

REPORT ON ACTIVITIES AND FINANCIAL REPORT

4A7

of the

I. T. F.

for the years

1938 to 1946

and

PROCEEDINGS

of the International Transport Workers'
Congress and the Sectional Conferences
held in connection therewith at the
Congress House, Zürich, Switzerland,
from 6 to 12 May, 1946

LONDON, DECEMBER 1946

INTERNATIONAL TRANSPORT WORKERS' FEDERATION

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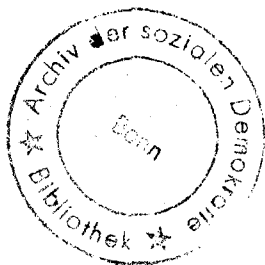
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FIRST PART

Report on Activities

In Memoriam—Edo Fimmen

FROM 1919 to 1942 the I.T.F. had a General Secretary, Edo Fimmen, who was its life and soul, and who became almost symbolic of the organization.

In 1919 he was one of the principal artisans of the reconstitution of the I.T.F., an act in which the spirit of international working class solidarity triumphed over the false ideas born of war psychosis. Through the stormy years which followed the first world war, Fimmen was the driving force, strategist and commander in chief of the I.T.F., leading it to do battle with the hosts of reaction and counter-revolution. In the fratricidal struggle which arose out of the split in the labour movement, Fimmen worked unceasingly for unity and reconciliation. When the



clarions sounded the victory of Fascism in Europe, Fimmen made of the I.T.F. a rallying-point, a centre for the organization and guidance of the resistance movement. When the Fascist cannon thundered through Spain, it was in Edo Fimmen and his I.T.F. that the Spanish workers found their support. And when later Fascism directed the muzzles of its guns against the whole of democratic Europe, the I.T.F. through the great voice and agile pen of Edo Fimmen—the same Fimmen who organized the Peace

Congress of 1922—urged the workers to take arms in hand to prove their international solidarity.

Edo Fimmen's breadth of view, ascendancy and activity made of the I.T.F. more than a mere organization of transport workers. Under his leadership it became one of the fighting units of the working class. For twenty years Edo Fimmen was the conscience of the international labour movement, a conscience now exalted by successful action, now torn by regrets for error, lack of courage and fighting spirit, disunity and set-backs.

On 14 December 1942 death finally sealed the loss which the I.T.F. had suffered, by sickness, since the Spring of 1939. In 1914 the I.T.F. had collapsed under the shock caused by the explosion of the first shell. If it stood erect in 1939, and has survived the second world war, it is due in the first place to Edo Fimmen who, between the two wars, gave it secure foundations and mapped out its course.

Those who wish our labour organizations to be led by the best men the ranks of the working class can produce have the best of reasons to regret the death of Edo Fimmen. The labour movement, and particularly the international organization of the transport workers, has been deprived of the services of a brilliant, gifted, clear-sighted, devoted and courageous leader. The loss would have been a cruel misfortune at any time ; but for the I.T.F. it is more than a misfortune that has left it without the talent, experience and dynamic power of Edo Fimmen to guide it through the critical period which has succeeded the Spring of 1945.

All those whose privilege it has been to know Edo Fimmen personally, whether they met to dispute or converse with him, to consult or counsel him, whether they have been his travelling or table companions, his hosts or his guests, his protégés or his collaborators, his peers or his subordinates—all have been drawn to him by the bonds of friendship. He will live in their memories as he will live in the history of the international trade union movement during the period between two world wars ; a history from which the name of Edo Fimmen will be as inseparable as that of the I.T.F., and in which both names will shine with equal brilliance.

Introduction

BETWEEN the Luxemburg and Zurich Congresses of the I.T.F. lies a period of seven and a half years. Except for the year with which it began and that with which it ended, it was the period of the second World War, itself the culmination of a period which witnessed the Nazi German aggression of Austria and Czechoslovakia, the crushing of the Republican forces in Spain with the aid of Nazi German and Fascist Italian arms, and saw a world at grips with economic and social upheaval and political strife and turmoil.

