dail Eireann, as the deputy of the Lord Mayor of Dublin, was present to extend a welcome on behalf of the Municipality to the delegates.

The President, addressing the assembly, said:—My first duty is to call upon Alderman Cosgrave, T.D., acting as locum tenens for the Lord Mayor, who is away on some very important business and regrets that he is unable to attend in person, to extend to you a Civil welcome. Alderman Cosgrave will welcome the delegates on behalf of the citizens of Dublin. Alderman Cosgrave needs no introduction. He is so well known that it needs no particular reminder from me to ensure for him a cordial reception at your hands, and I know you will be very happy to hear from him the expression of a civic welcome to the delegates of this Congress (applause).

THE CIVIC WELCOME.

Alderman Cosgrave, T.D., said:—Mr. President and fellow-citizens and fellow-countrymen, at the request of the Lord Mayor of Dublin, who is unavoidably absent because of a very important engagement that he had undertaken, it is my pleasing duty to welcome the delegates of the Irish Trades Union Congress to the Mansion House, and on behalf of the citizens of Dublin to extend to you a hearty *Cead mile failte*, and to express the hope that your deliberations will be to your satisfaction and to the benefit of the country. The Lord Mayor was particularly anxious to be present here to-day, but as you are all aware his Lordship's time and attention have been absorbed by many public matters in the last few weeks, and accordingly he asked me to attend here to-day, and on his behalf as Lord Mayor, and on behalf of the citizens, I wish you a very hearty welcome to the city (applause). I had intended to have said a couple of words about a very important civic service—the housing question. It is an important

problem that affects more than the city of Dublin, but I think, without some notice, it would be unfair to bring the matter in that way before your attention. Besides, it is one of the items you may have for consideration on your agenda. But, speaking as an old representative of the City of Dublin, and one who has had experience of the local government of the country, I think you will agree with me that it is one of the most pressing needs of the hour, and that when peace does come about permanently it is one of the problems, whoever is at the helm of State, that will require the cordial co-operation of the working classes in its solution (hear, hear). Without saying anything further, permit me to extend to you a very hearty welcome to the Mansion House (applause).

RECEPTION COMMITTEE'S WELCOME.

The President—I now call upon Mr. Edward O'Carroll, of the Local Reception Committee, to extend a welcome to the delegates.

Mr. O'Carroll said—On behalf of the Reception Committee, I desire to extend a very hearty welcome to the delegates. The coming together of representatives of Labour from all parts of the country is a very important matter at any time. I think you will agree that the present is no ordinary occasion. Consequently the assembling of the representatives of Labour in Congress to-day, and for the next few days, will be a momentous event in the history of the country as well as in the history of the Labour movement. After all, the Reception Committee only dealt with the social side of the Labour movement, and when we remember the trying hard work the delegates will be faced with during the Congress, I hope that in the few hours you can snatch from your deliberations the Reception Committee will be able to supply you with something that will occupy your time pleasantly. The Reception Committee would like to have made far more extensive preparations than they have been able to do, but you will realise that circumstances to which I need not refer have considerably handicapped us in that matter, and with the time at our disposal we hope that what we have been able to do will enable you to carry away some happy recollections of the Congress of 1921. On behalf, therefore, of the Reception Committee, I bid you welcome, and I hope that your moments of recreation and joy as well as those occupied in the business of the Congress will be a pleasure to all. Now that we are on the eve of great and important events in this country, we hope that when the day of victory comes Labour will take its proper place, and view with feelings of consolation and joy the fact that in the weary years through which we have passed Labour has played a great part and is entitled to participate in the joy and happiness that is sure to follow (applause).

The President—I am sure I am expressing the feelings of all the delegates here present in expressing our warm appreciation of the welcome extended to us to the Mansion House and to the City of Dublin. It is only what we expected, and when we get what we expect we are satisfied. Nevertheless, we are sincerely grateful to Alderman Cosgrave and Mr. Edward O'Carroll for their cordial good wishes expressed to us this morning.

ELECTION OF TELLERS.

The election of Tellers was next proceeded with,

The following were nominated:—Messrs. Ben Drum, Dublin; Joseph O'Neill, Dublin; J. Carr, Limerick; Thos. Mason, Dublin; Timothy Day, Cork. On a vote being taken, the following were elected—Mr. Mason, 128; Mr. Timothy Day, 127; Mr. Joseph O'Neill, 116; Mr. Ben Drum, 113; not elected, J. Carr, 100.

STANDING ORDERS COMMITTEE.

There were nine nominations for five places. The voting was as follows:—Mr. Eamonn Lynch (Transport Workers), 152; Mr. Edward O'Carroll (Railway Clerks), 149; Mr. D. R. Campbell (Belfast Trades Council), 131; Mr. James Carr (Limerick Trades Council), 100; Mr. Michael Somerville (Woodworkers), 71; Mr. James Casey (Limerick Trades Council), 59; Mr. Thomas Boyle (Vehicle Workers), 50; Miss Cahalan (Drapers' Assistants), 40; Mr. Richard Corish (Mayor of Wexford), 19.

Messrs. Lynch, O'Carroll, Campbell, Carr and Somerville were declared duly elected.

PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS.

The President then delivered his Address as follows:—

Comrades—We meet in most momentous times. If you will look back on the last occasion of our Congress meeting in Dublin you will find there is a certain similarity in the atmosphere. In 1914, when this Congress met in Dublin, the workers of the city were just recovering from a vicious combined attack of the employers and their agents in Dublin. There is a similar situation though on a very much larger and more important scale to-day. Not only is that true, but as well in this particular building the representatives of the Irish people are deliberating upon the carrying on of negotiations as equals with the representatives of the oppressors of this country for seven centuries. We in the Labour movement, sincerely hope that the outcome of these negotiations will mean peace and freedom for the people of Ireland. We as workers in this country have more interest in these negotiations, perhaps, than any other section of the community, for whatever the outcome of these negotiations, I think I can say, in your name, that if the present negotiators deem it advisable to

turn down the terms presented to them, they will have the co-operation of the Labour movement in any event that may follow (applause).

When this Congress last assembled in Dublin the chair was occupied by the General Secretary of the Union that I have the honour to represent (applause). He is now suffering for his labours on behalf of the workers of the world as a prisoner in the land of the free—America (laughter). These incidents complete the similarity between the atmosphere of to-day and the atmosphere of 1914, and let us hope while the atmosphere is similar that the results of the present negotiations will develop as much to the benefit of the country as a whole as did the events which happened in the period that has elapsed between the last meeting of this Congress in Dublin and the meeting we are having to-day.

In 1914, when Congress assembled, there were affiliated 48 Unions, and numerous others were not affiliated. These Unions represented a total Trades Union membership of 110,000. To-day we have 41 Trade Unions affiliated representing a membership of 300,000 (applause). That shows real progress not only numerically but in the direction of closer and more efficient organisation. The old cry of "fewer Unions and more Unionists" has certainly taken effect during the past seven years (applause).

Amongst those who are represented and affiliated to this Congress are a very large section of workers who in the past have, been the most down-trodden, the most persecuted of the whole working classes in Ireland—the Agricultural Labourers (hear, hear). These men have come into the Labour movement and have benefited the Labour movement themselves to a very considerable extent. Their fights have been long and strenuous, not against a foreign enemy, but against a local enemy. The Corn Production Act provided for a minimum wage, and when there was a trade union effort the minimum wage was usually applied. I am sorry to say in a great number of cases those splendid employers, the farmers, refused even to pay the miserable wage laid down by the Agricultural Wages Board. To show you the extent that these people try to shirk their responsibility. Let me mention this: through the influence brought to bear upon the Wages Board by the Trade Union movement, arrears of wages due to farm labourers running into many thousands and tens of thousands were recovered. All the machinery of that Board is now scrapped, and the agricultural labourer is thrown back to the hospitality of the generous employer I have mentioned. These men have no hope and no redemption except from the Labour movement through Trade Union organisation. In that they will have the support and co-operation of the Trade Union organisation of the whole country. With the agricultural Labourers' organisations linked up with the workers in the towns

and cities there certainly is a great future for the Trade Union movement (applause).

We found it very easy to organise the various trades during the years of the European war when the cost of living was bounding up from week to week until eventually it bounded out of reach altogether. Through the efforts of the Trade Unions movement large, or what might appear large, increases in money wages were gained, but that left an enormous gap between real wages and money wages. Even the most efficient organisation that was able to secure the best possible advances for their members fell very short of the actual increase in the cost of living. Notwithstanding that we see to-day in this country the employers following on the example laid down to them in England where the workers went down like corn before the reapers with hardly any apparent effort on their part to maintain the standard of living which they had secured during the war. When I say with hardly any apparent effort, of course, every one of us must bear in mind the magnificent struggle put up against enormous odds by the miners, not only against the Government and their employers, but against their colleagues in the Trade Union movement (applause). Had these men got the backing and support they were entitled to at the time the various unions and combinations of workers would be in a very different position to-day. No! We have nothing to learn from the English Labour movement except from its mistakes (hear, hear). If the most formidable combination of labour that ever was brought together—the Triple Alliance—only used half the power that a combination of that kind could use on behalf of its members things would be very different. But when you see prominent leaders and prominent people in a movement going abroad on holidays when they ought to be in the struggle you will realise that all is not well in Denmark (hear, hear).

Now, as I say, the employers in this country are combining and studying what is taking place in England. They are of opinion that a similar course of events will follow in this country—poor deluded employers! The course of events that will certainly follow any general attack upon the standard of living in this country will be very very different. There is in this country different machinery—different human material, which is a most important thing, and different methods entirely. Notwithstanding all our attempts and all our machinery there is no doubt about it, it is deficient in certain respects, but perhaps it is not well that I should dwell upon these defects at the moment. Most of you in this Congress who think on the lines of the leaders of the Labour movement for many years will know what I mean in this connection. It is rather better that I should, however, point out what is being done to resist the immediate attacks that will certainly be made, no matter from what direction they may come. The Irish Labour Party has advised that in all industries where

notice of reduction in wages or attacks on working conditions are made, all the unions in this trade or that industry should come together, form a Joint Committee, and agree and arrange that whatever may be the outcome of the negotiations, strike or lock-out, all the unions in that industry pledge themselves to stand firmly together to the bitter end (applause).

We have a critical example of that, at the moment, in the engineering industry in this city. There are many Unions in that industry; some of them don't love one another as they ought to, but, nevertheless, realising that their interests when they are up against the employing class are identical, they have done away with their individual or sectional bickerings and told the engineering employers that negotiations which have been arranged for a settlement in England without the people in this city being consulted are not going to be accepted in this country. If they are going to make any alteration they have got to come back here and deal with the people in this city who know the circumstances and are qualified to speak on behalf of the workers in the industry in this city. That is the condition in the engineering industry, and what may be the outcome of that step nobody here at the moment can anticipate. Anything may happen. The employers are co-ordinating their affairs, and they may use this as a lever to bring in other industries. In the shipping industry, the flour-milling industry, and what other few industries we have in this country, it has been intimated that on and after the 1st of August they are going to reduce the wages of their employees. Well, this is the 1st of August, and there is going to be no reduction from the employees without at least a fight having been put up. The strength of that fight will depend upon the assistance and co-operation that will be given by the Unions affiliated to this Congress, and as our interests are identical, I think that we can rest assured that we will stand together in this coming attack (applause).

There are many other questions which might be dealt with on an occasion such as this, but it is not my intention to go in extensively to the many questions that have been agitating the Labour movement for many years. Unemployment has always been an acute and a very difficult question for this movement, and as far as I can see there is very little hope for the solution of the of the question of unemployment while the present system of capitalistic Government runs in Europe. Leaving altogether the European or Governmental aspect of the question on one side, the situation in Ireland for the past couple of years makes it impossible to dwell at any great length on the question of unemployment; but, dealing with the question of housing in Dublin in a small way, we in Dublin have made an attempt to form a Building Guild for the purpose of demonstrating that the workers are capable of building houses cheaper than they can be built by the capitalists of this or any other city

(hear, hear). We have a number of houses already completed, or almost completed, and I hope the Delegates to this Congress will take advantage of the opportunity to pay a visit to the place where the building is going on to see these houses, so that they may be an incentive and an inspiration to them to do something in their own towns and cities when they return home from this Congress. Now, it was not possible at present to go into many of these great and vital questions. No more vital questions confront Labour in this or any other country than the two I have just mentioned, but while the national question remains unsettled in this country it will not be possible to use all the power and force at our command in that connection.

We rejoice to learn there is a possibility of a settlement of the national question. We know that if a settlement of the national question comes about it can only be a settlement with complete freedom for the people of this country (applause). We will not in this Congress recognise the right of any small pocket in Ireland to declare for itself that it is not part and parcel of this country (applause). I often wonder why it is that this question of Partition, so strongly fought for, so very vigorously proclaimed, by people in part of the North of Ireland, and when I look over the wages and workers' conditions in these Partition Counties I find that these conditions have a good deal to do with this cry of Partition. Comparing the wages and working conditions in some of these counties, they stand very unfavourably with the wages and conditions in other parts of Ireland. Perhaps that goes some way to explain the interest of the employing classes in doping and fooling the workers in these parts. They have never come into our movement as they ought to; they have never taken their share in the struggle for the emancipation or the uplifting of the workers of this country, and perhaps they are blind to their interests in this connection. At any rate, I feel pretty well satisfied in my own mind that it is largely a matter of wages and working class organisation that has helped to keep this cry of Partition alive in Ireland. Perhaps if these people could realise that their enemy is neither in Rome nor in Dublin, but in Belfast, they would join with their fellows in Ireland and come forward and work for the great ideal that Connolly preached, wrote about, and died for (applause).

In connection with the general condition of Local Government in this country, considering all the obstacles and difficulties in their way, the local bodies have done a great deal towards improving the system as it existed when they went into possession. But they have not done nearly enough, nor all that we in this movement would like them to do. Perhaps they could be excused when we remember the condition of the country—and perhaps it would not be well to press this point—but had things been otherwise I think that we in the Labour movement would be inclined to tell these people they have got to get a hustle on,

and not be satisfied with things as they are or with things as they found them. However good things may be in the immediate future, we hope to see more of the men of our movement and class on these Boards, and then perhaps we can talk more directly and effectively to people who belong to our own movement.

Now, I have barely touched upon many things which are certainly of great moment. There are many others that also might be touched upon, but I feel that to go generally into matters that have been agitating the Labour movement for years would serve no useful purpose at the present time. I think rather I would be doing my duty better if I suggest to the Labour movement that no matter what happens in this country, whether it is in peace or war, we, as workers, have got to realise that unless we have power, organisation and combination there is very little hope from any class outside the class that we belong to (applause). You know the workers in many other countries were led away in 1914, at the beginning of the Great War, by this cry of "Patriotism." We at that time were not deceived. We considered we were serving our country better by remaining at home, while others were talking about a war to end war, and about the freedom of small nationalities, and providing a land for heroes to live in. When they were talking about a land for heroes to live in they must have had this country in their mind. Every man, woman and child required to be a hero to live through the conditions we have passed through in the last two years (applause); but notwithstanding our suffering and our sacrifices it is a pleasure, and certainly gives great hope for the Labour movement of the future to see the Congress that we have here assembled in this hall to-day. Certainly it is an inspiration, and anyone looking on here and trying to lecture you must feel his shortcomings and must realise that we are men from all parts of Ireland—and there was no part of Ireland free from the terror—but, despite all that, we are assembled here to-day as workers determined upon realising our duty, and fully determined to march onward to the great ideal of the Workers' Commonwealth. Considering what we have gone through and were prepared to go through, I think we will achieve that ideal sooner than most of us in this hall anticipated (applause).

I thank you for having listened to me so patiently, and I hope some of the things I have said will be considered and adopted after the Congress is over (loud applause).

Mr. Anthony (Typographical Association, Cork) said—It affords me very great pleasure indeed to propose a vote of thanks to our worthy and esteemed Chairman, Mr. Thomas Foran, for his magnificent and inspiring address. He has dealt largely with very great questions and problems affecting the every-day lives of the workers of Ireland. I think that if a little more mutual forbearance and tolerance and generosity were extended in the

Labour movement, it would be so much the better for the movement. These great attributes Mr. Foran is possessed of in a remarkable degree. He will hold his own, and successfully, in most matters; but, however contentious the question, he is always tolerant and forbearing, and he is a shining example to all of us in the Labour movement in Ireland (applause). He had dealt with one or two very important problems concerning the lives of the workers in this country. The Housing problem was a very vital one, and, the time at my disposal being limited, I will not deal with it at any length. I look upon the proposed reduction of wages in Ireland as an attack upon the standard of living of the working classes in this country. I congratulate the Chairman upon the advice he has given to the workers assembled here to-day to oppose any attempts that may be made to reduce their standard of living. He has outlined fairly clearly what your attitude should be when you go back to your several branches or Trades Councils or other bodies that sent you here, and I feel and hope that the advice given by Mr. Foran will be followed. It should be for us at any rate to say we will never go back to the slavish conditions that prevailed in this country before the Great War. Mr. Foran has also pointed out the fact that in whatever changes occur in this country or between this country and Great Britain, it is up to the workers of Ireland to see that they shall be represented on the various public Boards. I do not think I would be taking an unfair advantage of this Congress if I stated I have a motion on this subject which I wish to bring on. It does not appear upon the Agenda; it was, I believe, late, and I am to appear before the Standing Orders Committee with a view to getting leave to move my motion, which invites the Congress to do something on the lines of Mr. Foran's suggestion. I have very great pleasure indeed in moving this vote of thanks (applause).

Mr. A. Stewart (Belfast Trades Council) seconded, and said—I should like to say at the beginning that we in the North are as desirous and anxious that peace should be proclaimed and established throughout Ireland as any people can be (hear, hear). As President of a Trades Council and as a man interested in the Labour movement all my life, I feel humiliated that in all we read about this great peace movement we appear nowhere in the negotiations. On the matter of wages we should look to-day at the status of the middle and professional classes. They refuse to labour for anything less than an average £1,200 per year. Many of the labouring classes before the war had no more than about 20s. per week. When I arrived in Belfast 30 years ago, I found men working for 13s. 6d. per week, and their wages were larger than some other men. Now with regard to the cost of living, that was aggravated by economic conditions. Let me give you an illustration. If you want to build a house it will cost you roughly about £1,000. The builder and the designer and the

rest have to be paid, and if you borrow the money then before it is repaid somebody has got about £3,000 for nothing. There is only one cure. We have got to combine and organize, and teach our fellows to organize in the industrial field, and show them that they must drop their differences and little shibboleths that separate them from one another. We should be prepared at all times for any sudden conditions that might arise. The general who would send an army into the field without a commissariat would be a criminal. May I, in conclusion, call attention to the question of Labour representation. Until we are prepared to assert our claims in this matter, and separate ourselves as wage-earners from all other classes on this question, we will never get on. In order to get our industrial movement gathered together we must make our methods as perfect as possible.

Mr. Thomas MacPartlin (Vice-Chairman) put the resolution which was carried with acclamation.

The President, in reply, said—I wish to express my hearty thanks to the Delegates for having listened to me so long. No thanks are due to me for what I have done in the Labour Party. We all have to give of our best (applause).

REPORT OF STANDING ORDERS COMMITTEE.

The Chairman of Standing Orders Committee read the following report.

Congress adjourned at 1.30.

We recommend the following delegates to be accepted as substitutes:—Wm. Gavin, substitute for T. J. McKenna, R.C.A.; R. N. Lamb, substitute for V. Aherne, Drapers' Assistants; T. Fogarty, substitute for J. Bermingham, Painters; Jas. Morrissey, substitute for J. FitzPatrick, Vintners and Grocers; H. Hall, substitute for P. McArdle, Clerical Workers.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE IRISH REPUBLIC.

The President—We have learned that the President of the Irish Republic, Eamon de Valera, T.D., is at present in the Mansion House, and feeling assured that we were expressing the wishes of the Delegates to this Congress we have asked him to come in and say a word or two, and he has very kindly consented.

Mr. de Valera then entered the room, and was received with loud and continued applause, the Delegates rising to their feet.

The President—The first time I met the President of the Irish Republic was when both of us were in Richmond Prison; the second time was when both of us were in the United States, and the third time here, now, in the Mansion House (applause).

President de Valera after being again loudly applauded briefly expressed his thanks in Irish. Speaking in English he said—

I was not expecting an invitation of this kind, and I need scarcely say I am not ready for speech-making. I am sure you hear speeches enough in your own work, and you are busy enough not to wish to waste your time listening to such speeches as I could make at the present moment. At another time I certainly should like to have an opportunity of addressing this gathering. In America, where we were seeking the support of the American people for our cause, we had there, everywhere we went, the enthusiastic support of the Labour bodies, and it is not necessary for me to say—you know it so well—but I think I may take the occasion of saying, that were it not for the solidarity of Labour behind the national cause in Ireland, not merely in recent years, but during the long past, the Irish cause would not be where it is to-day. I am very glad then—and I know you will not expect me to say any more—to be here to give personal testimony to it, and to tell you that we know it. We who are in a position to gauge the advance of the Irish cause from day to day, know what your support has been to us, and what your refusal to put forward even your own special interests has meant to the cause of Ireland in the past two years. And I feel perfectly certain that if the fight is to continue we will have the same support from Labour in the future as we had in the past (loud cheers).

THE SECRETARY REPLIES FOR IRISH LABOUR.

Mr. Thomas Johnson, who was called upon by the President, said—I do not think this is an occasion for me to say anything. You have had a word or two from the official head of the Irish Republic, and it is in that capacity he has addressed you, and has thus publicly acknowledged the importance of the Labour movement to the Irish movement. I think that I am not going too far when I say that behind that acknowledgment is the recognition that the Labour movement must be acknowledged in any future Irish state, and while Mr. De Valera is in his present position I have no doubt whatever that this will be given. But whether Mr. de Valera is President of the future Irish Republic or head of any future Irish State, or whether any other person occupies that position, that Labour will assert itself I have no doubt whatever (loud applause).

The President—I am sure we are all deeply grateful to President De Valera for coming here and saying what he has said, and I do not think there is any need to say more, and that you will show your approval in the usual way.

President de Valera then left amidst renewed cheering and Congress adjourned until Tuesday, August 2nd, at 9 30 a.m.

DELEGATES ENTERTAINED.

On Monday afternoon, at the invitation of the Dublin Reception Committee, the delegates and a number of Dubliners active in the movement had a most enjoyable trip in Dublin Bay and around the

Wicklow coast in the ss. Lady Kerry. On Wednesday evening the delegates were again the guests of the Reception Committee at supper in the restaurant of La Scala Cinema and Opera House, where an excellent selection of vocal and instrumental music was discoursed.

SECOND DAY.

Tuesday, August 2nd, 1921.

REPORT OF NATIONAL EXECUTIVE.

The President, having called Congress to order at 10 a.m., said—The first business is the discussion of the Report of the National Executive for the year 1920-21.

Mr. Thos. Johnson (the Secretary) announced a few corrections to be made in the Report.

The President formally moved the adoption of the Report, which had already been circulated (See pages 3 to 71).

Mr. Gilloway (Drapers) seconded the motion.

BELFAST EXPELLED WORKERS.

The portion of the Report entitled "Belfast Expelled Workers," on page 3 was discussed.

Mr. Stewart (Belfast Trades Council) said he was sorry he was not able to bring an optimistic note into this matter because he knew of none. The cost of helping in supporting these people amounts to £5,000 a week, sometimes to £8,000 a week. Recently the impression has begun to prevail that this fund will become a general distress fund. It was all very well to give relief, but the disappointing point was that while the necessity for this relief was dealt with in this Report, there was no passage dealing with the action of the Joiners. He was not in a position to criticise the action of the Joiners, but he wanted personally to protest most emphatically against any suggestion that any person or Executive should order their members to do or not to do anything whatever without first consulting the local people. He was sorry he was not able to indicate in the remotest degree any way out of this difficulty. There was a desire for a greater fraternal spirit among the working classes. He believed some of the prejudice existing is caused by the unnecessary and sometimes ostentatious way in which the creed to which a man belongs or does not belong is brought forward. They did not care what church or creed a man belongs to if he is faithful to his class. He wanted to emphasise the fact that during his years of residence in Belfast he could not point to one delegate selected or elected by any branch because of his religion. Just as they have

their various sectarian opinions, so they have their political opinions, and they generally manage to rub along nicely by letting these things alone.

Alderman William O'Brien (I.T. and G.W.U., Dublin) regretted very much that Mr. Stewart in putting the case of the Belfast workers used words which might be taken to mean that he wished to throw cold water upon the efforts of the Amalgamated Society of Woodworkers. They on the National Executive wished to hold up for the admiration of others the action of the Executive of Woodworkers, and he failed to follow Mr. Stewart's suggestion that they should have consulted the rank and file in Belfast. If the rank and file were a hundred to one against the Executive, the Executive of the Woodworkers were absolutely right in laying it down that the only credential a man in Belfast required to be allowed to work was the Trade Union card. The Woodworkers' Executive took up that attitude and stuck to it, no matter what members they would lose in consequence of their attitude. If the Executive of other cross-Channel Unions interested in the ship-yards joined with the Woodworkers a very different result would have followed from their action. "We believe that the big Unions concerned—three or four in number—could have solved this question, because many of the ship-workers came there only periodically, and when compelled to leave Belfast and go elsewhere for employment they would very soon listen to reason and find out that bickering and prejudice such as displayed in Belfast and the North would not pay."

Mr. William McMullen (I.T. and G.W.U., Belfast) said there did not seem to be the slightest possibility of these expelled workers being given a chance of earning their livelihood in the city of Belfast. Some people seemed to think that there might be a possibility of some of those people being allowed to earn a livelihood again in Belfast. There was not the slightest possibility of that. And this ban was not entirely confined to the Catholic people of Belfast. Similar treatment is extended to people of similar proclivities on other religions. The delegates who crossed the water to advocate the case of the workers are Protestants, and some of them are now expelled from the Ship-yards. That should be made perfectly clear. The proof that there is not the slightest possibility of these people being allowed to return to their work, and that the action taken in regard to them has been approved by the leaders of a political party is evidenced by what occurred recently. When three candidates stood for the City of Belfast and attempted to hold a meeting the people responsible for the pogrom decided that speeches by these candidates were not to be allowed. They invaded the meeting hall, laid down terms it was impossible for the speakers to accept, and when they wired Sir James Craig as to what they had done, he replied, "Well done." The whole matter is more political than anything else. Fundamentally the matter is an

economic one, and has been from the Plantation of Ulster down to the present time. The people who have made the trouble and are fostering the trouble are the employing classes of Belfast. They have made and are making dupes of the people, and they are satisfied as long as they can keep alive the spirit of contention that brought about an incident on the Boyne over 200 years ago. He hoped the people—particularly the Protestants in the North of Ireland who proved themselves good Irishmen on previous occasions, and particularly in 1798—will no longer allow the spirit prevailing at the moment to continue, and will no longer be led away by shibboleths.

Mr. Davin (Railway Clerks) said that as a result of the action taken by some of the Unions, he understood, a Committee of the British Trades Union Congress was appointed to go into this matter. So far as he could gather, no statement had been made by that Committee up to the present, and he should like to know how the matter stands.

Mr. Thomas Johnson (Secretary N.E.)—In reply to that question, I may say we have had no communication from the British Trades Union Congress Executive, and of course we have no right to ask for any information. I understand the report of that Committee has not been made public, though it may have been presented to the Parliamentary Committee. The matter, I understand, is to be discussed at the Congress which will be held in September; the report will be presented to the Congress, and I have no doubt will receive ample discussion. I have no knowledge of the purport of the report of the Sub-Committee.

The paragraphs headed—"Interviews with Ministers," "Council of Action" in the Report were adopted without discussion.

UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE.

On the section of the report dealing with the "Unemployment Insurance Act":—

Mr. Dawson Gordon (Flax Roughers, Belfast) said—Some important points arise here in reference to women and young persons. So far as the North of Ireland is concerned, the Textile industry is practically stopped. The majority of the factories are closed down since Christmas. The Act allowed workers eight weeks under a certain qualification, and sixteen weeks under another. The benefit was intended for a period of six months, to expire in June, after which it was further extended. Then the Ministry issued an order that no married woman resident with her husband was entitled to receive the extended six weeks. Everyone was aware that the textile industry is, practically speaking, made up of young people and married women. He understood that after some agitation the Ministry on Thursday last cancelled the order so far as married women were concerned

and decided to put them in the same position as before, but up to the present moment they have not cancelled the order so far as young people were concerned. He thought the Executive ought to take this matter up and protest against the action of the Ministry of Labour in issuing an order of this description. "So long as we have to be insured and pay for benefits we ought to receive these benefits without any quibbling."

Mr. E. Hart (National Union of Dockers) said that under the Amending Act, although the docker has to pay contributions, it was practically impossible for him to receive benefit. If the men working on the quays get one day a week, or even half a day a week, they are disqualified from the benefit. The Act at present was little short of robbery.

Mr. Thomas MacPartlin (Amalgamated Society of Woodworkers) said he thought it might be advisable for the workers to seriously consider at this stage whether they could not join together all over Ireland with the object of defeating this Act altogether (applause). Years ago when this was first started he was in the happy position of one of those who opposed the application of the Act to Ireland at all. He had never seen any reason to retract from that position. All along the Act had been of no advantage whatever to the workers, and in many of the trades insured the only advantage it had been is to the employers, because it enables them to spy upon the workers all the time. The workers never had proper freedom under this Act. They were in the same position to-day. The majority of the workers don't agree with the Act, and indeed the majority of the employers are of the same opinion—so that a strike against this Act would be very favourably received by all sides. The time is near when it may be necessary for the workers to reconsider this Act. They were paying more money for less employment benefit than they would get from their Unions. That loss as a financial undertaking ought to encourage Congress to fight against it. He would not waste the time of Congress by further discussing a thing that neither they nor anyone else in the community wants.

MUNITIONS STRIKE.

Referring to the paragraphs relating to the fight against the carrying of war materials on the railways:

Alderman Wm. O'Brien (I.T. and G.W.U.) said at this stage they ought to publicly express, on behalf of the National Executive, their thanks and pleasure at the manner in which the workers concerned fought the Munitions Strike last year. It was one of the greatest demonstrations of strength and solidarity they had seen in Ireland for years, and the railway workers and others concerned were deserving of the greatest praise for the manner in which they carried out the directions of the National Executive, acting in the closest harmony with the workers con-

cerned. Every piece of advice had been loyally carried out in the letter and in the spirit. The result was the protest was maintained for six long months. The design was to bring about a complete cessation of the railways and starve the country into submission. The National Executive adopted tactics which they thought calculated to defeat that object. We attracted the attention of workers and others all over the world. We appealed for financial support to the people of Ireland generally, and it was given with a readiness, loyalty and generosity scarcely ever paralleled in any other appeal to them. The sum of £120,000 was subscribed, and we felt sure that the workers concerned and the people of Ireland generally if they were told that it was necessary or desirable to allow the railways to be closed down would have accepted that decision as they did the others. We felt after a lapse of six months that sufficient protest was made, and if we had continued and the railways were shut down we would be playing into the hands of the British Government. We had the courage to face that situation and advise the railwaymen to cease. They did so, and displayed the same loyalty as they did in carrying on the fight for six months. We look upon that protest with the greatest possible pride. The fight was not for any particular labour interest. It was a most unselfish fight in the national interest (applause).

Mr. MacCabe (N.U.R.) said that several of their men had not been allowed back to work. They had neither seen nor heard a word about this in the Press or from the public. These men should not be let down. This matter should be brought before the managers who are sitting in London just now. Some 16 or 20 of our men the company would not take back. It was their duty to do all in their power to secure that those men are reinstated.

Mr. William Molloy (N.U.R., Broadstone) thanked the Executive for the manner in which they acted in this munition crisis. He wished to return thanks to the people of Ireland, to Congress, and to the Executive of the Labour Party for all they had done. But surely the number of men yet victimised on the Great Northern Railway ought to be reinstated. It was not the case with any other railway. The N.U.R. had done all that was possible to get these men back. This victimisation of the men on the Great Northern Railway was practically caused by a disunited body of workers upon that railway. There were two societies in operation on that railway, and one was an organisation not affiliated to the Congress. As a matter of fact when the order came from the National Union of Railwaymen to resume work a few men here in Dublin belonging to his Union went and presented themselves for work and they were told they should sign a very obnoxious paper before they could resume. Some men of the other Union said they would not sign, but afterwards they got an order from their society to sign and get back to

work, and he regarded that as the cause of the victimisation of the other men. The Irish Council of the N.U.R. was at present in London, and amongst other things they will have to deal with this question of victimisation. He appealed to Congress and to the people of Ireland to put all the pressure they possibly could upon the Great Northern Railway Company to get those men back to their positions.

Mr. M. O'Brien (N.U.R., North Wall) supported the vote of thanks to Congress and the National Executive for the support given in the munitions strike. He assured the people of Ireland that if the services of the railwaymen were again required they will act as before. With regard to the victimisation of the Great Northern men, as soon as they get instructions they would act.

Mr. E. Hart (N.U. Dock and Riverside Workers) supported, and said the principle involved was a big one, because if they allowed one company in Ireland to defy the Labour Party it would be followed by other companies. It is not necessary for the other railwaymen to go on strike—it can be confined to this one company. The report recommended that these men get a grant, but money would not buy principle.

Mr. James Slevin (N.U.R., Leinster District Council) said he wished it to be understood for the information of Mr. MacCabe and the rest of the delegates that they held a conference on Sunday morning and a public meeting in the evening at which this question received very great attention. Six delegates from the N.U.R. had gone across to England with regard to the proposed agreement between the managers and the railwaymen in reference to the grant of £3,000,000 to the various railways in Ireland. That £3,000,000 was locked up, and "it is the intention of the railwaymen to keep it locked up unless these 18 or 20 men of the Great Northern are restored."

Mr. Thomas Farren (I.T. and G.W.U.) said—There is no need now to dwell upon the whole question of the munitions strike further than to say that the principles involved in the strike were worthy of the sacrifices made. During the course of the munitions strike the National Executive were of the opinion that the action taken the workers of Ireland on this question brought it more forcibly to the minds of the people on this side that the fight waged in this country was not the fight of a few extremists but was the fight of the whole Irish nation (applause). The great value of the munitions strike was that everyone had individually to decide, and every man came through the ordeal as true as steel. Everyone in the Labour movement knows if you get a crowd together and harangue them you get them in the mood to do almost anything, but when you apply an individual test to the individual he has to have faith in his cause to stand up to those opposed to him. It was a common practice for the military authorities to get upon the footplate of an engine and say to the

driver, "You have got to drive this train," put a revolver to his head and say, "You will get the contents of this if you don't drive," and to the everlasting credit of the railwaymen they said No. It brought it forcibly before the people of Great Britain that the whole Irish people were behind those on strike. Now, with regard to the calling off of the strike, the National Executive took their courage in their own hands. Some people may say that at a Conference held in this building some weeks before calling off the strike you advised the carrying on. We did. We then believed it was right to carry on, but circumstances changed, and we changed our minds when we thought new tactics suitable. We believed the time had arrived to call off the strike, and we recommended that course; the railwaymen had their conference and they decided to call it off. At the conference held by the railwaymen it was understood, and we of the National Executive understood, that any settlement that would take place and any resumption of work meant that all workers should resume. We were given to understand by the responsible officials of the railway companies that there was going to be no victimisation. Negotiations were started after the resumption of work, when we found that Mr. Bagwell and some others of his type who still believe they are living in the Mid-Victorian era—people who don't believe yet that that day is almost past, and we hope Mr. Bagwell will be taught a lesson very soon. Some delegates may criticise the National Executive because they have taken no steps to bring about the reinstatement of these men, but the Unions themselves have taken up this matter and have been in negotiations since last December, and are still in negotiations, and until such times as the Unions have exhausted their powers it is not time for the National Executive to take it up. There is a glorious opportunity at the present time to press matters. We are told representatives of the Railwaymen's Unions have gone across, and they are going to raise the question on the subsidy grant. If there is a point these people are susceptible on it is the financial point, and if the Labour Party in England, and the friends of the workers on the other side, fight this Railway Bill sufficiently well, they can guarantee the reinstatement of the railwaymen. I must say we owe a debt of gratitude to the whole people of Ireland and to our friends upon the other side of the Channel for the magnificent response made to our appeal. I think we may say we did everything possible to keep the men going. You will find if you look at the balance sheet there was a balance of some £400 or £500. Some people say why was not that sum distributed amongst the victimised men? Well, the Unions as soon as desired took over the responsibility of looking after their members. And as long as the Unions were doing that it was not our business to interfere. On one or two occasions we did make special grants, and the balance of £500 is not remaining now, but we say if the men left victimised are left on their oars we

will guarantee to find money to keep them up. I have the authority of a delegate to this Conference, who had a lot to do with the collecting of this fund, to say that if at any time we want it he and his friends have £1,000 for you (applause). If they are victimised we will look after them, but, as Mr. Hart said, money won't satisfy principle. The only thing that ought to satisfy that would be reinstatement in their job, and the sooner Mr. Bagwell realises that the better. We can promise them the backing of the whole Trades Union movement (applause).

Mr. P. Brannigan (I.T. and G.W.U., Dundalk) said in Dundalk the victimised men are not looking for anything in the way of money, but jobs at which they could work are given away to other people. Even Dundalk Urban Council gave away a caretakership job to a man who had house property. What is necessary is for men in the Labour movement to bring public opinion to bear upon these so-called representatives of the people, and see that anything that is going should be given to the men who are out of a job because of the fight they made for the Irish nation. With regard to the money subscribed, the biggest share of the money collected in Dundalk was subscribed by the working people.

Mr. P. T. Daly (Dublin Trades Council) understood the motion before the house was one of thanks to the National Executive for their action in the strike, and he took it that was carried unanimously. It was a record in the Labour movement that a sum of money totalling £120,000 had passed through the hands of the Executive and was distributed to the railwaymen. Yesterday Congress was in a position to be congratulated and to congratulate upon the position of affairs in Ireland, and he made bold to say that had it not been for the action of the railwaymen in question they would not have advanced so far as they had. He begged to move—"That we desire to place on record our keen appreciation of the national efforts of the railwaymen during the munitions strike, and congratulate them upon their solidarity and the result of their labours." Some people say they were beaten. That is not true. They showed the might of the British Empire that no matter what force was used against them they would maintain their position.

Mr. Farrelly (Dublin Trades Council) seconded.

Mr. J. J. Redmond (Irish Engineering Union) asked that all the Irish workers who were concerned in the munitions strike should be covered by the resolution, including all the men in the railway workshops. Coming to the question of the Great Northern Railway, he suggested that if it comes to a fight again it ought to be a fight on principle. If they were able to hold out for six months against the forces of the British Crown, they ought to be able to hold their own against Mr. Bagwell (applause).

The resolution on being put was unanimously adopted.

STANDING ORDERS COMMITTEE REPORT No. 2.

The Committee on Standing Orders at this stage reported—
Resolution No. 18.—Poaching—May be discussed with paragraph on this subject on N.E. Report; to be followed with Resolution No. 19.

Additional Resolutions No. 23 and 24 from N.E.—We suggest these Resolutions be taken after Report.

Resolution No. 15.—We suggest this be discussed concurrently with paragraph in N.E. Report, page 17.

Application from Irish Women Workers for sale of literature in hall be allowed.

Resolution No. 2 to be discussed with paragraph in Report.

President—Is it agreed that recommending of Standing Orders be adopted?

Mr. P. J. Quinn (Teachers' Organization—Irish National)—I move the deletion of the recommendation that Resolution No. 2 be taken in conjunction with the paragraph in the Report. We agreed yesterday to discuss the matter to-day, and to ask Congress to allow Resolution No. 2 to be postponed until later on in the Session. To turn out No. 2 Resolution and to discuss it on the Report would not be fair treatment of the subject of education that goes down to the bed-rock of the whole movement.

Mr. Somerville—We accept that.

President—Is it agreed that this alteration be adopted and the Report of Standing Orders as amended passed?

Agreed.

The discussion on the Report was resumed.

"OTHER LABOUR DISPUTES."

The paragraph in the Report under the heading of "Other Labour Disputes," at page 13, was considered.

Miss Moloney (Irish Women Workers' Union) suggested the National Executive might do something in future to help other bodies of workers to conduct industries which they might have to take over. Fortunately the men engaged in creamery works at Knocklong had sufficient information to be able to carry on the work amongst themselves, but she thought that many other bodies of workers would need some very special advice. For instance, in many cases the workers would not have the necessary knowledge to carry on the trading. The National Executive might very usefully form a Committee or Department which might be in a position to give advice to the workers who might have to take charge of their own industry and give them the necessary instructions with regard to carrying out the trading.

Mr. J. McGrath (I.T. and G.W.U.), as one who was closely associated with the fight in Knocklong, agreed that very often the workers have not the necessary managerial experience. The

workers are quite willing to carry on, but in some cases they have not the necessary knowledge. They had one complaint in Knocklong, and that was that the workers of the rest of Ireland were more or less asleep in regard to their efforts. They tried to get in touch with secretaries of various branches in order that they might find a market for their products. They did not get very many responses except from workers in Belfast. The agricultural labourers have wakened up and the men in the factories have wakened up, and if the bosses say they want a reduction of wages and so on then the workers of the South of Ireland are prepared to say to the bosses "if you cannot carry on we will and we will show you how to do it."

Mr. Thomas Johnson—There is just one aspect of this question I would like to emphasise, and that is the action of the workers at Knocklong and Arigna. It is the most important question that could be raised in the Labour movement or in Social Economy. It is this question whether the human factor is to be considered as greater than the material factor. In the ordinary relation between employer and employee, taking them whether as man or woman, there is a certain contract entered into. If one or other decides this contract has gone on long enough they break the contract, but once it is broken or abrogated the employer is able to say that this machine, this building, this factory must be held out of use; that is to say, that much national wealth which the labour of men and women has gone into must be wasted, held unless, even though the country may be crying out for the production of that material. The workers in Knocklong and Arigna said "No! We differ from you as to wages and conditions of labour—that is a small matter, but here is material wealth which has accumulated by our efforts, and the community require the goods for which these material things are necessary to produce, and we intend as workers that this material wealth shall continue in use, and we intend that our labour and that machine shall be brought together and the produce made available for the country" (hear, hear). That is the issue that is raised. It is a challenge—and let us make no mistake about it—to the rights of property. It says: though you happen to have a parchment which allots to you the right to use or possess this machine or that particular factory, though you have that power under legal enactment, henceforth that is not enough. We as responsible to the workers say these material things shall be continued in use so long as the community requires the product. That is the issue raised, and it is a contention that the Labour Party in Ireland I hope will continue to espouse and put into operation. It cannot be done immediately, and not in every strike or on every occasion that the employers or owners refuse to continue their functions as organisers of production, but just as often as is practicable let us make up our minds to enforce that maxim, and let that message go out from the Congress to the

branches of the organised workers, and in addition to that to the employers, that in so far as they have any right at all in this business of production they are there as trustees to see that production is carried on, and if they cannot carry it on then let us do it (applause). That is the issue, and that is why it is of immense importance that this fact should be recorded in the minutes of this Congress.

Miss L. Bennett (Irish Women Workers' Union)—It seems to me that if we do want to secure control of our industries we do need advice from the Executive; we need an Advisory Committee. We ought not to minimise the tremendous difficulties that face the workers in these matters. Last year we were brought up against this very problem in connection with the Transport Union when the suggestion was on that we should take control of a certain factory. We found it impossible because certain experts were not to be had. All kinds of problems of that kind would arise, and if we seriously contemplate getting control of industries it seems essential that the Executive should have experts to advise the Trade Unions upon the problems they would have to face.

The President—Like some of the delegates who have spoken, I believe this is the most inspiring business before the Congress. It shows it is not so much a question of advice from above or any expert advice coming from the Executive, it is a question for the rank and file themselves, which is the best possible indication that the workers are getting on the right lines. In connection with the Knocklong affair negotiations were made for an increase in wages. They were told the industry could not afford it; business would be ruined if the increase was given. Mr. McGrath knew what he was talking about when he advised the men to come along and run the industry themselves. They did so, and then the management came along and said "Give us back the factory and we will pay the increased wages." In connection with the coal miners in the West, where people are not considered as advanced or intelligent as those in the South, the men were told unless they consented to a reduction in wages the mine would be closed down. These men made up their minds and said there is going to be no closing down anyhow. They said to the employers, if you are not able to run the mine we will. They ran the mine, entering into contracts and carried on the business far more efficiently than had been done by all the intelligence which existed round the table where the Directors met. Eventually the Board came to them and said, "You can have the increase in wages." They said, "Yes, but we want compensation for the improvements we have made," and they got it (applause). And they said further, "We want you to loyally observe the contracts we have entered into when carrying on the mines," and they had to agree. What would have been the position of the miners in England if they had done likewise? I believe if the miners in

England had considered this matter and had acted as the miners in Arigna had acted we would be a long way towards the social revolution to-day. We have got to turn our attention in these directions. Both of these cases—Knocklong and Arigna—were absolutely successful, and what has been done in these cases can be done all over if the workers will only think and act upon these lines, and I hope, with Miss Moloney, that this will be an inspiration to the workers that they may do something like what was done in Arigna. There is one fact you must bear in mind; there was only one Union concerned in each of these two fights. There was no conflict of interests; they all acted upon one word; that is very important. It can never be successful when you have a multiplicity of Unions. Until we get nearer the One Big Union idea we never can advance as those people did.

STANDING ORDERS COMMITTEE.

The Chairman of Standing Orders presented at this stage the following report:—

“ Report No. 3 :—Standing Orders Committee recommends that the Congress should adjourn daily from 1 to 2.30 instead of from 1 to 2, as it has always been found impossible to get delegates back within an hour. Delegates are requested to return promptly so that Congress may resume at 2.30 sharp.

“ With reference to the paragraph headed **DUBLIN TRADES COUNCIL** in N.E. Report, Standing Orders Committee recommends that a small committee of five, representing organisations outside the area concerned, be set up forthwith to inquire into the facts and report to Congress not later than to-morrow, Wednesday.”

Mr. E. Hart moved, and Mr. P. J. McIntyre seconded the adoption of the report, which was agreed to.

The following were elected on a show of hands vote to form the Committee :—Messrs. Metcalfe (Bray), Hogan (Ennis), Kenneally (Cork), Nason (Cork), and Doyle (Dun Laoghaire).

Mr. Thomas Johnson—I might mention at this stage that I have communications from Messrs. Luke Larkin and J. T. O'Farrell, that as they had to go to London they cannot attend. Several other members of the Railwaymen's Union are going as well. I have also a communication from Mr. T. C. Daly, member of the Executive, asking me to explain that he is not present either as a delegate or a member of the Executive in as much as he is on a Union Committee for the present year that would not allow him to take part in the work of Congress or the Executive even if elected.

The discussion of the Report was again resumed.

POACHING.

Mr. J. J. Farrelly (Dublin Trades Council) moved on behalf of the Dublin Trades Council:—

“ That in the event of any affiliated Union being found guilty of violating the resolution in re ‘ poaching of members ’ adopted at last year’s Congress in Cork, such Union or Unions shall be expelled from affiliation with the Irish Labour Party and Trade Union Congress.”

He said the resolution passed at Cork last year seemed to have been left unproductive. While that resolution may have been vague, it still carried out the resolution passed in Drogheda at a previous Congress which was not so vague that it might not have easily been interpreted. The object of the National Executive apparently was to form one big Union. This Poaching resolution is one of the most important that could come up for consideration if the solidarity of the Labour movement was to be preserved. If the resolution was defeated they would split the Trade Unions into sections, making a minority of one and a majority of the other. “ I fail to see why that resolution was not carried into operation. Numerous applications have been made to carry it into effect. I disagree with the National Executive on this matter, and I think they were lacking in their duty in not carrying it into effect.” Many of the men on the National Executive are associated with one big Union, and the putting of the Poaching resolution into effect would hit them most severely.

Mr. Holt (Drogheda) seconded.

Mr. W. Molloy (N.U.R.) said that if workers are to change it ought to be by a plebiscite. “ If you take two or three men who present themselves to another when their contributions are in arrear in their own Union, you are simply encouraging them to become non-trade unionists. I have known cases in connection with the National Union of Railwaymen where we have been following them up to pay their contributions, and they simply went off to another Union not affiliated, and that Union accepted them.” In some cases his Executive had to draw the attention of the Transport Workers’ Union to these matters. It is a serious matter that such things should be sanctioned, and it should not be done. When trouble turns up we have two Unions and sometimes three to deal with.

Mr. Cassidy (Typographical Union) said his Union was one of the first to protest against poaching. That protest came before the Cork Conference, but unfortunately no opportunity for discussion was allowed there. Apart altogether from the seriousness of one Union poaching upon another, the question should receive the serious consideration of the Congress and of the National Executive. The dangers to the movement as a whole are too great for the Congress or its representative Committee to allow it to continue without punishment of those who practice it. He

referred to the action of some members of the D.T.P.S. going through the country and endeavouring to get members of the Typographical Society of our branch to resign and join the new Irish Typographical Union. What the Irish Typographical was he could not find out, but he was happy to assure Congress that such a thing does not exist except in name at the present time. At the last Trades Congress in Cork he was very much attracted by the message which the Fraternal Delegates from Scotland brought to the Irish Congress. The burden of their message was the greater solidarity of the workers of the world, but immediately after representatives of the Union to which he referred held special caucus meetings for the purpose of dividing the workers of this country. Such action gives a great opportunity to the employers in these districts to withdraw the conditions prevailing in the trade. But these members were deceived, and in Tralee, when the men found themselves on the streets after the destruction of the printing works, there was no support for them coming forward from the Union they joined. He was rather sympathetic with the men, and prevailed upon his Executive Council to reinstate them. In Kilkenny it resulted in non-unionists carrying on the work, because the members that joined the I.T.U. have not continued their membership, and the result is they are members of no union at all. He was speaking against poaching not against secession. Secession is sometimes absolutely necessary. Sometimes when members of a Union think they are not properly treated by their Executive Council, and if they cannot get a remedy, then if they are in a majority they have a right to establish a Union for themselves or join another Union that will cater for them. But in such a Union as he represented, and in other Unions, there was no such reason. One of the objections raised was why should we Irish workers send our money across the Channel. His Union was prepared to put forward their efforts quite freely and to spend money in order to improve the conditions of the printers. There was a very unfortunate experience of the division caused amongst workers in Derry by Unions poaching each others members. The result is that while great trouble was experienced in years gone by in organising the female workers, the strife has resulted in almost 50 per cent. of these workers being outside the Unions altogether to-day. These are dangers this Congress and the Executive Council should consider, and no Union, no matter how large or small, convicted of such conduct should be allowed affiliation to this Congress.

Mr. John McKeon (N.U.R., Mullingar) said members should be clear in their Society before leaving it and joining another branch. Members in arrears who secede from one branch to another are not much better than blacklegs. It should be laid down for every branch that if a member wishes to transfer from the Union of which he is a member he ought at least to be clear

in the books, and should get his credentials from that Union to join another.

Mr. Kelly (Post Office Workers' Union) defied any member of this Congress to say that the representatives of the Amalgamated Unions have been anything but a credit to it. It was quite a catch-cry to describe the advocates of Amalgamated Unions as the camp followers of English Unions. That was quite wrong, and it is very wrong to induce members away from a Society or Union by misrepresentation. Take the case of the members of the N.U.R. Why were they not asked to start an Irish Union? If it was advisable for them to leave the N.U.R. they would doubtless leave it to-morrow. If members of a Union as a body desire to secede, then by all means let them do so. He hoped and prayed that at a very early period, with a satisfactory outcome of the present Peace negotiations, they would be in a much better position in regard to Amalgamated Unions. This poaching business was worked on misrepresentation and had created very bitter feeling. "The employers are in one ring to put us down, and surely we ought to stick together and not be back-biting and throat-cutting of one another."

Mr. W. Davin (Railway Clerks) said the most important point in his view has been missed. He agreed there was a certain amount of justification for complaint about "poaching," but no delegate had made reference to the Union supposed to be engaged in poaching. If he was a judge, it was the Transport Workers' Union that was mainly responsible. The resolution says "that in the event of any affiliated Union being found guilty," but who was going to hold the court of inquiry? "The National Executive," it may be answered; but then the National Executive has four members of the Transport Union upon it. He quite agreed that according to the numerical strength of the Transport Union they are entitled to that representation, but you are faced with the fact that if any Union makes a charge of poaching you are going to be tried by a body with four members of the Transport Workers' Union, which is mainly responsible, on it. He did not say this resolution should be carried—it is too proscribed. He believed in one great Union, but it should not be carried out by poaching. If you have one big Union with Mr. Foran speaking for it, there will be no necessity for an Irish Trade Union Congress, it will be merely an annual meeting to have elections. Mr. Foran had referred yesterday to the fact that the number of Unions had been reduced, but he (Mr. Davin) thought there is not that unity in the Trade Union movement there should be, and that the main cause is poaching. The Union he represented have complained. Forty or fifty of its members, displeased with the action of his Association, thought they could satisfy themselves by going over to the Transport Workers' Union, which does not function for them. He held that the Transport Workers' Union

or any other Union should not take into their Union people they are not prepared to function for.

Miss H. Moloney (Irish Women Workers' Union)—There seems to be some danger of this discussion centring round the Transport Union. I think the question involved is much wider than that. This is the Parliament of the workers. We are all mostly agreed on the consolidation of unions, but there are many dangers about this one big union. Even if various trades came together, and said we will form one big union they should do so openly in place of going outside this Congress to garrot each other out of existence. There are certain sections of the workers who think it a bad thing to belong to amalgamated unions, but instead of having their ideas adopted and carried out openly, and promoting development upon these lines they go outside and poach upon the amalgamated Unions. I think that that underhanded method of playing one's own hand should cease. If the majority agree on the one big union let us agree. Upon this same question of the amalgamated unions, if the majority of the Irish workers think it time to sever the connection with the English, let them have the courage and the decency to write to the others, and let proper common politeness prevail. It would put an end to the system of grabbing at each other's union. It is all due to our not putting our cards upon the table. This discussion is inclined to centre round the Transport Union, but in future, as it seems to me, it will be the big amalgamated unions as against the Irish unions.

Mr. James Mitchell (Automobile Drivers and Automobile Mechanics' Union) said in his union, some time ago, four or five drivers wanted to take over the whole Motor Union. In a recent dispute in the trade an employer said if they went over to a certain union it would be all right. He could not see what use it is to any union to take over a few men who have withdrawn from some other union "Some of our members went over owing as much as £35" (cries of "Oh, oh! and laughter). "I mean the members who went over in a body owed between them £35, and I don't believe one of these men paid anything to the union to which they went over. They are scabs upon the streets of Dublin." He quite agreed with the idea of one big union, but they would not get it on these lines. Some of these members owed individually as much as £5. If an employer is able to say we will get another man from another union to your job, then you cannot fight. This resolution ought to be passed and put into effect.

Mr. Thomas Irwin (Plasterer's Trade Society) wanted to know what exactly is meant by a system of poaching. If it means poaching for an existing union to take on members of another union in which they are defaulters then, he said, it should be blotted out. No union has any right to be a scab centre, but

is it poaching for a section of workers in an industry to say we are long enough belonging to this union, and the sooner we get into one organization the better, and with that object we will form one industrial union? He held that did not come under the heading of poaching. Reference has been made to the Transport Workers' Union and poaching. "I am secretary to a comparatively small section in the building industry—the plasterers' section, and from many parts of Ireland I receive applications from plasterers asking leave to form branches, and the advice I sent them was that it was no use forming a branch for a small section in a country town, and pointing out that what they wanted was an organisation to embrace all the builders' workers. Now with regard to the action of the Transport Workers' Union in the past, they have taken such men into their union and, in my opinion, they have done right." It was better for men to belong to some organization than to none. Some of these men came to Dublin, and when they came to Dublin it was not to the headquarters of the Transport Union they went, but to the Secretary of their own trade organization, and became members of it. Until he got a definition of poaching he would not vote for the resolution.

Mr. McPhillips (Irish Postal Union) also asked for a definition of the word, "poaching." "Mr. Kelly referred to the development of my own union. Well, twenty years ago, a section of the Irish Postal workers learned the lesson that they had nothing to learn from the British. We came to the conclusion that we were better able to look after ourselves than be depending for advice and direction from across the Channel. We do not want to poach on any other union, and we do not want to take men away from the Postmen's Union."

Mr. Hart (National Union of Dock and Riverside Workers) said one thing had struck him greatly, and that was the number of delegates who are always talking about one big union. How many of them had thoroughly gone into the matter. Before they could hope to reach that happy state of affairs they must be organized on industrial lines. His organization was composed of a number of casual men, and if they were to be swept into one big Union he had often had to think what their position would be. The Dock labourers must have an organization which they must control themselves. If they were to be swamped by a big general workers' organization the docker would be no use. The majority of the dock labourers are in casual employment, and the best people most qualified to function for them were the dock labourers themselves. Until such time as we are organized industrially for one big union there's no hope of the dockers agreeing. He was just as capable of hitting back as the poachers were, but he objected to such dirty work going on. "I remember one of the representatives of the Transport Workers' body telling

the workers in Galway that I was born in a slum and I was born in a slum, and I am proud of it. Some of the leaders may not know what is going on, or probably they are as bad as anyone else. I ask you to realize that the only way to industrial solidarity is by all unions endeavouring to help one another." If they pulled together there is no doubt but they could achieve very good results (applause).

Mr. F. Robins (Irish Transport and General Workers' Union, Dublin) said this poaching business was not such a terrible thing as represented. It was merely the natural development away from the practice of all craft unionism in this country. The amalgamated unions are most affected, but that is because they are craft unions, and the Irish unions are determined to work on industrial lines. The thing they must remember chiefly was that poaching is a development of industrial unionism in the country, and before it can come into full power it must have this poaching, and ultimately the craft unions will come in to one great body.

Mr. Gilbert Lynch (Irish Transport and General Workers' Union, Dundalk) said—"I confess I have taken some men into the Transport Workers' Union. If men come along driving motor vehicles in our district they must belong to some union. "Our friend, Hart, has been telling us of some intolerance in Galway. I visited some of the workers in Galway. I was in the town ten days. Our friend, Hart, was in the town at the same time. I was visited by the Crown forces, hauled out of bed and asked my name. I gave it and said I was Secretary to the Transport Workers' Union. I was taken out of the house, and brought to the canal side, and only I had an English accent, and that the man in charge was English, I would have been shot. The sergeant of police said publicly to several men that the attack on me was due to jealousy between the Dockers and the Transport Workers' Union (Oh, oh!"). He went further and said men had gone to the barrack and reported I was in the town. I don't know whether that was an instance of Hart hitting back—

Mr. Hart—"Is this an insinuation that I or any of my colleagues had gone such lengths as to do any harm to any Englishman, or to the individual speaking?"

The President—"It is only referring to your own remarks."

Mr. Lynch—"I was also asked where my colleagues lodged, and did I know the whereabouts of Seumas O'Brien, for whom they were looking. It seemed strange they were all so anxious to get the members of the Transport Workers' Union. A direct attack has been made upon the Transport Workers' Union. There is no need to be afraid of them. We will safeguard the interests of all. We want a definition of poaching. For example, I went into a works not long ago; there was a lock-out there. The men were discontented. I don't think it is poaching to take such men into my union."

Mr. Duffy (Transport and General Workers' Union, Tullamore)—“Some Delegates want to throw dirty water upon the Transport Union. I went to Tullamore and formed a branch in that town. We brought together some 600 or 700 members. In the past three years several other unions have sprung up, but previously there was no union at all. After we began four years ago, the first encounter we had was with the Carpenters and Joiners. They sent down to form a union, and they took some of our members. Other unions have since sprung up, and amongst others the Automobile Workers. Heretofore all the workers were members of the Transport Workers' Union, and when this Automobile Union started some of the workers began to join. They claimed to be drivers, and to be capable of doing running repairs. Then another union sprang up—the Vehicle Builders' Union. Now we are being tormented with them also. Then another union sprang up—the Tool Makers' Union. I think poaching should be stopped in some way or other, and if a branch of a union was not able to bring together a certain number of men it should not be allowed to exist at all.”

Mr. L. J. Duffy (Drapers Assistants' Association)—“The resolution we have been discussing does not seem to represent the views of many of the Delegates here. Some have made it a peg on which to hang a grievance, and few of their remarks have any bearing whatever upon the resolution. The resolution asks the National Executive do certain things to those who violate the resolution passed at the Congress held in Cork. If you examine the resolution passed last year in Cork you will see how difficult it is to give effect to its terms. That resolution speaks of organizations poaching members from other organizations, and it says that shall not be done without taking a plebiscite of the union to see whether or not a union is willing to come over to another union. That phrase is not by any means clear. They are all talking about one big union, but the complaints are as much against small unions as against big unions. Is it seriously suggested that before a union here in Dublin, or in Cork or Belfast, should accept for membership persons belonging to another organization they should wait for a plebiscite of another organization? Supposing, for instance, you take an organization of the Carpenter's Society. If a number of members of the Carpenter's Society left and joined another union must that union before accepting them wait for a ballot of fifty or sixty thousand members of the Carpenter's Society. Remember these amalgamated unions have only a small membership in Ireland. Who is going to take the plebiscite? Supposing one of these members comes to me and asks for a card of membership?”

Mr. Kelly—“On a point of order, are we discussing resolution 18 dealing with Poaching or resolution 19 dealing with 'Inter-Union disputes—Court of Appeal'?”

Mr. Duffy—"We cannot properly discuss resolution 18 until we know what it is about. If the Delegate will read the resolution he will find it is founded on the Cork resolution. The word, 'plebiscite,' is mentioned in the Cork resolution, and if Delegates would read both and see what they are talking about we would not be listening to stuff that has no bearing upon the resolution at all. No one who understands the position could ask us to pass the resolution on the agenda, because you are asked to expel from the Trades' Union Movement any organization that accepts for membership people who are in another organization, unless that other organization has been ballotted from top to bottom. I think instead of passing resolutions like this every year, which are not effectual, it would be better if we settled down to try and see a way out, and some means of bridging those difficulties. After all the Trade Union Movement is one movement, and there should be no division between the various elements that constitute it, and if there is that difference of opinion, it is all our own fault. Instead of making these complaints and finding fault—one union with another—if the Delegates would only provide something that would give us some relief, we would be going a long way further than merely passing this resolution. The people who are complainants to-day are defendants to-morrow, and *vice versa*.

"I suggest that the motion standing in the name of the Dublin Trades' Council be withdrawn, and that some basis should be formed on the lines of the resolution passed by the National Executive. The National Executive resolution that "a Union before accepting as member any person already a member of a union should satisfy itself that the applicant has paid up his arrears, it being understood that a limit be set to the period in which he was in arrear." If the Delegates are anxious to further the Trades Union Movement and anxious to better the conditions of the working classes, they will set themselves to do something that will bring about that betterment. Let some arrangement be come to by which a definition of poaching will be found. Is it not possible to set up a central authority here in Ireland to govern the Labour movement? If we had in this country a central authority to whom the whole movement will look for guidance, and by whom it will be controlled, you will find that out of necessity the amalgamated unions will come in and must co-operate.

Mr. McCormack (Grocers and Vintners' Assistants)—"I suggest that the movers of this resolution should withdraw it and try and find some other means of dealing with the matter. If we let the dead past bury its dead, and devote ourselves to finding a remedy for the future, we would be better engaged. If a man seeks membership of a union he might be asked, "are you a member of any other union?" and if he is, then he should not be accepted unless he produced his card, and showed he was clear in the

union he was leaving. I don't suggest that as a cure for all the evils, but I put it forward as my own idea. Meantime, there is need for some constructive line of policy that will obviate the loss of time in discussing this vexed question. After all there is no union that is absolutely free of poaching. Notwithstanding the theory of one big union, the time is not yet ripe for it. The movement in this country is not ripe for it. Meantime, let us make the best use of the machinery at our hands, and educate ourselves and the rank and file upon this question."

Mr. Quinn (Irish National Teachers' Organization) said an effort was made to grab various trades. The whole question of poaching would end if we laid foundations upon the principles laid down some years ago by the Dublin Trades' Council with regard to the grabbing system. "If you take the whole trades of Ireland you can classify them into four or five groups. Take the railwaymen. An engine driver is as much a transport worker as a man who drives a car. Divide all the trades into four or five classes, and give each absolute autonomy in the working out of its own salvation. From then let there spring up a Federal Council of the Guilds which would meet annually as the National Labour Parliament. I agree the ideal of the Transport Workers' Union of one big union may be right, but their methods of bringing it into existence are wrong. If you have any section under the name of General Workers' we all come in. Then if we are in trouble or you are in trouble, we are all members of the one big union, but some particular organization is not the union, it is only a section, and they are not all going to come out. There lies the danger of the one big union. This matter could be settled in this way. If the present resolution be withdrawn and Congress agrees that a Sub-Committee be formed fully representative of every group of workers, they could lay the foundation of one big union, and we could get on."

Mr. Thomas MacPartlin (Amalgamated Society of Woodworkers)—"I am somewhat disappointed at this discussion. I think the bed rock of the whole thing is that no matter how we look at it, this is a direct attack upon the Irish Transport Workers' Union. I have been looking at this matter for four or five years, and time and again at Congress I have tried to find out if the Irish Transport Union was organizing the workers as they ought to be organised. Transfers have taken place of some carpenters, and the Transport Union has done more for them than we could. Where they found the Carpenters' Union could do more for the men than the Transport Union could then they handed them over to us. There are small towns where there are but few carpenters, and where the Transport Workers' could do more for them. I am a member of an international union which is governed by men from South Africa, Australia, Canada, Ireland, Scotland and England—the governing

body is made up of men from all these countries. Ireland does not rule it as yet. They have done more for Ireland than for any other country. What the Transport Union looks at is that men should be in the strongest union for fighting the employers in their particular area, and they have carried that out efficiently. Employers all over are up against the Transport Workers' Union, because it is the only union that has taught the workers as a whole how to fight. I am not a member of the Transport Workers' Union, but I say that union has been carrying on the fight. Little bodies come together and criticise a great union like this, but they could not exist but for the fight put up by the Transport Workers' Union since 1914.

Somebody said that the amalgamated unions are going west. They won't go west for a considerable time, and when they do go west, I hope it will be by proper lines of procedure being taken, and by the unions having a proper vote of their members, and seeing whether they are going for one great union at once. If you want to take a vote, take it to see whether you will go over to the one great union. If the time has arrived for one great union there is no reason why we should not look internationally. See if you will have it, but you will not have it by a little Irish Engineering Union, or a Woodworkers' Union or a Tailors' Union. Join the one big union if you like, but you will see the Woodworkers will not be the last to be counted.

Mr. James Hickey (Dock and Riverside Workers, Cork) said it is said that if the Dockers joined the Transport Union they would be seriously hit. "I entirely disagree with that. I think if we are sincerely honest, and honest to those we are to emancipate we should deal with the matter from the honest point of view by accepting the principle of one big union."

Mr. J. J. Redmond (Irish Engineering Union)—"We are told by some of the friends of the Amalgamated Unions that they are International Unions. If so, why have they always their headquarters in England? How many of these unions are Frenchmen or Belgians? If some of the men who proclaim themselves to be members of the International Unions answer that question I shall be glad, but I know, as you know, that some men who declare themselves Irishmen deny us the right to be put upon the same basis as Frenchmen or Germans. I believe every section in the Industrial Union should have complete autonomy. We have started to organize every man engaged in our industry in Ireland, and I would advise Mr. MacPartlin to organise everyone engaged in the building industry. Now we have a strike on in the Engineering trade in Dublin. Why? Simply because the English Executives agreed to a reduction of 6s. per week. What is the use of talking of the International if it means we have to swallow this reduction of 6s. per week? The men have said the English Executive were wrong; they have turned them down and have agreed to come

out on strike. I take it all this discussion here to-day is the endeavour to do something for the industrial organization of Ireland. I suggest the only effective way it can be preached is by organising on industrial lines. When we talk about preaching may I remind this Congress that were it not for the fact that Jim Larkin broke away from the English Dockers' Union, you would have no Irish Transport Union to-day. How much further have you progressed than if you had remained as you were. I submit that the great progress made in the Labour movement to-day is wholly and solely due to the fact that we had Irishmen with courage enough to break away from the Amalgamated Unions.

Mr. Farrelly—My suggestion upon this subject of poaching is that there should be a panel set up to deal with it. Railwaymen and Clerks are only one organization. Mr. Quinn, in his statement, suggested that certain groups of trades should be set up in this country. I agree that the building trade should be organised industrially.

A Delegate—Does the speaker represent an Amalgamated Society?

Mr. Farrelly—I represent the Dublin Trades Council. What I consider as poaching is this—where members of an organised specific trade are taken over by the Union of another trade. We have no union in this country organised upon industrial lines.

A number of delegates rose to continue the debate.

The President—I think it is agreed that the debate is closed after Mr. Farrelly replied. As one interested in the Union that has been pilloried here to-day, I should like to make one or two remarks. When this resolution came on I put on my armour expecting a very severe attack. It has gone on now, and there really has been no attack; but in order that there may be no ambiguity in the minds of the delegates, I want to state briefly the policy of the Transport Union. I don't want to go over the whole ground, but make no mistake about it, the Transport Union is prepared to stand by the policy it has been working on for years. We believe the time has gone for talking about the one big Union; the time has come when it must be put into operation. No doubt we have walked upon some of your corns; we have hurt you, and we are going to continue to do so. We are going right ahead with the one big Union. You may have to fight upon this question. Mr. Cassidy spoke about the Transport Workers' Union, and he said he was concerned about the Craft Union men, and Mr. Hart spoke about the Dockers losing their identity. Everybody knows the Transport Union was the Dockers' Union, and has retained the dockers of Ireland, and we hope to have the dockers of Ireland for many years. In many towns in Ireland where the Transport Union has raised the flag of Trades Unionism there never was a Trades Union until we went there. Consequently we had to organise the whole town. We have as big

a complaint as any Union in this Congress. When we organised the men other Unions came along and said "We want them." We want a direct vote on this resolution. If you say we must get out of the Congress we will get out of it.

The resolution was then put, and on a show of hands there voted :—

For the resolution	...	...	...	14
Against	...	...	...	126

The President—I declare the resolution lost.

AUDITORS AND SCOTTISH FRATERNAL DELEGATES.

Acting on the report of the Standing Orders Committee recommending the election of Auditors and Scottish Fraternal Delegates, Congress appointed Mr. William Bunbury (Amalgamated Society of Woodworkers) and Mr. J. E. Gilloway (Irish Drapers' Assistants' Association) Auditors, and Mr. Cathal O'Shannon (Irish Transport and General Workers' Union) and Miss Helena Molony (Irish Women Workers' Union) as Fraternal Delegates to the Scottish Trade Union Congress.

Congress adjourned for luncheon at one o'clock.

ADDRESS BY THE LORD MAYOR.

On reassembling at 2.30 p.m.,

The Lord Mayor of Dublin, Alderman Laurence O'Neill, addressed the delegates. He said—Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, I assure you I did not come in to make a speech, but I considered it would be somewhat ungenerous on my part if I did not come into this room to bid you all good-morrow. I regret I was unable to be with you yesterday, but you had Alderman Cosgrave, a man far more capable and far more intellectual and a man able to extend to you in more eloquent terms than I could a hearty welcome. I don't know that I should have come to you to-day only that during the past twenty minutes word has been conveyed to me that friction is likely to arise on some of the Irish railways, and having that knowledge I thought it only fair to you that I should warn you that efforts are being made by people connected with the Great Northern Railway to frustrate your efforts here, and what is more significant still, to frustrate the efforts and the hopes which are uppermost in the minds of every one of us—to frustrate the peace movement which we all hope will extend to this country. I am not in a position, Mr. President, to say more than to warn you, and to warn the delegates here to be up and doing, and to let it go out from this meeting, that if these people connected with the Great Northern Railway attempt to frustrate in any way the efforts you are making and the efforts the leaders of the Irish nation are making towards peace, the day of reckoning will come, and come very shortly

(applause). Now, Mr. President, I am glad to see you here, and to see all these delegates around you. A great many clouds have gathered and rolled by since I came before you something like five years ago. In the natural course of events your President will pass away and I will pass away, and I may never have an opportunity again in my official capacity as Lord Mayor of Dublin of addressing you, and therefore I take this opportunity of thanking you sincerely for the great kindness you have extended to me on many occasions, and I will express the hope to-day that I have expressed before, that your deliberations may be of great service to you and of great service to our country generally.

I noticed, Mr. President, that you mentioned when welcoming President De Valera yesterday that you met him for the first time in Richmond Prison. It is an extraordinary thing, but true, that I met you for the first time in Richmond Prison, and I suppose there are very few of you who have not been in jail (laughter and applause). I hope you will look kindly on jail-birds like President De Valera, and your own President, Mr. Foran, and Alderman O'Brien, who, I think, has been in jail too. Before I leave this platform I should tell you that one for whom you have a great respect has his eyes centred upon you here this afternoon, although he is himself thousands of miles away. When in America lately I had the temerity to visit Jim Larkin in jail (loud applause). I was warned it would be a very undignified thing for the Lord Mayor of Dublin to visit a "criminal" in Sing Sing Prison. I did not think my position would be in any way effected or my dignity in any way hurt by visiting Jim Larkin (applause), and he asked me to avail of the first opportunity that offered to remember him to the boys and girls of the Labour movement in this country*. I may also tell you that Jim Larkin is just as hopeful, just as generous and full of fight as ever he was (loud applause).

The President—I am sure I am expressing the feelings of every delegate to this Conference in thanking the Lord Mayor for coming here to-day. The Lord Mayor has always been our friend. When it was not popular for men of his type to be friendly with the Labour movement the Lord Mayor was always on our side. In the dark days of the movement the Lord Mayor was one of the few friends the workers had on their side. As he said, a time will come when we all must pass away, but when he does pass away he will know that the working classes of the country recognise him as a true and tried friend of the Labour movement (applause). I think I may also say that of all people who occupied the position of Lord Mayor of Dublin, not one of them could claim the same credit as he is entitled to. When he invites the several parties to the Mansion House they find it very difficult to leave that building without a settlement having been come to. And it is not always against the workers (applause).

THE LATE PREMIER T. J. RYAN OF QUEENSLAND.

The President—Before resuming our discussion on the agenda, I am asked to call attention to the death of Mr. T. J. Ryan, President of the Labour Party in Queensland. He was always a champion of our cause, nationally and industrially. Last year he visited this country, and one of the first places he called at to get an idea of the condition of this country was Liberty Hall. He was not exactly an Irishman born, but he was the son of an Irishman (hear, hear).

Congress expressed its sympathy, all delegates rising in their places.

NO PUBLIC MEETING.

Standing Orders Committee reported as follows:—"As the Mansion House will not be available during the period of Congress, and as it is not considered advisable that an open air meeting should be held at present, we recommend that the usual public meeting be not held having regard to the circumstances."

Adopted.

INTER-UNION DISPUTES—COURT OF APPEAL.

The following resolution was next taken up:—

"This Congress is of opinion that differences of opinion occurring between Unions as to enrolment or transfer of members should be settled amicably in accordance with justice and recognised procedure, that the doctrine 'might is right' does not hold good in the Labour movement, and that an impartial Court of Appeal be established by the National Executive to deal with those and other inter-Union disputes."

Mr. Griffin (Irish Clerical and Allied Workers' Union)—With reference to this resolution I realise I would be touching somewhat on ground similar to that covered by the resolution moved by the Trades Council and defeated. It must be clearly understood this resolution is not prompted by any feeling of resentment. It is the result of a system of the deliberate absorption of our members. In 1917 when the Irish Clerical Workers' Union was established there was no union catering for clerks except the Post Office and Railway Clerks' organisations. The Clerical Workers' Union took the matter in hand, and since that time we have organised 10,000 clerical workers in Ireland. I regret that owing to poaching our members do not now exceed 2,000. The Clerical Workers gave support to the organisation of Distributive Workers, and I think we thereby showed we were in favour of one big Union. We are still in favour of one big Union on industrial lines. We found that the Transport Workers' Union, which gave us their support, have now withdrawn that support and have taken over our members here in town where they were perfectly well aware we were catering for them. We having

organised the clerical workers should have got support from all other organised Unions. We experienced considerable difficulty in keeping members in our Union. Some of our members who were earning 15s. per week in 1914 are now earning £5 per week. A number of members whose subscriptions lapsed were taken over by the Transport Workers' Union, and they make them pay money they should have paid to us. This kind of thing gives these people an opportunity of evading their duty, and it is for that reason I strongly advocate a Court of Appeal to whom these matters could be referred. Our complaint is of one Irish Union poaching upon another.

Mr. M. J. O'Connor (Irish Automobile Drivers and Automobile Mechanics)—I second the resolution. There is one big question, and that is that when a member of an existing Union wishes to join another it should be seen to that he has a clear card. If that was done all the bickering would be done away with to the great advantage of the solidarity of the Labour movement.

Miss H. Molony—This Appeal Court, if it would tend to restore harmony and unity, then for mercy sake let us have it.

Mr. L. J. Duffy—Would the people who support the Court of Appeal, if the resolution is carried, be prepared to accept its decision. If not we are not making any progress.

The President—I think we could agree unanimously upon this resolution.

Mr. W. Davin (Railway Clerks' Association)—I object to the President of the Congress using his position to hold that the Transport Workers' Union should do what it likes. I should like to know if this Court is set up and gives its decision would his Union be prepared to carry out the decision of the Court? I was amazed at the statement he made in closing the last debate.

The President—In 90 per cent. of the cases we have always insisted on these people clearing up their cards.

Mr. Duffy—I shall vote for the resolution if its supporters are prepared to obey the decision.

Mr. Anthony (Typographical Association, Cork)—The only constructive suggestion as to poaching and this Court of Appeal has come from the ladies. I support this resolution if it will tend to eliminate these debates. It would be well to have this resolution passed, and then we might at the end of twelve months arrive at some solution. This resolution will obviate a certain amount of poaching. If you have this Court of Appeal it will mean complaints can be lodged. The poaching is still going on, and we hear from the Clerical Workers' Union what is going on all over the country. If as at present constituted this Congress sets up a Court of Appeal will it not be eventually a Court of Appeal constituted of the Transport Workers' Union. That no doubt is due to the capacity and organising power which has

developed in the Transport Workers' Union. If the Court is to be put in operation we may be able to form some rules that will govern the matter in the future.

The President—Is it agreed that this resolution should pass?
Passed unanimously.

ALLEGED RUSSIAN GIFT FOR IRISH RAILWAYMEN.

Mr. Thos. MacPartlin (A.S.W. and National Executive)—Some time ago your National Executive had business in London, and information came to them that certain monies had been sent on to Ireland to help in the railwaymen's fight against the tyranny of the British Government. As far as he knew no such thing had taken place, and immediately we looked for some proof. We were brought documentary evidence that certain monies had been collected from Trade Unions in Russia to help in that fight. Had we known any such money was coming we would have told the workers in Russia that their own fight was severe enough. If the Russian workers had money to spare for others and that money had come we would never have refused it. We have taken no such money, and we hope the Russian workers have not sent it into the wrong channels.

AMALGAMATION OF TRADE UNIONS.

Mr. L. J. Duffy (Irish Drapers' Assistants)—Our friend, Mr. Farrelly, mentioned something about the organisation I belong to taking over an Amalgamated Union. That was done in the most regular way. The members of the Amalgamated Union were balloted and decided to come over to our organisation.

ELECTIONS UNDER THE PARTITION ACT.

Mr. White (Wexford)—I should like to say a word in reference to the elections under the Partition Act. In the Report you make reference to the election of Alderman Corish, Mayor of Wexford, to Dail Eireann. The Trades Council of Wexford is responsible, and consequently I take it that this paragraph referring to his election is casting a slur upon the Trades Council of Wexford, and would give the Trades Councils of Ireland an idea that something was done contrary to the spirit of the Labour Party Constitution. I contend that is not so. I don't know where the National Executive got the information upon which they based their remarks. They did not get it from me or Alderman Corish. They state it was a breach of the Labour Party Constitution. What occurred in this connection was this: Alderman Corish was approached to know if he would take a seat in the Dail. We decided the right thing was to lay the matter before the Trades Council. We summoned a meeting of the Trades Council and decided there would be no breach of the Constitution of the Irish Labour Party in Alderman Corish accepting a seat on the Dail.

We look upon it as the governing body of Ireland. We were of the opinion then that the members to be elected would be to Dail Eireann and would have a great say in any negotiations in reference to disputes between the Irish and the English peoples, and we were of opinion that in the interval these members elected would have great power and would have a great voice in the government of the country. Alderman Corish took no pledge to any party except the Labour Party; in fact the only people he took a pledge to were the Wexford Trades Council, and before such a censure was inserted the least the National Executive should have done was to communicate with the Wexford Trades Council. Before the Municipal elections of 1920 a Conference of the Trades Councils of Ireland was convened by the National Executive, and certain decisions were come to, and one was that no Labour candidate should enter into any pledge with any political party. We carried that out in Wexford. We were approached to take a pledge to a particular party but we refused, and we fought all political parties. The same thing applied to the County Council and Board of Guardians elections. We took no pledges except to the Labour Party, and we won again. We know in other places in Ireland parties were made up of tickets. Dublin Trades Council ran parties. You had members of the Labour Party running purely and solely upon political tickets, but not a word from the National Executive. But for some reason or another they decided to give their stroke as to the election of the Mayor of Wexford. I hold Wexford Trades Council was perfectly right in accepting a seat on the body which to-day is recognised as the governing body of Ireland. He did not go forward as the nominee of any political party in Ireland; he was the nominee of the Trades Council. He holds that position in the Dail and all his other positions as the nominee of the workers of Wexford, and if the workers decided he should withdraw from that position he will do so. I don't think it is right such a reference as that made to Alderman Corish in the Report should be allowed to go in. We in Wexford have fought solely on the Labour ticket, and we have achieved more than any other part of Ireland. We have a Labour Corporation, a Labour Board of Guardians, and a Labour majority on the County Council.