For the International Labour Movement, and therefore also for the I.T.F., the period between the two wars was one of steady decline. There were indeed intervals when the prospects seemed to brighten in one country or another, but the general tendency was downward and seen as a whole the International was not able to make good to an adequate extent by gains in other parts of the world the losses sustained in European countries, from which it drew its main support.

Notwithstanding the darkening outlook, the I.T.F. during the inter-war period applied itself to its tasks to the utmost of its ability. From 1919 on it waged an uncompromising fight against War and Imperialism, which later assumed the forms of Fascism and National Socialism; it played its part wherever it could in the struggle against political and economic oppression; it gave all the support it could to transport workers' unions in many countries in their efforts to raise conditions of employment and to avert impairments. It would take too much space to describe all the actions in which the I.T.F. was involved in this period: suffice it to recall the most outstanding events, the transport boycott organized against Hungarian reaction, the active campaign conducted against Italian Fascism, the attempt to assist the Spanish Republicans in spite of the non-intervention farce, and the vigorous support given to underground activity among transport workers in Nazi Germany when everything seemed lost in that country.

It is difficult to assess the results obtained through these endeavours of the I.T.F. So much is certain, however, that the determination and devotion with which the I.T.F. acquitted itself of this part of its task enhanced the esteem in which it was held in transport workers' circles and far outside them throughout the world.

Then came the long-awaited war. For its inevitability was recognized long in advance. The threat of war prevented the holding of the Luxemburg Congress at the normal date in 1938. The Munich Pact, which made it possible for the Congress to take place with a month's delay, brought what proved to be but a brief respite from war. When that calamity did come upon the world, the I.T.F. had long made up its mind that regardless of which countries would be dragged into active participation and which would succeed in preserving an uneasy state of neutrality, it would range itself wholeheartedly at the side of those who barred Nazi Germany's march to world domination, and it was resolved to play a full part in the conflict which had commenced.

The I.T.F. did not identify itself, nor was it expected to, with the foreign policy of any one country. It had its own reasons for fighting the Nazi and Fascist regimes which had crushed the free labour movements

within their own frontiers, which had persecuted, imprisoned and murdered so many of its friends, and which aimed to enslave the workers of the world.

To be able to wage this fight with the maximum degree of effectiveness, the headquarters of the I.T.F. were transferred to England on the very eve of war when it was evident that armed conflict could no longer be averted. This was done in virtue of powers expressly vested in the governing bodies of the I.T.F. by the Luxemburg Congress. Suggestions that the I.T.F. should be transferred to a part of the world far from the theatres of war found no favour with those who had to make the decision.

Here it is appropriate to pay a warm tribute to the British unions affiliated with the I.T.F., which from the outset did so much, far more than anyone had a right to expect, to keep the I.T.F. in existence. The I.T.F. would no doubt have carried on during the war in any case, but it was due to the hospitality, generosity and active support of the British unions that it was able to fulfil its mission to such good purpose and in such complete independence from outside assistance, both as regards the backing of the Allied war effort, the carrying on of industrial action, the succouring of unions and comrades in distress, and the laying of plans for the international transport workers' movement of the future.

The non-British unions still able to stand by the I.T.F. during the most critical period—we have in mind especially the Swedish and the Swiss—also nobly performed their duty, though in the conditions prevailing could hardly broadcast the contribution made. Likewise in occupied countries the transport workers remained true to the I.T.F., and when support could no longer be openly played a magnificent role in the resistance movements which helped so much to bring about the final defeat of the powers of evil.