Mr. Thomas Johnson (Secretary N.E.)—After Mr. White's speech I think I am right in saying that had the Executive known before drawing up this paragraph what we know now it would have had quite a different complexion. It might have been very much more severe on Alderman Corish and very much more severe on the Wexford Trades Council. Mr. White said there has been no breach of the spirit of the Constitution. There has been a distinct breach of the law of the Constitution by the action of the Wexford Trades Council in what they have done, possibly quite innocently, or perhaps I should say quite ignorantly. I am glad to think Labour has done so well in its representation on public Boards in Wexford. I give them all credit, but I think it will

be recognised despite the comparison Mr. White draws between the action of the Executive of the Labour Party as to representation on local bodies, that a very different question arises when we are dealing with Parliamentary representation. Mr. White now says that Alderman Corish is a Labour representative on the Dail.

Mr. White—What I meant to convey was that he is a member of the Dail with the consent of the Labour Party in Wexford.

Mr. Johnson—Is Alderman Corish a member of the Dail as representative of the local Labour party or the nominee of any other party?

Mr. White—He has taken no pledge to any party. The only pledge he has taken is to the Labour Party. As a prominent citizen he was approached to allow himself to be nominated for the Dail. He consulted the Trades Council, and the Trades Council decided he should do so if he was not pledged to any party.

Mr. Johnson—I take it Alderman Corish and the Trades Council are in the same boat. He was approached by a political party outside the Labour Party. He said: "I cannot take your nomination. I will apply to the Wexford Trades Council." Now, if they had adhered to the written Constitution they should have acquainted the Executive about the suggestion that there was to be a Labour candidate for Wexford. The Constitution very distinctly says: "A candidate for 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 body"; and further, "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," and further on it is stated "candidates for election shall also pledge themselves to accept this Constitution, to agree to abide by the decisions of the National Executive in carrying out the aims of the Constitution, and to appear before their constituencies as 'Labour candidates' only. 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." That is very distinct and very easily understood, and it now appears the Wexford Trades Council accepts responsibility for having supported the nomination of Alderman Corish. They have not consulted or informed or given any notification up to to-day that Alderman Corish has been run by that Council, and it is the Wexford Trades Council that has violated that Constitution. Alderman Corish was a party to it. Everyone will agree that the condemnation of Alderman Corish is very gentle—it could not be more gentle.

The spectacle we have now is that in the National Assembly Labour is represented by one person. Does that add to the dignity of the Labour movement in Ireland? The whole question of Labour candidatures was very carefully considered indeed, and a resolution was passed and published, and advice was given. It may not have been good advice, it may have been bad advice, but neither before that resolution was passed nor after it was passed did any communication come from the Wexford Labour Party upon the subject. So that this condemnation, in respect of Alderman Corish, would not have been so gentle in the case of the Wexford Trades Council had we known the extent of their responsibility.

Alderman Corish (Wexford)—May I say with regard to the Wexford Trades Council, they should not receive any condemnation? I was asked as Mayor of Wexford to go forward as a member of the Dáil; the Trades Council purely permitted me to go forward. Much has been said about a breach of the Constitution, but I want to compare that with the statement of our President. I want to know is it for him to come forward at this period of our country's history and present a blank cheque to Mr. De Valera? If I broke the Constitution, by going forward as a member of the Dáil I think the President has done wrong in pledging the whole movement to Dáil Eireann. I think the Executive has displayed very bad taste indeed by mentioning this matter in the Report. I think they should have first communicated with the Trades Council or with me. I have no apology to make for my action. I think I did the right thing.

The President—With regard to the alleged blank cheque I presented to President De Valera, what I did was done in the presence of the Delegates. They were all in front of me when I made the suggestion, and no one in the whole Congress dissented from it. It is an entirely different matter from the one now mentioned in the National Executive's Report. You were all present in the one case; there was nobody but the interested parties in the other. There is no analogy whatever.

Cathal O'Shannon (Irish Transport and General Workers' Union), having first spoken in Irish, said—Let us consider this question apart from any sentimentality any of us may have about the delicate negotiations going on or the events through which the country is passing. Surely the time is gone long ago when anyone would get up and say we ought not to do this or do that because of the great crisis the country is passing through. In the old days we were bitter opponents of the eloquent Dempseys who said "we must impress this other party or that other party." That is no concern of ours. We have got to mind our own business. Let us go back to this business of the Wexford Trades Council and Alderman Corish. The paragraph is not half as severe as it might be. If Alderman Corish or the Wexford Trades Council is permitted to do this on the authority

of the local organisation, why cannot the Belfast Trades Council claim the same right of self-determination and send on Unionists, not only anti-self-determinators, but employers of labour, to do the same thing and say they ought to do that in the interests of the country? Alderman Corish knows—for he with the rest of us were their pupils—that Connolly and Larkin and people like them drove this great and important thing right into the heart of the Labour Movement, namely: that above all things in any organisation like this a good Trades Unionist should stick to his Trade Union and not take any honours or take any preferments if he had any responsibility to the Labour movement without the consent of this movement. The breach of the Constitution of the Labour movement is clear. Alderman Corish talks about being courteous to him and the Wexford Trades Council, but the first act of true and genuine courtesy should have come from him and the Wexford Trades Council, and they should have told the National Executive what they were going to do. It is not one Member of Dáil Eireann we could have had in the same circumstances, we could have had many. There have been instances when one or more members have been approached to go into the post of honour and they did not need to wait to ask the National Executive and they said "No; our call to go forward as candidates is to come from the Congress of the workers of the whole of Ireland. And more than two years ago I was one of those who in the Special Congress expressed the minority opinion in favour of the Labour Party putting forward some candidates of their own, because I saw the time was coming when other parties would be looking for candidates as Labour Candidates. They looked in Belfast and we know what they found there. They looked in Wexford and they found one, a good man all right, but after all his allegiance ought to be both to the spirit and letter of the Constitution and the whole work of the Labour movement in Ireland. When Labour makes any attempt to go into Parliament, or its prominent officials make any attempt they should go only as Labour Candidates to fight in Labour's Cause.

None of us knows anything about the state of the negotiations. I doubt if even Alderman Corish knows. If a Labour Party were in the Dáil it might be that at some stage of these negotiations the Labour Party might have to take an opposition line to the course of the negotiations, and if it had to take up a position of opposition and had to fight it would take its orders not from its local Trade Councils or citizens, no matter how estimable, it would take its attitude of approval or criticism or anything else from the delegate body of the Irish Workers' Congress. That body is Commander-in-Chief, advisor, instructor of the Irish Labour Movement. When we went into the local elections we had a special meeting of the Irish Labour Party, and I don't know there was any breach of the

rules then laid down. It is a very serious thing when you come to deal with representation in the Council of the State. After all we, as a Labour movement, are not bound to the tail of the Dáil or even to the very gallant men and women who have put the Dáil in the position it is to-day—I refer to the members of the I.R.A.—because any moment in industrial troubles we may have to fight some of them, and keep as clear of them as we did of the British Army. When wrongly used we should have no more fear of the weapons in Ireland than of those provided from outside of Ireland. Some of us would rather see the whole Labour movement go smash, be split in a thousand fragments and a postponement for a generation of the fulfilment of our hopes and aspirations rather than the spirit of independent criticism and opposition in the political and industrial fields should be surrendered by Labour or swept away from this movement. (Applause).

The paragraph was adopted without further discussion.

INTERNED TRADE UNIONISTS.

The following proposition on the Agenda was taken with the paragraphs of the Report dealing with this subject:—

“That in view of the great number of Trade Unionists now interned throughout Ireland, without any apparent reason and without trial, this Congress recommends that

- (1) All members of Trade Unions in prison for other than criminal offences should have their Union cards kept clear;
- (2) All possible steps should be taken so that positions held by members be kept open to them on release.”

Mr. Casey (Limerick Trade and Labour Council)—This resolution, though on the Agenda in the name of the Limerick Trades Council, is not exactly the resolution of that body. It is the resolution sent out from Ballykinlar Internment Camp to the various Trades Councils. We have many of our members interned and we had a request to bring this matter before Congress with the idea of getting the whole Trade Union movement behind those who have brought the national question where it is to-day. President de Valera in his address gave credit to the Irish Trade Union movement for the position in which the Irish question stands. We would be wanting in our duty if we did not see that these heroes did not suffer during their internment. In the last month or so we in Limerick have had two or three instances of victimisation lately of a very harsh kind. One man working on the railway lost his position because he went to a funeral, but we were able to fix him up until he was reinstated. The second paragraph of the resolution was most important, namely, that all possible steps should be taken so that the positions held by men

interned should be kept open for them on their release. I feel sure we can rely upon the help of the National Executive in any steps that may be taken to get these men restored to their former positions on their liberation.

Mr. Collins (Cork) seconded the resolution.

Mr. J. J. Redmond (Engineering Trade Union) moved to insert the following paragraph at the end of the resolution:—

“That such members should be entitled to the ordinary Trade Unemployment Benefit from their Union.”

I want to make it clear that this amendment or addendum applies to Unions that pay unemployment benefit. I agree with the resolution.

Mr. P. F. McIntyre (Irish Engineering Union) seconded.

Mr. T. McPartlin—The first thing you are going to do if you pass this amendment is to dictate to the Unions what their line of policy ought to be. Very different lines of benefit have been laid down in different Unions. We have paid our men interned more than twice what they would receive if paid unemployment benefit. It is for the members of a Union to make up their minds whether these men should get unemployment benefit only, or more. It is for the members to see these men are properly cared for. The women have taken care these men won't suffer, and it is the duty of the members of Unions to see their comrades don't suffer. Meantime, I hope no one will dictate to the Unions what they ought to pay.

The President—I think that the amendment should be withdrawn. It is hardly a question we ought to go into here.

Mr. McIntyre—There is a great principle involved, and that is the right of the men interned to receive unemployment benefit.

The President—If there are members of any particular Union suffering hardship through their Union not paying them unemployment benefit, it speaks badly for themselves not to pay them.

Mr. Weldon (Cork)—In the Union I represent in the City of Cork we have no less than about 50 members interned, and as far as my little Union is concerned they won't see any of their people short during the time the men are kept in. We see that their books are kept clear and we do all that we can to give them as much wages as if they were at work, and I think there is enough patriotism left in Ireland to see that every one of our Trade Union members are properly looked after.

Miss Cahalan (Drapers' Assistants' Association)—I don't think the framers of this amendment were quite alive to what they were doing; I don't think they considered the situation. Our constitution absolutely forbids us to pay unemployment benefit under this heading. If there is no other fund or money available except unemployment benefit, it should be found. The Irish people—

contributed £120,000 to the strike; this is on the same lines and I, personally, have the greatest faith in the generosity of the people. I have come across no case of anyone that has been neglected, or that applied and did not find help.

Mr. McCormack (Grocers and Vintners' Assistants)—I am obliged to support this amendment; we have a greater percentage of members interned than any other Union. Meantime we have made provision for some months past. We have got a list of interned members and we supply them with anything they may require, and we are building up a fund to give them something to start with when they come out. We make other provisions, and I am sure if every other Union does the same as we are doing nobody will be forced to pay the minimum unemployment benefit.

Mr. Thos. Johnson (Secretary, N.E.)—This matter really involves the working of the Unions from the standpoint of their rules. Some Unions have unemployment funds; some have none. Some have one rate of contribution and one rate of benefit and some another. Here is a matter entirely outside the Trade Unions. This resolution asks that the Unions should make themselves responsible for risks over which they have no control and which no foresight can prevent. It is quite an impossible proposition and would make a Union incapable of carrying on its work if badly hit. The complaints that have come to light are very small, and the grievances that have come forward from Ballykinlar have been in the majority of cases unfounded. This story has been right through the branches, and when a demand was made for the names of the families not cared for only a very small proportion have been found to have any foundation. I think this is not the kind of resolution that should go out from this Congress. It asks the Trades Unions to take upon themselves certain responsibilities that by the Constitution of those particular Unions they are not able to fulfil. It is entirely a matter for the collection of funds apart from Trade Union members.

Alderman O'Brien (I.T. & G.W.U.)—I join in making an appeal to the Union concerned to withdraw this resolution. We all approve of the cause they are fighting, but we must not let our sympathy run away with our judgment. I appeal for the withdrawal of the resolution and to let all things stand as they are at present.

Mr. Redmond—My attention has been drawn to the fact that the amendment should have been simply an addendum because it would look as if by sticking up for the amendment you were against the resolution. I agree that a good deal of what Thomas Johnson said is true. What we ask is that these men should be protected. They are idle men so far as we know. If it is the opinion of the Congress that they would not like to take a vote upon the question we are prepared to withdraw it. But although withdrawing it we

are still of the opinion that so far as our members are concerned they should be paid their unemployment benefit. The matter has raised a useful discussion, at any rate, and I hope the result will be that the interned men will be properly looked after. I beg to withdraw my motion.

The President—The amendment is withdrawn and the resolution is now before you.

Miss Molony (I.W.W.U.)—As to clause 2 of the resolution, I should like to have more definite wording. At present I know men who have been interned, and when they came out they found their jobs gone. It is almost better not to come out when they have to face idleness. Anyone who takes up the job of an interned man should regard himself as only temporarily in that man's job, and should give up the position when the man comes out. I should like to know that this is not a mere pious expression of opinion. I think it should be a binding rule.

Mr. MacPartlin—If any one will read the papers they will find that our Secretary recently took effective action in a case of that kind. I, like Miss Molony, came across cases such as she mentioned.

A Delegate—I don't think it is good trades unionism to work with a man who refuses to give up a job in such circumstances.

Resolution passed unanimously.

Paragraphs in report, "Choice of Union by Employers," "Dublin Trades Council," "Coal Lock-out," "The Political Situation," "British Labour Party Commission," "Labour Party Campaign," and "Labour Proposals," "Raids, Arrests and Murders," "Labour Organisation," were passed without discussion.

"WAGES REDUCTIONS."

Miss Bennett (I.W.W.U.)—The report mentions "an improvement of 30 per cent. over pre-war standard of living to be demanded and striven for." Is not that unwise? Surely we are not going to accept less than 50 per cent. For our members we want at least £2 a week, therefore I think we ought not to accept 30 per cent. In 1914 women workers ought to have had at least 25/- per week.

The President—What had they then?

Miss Bennett—They were sweated workers. We are not satisfied to go back to 32/6. Suppose the cost of living goes down to what it was before the war, is any man going to be satisfied with 32/6?

Mr. Thos. Johnson (Secretary N.E.)—Miss Bennett asks are we going to be satisfied with 32/6 per week for any man or woman if the cost of living goes back to what it was in July,

1914. I would ask Miss Bennett is anyone satisfied with less than that before the cost of living has gone back to 1914? She would say "No." So we say we will not be satisfied with 32/6 even if the cost of living goes back to the 1914 standard. We will not be satisfied with any rate of wages. We were dealing here in this paragraph with a proposition that we thought to be practicable, not with something that ought to satisfy us ultimately. And here is a proposition we suggest which will certainly not satisfy us ultimately, but is practicable, and is a kind of proposition we should stand over in the interval if we can do nothing better. The Executive is prepared to say that the whole Trade Union movement should unanimously stand to this proposition. What does it mean to-day? If you take the Board of Trade figures, say 120 per cent. above July, 1914, we say you will be adding 120 per cent. on to the 32/6 minimum. If Miss Bennett's Organization or any general workers' organization is able to enforce that we would not be far away from getting something better, and we put it forward quite seriously as a kind of proposition that the Labour movement in Ireland ought to stand firm upon. Some people say that 30 per cent. improvement upon the pre-war standard is too little. Get your 30 per cent. improvement and we will then consider the next step. To say it is too small a proposition may be perfectly true, but the employers will have a word to say in the matter unfortunately, and they don't think it is too small. Miss Bennett has not got for many of her workers, and many other Unions have failed to get 32/6 at the present cost of living, and we suggest that the minimum should be 32/6 at pre-war cost of living, and we make no distinction in that as between men and women. We have made suggestions in this of the kind of machinery that ought to be brought into being for the purpose of attaining the reality to which we ought to aspire. The suggestion is far short of what most of us would like, but it is something to be going on with, and if you do desire to move towards industrial unions this at least is something towards that end. Let those of any particular industry—groups of trades in a particular industry—when a proposal is made for the reduction of wages in any of your sections, come together and form the nucleus of an industrial union. You can carry out the action of an industrial union before the industrial union is formed, and when you have your experience of fighting together the other matter of stepping over all formalities will be very easy indeed. We suggest that Trade Unions in particular industries should come together to form a basis of action and take united action when any question affecting a wages movement is put forward. So far although there has been an echo of quite a number of demands for reductions of wages, we have heard of

only one movement of this kind, and that is in the Engineering Trade in Dublin. We have good reason to know other Unions may be affected, and groups of Unions are prepared to move in resisting any such attacks. We suggest it is your duty to go back to your districts and form your local or district councils of trade groups and be all prepared to take action that will be absolutely necessary if you are going to withstand the demands for reduction. Take my word for it, if I can read the signs of the times, the country is going to be in a very serious plight in the next few months on this question of wage reduction, and unless we are going to be beaten down very much worse than the English workers, we will have to make a stand and force the employing class and the governing classes in this country to take such steps as will safeguard the industries of the country by providing a livelihood at a reasonable standard for the workers of the country. (Applause.)

The President—As this is a very important subject, I suggest we now postpone this discussion until Congress resumes to-morrow.

Congress adjourned accordingly until 9.30 on Wednesday morning.

THIRD DAY.

Wednesday, August 3rd, 1921.

REPORT OF NATIONAL EXECUTIVE.

WAGES REDUCTION—(continued).

The President having called Congress to order, the discussion on Wages Reductions was continued.

Mr. P. McCormack (Grocers' Assistants, Dublin)—I am afraid a lot of people are likely to misunderstand the report, and I think Miss Bennett in what she stated yesterday fell into a little error. Possibly others may do so as well, so that I think the matter requires some little explanation. I attended a conference on Saturday last with some of my colleagues, and there were also representatives of the employers. Discussing the question of wages, we were told that women were satisfied with the 35/-. I do not know if there was any authority for that statement. I take the basis of 25/- as an illustration of the 1914 wage were we seeking to make that a living wage by increasing that by 30 per cent.

Mr. Thos. Johnson (Secretary)—An increase to 32/6 was what might be considered bringing it towards a living wage.

"In the case of the lower paid occupations where the adult pre-war wage was below 25/- per week, it shall for the purpose of any wage negotiations be deemed to have been 25/-."

Mr. McCormack—We tried to obtain an increase according to the increased cost of living which was put down at 120 per cent. That 120 per cent. would bring 32/6 to 70/9. My calculation, comparing the list of food prices current in July, 1914, with the list current last week. I make out the cost of living has increased at least 175 per cent. Since I made out these figures the cost has gone up 5 to 7 per cent. more in Ireland. I need not demonstrate it to anybody who has got a grasp of the facts. Two items have considerably advanced in price—butter and milk. Notwithstanding that the prices of cattle are down almost to pre-war prices, the butchers tell us that the price of hides is so reduced that they must keep up the price of meat. The price of leather goods is not reduced in a corresponding degree. There are no instances in this country where wages have been increased sufficiently to admit of any reduction whatever. The wages are not living wages, because any increase of wages has been followed by increase of prices. Paragraph 4 is important. "Before considering proposals for wage reductions a demand should be made that all other items in the expenses of the business or industry in question, e.g., rent, interest, directors' fees, managerial salaries and expenses, etc., shall be reduced." I think this is the most important discussion that has been raised at Congress. There is also the report on unemployment, but I will not go into that question now. I would ask the delegates to study the circular issued by the National Executive and go into the question of the cost of living. I am sure we all agree that the figures are substantially accurate.

Mr. Tobin (N.U.R., Broadstone)—I agree that my friend is right in saying we should take into consideration the cost of living at the present time. There is no doubt but that a lot of people have become notorious of late in extracting an enormous amount of money from the workers that is absolutely unnecessary. These gentlemen, and women sometimes too, come, to use a sporting phrase, into the first three. These are what we call profiteers (hear, hear). Profiteering was carried on to a great extent during the war, so much so that the workers could not maintain a standard wage. A striking illustration was brought to my notice with reference to a most important article of diet used by the worker—the potato. Some time ago, looking at the prices returned at the Dublin Market, I found the wholesale price of potatoes was something like £8 per ton. In the district in which I live the same potatoes, bought at £8 per ton, were retailed for £16 a ton. Surely to God there must be something wrong when

the producer is satisfied with £8—surely to God the man who retails them across the counter was not entitled to another £8 (hear, hear). Another article of diet which is a great necessity is milk. We have been paying 10d. a quart for this all last year. In May it was reduced this year to 8d., and a few weeks ago it was increased to 9d., because we were told that owing to the drought there was a shortage of milk. Any member who has a knowledge of cattle knows that at the present time there is no shortage of milk, as a lot of young heifers are calving at the present time even in the drought.

A Delegate—Wasn't there a shortage of water? (Laughter.)

Mr. Tobin—I went into this question very closely, and I was told that a dairy farmer with 200 cattle whose man delivers milk in the city—I got this information from a member of the Transport Union—that there was no shortage—that he had milk home every morning and every evening. An artificial shortage was created for the purpose of screwing this penny per quart from the workers. There was a shortage of water through the shortage of rain. The hand of God had to do with that. It was wickedness on these men's part to extract an extra penny a quart for the milk. I submit, how can you try to maintain a decent standard of living when you allow these men to profiteer and rob us to such an extent as they have in the past. It is most important that we should bridle these profiteers in some shape. These men who are robbing us can afford to pay three or four thousand pounds for a publichouse or a suburban villa. They live on the fat of the land while the workers suffer every privation, and when they get an increase the profiteers get it also. In any district the cost of an article is based on the amount of the wages the workers get in that district. Where a beast is bought in the Dublin Cattle Market, and it costs the English buyer £2 to £5 to get it across to England, the meat is sold at 3d. or 4d. a pound less in England than at a butcher's place within 100 yards of the Dublin Cattle Market. There must be something wrong, and while that state of things is allowed to exist it will be impossible for the worker to get a living wage. I humbly submit that if a worker were to get a wage equivalent to £5 a week, the cost of living for him would be £5 2s. 6d., so that he would be half a crown out. I was reading a little book lately by a man named Russell. Dealing with profiteers, I support his policy when he says the way we should deal with them was to confiscate their goods and banish them from the country (applause).

Miss L. Bennett (I.W.W.U.) said that it was possible she made a mistake in dealing with percentages when she was dealing with the superior sex. At the risk of making a further error she

should state that they were collectively on the pre-war cost of 36/10 to maintain a family on workhouse fare. At the time they asked for the 30 per cent. increase on 25/- what they were really asking was on the pre-war basis of 32/6. If someone said they were satisfied with 35/- a week she should say they were never satisfied with 35/-. She reminded the Congress of the uphill struggle the women workers of the country had. Some were getting as little as 7/-, 8/- and 10/- for experienced workers. I would throw out this suggestion, Miss Bennett said, we are facing a period of reconstruction in Ireland. New industries will be established. We are looking to a new Society in Ireland. We should not base our claims for wages on the cost of living; we ought right away throw that claim over. The workers should claim just as high a salary or wage as the industry could afford to pay. If it could not afford to pay a decent wage then that industry ought to go (applause). They might have a Co-operative Council or some Guild to deal with the matter. In all struggles with the employers they had been discussing the cost of living; they should give up discussing that; the workers should claim the highest wage which the industry in which they were engaged could afford to pay.

Mr. MacPartlin—I rise in order to see that the discussion may not take a wrong turn. The impression might be created that there was satisfaction among members of the Executive with the 32/6 standard. I do not think I should allow the Congress to pass over it in that way. As you will see by the first paragraph in the Executive's report—"The general guiding policy of the Unions to be: to oppose reductions and to claim advances in the lower paid occupations. On no account to agree to any reduction which will mean a decline in real wages, that is to say, a reduction greater than the decline in the cost of living." In James Connolly's words:

"We will be satisfied with nothing less.
We claim the broad earth as our own."

We intend to fight for everything even over the present standard. I will only make this comment, that we will oppose every reduction and fight to the last trench (applause).

Mr. Hart (National Union of Dockers and Riverside Workers) pointed out that the cost of living in England was considerably lower than here. A little over 12 months ago the dockers, with the assistance of the National Executive, reduced considerably the prices of at least two commodities—butter and bacon. They might remember that the National Executive advised some suggestion whereby they should refuse to export commodities to England which would be cheaper to the English people than they in Ireland could purchase.

them. That was a practical suggestion which he was sure would have the hearty co-operation of not only the dockers, but all workers. To his mind the question of profiteering and wages reduction did not go hand in hand. The action of the shipowners in the North of Ireland with regard to wages was the first result of partition. The dockers were brought together by North of Ireland shipowners, but under no circumstances would they agree to any local settlement. They demanded a national settlement. The cross-Channel workers demanded national negotiations and under no circumstances would they agree to any conference that was not a National Joint Conference. They were told that the dockers on the other side of the water had accepted a reduction and they were bound to abide by it. They were quite within their right in demanding a National Joint Conference. He was satisfied from conversations with the workers, and he thought he was speaking and voicing the wishes of the whole of his colleagues in the same Union in saying that they were prepared to face the companies again and fight them in this in a united fight. It was the intention of the Employers' Association to fight them so far as it was able. The workers should be prepared to fight them unitedly, and he believed they would fight them unitedly. If a reduction took place in one place they would not be able to successfully resist it in another. He believed wages should be based on the fact that the men who formed the most important factor in producing the wealth of the country should be enabled to enjoy the life that God gave him to live. On behalf of my own members I want to thank the National Executive for the way they have considered this and their most admirable answer to wages reduction. (Applause).

Mr. Dawson Gordon (Flax Roughers and Yarn Spinners, Belfast) said that, while agreeing with the first part of the Report, they ought to take the facts and consider what their position was: to face and resist as far as possible any reduction of wages and, on the other hand, ask for an increase. If they were working two or three days a week, what prospect had they of making any effort to resist wage reduction or, on the other hand, ask for an increase? In the weaving industry, just before "the Twelfth," there was a considerable reduction in hours. They made an effort to meet that, but they were told by the employers they might take it or leave it. In the case of the factory workers in the weaving industry, where they were only working a few hours a week it was impossible to resist a reduction in wages. The spinners were a little better protected. There was a proposal that the reduction should be 8/- for men and 5/- for women. In the weaving the reductions were from 8/- to 12/-. He did not see any hope of being able to resist reductions. The spinners could go before a trade Board, but at the present rate he did not think they could resist in any way. That was their position. He thought that the advice given by the Executive in its Report was

very good for those who were in a good position to take it, but owing to the present conditions of the textile workers he did not see any prospect of resistance for them.

Mr. J. Collins (Furnishing Trades Association) said that members of his trade in last March got a notification of a reduction. A Joint Committee met the employers, and the employers saw that they were bound together, and when they saw that if the reduction were to take place the intention of the workers was to close the houses they dropped the reduction. They went on to talk of the question of a reduction in the profits and in the salaries of the non-producers, the men who got £700 and £1,200 a year for walking about and doing nothing. When the employers saw that there was a Joint Committee of the workers opposed to the reduction they let it slide. They showed that what to fight meant the closing down of the premises. That was the position in any industry. In mostly all of them it was a matter of helping people to keep up profits and keep the workers down.

Mr. T. H. Gill (Railway Clerks' Association, York), said he would like that they should look at the scheme as a whole, and looking at it as a whole there could not be a single delegate who could find fault with it. He would like to pay a tribute to the Executive Committee that was responsible for drawing up the scheme and the splendid way in which they did their business. It was a fine lead to give the workers on this particular question. With regard to the suggestion that rather than accept a reduction they should put up a new wage demand, no one could find fault with that advice. It pointed out the lines on which they were to move to meet any reduction that might be proposed. It was notorious that before many months were over the men and women of this country would be thankful for the guidance given in the Report. The most beneficial part of the scheme was where they suggested there shall be no division in the ranks of the workers in any particular industry in meeting any attack made upon them. He did not suppose that there was a single industry in which one Union had complete control. In any industry which was likely to be attacked there were two or more Unions involved, and they should act together. They knew from experience that the employers were 'cute enough to endeavour to come to an understanding with one Union and endeavour to force all the Unions into an agreement that the one Union has made. In his opinion, the advice given in this scheme was good, and such that the various organisations should accept and abide by. It was imperative that they should do so if they were to have one fight. If the railwaymen in Ireland did not stand solid together on this particular question they were going to have a bitter struggle. In the railway industry three Unions were involved, and they saw in the Press that morning what was

taking place. The Railway Companies had decided, without consultation and without negotiation as to what they were going to do on this cut as far as railwaymen's wages were concerned, but any Trade Unionist who had got a spark of pluck would see that this was not going to take place (applause). They should apply their whole strength to prevent that taking place. Let the railwaymen of Ireland work loyally together and work side by side to prevent it taking place. They had there yesterday the Lord Mayor of Dublin, who suggested that a very dangerous situation was arising so far as the railways were concerned. We do not know what particular wage reduction he had in mind, Mr. Gill continued, but the situation regarding the increasing of hours and the reduction of wages is one which we will have to handle very carefully. I hope we will have the pluck to act loyally together in that particular struggle. I do not intend to intrude any views on the national situation; but I think when the crisis occurs we cannot allow, we will not allow, the capitalist railway owners of this country to play upon the national situation and steal our birthright from us. We will want to be careful to do nothing that will be to our prejudice, or in any shape or form be detrimental to the negotiations, which I hope will lead to a proper solution. While we should do nothing to prejudice these negotiations, we must not allow any circumstance to give the companies an opportunity of cutting our wages and putting us in the intolerable position we were before the war. For these reasons I think we are under a deep compliment to the Executive Committee for the completeness of the scheme. I would, in particular, ask the help of the railwaymen in meeting this particular question, and ask them to stand together and fight together, if necessary, to prevent this cut which has been suggested (applause).

Mr. Kenny (N.U.R., Inchicore)—I rise to express, as a railwayman, my appreciation of the efforts of the National Executive in drawing up this scheme. I do not want to go further into it, but I wish to refer to one thing with regard to the attack that is about to be made on the Irish railwaymen. I, as one belonging to the National Union of Railwaymen, do not give much heed to the reports which we see in the capitalist Press. I would rather place my confidence in the reports I get from my organisation, and at the present time the officials of an organisation in Ireland have the situation, as far as I am aware, in hand. I do say this, that in any attack that will be made upon the Irish railwaymen the National Union will not be behind in repelling that attack. I want to assure my colleagues there is no weakness whatever in the ranks of the National Union of Railwaymen. It is a regrettable fact that another railway Union is not affiliated to this Congress, but notwithstanding that organisation I hope we will be equal to resisting the attack as far as the other Unions are concerned.

Mr. Molloy (N.U.R., Broadstone)—While that particular Union referred to is not affiliated to this Congress, would it not be possible, if we decide to adopt any particular course of getting at these people for the purpose of knowing what their intentions are in regard to resisting these wage reductions?

Mr. J. J. Redmond (Irish Engineering Union) said he wanted to inform the delegates that, as a result of the advice of the Executive contained in the Report and a refusal of the employers to negotiate on this side, since last Friday night every member of the Irish Engineering Union, the Transport Workers, and the different Unions affiliated with them, were out on strike. They ceased work on Friday night to resist a reduction of 6s. a week, namely, 3s. on 15th July and 3s. from August, and a possible reduction of 12½ per cent., or 16s. or 17s., from the 1st September. Negotiations had been going on for the past fortnight between representatives of the employers and the Unions concerned. The employers' case was that they had no say in the matter, and they told our representatives that these reductions had been made and agreed to with the other side by the representatives of the different Unions and the representatives of the employers. They had sent forward an application to the Executive in London for an opportunity to state the men's case, but they said they could not negotiate with them on this side, that the wages question had to be settled on the other side of the water. The case they made in answer to the fight against wage reduction was that as soon as the Irish question was settled the Executive of the employers would then consider the advisability of giving the Dublin Employers' Association the right to treat Dublin as a separate entity. As Irish Trade Unionists, rather than accept a reduction of wages, and as a result of that answer, the men in the engineering shops concerned had carried the advice of the Executive into effect, and they had been followed by the other Unions concerned. He simply rose to call attention to the fact that the fight is now on with the engineering trade. They were in the trenches, and not only the engineering trade, but every other trade, was going to be involved in a short time. He suggested that they ought to endeavour to get all Trade Unionists engaged in any particular industry to carry out the advice of the Executive, and they ought to be prepared to join forces when the time arrived (hear, hear).

Mr. Brophy (Woodworkers) said that Mr. Redmond made a mistake when he thought the men in the engineering trade were the first to resist the wages reduction. A 12s. a week reduction was announced in December last, and the woodworkers in the engineering shops were the first to strike. They were out since then. The only shop working in Great Britain was Harland and Wolff's. He was surprised to hear Mr. Stewart say they should have a plebiscite when they had 2,000 scabs in the Belfast shipyards. When they

found in the North of Ireland 2,000 scabs it was a disgrace to Ireland and a disgrace to the Labour movement all over the world, all through sectarianism. Men were asked to sign an agreement not to work with Sinn Feiners; they were asked by a stranger, not by real Trade Unionists, but by men who had been dragged in by the back of the neck to Trade Unionism. He did not know whether they were going to keep these men who acted as scabs interned in the shipyards at Belfast. Other men had been sent to pine in internment in Ballykinlar.

The President said they all agreed that it was a matter of great importance to all the Unions affiliated to the Congress. They had to consider the line the attack would take. In their experience in all their various negotiations with the employers, some asked for a reduction of as much as 16s. per week, others for 10s., others 5s., and others 6s. There was nothing uniform in what the employers demand off the workers was. When they met the employers, and the workers referred to the cost of living the employers said it did not interest them at all. "What we want," they said, "is 14s., 10s., or 16s. a week off the wages." The matter of the cost of living does not concern them at all. But it is a matter of vital concern to the workers of the country. They gave the Board of Trade figures, but everyone knew that the Board of Trade figures did not represent the situation in Ireland. No return was taken of the cost of living in Ireland, consequently these figures do not apply to Ireland at all. When they did meet the employers there was a tendency amongst all sections to require the workers to agree to an adjournment for a matter of a month or six weeks. Why were the employers agreeable to adjourn the matter? He was forced to the conclusion that they only wanted to adjourn it until they got the railwaymen into it. The attack would come through the railwaymen. The railwaymen would be attacked in the first instance, and then every one of them would be brought into it one after another. Everyone else will be attacked at the same time. "If I may make bold to prophesy," the President continued, "in a very short time we will have one of the greatest industrial upheavals in this country that has ever taken place in the history of the Labour movement. The attack will come in the way I have outlined. How are we going to meet it? What are we going to do? We are not nearly as well prepared as we might be. But we have shown imagination and determination when other interests were imperilled. I refer to the stand taken in the case of the hunger-strikers in Mountjoy and the conscription issue, and in support of the Trade Unionists mentioned by Mr. Brophy something like that will have to be done (applause). In this case we will have to make up our minds to do that. We might as well all go down together than to let the thing drag on. Perhaps, if we all agree to make the situation

develop on these lines, the employers in Ireland will be faced by a situation very far different from any they contemplate. That is the only line on which we can develop the attack. Profiteering can be effectively dealt with if we went on practical lines. In the case of milk and meat there are only one or two Unions involved, so that if the Congress and the Labour movement make up their minds, if they are not prepared to go for control of these industries, they might see to what extent profits are to be allowed to the people engaged in these commodities. In a short time the profits on them could be regulated (applause). Judging by the way the suggestion has been received and the lines which the discussion has taken, I believe it will have the approval of all the Unions, and that the incoming National Executive will take up the suggestion on these lines and put it to the country (applause).

DUBLIN TRADES COUNCIL.

The following report was submitted to Congress by the Special Committee:—

“The Committee heard the Secretaries and two members of the Executives of the two Councils affected, and each stated his case in the presence of the other. Great restraint was shown by both sides, and the Committee felt that the method of presentation helped it greatly in arriving at a decision.

“The Committee, after carefully considering the statements made by the representatives of both Councils, reached unanimously the following decisions—

“(1) That a need had arisen in the Labour movement in Dublin when a body representative of the entire working class of that city became necessary, so that responsible action might be taken in any crisis that might arise.

“(2) That at a meeting representative of practically all Trade Unions in Dublin, and to which practically all Trade Unions in the city were invited, it was decided to call the present Dublin Workers' Council into being. Out of 150 delegates present there were two dissentients.

“(3) That the newly-constituted Dublin Workers' Council represents the overwhelming majority of the workers of Dublin, inasmuch as it has been proved to this Committee that its minimum membership is 38,250. This total has been given in detail, the number of Unions affiliated being twenty-two.

“(4) That we consider no principle is advanced, nor any advantage likely to accrue to any section of the workers of the city, by failing to affiliate to the Dublin Workers' Council.

“(5) The Committee desire to express the hope that in order to preserve intact the solidarity of the Labour movement in Dublin, and, for that matter, in the entire country, that the few Unions at

present outside the Workers' Council will see their way, in the interests of the entire Labour movement, to affiliate with that body.

"Having agreed to the above, we have unanimously decided to recommend the application for affiliation of the Dublin Workers' Council to the Irish Labour Party and Trades Union Congress for adoption.

"William Kenneally, Chairman.

"Joseph Metcalfe.

"George Nason.

"Michael Doyle.

"Patrick Hogan, Secretary."

Mr. Day (Cork) proposed, and Mr. Collins (Cork) seconded, that the report be approved.

Mr. J. J. Farrelly (Dublin Trades Council) said he felt that the report was sending the old Council, which was the forerunner of this Trades Congress, into oblivion. An extraordinary situation had arisen, and certain undercurrents had permeated the work of the Trades Council. The overwhelming voting power of that Congress was held by certain bodies.

Several Delegates—Name them.

Mr. Farrelly said that when certain pourparlers were arranged and an arbitrator appointed not one of the minority turned up on that occasion. On two or three occasions there was a suggestion of a re-hearing and a reply from the Dublin Trades Council, but the Workers' Council said there was to be no re-hearing. They were to start on a new foundation. In all courtesy to the men, whom they all respected, who had been associated with the Labour movement for years they should do nothing which would do any permanent injury to the cause. He thought the undercurrent should be nipped in the bud (laughter). In speaking on the subject he might be, perhaps, the last of the Mohicans, but all the same the cause was greater than the man. The Dublin Trades Council had been referred to as corrupt, but no one had ever been able to prove corruption. If it were to function again to-morrow there was a possibility that it would have an overwhelming majority. He was of opinion that one particular party was going to kill industrial Unionism in this country. He knew the dominating power of the Industrial Council if it was not properly arranged and thoroughly and fairly representative. He thought there was no necessity for the Council—that the Unions could settle the whole matter.

Mr. P. J. Quinn (I.N.T.O.) rose.

The President—The representative of the Dublin Trades Council having had an opportunity of having his say, I think that should end the matter unless there are some other speakers from the Trades Council.

Mr. Quinn—I want to view it from an entirely different angle from that of the previous speaker.

The President—Excuse me, you cannot. The mind of the Congress was to appoint a Committee so as to avoid a discussion that would tend to injure or reflect discredit on the Labour movement. This Committee was selected from delegates outside Dublin. They went into the facts, and their findings are before you. They went into all the facts. I think Congress was of that opinion.

Alderman William O'Brien—I think this Congress ought to decide whether they are going to have a full-dress debate on this subject. It is moved that the report be adopted. It was referred to a Committee, so that we are wasting the time of the Congress when practically every member of the Congress has made up his mind on it.

Mr. Hickey (Cork)—I hope that there will be no further discussion on it. I think we ought to abide by the Committee's decision.

Mr. Collins (Cork)—A Committee was appointed yesterday to investigate this matter. It has investigated it, and has given its unanimous decision. I think it is the duty of the Congress to endorse that decision.

Mr. Quinn—When a motion is put forward on a report, has not every delegate a right to voice his opinion? Is it going to be plunged down their necks?

Mr. T. Irwin (Dublin)—I move that a vote be taken.

A Delegate—It is the gag.

The President—It is not. In view of what has been said, I would ask the members of the Transport and General Workers' Union not to vote on this matter.

Alderman O'Brien—Why not? I think that is an unfair remark. I am going to vote.

Mr. Quinn—Is it fair of the President to tell anybody not to vote?

The President—There was no dictation. I made a suggestion, which is an entirely different thing.

Mr. MacPartlin—The reason of the suggestion was that there was a suggestion that the Congress was packed here to carry this vote. Independent of the Transport Union, 90 per cent. of the Congress is in favour of this report.

On a show of hands the President declared that 165 voted for the report and 12 against, and he accordingly declared the report carried.

Mr. P. T. Daly (Fire Brigade Men's Union, Dublin)—Before proceeding any further, does not the finding of the Committee whose report is passed not mean that the Dublin Workers' Council is affiliated with the Congress, and that the delegates from the Trades Council have got to withdraw—isn't that the meaning of the report?

The President—It can be interpreted in that way, of course.

Mr. Daly—That we have got to withdraw?

The President—It does not exactly mean that.

Mr. Daly—I want to get an explanation as regards the members of the Trades Council. Because I represent another Union only I can remain—is that the way I am to interpret it?

The President—The thing carries on just as it is, with the admission of the Dublin Workers' Council.

Mr. Daly—It does not mean the withdrawal of the members of the Dublin Trades Council?

The President—Not at this Congress.

Mr. Daly—There is no question about remaining until the next Congress. I will look after that in the meantime.

UNEMPLOYMENT—"THE COUNTRY IN DANGER."

Miss Moloney (Women Workers' Union) asked if the Executive meant to make any pronouncement on the portion of the Report dealing with "The Country in Danger"?

Mr. Johnson (Secretary)—There is a resolution dealing with this particular subject, and an amendment to that resolution. There is another recommendation from the Standing Orders Committee that the resolution shall be discussed at the same time as the Executive Report with the paragraph on this subject. The matter is open for discussion on the Executive's statement. The Women Workers' resolution also will be taken in due form on the agenda. No. 13 touches on unemployment.

The President—Mr. Johnson thinks that it would be more advantageous to discuss this matter at present, and avoid repetition.

Miss H. Moloney (I.W.W.U.)—I had hopes that the Executive would have something definite to say on this most important subject. When they issued this manifesto, "The Country in Danger," they considered the position very seriously.

Mr. Johnson (Secretary)—I beg to propose that the resolution No. 13 on the agenda dealing with unemployment be taken and discussed with this paragraph of the Report of the National Executive.

Miss H. Moloney seconded, and the motion was passed unanimously.

Mr. L. J. O'Duffy (I.D.A.A.)—The resolution standing in the name of the National Executive asks you to approve of the policy which was laid down in the manifesto, "The Country in Danger," which was issued last Easter. Since then unemployment has become much more serious. The country is to-day faced with the possibility of 130,000 people being unemployed, which will represent on the total population considerably over 400,000 people being either underfed or unfed. This question of unemployment is serious everywhere, arising apparently from different conditions, but still governed by the same law. In this country, with an agricultural community

living on the land, plenty of it is wasted in the country while you have thousands of people who are willing to work and prepared to work on the land that is lying waste. The same thing applies to other countries, but they are differently circumstanced. Eleven per cent. of the people of Ireland are either underfed or unfed to-day. We are told that this is entirely due to the cause that it is a poor country. That cannot be said of England, where there are 13 per cent. underfed or unfed. In America, where they are supposed to have a considerable amount of the gold of the world, 14 per cent. are either underfed or unfed. There must be some common denominator somewhere. I suggest that common denominator is the capitalist system of the country. (Hear, hear). It is that capitalist law that stands between the people and the untilled lands; that stands between the people and the unworked mills and idle factories; that stands between the people and the means that might provide them with the food they require. It is suggested that Ireland could give a lead to the world. She has given a lead to the world many a time on social questions. Some of her children have in some matters advanced the countries of the world. It was stated here yesterday that the Irish Labour Party was the most advanced in the world outside Russia. If that is so, and nobody will deny it, is it not possible for the people of this country to give a lead to all the great countries. I suggest it is possible. While the manifesto may not go so far or be quite as revolutionary as some of you would like, it will at all events meet the emergency. It is founded on the fact that there is a state of war. The country is at war. We ask you to voluntarily do that which you would be compelled to do if a nation were functioning. That is our position. France, Belgium, Germany and other countries compelled their people to forego some of their luxuries, to make sacrifices in the nation's interests, or what they at least conceived to be in the nation's interests. We have asked you to do something of your own free will which you would be compelled to do if the Government of the country were functioning as freely as we would wish it—to do what people were compelled to do in Belgium, Germany, France and England. We pointed out that the land of Ireland needs to be cultivated. The cultivation of the land would afford employment to thousands of young men who cannot find work, and because they cannot find work they have to go without work. And you have to pay more for your food than if you produced the food to meet your requirements at home. This might be called protection, but it is not protection in the interests of the people who are getting dividends and profits. We have said that if there is going to be a profit at all or luxury for anyone there will be no profit until everybody has got a maintenance—a first charge on industry must be the welfare of the people engaged in the industry. Their interests must supersede the interests

of the money-lenders, the landholders, and the rent-getters. (Applause). We ask you in this resolution to approve of the manifesto, and to give effect to the manifesto. So far this country has done nothing very serious in response to the appeal that was made last Easter. Probably it was too much occupied with other things; people's minds were probably on other things, but before this winter is over some of your minds will be very much agitated about the means of getting food. I hope that people will realise how serious the problem is, but there is no going back to a repetition of '46 and '47. (Applause.) Ireland is producing less food than she has produced for many years. Cultivation is less, and in addition to that misfortune is the misfortune that in many places products are not up to the standard either in quantity or quality. Side by side with this we are engaged in warfare. Much food and provision is being destroyed wantonly. Every day people are coming to Dublin looking for employment; people who would do productive work if they had the opportunity. We are told there is no money, no capital, but if you read the reports of the Bank directors you will see whether there is or is not. In every Irish Bank the deposits are higher by millions of pounds this year than they ever were before. I saw a statement published the other day in a money paper called "The Economist," which shows that the profits of industry last year was 138 millions for these islands—an increase of 27 millions over the previous year, which was then a record. The capitalists have plenty of money, there is plenty of profit in industry. That stands between employment and the people and the food of the people. We suggest that the people should solve the problem for themselves. We say it is your duty to-day to bring pressure on the members representing the country to give effect as far as lies in their power to all the provisions of the manifesto. We ask you also to do your duty by yourselves. The time is coming, I think, when the people of this country must see that the wealth of this country belongs to them, and that before any money or before any food or any produce of this country leaves our shores this autumn the people of this country must first have food and clothing for the coming twelve months.

Miss H. Moloney, in seconding the adoption of the resolution, said she was anxious that before the Congress broke up that some definite proposal should be made carrying into effect the Manifesto. Nothing would be done except they got a move on to defend themselves. She thought some demand should be made on every individual citizen, merchant, trader, or worker to form a capital fund to pay the workers. They all wanted houses while many labourers who would engage in house-building were walking about idle. They could provide money for this and other things. They could pay wages out of the fund and the whole national movement should be behind it. Where the land holders said they could not culti-

vate their land as the wages agricultural labourers demanded were ridiculous, they ought to be in a position to say "we will cultivate it for you" (applause). She thought these things were practical if they had a central authority. If wages were guaranteed there was no reason why they should not put these proposals into operation, and hundreds of thousands would get a share of the money. She thought they ought to form a committee and they would not find the problem such a difficult one. In resolution number 16 the Irish Women Workers' Union proposed that the National Executive appoint a Special Committee to stimulate discussion on the recently issued Labour Programme ("The Country in Danger") and to start a national movement for carrying into effect as many of its proposals as seem to be immediately practicable. She believed in practice, and if any of these things were put into operation it would do more good than half a dozen Congresses. They might propose to take a certain amount of land or a certain number of farms. Something like that could be started immediately. With regard to wage reduction, she thought that the withdrawal of labour was a ridiculous thing. She hoped that the fight against wage reduction would not take that form. They should go on drawing wages while wealth was being created. How were they going to face the fight this winter in Dublin? How were they going to deal with their members who had no money, were underfed, and had no houses? She thought they should start by forming a committee, and they would be doing much towards putting what they preached into effect. Some might perhaps think her silly or sentimental, but she thought they ought to make a direct appeal to their spiritual advisers for their support. They ought to appeal to the Bishops and the clergy of every denomination and ask for their co-operation in these schemes. All they could do was to refuse. She did not think they would refuse if it was put to them in the right way. She thought that every section of Irishmen would have confidence in them if they saw they were in earnest. Their spiritual leaders and their national leaders would adopt their principles and give them their help if they asked them in the right way. They should do that, not next year, but immediately before Christmas (applause).

Mr. A. Stewart (Belfast) said they ought to take every possible precaution to prepare themselves for the coming winter. The system under which they lived was wrong. If it was wrong it was wrong from top to bottom. In an industrial crisis, capitalism, commercial working for profit, broke down immediately. There were various lines on which they might seek for amelioration of the conditions under which they suffered. In the various trade organisations they tried to provide some kind of monetary relief,

but in the administration of moneys they lacked imagination, and a paltry inadequate few shillings was granted to those who were industrious. There was one method of relief that was not in operation, and he suggested that they should immediately agree to share the burden. All over Ireland they should share in industrial organisation on a voluntary basis. He was a collectivist. They had the co-operation movement, and it might to some extent be possible to organise by that means. They might if they came to that conclusion with a new contribution provide the finances from their organisation to work through a co-operative voluntary movement to provide the means for their new experiment. They ought to do all they could by their voluntary agencies to extend the sphere of their activities where the local authorities had any power. By a large ignoring of regulations they could make the local authorities their servants in this matter. All over the country they were spending the funds in their organisation, spending the insurance fund helping men and women, standing by doing nothing. They were dribbling out money from their insurance funds, little insignificant petty sums to these people who were simply standing by helpless and hopeless in most cases. He thought that was altogether wrong. The idea struck him thirty years ago that the building trades and those engaged in it—and there was no greater need than building—ought to build homes and give them away if necessary. He did not think it would be necessary. If a man got the product of his labour that was good enough for him. The administration of abominable doles was no use.

Mr. Lenihan (I.T. and G.W.U., Mallow) said the country was in a state of war. Napoleon had said that an army marches on its stomach. A nation that marched to victory must march on its stomach; it must have food. During the late war all the Governments took steps that their nations should be fed. At the beginning of this war the foreign Government, through the Corn Production Act, forced the producing class in this country to produce food not only for this nation but for their own. What happened afterwards—after the Corn Production Act was withdrawn? Probably fifty per cent. of the tillage of this country was dropped. If they had their own Government instead of a foreign Government they would have compelled the owners of the land to take the steps advocated in the report. The Government guaranteed the farmers a certain price for their produce. Patriotism is not a matter of £ S. D. If the employing classes had patriotism they would have tilled the land themselves. The only way to make them cultivate the land was by the system adopted in Knocklong and Arigna and cultivate it ourselves (applause).

Mr. C. Gaule (Transport Workers, Arklow) said that up to the present industries had been very badly supported in this country even amongst their own class. The workers in this country showed a preference for goods manufactured outside Ireland. Although it was pointed out to them time after time that goods of foreign manufacture were inferior and sometimes cost more, they neglected their own industries and the support of foreign goods still continued. That was his experience in a small concern started in connection with his own branch. Although Irish-manufactured goods were the same price in many cases, the members showed a decided preference for the foreign goods. A factory for agricultural machinery in Wexford was closing down. Why should this be when they were getting machinery from America and everywhere else? They should give real support to the workers and call on the farmers not to buy any machinery except that manufactured in Ireland. It should go forth from the Congress as the view of the delegates that the National Executive should get into closer touch with the Irish Industrial Development Association and conduct a campaign throughout the whole country. It was a question affecting every one. It was not a question of religion or a question of politics, it was a matter of supporting their own country for the benefit of everybody. Nobody was going to lose by supporting and developing their own industries. The Executive should look into this and adopt a close campaign to urge the support, especially by the working classes, of Irish industries (hear, hear).

Mr. Kenneally (I.T. and G.W.U., Cork) said in connection with the remarks of the threatened closing down of an industry due to the fact of the importation of foreign manufactured goods, he should mention that one of the important industries in the country which was producing a commodity that was essential to the life of the community, the flour milling industry, in Cork is closed down owing to the importation of foreign flour into the city. At the present moment in Cork ships were coming in from America bringing at a time as much as 8,000 to 10,000 bags of flour, while the mill workers of Cork are walking the streets. The industry is at a standstill. The master bakers said that if the flour millers would manufacture flour at the same price as they can get it from the importers they are prepared to leave the orders at home. As a matter of fact, the position of the flour milling industry for the past five or six years was that it was absolutely impossible for the millers to keep any reserve of stock. This was an essential industry, and were they going to allow it to be closed down. If by the support of foreign manufactures the workers were prepared to build up the financial conditions of other countries what would be the result of their

labours. It would mean that emigration would be far greater in future than at had been in the past. The time was coming when this country was going to have peace and freedom, and its industries would have to be kept going. They were hopeful of a settlement, and he maintained it was the duty of the Congress and the duty of the people of Ireland and the workers to revive the industries that were forced out of existence by no fault of their own. He thought some serious steps ought to be taken with regard to the importation of various articles into this country. He maintained there should be no importation. These articles could be well manufactured in this country, and it was up to the workers to strengthen their position in this matter.

Mr. Thos. Johnson (Secretary) said he thought it was necessary to say a few words in respect of this manifesto and the purpose of the Executive in issuing it. He asked that the delegates would read it as a whole and consider it as a whole, and not take one paragraph and consider it and say whether or not they approved of it. The Executive claimed that the manifesto in itself was pretty complete, that it was a fairly advanced scheme to put to the people of this country to adopt or reject. The Executive printed and widely circulated this manifesto at Easter time. It was a challenge to the employing class; it was a challenge to the country as a whole to do something to meet the coming danger. The country as a whole had refused to take up the challenge or do anything whatever to deal with the trouble that was coming. "Our responsibility," Mr. Johnson continued, "therefore has ceased. I charge the employers of this country with thick-headedness, with carelessness of the consequence of their inactivity, with an utter disregard to the possibilities of the country, and with no thought whatever of the livelihood of the people (hear, hear). The challenge was put up to them; they have not considered the scheme, which is not the scheme we would put into operation if we had complete power. It was a challenge to them in the shape of certain practical proposals, but no response has been heard from any employers' organisation in the country. True it is that Ministerial Departments, such as that of Agriculture, have discussed and submitted certain proposals to certain employers' organisations, but no reply has come from them. We are asked here to deal with the question with the Irish Industrial Development Association for an improvement in the demand for Irish goods. We put it forward in this form. We say it is a condition that the goods produced in Ireland must be produced by Trade Union labour under Trade Union conditions (hear, hear). In putting forward this demand, if you are going to assist and protect by voluntary protection Irish industries, it must be on condition that there shall be a limitation of profits (hear, hear). But no response has come except a demand for reduc-

tions in wages. I say, that being the effect of the issue of the manifesto, we are relieved of the responsibility of putting it into operation. By their inactivity they have declared war. In my opinion, they ought to have war. Bear in mind, Ireland is not going to be in as good a position as England during the coming winter and after the coming winter. England is going to be in a very bad state industrially, but England has many resources which Ireland has not. If Ireland is prepared to continue the scramble for the country's markets, then the country is going down to the dregs, and the people of this country are going to meet a calamity they have not known for 50, 60, or 70 years. I very seriously press on this Congress that, in view of what was said this morning about the reduction of wages in the railway service, the reduction of wages in the engineering trades, the conditions in the flour milling and other services, that the challenge should be taken *en masse*. But let us bear in mind what it means. It means that we may have to face a definite social revolution. We ask the employers in this manifesto, the employing class, for the period of the war to pool their resources and accept payment for their services. We were told in the evening paper last night that we proposed co-operation with the employers. We do propose co-operation with the employers in the organisation of production. We ask them to co-operate by giving their services. To that extent we are willing to co-operate. We do not will that the workers of this country should co-operate with the employers as an employing class. We ask them to give of their ability and power of organisation to co-operate with the workers, and be paid for their services. Then we can co-operate. But they refuse. They say in effect:—"We have bound ourselves with this commercial system; we have accepted the industrial system that is operating in England, and refuse to go outside it; we refuse to take any action that will leave us outside that system." They say:—"We must reduce wages; we must reduce your standard of living; we cannot afford to pay you a living wage and make our profit; we must make our profit, therefore you must accept lower wages." That is a challenge which we must accept or go down. I do not think we should go out of this Congress without saying, on behalf of the organised workers of Ireland: "Unless in the immediate future there is some sign on the part of the employing class in the country, and on the part of those who have power in the country to compel that their decrees shall be obeyed, unless there is some sign on the part of these people that the problem is going to be faced resolutely, then we must take up the challenge and fight for our livelihood. It will not do to postpone action until the engineers are beaten, or the railwaymen or others are beaten, if they are taken one after another. We must take up the challenge; we must compel the employing class in the country to face the situation or accept war (applause).

The resolution was then adopted as follows :—

“ This Congress approves of the proposals for dealing with the problem of unemployment outlined in the manifesto of the National Executive entitled ‘ The Country in Danger.’ We demand that the public authorities, national and local, legislative and administrative, shall adopt as part of the fundamental national policy admitting of no dispute, the right of every citizen to work and maintenance, and that the first charge upon every industry and upon the aggregate income of the nation shall be the maintenance at a decent standard of all citizens who are willing to work.”

MUNITIONS OF WAR.

Referring to the paragraph in the Report on “ Munitions of War.”

Mr. Johnson (Secretary) said a pamphlet showing the receipts and expenditure had been handed around. It should have been embodied in the report.

Paragraph adopted.

AGAINST PARTITION.

Mr. Cathal O’Shannon (I. T. & G. W. U.) proposed the adoption of the following resolution submitted by the National Executive :—

“ In accord with the declarations of previous Congresses, this Congress, representing eighty per cent. of the organised workers of Ireland, renews its resolute opposition to everything in the nature of the partition of Ireland as being destructive of the growing unity and strength of labour, and devised to prevent the Ulster workers from partaking of the fruits of the struggle of the industrial and political forces of the Irish working class against capitalism and landlordism.

“ We therefore declare that we are prepared to use all our strength and all the means at our disposal to prevent the separation of one part of Ireland from another. We furthermore declare that, provided only that there shall be on national affairs a common legislature for the whole country, the fullest freedom in social and religious affairs shall be guaranteed by all the powers at the command of the workers to all local minorities, as well as to such local legislative bodies as the freely expressed will and the industrial, political and historical needs of such communities shall demand.

“ In view of the above, we call upon all those workers in the six counties of North East Ulster who are estranged from their fellow-workers to throw in their lot, in their own interests, with those of their fellows in other parts of Ireland who are

struggling for control by the workers of the powers of government, national and local.

"We also call upon the elected representatives of all Ireland to define in a precise and detailed manner the limits they would impose upon the autonomy of local legislatures and the powers of government which shall be exercised by local parliaments."

He said—This resolution raises one of the most important questions with which this Congress and, indeed, this country is faced. It is the question of the partition of Ireland. Now, we are opposed to partition in any shape or form. We make no distinction on broad issues between the people of the North and South or East or West. We do recognise that a certain section which happens to be in the majority in Belfast and its hinterland is standing stubbornly against the aspirations of labour in Ireland. Then there is the capitalist element. Continuing, he said, as the President mentioned in his inaugural address, there was no doubt at all but that the fairly successful efforts of the Belfast people to cut themselves off from Ireland were dictated by economic and capitalist reasons. The workers there were imbued with the same spirit and determination as the workers here, and the capitalist employers knew that the moment the bulk of the workers—he did not say in the six counties, because geographically in Ulster there were nine counties—the moment they said they would throw in their lot with the workers all over Ireland, partition would be as dead as landlordism. As landlordism had been the dominating power in the South of Ireland in the past, capitalism ruled in the North and in all Ireland. And, as in the case of landlordism, which was only able to stand on its feet as a minority against the majority because it had the whole force of the British Empire at its back, in exactly the same way Belfast capitalism wanted to dominate the whole of Ireland. Belfast capitalism had taken the place of landlordism. They must recognise that, in spite of the fact that they are part of the body of the Irish people, the evolution historically and industrially has not been the same kind as the rest of Ireland. And this is the foundation, the historical and industrial separateness of Belfast, that is the real root of the difficulty in the North. Besides, they knew that religious prejudices had been played on, that they had been exploited, and behind the whole thing is this fact: that historically and industrially Belfast has been absolutely capitalist from beginning to end (hear, hear). At the same time, while we reaffirm the decisions of previous Congresses that there must be no partition in Ireland, we ask you to recognise the position in Belfast and the North. They declared solemnly that they were not going to allow Belfast or Cork, Leinster or Munster to dominate the whole country.

They were standing for one whole and united governing body in Ireland (hear, hear). And every section and every division, geographically or whatever it might be, must be prepared to recognise that central authority, whatever it might be. But they were asking the delegates to recognise that the fullest and most complete freedom and liberty, even of legislation, should be given to all sections of the people such as they had in Belfast, whose historical, economic, industrial and commercial evolution was so different from the rest of the country. There was very little danger in that, but there was a large danger in the suggestion that they might have a whole lot of little Parliaments in Ireland. That must be fought from the beginning. They wanted no provincialism in Ireland (hear, hear). And although they were all fond of Cork—many of them had great respect for Cork, and for what Cork had done in the past and in the present year in this and every movement—Cork was not to be allowed, any more than Belfast, to set up a little Republic of its own that was to dominate the whole country. They believed that if they took this stand and made this declaration they would get into the ranks of the workers men who were now opposed to them and who were fighting them so bitterly. They wanted them to come into this Labour movement; they wanted them in their own interest, because in those parts of Ireland which will come into the Parliament they were going to have their 'Workers' Republic (applause). And if they did not come in they would find themselves crushed by the capitalism which prevailed in Belfast, by the class which was linked in capitalism with the capitalism of England and the British Empire, and the world over. These links were the chains which bound Ireland to England. These were the considerations which made the capitalist class in England, like their friend the Duke of Northumberland, opposed to any separation of Ireland from England, because they knew, as well as the capitalists of Belfast, that a resurgent class of Irish workers would be an example to the workers of the whole world. Finally, he wished to call attention to the last paragraph in the resolution: "We also call upon the elected representatives of all Ireland to define in a precise and detailed manner the limits they would impose upon the autonomy of local legislatures and the powers of government which shall be exercised by local parliaments." They were all agreed that any part of the country, any section of the people, which could show good cause and good reasons should start local legislatures, subject, of course, to the control of the central authority. They had been assured on behalf of the statesmen of the Government of the country, Dáil Eireann, that they are prepared to give full powers of that kind to the people of Belfast and the North of Ireland. A general broad statement like that should not be good enough for the Irish people. He

did not think it was good enough for this Congress. They ought to say in a precise and definite manner how much power, how much authority, they would be willing to give to these local legislatures or the Belfast Parliament, subject to the central authority of the whole of Ireland (applause).

Mr. Denis Cullen (Irish National Amalgamated Union of Bakers, Dublin), in seconding the resolution, said it required very little argument to commend it to Congress. Congress had on repeated occasions since the question came up declared emphatically against the partition of the country, and at the present juncture it reiterated its emphatic repudiation of and hostility to any notion or idea of partition. Of course, they were willing to admit the fact that there had been a different development socially and of the customs and all that it implied in one corner of the country as distinguished from the rest, but they must not allow any difference of that sort to be exploited to the detriment of the country or the detriment of their class. They were quite willing that there should be some legislatures, some parliaments, with limited powers that would safeguard them. They would recognise differences of religion and differences of creed; and, while they would respect them, they must have one undivided authority. They must have a legislature that would allow their country to develop and their class to develop along the lines on which their movement was set. Anyone who looked into the position of a united country must at once see that the idea of partition sprang simply from a determination to maintain capitalist institutions in this country. The people in this country who were using that to exploit the differences of creed and shout shibboleths were trying to divide the people and maintain these institutions. The workers should maintain their position and show to their fellow-workers that they were against partition. They could only have success in one united country. Their interests were really all the same, and their differences were really only small. They should show to their fellow-workers that their interests were the same, and reiterate that their interests were bound together. This partition proposal was one of the methods applied by the capitalists against the working classes, and they must fight against it (applause).

APPOINTMENT OF SCRUTINEERS.

At this stage it was announced that the following had been appointed scrutineers:—Mr. Davin, Railway Clerks, 178 votes; Miss Nora Connolly, Dublin, 164; Mr. Dawson Gordon, Belfast, 141; Mr. Jas. Byrne, Dublin, 101. There voted for Mr. Weldon, Cork, 76; for Mr. Smith, Dundalk, 23; and for Mr. Duffy, Dunshaughlin, 29.

AGAINST PARTITION—(Continued).

On resuming after the luncheon interval the discussion on partition was resumed by

Mr. W. McMullen (I.T. and G.W.U., Belfast), who said he did not regard the resolution as non-contentious. It was a very vital one. He did not want to oppose a resolution put forward by the National Executive, but he thought it was at least premature. He doubted if what was suggested in the resolution was going to arrive at the conclusion they desired. They were quite aware of the fact that the national situation had somewhat changed, and, while the workers might be prepared in the existing state of affairs to approve of what the National Assembly would do, they were not quite sure that the National Assembly was going to achieve what was stated in the resolution. The resolution stated: "In view of the above we call upon all those workers in the six counties of North East Ulster who are estranged from their fellow-workers to throw in their lot, in their own interests, with those of their fellows in other parts of Ireland who are struggling for control by the workers of the powers of government, national and local. We also call upon the elected representatives of all Ireland to define in a precise and detailed manner the limits they would impose upon the autonomy of local legislatures and the powers of government which shall be exercised by local parliaments." I believe the result of that will be the setting up of permanent machinery, as far as these counties in the North of Ireland are concerned—if the machinery is set up it will be very difficult indeed to remove that machinery. I do not think that will be accepted, even granted, by a National Assembly. Continuing, Mr. McMullen said they had opposed partition for a number of years. Even if granted by a National Assembly, would partition be accepted generally? They might be aware that a large number of Trade Unionists were not represented in the Congress—a thing they wished to bring about. They should not do anything to make the situation more difficult for the men standing out at present. He was of opinion that the thing would die a natural death. He suggested that the resolution was premature. They did not know what negotiations had taken place, and they did not know whether they in Congress would be in agreement with the majority of the people of Ireland and the people of these counties. They did not know whether they would agree to a settlement or stand out for a settlement something like what they got from the British Government. They might see a gradual development of the North of Ireland into a Home Rule movement. These people were opposed and organised against Home Rule in any shape or form until it was modified, and it might be modified until they had an extension of these six counties in a way which might tempt to bring these people into an Irish movement, either Parliamentary or indus-

trial. He did not see why, politically, the North of Ireland might not come to take part in a Dublin Assembly, and take part in the deliberations there also. As to the last part of the resolution, the fight would have to take place sooner or later. The economic pressure due to the boycott would have the effect of the surrender of this claim to a six-county Government. The only obstacle they had at present in the way was a small body of Protestant workers who did not understand the economic position as far as Belfast was concerned, and spoke in the same voice as the employing class. If that was so, were they going to blockade them if they, by permission of a National Assembly, had the right to set up some form of a six-county Government? He did not want to definitely oppose the resolution. He wanted to get the cohesion and the solidarity of the whole of the workers of Ireland, and get rid of any doubt in the matter. (Applause).

Mr. O'Shannon said, in reply to Mr. McMullen's objections, that he wished to clear away a couple of points which he had made upon which there might be some misconception. One was, the resolution was premature. It might be. It certainly was not the policy of the Irish Labour movement to simply keep step with all the rest of the people of the country in this and other affairs. They had the right to boast, and proudly boast, that they were a little in advance of other people. For that reason he did not think that there was any great objection to this being a bit premature. Many things they said, and some things they dared to do, were premature, but there was no reason why they should not dare to do them. Another point was, he said that by setting up some kind of autonomous bodies in these six counties or three counties they might be setting up machinery which it would be very difficult to get out of the way. That was not the point of view he (Mr. O'Shannon) and some of his colleagues took. A Parliament had already been existing in Belfast. They knew that from the moment that Parliament attempts to operate it will find that it is not able to operate without the co-operation of the rest of Ireland. The boycott did a certain amount of good; and when Parliament operates in the rest of the country it will be felt much more effectively. It was said they would get the Belfast workers in. The Belfast workers had been through the same thing as the workers here, and if they did not get them in right away there was a chance of getting them in ultimately. They wanted to make an approach to these workers in Belfast and those round about it to weigh in with those in the Labour movement, and they would do all in their power to bring them with them. It was much better to make an approach to the members of their own class, no matter how far and how differently they were opposed to them, rather than any settlement should be made in the West and

the rest of Ireland with the employing class in Belfast. They wanted to see that, whatever arrangements were made for a settlement, the workers, North and South, should be safeguarded. Mr. McMullen's objections, on the whole, did not stand. The last paragraph in the resolution was a frank invitation to the elected representatives of the people to say how much autonomy and what kind of machinery they were going to give either to Belfast or any other area in Ireland that required it. There should be no need at all for any secrecy or any reluctance in the negotiations that are going on between the Government of this country and the Government of England to say exactly what the body of the Irish people are prepared to do as regards the minority of the Irish people.

The President put the resolution, which was passed unanimously.

ULSTER AND THE FUTURE GOVERNMENT OF IRELAND.

Mr. Johnson (Secretary) proposed—

“That in the opinion of this Congress the solution of the so-called ‘Ulster problem,’ and of many other problems in so far as they arise from divergent economic interests, can best be found by the adoption of a Constitution for Ireland based frankly upon Labour and Service as the condition of citizenship, and which will link the workers of Ulster with the workers of Ireland as a whole.”

He said the resolution opened up a rather new aspect to most of the delegates—at least to those who had not familiarised themselves with the idea outlined in it. If they were to conceive a new Ireland and any National Assembly that might be entrusted with powers of legislation, such an assembly ought not be elected on the same franchise as in the past, which depended on where a man resided. The idea should be embodied in the Constitution of the new Ireland that a man or woman should be registered to vote in a new type of constituency. The constituency should be the occupation or industry in which they gained their livelihood. They stated in the resolution that the Constitution should be based frankly on labour and service, which should be the condition of citizenship. The conditions of enfranchisement should be entirely different from those which prevailed to-day. They suggested that the workers in agriculture, men and women workers, labourers and farmers, whosoever they were, should vote in the constituency of “agriculture”; that workers in the building trade should vote in a “building trade constituency,” and that persons in the shipping and transport trade should vote in exactly the same way. These constituencies might be sub-divided, and the people elected would know something of the conditions under which the service-givers in the community were working. If this proposition were put into operation the textile industry, for instance, in the

North of Ireland, would be managed by members elected by people in that industry—the general direction of affairs would be in the hands of textile workers. In the same way workers would vote for members in the shipbuilding trade, and they would generally direct the industry. All these various elected members for the various industrial constituencies would come together as a National Assembly, and would act as a final Court of Appeal upon any question and decide upon any legislative proposition made by the industrial bodies and give it final ratification. That was the proposition put forward, and having these Industrial Councils all over Ireland would go far to give definite control to the workers in matters of legislation which might injure minorities; industrial minorities in the country would have a certain measure of protection. The National Executive submitted that such a proposition would guarantee to the shipbuilding industrialists and the textile industrialists, or whatever they were, that there was a reality behind the forces of a united Ireland. It had been suggested that this proposition ran somewhat counter to the previous proposition. He denied that was so. There was no reason why the subordinate Parliaments should not be elected upon the same franchise. This proposition of election of a legislature by industrial constituencies would give them a real workers' Parliament. He begged to move the resolution.

Mr. L. J. Duffy (Drapers' Assistants, Dublin) seconded the resolution, which was passed without dissent.

RAILWAY NATIONALIZATION.

Mr. J. T. O'Farrell (Railway Clerks' Association, Dublin), on behalf of that body, moved—

"That this Congress condemns as utterly retrograde and unsatisfactory the proposal to revert to the pre-war method of controlling the Irish railways, with its absurd system of overlapping, multiplicity of companies, and lack of co-ordination in working—resulting in a bad train service, inadequate travelling facilities and a general inefficiency, with serious detrimental effects on Irish trade and industry.

"Congress reiterates its emphatic opinion that the only satisfactory solution of this question (upon which the industrial development of Ireland so largely depends) lies in the complete nationalization of the whole of the Irish railways, with a Central Board of Control, responsible to the Irish people, upon which the organised workers upon the railways shall have adequate representation."

Mr. O'Farrell said—Although resolutions similar in principle to that on the Agenda have been passed repeatedly by Congress, I believe that, in view of the possibilities arising out of the national position, Labour should remove at once any misunderstandings that

may exist as to its present policy in regard to this important question. I think I am voicing the opinion of Congress when I say that the whole Irish Labour movement is more firmly convinced—if that were possible—than ever before that the only practical and satisfactory solution of the railway problem is complete nationalization (hear, hear). One of the very first acts of each belligerent Government in the Great War was to take over control of its railways. It was realised that if the railways were to effectively cope with the gigantic task confronting them, unity of control and co-operation in working were imperative. From the point of view of rapid, efficient and effective working the experiment was a huge success. With depleted staffs and reduced locomotive power the companies dealt with a volume and variety of traffic never before even contemplated. There was through running of trains all over. There was a general pooling of rolling stock, locomotive power, materials, and in some cases manpower. But, above all, there was a common policy and a genuine effort at co-ordination. There was, therefore, no useless haulage of empty wagons and carriages, and no expenditure of energy on unproductive work. There was no duplication of duties in essential working as when each company had the power to make its own arrangements.

Although State control was in no sense nationalization, and although the companies did their utmost to make it a failure during the past few years for obvious reasons, it proved beyond all doubt that under centralised control the railways could render far more useful and effective service to the community than would be ever possible or likely under the system of individual company control.

Now, if National control of the railway service was good for the people as a whole in times of war, it must be equally so in times of peace. But the Irish railways are to revert to private control on the 15th of the present month. Fancy what this means at present to a country suffering from the effects of a protracted and devastating struggle, with its industries disorganised, undeveloped, or partially destroyed, and now for the first time for over a century likely to be in a position to commence the work of reconstruction and industrial development along proper lines.

To anybody who understands the Irish railway question it must be quite evident that there is really no half-way house between complete nationalization and the present ridiculous and ruinous system. Although Ireland is not so well served with railways (having only slightly in excess of 3,400 miles, including Light Railways and Tramways like the Dublin and Lucan Tramway Company), it has an infinity of railway companies. There are no less than 29 of them altogether, including the joint lines.

These 29 companies are bossed by 261 directors, or an average of one director for every 13 miles of metals. In fact some of the

The resolution proposed by Thos. Johnson on behalf of the National Executive, and passed, should read as follows:—

ULSTER AND THE FUTURE GOVERNMENT OF IRELAND.

24.—“ That in the opinion of this Congress the solution of the so-called ‘ Ulster Problem,’ and of many other problems in so far as they arise from divergent economic interests, can best be found by the adoption of a Constitution for Ireland based frankly upon Labour and Service as the condition of citizenship, and which will link the workers of Ulster with the workers of Ireland as a whole;

“ That this can be attained by establishing an organ of government which by its nature will safeguard the particular interests of those engaged in the linen and shipbuilding trades of Ulster, and at the same time unite these with their fellow workers in other industries throughout Ireland.

“ That with this purpose in view, and to ensure that in the New Ireland those shall govern who give personal service to the commonwealth, whether in Agriculture, Industry, Commerce, or in the Social Services, the National Legislative Authority shall be elected by voters in Industrial or Occupational Constituencies; that the elected members from each Industrial Constituency (*e.g.*, Agriculture, Textiles, Shipbuilding and Engineering, Transport, Distribution, Fisheries, Quarrying and Mining, Housekeeping, the Social Services: Health, Education, Amusements, Recreation, etc.), shall become Councils of the Industry or Service, each having responsibility for the conduct of its own Industry or Service, subject to the final authority of the whole Assembly.”

—Proposed by National Executive.

smaller companies have more directors than engines. Each company has its General Manager, its Traffic Superintendent, Loco. Engineer, Permanent Way Superintendent, Paymaster, Secretary, canvassers, inspectors, touts and all other appendages of a real live modern railway company. But more serious still is the fact that each company may be said to have its own peculiar and distinctive railway policy. With these conditions, you will agree that it is well-nigh impossible to have an efficient railway service, proper accommodation and travelling facilities and reasonable rates and fares, and without these things the country is permanently crippled.

Of *real* competition there is none, except in so far as one company endeavours at certain points to pinch another company's traffic by a so-called "concession" to an individual trader here and there. These "concessions" mostly take the form of a reduced special rate secretly quoted on certain items; an odd free pass on the railway, or permission to travel first on a third-class ticket. But these privileges never reach the consumer or the general public or benefit them in the slightest degree. In fact *they* have to pay for the salaries of the canvassers or touts through whose medium the sops are doled out.

Then the policy of the Irish railway companies has hampered instead of encouraged the development of Irish trade and manufacture. By agreeing to cheap through rates with the British companies for imported goods and recouping themselves by imposing prohibitive local rates for the transport of Irish-manufactured goods from one part of Ireland to another, they handicap the Irish manufacturer to such an extent as to make it impossible for him to compete successfully with his foreign rival. It is often cheaper to bring, say, a bale of tweed from Bradford to Nenagh than it is to bring the same quantity of tweed from Athlone to Nenagh, although the distance may be five or six times as great.

The Royal Commission appointed in 1906 to enquire into the position of the Irish railways (presided over by Sir C. Scotter—then Chairman of the L. & N.W., and having on it men like Lord Pirrie and Mr. Tom Sexton), in dealing with the question of local as against through rates, said, in their report issued in 1910:—

"In our view the Irish railways have not been, and *are* not, fully utilised for the development of general industries in Ireland owing to the competitive rates on imported goods being so much lower in scale than the local rates, that the development of local manufactures has been discouraged and prevented, rather than assisted as it should have been."

In reply to a deputation from the Irish Industrial Development Association, Colonel Plews (late General Manager of the Great Northern), said that "if the Irish railway companies carried Irish

goods between Irish stations at the same charge as imported goods, the companies would soon be in the Bankruptcy Court."

Mr. Tatlow (late General Manager of the M.G.W.) concurred, and that in any case such a course "would jeopardise dividends."

The companies were asked to give particulars as to what the Irish companies' share of the through rates was as compared with the amount charged as a local rate for Irish goods, but these they refused to give. On this refusal the Commission says:—

"We need only add that the refusal of the railway companies to supply the particulars asked for is calculated to strengthen and perpetuate the conviction that imported goods are carried over the railways at lower rates than are like commodities produced in the country."

Thus out of their own mouths the Irish companies are convicted, and the conviction is confirmed by a Royal Commission presided over by the Chairman of a great English railway. Under Nationalisation and with the Railways' Administration responsible to the people through a Parliament having the interests of the country at heart such a state of affairs could not continue. Thus, in my opinion, before any recovery can be seriously attempted or Irish industries developed or revived the present system of railway ownership and control will have to be abolished. We hear a lot about the railways being in danger of bankruptcy, but still at the very mention of nationalisation the railway directors and general managers hold up their hands in horror.

Under an Irish Parliament the railways can be acquired for the Nation without the payment of actual cash, by the issue of Railway Bonds to the shareholders at such a rate of interest as will enable them to dispose of their shares at a reasonable price if they desire to do so.

The administration of the whole of the railways could be carried out by about six commissioners, instead of 261 directors, made up of three representatives of the Government and three representatives of the railway employees under a Minister responsible to Parliament. By the pooling of the receipts and resources all parts of the country could have railway facilities just as they have postal facilities and the railway worker in a poor district could have (like the postman) the same wages as his colleague in the better districts, because his needs are the same.

It is quite obvious from the particulars I have quoted that considerable economies could be effected and the railway service developed and improved in a dozen different respects, while the savings effected could go towards the reduction of existing rates and fares and the provision of better accommodation in the way of carriages, etc., as well as suitable wages being paid to the men and women who work the lines, instead of the payment of dividends.

In Great Britain where the railways are privately-owned it cost (1915) on the average 0.9d. to haul a ton of traffic one mile. In Germany, where the lines are nationalised, it cost 6d., or exactly two-thirds. Then as regards efficiency: In Great Britain and Ireland they get on the average 500,000 tons of traffic over one mile of line per annum. In Germany they get 746,000 tons. Here you have the privately-owned lines performing only two-thirds of the work at one and a half times the cost. The grades of railwaymen represented by my own Union were on the average better paid in Germany, than in Great Britain or Ireland before the war, notwithstanding the cheaper rates and better facilities.

The Irish railways have admitted themselves unworthy of public support and have proved themselves unable to keep pace with the times and meet the requirements of the present day. It is full time that they made way for those who will work this great public service (upon which the prosperity and well-being of the country so largely depend) in the interests of the general community—not for the benefit of commercial adventurers whose interest in the community is that of the tiger in his prey. (Applause).

Mr. Molloy (National Union of Railwaymen, Broadstone) seconded the resolution.

The further discussion of this subject was postponed until the following and final day of the Congress, when,

Mr. Wm. Molloy (N.U.R., Broadstone), in seconding the motion, said—We of the rank and file of the workers on the railways believe that if nationalisation and State control were brought about it would be well for the country and well for the workers. We firmly believe that the present management of the railways is very extravagant. Everyone knows that State control will bring about a standard wage and standardisation of the rolling stock. It would be a great saving to the railway companies, and I firmly believe that under State control railwaymen would have a reasonable working day, also a very good chance of receiving a pension from State-owned railways when their time for retirement came. It may be knowledge for this Conference to know that some railway companies in Ireland have not got such a thing at all as a pension fund for their old servants. I am on the Midland Great Western Railway and at one time there was a pension scheme on this railway, but, unfortunately for the men, the Lloyd George Insurance Scheme killed it. The company would not support two schemes and the men themselves were unwilling at the time to support the one they had and, unfortunately for the older men, the pension scheme came to an end. I am serving close on 45 years, and to-morrow if I left it I could not say that I had one penny to get from that company except a small dole of £1, 10/- or 5/- a week. I have known cases of men, 40 years'

service who were offered a dole of £50 when going out and could not work any longer for the generous railway company. On behalf of the N.U.R. I second the resolution of the Railway Clerks' Association.