It goes without saying that during this period the I.T.F. had to devote itself preponderantly to supporting the war effort of the Allied nations and everything directly or indirectly connected therewith. Its task was to note and record the contributions made by organized transport labour in the different countries, to encourage the sabotage which everywhere harassed the enemy in occupied territory, to strengthen the morale of our own people and undermine that of the enemy by propaganda disseminated in print and over the air. Part of the task was to keep alive contacts with comrades and movements in occupied countries. Many were those whose life and safety depended on the aid the I.T.F. could give. The comrades who kept open these lines of communication did so at grave peril to themselves, the list of those who sacrificed their lives in this service to their fellows and the common cause is, alas, a long one.

In the sphere of organization an episode worthy of special mention was the rescue of the remnants of the seafarers' trade unions as one country after another succumbed to the early onrush of the Nazi war machine. With the powerful aid of the British Seamen's Union, these remnants were welded together into an organization which proved to be a force of the first importance. Similarly, the British Officers' Unions made it possible for the I.M.M.O.A. to carry on during the war. Co-operating more closely than ever before in their history, the two Seafarers' Internationals stood squarely behind merchant navy personnel, which played such a big role in winning the war.

When towards the end of 1942 North Africa was liberated, the I.T.F.

was immediately on the scene to aid the transport workers' organizations which sprang to life there and through the intermedium of the French C.G.T. placed funds at their disposal. When the liberation of Italy began a year later, the I.T.F. without delay dispatched a delegation to that country with the same object of assisting the rebirth of transport workers' unions. Meanwhile financial assistance had been offered to the underground French C.G.T., which used it to support underground activity inside France and thus to lay the foundations of a revival of transport workers' unions in that country when the time came. Similar subsidies were granted in one form or another to the transport workers' unions re-emerging in Belgium and Holland. At the earliest possible opportunity, finally, the I.T.F. sent a delegate to Germany to re-establish links with comrades there and to help them to rebuild a free trade union movement among the transport workers.

During the years of Nazi ascendancy in Europe, the possibilities of representative international gatherings were necessarily limited: the Executive Committee met in January 1940 and then not again until July 1945, preceded by a partial meeting of the General Council in November 1944. Nevertheless some noteworthy international meetings took place during the back-to-the-wall period and the period of the gradual repulsion of the Axis powers. There was a series of Seafarers' Conferences, in which representatives of as many nationalities as possible participated and which culminated in the adoption of the International Seafarers' Charter as the programme of demands for which merchant navy personnel will fight in the post-war period. This Charter is already well on the way towards realization: a great propaganda effort is being made to rally behind it the support of seafarers and of public opinion everywhere; it has already been the subject of preliminary discussion at one International Maritime Conference of the I.L.O. in Copenhagen (November 1945) and will be again at a second I.L.O. Conference in Seattle in June this year, with a view to the adoption of International Conventions embodying the Charter's principal claims. In the midst of war two important sessions of the Joint Maritime Commission of the I.L.O. were held, at the initiative of the I.T.F., one in 1942 and the other early in 1945. Finally an International Railwaymen's Conference took place under the auspices of the I.T.F. in September 1943, with participation of American and Russian railwaymen's representatives, which prepared the ground for further international endeavour on behalf of this category of transport workers in the days of peace.

A particularly satisfactory feature of the I.T.F.'s war-time record is the number of new affiliations which were secured. The list comprises no fewer than thirty-two organizations in nineteen countries. It is indeed a list of which the I.T.F. need not have been ashamed in normal times.

Whilst attending to the temporary tasks which arose out of the circumstances of war, the I.T.F. also applied itself with the means at its disposal to the performance of its permanent tasks. It continued to collect material and information about the problems affecting the transport workers of all lands and to disseminate it through its publication service—"Press Report," "Fascism" and "International Transport Workers' Journal"—although the difficulties to be overcome, with the dwindling of postal communications and the shrinking of staff, were formidable.

A survey of this kind would be incomplete without a special reference to the International Labour Office. Like the I.T.F. it succeeded in carrying on during the war years. In fact, though in many ways obliged to curtail its functions, the Organization in others was able to broaden its basis, and there is to-day more occasion than ever to regard it as an instrument at the service of the industrial labour movement rather than an institution in which organized labour is but a factor.