Mr. Walter Carpenter (International Society of Tailors', Machinists and Pressers) said this resolution came up year after year with slight alterations. It was one of the hardy annuals. He believed that the time had arrived for the workers to own not alone the railways but every other industry. The mover of the resolution had hinted at the method by which the present owners of the railways might be got rid of. He suggested a similar method to that which had been adopted by the British Government to save the Irish landlords—buy them out and give them stock bearing so much interest per year. He believed they would have owners praying for this Government Stock on the railways. The mover of the resolution had referred to the railways of France and Germany. He might have also gone to South Africa and say what happened on the nationalisation of the railways after the war of independence there when the railwaymen were shot down in the streets of Johannesburg for simply asking what this resolution asked for. He held that the workers on Government railways in Germany and France, or any other country where they have the system of nationalisation, are as great wage slaves as if they are working for any capitalist. They would still be wage slaves and would become State slaves. The railwaymen were wage slaves to-day and there were no greater wage slaves than those working on nationalised lines. The railwaymen were asking to be slaves for ever. During that Congress they had had from the platform and from the body of the hall the cry, the demand, that the time had come for the workers to take control of industry, a call of leading members from the platform for the Workers' Republic. At any rate he wanted to see that Workers' Republic. He wanted to be in at the finish at any rate. If the railwaymen wanted the railways they ought to get them by the same methods as the robbers who owned them to-day robbed the railways and the land the railways were built on from the people of this country. If it was right and proper for the railway companies and all the railway companies stand for to rob the land of Ireland and to get fools like they were to go and build their railways and bridges and hand them over to them, then it was equally right for the working class not to ask for nationalisation, but to go in not only to demand, but to take by force, if necessary, the railways and the other property from the robbers who had it to-day. It was nearly time they took the cobwebs off their eyes and demanded the socialisation of the railways.

Mr. P. T. Daly (Dublin Fire Brigade Men's Union) said they were asked there by two representatives of the railway industry to

pledge themselves anew to a principle which had been touched on the fringe at all Trade Congresses. That Congress pledged itself yesterday, if there was an attack upon the railwaymen in Ireland, any attempt made to reduce their wages, the whole Labour movement would back them up. Was it true that the railway clerks on the one hand, and the railwaymen on the other hand, had accepted a reduction in their wages without making any communication to that Congress? If that were so, discussion arising on a question of this sort, a question like the one he had referred to now, and upon a question of the sort before the Congress, was, he thought, a waste of time and a deliberate misleading of the Labour movement in Ireland. State control, as the idea of national control of railways, was not his idea of nationalisation. The Amalgamated Woodworkers, he was informed, had already spent three-quarters of a million to prevent their wages being reduced; and, that being so, the line they ought to expect was that the men who proposed resolutions of this sort should take the Congress into their confidence.

The President said he had allowed Mr. Daly to raise the subject, and, having done so, he presumed other people would deal with that aspect of it. They must keep to the resolution. He asked Mr. O'Farrell to reply.

Mr. J. T. O'Farrell (Railway Clerks' Association) said he did not know if the Congress understood what Mr. Carpenter's objections were and what he required. He generally opposed every resolution that was put up. At all events, as to what Mr. Daly had said, he was afraid he was working himself into quite an unnecessary passion. Regular standardised rates of wages were agreed to. There was a sliding scale by which, according to each increase in the cost of living, there was a corresponding increase in wages. After the 1st of October last, as the cost of living came down from 165 per cent. to 125 per cent., there was a corresponding reduction. Now, that was part of the agreement, and the whole of the reductions, so far as the class or salaries are concerned, have been taken off according to that agreement. If they signed an agreement to that effect they must abide by it, otherwise there was no use of having an agreement. That was what had taken place, just as in the case of the Civil Service and other industries. That did not interfere with the standardised conditions and the actual rates below which wages should not go. The proposal was that these minimum rates were now to be attacked, and the other conditions of service were to be entirely altered.

Mr. P. T. Daly said it would be very interesting to know when the cost of living came down 40 per cent.

Mr. O'Farrell said that was not a question the Railway Unions could decide. They had to accept the figures given. Until they were able to insist upon the establishment of some other body to

helpless. They had been endeavouring to deal with it through the Labour Party, and they had it in their report what the conditions were. It would, he thought, be found that no Union had been able to insist on new figures being quoted as regards the cost of living. As to nationalisation, it was wonderful if it was such a terribly bad and mistaken policy that in England at the present time the Anti-Nationalisation Society were spending in propaganda over £100,000 a year. They had enormous advertisements inserted in all the principal daily papers; great posters, insidious methods of propaganda endeavouring to show how every industry could get along immediately the question of nationalisation was out of the way. State control was not their idea of nationalisation if they meant the State control that had existed on the railways since the outbreak of war—one of the worst forms of control. The Labour Party would have the absolute right to decide what the form of nationalisation should be. The form they suggested was that the railways should be controlled by a joint body through representatives of the people, through a Parliament, whatever Parliament would be set up, that representatives of the railway workers and these Commissioners should administer the railways. If there was a better form of nationalisation, then of course it was for that Congress to say so. So far he had been unable to see a better form. This resolution held the field, and he hoped they would be under no misunderstanding as to their ideas on this question. He hoped they would vote for this resolution unanimously.

The resolution was declared accepted.

FRATERNAL DELEGATES.

The President said that the Standing Orders Committee recommended that the Fraternal Delegates would now be heard.

Mr. Peter Chambers, Scottish Trades Union Congress (Miners' Association, Dalkeith, Scotland) said this was his first visit to Ireland, and he was very much impressed so far as he had an opportunity of enjoying the sights of Dublin. He came to convey to Congress the fraternal greetings of the Scottish workers. He wished to tell them that the Scottish workers understood the difficulties and sympathised with their Irish comrades in the fight and the progress they were making under the iron heel of British militarism. They wished them the very best of luck and the very best of success in their fight for Irish Independence (applause). When they had once got the National question settled they hoped that they would look to the international situation and join with their colleagues the international socialists. When they studied the situation they knew that Ireland, which was practically an agricultural country, had been surrounded by enemies on every

side. They had nothing but credit and praise for its people, notwithstanding all their difficulties the progress they had made was wonderful. He came to tell them something of the truth: the late betrayal of the miners was one of the blackest businesses in the history of organised labour. He was proud to say that the day was past when the Irish people, who had been soft-soaped for 800 years, would be soft-soaped any longer. It required the politicians to divide them, and when they could not divide them on one question they would succeed in dividing them on another. To come to Black Friday, they should remember that the mining industry was the most staple industry in Great Britain. It was the industry upon which British commerce had been built, but it took a great toll of human life. If they looked back over the past hundred years they would see that in comparison the casualties in the late war were put in the background. There were 1,500 deaths in the mines every year, and 150,000 men were injured every year, and men were risking their lives for men of capital day after day. They would have to go back to March or April for the beginning of the miners' dispute. That was the time when a Royal Commission was sitting, and at least some valuable information came out of it. When the psychological moment had arrived for the miners to strike that was the time when they should have delivered a fatal blow to the British Government and the British colliery owners, but the majority of their people were talked over, and some of them were beaten by the conservative element within their own ranks. The colliery owners and their friends were merely playing with the miners and when the psychological moment arrived they made no mistake. They could have smashed the Government and the colliery owners but they didn't, and some of them were suffering for it now. They got a pledge from the Triple Alliance that if they were prepared to fight the battle of the British worker, they were told at the annual meeting of the miner's, that they would have the support of the railwaymen and the transport workers. They gave the miners that pledge, and they absolutely relied on it.

But he (Mr. Chambers) never relied on it because he knew the Thomas's and the Bevens and the Tillets. They were locked out on the 31st March, 1921. It was not really a strike. What actually happened was that the colliery owners had taken off 3s. 6d. six weeks earlier; then in a fortnight there was to be another 4s. 6d. reduction taken off for Scotland, 7s. 6d. for Wales, and the same figures for England. There was a conference with the Triple Alliance, and afterwards the miners withdrew the pump men or safety men. That was the reason he had to do two months in jail, and if he had killed two or three

policemen he would have only got three or four months more (laughter).

The colliery owners had 135 millions worth of property at stake, and the miners were winning, and would have won in less than four weeks, but for the Thomas's and the Bevans. Hodges was placed in a very difficult position. Thomas and his friends said they were not going to give the miners the assistance of the Triple Alliance unless they sent the men back to man the pumps. Then a telegram was sent to use no violence, and to take no action that would stop the officials from manning the pumps. There was a great body of conservative opinion in the ranks of the miners, and the pumps were allowed to start again. Hodges did that at the instigation of Thomas. Hodges gave way. Every time the Triple Alliance met Thomas asked Hodges to restate the miner's case. First Wednesday was fixed, but the Transport Workers did not strike. Then Friday, so that the miners would draw a full week's levy—one day's pay made all the difference. It went on until Friday—that was the crux of the question. Thomas's intelligence must have been very poor, or his courage must have been wavering badly.

Hodges attended a meeting of two hundred Coalition M.P.'s, and the question was asked if the miners would accept the temporary wages arrangement on condition that the National question was not to be allowed to remain in abeyance. Hodges never got time to answer that question. Jimmy Thomas jumped up and said he would answer the question; that if the miners did not accept it there would be no strike. Hodges had actually played into the hands of Jimmy Thomas. The following morning the Miners' Executive turned down the proposal. They went to Russell Square at 11 o'clock. The Railwaymen said they would go and talk it over with their executive, and they would report to the Miners' Executive by two o'clock. They went and had a battle over it, but they never went back to the miners, and at 4 o'clock Frank Hodges rang up Unity House, and the reply came from Thomas that the strike was off. That was all the information the Miners' Executive got while the Stock Exchange in Edinburgh knew it at one o'clock, and the Stock Exchange in Glasgow knew it at two o'clock. That was what actually occurred, and he might tell the railway men that if they were relying on Jimmy Thomas, they were a "goner" (hear, hear). He would let them down as sure as God. Further he would tell them not to rely on the assistance of the British railwaymen. The Transport workers, at a meeting at which all their branches were represented, endorsed the action of Bob Williams almost unanimously. The National Union of Railwaymen endorsed the action of their Executive by 60 to 20. The miners, under the circumstances,

were forced to accept conditions that were almost intolerable; even their powerful organisation was in a state of chaos. Their people were after spending thirteen weeks idle without any financial assistance. They were driven back to the mines by economic circumstances over which they had no control. They knew what it was to have young children hungry, and if their men were driven back to the mines it was no disgrace to them. Black Friday was the blackest day's treachery that had ever been done to a class of workers in England. These men might try the same dodge on the people here. They should not rely on them as they would disappoint them the same as they disappointed the miners. At the Railwaymen's Conference and the Transport Workers' meeting it was stated that no censure on them was justified; that it was their Thomas's and Tilletts and Bevans who were responsible, but the day was not far distant when they would fight the British Government and the British colliery owners. The Scotch people were in hearty sympathy with their Irish comrades, and they hoped they would soon gain their independence here in Ireland. He was always of opinion that Home Rule was no good for the country, because an Act of Parliament which was not really an Act of Parliament was no use. The only security they had was Independence. He hoped they would get their Irish Government set up and get things into ship shape. He hoped they were shaping in the direction of a socialist government. He hoped they would succeed in nationalising their industries. He hoped to see the day when not only Ireland would have her independence, but that the Scottish workers should learn a little of their fighting spirit, and also fight for Scottish independence (applause).

Bailie George Kerr (Scottish Trades Congress) conveyed to the Congress the fraternal greetings of their Scottish comrades. Like his friend, Mr. Chambers, this was the first time he had the privilege of visiting Dublin, but it was not the first time he had been to Ireland, as he visited Belfast in 1906, and addressed meetings of the Independent Labour Party. He was deeply interested in all that had taken place at the Congress. Mr. Chambers and he had learned a great deal that was of interest in the difficulties that surrounded the political and industrial situation that would be very helpful to them when they returned to Scotland. They brought the fraternal greetings of the last Scottish Congress, an assembly of 240 delegates, representing 500,000 organised workers, an increase in 1920 of 60,000. They succeeded in getting some Trade Unions that were not in existence at the previous congress. They had increased the total membership of the Trades Union movement on similar lines to what they had been doing here. They had a great number of trades unions as

appeared from the report. Now that was all in the right direction. They must go on from year to year if they were going to succeed. The failure of the worker in the past was that there had been too many trades unions, and too few trades unionists. If there had been fewer unions, more central control and less authorities, the position would have been different and, possibly, the result would have been better for the miners. He did not wish to refer to the difficulties that confront the Irish people beyond saying that the fraternal relationship that existed between the Scottish workers and the Irish workers was a very real one indeed. Probably it is due in some measure to the Celtic temperament or, it may be the parallel treatment meted out to the Scottish people who were driven from their land in something like the same way as the Irish people had been driven from the land of their own country. No matter what the reason was, the fraternal feeling that existed between the Scottish workers and the Irish workers was very real, and of very considerable value in the solution of the present difficulties which, he hoped, would be satisfactorily settled. It would mean a great deal to, and be immediately of service to the Scottish people in dealing with the position industrially, politically, and socially.

In the fight with which the Irish people were confronted they wished them success. He had been interested in a number of the questions dealt with by the Congress for the past three days. He considered the report of the National Executive an extremely valuable document to the workers of this country. He hoped a copy of it would be sent to the secretaries of the British and Scottish trades union movement. It would be of considerable profit to the workers in the British and Scottish trades union movement if it were sent to the officials for their consideration, and probably their action would be moulded on somewhat similar lines. The report dealing with the labour societies and what had been done by the creamery workers at Knocklong and the miners at Arigna was unique. In his opinion, they had in that work performed a very great service, indeed, to the trades union movement. It was valuable propaganda. He agreed with some of the delegates, particularly Miss Molony, and the suggestion to the Congress to set up some machinery such as an Advisory Committee. He thought this was essential, because propaganda work would be of value if they were to have developments in the report. Then they would probably be called upon from time to time to try experiments in industries which would not be so easy of achievement, therefore, there would be necessity for an advisory committee. If they were endeavouring to sell produce, for instance, if they got the officials and the rank and file of trades unionists in Belfast to take an interest in these matters then,

if for no other reason, it would act as a Publicity Committee with a view to the spreading of information. If such things were taking place, from time to time, the experiments suggested were of the utmost value, and they should get their closest and most careful consideration of the organisations of the workers. They had an example of trades unions working on independent lines on page 11 of the report, and there were many industries, many things in this country in connection with which these methods would be adopted, which would not only improve the circumstances of the worker, but would teach the worker the real value of the control of industry, which was of real importance to the workers of this country. There was only one observation he intended to make with regard to unemployment. Unemployment was one of the spectres that was not confined to this country. They had heard that eleven per cent. of Irish workers were unemployed; fifteen per cent. of English workers were unemployed, and fourteen per cent. of the workers of America were unemployed. Now, it was necessary for the continuation of capitalist society that they should have periods of unemployment from time to time. The paragraph on page 11 of the report was one of the methods by which they could prevent the employers from getting the value of unemployment by the withholding of labour, or by the workers being pushed out by the employers. It was up to the workers to show what they could do by their political and industrial organisation to solve this problem of unemployment, and the permanent solution of the unemployment problem would mean the death knell of capitalism. They were not going to permanently get rid of capitalist society unless they secured some permanent solution of this unemployment problem. How they were to do so was a question which he thought was answered by the report of the Executive on the matter, coupled with their deliberations on the wages reductions, and also in what was stated on page 11 of the report. So long as they had unemployment they would also have health problems, as they had on the other side of the water. He presumed the same state of affairs existed here in regard to tuberculosis. At the conference on tuberculosis in London last week, it was stated that a thousand people died every week from tuberculosis, and cases were increasing in proportion as they found people in poverty or economic danger. Tuberculosis and all diseases associated with the white scourge were economic diseases arising out of the unemployment of the people and poverty. The same thing applied to the death rate among young people. They had a decreased death rate and a decreased rate of consumption during the war as there was less unemployment and less anxiety as far as employment was concerned than there is to-day. In the big industrial cities

the death rate among young persons had increased since the unemployed period had grown acute. That brought them back to the position before the war when 150 out of every thousand babies born in Great Britain left the cradle to occupy the coffin in the first four weeks of their lives. They must do something to remedy that position, to remove that condition altogether. He did not want to say anything further except to associate himself with what Mr. Chambers said about getting rid of the Lloyd George government which dominated them politically on the other side of the water. They were organising politically to defeat the Coalition Government. He (Mr. Kerr) personally believed that what happened the miners industrially, and what was taking place amongst the agricultural workers of England and Scotland with regard to the reduction of wages and the enforcement of working conditions and hours of labour on the general industrial worker, that all these circumstances were going to have a reaction on the Coalition Government and the capitalist government at the next general election. He was not so optimistic as one of his comrades as to believe that there would be 300 or 400 labour men in the next Parliament. He believed there would be no less than 200 labour workers in the next Parliament (applause). He believed that if they would organise the workers politically as they had organised them industrially they would then be able to emancipate themselves to remove all this unemployment, and to secure this socialist commonwealth (applause).

The President said they greatly appreciated the fraternal greetings and good wishes of their fellow-workers in Scotland. What Mr. Chambers told them did not surprise many of them for they knew it was coming. Nine years ago, if they read the speeches at the time of the 1913 dispute, which were made by Jim Larkin, they could see he told them what was coming, and the day had arrived. Every trades unionist in this country felt a heavy load on his heart when he saw the way the miners were being sold and betrayed by those who had a right to stand by them. They were sold body and soul to the capitalist owners of Great Britain. The miners were always the backbone of the labour movement in Great Britain, and they had always been a source of power and strength to the labour movement of these countries. In Ireland they did not forget that when they were in trouble the miners sent over a thousand pounds per week, for sixteen weeks, to help the men in this country (applause). They did not forget their kindness and their support. At that time, when other associations were trying to let the Irish cause down, the miners were the strongest supporters of the people engaged in the struggle, and they had one of the best men who figured in the labour movement for many years—he referred to Bob Smillie (applause). It was a

pity that some men grew old, for he believed that if Bob Smillie had not retired, that Jimmy Thomas, with all his slippery tactics, would not have been able to steal a march on him. For that reason, he thought it was a pity to lose an old hand like Bob Smillie (hear, hear). He sincerely hoped that the warning given by Comrade Chambers to the railwaymen of this country would be taken to heart by them, because the railwaymen were more or less in the same position as in which the miners were. They were at the beginning of a crisis, and if the railway men were let down now it would be a bad job for all of them (applause). The railwaymen were the men in the gap at the moment, and he hoped they would carry on the fight without depending on men with the reputation of J. H. Thomas (hear, hear).

The members of the Congress expressed their appreciation of the good wishes of the fraternal delegates by rising in their places.

Dr. Bhat, on behalf of the Workers' Welfare League of India, said he brought fraternal greetings from the workers of India—men and women—to their comrades in Ireland. Two years ago he spoke before the Trades Union Congress at Drogheda. At that time he only represented the Workers' Welfare League of India; to-day he represented the All-India Trades Union Congress, whose agent in those islands he was. He would say without any suspicion of flattery, how grateful they were for the great help the Irish Trades Union Congress had given to the workers of India. When they were a small insignificant, unknown body, the Irish Trades Union Congress alone stood by them as brothers and supported them. That support started with seven words spoken in friendship with the Executive at Liberty Hall. He asked for their fraternal support and it was granted. Never did they once turn down with the smile of hypocrisy other workers of the world. He had met with difficulties, and in meeting them he thanked them from his heart for the assistance they had given him. They had been watching what was done in the Irish labour movement, and in India they had been able to organise the trades union movement, and organise also, over 500,000 of the workers of India. They had held their first session of the Trades Congress of India a few months ago. He stood before them in a subordinate capacity, but it was very pleasant to him to extend to them the influence and sympathy, the voice and heart and hand of India. Was that brotherhood to continue? ("Yes, Yes!"). Ireland was in a peculiar position to-day: so was India. The work of the Irish people had brought them in sight of the realisation of their ideals—the realisation of the utmost possibility for which human beings were created, the realisation of the oneness of the Universe that had been given to them as the one goal they should have in sight. It was within sight,

but not yet reached. The goal would be reached if Irish labour was honest, and Irish labour leaders did not sell the Irish people. They had the charge made that the whole labour movement was just a conspiracy for labour leaders to smuggle into comfortable positions at the expense of the men who labour and fight. They, in India, had been watching Irish labour. There had been no Black Friday in Ireland. So far so good. Irish labour had not been betrayed: Irish labour had not betrayed India, but what was going to happen in the future. That was the question that had yet to be answered. Only a few weeks ago, in the United States, the American Federation of Labour passed a resolution against admitting Oriental labour into the United States on the same conditions as Occidental labour. The whole British brood in the Empire had no love for them; Canada knew what to do with India, so did South Africa and Australia, and so did everybody else. The British people themselves, as represented by their government, treated the Indians as only British people could. When the Labour corps was started in the late war the money and pensions given for services were the wages that were being paid to their old Indian employees. The British government ought to be ashamed of its damnable iniquities. The question was, was Ireland going to treat them the same as Canada? ("No"). He had the answer, "No," all right: he thanked them for it. There was the Indian side. So far they had been doing good work; they had 500,000 workers in their trades union organisation. It was in safe hands there, otherwise he would not be representing it. However, they were only in their infancy so far as the labour movement went. They did not know how it was going to turn out, and even from the "Daily Herald" they heard something about it. There was a boycott of foreign goods, of Irish goods along with the rest of them. The pronouncement of the Indian labour leaders on the matter was that it served the Irish jolly well right. They had no objection, whatever, to Irish goods manufactured by Irish people on non-capitalistic lines, but the Irish goods manufactured under capitalistic conditions deserved to go by the same bonfire as the Manchester goods went two days previously. That was not all. This exclusion and boycott of foreign goods also applied to Indian goods produced under Indian capitalistic methods. The task before them was a hard one before they could make the Indian working men realise that the Indian capitalist was as damnable a cheat as any other; that there was no use in taking care to keep out Manchester or other goods until they learned to smash the capitalist beast everywhere. And working men in any part of the world could not do that without the help of the labour men in all walks of life all over the world. They had not yet quite realised what

labour men in every part of the world could do with the help and co-operation of labour men in all walks of life in every part of the world. In India, a labour service of Health had proved a great blessing. They would not tolerate here that men would be offered 2d to 4d. a day for their labour, and then have to walk thousands of miles to their homes. In Constantinople a thousand municipal workers were threatened with reduced wages because the standard of living and the cost of living was low and falling. They said no; they would not take less than £2 10s. a week, the same as others were receiving, that if the standard of living was low and other people were getting £2 10s. a week, they must also get it. They had read of what happened in Arigna and Knocklong, and of Irish engine drivers refusing to drive the trains even at the point of the revolver. These lessons had not been lost on the people of India; the greatest of all lessons had not been lost on them—the lesson of the Irish movement. Men were shot and buried unidentified. What was behind all that? The wives of these heroes said, "He is gone in a good cause, and we are not going to give you information about him." That was the greatest lesson Ireland had taught them; the women knew they would never return because they were dead—dead in the call of the cause which was the cause of everyone. The call had come to all of them to raise human life.

He asked them to send delegates to the next Trades Union Congress in India, for they were men and women in India as they were in Ireland.

The President said they very much appreciated the greetings from the workers of India. The people of India admired fighters for freedom wherever they were, no matter what their class or creed or colour. He wished to tell Dr. Bhat how sincerely they appreciated their greetings. The Indian workers had been copying some of the methods of the Irish workers; they did not object to that. They had been effective here, and they hoped they would soon be effective in India (applause).

The delegates greeted Dr. Bhat by rising in their places.

Dr. Bhat, acknowledging a gift of a volume by P. H. Pearse, said he thanked them very much. He would appreciate the story of life as told in the poems—a gift from those whom he asked to co-operate with the greatest poem of all—the uplifting of human life (applause).

RAILWAYMEN'S WAGES.

The President announced that the Standing Orders Committee strongly recommended that the following Emergency resolution should be taken up immediately: "That Congress views with concern the proposed wholesale attack of the Irish Railway Com-

panies on existing agreements, and the attempt to ignore the Railway Trades Unions in the imposition of the proposed reductions. The Congress looks upon the proposals as disclosed in the public press as monstrous and unjustifiable, warns the Railway Companies of the serious consequences likely to arise from a struggle forced upon Irish Railwaymen in the attempt to impose upon them the degraded conditions suggested, and calls upon Irish railway workers to offer the most uncompromising and united opposition to the attack.

"The National Executive are hereby instructed to immediately convey the terms of this resolution to all the unions concerned, and to take all necessary steps for the purpose of arranging a concerted plan of campaign against the proposed reductions."

Mr. T. Farren (I.T. & G.W.U.) in moving the resolution said he thought most of the delegates would realise that the matter was very urgent and very important, and even at that late hour they would ask them to consider the resolution. They read in the papers that morning of the dangers that were likely to occur, and the serious position in which they might find themselves at any moment. They were told they should take immediate steps to safeguard the position of the whole of the workers of the country. They had read in the papers that morning that some of the railway companies in Ireland had already gone back to the old system of sending notices to employees regarding their conditions of labour. He wanted the delegates to take particular notice of the fact that while certain employees were to have immediately a drastic cut in their wages their working day was to be increased to 10 hours. They read also that some negotiations had taken place between the managers of the Irish railways and the representatives of one of the Unions concerned. They read that an agreement had been arrived at for a basis of negotiations, and that the basis for negotiations should be the pre-war Conciliation Board which meant that the Railway companies called before them a few of their employees, and if they allowed a few representatives of the trades unions to attend on such occasions, they did not give the unions power in the old days—they allowed a member of the staff to state their case. They had heard within the last few hours from that platform that the railwaymen had secured for themselves better conditions, that they had, in fact, got greatly better conditions than they had pre-war. And if it was suggested that the basis for negotiations should be the pre-war Conciliation Board, he thought they should consider the position. They read in the papers that all the unions concerned were not represented at the negotiations. They thought this was an attempt to divide the workers, and the National Executive believed that if this question was to be fought immediately all the workers

engaged on the railways ought to take joint action. The National Executive believed they ought to have some say in this question. As was said several times on the platform, there was a deliberate onslaught going to be made on all workers. They were told that the railwaymen were going to be forced to an issue. It was not an issue for the railwaymen alone; it was an issue for all the working class. The resolution proposed that the National Executive should immediately get into touch with the unions concerned with a view to immediately considering the position and taking joint action. He was not going to cast any reflection on anybody, but at a recent conference to consider matters in connection with the Congress, a member in the body of the hall said jocosely that members of the National Executive knew more about the inner workings of Dublin Castle than other people. It really meant that the Intelligence Department of the National Executive was working pretty well. He was not going to tell them everything in connection with the Intelligence Department and the forthcoming trouble, but they had information at their disposal, and they had got to be up and doing. They had got to clear the decks for action. He wanted to make it clear to the railwaymen and others concerned that they had got to grapple with this question without a moment's delay. They wanted no Black Fridays in Ireland. They were going to take jolly good care there would not be any "Black Fridays." He was not insinuating that they were going to be let down, but they were going to take care that they would not be let down. They were instructed by the resolution to get into immediate communication with the unions concerned for the purpose of taking joint action to safeguard the whole of the working classes in Ireland (hear,hear).

Mr. George Nason (Cork Trades Council) seconded the resolution. He said they had been talking of united action, and thank God, the opportunity for putting into practice what they had been talking about for the past few days had arrived. The railwaymen would not agree to the enforcement of a ten hours day. Railwaymen had been the best fighting force in the ranks of labour, and it was the proud ambition of every railwayman that they were always solid. They were not going to be let down. They were not going to let down the men who subscribed to every fund for the good of labour. If they were going to go down, let them all go down together rather than be humbugged and blackguarded by any people in this country (applause).

Mr. W. Molloy (N.U.R., Broadstone) in support of the resolution, said it would be a very bad thing for employment if the railwaymen were to go back to a ten hour day. They should have unity above all things. The railwaymen should stick to the hours they have at present. He, as a railwayman for 45

years, knew a time when he had to stand on the footplate of an engine for twelve hours without a spell. To him the eight-hour day had been one of the greatest boons of his lifetime, and by the mileage system they had a man might only be on an engine for four hours, and he would be entitled to eight hours pay in accordance with the mileage the engine had run. As they stood, if they completed 120 miles they would have completed an eight-hour day, and if they did 126 miles they would be paid for $8\frac{1}{2}$ hours. The result was that more men were employed. He firmly believed that the railwaymen would make a good fight to maintain the eight-hour day. He believed they would make a fight to maintain the high standard that had been attained, and they would be doing a great deal for the solution of the question of unemployment.

Mr. M. O'Brien (N.U.R., North Wall) also supported the resolution. He said he was sure they would all go into the trenches as they did in the past to achieve victory.

Mr. L. J. Duffy (Drapers Assistants', Dublin) said they were in between a joint deputation and the managers of the railway companies; that arrangements had been come to, and there were hopes of an agreement being arrived at. But they had not been told how much the hours were to be increased, and wages were to be reduced. If an agreement was already arrived at behind backs, they should have all the information possible on this point, particularly in view of the campaign that had been carried on for the last two or three days in the Dublin Press in the way of leading articles, telling them how foolish it was for the railwaymen to resist anything in the way of a reduction of wages or enforce anything to the prejudice of the Irish situation.

Mr. Kenny (N.U.R.) said he was entirely in agreement with the steps now being taken by the National Executive. At the same time he wanted to bring before the Congress what they knew as regards the delegation which went to London. The Irish Council of their Union went to London on Monday night, and up to the present they had not got any communication whatever from the Irish Council or the officials of their Union on the other side as to what had taken place. They were entirely ignorant of anything that had taken place with the exception of what they saw in the Press. They did not know anything of what was taking place.

Mr. Slevin (N.U.R., Leinster Council) said he wished to inform the Congress that he had been at a Conference of Railwaymen, which sat for four hours, and there had been a public meeting of the railwaymen of Dublin and its environs, and he could assure them that the intentions of the railwaymen were the best. As voiced by the Conference and the public meeting, there need not be the slightest fear of their being betrayed. They would agree to nothing

that would be detrimental to the railwaymen of Ireland. He could assure them that the railwaymen's Council would give a good account of themselves (hear, hear).

Mr. J. T. O'Farrell (Railway Clerks' Association, Dublin) said the organisation he represented made no agreement whatever with the Irish railway companies. Speaking for his own organisation, he drew the attention of the Congress to the course that must be adopted in England before there was any reduction in wages. The companies must first of all give the Union in each case or the Unions involved an explanation of the extent of the proposals for the reduction of wages or increase of hours of working. Unless the Unions agree they may refer the matter to a Central Board composed of representatives of the companies and the railway Unions, before which the whole position is reviewed and figures shown to justify the reduction. Failing agreement at that Board the matter goes to a National Board, which also included outsiders, such as representatives of traders and co-operative societies, with the representatives of the companies, railway Trade Unions, and the Parliamentary Committee of Trades Congress. They had a right to see whether they could not exercise a similar right as far as the Irish railways were concerned. They should not leave the question to any hotchpotch system of solution. An Irish railway company intimated that these reductions of wages were about to take place. Yesterday they said they had no information except what they saw in the Press, and the Press was correct. According to the terms of the proposal there was to be an increase in hours up to twelve hours a day, and a railway porter who had 65s. 6d. on the 31st March last was going to be paid 37s. 6d., while others would get 29s. Hours would in some cases be increased by 24 hours a week. The information they had clearly pointed to a development of the crisis. Unless the railwaymen stood firm and fought any reduction there would be an attack made on every industry. The railway service was more of a public service, and one of the most important services, and if they were going to reduce the conditions of the employes in it they would say they had the same right to reduce wages in other industries which were less important, consequently there was no use in blinking the fact that they were up against a crisis. They should rally their strength and stand by the men who were in the forefront of the Labour movement in this country, and standing fair and square together they were not going to let down the Labour movement and submit to go back to the conditions of pre-war days.

The resolution was passed unanimously, and the Congress adjourned until 9.30 on Thursday morning.

FOURTH DAY.

Thursday, August 4th, 1921.

Mr. Thomas Foran, the President, occupied the chair again on Thursday, August 4th, and called the Congress to order shortly after 9.30 o'clock.

The question of railway nationalisation was again discussed. The report of the debate will be found in the proceedings of the third day under the heading of "Railway Nationalisation."

ELECTION OF NATIONAL EXECUTIVE.

Mr. Dawson Gordon reported that for the ballot on the National Executive 222 papers were distributed and collected. On examining the papers the Scrutineers found the following result:—Miss Bowen, 48; J. Carr, 135; D. Cullen, 169; T. Irwin (Dublin), 80; Luke Larkin, 136; Helena Molony, 174; J. T. O'Farrell, 177; A. Stewart (Belfast), 101; W. Cummins (Kildare), 56; L. J. Duffy, 166; T. Farren, 171; T. Foran, 167; E. P. Hart (Dublin), 61; Geo. Nason, 156; J. J. Redmond (Dublin), 70; Rose Timmon, 137.

Therefore the following ten were the highest in the ballot:—J. T. O'Farrell, R.C.A., Dublin; Helena Molony, Irish Women Workers, Dublin; T. Farren, Transport Workers' Union; Denis Cullen, Irish Bakers' National Amalgamated Union; Thos. Foran, Transport Workers' Union; L. J. Duffy, Irish Drapers' Assistants' Association; George Nason, Cork Trade and Labour Council; Rose Timmon, National Teachers' Organisation; L. J. Larkin, Waterford Trades Council; James Carr, Limerick Trades Council.

The President declared these ten duly elected.

FINANCIAL REPORT.

Mr. J. J. Redmond (Engineering, Shipbuilding and Foundry Trades Union) moved the adoption of the statement of accounts for the year ending June 30, 1921.

Mr. W. Davin (Railway Clerks' Association) seconded. He thought the statement in the report was quite sufficient.

Mr. Thomas MacPartlin (Amalgamated Society of Woodworkers) drew attention to the expenses paid to delegates who did work for them during the year. He found that the scale fixed for delegates who had to do work outside of Ireland for the Irish Labour Party did not at all fill the bill. He was quite sure none of the members were anxious to go outside this country, still the necessity occurred, and the expenses allowed were not equal to the standard rate of wages in any Union. It cost much more than that to keep their delegates when out of Ireland. If a delegate

carried out his duty it was not right to expect him to suffer financially. When he went away he would take care he was paid no matter what the expenses were.

Mr. Thomas Johnson (Secretary) read the scale of expenses which was passed two or three years ago. This scale was fixed mainly on the basis of compensation for loss rather than payment for services. Members of the National Executive when engaged on the business of the party—resident members, members resident in Dublin, 15/- per day; 7/6 per half day; non-resident, 20/- per day; 3rd class railway fare. If compelled to remain over night away from home, 5/- extra. Trade Union officials and others who incur no financial loss from attending to the business of the party are allowed 5/- as bonus. A statement of the payments and records of attendances are included in the annual report. Congress Assistant Secretary 15/- per day; Auditors same scale as National Executive; Secretaries, 20/-; Tellers 20/- each; Doorkeepers, 15/-; Standing Orders Committee 40/- each; salary of Secretary and other officials to be fixed by National Executive.

Mr. D. R. Campbell (Belfast) said it was quite evident from that that the point to which attention had been drawn required to be adjusted. When a man was away for the whole of a day and a night he was allowed 25/- to compensate him for the loss. But a crown was not sufficient extra allowance. He suggested that they should readjust the scale.

Mr. C. P. Kelly was very glad this matter had been mentioned. He noticed one member of the Executive attended 10 meetings, and it worked out at a very minimum figure. It was a starvation allowance not in keeping with the dignity of his office. Delegates should get compensated for all loss. An officer should be at no loss at all but should get full subsistence allowance and be enabled to carry out his duties in an efficient manner. The expenses allowed were very small indeed. Justice was not being done to the officers.

Mr. M. Somerville (Amalgamated Society of Woodworkers) said the proper way would be for all delegates who were in the category of members to get their day's wages, whatever that might be, and then the expenses as specified by the Secretary should be added to the day's wages. Why should a man have to make inroads on his wages for doing their work?

Mr. W. O'Brien said the scale was one agreed to by that Conference, and if the position Mr. MacPartlin means is that a delegate has to go away from Ireland and from his own home, and that he is at a loss, something should be done to rectify the matter for the coming year. The only way he saw was to leave the matter in the hands of the Executive to adjust in such a way

that nothing like that would happen in the future. A suggestion should be brought before the next Conference.

Mr. C. P. Kelly—Take an instruction to that effect.

Mr. Thos. Johnson—None of the resident members have claimed at any time the 5/- bonus.

Mr. J. D. Canavan (U.P.W.)—Are you prepared to accept a motion on this subject now?

The President—Mr. Kelly has moved that it be adjusted during the coming year and be confirmed at Congress next year.

The motion was agreed to.

Mr. P. T. Daly (Dublin) asked were any deductions made from the salary of the Secretary for any half-hour he might be out of the office.

Alderman Wm. O'Brien (Dublin) said the salary of the Secretary was at the rate of £450 per year from a date which was not the first of the financial year. The amount in the balance sheet was not £450 even. With regard to Mr. Daly's remark about being out of the office, he did not believe that the Trades Union movement in Ireland could produce a man who had more unselfishly given his labour to the movement than the present Secretary. As the point had been raised, it was just as well to meet it. During the past two or three weeks Mr. Johnson had been extremely ill, but the nature of his duties and his own conscience would not allow him to desert his post, and although he was absolutely unfit to do his work he struggled on doing the work for that Congress, and it was the unanimous wish of the Executive that as soon as the Congress was finished they would insist on Mr. Johnson taking a long holiday.

The statement of accounts was adopted.

EDUCATION AND SCHOOLS.

Standing Orders Committee submitted the following resolution, to be moved as an emergency resolution, by the Women Workers' Union in conjunction with Resolution No. 2 on the agenda—"That we impress upon the educational authorities the urgent necessity of making adequate provision for the cleaning and heating of public schools, and that under no circumstances should the duty of cleaning devolve upon the pupils attending them."

Resolution No. 2 was as follows—

2.—"That in view of the fact that organizations outside the Labour movement are dealing with the subject of the education of juvenile workers, and are extending the system of *evening* classes, this Congress renews its claim that all workers under 18 years of age be given facilities for attending classes *during working hours* and be not asked to attend classes after a full day's work."

Miss Louie Bennett (W.W.U.) in moving these resolutions, said it was their experience that no worker of 15 was able to spend an hour in evening classes after spending in a factory five hours of the day. They wanted to push their claim on the employers that they should release the juvenile workers under 18 for a certain number of hours in the week in order to enable them to attend evening classes. There should be considerably less working hours in the factory so that the young workers could attend evening classes. A second point in connection with the resolution was concerned with the arrangements for the heating and cleaning of schools. This had to be done at present by the pupils. It was obvious to all that it was not a job for the pupils, especially in country schools where the pupils had long distances to go. It was a good thing to teach children household duties, but she did not think they ought to be taught to clean their own schools. The authorities should make themselves responsible for the cleaning and heating of the schools.