To substantiate this view of the I.L.O., we may cite the decision, reached as the direct result of I.T.F. pressure, to set up within the I.L.O. framework divisions by industries, which are known as Industrial Committees. The first of these to be constituted, the Inland Transport Committee, held a successful conference in London in December 1945, where it was demonstrated that a new and fruitful field had been opened to international trade union activity.

If the role which the I.T.F. played during the war lived up to expectations, a less satisfactory note must be struck when we turn attention to the other sections of the International Trade Union Movement. Part of the explanation lay in the circumstances in which they operated ; but for the most part it was due to the fact that they had reached an insufficient stage of development and that they failed to make timely preparations to prevent an interruption of their activities. From the beginning the I.T.F. sought contact with the rest of the International Movement, with a view to co-ordinated and joint activities. In some directions these efforts were not unsuccessful. As a noteworthy success we may cite the establishment of the Joint Council of the three Internationals (Mine Workers, Metal Workers and Transport Workers), which concentrated on radio propaganda and in close co-operation with the B.B.C. organized very effective trade union broadcasts to the workers on the European Continent.

Another interesting development was the establishment of an Emergency International Trade Union Council which was composed of representatives of the I.F.T.U. and of such international Trade Secretariats as could participate and which saved the general Movement from virtual extinction during the critical years. The I.T.F. took an active part in the work of this Council.

As one who has always advocated the greatest possible cohesion and unity of the International Movement and shared in the preparatory work in this field, the I.T.F. welcomed the advent of the World Federation of Trade Unions, which is destined to continue on a much broadened basis the functions of the old I.F.T.U. Its emergence has raised the important question whether the new Trade Union International should become all-inclusive in functional as well as geographical scope and should absorb the existing International Trade Secretariats, such as the I.T.F. The question has been very carefully considered by the General Council and Executive Committee of the I.T.F., who have arrived at the conclusion that the decision as to whether the I.T.F. should be incorporated as a Trade Department of the World Federation of Trade Unions, should rest entirely with the Congress as the supreme authority of the I.T.F. They do, however, go so far as to express the opinion that in the event of such incorporation the I.T.F. should retain a substantial measure of autonomy, so that it may be capable in the future of performing its tasks at least as effectively and as satisfactorily to its constituents as in the past.

Whatever the future may hold, the governing bodies of the I.T.F. are convinced that the work of the I.T.F. must not be interrupted, but must go on with undiminished energy. In anticipation of the work of the future, an entirely new set of Rules has been drafted for the I.T.F., designed to meet the new needs which have arisen since its reconstitution after the first World War in 1919.

These proposed Rules lay particular stress on sectional and regional activity and deal more concretely with the participation of all affiliated unions in the framing of I.T.F. policy. Not that this aspect, or more especially the role of small countries, or small groups, has been neglected in the I.T.F. in the past, but the new Rules would formalize the state of affairs which has so far existed in practice.

More than once, both during the war and before it, the I.T.F. has asserted the right of the International Trade Union Movement to participate in machinery already existing or yet to be created to promote understanding between the peoples of the world. We need not here defend the case for the creation of machinery of world co-operation, its urgent need is sufficiently illustrated by the mention of three major problems of the present period which can only be solved by an international approach: food, raw materials and transport. Starting from the belief that co-operation between nations can best be achieved on functional lines, the I.T.F. during the war set up a Study Committee, which considered what kind of solution could be applied to the European transport problem. The ideas and proposals put forward by this Committee (Annex II) are only capable of realization given willingness and determination on the part of the organized workers of the different countries to co-operate closely and purposefully and to overcome the reluctance of governments or opposition of vested interests.

Thus the I.T.F. stands on the threshold of a new era. Great and numerous tasks of a new kind await it. For most countries a completely fresh start must be made with the work of documentation, programmes of action must be evolved duly framed to meet the needs and peculiarities of section and region, opening an important field of activity for Sub-Sections and Sub-Secretariats, the creation of which has figured for so long in the plans of the I.T.F.

At the same time the I.T.F. must continue to play its part in the Labour Movement as a whole. Democracy will only have finally triumphed when there exists a world in which the fundamental needs of all men are satisfied; when the right to work of both the individual and the national community is recognized and guaranteed; when production is so organized as to raise standards of welfare and well-being throughout the world and to put an end to the exploitation of the many by the few.

The struggle against economic subjection, against its varied instruments, whether political oppression at home or military aggression abroad, is not yet ended. The I.T.F. must play its part to ensure the victory of the forces that make for world peace and harmony. It must give all the support it can to those who courageously strive to build a United Nations system out of world chaos, it must promote and encourage the growth of those voluntary institutions, at the national and the international level, which as instruments of opinion can do so much to preserve

an equilibrium when there are forces which threaten to pull too heavily in one direction.

Chance wills that at this fateful juncture in its history the I.T.F. also completes the first half century of its existence. With genuine esteem we think back to the pioneers who in 1896 took the initiative of founding our International, and with a grim resolve to build further on the foundations they laid. Twice in those fifty years has the I.T.F. passed through the ordeal of world war. Though it has not escaped unscathed, it is confident that, backed by its affiliated unions and borne by the faith of its members, it will succeed in fashioning the equipment for performing its great and new tasks and fulfilling the expectations which the transport workers of the world may legitimately place in it.

AFFILIATED ORGANIZATIONS

IN enumerating the members of the I.T.F. we have this time adopted the somewhat unusual procedure of making a distinction between those which, at the time this Report is being drafted (February 1946), are *effective* members, and those which are only affiliated *nominally*.

Effective membership implies the existence of regular relations with the Secretariat and—save for exceptional cases—the payment of affiliation fees (see Tables I and II).

Nominal membership implies the formal maintenance of affiliation without the complete resumption of the relations which normally exist between the I.T.F. and its affiliated organizations. The absence of normal relations may be due to force of circumstances, as in the case of the Spanish unions ; but it may also be due to political causes, dependent or otherwise on the will of the organizations concerned. These organizations will be found in Table IV (see also Chapter 8).

That the war has not held up the expansion of the I.T.F. will be seen from the table of organizations that have joined during the course of it or since it ended. Some of the organizations in this table were affiliated to the I.T.F. before fascism overwhelmed their countries. Many of them regard themselves as reinstated rather than new members. Notable examples are the Greek railwaymen's and seamen's unions and the Italian union of tramway and secondary railway workers ; while the Transport Section of the Czechoslovakian Central Council of Trade Unions claims to be the successor, in the ranks of the I.T.F., of the Czechoslovakian organizations affiliated to the I.T.F. before Munich.

The war, like the events which preceded it in 1938 and 1939, has also led to losses. These will be found, together with losses from other causes, in the table of organizations whose affiliation has ended.

Two affiliations call for special mention and explanations. The first of these is that of the

I.M.M.O.A.

The International Mercantile Marine Officers' Association was founded in 1925 on the initiative of the Belgian and Dutch unions of officers in the mercantile marine. The late Mr. Alex Brandt, then Secretary of the Belgian Mercantile Marine Officers' Union, approached the I.T.F. and asked for advice concerning the founding of an international officers' federation which, though autonomous, would co-operate closely with the I.T.F. We welcomed this initiative, and an agreement was reached which lasted from 1925 to 1944. The I.M.M.O.A. made considerable progress, and the co-operation was most fruitful. At the International Labour Conference of 1936 there was complete harmony between the two Internationals, and their solidarity became very marked. The Executive Committee of the I.T.F. therefore considered that the time had come for a closer link between them and proposals to this effect were submitted to the I.M.M.O.A. They were not accepted, but it was decided that in future each International should be represented at conferences of the other. It was further decided to publish a joint Press Report, the work to be done by the I.T.F. Secretariat. This was the position up to

the outbreak of war. During the war there has been very close co-operation between the two Internationals, and in February 1941 the Management Committee of the I.T.F. decided to propose to the I.M.M.O.A. either amalgamation with the I.T.F. or affiliation as a section of the I.T.F., or as a sub-section of the I.T.F. Seamen's Section. The question was discussed on several occasions with representatives of the I.M.M.O.A., and as a result it was decided to set up a Joint Standing Committee of the two Internationals. This Committee drew up, in 1943 and 1944, a general programme of demands which is known as the International Seafarers' Charter.