Mr. John Harbison (I.N.T.O.) seconded the resolution. He wished to take the opportunity, in the name of the Irish National Teachers' Organisation, to return their quota of thanks and an expression of gratitude to the Irish Labour Party for the invaluable assistance rendered to them in their cause in regard to fixing up a fair and just and equitable scale of salaries for the Irish National Teachers. He was pleased to be able to say that the majority of the Irish teachers had recognised that their best and truest friends had been found in the ranks of the Labour Party, and he wished also to say that he thought there was no difference of opinion amongst them that but for the effort put forth on their behalf, in regard to the struggle they had in fixing up their salaries, they would not have got such a fair and equitable settlement. There was one other matter: it was the decision of the Irish teachers in regard to the question of civil rights. He wished to say that they had claimed full civil rights and it appeared on their agenda from Congress to Congress. At last they stepped out and took a bold step. Teachers were not prohibited from contesting elections for local boards and councils, and they thought that in some cases they could render the public service on these boards and they felt it was not right they should be prohibited. Consequently their Executive decided that a member of the Organisation who was recommended by the local association and approved of by the Executive would come out and contest an election. If the National Board of Education took any drastic step they would stand by him. A teacher came forward. He was successful in the contest, with the result that his salary was withdrawn from that teacher. He got the opportunity either to resign his position on the local board or the salary would be withdrawn. He stood to his guns in this matter. The salary was with-

drawn. They applied to the National Board to receive a deputation. They received a deputation, and just at the time a deputation was received a letter was in the hands of the Secretaries from the Secretary of the National Executive on behalf of the Labour Party asking that their deputation should also subsequently be received. He wished to say that there was no necessity for the deputation from Labour Party, for this reason, whatever might have been the cause the rule was deleted from the code. It was not a matter now of being up against only the Irish National Teachers' Organisation; they knew that they were linked up with the other forces and they had now a power behind them. As to the matter of Education and the Labour movement, they considered that after all the education problem lay at the very root and was the bedrock of the whole Labour problem. It was a most important thing that there should be a very close co-operation between the teachers of the country, to whom the children were entrusted, and the parents of these children. They had a good deal in common. They who were engaged in the work knew best where the shoe pinched, the conditions under which they tried to carry on the education of the children, and what they proposed to do from time to time was to bring this matter before them, because the Education question was not a teachers' question, it was a great, broad, and national question, and that being so they proposed to come to them and put the situation before them, because it was also their question, to join and to co-operate with them and try to bring about an improvement in this education. Reference was made to the heating and cleaning of the National Schools. He did not think it possible that most of them knew of the deplorable conditions under which that was carried out. According to the rules of the Commissioners the teacher was responsible for seeing that schools were brushed in the evening and dusted in the morning. If there were any expense incurred, that was the rule, the expense was supposed to fall on the manager. In practice this was what happened in the great majority of schools. This matter of the brushing of the schools had to be done by the school children. The teacher was expected to be present to see that this work was done. They held that that was not the proper method for having this work done in the public schools. They held that children should not be called on to do this, and they should not be responsible to remain after the school day to see this work done. As to the heating of the Schools, he wished to tell them that in the majority of the schools the teacher had to be hammering at the pupils or the parents to bring their doles as a contribution towards the heating during the cold winter. Now, they held, and he thought they would agree, that that was not a proper method of doing this work. They could easily imagine the position, particularly in the country districts. There was no fire in

the morning in the cold, damp, cheerless schoolroom. No fire was provided until some of the children arrived, some from a considerable distance. They had to set about putting on a fire. That was the position of affairs that obtained in the great majority of the schools. They felt that the time had come when they had to take a bold stand on this matter. If they were forced to take any drastic step they would appeal to them, because their children were involved, and they were going to appeal to them to stand by them in the attempt in this direction. There was one other matter. As regards the matter of the irregularity of attendance at the National Schools, what he was going to say was not very palatable. He wished to say that he would not be true to themselves and to their country if he did not put the facts before them in regard to this matter. It was a most important thing. They would allow him by way of contrast to bring out the facts. He contrasted the average attendance in Ireland as compared with Scotland and England, and it would be a matter of surprise to them that the percentage of attendance, the average percentage in Ireland reaches about 69 per cent., whereas in Scotland and England it ran from 85 to 95 per cent. That was not a nice state of affairs in regard to Ireland. It would be a matter of surprise to them (he wished to understate rather than overstate), that at least there are 80,000 children in Ireland of school-going age, between 5 and 15 years of age, who are not enrolled in any school. That was a sad, a deplorable state of affairs. The reason was that on any day in the Irish schools they had only between 50 and 60 per cent. of the children of school-going age in actual attendance. That would not do. It was unfair to their children, it was not fair to themselves or to their country. He felt that they could materially help in regard to the education of the children. They hoped that the next generation would not have to struggle along the same thorny path they had had to travel along, and the secret of success was this—they wanted all these boys and girls educated, because once they were educated it would be a very difficult matter to exploit them afterwards. In conclusion, he thanked them for the support they had given them in regard to this matter, and he was sure they would have their kind co-operation in the future.

Mr. Thomas Irwin (Plasterers' Trade Society, Dublin Operative) supported the resolution. He held with the last speaker. If the education problem were solved in this country there would be need for very few Congresses. He was only sorry the resolution was not a great deal broader in its scope to take in all systems of education, including technical.

Mr. Thomas Kennedy (I. T. and G. W. U.) said he rather regretted that neither the mover nor the seconder of the resolution

gave them any idea what they expected the resolution to produce. Did either the mover or the seconder of the resolution imagine that by passing it they were going to get the employing class of Dublin to release their workers for three or four hours a day in order that they might become intelligent. He had recently organised grocers' porters. Out of 600 lads they had organised about 400. They had not had an opportunity of reaching that standard of education that would allow them to intelligently understand the labour position in that or any other country. To pass or support a resolution would have very little effect on the position of the youthful workers. But as far as the youthful members of the grocers' porters were concerned, evening classes were going to be started to give them an opportunity of reaching a state of intelligence that would enable them to appreciate the labour position in this country.

Mr. Alexander Stewart (Belfast) said he thought this Congress must expect to face this whole question. This matter of Continuation Schools and Supplementary Education was applied to them in various ways. In Belfast, for example, they had two Advisory Committees, excellent bodies for passing pious resolutions. They had practically no finance, no power, but if they had any stamina they would get plenty of finance. The Department, like all other departments, would spend money for anything in the world but for the education of their children. The resolution did not go far enough. It did not indicate where they would get the necessary finances. He thought they could get them from a Government Department through their advisory bodies. He thought they might get some of the money for the heating and cleaning of the schools through their local authorities if it were only under the head of sanitary administration. But he thought they could get the money through another source. Money in England and Scotland and Wales was applied for the purpose of perfecting and extending the system of education. It would not be too extravagant to have a special Congress to consider that matter. The very least they should ask was that they should have a special Sub-Committee of the Executive to specialise on this matter.

Miss Louie Bennett said there was a Committee at work at the present time. They wanted other Trades Unions to work in with these Committees. The Trades Unions had not time to run these classes themselves. In England and in a few firms here already, the principle was conceded, and the employers were allowing their younger workers to have hours for these evening classes.

The resolution was passed without dissent.

THE RUSSIAN SITUATION.

The Chairman of Standing Orders Committee reported that the following was recommended to Congress as an emergency resolution; the report was adopted:—

“That this Congress of delegates of the workers of a country which has experienced all the horrors of famine, expresses its sympathy with the workers in those parts of Russia which are now stricken by famine owing to the failure of the crops as a consequence of the great drought, hopes the workers' Government and Republic of Russia will overcome this calamity as they have already overcome war, invasion and counter-revolution, the direct result of the allied blockade, and instructs the National Executive to consider ways and means by which the workers and people of Ireland, even after all their recent hardships, can contribute to the alleviation of the Russian distress as a practical expression of sympathy.”

Mr. Cathal O'Shannon (I.T.&G.W.U.) proposed the resolution. He said hundreds of thousands of the working people of Russia were not merely unemployed and on short rations, as many of the workers in this country were, but were actually dying of starvation. There was great danger that the great social experiment, the biggest social effort ever made for the emancipation of the working classes and what was undoubtedly the greatest revolution in all history, might be completely defeated by this partly natural cause of the failure of the crops. But it was not altogether a natural cause, because it had come after two or three years of continuous war on the part of the Russian workers, of the Soviet Workers' Republic of Russia against the whole world. It was due very largely to the blockade, to the wars, counter revolutions and invasions which the Governments of England, France and America, and all these who were going to make a new world had carried out against the Russians. We are not asking you to carry the resolution and to do something practical to show your sympathy merely because the Russians had expressed for the Irish workers and the Irish people their sympathy and were prepared so far as we were concerned to do all in their power to help. No; they were asking them because they were the representatives of the working classes in Ireland, and those were their fellow-workers who were suffering, who were dying, who were starving in Russia. They had many famines of their own, some partly natural, some of the biggest largely artificial; they also know that there was great destruction in Ireland now, particularly in the last twelve months. In spite of that they felt that it was up to them to do something. They were asking them to pass a resolution to enable the National Executive to take these ways

and means so that they could show that those who were in much worse condition than themselves had their strong sympathy, and that that sympathy was going to find practical expression in so far as they could do it.

Miss H. Molony (I.W.W.U.) seconded the resolution. The Russian workers had given a new lesson to the world. It was well that they should recognise that. She was sure the whole of Ireland would respond to this demand, and that it would take a practical shape. There was a true saying that only the poor can help the poor.

Alderman Wm. O'Brien (I.T. and G.W.U.) said they heard of horror and desolation, of the terrible things and the calamity that had afflicted their brothers and sisters in Russia. All eyes had been concentrated on the experiment that was tried there. They were faced with war, two revolutions, counter revolution, blockade, and after that this terrible calamity. He was sure their sympathy and support went out to them. They ought to send a ship load of food to Russia. If the appeal was made voluntarily and in the right spirit it would be responded to generously. It could be done by purely voluntary effort. Flour was a great necessity in Russia. What if they made an appeal to the farmers to contribute the necessary grain, the miller to turn it into flour, the railwaymen to bring it along, and the dockers to load it into the ships for Russia. It might be said it was only a drop in the ocean, but it would be a symbol that Ireland, stricken at the moment, could spare sympathy for that great nation.

The resolution was passed unanimously.

CO-OPERATION AND TRADE UNIONISM.

Mr. P. O'Neill (Birr) moved:—"That this Congress urges on its National Executive the formulation by Trades Unionists and Co-operators of a joint policy based on the fostering of a close alliance between co-operation and trade unionism in promoting and helping co-operative enterprise, and in taking joint political, educational and propagandist action locally, nationally, and internationally." He urged the necessity of co-operative societies in the various districts and setting up co-operative stores so that the workers might gain experience of what the co-operative movement was like, and in case of strikes and industrial upheavals that the workers might have something to rely on, and for educational purposes. Workers ought by all possible means get on the Committees of the Co-operative Societies and get every position where they could forward the interests of the Labour movement.

Mr. Thomas Lynch (Drogheda) seconded the resolution.

Mr. Walter Carpenter (Dublin) thought that where they stood and co-operation were one and the same thing. He believed that if they were to make any headway towards the goal that they had been discussing during the week—that was the Workers' Republic—that through the co-operative movement they could make some progress. He did not know whether the mover was thinking of a number of alleged co-operative societies that were scattered throughout the country run by the I.A.O.S. To his mind they were not co-operative societies, and he would urge the delegates there that instead of trying to get in, because they would never get in, the farmers would not let them—instead of wasting efforts trying to get into such a society they should form societies of their own. Those of them who were class conscious—those of them who were in earnest in working for the Workers' Republic, they ought to see to it that they had their ground prepared. And it was by building up co-operative societies—call them what they liked—they would have scattered throughout the country things whereby they could feed the working class, and they were the only class that mattered to him, in that struggle that they might be called upon to meet. He believed the moment the idea of dividends entered into the Co-operative Society it ceased to be a co-operative society at once. Let them get into the co-operative movement with the idea that they were there building the ground work to feed the army of the working class they would need in the fighting, perhaps sooner than some of them thought, perhaps bringing and ushering in the republic spoken of several times that week.

Mr. Eamon Lynch (Cobh) said those of them who had experience of the co-operative movement knew that it did not receive the support and attention it should get in this country. The movement had been starved for capital and attention from trade unionists. In itself it was an essential part of their working class movement as expressed and represented at the Congress, and still sufficient attention had not been paid to it. He thought that difficulty would be got over by passing over the responsibility to the National Executive. He thought this was work the Trades Union movement should open up. The Co-operative movement should be carried on more by the individual committees. The National Executive might at the same time consider the co-operative movement from the standpoint of banking or sending instructions to its strong bodies to help the co-operative movement by banking with it, as in the event of strikes the co-operative movement could be of great assistance to the labour organisations. It had been the big pin in the framework of the Russian revolution, and if that revolution in Russia to-day was likely to collapse from internal dissensions and external interference they knew the

Russian revolution would not have reached the pitch it had reached were it not for the active support it received from the co-operative movement.

Mr. John Farren (Dublin) said they had had experience in Dublin. For many years they called on the workers to get into the co-operative movement. They had a co-operative movement in Dublin, and he was sorry to say there were very few workers in it with the exception of the branch opened by the Transport Workers' Union. But the machinery was there. All they had got to do was to join it and put the proper men on the Committee and work it as they wished. The co-operative movement ought to be supported by the National Executive for the workers, because there were a lot of things that wanted to be centralised. They would want to have the creameries refitted up, and they wanted co-operation not of one particular industry but of all the industries of the country and keep the work at home.

Mr. M. O'Brien (N.U.R.) supported. Eleven months ago a small body of railway men joined the co-operative movement—180 members. Any man that could afford to took out shares. Anyone that wanted a club we started a club at a minimum of 2/6 a week. At present they had £1,000 of clothing amongst 180 men. They expected next year to double that.

Mr. Thos. Johnson (Secretary) said the National Executive in the past had been quite favourable to taking joint action to support the co-operative movement, but this resolution suggested taking joint action, political, educational and propagandist. Both wings of the co-operative movement, urban and rural, are definitely opposed to taking any political action of any kind in Ireland. We are asking them to take joint action with us. We are willing if they would assist our kind of political action. We throw out an invitation to them, but it required their willingness as well as ours.

Mr. N. P. Linehan (Mallow) said there were people working under the name of co-operators in Ireland who were not co-operators at all. In the South the meaning was too clear; the farmers all join together to get the greatest possible profit out of the produce of their farms and get their workers to work for the lowest possible wage. The societies in the South of Ireland that went under the name of Co-operative Societies were really only limited liability companies. It would be a mistake for them to join and get profit for them. They must get some sort of a propaganda department. These co-operative societies had been in the field for years and had got wrong ideas into the general body of the public. If they wanted to get the workers, especially in the South, to become co-operators, they must form a propa-

ganda department and flood the country with literature—a literature that would tell them exactly what co-operation was. And it would be necessary to have some sort of an education department so that when co-operative societies were formed they would have people able to take up the position of managers and so on.

Mr. P. Byrne (Dublin) said he did not know how the National Executive was to tackle all the work left over by every resolution on the agenda. His experience was that preference was being given to those who get goods on credit and the cash customers were left on one side. There must be some definite understanding come to, and the best means would be to appoint an independent Committee.

The resolution was passed with one dissentient.

NATIONAL LAND POLICY.

Mr. P. O'Neill (Birr) proposed:—

“This Congress, recognising that a constructive agricultural policy is essential to make possible an easy transition from capitalism to the new social order under a Gaelic State, and in order to assist in setting up a system of ownership to supplant the present one, which is based on confiscation and is responsible for the highly wasteful methods of agriculture that retard production in Ireland, instructs its National Executive to prepare and issue a statement on a National Land Policy based on public ownership of all land, taking into consideration systems based on

- (a) Co-operative farming for small and mass production.
- (b) The Agricultural Guild.
- (c) The fusion of the Co-operative Organisation and the Agricultural Guild.”

He said that owing to the present state of agricultural labourers and in anticipation of a future struggle amongst them, and in view of the present state of affairs in the country, they recommended the Congress to instruct the National Executive to prepare and issue a statement on the National Land Policy. Let each delegate take the matter in hand.

Mr. Eamonn Lynch seconded. He sounded a note of warning. If the National Executive was about to embark on a land policy the fundamental basis of such a policy must be absolutely a co-operative one. They must avoid as far as they could any operation which would mean individualistic holding. In their experience of the organisation of land workers they found coming from every quarter a desire to separate the agricultural worker from his brother in the town. That might not be very apparent in the work of those who were engaged in this nefarious

practice. There was a great danger in propaganda. They were desirous of divorcing the proletariat of the country from the town, and the means was a supply of literature on the lines of the individualistic plot. The upshot was to identify the interest of the labourer with the interest of the farmer, and they set up a great bulwark of conservatism in the country which in any great upheaval in the country would be turned against the worker in the town. The Hungarian revolution was largely broken down by reason of the fact that the peasants were separated from the workers in the town and supplies were kept off from the town, and the revolution collapsed. In the South of Ireland they had some experience of that thing. In the town of Fermoy, when the farmers in the surrounding districts did not get a sufficient price for their milk they cut off the supply to the town for a certain number of days. Their advice to the Transport Workers was—go and bring in that milk into the towns. If that had been carried out the children in Fermoy would not have had to live on condensed milk. They could not issue such an order to the land workers unless they were organised with them.

Mr. Lambert (Sligo) said they were hampered by the farmers in Sligo, but they appointed a Committee, and a deputation waited on the graziers. They offered them a reasonable rent. They stocked the farms and supplied milk from the 1st of May at 4d. a quart. It was sold by the farmers at 8d. They kept the milk at home and churned. They increased it to 5d. on the 1st of June, and the farmers came down to 5d., with the result that milk is now sold in Sligo at 5d., and there is not a single plot of grazing inside the borough of Sligo they would not commandeer inside the next six months.

Mr. L. J. Duffy (I.D.A.A., Dublin) said this was before the Congress last year. It then included two other clauses, direct ownership and direct cultivation by a number of administrative bodies which was not included in this resolution. The resolution they passed last year was preferable. It had a wider scope and a better basis, and he would ask Congress not to pass this resolution.

Mr. Cathal O'Shannon (I.T. and G.W.U.) said this was important. The clauses brought to their attention were amendments to a resolution last year. Last year's resolution laid down the basis for a comprehensive inquiry and investigation by the National Executive. It was rather regrettable that the National Executive from one cause or another were not able to go forward and do the work laid down last year. It did not do all that it might have done, but the substance of the whole thing was in the manifesto that the National Executive issued during the year. Two years ago when the farmers outside Cork attempted to strike

against supplying milk to the people of Cork because the people of Cork were not prepared to pay the higher prices the mere threat of similar action to what had been taken in Sligo was sufficient to break the Cork farmers' strike in less than 24 hours.

Mr. M'Grath (I.T.W.U.) said the National Executive had on it no representative of agricultural labour. They must directly consult the agricultural labourers. Speaking for the workers concerned in the South and Midlands, he could say that they had wonderful ideas. They had never been comprehended by any Congress. They had heard a great deal about starvation of the towns for milk. He knew a town where they were starved for milk and potatoes. It did not last 24 hours, because the workers made up their minds that whoever was going to starve they were not going to starve. The Co-operative Societies were not going to open their doors. It was his firm conviction that until they consulted the people at the bottom, the people that really counted, they never could get along the road on which they were all supposed to be travelling.

The resolution was passed unanimously.

STANDARD OF LIVING.

Mr. Thomas Johnson proposed :—

"Having regard to the movement of prices of Irish agricultural produce in the British market, and the necessity of maintaining and improving the standard of living for all who toil, whether as wage workers or as peasants living on the produce of their own labour, we call upon the National Authority for legislation decreeing that

- (1) The first charge upon the produce of agriculture must be a decent livelihood for all engaged in that industry; and
- (2) That the peasant holder of land shall be freed from all liability for rent or purchase annuities, until the income derivable from his holding assuming it to have been fairly tilled and tended, is sufficient to maintain him and his family at the standard of living common to workmen in urban industries."

He said the whole policy of the Congress was to base any social order that might come in Ireland upon labour, not necessarily upon proletarian labour, upon labour and service, and they knew that in this country wage labour was the minority. It might be the best organised minority, it might be the spear head of any movement for the labour community, but the majority of toilers in this country who lived by their labour were not proletarians, and it should be the policy of their Executive and the labour movement to devise in some manner the means by which

the worker on the land, whether peasant holder or wage labourer, should be allied with the workers in the town. It was with that in view that it should be part of the labour policy to assist the peasant holder who worked and lived by the produce of his work, to maintain a decent livelihood. It was said, and had been said very truly that in past years the greatest sweated industry in Ireland was agriculture. That was perfectly true, and it would be true again if the wholesale price of produce did fall. But what was the position. The first charge upon that produce went in annuities or bank interest, or some payment to somebody who did no work for the payment, and they were asking that it should be the labour policy, offered to the farmer who worked on his own holding, that the first charge upon his produce should be food and clothing, and housing for himself and his family; that there should be no rent payable, and no annuities, no cash interest payable until he and his family had been provided with a reasonable standard of life. That would tend to ally the workers, the peasant worker with the town worker, and with the agricultural labourer. They had nothing whatever to say to the farmer as an employer in this respect. So far as he was a worker on his own farm they were willing to assist, but just as soon as he began to talk about exploitation and about drawing benefit from his land owning, then they parted company. In so far as he was looking for payment for his actual services they were even with him, and it should be their duty to devise a means whereby a peasant working on his holding would have a community of interest with the urban worker and the agricultural worker who was an employee of a large farmer. They put it forward in this resolution that it should be a definite national policy that these people should be non-suable for rent or interest, or annuities, until they and their families had been properly supplied with the comforts of life—provided that holding had been fairly tilled and tended. It was just as great a grievance, though smaller in magnitude, that a small holder should allow his land to be used as a little ranch as for the large holder to allow his land to be used as a ranch.

Mr. Wm. Cummins (Kildare) said in Kildare, Meath, and other places the strongest fight had been put up on the part of the labourer, and the conditions had been ameliorated. The character of their work was of such a fluctuating nature that from time to time specially great hardship existed. They should take steps to prevent any such evil condition of affairs being repeated. In the rest of Ireland with the small agricultural workers who lived on small uneconomic holdings the standard of life they could support was far inferior to anything that the urban workers could think of being content with. Not alone was the little hold-

ing, consisting in some cases of 4 or 5 acres of land, uneconomic, but was made largely of cut away bog—bog reclaimed by the hands of the workers who lived upon it. Many of those in the harvest time were compelled to leave their holdings and emigrate to England and Scotland where the conditions under which they had to work were, indeed, very bad. If they could induce those to come into the labour movement they would have a great strength at the back of labour. Their numbers were large. The policy suggested by the Secretary should appeal to them. They were in the hands of the gombeen man. Exorbitant prices were claimed of them. They were helpless. This policy would hold out a great inducement to that large body to come into the movement.

The resolution was adopted without dissent.

Mr. Walter Carpenter (Dublin) said anybody who knew anything about the land agitation in this country knew that at the foundation of the Land League by Michael Davitt the cry went up of the land for the people; not for the peasant proprietor; not for the small farmer. Michael Davitt never believed in peasant proprietary. He believed in the ownership of the land of Ireland by all the people. This resolution said absolutely nothing about the hereditary right of the men placed on the land by the British government to claim that land, to possess for ever. It should be stated definitely that the peasant proprietor to-day, if he were going to be relieved of rent and all the rest of it until his family had a decent standard of living that he was only holding that land in trust for the people of Ireland, to work for them as well as himself, and that his heirs and successors had no claim on the land when he ceased to exist. It was the politicians that side-tracked Davitt and his movement. It was the people who came after him who brought this thing of peasant proprietary into this country which the founders of the Land League never intended it to be. They had got rid of one set of reactionary ideas, and the politicians had planted in the minds of the peasant proprietors of Ireland that the land belonged to them, to them only. He denied it belonged to them; it belonged to the whole country.

Mr. Thomas Johnson said Mr. Carpenter complained that the resolution said nothing about peasant proprietorship, nothing about the right of possession of the land, the right of legacy. It said nothing about the class war, about the Einstein theory. Mr. Carpenter and his union and other unions had every opportunity to put any resolution and amendments to this resolution. The resolution just contained exactly what it was intended to contain, and they were not dealing with other things which it did not contain.

A GAELIC RESOLUTION.

Mr. Scmerville (Standing Orders Committee) reported that "Standing Orders Committee recommended that the Irish Clerical Workers be permitted to move a resolution of fraternal greetings, without discussion to the Ard-Fheis at present meeting in Dublin."

Mr. Griffin (I.C., & W.U.) moved the following message :

Do theachtairibh Ard-Fheise Chonnartha na Gaedhilge beannachta agus molta. In-einfheacht le Gaedhealaibh na h-Eireann guidhimid go mairfidh ar nGaedhilg slán. Ta breacadh lae na saoirse le feicsint anois ag gach einne agus tá súil againn nách e amhain bratach na nGall a sguabfar thar lear an t-am so acht an Galldachas ar fad do thugadar isteach annso leo, idir teanga agus tionnsca. Sacirse iomlan ata ó lucht oibre na h-Eireann.

(English Translation).

The message sends "Greetings to the Ard-Fheis" and states, that the dawn of freedom is at hand, and expresses the hope that when the day breaks not only will the foreign flag, but foreignism, be swept beyond the seas. "The workers of Ireland want complete freedom."

He moved the resolution in Irish, and then said in English that they should place on record their appreciation and sympathy with the work before the Ard Fheis—the preservation of the national language of the country—and he thought it was only fitting that he should move the resolution in the language of the country.

Miss H. Molony seconded.

Mr. Cathal O'Shannon said he had no intention of objecting to the resolution. He supported it heartily, and everything behind it. There was one rather comprehensive phrase in it which said that the dawn of freedom was to be soon on everybody in Ireland. Now that was too broad in his opinion, because the reference apparently would be to political freedom. They could not accept that as being full freedom or economic freedom in their sense.

The resolution was adopted without dissent.

GUILD OF BUILDING WORKERS.

Mr. Thomas MacPartlin (A.S.W.W.) proposed :—

"That this Congress approves of the formation of the Guild of Building Workers in Dublin, and congratulates the unions in the building industry on the experiment towards finding a solution both of the wage problem and the housing problem."

He said the idea had been carried to a greater extent on the other side of the water than here. The effort made in Dublin

had been to a great extent successful. The scheme at present engaged upon had about 25 houses.

Mr. T. Irwin (Sec. Dublin Workers' Building Guild) seconded. He said the control of the building industry, perhaps, might be involved in the establishment of a building guild, but he wanted to state definitely that his connection with the building guild was not in connexion with control of industry. He had a theory that there was no section of employers in the world so easily done without as building employers. At the same time the establishment of a building guild undoubtedly tended for the control of the industry. The formation of it was due, possibly, to the terrible need for houses in the city of Dublin, and the inability of the contractors who get the job of building houses in Dublin to hand them over to the Corporation in anything like the specified time agreed on. Alderman Cosgrave, at a time when he was not able to attend Corporation meetings, wrote to the Housing Committee of the Corporation, suggesting this guild idea. Immediately he did communication was established between the representatives of each of the units in the industry and meetings were held, and the next thing that happened was that deputations from these workers met officials of the Corporation and possible schemes of house building were discussed. Their building efforts at the moment were moulded on what was known as the Scottish system, that is, whereby the Municipality supplies the materials and wages of the workers at the work. The only financial connection that was attached to their end of it was £40 per house, on the houses finished, and that was supposed to cover any loss of time that might occur to the workers through sickness or wet weather. In making that suggestion to the Corporation the Corporation said they wanted to know approximately, anyway, what they were liable for, and what was going to be the cost of these houses. They asked for an approximate price anyway. A price was submitted. The Corporation, perhaps, thought that the price was a bit high, and they invited a man, a quantity surveyor, to go into the price and it was found that a difference existed between their price and the price as brought in by the surveyor, and the terms were effected in this way: that their price and the surveyor's price, the difference was split in two and the ultimate figure was based on that calculation with the proviso that any saving on the price they put on would be split in two between the guild and the Corporation, they getting 50 per cent. each. Contracts were proceeding on that basis. Not alone had they finished three-fourths out of 10 houses, but they had got an extra contract of 15, and practically on the same basis of contract, and at this stage he was able to assure that Congress that his own theory would be proved to be right, and that was that

building contractors were not necessary, anyway, for building houses for workers. They also engaged in a small contract for the Transport Workers' Union. They, as a building guild, found that they would be able to extend the activities of the guild at the expense of the Transport Union. The Transport Union would not object to that. Another point, the general results of this house building effort would be criticised from a great many angles, and not least from the standpoint of cost. These houses would cost a good deal of money when finished, but that would not be due to the guild itself, but mainly due to the fact that plans and specifications for these houses were prepared on a pre-war basis, when probably the cost of a house of the type they were building might be between £250 and £300. He would like to convey his views to the country delegates, and they would possibly be able to further the guild idea when they went back to their different districts—they all knew that the terrible need for housing probably existed all over the country to the same extent as it did in Dublin. A good many of them knew that a good deal of money was spent in this country in connection with labourers' dwellings. He understood it worked out at something like 1½ millions. The only qualifications the builders had who built these houses were that they were the friends of the late political gang who ruled this country. In many instances the contractor for these dwellings was the village blacksmith, or head-gombeen men. In 99 cases they were people not connected with building or knowing anything about building work, and when this housing question was fixed they should at least see that when the houses were being built, if they were not being built by proper contractors at least the Guild idea should get a chance. Another point: Miss Molony made the suggestion the previous day, in connection with an item on the report, that everybody in Ireland should give up 1-20th of their income for the general good. Miss Molony suggested that the workers should give 1-20th of their income for the purpose of house building. He entirely agreed with her, and she suggested that they should have a flying column for house building. If she were able to start that flying column he did not mind being general of the staff if Miss Molony would take charge of the grub department.

Miss Molony—I agree.

Mr. Irwin—An effort was made in this direction some time ago with employers. Mr. MacPartlin made a suggestion that the workers should levy themselves 1s. if the employers contributed an equal amount to that contributed by the members. That idea failed, in his opinion, because a lead from the employer was

asked for, and he felt that if the idea was pushed now, not for the workers of Dublin, but of all Ireland, to contribute 1-20th of their income for the purpose of building houses, that it should be taken up in a whole-hearted fashion. Miss Molony had got every opportunity of pushing that idea, and he would be personally very anxious to know how she went on with it. They had a set of rules which fully explained the Guild idea, and any delegate who would like a copy of these rules he would supply them any time they wrote for them. He thought they ought to be interested so far as to spread the Guild idea in their different districts. The rebuilding of Cork must be taken in hand at some stage and, like Dublin, Cork would reappear in, he hoped, a better costume, but he wanted to see that the workers of Cork should carefully, at this stage, find who was going to build Cork, because he knew that a great effort would be made to build Cork by people outside of Cork itself, and he wanted to say to the Trades Council of Cork that this was a matter that they should carefully consider and watch because Cork might be only half built inside and fairly well built on the surface, and it wanted careful attention.

Mr. Peter Duffy (Tullamore) said he had for two years been listening to nothing but the height of nonsense on this housing problem in their own town—the thing was to apply for money here or money there, but in 12 months nothing was done. A year passed over and another year, and he thought eight months of another—lost in the same way. A workman was not able to pay 6s. a week if he had a wife and six children. They had had no suggestion with regard to rent and how the finance was to be got.

The President said if some of the public bodies throughout the country would give certain sites to a number of the tradesmen—carpenters, bricklayers, labourers, and so on, and the people would come together in their spare time as a number generally had a lot of spare time, and build houses for themselves, the public bodies supplying the materials, something might be done on these lines. When the houses were built they would be sources of revenue, their rates and so on, to the bodies who would give the sites. The guild should have the support of union members on the local bodies, and be supported in every way.

The resolution was adopted unanimously.

MINERAL RESOURCES.

Alderman William O'Brien moved the following motion standing in the name of the National Executive :—

“This Congress, in accord with the first paragraph of the Constitution, demands that the mineral resources of Ireland,

including coal, shall be acknowledged and treated as national property, and that while wishing to encourage the exploitation of this national wealth in the interests of the public, due consideration shall be given by those who are now in possession of the mines to the effect on future production of the selection of especially profitable seams for present working."

He said that up to recently the prevailing impression about Irish coal was that there was practically no coal in Ireland, and what there was was not any use. The situation brought about by the war made it commercially possible to work Irish coal, and put the coal on the market at a profit, and as a result there had been a certain amount of development. The principle laid down in the resolution was that this important industry should be owned by the Irish people, and should not be exploited by any body of private capitalists. They might, probably in the immediate future, start making and setting up various departments, and doing a number of things which would shape the social policy of the people for a considerable time and, at that stage, therefore, it was essential that they should lay it down that the great natural resources, such as coal, should be run in the interests of the community, and not exploited for the benefit of any small set of individuals. A Commission constituted by Dail Eireann had had a special committee at work on the question of coal, and they had produced a most valuable and voluminous report, showing clearly all the existing coal in Ireland, and the possibility of undiscovered coal fields. Up to this, the test of whether coal was worked or not, was whether it would bring a profit to the mine owner. They thought that coal was so important to the welfare and prosperity of the nation that it should be worked and exploited to the full, whether it was commercially profitable to individuals or not. Therefore, they laid it down that the State or representatives of the people should run and control this industry.—Reference had been made more than once at that Congress to the action of the Arigna miners during a crisis. They fixed up a reduction of wages, and they took over a coal mine successfully, during the period of the stoppage, and that gave an indication of what could be done in this particular line when the workers took control. This industry should be controlled and worked by the people. They believed there was sufficient ability, experience, and managerial experience amongst the miners to work it successfully.

Mr. Seumas Byrne seconded.

The resolution was agreed to.

NURSES' HOURS OF DUTY.

Miss Doyle moved:—

"That the special attention of the Trades Congress be drawn to the scandalous hours of work demanded from Trained Nurses and Midwives, and that the Executive be instructed to circularise all Trades and Workers' Councils throughout the country, and all Labour members of local authorities, urging them to use their influence in favour of a shorter working week for nurses."

"That the Trades Congress is of opinion that where vacancies occur in the Nursing Staff employed by local authorities, or in services for which local authorities provide funds, only members of an affiliated Trade or professional Union should be employed."

She said all over the country in unions and institutions nurses worked 84 hours a week while other workers had 48 hours a week.

Mr. T. MacPartlin said in Dublin hospitals, as far as he knew, the nurses were real slaves in every sense of the word. A night nurse going on duty at 7 o'clock in the evening waited up till 8 o'clock in the morning. As well as that he understood that most of these girls came there grown women, and remained for years in an hospital without any pay whatever, actually paying to be allowed to work; actually paying for what they call training—to be allowed to work like slaves all over Ireland. That should not be allowed to exist. These girls should get a chance of living their lives. The only means by which that could be done was by endeavouring to organise them from the minute they went into the hospital, or nursing home, or other institution, in a trades union, so that they could see that none of them would be allowed to work without getting proper pay. Often an unfortunate girl only got five minutes rest during a night. They would get very few males to go through the mill or put up with it at all. They should try to induce the governing bodies to get for these girls proper treatment. This had only reference to lay nurses.

Miss Louie Bennett said they had not found support given to trades unionism amongst nurses. The Union was up against a thing called respectability. They were given to understand that they were a profession, and it was derogatory to them to join a trades union. If they made it a rule they would only employ trades union nurses in these institutions where they had a voice, it would help them greatly, and break down this prejudice against trades unionism amongst the nursing profession.

Mr. John Farren (Dublin) said he would like representatives on the public bodies to insist that grants going to hospitals from the

public funds would go only on condition that an eight-hour day, or whatever was claimed by the nurses union would be granted.

Mr. Daniel Morrissey (Nenagh) said the labour members of the Nenagh Board of Guardians brought forward a resolution that he or she who would be appointed to positions should be members of a trades union; and at the urban council; no man was allowed to apply for any position who was not a trades unionist, and if the members of Congress would get that resolution put into their respective bodies it would meet the case.

Mr. E. P. Hart (N.U.D.R.W.) said the majority of the cases that were received into the various hospitals throughout the country came from the ranks of labour, and it was plain that a nurse who had been working for a number of hours, particularly in the 8th, 9th, and 10th hour, must be so physically exhausted that she cannot give of her best to the particular case she might be looking after. There was a very great danger that owing to that physical exhaustion that that worker might lose his life. They should use all the power at their disposal to see that these ladies were working only an eight-hour day. He believed everyone there contributed to the support of the various hospitals. Their wishes should be respected in the matter.

The resolution was passed.

WOMEN'S LABOUR COUNCIL.

Miss S. Bowen (I.C.W.U.) moved:—

"This Congress hails with satisfaction the formation of a Women's Labour Council on the grounds that the assertion of women's views on all questions of a social and public character in which women have a predominant interest such as housing, sanitation, public health, education, is essential to the progress of society, and directs the National Executive and affiliated Unions to seek an expression of opinion from the Women's Labour Council when they are called on to deal with issues wherein the interests of women and children are primarily concerned."

She said there were public questions that lay only with women, and with which it was the women's point of view that should be taken into consideration—housing, the care of children, numerous other questions of that kind. Questions might be approached from the capitalist point of view as well as the workers. They had resolved to found a strong trades union movement. They knew that the labour movement stood for equality of treatment to men and women. What they proposed to do at the Council was to take up point by point every matter referred to them as a whole. They had confidence that the men in the workingclass movement

would welcome the efforts of the organisation of the workingclass women to deal with this question. As a member of the Women's Labour Council she sent forward this resolution. They felt certain that they could stimulate the discontent that at present existed among the women. They felt it was their duty to stimulate that discontent. They realised that until the women's voice was heard and felt nothing would be done. They had got to do the work themselves. They wished it to be understood that they were perfectly prepared to do their own work. They, as a Council, were prepared to formulate a policy on all questions concerning women, and they were confident that their programme was feasible, that their views would not be considered as an impertinence or interference, but as an addition to the forces of progress.

Miss C. Cahalan (I.D.A.A.) seconded. They felt that there was a tremendous lot of ability, energy, enthusiasm, devoted to the things that were higher than every day wages and so forth amongst women running to waste. This Labour Council had come together for the purpose of organising the women, this energy and enthusiasm for the purpose of directing it towards a better citizenship. They felt women had not done all they might do about things that affected themselves very vitally, but at the same time they were conscious that there was a growing spirit amongst women that had not got the proper articulation, and one of the main objects of the Council was to educate women so that they would be able to articulate for themselves, able to say what they wanted, what their place was to be in the nation, and they would know how to take that place. When they got there they would give a good account of themselves. There was, they all realised, at the moment a great future before this country. They were in the melting pot at this moment. They did not know yet what colour they would be when they went out, but there would be plenty of work for every intelligent person in this country. They would have a double burden, because they would have the home, and the State or country outside. They had the care of children, and they would have the sense of citizenship. They felt that in bringing the Labour Council before the Congress and asking for a sign of approval, whether the Congress liked it or not they were going on. She wanted to say that she did not think that a lot there would approve or sanction that Irish Women's Council until they had done something that they might approve of first. She generally found that, no matter what magnificent work women did in women's interest, it never got the recognition it should get if they could prevent it. She did not think anyone could dissociate the interests of men and women.

Mr. D. R. Campbell (Belfast) said he was opposed to this resolution because he was ignorant. He wanted to be enlightened as to the reasons for the establishment of this Council. The mover had

shown as many objections to it, and the seconder had not cleared any of them away. It seemed strange that one who had fought hard to uphold the equal treatment of women would seem to be opposing anything to their interests. What were women able to get for themselves segregated because of their sex that could not be done in the mixed organisation? How was it constituted? Was it to be confined to individuals or delegates from individuals? If women, having contended for centuries for equal treatment, for election and fraternity without distinction of sex, could they hope, along sex lines, that they could work out problems because they were women? There was no problem that did not affect, directly or indirectly, men, because women were going to be the mothers of men. They had got over that prurience that prevented a woman stating anything that affected the life of the community in a mixed assembly. That was the place to get rid of that sham modesty and lay out all the cards on the table, and approach social problems as human beings and workers, not along the line of women and men.

Mr. C. Brannigan (Dundalk) said, having been associated with women in the linen trade in Dundalk, he approved of the resolution. They found it hard to join a man's committee, but they would get them to join a woman's committee. He had actual experience of the women workers in the linen industry in Dundalk.

Mr. P. T. Daly (Dublin) said he did not know why they should divide the Labour movement into sexes. If somebody suggested that they should start a Catholic Workers' Council or Protestant or Presbyterian, or of persons who had no religion at all, everybody would be up and say that was something they could not do. There at their Congress they had the sex represented. Might he say the male portion of the Congress at any rate congratulated themselves upon the fact that they were there. They kept them considerably quiet. He thought the same thing applied to the ladies. If they went into a Women's Labour Council he did not think they would be confining themselves very much to the Labour point of view. He was going to oppose this resolution. He had been an advocate of women's rights. He believed in equal treatment for the human race irrespective of sex, race, religion or colour, and he believed the only way they would be able to carry on the movement was by recognising the necessity for its solidarity; else they might see some of the most prominent members slipping out, and they would have a men's Council in one room and a women's Council in another.

Miss H. Molony said it was not the idea to segregate. Labour had granted equality, but how did it work out? Women were submerged and inarticulate, and their desire was to lead them to express themselves. Women were not the equal of men, and if there was to be fraternity they must be the equal. If they were not equal

they were an injury to themselves and to others. They were not equal. They were not able to earn as much. They were not getting as much. They were not able to fight as well. They were not as well able to impress their influence on public affairs. Their point was to thrust responsibility upon them, to educate them until they reached the stage when they would be fit to be equal to men. That was the object of the Women's Labour Council. The Congress should welcome such a Council. It would relieve it of a great deal of work. Their desire was not to organise Labour on the sex side at all; but because a woman's opinion on subjects was different from a man's it ought to get expression. Take the question of the building of houses. A man's idea would be different from a woman's. A woman, who had to live in the house, would have an idea where the sink ought to be. It might be very different from a man's idea, just because the man had not to use the sink. Upon a great number of questions the woman had definite opinions just because she was a woman, such, for instance, as the care and education of children. The Council would work in perfect harmony with men's organisations and take off from men's organisations work that could be more expeditiously worked by women.

Mr. Thomas Johnson (N.E.) said he welcomed the formation of a Womens' Labour Council but he did not know anything whatever about this particular labour council; whether it was a representative council, or consisted of a number of women trades unionists, or what its constitution was. He thought under the circumstances the resolution might be postponed for 12 months. He suggested that the discussion having taken place, and attention having been called to the existence of this Council, that after it had proved its capacity would be the time to ask Congress to express an opinion. He, therefore, moved that the resolution be postponed for 12 months.

Mr. John Farren seconded.

Mr. L. J. Duffy agreed that the resolution ought to be postponed. One of the arguments was that they wanted to educate women because they were not educated on trades union lines as men were. But if they did not want to educate them in the same way as men let them come in and learn—the one from the other. He suggested that they could not ask the Executive to seek the opinion of a body that they were not satisfied was representative. There was no doubt if it was representative; if it represented any large volume of opinion, that Congress and the labour movement generally would be pleased to ask its co-operation, and seek its advice, but until they were convinced on that point it would be premature to press this resolution.

Mr. Campbell moved the "previous question."

Miss Bowen said it had been asked whether their membership was to be confined to trades unionists. Yes, it was. They had decided to confine their movement to regular trades unionists.

Mr. P. T. Daly said the amendment postponing the resolution was out of order as a motion was before the house.

The President said the "previous question" had been moved and that was what he would put.

The "previous question" was carried on a show of hands—118 voting for and 36 against.

A LABOUR PAPER.

Alderman M'Guirk (I.C. and W.U., Dublin) moved:—

"That in the opinion of this Conference the time has arrived when the requirements of progress in the Irish Labour Movement make it imperative that the voice of the workers be heard on all public questions. We therefore call on the National Executive of the Irish Labour Party and Trade Union Congress to found a Weekly Labour Paper, the columns of which will be open to the organized workers of every Union affiliated to the Party for the full and free discussion of any and every problem arising in the Movement."

He said everyone knew that statements from trade unionists at meetings had been suppressed in what was the capitalist press of the day. It had been almost impossible to get the Labour side of any question discussed without being misrepresented. The difficulty of making the suggested paper a financial success would be referred to the Executive. He did not think that the question of making the paper a financial success should stand in the way of the resolution being supported. Even if it were a loss of a small amount per year it would repay that loss by saving discussion every year at that Congress. Everyone knew that a lot of discussion there and in trades unions would be saved if the question could be discussed properly in a paper. The last two questions just discussed could be disposed of in such a paper.

Miss Louie Bennett seconded. She said they had touched on most important and vital questions, but they had no way of educating upon and discussing these questions unless they had a press of their own of some sort. She knew the question of finance was most urgent, but she imagined there were trade unionists enough to take up this matter, and that practically all trades unions would be ready to give financial support to such a scheme. In the Labour movement in Ireland they were approaching a moment when that movement would have a bigger task than it had ever had before, and it could not attempt that task unless it had some method of communication amongst the trade unionists

as a whole and some means of opening up discussion and making their voices known.

Mr. E. P. Hart (Dublin) opposed the motion because he knew, and most of the delegates knew, that such a venture at the present moment would be an absolute failure. The time was not ripe in Ireland for a labour paper. Everybody knew that at the present moment if they started such a paper it would not get the necessary support. He was of opinion that if they were to start such a paper they should make sure that it would be a success. He did not want any particular party or any particular newspaper started in this country, and at the moment they had a lot to do to educate the workers of the country on matters that vitally affected their welfare. The "Sporting Chronicle" had more interest for the rank and file than matters that vitally affected their interests, and that was why they should make it their business to educate them in such a way that when they did start their paper it would be supported by the whole of the Unions. Starting a paper was very expensive. He did not forget the failure of the "Daily Citizen" and the "Daily Herald," and he wanted when they started a paper they would have as much success as with other matters.

Mr. R. S. Anthony (Cork) supported the resolution. To his mind there was never more necessity in the history of this country and of the Labour movement in this country for an organ to voice the views of the Labour Party. That necessity would become more accentuated and more acute within the next twelve months than it was now or than it had been for many years past. He did not share in the optimism of Miss Bennett when she said that trade unionists could be depended on to support a Labour journal. His experience was quite contrary to that. He had for many years taken a deep interest in the educational side of the Trades Union movement, and his experience was that a Labour press, or a Labour sheet or newspaper had not got the support that it should command from the workers of this country. There was no use persuading themselves that they supported a paper because it voiced their views. They did not. There was in existence a little Labour paper for some years. He often thought that if ever Trade Unions affiliated to that Congress had supported it it would have been a tremendous success. He knew the causes that operated against it. He did not wish to take that as a criterion. It was not supported to the extent it should have been. Because it was established as a Labour paper purely and solely he supported it. Sometimes it was said they were apathetic. What followed in the train of apathy was the ignorance of the ordinary working class in this country. How many trade unionists even at that Congress took an interest in

the movement just beyond their own parish or city? How many had supported the new monthly journal? How many knew of the "Plebs' " publications? How many had obtained for the 1d., 1½d., or 2d. the pamphlets issued by the Plebs League? How many bought the "Daily Herald" every day?

Mr. D. R. Campbell (Belfast) counselled caution on this particular matter. Instead of calling on the National Executive to found a weekly paper they should ask them to ascertain if possible what support such a paper would be likely to have from the organised workers. They should be slow to venture upon this undertaking until they were sure that with a little care it would be made a success. First they would have to find out how far the Unions would be prepared to help towards its establishment, and further to what extent they would guarantee. He had heard that for a co-operative printing establishment the money would roll in and the profits would be great. He was not so sanguine that the path would be so easy. One of the greatest difficulties was endeavouring to cater on a broad line for the Labour movement as a whole. He thought they should content themselves with asking the Executive to sound the opinion of the organised workers throughout Ireland, and if they got sufficient encouragement to justify them in making the venture let them do it. Until that course was adopted it would be absolutely disastrous to run the risk of any failure in the line of the press.

Alderman M'Guirk said he would put it that the matter be left to the consideration of the Executive for three months, and after investigation if they considered it possible financially that they should adopt it.

This proposition was agreed to.

PUBLIC HEALTH.

Miss H. Molony moved:—"That the National Executive be instructed to draw up for the benefit of Labour members of local authorities a comprehensive scheme of Public Health service reforms towards the attainment of which all Labour members of local authorities could use their influence."

She said the only Public Medical Service in Ireland was the Poor Law medical service, which was still the same degrading and inadequate service that it was in the famine years. Medical fees in Ireland are comparatively high. This was due to a population mainly rural and sparsely scattered over large and inaccessible tracts of country, and therefore entailing long journeys to be covered by the doctors and nurses. Indeed if private medical attendance was to be had for the cost of travelling alone it would still be prohibitive to a very large proportion of the Irish population. That there were good and efficient doctors and nurses in the Irish

Poor Law Medical service could not be denied, but their goodness and efficiency could by no flight of imagination be attributed to any inducement held out by the conditions of their service. Taking 1918 as the last more or less normal year in Local Government administration, they found there were appointed up to date some 796 midwives for the 810 dispensary districts. These 796 midwives had a total salary of £22,111, or about £28 per annum each on an average. They were allowed no travelling expenses, though in the discharge of their duties they had to cover districts ranging from 25,000 to 60,000 acres, embracing three or four parishes. In the year 1918 the salaries of 820 dispensary doctors amounted to £111,587, or an average of a little over £130 per annum. It has been often proved by dispensary doctors that if they were only paid at the local rates for the mileage covered in the discharge of their Poor Law duties they would receive £300 per annum instead of £130. In 1918 there were attended by the dispensary doctors 565,673 new cases as dispensary patients. Taking one in four of the population as the normal rate of sickness, this showed that over two millions of the Irish people were dependent for their medical treatment on the dispensary system. From the figures she had given them so far as they related to salaries, it was only too evident that the Poor Law Medical System was intended for paupers. The Irish people had to contribute yearly a very large sum by way of Imperial taxation to provide a Medical service acceptable to British workers, but their British Parliament, rather than put their hands in their pockets even by way of restitution told the Irish workers that a medical service for paupers was quite good enough for them. How much longer was the Irish worker going to put up with this condition of affairs? The workers themselves need the best possible medical and nursing service, and she therefore called upon Congress to endorse this resolution.

Miss Doyle (Dublin) seconded the resolution, which was adopted.

RECONSTRUCTION AFTER PEACE.

Miss H. Molony proposed:—

“That in view of the number and importance of the matters which will require to be dealt with in the period of reconstruction following peace in Ireland, the National Executive be instructed to make full use of its power of appointing sub-committees (including persons not on the Executive) in order to discuss and frame policies and projects on such matters as Public Health, Agriculture, Education, Housing, etc.”

Mr. Hart seconded the resolution, which was adopted.

LABOUR PROGRAMME.

Miss Louie Bennett said she had intended to move "that the National Executive appoint a special committee to stimulate discussion on the recently issued Labour Programme ("The Country in Danger") and to start a national movement for carrying into effect as many of its proposals as seem to be immediately practicable," but they left it to the proposer of the amendment on the paper to move it.

Mr. J. Byrne (N.U.L.A.W., Dublin) moved:—"Delete from after the word 'National' on end of line 3 and substitute the following:—'Pool having for its object the establishment of a central fund of a national character and the obviating of the danger of collapse of any Union not being in position to meet its financial obligations through industrial action, such action having been taken with the knowledge of the National Executive and having the support of some. Further, that the National Executive be and is hereby instructed to prepare details of such a scheme to be placed before the component parts of this Congress for their full consideration.'"

He said they had the miners' strike as a typical example. A few years ago the Miners' Federation and lodges were held up as an example to follow. But those of them who saw a little of the miners' strike in England saw the children practically begging and saw the appeals in the press for the wives and kiddies, as they called them, and food kitchens established in some places—he for one would not like to think that the same thing would happen here. They had no idea how long they would be off a national upheaval. They had industries that were likely to be more affected than others, but they did not want to see anything of that nature, they did not want to see appeals for wives and children, and they did not want food ships. He himself believed that with a little cohesion between the Unions and the National Executive they should be able to get over it. The rank and file were inclined to look on the future in various ways. There were the examples of the Munitions Strike and the Motor Permits Strike and the support that was forthcoming then. But if they were faced with a clear economic issue they were not going to get the support they got then. They then got support largely as a result of the political situation, but if it came on an economic issue only they had got to finance themselves. The Executive ought to form a scheme and submit it to a session of Congress, and each and every section of the Congress would have the necessary time and chance to analyse the scheme. He did not say it was going to meet everybody's wishes, but he believed that with sufficient cohesion they would arrive at a correct decision. The report recommended the establishment of wage defence

funds. In his opinion it was going to be everybody's business, and what was everybody's business was nobody's business. They had got no central fund yet, and it was an admitted fact that if there was an upheaval there were bodies that would feel the pinch very seriously. They did not want begging. This proposal would have the advantage of establishing a central authority.

Mr. T. MacPartlin opposed the proposal.

The resolution, with the amendment, was put and declared lost.

TIME LIMIT.

The Irish Women Workers had the following motion on the paper :—

“ That a time limit be fixed for the discussion of the Report; and that the Standing Orders Committee shall allot a specified time for discussion of the resolutions on the Agenda deemed most important by the Congress.”

Mr. D. Campbell said this motion was out of order in view of the motion adopted on the recommendation of the Standing Orders Committee.

The motion was ruled out of order.

ENCROACHMENTS ON PAINTERS' WORK.

Mr. P. Meagher (Dublin) proposed :—

“ That this Congress strongly disapproves of the action of labourers—members of organised Unions—doing House or Ship Painters' work, and that Congress empower the Executive to call upon the Executives of the Unions concerned to enter into a signed agreement whereby these encroachments—by their members—on the House and Ship Painting craft shall cease.”

Mr. T. Fogarty (Dublin) seconded.

Mr. G. Lynch (Dundalk) said the obstacle to the common weal was sometimes the privilege of a small section of the community, and as they opposed a claim of privilege to any class so they opposed it inside their own class. Such a claim of any section of their own class was opposed to the best interests of the whole of the community. In his experience he found that with those people who claimed these privileges and opposed other men doing this work that the question of ability to do the work never came into the question at all.

Mr. Meagher said they had to serve seven years to the business.

Mr. Lynch said that was his own point. Because these men served seven years' apprenticeship, not in the interests of the working class but in the interests of the employers. These apprentices did the work for a few shillings a week while their own men were walking the streets. It was in the interests of the

employer class and cheap labour. He asked the Congress to vote as workers' representatives and to oppose this resolution in the best interests of the working class as a whole—not skilled against non-skilled workers.

Mr. T. MacPartlin asked was the speaker speaking for the Union he represented? Was he speaking for himself or as a member of the Dundalk Branch?

Mr. T. Irwin (Dublin) said he would be inclined to support this resolution if the names of the organisations were given who were doing this encroachment. It came under the heading of a demarcation resolution. Demarcation was a question which was very easily settled if it was a case of only one Union interfering with another when they were equally capable for the same labour. But this was a case as alleged in the resolution where labourers belonging to some organisation were doing the work of what was held to be skilled labour. It followed that the effect of this being done that it was being done in the interests of the employer, and it was not right, he held, to tolerate any such system that provided the employer with cheap labour.

He had not the slightest bit of sympathy with the painters in the action taken against them. It was only a few months ago the painters helped to beat two trades here on strike by doing their work. The President, in his opening remarks, said there was something rotten in the State of Denmark. He would apply that remark about a state of rottenness to the building industry at the moment.

Mr. MacPartlin said it was wanted to continue the position of Irishmen in the last century, Irishmen in England, Scotland, America, the hewers of wood and drawers of water. They had no right to apprentice themselves. They were going to hod mortar for English bricklayers and carry loads. They were not to allow their boys to be apprenticed just because Mr. Lynch happened to be connected with a Union which was under a draft for a few months. He was not in favour of the Transport or any other Union giving labour to an employer and depriving other men of a higher wage. Labour in Dublin was 1/6 an hour, and skilled labour 2/2 and 2/1, and they said the employer should not get the 1/6 man into the 2/2 man's place. Mr. Lynch had argued altogether against the interests of his Union when he defended the doctrine that the labourers had the right to get this work. The head office of the Transport Union was not in favour of this. Some men joined the Union in outlying places and they took advantage of the head office.

Mr. J. P. Kelly supported the resolution. He admired the Transport Union men but not some of their officers. It was distinctly unfair if it meant to encourage craftsmanship for a

very much less wage than should rule. The Transport people did not advocate that policy. He could quite understand the Transport people supporting their men, but they were not going to associate themselves with unskilled men who were going to encroach on other men's preserves to these men's detriment. It was distinctly unfair that that should be allowed. The employers would only employ such men because of their cheap labour.

Mr. Frank Robbins (Dublin) said this work was going on for a number of years past. It was going on since shipyards were shipyards, and he did not see that the point should be raised at this stage, especially when they had workers in England and Scotland working far cheaper than the workers in Ireland. It was the duty of the Amalgamated Union on the other side to bring about better conditions for the workers there. They were working 50 per cent. cheaper than the workers in Dublin.

Mr. Marsh (Cork) supported the motion. This was, in his opinion, far more than poaching. It was depriving a man of his livelihood entirely and that was far worse than poaching. This resolution was framed by the Dublin branches of the trade. Their friend was advocating cheap labour. (Voices—No, no.) Well, he held that the man or men who was or were working in any industry at a lesser rate than ought to be paid were scabs in the true sense of the word. They spent their early years in learning a craft and it was not right that their friends should slip in on them. He told them that internal friction was taking place on different occasions between Unions and themselves on this question of infringement. In a skilled trade infringing their rights they had to take a certain action. If Congress would not agree to this resolution they would take drastic action if they saw any man or men infringing their rights in the future.

Mr. Somerville said the whole contention of the painters was that if people were working at any particular branch of their trade they should be paid at the top rate. The top rate was the rate that should predominate, and the employers should not be allowed to undercut the workers.

Mr. Thomas Farren opposed the resolution. He was a member of the Transport Union. The trade he belonged to was as highly skilled a trade as any in that Congress. They were not all labourers in the Transport Union. He was sent to the town of Wexford some time ago to deal with a case something on these lines. The painters might say that men employed in the foundries of Wextord were labourers. He would not. They were painters. They were members of the Transport Workers' Union—painters of agricultural machinery. They received a higher rate of pay than the house painters from the employers outside of the foundry.

Would anybody suggest for a moment that the members of the Transport Union should not be allowed to continue to do this work? (Voices: "Yes"). The men who were employed in the foundry, he considered, were painters, and they were organised industrially. It was not a question of men being paid at a lower rate doing work that men should get a higher rate of pay for. He believed from what he knew of the Transport Union that it did not stand on allowing an employer to take cheap labour, to get men for a lesser rate of pay than would be paid to skilled men, but he did say that if the men engaged in the industry were organised industrially, and got the rate of pay paid for the particular class of work they were entitled to do it. This was a question that had been engaging the minds of the painters for a century. The resolution distinctly said labourers doing tradesmen's work. He was in agreement with the spirit of the resolution that no employer should be allowed to get cheap labour to do skilled work, but that he should pay skilled rates for it.

Mr. D. R. Campbell said it had been said that the Transport Workers organised painters in a foundry, but that they were not labourers in the right sense of the word. It was objected that casual labourers should do skilled craftsmen's work. He had no brief for skilled craftsmen or the old system of apprenticeship, but at the bottom it was an economic question. It was a question of getting the work done cheaper. The painters do not want their rate pulled down by an employer being permitted under any excuse to bring in a man who was not at the top rate. The question was of cheapening their work. They should not approve of anything done by the employing class to pull down the high grade worker.

The President said there was one question that showed the trades unionists to be the most conservative people in the community, and it was the question of demarcation. Some few years ago, he happened to be their fraternal delegate to the Scottish Trades Congress, and the very same thing occurred as was happening now. People who were silent, taking practically no interest in the affairs of the Congress were all on their feet—all enthusiasm, all excitement—when the question of demarcation came in. It was the same thing there. Matters of fundamental importance had been allowed to go through without comment. Everyone sat tight. Now everyone was rising. Particular interests had been more or less involved in the question. And yet they talked about farmers whose fathers and grandfathers had spent their lives developing the land of Ireland; they talked about the ownership of that land, and yet, because a man put his son to be a carpenter, or a painter, or a plumber, no one dare have anything whatever to do with his interests. Now he held, although he would be reckoned as one of those unskilled men, there

was no greater libel on the workers of this country than to call them unskilled men. There were no unskilled men in the country, no unskilled men who had to earn their living. If they had no skill they could expect only the poor houses or the asylums. The man who had to earn his living must have a considerable amount of skill, or he would not be paid. This resolution did not mention anything, whatever, about cheap labour, and he held, although he was an unskilled man according to some, that if he was qualified for an employer to take him up and pay him wages the same as a man who had spent seven years of his life as apprentice, he held he was entitled to that job as long as he was not reducing the wages in that connection. The union he happened to represent did not stand for lowering the wages. Why was it not mentioned in the resolution?

Mr. MacPartlin—It does.

The President said he was dealing with the resolution. If it were adopted by Congress, no matter what ability he might develop, he was not entitled to use it. (Voices: "He is"). Not according to this resolution. Is there any mention?

Mr. W. Davin—Are you addressing the Congress as delegate of the Transport Union?

The President—No, Sir. I am not dealing with this as a transport worker.

Mr. Dowling (Mountrath) respectfully asked the President to keep the delegates in order. If he was going to be a transport worker they had no objection, but if he approached the question as a chairman he should keep the Congress in order.

The President said it was very difficult for a man in that connection. He was sorry he would have to vote against this resolution, still he was agreeable that if there was no question of reducing wages in the resolution he would vote for it. (Voices—The whole question). There was no mention made of it in the resolution. After all, it would be a permanent record. It should be embodied in it. He would just leave the matter at that. He was sorry for taking up the time of Congress, and he thought the mover of the resolution had the right of reply.

Mr. Meagher asked, suppose the President were a docker and he was a car man, and he was in that position for the last 6 or 7 years, and he went down to the docks to-morrow morning, and he was taken on at the same rate as the President and he was left standing on the stones unemployed—had he the right to go down to the docks or take the President's position, and leave him unemployed. He would like to get a proper definition of this. It was not a question of reduction of wages.

The President said it was not for him to make a definition.

Mr. P. T. Daly said he was surprised at the tone that had crept into this discussion. One of the things James Larkin held in connection with dock labourers in Dublin was that he would limit the supply, and would not allow any man to work as a dock labourer unless he was a dock labourer (A voice—Wrong). He did not know whether his recollection was correct, but he had a sort of recollection that on one occasion when a discussion arose on a body of which he was a member, that it was stated that in order to be a stonecutter, one had to be the son of a stonecutter.

Mr. T. Farren said he certainly never made any such statement, and the men belonging to his trade knew that from the time he became a member he was against the idea of hereditary right.

Mr. P. T. Daly said he had made the statement, that it was made at a meeting he was present at by a representative of the stonecutters' union. He did not say that Mr. Farren made the statement. If next week the Dublin Corporation sent labourers to do stonecutters' work he would give a guarantee that they would get equal rates with the stonecutters. He ventured to make the prophecy that immediately these men got the stonecutters work the stonecutters as a body would rise in arms. If they had no lines demarked, then any body of men represented at that Congress might overcrowd the labour market, and the first thing the employers would do was to bring down the wage. He knew the members of the Transport Union were just as keenly opposed to anything of the kind as the proposer of the resolution. If the same thing was to be done to the harness makers or horse shoers, they necessarily would object, and quite right. It would be no argument, that had been advanced by any of the opponents of this resolution, that it should not come there. There was no question raised that the men had been working at a lesser rate. Because he knew James Larkin would take strong action he supported the resolution.

Mr. R. Maher wished to repudiate the statement made by Mr. Daly.

Mr. Daly—What I did say was that if next week.

Mr. Maher said it had been done and done at a lesser rate by a union in that Congress—a union affiliated with that Congress.

Mr. Daly said that was the best argument that could be made.

Mr. Maher—The Union was not the Transport Workers' Union.

Mr. Doyle said he knew that men were employed as labourers on the railway, and when they were in the employment of the railway company for a short time they were sent to do painters' work, and other tradesmen's work at the labourers' wage. Was Congress going to allow that? It was not a question of a craftsman's son following in his footsteps at all, but was Congress

going to allow labourers to do skilled men's work at labourer's pay?

Mr. J. J. O'Farrell moved that the question be now put (Voices—Agreed).

Mr. Meagher said in reply he would like to ask one question. It was said that a man had the right to do any class of work he liked. Did that mean working at a cheaper rate of wages?

The President—He did not say any such thing.

Mr. Meagher—At transport or any other work, if he got a job at 10s., or 12s., or £1 less than was being paid—would they let him carry on. If he did that down on the quays, he would be in the river in a few minutes. If transport workers working at their craft, got the same amount of pay as they got, he was personally perfectly satisfied. They held that when a man came in and undercut their wages and worked for less than their standard that he was undercutting the market.

The President assumed that Mr. Meagher was voicing the opinion of his union, that it had no objection to the men doing the work.

Mr. Meagher—My own personal opinion.

Mr. MacPartlin—He bases the argument on the fact that the Transport Union is scabbing.

The President—No, that is not so.

The resolution was put. There voted on a show of hands: for, 86; against, 89.

Mr. Meagher challenged the division.

The President said he remarked in the opening in the first few words he said that they were going to show themselves as the most conservative body in the community. Now he knew very well that if this were to go out in the light in which it had been taken up there it would permanently injure the labour movement in this country, and that was not his function. He thought he knew as much about the labour movement as any man in that Congress. He knew its peculiarities, and he knew some of its ideas, and he personally was not going to let anything do an injury to the Congress, and he respectfully suggested to the mover of the resolution that he would put in some other words that they could all agree on unanimously.

Mr. Meagher said he could not do so, or any other officer of the Union, without consulting the members.

The President—We do not want to fall out with one another. We do not want to have any rupture over the thing.

Mr. Campbell—If there are delegates who regret the lines on which they voted you might suspend the Standing Orders, and move a different resolution.

The President—Will any one move that.

Alderman Lawlor (Dublin) moved:—

"That the matter be referred to Standing Orders Committee for the purpose of providing a resolution that may be unanimously agreed to by this Congress."

He wanted to be perfectly satisfied in his own mind in voting upon this motion.

Mr. Duffy seconded.

Agreed.

The President—The matter will come up again.

Later—

Mr. Somerville brought up from the Standing Orders Committee the following form of resolution:—

"That this Congress strongly disapproves of the action of workers, members of organised unions, doing house or ship painters' work, and that Congress empowers the National Executive to call upon the Executive of the unions concerned not to sanction any such encroachment by their members on the house or ship painting classes."

The Suspension of Standing Orders having been moved,

Alderman Wm. O'Brien asked was it not understood that wages would be embodied?

The President—A resolution we could agree to.

Alderman Wm. O'Brien said it was not a question of the Standing Orders Committee being agreed but the Congress. They were told by the mover that it was a question of undercutting wages. If it were so, they were prepared to agree on it. If it was so, why not put it in the resolution?

Alderman Lawlor thought he made it clear that they should deal with the wages question. What they had brought back was the original resolution.

Miss Molony said it seemed to her that in the resolution the wages was not the particular thing at all.

Mr. Campbell said the reason they did not deal with the wages was this. If they had imported into the resolution "at a lesser rate of wages," it would have been implied that it was doing right if someone was employed who was not a painter, provided he got the wages.

The President said everybody knew that this question of demarcation did not apply to labourers only. It was a source of continual friction between every trade in the labour movement. Tradesmen have various cases of the very same kind, and personally he would be prepared to accept that resolution.

The mover of the original resolution accepted and moved the amended resolution.

Mr. John Fogarty seconded.

The first resolution was then withdrawn, and the second agreed to.

METHOD OF ELECTION OF EXECUTIVE.

Mr. George Hughes (I.C.W.U.) moved:—

"That it is essential for the future of the movement that the National Executive should be thoroughly representative of the workers they speak for; that the present system of election is obsolete and unsuited to the needs of the Movement, inasmuch as the National Executive is elected by mass vote from among delegates largely chosen in the same way; that it be, therefore, an instruction to the incoming Executive Council to prepare a scheme without delay whereby Unions and sections of Unions engaged in analogous occupations shall be grouped at Congress in industrial blocks for the purpose of representation on the National Executive, each group to be allotted a specified number of seats according to the number of members affiliated for that group; the Chairman and Treasurer to be elected by the Committee from their own number, and the Secretary to be directly employed by the Committee."

He said that they contended that their candidates for the National Executive must, in future, be members of the rank and file, members of affiliated trades unions, and they also contended that full time officials should not be elected on any executive. There were a great number of the rank and file members who would not come forward and put down their names for the simple reason that the great majority of people put up for election on the National Executive were full time officials. The present system was good enough so long as they remained as an infant school, but the times were advancing, and so were unions and individuals who might not have been known up to the present in the labour movement. Full time officials had quite sufficient work in their own unions without their being called on to deliberate on matters of vital importance to the community in general. The time had come, in the opinion of their Executive, when those who paid the piper should be the people who should control the movement. If the rank and file were to get out of their present state they must be made undertake the responsibility and the work of running the labour movement. Their Executive fully appreciated the work performed by the outgoing Executive. They found that there were very many of the most important industries not directly represented on the National Executive. The agricultural workers had no direct representation nor the dockers.

The President thought he could lay some claim to that honour.

Mr. Hughes—Nor the textile industries. They contended that the rank and file, of whom they heard a great deal, if they were

to take any real interest in the movement, should be directly represented. He must protest against the resolution being placed at the end of the Congress.

Mr. Davin seconded for reasons altogether different from the reasons of the mover—in view of what had taken place on the previous Tuesday after the declaration from the chair. They were going on with the one big union, and if it was to be developed and arrive at a stage which Mr. Foran stated on Tuesday, they had to make preparations for that big union, and he thought the scheme outlined in the resolution was one that would meet the situation. They did not commit themselves to anything more than asking the Executive to bring forward a scheme at a future date.

Mr. R. A. Anthony (Cork) said the mover stated that it was necessary for the success of the labour movement that prominent officials should not be represented on the Executive—whole time officials. He would not like to see the whole time officials separated from the deliberations of the Executive Committee.

Mr. John Farren held that the present Executive were men drawn from the rank and file. The present secretary was a man who had the confidence of the labour movement of Ireland. He was a member of the National Executive, an official of the National Executive. He had come from the ranks. He held they could not get a better executive from the rank and file. They had done their work well.

Mr. Thos. Johnson opposed the resolution. It was utterly impracticable at the present stage, he said. The suggestion was that unions and sections of unions engaged in analogous occupations should be grouped for the purpose of representation on the National Executive. There was nothing in the resolution dealing with rank and file membership. If they elected their delegates to Congress in accordance with the plan proposed, then they could elect their Executive on the same plan. But they should begin first at the bottom. The thing was impracticable at present, and if it were pressed the Executive would have to throw the responsibility of drawing up a practical scheme on the movers.

Mr. Hughes—We appreciate the work of the whole time officials. The resolution was declared lost.

ELECTION BY P.R.

Mr. O'Connor (I.A.D. & M.U.) moved:—

“That in the interests of all affiliated bodies, large and small, and in order to provide fair representation on the National Executive, it is hereby decided that the system of

proportional representation and the rules under which it operates for the election of Irish local authorities be adopted as the system by which this Congress will in future elect the National Executive."

He said that they entered a protest against this resolution being put into the very last of the agenda. They had a resolution at the Congress in Cork on the system of Proportional representation. It was defeated mainly as a result of the opposition given by Mr. Johnson, secretary. He said at the time that the resolution on the agenda was rather vague, or he thought his exact words were that it was loosely drafted, and that if carried, it would defeat the object it was thought to promote. The resolution had now been carefully drafted. Mr. Johnson had the interests of Proportional Representation at heart. He saw in the books of the Proportional Representation Society Mr. Johnson's name was given as a member of the Central Committee of that body. They had seen a certain amount of dissatisfaction at the representation of the National Executive—that it was not so completely representative as one would wish. Delegates there were in proportion to the members they represented. They held that should be taken a little further. It should come under the new sphere of Proportional Representation which had been so successful throughout Ireland in local councils, so far as labour was concerned. He moved it to remove a certain amount of dissatisfaction that existed amongst what he might describe as the smaller unions, and that they would have a satisfactory Executive in the future.

Mr. Dowling seconded. Proportional representation was the proper method of electing their executive in the future. It was open to say that there were too many from one particular section. Proportional representation would eliminate that, and they would have a N.E. elected on a system where merit tells and merit only. However they were governed in the future labour would have to fight its way, and if they wanted people to help labour they should get the best people on the National Executive. It was a most important question, and would have to be decided now. It was going to help labour in the future. Were they going to have labour men who were whole hoggers. They wanted the whole hoggers. They wanted to have a clear expression from the platform and the Congress as to their opinion of Proportional Representation.

The President said he had been working with the National Executive for the past 12 months. He saw no more capable men in that assembly or in the labour movement in Ireland, and he did not know Proportional Representation was going to find the safer men talked about. One would think that there were people on

this Executive who were duds. Anyone who realised the work they had done in the past before their friend was heard of knew very well they were not duds. If they were they would not be in the position they were that day.

Mr. Thos. Johnson opposed the resolution. He was not a member of the Executive of the Proportional Representation Society. He approves of the principle of Proportional Representation. He would apply that in elections generally. So far as he could see their constitution and the method of election to the Executive had been drawn up in a perfectly logical way with the desire of trying to balance conflicting interests, and he claimed that in the last two or three years it had done that more effectively than one could have hoped, and certainly more successfully than most of them expected. They had more Unions represented by the present method than could be by any proportional method that he knew of. If this resolution was carried they would, for the next year's Congress, vote proportionately in their respective unions. If that Congress were a reflex of this what would be the effect? He assumed when one was speaking of Proportional Representation and securing fair representation to the various bodies, they were going to give the right to vote to trades councils as well as trades unions. If they said only trades union representatives would have the right to vote according to P.R., they would see this result—that seven or possibly eight of the National Executive would be elected out of 14 by one union. The other seven would be divided among all the other unions, and if they gave the right to the trades councils—and they had an equal right to vote for the election of the National Executive by P.R. judging by the position of the trades councils and the delegates that were sent to these councils—they were going to give a still further preponderance to that one union. They were going to have a National Executive henceforward, if this resolution was carried, of more than half belonging to one union. Was that the desire of the Congress?

Mr. D. R. Campbell said that Congress had placed on record at past meetings that the old block system was rotten. What was the resolution? Did it ask that their constitution should be changed as to how many representatives from one union should be on the Executive? Did it ask for P.R. according to the membership of the unions affiliated there, proportional representation of the whole of the delegates there? They were elected according to P.R. A limit was placed on the unions. Only one member of an affiliated organisation could sit on the Executive, except a particular union that might have 10,000 members. That 10,000 was guaranteed 1-5th of the Executive if it sent its delegates here

to vote for them. This resolution did not interfere with their constitution in regard to how many members of a particular union might be on the Executive. It simply asked for an alteration in their method of arriving at the total vote of the delegates. It simply asked, instead of counting majorities they should assess the total votes cast in proportion to the delegates. Sinn Fein, in the selection of its candidates to be presented to the constituencies, chose them by the system of Proportional Representation. What was fairer than what was proposed? He hoped the National Executive would take off the whips on this occasion to allow the merits of the question to be determined on votes.

Alderman Wm. O'Brien said Mr. Campbell's defence of Proportional Representation was extraordinary. He thought he was in favour of P.R. The idea he had of P.R. was that it must give every party and every interest representation roughly in proportion to its strength. But while Mr. Campbell supported the resolution he wanted a limitation placed upon a certain interest. He was prepared to guarantee P.R. to every interest except an interest above a certain number.

Mr. O'Connor said they were not changing the constitution, and the constitution laid down that not more than a certain number of members of any union shall sit on the Executive. They wanted if minorities put up candidates that they get a chance. It was in the interests of the big unions, as it was in the interests of the small unions. If certain unions put their heads together they could elect the whole Executive, and not allow any representatives of the Transport Union on it. If they were going to be something more than lip democrats they should put their sympathy into being.

The resolution was put. There voted: For, 56; Against, 106.

The resolution was thereby lost.

Mr. Thos. Johnson said he had had a letter from Mr. Patrick Gaffney from Mountjoy Prison. He regretted that he was unable to attend the Congress. He had been selected as a delegate, but he had intimated to the Transport Union he was not able to be present, and asked that a substitute be sent. He was on sentence of 15 years' penal servitude (five years remitted) and they would not grant any facilities to him to attend. He went on to hope that the Congress would be successful, and expressed all kinds of good wishes to his comrades and friends in the unions, and those whom he met at previous congresses. It was interesting to know that two years ago in Drogheda the same man sent a telegram from Manchester jail. He intimated that there are over 10 prisoners in Mountjoy, political prisoners treated as criminals; no papers, no parcels, no visits, except special ones; neither cigarettes or tobacco are allowed, and only two hours

daily exercise. They were confined 22 out of the 24 hours. But he explained that they are all in good spirits and hope that everything would go well outside.

Mr. Cassidy (Typographical Association) proposed a vote of thanks to the President.

Mr. MacPartlin seconded.

Mr. Edward O'Carroll (President of the Local Reception Committee) made a presentation to the President of a silver gong.

The President returned thanks. He was rather overcome, he said, by their appreciation of any little service he might have performed during that Congress. To be Chairman of the Labour movement was a great honour. There was no honour, he knew of he would appreciate so much as the honour he had during the past year, and he would carry the memories of the honour with him during all the days of his life, and this little souvenir would be certain to remind him of the occasion on which he happened to have the honour to be the central figure of the Irish labour movement. He had done his best. He knew there were shortcomings. He knew how easy it was to divide the labour movement, with all its strength and solidarity. He hoped they would all act together as workers, recognising one enemy only—that was the employer who wanted to reduce the standard of living back to where it was in 1914. Again he sincerely thanked them for the help they had given him all through Congress. He assured them that during the coming year while he was a member of the National Executive, he would do his duty as he had always done it.

Votes of thanks were also passed to the Lord Mayor of Dublin and the Press.

The Congress then concluded.



Societies Affiliated for Year 1921-1922

WITH MEMBERSHIP, AFFILIATION FEES, SECRETARY, DELEGATES AND DELEGATION FEES.

Name of Society	No. of Mem- bers Jan. 1st, 1921.	Affiliation Fees Paid.	Secretary.	Delegates to 1921 Congress.	Delegation Fees Paid.
		£ s. d.			£
Assurance Workers, National Union of Life.	350	2 18 4	B. Brooke, John Dalton Street, Manchester.	J. Byrne, 6 Whitworth Place, Drumcondra, Dublin.	1
Asylum Workers' Union (Irish)	2020	16 16 8	Patrick Casey, Asylum, Limerick.	Mr. Kenna, Richmond Asylum, Dublin. John T. Collins, District Asylum, Cork. P. Casey, District Asylum, Limerick.	3
Automobile Drivers and Automobile Mechanics' Union.	1000	8 6 8	Ciaran J. King, 47 Parnell Square, Dublin.	James Mitchell, Cabinteely, Co. Dublin. M. J. O'Connor, 47 Parnell Sq.	2
Bakers (Irish) National Amalgamated Union of.	2000	16 13 4	Denis Cullen, 22 Upper Ormond Quay, Dublin.	James Brown, 233 Cregagh Street, Belfast. F. Moran, 22 Upper Ormond Quay, Dublin. C. Noonan, do. do. Denis Cullen, do. do.	4
Blind, National League of (Dublin Branch).	—	—	J. P. Neary, 5 Keith Place, Drumcondra, Dublin.		
Bookbinders & Machine Rulers National Union of (Dublin Branch).	—	—	Robert Burke, Trades Hall, Dublin.		
Boot and Shoe Operatives, National Union of (Dublin Branch).	—	—	Arnold Lowe, 31½ Upper Kevin Street, Dublin.		
Building Trade Workers, Amal. Union of	1683	14 0 6	Gen. Sec.—G. Hicks, 58 Southwark Bridge Road, London, S.E.1.	James Holt, 6 Patrick Street, Drogheda.	2

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Name of Society	No. of Mem- bers Jan. 1st, 1921.	Affiliation Fees paid	Secretary.	Delegates to 1921 Congress.	Dele- gation Fees Paid.
Brick and Stone Layers (Ancient Guild of Incorporated).	600	£ 5 0 0	Owen Hynes, 49 Cuffe Street, Dublin.	Owen Hynes, 49 Cuffe St., Dublin.	£ 1
Brushmakers, National Society of (Dublin Branch).	100	1 0 0	Wm. Murphy, 17 Russell Street, N.C.R., Dublin.	Edward Tucker, 37 Capel Street, Dublin.	1
Civil Service Assistants' Clerks (Dublin Branch).	400	3 6 8	M. J. Gallagher, 45 Merrion Square, Dublin.		
Clerical and Allied Workers' Union (Irish).	3000	25 0 0	Gerald Griffin, 1 College Street, Dublin.	P. McGuirk, 20 Donore Road, S.C.R., Dublin. H. Hall, 1 College Street, Dublin. G. Griffin, 73 Cabra Park, Dublin. S. Bowen (Miss), 15 Brighton Square, Rathgar, Dublin. George Hughes, 42 Clonliffe Road, Dublin.	5
Coopers' (Cork) Society.	—	—	Wm. Egar, 63 Watercourse Road, Cork.		
Dock and Riverside Workers, National Union of.	5000	41 13 4	General Secretary—James Sexton, M.P., Norton Street, Liverpool.	E. P. Hart, 47 Parnell Square, Dublin. W. McCosh, 2 Princes Street, Bel- fast. H. Kelly, 98 Strabane Old Road, Londonderry. Jas. Smyth, 7 Annavilla Terrace, Chapel Street, Dundalk. W. Willimont, 4 Gordon Street, Clonmel. Jas. Hickey, 4 Merchants' Quay, Cork.	6

Drapers' (Irish) Assistants' Association.	7560	63	0	0	J. G. Gilloway, Cavendish House, Parnell Square, Dublin.	Miss C. Cahalan, Cavendish House, Dublin. L. J. Duffy, Cavendish House, Dublin. J. G. Gilloway, Do. E. J. Hayes, Cavendish House, Thos. Mason, Cavendish House, J. W. Kelly, Cavendish House, J. A. Gordon, Cavendish House, Thos. Johnson, 32 Lower Abbey, Street, Dublin. R. N. Lamb, Cavendish House.	9
Electrical Trades Union.	—	—	—	—	J. Rowan, 12a Withy Grove, Manchester.		
Engineering Union (Amalgamated) (Inchicore Branch).	156	1	6	0	Branch Sec.—Laurence Keegan, 2 First Avenue, Inchicore, Dublin	L. Keegan, 2 First Avenue, Inchi- core, Dublin.	1
Do. (Dublin No. 1 Branch)	240	2	0	0	B. Cunningham, 44 Pembroke Cottages, Donnybrook, Dublin.	B. Cunningham, 44 Pembroke Cot- tages, Donnybrook, Dublin.	1
Do. Dublin No. 5 (late Amal. Toolmakers)	300	2	10	0	E. Gaffney, 2 Ebenezer Terrace Donore Ave., S.C.R., Dublin.	Michael O'Hare, 11 St. James's Walk, Rialto, Dublin.	1
Do. (Cove Branch)	—	1	0	0	P. O'Halloran, Cove.		
Engineering, Shipbuilding and Foundry Trades Union (Irish).	4500	37	10	0	P. F. McIntyre, 6 Gardiner's Row, Dublin.	J. J. Redmond, 9 Lord Edward Street, Dublin. John Rooney, 6 Gardiner's Row, Dublin. Chris. Farrelly, 18 Temple Cot- tages, Broadstone, Dublin. Thomas Maguire, Nugent's Lane, Broadstone, Dublin. P. F. McIntyre, 6 Gardiner's Row, Dublin.	5
Fire Brigade Men's Union, Dublin.	34	1	0	0	Ml. Buckley, Fire Station, Tara Street, Dublin.	P. T. Daly, T.C., 177 Clonliffe Road, Dublin.	1
Furnishing Trades Association (National Amalgamated)	2000	8	6	8	Alex. Gossip, 58 Theobald's Road, London, W.C.	James Collins, 11 Leo Avenue, Leo Street, Dublin.	1

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Name of Society	No. of Mem- bers	Affiliation Fees Jan. 1st, paid 1921.	Secretary.	Delegates Names and Addresses.	Dele- gation Fees Paid.
		£ s. d.			£
Flax Roughers and Yarn — Spinners' Trade Union.		4 0 0	Dawson Gordon, 99 Donegal St., Belfast.	Dawson Gordon, 79 Donegal St., Belfast.	2
Grocers and Vintners' Assis- tants, Irish National Union of,	—	—	P. Hughes, Banba Hall, 20 Parnell Square, Dublin.	George Keith, 79 Donegal Street, Belfast. P. McCormack, 20 Parnell Square, Dublin. James Morrissey, 20 Parnell Sq., Dublin. Wm. Cummins, 20 Parnell Sq., Dublin.	3
Locomotive Engine Drivers and Firemen T.U. (Belfast and Dublin).	635	5 6 0	Wm. Reid, 79 Ravenhill Road, Belfast.	George Steele, 5 Donegall Ave., Belfast. James Dodds, 120 Melrose Street, Belfast.	2
Labour Union (Meath).	130	1 1 8	James Blunt, Bellewstown, Drogheda.		
Lithographic Printers, Amal- gamated Society of (Cork Branch).	—	—	Geo. Duncan, 1 Annville, Ballin- lough Road, Cork.		
Municipal Employees Trade Union (Irish).	1550	12 18 4	Thomas Lawlor, 24 Winetavern Street, Dublin.	Robert Tynan, c/o 24 Winetavern Street, Dublin. Robert Farrell, c/o 24 Winetavern Street, Dublin. Thomas Lawlor, c/o 14 Wine- tavern Street, Dublin. James Delaney, c/o 24 Winetavern Street, Dublin.	4
Packing Case Makers (Dublin) Painters and Decorators, Na- tional Amalgamated Society of,	— 2583 4988	— 21 10 6 1	W. Shanks, 3 Chamber St., Dublin. Gen. Sec.—J. A. Gibson, 4 Camp Street, Lower Broughton, Man- chester.	P. Meagher, 98 Upper Dorest St., Dublin. Hy. Marsh, 20 Adelaide Street, Cork. R. O'Carroll, Chapel Street, Cork.	3
Painters and Decorators, 750 T.U., Irish National.	750	6 5 0	Thomas Fogarty, 27 Aungier St., Dublin.	Thomas Fogarty, 27 Aungier St., Dublin. Wm. Neville, Glentworth Street, Limerick.	2
Plasterers' Trades Society (Dublin Operative)	250	2 1 8	Thomas Irwin, 32 E. Essex Street, Dublin.	Thomas Irwin, 32 E. Essex St., Dublin.	1
Plumbers and Domestic Engin- eers, United Operative (Dublin Branch).	1310	10 18 4	Robert Boyd, 61 Caledon Road, East Road, Dublin.	P. Birmingham, 76 Lombard St., West, S.C.R., Dublin.	2
Do. (Drogheda Branch) ...			P. Lennon, 41 Fair Street, Drogheda.	P. Lennon, 41 Fair St., Drogheda.	
Do. (Cork Branch).			Jos. Walsh, Mount Prospect, Glasheen Road, Cork.	Jos. Walsh, Mount Prospect, Glasheen Road, Cork.	1
Pork Butchers, Limerick	500	4 3 4	Martin Barry, Limerick	W. Norton, 45 Reuben Ave., S.C.R., Dublin.	2
Irish Postal Union (late Irish Post Office Clerks)	2500	20 16 8	W. Nally, 4 Cavendish Row, Dublin.	— McPhillips, 4 Cavendish Row, Dublin.	
Post Office Workers, Union of.	3600	30 0 0	J. W. Bowen, 240 Edgeware Rd. Paddington, London, W.2. Irish District Sec.—W. J. Dowling, Kilbricken P.O., Mountrath.	C. P. Kelly, 4 St. Joseph's Terrace, Wellington Street, Dublin. J. D. Canavan, 24 Gilford Avenue, Moston, Manchester. W. J. Dowling, Kilbricken P.O., Mountrath.	3
Railwaymen, National Union of	18722	156 0 4	C. T. Cramp, Industrial General Secretary, Unity House, Euston Road, London, N.W. 1.	James Birmingham, Irish Sec., 2 Beresford Place, Dublin. Timothy Daly, 22 Parnell Place, Cork. R. Hennessy, 109 Tyrconnell Road, Indicore, Dublin. Thomas Tobin, 3 Prospect Avenue, Glasnevin, Dublin.	3
Do. (Broadstone No. 1). ...			B. Finnigan, 16 Avondale Road, Phibsboro', Dublin.	Wm. Molloy, 21 M.G.W. Square, Phibsboro', Dublin.	1
Do. (Broadstone No. 2). ...			W. Walsh, 195 Phibsboro' Road, Dublin.	Walter Walsh, 195 Phibsboro' Rd., Dublin.	2

Name of Society	No. of Mem- bers	Affiliation Fees Jan. 1st, paid 1921.	Secretary.	Delegates to 1921 Congress.	Dele- gation Fees Paid.
		£ s. d.			£
Do. (North Wall Branch).			Peter Redmond, 16 Lower Oriel Street, Dublin.	M. O'Brien, 108 Seville Place, Dublin.	1
Do. (Kingsbridge Branch)			John Connor, 3 Black Street, Dublin.	R. Holmes, 99 McCaffrey Estate, Mount Brown, Dublin.	1
Do. (Mullingar Branch) ...			John McKeon, 5 St. Patrick's Terrace, Mullingar.	John McKeon, 5 St. Patrick's Terrace, Mullingar.	1
Do. (Leinster District Council).			B. Kavanagh, 55 Stella Gardens, Dublin.	James Slevin, 43 Kennedy's Villas, James's St., Dublin.	1
Do. (Inchicore No. 1).			R. O'Leary, 18 East Square, Inchicore, Dub'n.	J. Kenny, 3 Abercorn Terrace, Inchicore, Dublin.	1
Do. (Cork No. 3 Branch)			J. Murphy.	Jeremiah Walsh, 31 Maiville Terrace, Cork.	1
Do. (Bray Branch).			M. Doyle, 2 Marino Terrace, Bray.	M. Doyle, 2 Marino Terrace, Bray.	1
Railway Clerks' Association.	3000	25 0 0	A. G. Walkden, 25 Euston Road, London, N.W. 1. Irish Sec.:—J. T. O'Farrell, 48 Henry Street, Dublin.	A. Cassidy, 440 Eia Stret, Antrim Road, Belfast. Wm. Davin, c/o 48 Henry Street, Dublin. J. T. O'Farrell, 48 Henry Street, Dublin. E. O'Carroll, 5 Abbey Terrace, Howth, Dublin. T. H. Gill, 77 Lindley Street, York, England.	5
Slaters and Tilers, Amalgamated (Dublin Branch)	100	1 0 0	John Sheppard, 77 Eccles Street, Dublin.	Thos. McDermott, 20 St. Ignatius Road, Dublin.	1
Slaters and Plasterers (Cork).	—	—	M. Crowley, Richmond Hill, Cork.		
Sheet Metal Workers (Dublin)	130	1 5 0	John Farren, 20 Blackhall Place, Dublin.	John Farren, 20 Blackhall Place, Dublin.	1
Tailors' and Tailoresses' Union (Irish).	1500	12 10 4	D. J. Stewart, Ardee House, Talbot Street, Dublin.	Dermot J. Stewart, 38 Talbot St., Dublin. Mrs. Scanlon, 38 Talbot Street, Dublin.	2
Tailors and Tailoresses (Amalgamated Society of).	—	—	Gen. Sec.—T. A. Flynn, 415 Oxford Road, Manchester.		
Do. (Cork Men's Branch)	140	1 3 4	Jas. Harty, 1 Dunview Terrace, Cork.	James Harty, 1 Dunview Terrace, College Road, Cork.	2
Do. (Cork Women's Branch)	150	1 5 0		Wm. Lynch, 8 Alvarna, Mardyke, Cork.	
Tailors, Machinists and Pressers, International Society of Tailors and Garment Workers' T.U. (Amalgamated).	500	4 3 4	Walter Carpenter, 44 York Street, Dublin.	Walter Carpenter, 44 York Street, Dublin.	1
Teachers' Organisation (Irish National).	2000	16 13 4	A. Conley, 20 Park Place, Leeds.	W. J. Patterson, 8 Fairview St., Belfast.	1
	11500	95 16 8	General Secretary. — T. J. O'Connell, 9 Gardiner's Place, Dublin.	John Harbison, 17 Chestnut Gardens, Cliftonville, Belfast. D. C. Maher, B.A., Ardmoyle, Cashel, Tipperary. E. Mansfield, Cullen N.S., Tipperary. C. P. Murphy, Annmount, Friars-walk, Cork. J. E. McNelis, Castlecaulfield, Co. Tyrone. R. Neilly, 74 Church Street, Ballymena. Hugh O'Donnell, Cloonanure, Gurteen, Ballymote. D. F. Courell, Arran Street, Ballina. D. A. Meehan, Ballyfinn, Mount-rath, Leix. T. J. O'Connell, 9 Gardiner's Place, Dublin. P. J. Quinn, 10 Ring Street, Inchicore, Dublin.	13
	250	2 1 8			

15170

Name of Society	No. of Mem- bers Jan. 1st, '21	Affiliation Fees paid	Secretary.	Delegates to 1921 Congress.	Dele- gation Fees Paid.
		£ s. d.			£
Do. (Dublin Central Teachers' Association).			J. B. O'Riordan, 21 Lindsay Rd., Glasnevin, Dublin.	(Miss) R. Timmon, 113 Harold's Cross Road, Dublin.	2
do. A.S.T.I.			T. J. Burke, 9 Gardiner's Place, Dublin.	T. J. Burke, 9 Gardiner's Place, Dublin.	
Typographical Association (Manchester).	1530	12 15 0	Gen. Sec.: H. Skinner, Caxton Hall, Chapel Street, Salford.	Thomas Cassidy, 41 Chapel Road, Waterside, Derry. R. S. Anthony, 5 St. Anthony's Villas, Pouladuff Road, Cork. H. T. Whitley, 12 Frederick Street, Belfast.	3
Typographical (Dublin) Provident Society.			Mr. O'Flanagan, 35 Lower Gardiner Street, Dublin.		
Vehicle Builders, National Union of.	1800	15 0 0	Gen. Sec.: James Nicholson, 195 Orford Road, Manchester. Irish District Sec.:—T. Hanlon, 11 Somerset Street, Dublin.	Thomas Boyle, 31 Synge Street, S.C.R., Dublin. J. J. O'Farrell, Trades' Hall, Capel Street, Dublin.	2
Vehicle Workers, United (Dublin Tramwaymen).	1000	8 6 8	Thomas Casey, 22 Lower Abbey Street, Dublin.	John Collins, 3 Tram Terrace, Inchicore, Dublin.	1
Woodworkers, Amalgamated Society of.	6231	51 18 6	Gen. Sec.: A. G. Cameron, 131 Wilmslow Rd., Withington, Manchester.	Mr. Somerville, 23 Armstrong St., Dublin.	1
Do. (Cork District).....	10,561		E. Fitzgerald, 21 Friar's Walk, Cork.	E. Fitzgerald, 21 Friar's Walk, Cork. J. Weldon, c/o 21 Friar's Walk,	2
Do. Dublin No. 4 Branch ..			Christopher Ring, 35 Lower Gloucester St., Dublin.	Thomas MacPartlin, 35 Lower Gloucester St., Dublin.	1
Do. Dublin No. 5 Branch ...			E. J. O'Neill, Mountain View House, Inchicore, Dublin.	M. J. Browne, 25 Innisfallen Parade, Dublin.	1
Do. Dublin No. 6 Branch ...			M. Somerville, 23 Armstrong St., Harold's Cross, Dublin.	Wm. Bunbury, 36 Hamilton St., S.C.R., Dublin.	1
Do. Dublin No. 7 Branch ...			J. Brophy, 32 Lower Ormond Quay, Dublin.	J. Brophy, 32 Lower Ormond Quay, Dublin.	1
Do. Dublin District			A. Breslin, 35 Lower Gloucester Street, Dublin.	Thomas Dunne, 10 Richmond Row, Portobello, Dublin.	1
Wood Cutting Machinists (Amalgamated Society of).	1000	8 6 8	Gen. Sec.: W. J. Wentworth, 383 Stockport Road, Longsight, Manchester.	M. Kiernan, 28 Upper Erne St., Great Brunswick St., Dublin.	1
Women Workers' Union (Irish).	3000	25 0 0	Miss Louie Bennett, Miss H. Chenevix, Denmark House, 21 Great Denmark Street, Dublin.	Miss L. Bennett, Gayfield, Killybeg, Dublin. Miss H. Molony, 73 Stephen's Green, Dublin. Miss Bryan, 34 Hamilton Street, Donore Ave., Dublin. Miss Shanahan, 48 Charlemont Mall, Dublin.	5
Do. (Irish Nurses' Union Branch).			Mrs. Mortished, 29 South Anne St., Dublin.	Miss Doyle, Pigeon House Hospital, Dublin.	

Name of Society	No. of		Secretary.	Delegates to 1921 Congress.	Delegation Fees Paid.
	Mem- bers	Affiliation Fees paid			
	Jan. 1st, '21	£ s. d.			£
Transport and General Workers' Union (Irish)	100000	833 6 8	Thomas Foran, General President, Dublin. James Larkin, General Secretary, Liberty Hall, Dublin.	Thomas Foran, Liberty Hall, Dublin. William O'Brien, 77 Botanic Rd., Dublin. Patrick Stafford, 41 Great Clarence Street, Dublin. Michael McCarthy, Liberty Hall, Dublin. Thomas Kennedy, 20 Charlemont Mall, Dublin. Michael Duffy, Readsland, Dunshaughlin. Thomas Ryan, 1 Lady Lane, Waterford. Robert Day, 80 Oliver Plunkett Street, Cork. William Ellis, Charlotte Street, Carlow. Cathal O'Shannon, 35 Parnell Sq., Dublin. Thomas Farren, 1 Johanna Ville, Crumlin Road, Dublin. Nora Connolly, 22 St. Patrick's Road, Drumcondra, Dublin. Eamon Lynch, Cuskiany Cove, Co. Cork. Wm. Deegan, Maryboro' Road, Mountrath. Charles Gaule, Main St., Arklow. Christopher Mulvey, Newbrooke, Rathfarnham, Co. Dublin. James Waters, Muinebeag, Co. Carlow.	102

Transport & General Workers' Union (Irish)—(continued).

Moses Somers, 4 Court St., Ennis-corthy.
P. J. Curran, Market Fields, Balbriggan.
Matthew Hogan, Curraghmoreen, Cappoquin.
N. P. Linchan, 101 Main Street, Mallow.
C. Brannigan, 15 Emer Terrace, Castletown Road, Dundalk.
Jeremiah Murphy, 73 Boherbee, Tralee.
Michael Gabbett, 91 O'Connell St., Limerick.
P. O'Reilly, 91 O'Connell Street, Limerick.
Miss Guinan, 91 O'Connell Street, Limerick.
Michael Reid, Kilbrennan, Dunboyne.
P. O'Doherty, Workmen's Hall, Tipperary.
Phil O'Neill, Connaught St., Birr.
Michael Lennon, 7 Mary Street, Clonmel.
Edward Kelly, 15 James Connolly Square, Bray.
M. MacGiolla Padraig, Ballon, Co. Carlow.
P. Murray, c/o 74 Thomas Street, Dublin.
Patrick Hanratty, 7 S. Richmond St., Dublin.
Michael Creagh, J. Lr. Clanbrassil St., Dublin.
James Walsh, 4 Augustine Street, Dublin.
John Coffey, 6 Meath Square, Dublin.

7053
15330
31670
19220
14961
100000
188231

1000000

Name of Society	No. of Mem- bers Jan. 1st, '21	Affiliation Fees paid	Secretary.	Delegates to 1921 Congress.	Dele- gation Fees Paid. £
Transport & General Workers' Union (Irish)—(continued).	—	—		<p>John Purcell, 11 Upper Stephen St., Dublin.</p> <p>Jos. Mahony, 2 Lower Digges St., Dublin.</p> <p>John Davis, 32 Beresford Street, Dublin.</p> <p>George Spain, Liberty Hall, Dublin.</p> <p>Michael Nolan, Burrowfield, Baldoyle, Co. Dublin.</p> <p>J. Black, 14 Waterford Street, Belfast.</p> <p>Wm. McMullen, 90 Alexandra Park Avenue, Belfast.</p> <p>Gilbert Lynch, 8 Roden Place, Dundalk.</p> <p>Matt Caul, I.T.G.W.U., Swords, Co. Dublin.</p> <p>P. Cunningham, 63 Railway Ave., Inchicore.</p> <p>W. Conlan, 6 Woodfield Place, Inchicore.</p> <p>J. Fitzpatrick, 91 Tyrconnell Rd., Inchicore.</p> <p>W. McNamara, 49 Tyrconnell Rd., Inchicore.</p> <p>J. Campion, 161 James's Street, Dublin.</p> <p>J. Hartnett, 24 Partridge's Terrace, Inchicore.</p> <p>P. Hoey, 3 Berkeley Place, Dublin.</p> <p>R. James, 32 Aungier Street, Dublin.</p> <p>J. O'Neill, 6 Chancery St., Dublin.</p>	

Transport & General Workers'
Union (Irish)—(continued).

V. Stone, 59 Townsend St., Dublin.
 P. Rook, 23 Clonliffe Avenue, Ballybough Road, Dublin.
 J. Osborne, 32 Seville Place, Dublin.
 P. Spain, 30 Mercer St., Dublin.
 C. Keogh, 4 Pile's Buildings, Golden Lane, Dublin.
 J. MacParland, 74 Lr. Mount St., Dublin.
 J. White, 20 Temple St., Dublin.
 P. Brady, 62 Foley St., Dublin.
 J. Murphy, 12 Up. Mayor Street, Dublin.
 F. Robbins, 39 N. William Street, Dublin.
 J. McCabe, 8 Clarence Place, Dublin.
 M. Ryan, c/o Liberty Hall, Dublin.
 J. O'Brien, c/o Liberty Hall, Dublin.
 T. Nagle, 2 Hamilton Row, Dublin.
 M. Donnelly, 22 Lower Gardiner Street, Dublin.
 F. Cullen, 54 Lr. Mount Street, Dublin.
 P. Gray, 27 Summer Place, Dublin.
 J. O'Sullivan, 8 Poplar Row, Dublin.
 P. Byrne, 3 Maher's Place, Clarence Street, Dublin.
 R. Maher, 12 Buckingham Street, Upper, Dublin.
 P. Osborne, 25 North George's St., Dublin.
 W. Brown, 10 Common St., Dublin.
 J. Dillon, 9 Campbell's Row, N.C.R., Dublin.
 J. Skvin, 2 Haroldville Ave., S.C.R., Dublin.
 J. Gannon, 3 Ballybough Lane, Dublin.

Name of Society	No. of Mem- bers Fees Jan. 1st, paid 1921.	Secretary.	Delegates to 1921 Congress.	Dele- gation Fees Paid.
Transport & General Workers' Union (Irish)—continued.			M. Pepper, 15 Harmony Row, Dublin. W. Purcell, 7 Murphy's Cottages, N. Gloucester Street, Dublin. B. Drumm, c/o Liberty Hall, Dublin. P. Hogan, 5 Steele's Ter., Ennis. M. McCann, Knockane, Newcastle West. J. McGrath, I.T.W.U., Kilmallock. Thomas Byrne, Durrow, Leix. Christopher Halpin, Moorestown, Castlepollard. John Gormley, George St., Gort, Co. Galway. John Dempsey, Davidstown, Ennis-corthy. Richard Corish, Mayor, Wexford. Daniel Morrissey, Connolly St., Nenagh. J. Fegan, Street, Co. Westmeath. J. Metcalfe, 11 Dargan St., Bray. George O'Driscoll, I.T.G.W.U., Blanchardstown. Joseph Jones, 40 O'Connell St., Waterford. M. Fagan, Station Road, Clondalkin. Miss Doran, 4 Thomas Street, Dublin. P. Barry, 80 Oliver Plunkett St., Cork. T. Harrington, do. do. W. Kenneally, do. do. J. Murphy, do. do.	

TRADES' AND WORKERS' COUNCILS.

Arklow	500	1 0 0	James Davis, Abbey Street, Arklow.		
Athlone		1 0 0	E. Cosgrave, St. Columba's Terrace, Athlone.		
Ballina		1 0 0	Tom Coen, Ballina.		
Ballinasloe		1 0 0	William Griffin, Brackernagh, Ballinasloe.	Wm. Griffin, Brackernagh, Ballinasloe.	1
Belfast	15000	3 0 0	D. R. Campbell, 11 Kimberley Street, Belfast.	D. R. Campbell, 11 Kimberley St., Belfast.	2
				Alex. Stewart, 2 Convention St., Belfast.	
Bray and Dun Laoghaire	3000	1 0 0	Patrick Byrne, 2 McCormack's Terrace, Bray.	Edward Byrne, 9 Florence Road, Bray.	1
Carlow	1500	1 0 0	Daniel Fenlon, Carlow.		
Castlebar		1 0 0	John P. Waters, Spencer Park, Castlebar.		
Cavan (Workers' Council)			Roland Lynch, 17 Main Street, Cavan.		
Clonmel	1000	1 0 0	Wm. Prendergast, Trades Hall, Abbey Street, Clonmel.	A. B. Brady, 17 Anne Street, Clonmel.	1
Cork	10000	2 0 0	J. F. Fitzgibbon, 37 Cook Street, Cork.	George Nason, 12 Marino Terrace, Cork.	2
				J. F. Fitzgibbon, 37 Cook St., Cork.	2
Cove	1800	1 0 0	P. Fitzgerald, 1 Brighton Terrace, Cove.	Wm. Lawten, 5 Sandymount, Cove, Co. Cork.	1
Derry	10000		E. MacCafferty, 11 Northland Avenue, Derry.		
Drogheda	3000	1 0 0	Thomas Lynch, Foresters' Hall, Drogheda.	Thomas McCabe, Foresters' Hall, Drogheda.	1
Dublin	8000	2 0 0	P. T. Daly, T.C., 47 Parnell Sq., Dublin.	J. J. Farrelly, 4 Charleville Mall, North Strand, Dublin.	2
				John Lawlor, T.C., 9 Ponteroy St., Dublin.	
Do. (Workers' Council)	40000	8 0 0	Thos. Farren, T.C., 1 Joannaville, Crumlin Road, Dublin.		
Dundalk			Jas. Smyth, 7 Annville Terrace, Chapel Street, Dundalk.		

Name of Society	No. of Mem- bers Jan. 1st, 1921.	Affiliation Fees paid	Secretary.	Delegates to 1921 Congress.	Dele- gation Fees Paid.
		£ s. d.			£
Dungarvan (Workers' Council)	1000		Jas. Morrissey, Dungarvan		
Edenderry			T. Healey, Edenderry.		
Ennis		1 0 0			
Ennis		1 0 0	Patk. Hogan, 5 Steele's Terrace, Ennis.	Michael Glynn, Doora, Ennis.	1
Enniscorthy		1 0 0	J. P. Kelly, 16 Market Square, Enniscorthy.		1
Enniskillen			P. J. Nulty, Forthill Street, Enniskillen.		
Fermoy			W. O'Reilly, Abbey St., Fermoy.		
Galway			Michael Temple, Bohermore, Gal- way.		
Kildare County		1 0 0	Michael Smyth, Athgarvan, Drio- chead Nua, Co. Kildare.	Wm. Cummins, Byrne's Hotel, Droichead Nua, Kildare.	1
Kilkenny			James Reade, 3 Blackmill Street, Kilkenny.		
Killarney		1 0 0	J. Murphy, The Emporium, Kil- larney.		
Larne			S. J. McNabb, 15 Victoria Street, Larne.		
Letterkenny			J. Curran, Government Terrace, Letterkenny.		
Limerick	12500	3 0 0	Jas. Casey, Mechanics' Institute, Lower Glantworth Street, Lime- rick.	James Casey, Mechanics' Insti- tute, Limerick. James Carr, Mechanics' Institute, Limerick.	2
Listowel			M. Ashe, Listowel		
Leix and Ossory	1500	1 0 0	James Lacey, Grattan Street, Maryboro'.		
Monaghan		1 0 0	Chas. Emerson, North Road, Monaghan.		
Mullingar	1500	1 0 0	T. J. Redmond, Trades Hall, Mullingar.	Thos. J. Redmond, Trades Hall, Mullingar.	1
Newry			Wm. F. Cunningham, Chapel St., Newry.		
Offaly, South		1 0 0	M. D'Alton, Burke's Hill, Birr.	T. P. Smyth, Glentara, Ros- crea, Tipperary.	1
Omagh		1 0 0	Hugh Kidd, Campsie Crescent, Omagh.		
Ossory and South Leix	700	1 0 0	W. Bonham, Rathdowney, Leix.	W. Bonham, Rathdowney, Leix	1
Roscrea		1 0 0	T. P. Smyth, Glentara, Roscrea.		
Sligo		1 0 0	H. Depew, Trades Hall, Castle Street, Sligo.	J. Lambert, Trades Hall, Sligo.	1
Thurles		1 0 0	P. McCarthy, West Gate, Thurles.		
Tralee		1 0 0	John Leisk, William St., Tralee.		
Tuam			Stephen Keane, Vicar St., Tuam.		
Tullamore	1000	1 0 0	J. P. Hutton, Earl Street, Tulla- more.	Peter Duffy, U.D.C., Tyrell's Pass Road, Tullamore.	1
Waterford (Workers' Council)	5000	1 0 0	L. Dunne, 7 Canada Street, Water- ford.	Luke Larkin, 1 Sion Row, Water- ford.	1
Wexford	2000	1 0 0	Patrick White, Partridge Street, Wexford.	Patrick White, Partridge Street, Wexford.	1
FRATERNAL DELEGATES.					
Scottish Trades Union Con- gress.			Robert Allan, 156 George Street Glasgow.	Bailie George Kerr, 69 Ingram Street, Glasgow. Peter Chambers, Miner's Associa- tion Dalkieth, Scotland.	
Workers' Welfare League of India.			J. E. Potter Wilson, Featherstone Buildings, High Holborn, London, W.C.1.	Dr. Bhat.	

IRISH TRADE UNION CONGRESS,

1894-1921.

Year	No. of Delegates	Locality	President	Secretary	Treasurer
1894	119	Dublin ...	Thomas O'Connell (Carpenter) ...	John Simmons ...	Patrick Dowd
1895	121	Cork ...	J. H. Jolley (Printer) ...	" ...	J. H. Jolley
1896	93	Limerick	James Dalton (Printer) ...	" ...	"
1897	86	Waterford	P. J. Leo (Pork Butcher) ...	" ...	"
1898	90	Belfast	Richard Wortly (Tailor) ...	" ...	P. J. Tevenan
1899	62	Derry ...	James M'Carron (Tailor) ...	" ...	"
1900	77	Dublin ...	George Leahy (Plasterer) ...	Hugh M'Manus ...	Alex. Taylor
1901	73	Sligo ...	A. Bowman, T.C. (Flax Dresser) ...	E. L. Richardson ...	Geo. Leahy
1902	98	Cork ...	Wm. Cave (Bootmaker) ...	" ...	"
1903	86	Newry ...	Walter Hudson, M.P. (A.S.R.S.) ...	" ...	"
1904	74	Kilkenny	Wm. Walker (Carpenter) ...	" ...	E. W. Stewart
1905	72	Wexford	Jas. Chambres (Saddler) ...	" ...	"
1906	72	Athlone...	Stephen Dineen (Baker) ...	" ...	"
1907	87	Dublin ...	James M'Carron (Tailor) ...	" ...	"
1908	85	Belfast ...	John Murphy (Printer) ...	E. L. Richardson ...	"
1909	108	Limerick	M. Egau (Coachmaker) ...	" ...	"
1910	85	Dundalk	James M'Carron (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	Dub'in	James Larkin (Transport Worker)...	" ...	"
1915	..	...	NO CONGRESS HELD	" ...	"
1916	81	Sligo ...	Thomas Johnson (Shop Assistants) ...	" ...	"
1917	111	Derry ...	Thomas M'Partlin (Carpenter) ...	" ...	"
1918	240	Waterford	William O'Brien (Tailor) ...	" ...	"
1919	220	Drogheda	Thomas Cassidy (Printer) ...	William O'Brien ...	Thomas, Johnson
1920	246	Cork ...	Thomas Farren (Stonecutter) ...	" ...	"
1921	250	Dublin ...	Thomas Foran (I.T.G.W.U.) ...	Thomas Johnson ...	William O'Brien

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 workingclass movement.

(i) To promote fraternal relations between the workers of Ireland and of other countries through affiliation with the international Labour movement.

(j) To co-operate with that movement in promoting the establishment of democratic machinery for the settlement of disputes between Nations; and in raising the standard of social legislation in all countries to the level of the highest; and

(k) Generally to assist in the efforts of the 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 of constituencies where a local Labour Party has been formed according to Clause 5 (below) such local Labour Party shall be entitled to send one delegate for each constituency covered by its activities, provided that there shall have been three months prior to the date of the Congress not less than 100 individual subscribing members of the Party in the constituency claiming to send a delegate, such delegates to be individual subscribing members of the Party, men or women, and voters in the constituency they represent.

5.—LOCAL LABOUR PARTIES.—

Where a local Trades' Council does not discharge the functions of a local Labour Party, or in the opinion of the National Executive has failed to do the work in a satisfactory manner, the National Executive shall have power to organise a local Labour Party independent of the Trades' Council, such local Labour Party to consist of individual subscribing members of the Party, Trade Unions or Trade Union Branches, and such other working-class organisations as subscribe to the constitution and policy of the Irish Labour Party and Trade Union Congress, and are approved of by the National Executive.

6.—INDIVIDUAL SUBSCRIBING MEMBERS.—Individual subscribing members shall be organised into Divisional or Ward Groups under the direction of the Trades' Councils or local Labour Parties. They shall be expected to undertake the electoral activities and propaganda work of the Party in the constituencies

7.—FINANCE.—

(a) Trade Unions or Branches of Trade Unions shall pay to the Central Funds of the Irish Labour Party and Trade Union Congress 2d. per member on the full certified membership in Ireland on the first day of January in each year.

(b) Trades' Councils shall pay one pound (£1) for each 5,000 members, or part thereof.

(c) The minimum annual contribution from affiliated Societies shall be one pound (£1).

(d) Individual subscribing members shall pay at the rate of three pence per member per month, of which sum three half-pence shall be paid to the Central Fund and three half-pence retained by the local Trades' Council or local Labour Party for organisation and Labour representation purposes, subject, where necessary, to a payment out of the local moiety of one half-penny for the expenses of collection.

(e) A woman member who has paid a total of one shilling and sixpence within the year shall be deemed to be a fully-paid subscribing member.

(f) The National Executive shall be authorised to make special appeals for funds for political and other purposes from time to time as may be desirable.

(g) Any Society whose affiliation has been accepted shall be considered to be permanently affiliated and liable for affiliation fee, unless such Society has given six months' notice of withdrawal or has been excluded by the special decision of Congress.

8.—NATIONAL EXECUTIVE.—There shall be a National Executive consisting of a Chairman, Vice-Chairman, Treasurer, Secretary, and ten other members elected by the National Congress at its regular Annual Meeting in accordance with the Standing Orders, and this National Executive shall, subject to the control and direction of the National Congress, be the administrative authority and be responsible for the conduct of the general work of the organisation.

It shall interpret the Constitution and Standing Orders in all cases of dispute subject to an appeal to the next regular Annual Meeting by the organisation or person concerned.

It shall ensure that Labour is represented by a properly constituted organisation in each constituency in which this is found practicable.

It shall give effect to the decisions of the National Congress, watch all legislative measures affecting labour in Ireland, initiate such legislative and other action as may be deemed necessary, and generally promote the objects of the organisation in the most effective manner within its power.

In case of the death or resignation of any of its members the remaining members shall have power to co-opt a successor.

9.—SUB-COMMITTEES.—The National Executive shall be empowered to appoint Sub-committees to undertake any specified branch of its work and to invite the assistance of any persons with special knowledge to advise and co-operate. It may appoint the necessary officials and make all arrangements to carry on its work. The Executive

as a whole shall be responsible to the National Congress for the work and decisions of all Sub-Committees.*

10.—PARLIAMENTARY CANDIDATES.—

(a) A Candidate for election to Parliament must be nominated by the National Executive, or by one or more of the affiliated bodies, and before adoption for any constituency must be approved of by a special local conference convened by the 'Trades' Council or local Labour Party.

(b) The basis of representation at the local Conferences shall be as follows:—

One delegate for Societies and Divisional Groups having 100 members or less;

One delegate for each additional 100 members up to 500;

One delegate for each additional 250 members up to 1,000; and

One delegate for each additional 1,000 members afterwards.

(c) Before any action towards the selection of a Candidate for Parliament is taken the National Executive shall be consulted. No candidature can be promoted by an affiliated organisation until endorsed by the National Executive.

(d) In constituencies or divided boroughs where no Trades Council or local Labour Party exists, or where in its opinion special circumstances warrant such action, the National Executive shall have power to promote a candidature.

(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.

* 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,

STANDING ORDERS.

1.—NATIONAL CONGRESS.—The Annual Congress shall be held regularly on the first Monday in August in each year and three following days.

Special Congresses may be called at such other times as may be decided upon by the National Executive, or upon the receipt by the National Executive of a requisition from at least five Trades Councils having a total affiliated strength of 15,000 members.

The Congress shall assemble on the first day at 11 a.m., on the following days at 9.30 a.m., adjourn at 1 p.m., reassemble at 2 p.m., and adjourn for the day at 5 p.m.

2.—DELEGATES' QUALIFICATIONS.—Persons to be eligible as Delegates to the National Congress must be bona-fide members or permanent officials of a Trades Council or a local Labour Party recognised by the National Executive.

The names and addresses of the Delegates, together with the Delegates' fees, must be forwarded to the Secretary three weeks prior to the date fixed for the Annual Meeting.

3.—DELEGATION FEES.—A delegation fee of one pound (£1) for each delegate attending the Annual Congress shall be paid. For special Congresses such lesser fees as may be decided upon by the National Executive shall be paid.

All Fees—delegation and affiliation—and the expenses of Delegates attending Congress must be borne by the affiliated organisations.

4.—FINANCIAL YEAR.—The financial year shall end on the thirtieth day of June, and all affiliation fees shall be paid and accounts for the year closed on that date.

A Balance Sheet and Financial Statement shall be prepared, audited, and sent to the affiliated Societies at least seven days before the opening of the Annual Congress.

5.—CONGRESS ARRANGEMENTS SUB-COMMITTEE.—The National Executive shall appoint a Congress Arrangements Sub-Committee to act with the local Committee in the town where the next Congress is to meet, for the purpose of arranging the business of the Congress. This Sub-Committee shall be empowered to consider the Agenda before the Congress meets, to make suggestions to the Standing Orders Committee (to be appointed by the Congress) respecting the grouping or re-drafting of the Resolutions, and respecting any other matter which in their opinion will facilitate the business of the Congress.

6.—STANDING ORDERS COMMITTEE.—A Standing Orders Committee of five members shall be elected on the first day of the Congress from the Delegates present and their duties shall be to:—

- (a) Verify and report upon the credentials of the delegates.
- (b) Co-operate with the movers of Resolutions and Amendments, in order that composite resolutions may be obtained whenever possible.
- (c) Submit to the Chairman of Congress a programme of all propositions and amendments approved by them as being in accordance with Standing Orders, together with any suggestions for the proper conduct of the business of the Congress.
- (d) Control the distribution of all literature.
- (e) Transact any other special business not provided for in these Standing Orders.

They shall meet not later than half-an-hour prior to each sitting of Congress for the purpose of arranging the despatch of business and carrying through the Agenda. They shall report to Congress any violation of the Standing Orders that may be brought to their notice, together with any recommendations agreed upon.

7.—TELLERS AND SCRUTINEERS.—Three delegates, or such other number as may be agreed upon at the time of election, shall be appointed as Tellers, whose duty shall be to count and record the votes on every occasion on which a division is taken. Their decision as to the numbers recorded on any vote shall be final. In cases where the Tellers disagree the Chairman shall order a recount.

Three or more delegates shall be appointed as Scrutineers. They shall be responsible for the arrangements for the election by ballot of the National Executive and Officers for the coming year. They shall take account of the number of ballot papers printed and distributed, shall, before the ballot is taken, destroy all unused ballot papers in excess of the number distributed to the delegates and take such other steps as will ensure the validity of the election.

8.—METHOD OF VOTING.—The voting on resolutions shall be by show of hands except when a proposition to be voted upon involves financial liability to the affiliated Societies, in which case a "card vote" may be demanded. Cards will be issued to delegates of Trade Unions on the basis of one card for every 250 members on which affiliation fees are paid; to Trades Councils and local Labour Parties; one card to each delegate attending Congress.

9.—RESOLUTIONS AND AMENDMENTS.—Propositions for the Congress Agenda must be signed by the authorised officials of the Organisations submitting them and must reach the Secretary of Congress at least eight weeks before the meeting of Congress. They shall be printed and copies sent immediately to the Secretaries of affiliated organisations.

Amendments to the propositions on the Agenda must be sent to the Secretary in writing, endorsed by the authorised officials of the organisations submitting them, at least three weeks before the opening of Congress. They shall thereupon be printed and sent to the Secretaries of affiliated organisations immediately.

In order to ensure that important questions affecting Labour may not be omitted from the discussions at Congress, the National Executive shall be empowered to place Resolutions on the Agenda, and may in cases of urgency submit Resolutions which have not appeared in the printed Agenda.

The order in which Resolutions shall be inserted on the Agenda shall be decided by the National Executive.

10.—LIMITATION OF SPEECHES.—The proposer of a Resolution or Amendment shall be allowed ten minutes, and each subsequent speaker five minutes.

A Delegate shall not speak more than once on the same question except the mover of the original Resolution, who shall be allowed ten minutes to reply to the discussion. Each delegate on rising to speak must announce his (or her) name and Society he (or she) represents.

11.—In the event of a proposal to take "the previous question" or to proceed to the next business, being moved and seconded, it shall, after the proposer of the resolution in question has been heard, be put to the vote, and if the proposal is carried, the resolution under discussion shall be deemed to be disposed of and Congress will proceed to the next item on the Agenda.

12.—ELECTION OF NATIONAL EXECUTIVE.—The National Executive shall be elected by ballot on the third day of the Annual Congress. Delegates only shall be eligible for election.

Nominations must be sent by affiliated organisations three weeks prior to the opening of Congress, the list of Nominees to be printed and sent to the Secretaries of affiliated organisations at the same time as the Final Agenda.

Not more than one delegate from any organisation shall be elected to membership of the National Executive, except that Trade Union having a membership exceeding ten thousand shall be entitled, if elected by Congress, to one additional representative. This paragraph shall not apply to the election of officers.

Members of the National Executive shall attend the Congress by virtue of their office, and remain in attendance until the disposal of their Report. They shall not be entitled to vote unless they are duly qualified as delegates. If qualified as delegates they shall be eligible for re-election.

The officers for the year shall remain in office until the close of Congress.

13.—MEETINGS AND QUORUM.—The National Executive shall meet at least once a quarter, five members at any meeting to form a quorum.

14.—NATIONAL EXECUTIVE REPORT.—The Report of the National Executive which shall have been transmitted to the delegates at least three days before the assembly of Congress shall be presented and considered immediately following the presidential address. The report shall be discussed paragraph by paragraph, each speaker being limited to five minutes on any one paragraph.

Interim reports of the activities of the National Executive shall be issued periodically throughout the year and sent to all affiliated bodies for their information and guidance. Consideration of the Balance Sheet and Statement of Accounts shall follow as the next business after the Annual Report is disposed of.

15.—APPOINTMENT OF AUDITORS.—Two Auditors for the succeeding year shall be appointed at the Annual Meeting who shall have access to all the papers and documents relating to the income and expenditure of the National Executive.

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

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

SCALE OF ALLOWANCES FOR NATIONAL EXECUTIVE AND SESSIONAL OFFICERS.

NOTE.—This Scale is fixed mainly on the basis of compensation for loss rather than for payment for services.

Members of National Executive when engaged on the business of the Party:—

Resident Members, 15/- per day; 7/6 half day.

Non-Resident, 20/- per day, and third class Rail fare.

If compelled to remain over-night away from home 5/- extra will be allowed.

Trade Union Officials and others who incur no financial loss through attending to the business of the Party to be allowed 5/- per day as bonus.

(A statement of all payments and records of attendances to be included in the Annual Report).

Congress Assistant Secretary	...	15/- per day.
Auditors	... ..	Same scale as National Executive.
Scrutineers	... ..	20/- each.
Tellers	... ..	20/- each.
Doorkeepers	... ..	15/- per day.
Standing Orders Committee	...	40/- each.

Salaries of Secretary and Treasurer and other officials appointed under Clause 9 of the Constitution to be fixed by National Executive.

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