This close co-operation between the two Internationals once more raised the question of the relations between them and on 28 August 1944 the I.M.M.O.A. informed the I.T.F. that its Board of Direction had unanimously adopted the following resolution :

“ This Board of Direction being of the opinion that closer association, e.g. affiliation, merger, or the like, is desirable in the future, decides to request the International Transport Workers' Federation to meet a delegation of this International in order to discuss the conditions under which such closer association, e.g. affiliation, merger or the like, should take place and to report to the following meeting of the Board of Direction.”

After due consideration of proposals and counter-proposals, an agreement was reached, on 14 December 1944, on the following basis :

(1) Affiliation of the I.M.M.O.A. *en bloc* with the I.T.F., effective, say, from 1st October 1944, on the basis of the normal affiliation fee of £10 13s. 4d. per thousand members per year.

(2) Continued existence of the I.M.M.O.A. with the right to deal separately with all matters not dealt with in the Seafarers' Section of the I.T.F.

(3) Inclusion of the I.M.M.O.A. in the Seafarers' Section of the I.T.F. Election of a new committee for this Section, composed of an equal number of officers' and seamen's representatives ; the chairman to be drawn from among seamen's representatives, the vice-chairman from among officers' representatives, and the secretary to be appointed by joint consultation.

(4) Creation of a sub-section for officers, consisting of the unions constituting the I.M.M.O.A. plus the officers' unions directly affiliated with the I.T.F. The sub-section would deal with all questions affecting officers more particularly and would elect a committee of its own.

(5) The I.M.M.O.A. and the I.T.F. to keep one another mutually informed of their activities and decisions which may be considered to have a bearing on the eventual complete amalgamation of the two Internationals.

(6) The I.M.M.O.A. to invite a delegation from the Executive Committee of the I.T.F. to attend the first congress of the I.M.M.O.A. after the war. The Board of Direction of the I.M.M.O.A. to undertake to submit to that post-war congress a proposal for complete amalgamation the terms of which shall be a subject of consultation between the Executive Committee of the I.T.F. and the Board of Direction of the I.M.M.O.A.

The second affiliation calling for special comment is that of an organization of the Presidents of nineteen American railway brotherhoods, the **Railway Labor Executives' Association** of the United States and Canada, as it is the first "token" affiliation in the history of the I.T.F. The membership of the organizations represented in the Association is composed of 735,000 railwaymen proper, 250,000 railway shopmen and 16,000 employees of subsidiary services of the railways (shipping, hotels, etc.).

Notwithstanding its unusual name, this organization is a federation, but when it was set up it was considered inadvisable to use the word. Nevertheless, the autonomy of its component organizations is complete.

During the war, both before and after the United States came in, we made special efforts to win the sympathy of the Association, and the maximum moral support it could give us. The better to overcome the hesitation, and even distrust, of some of its members, we asked it to affiliate to the I.T.F. solely for the purpose of giving its moral support to the action we were taking to intensify the war effort; and we offered to accept the affiliation for a token contribution, of say \$1,000 a year.

On 1st October 1945, that is to say after the war had ended, the Association accepted our proposal, and attached a cheque for \$1,000 to the application for affiliation. Its affiliation is not to be construed as affiliation by any of the individual organizations whose chief executive officers are members of the Association, nor do any of these individual organizations incur any further obligations, financial or otherwise, towards the I.T.F.

The Management Committee and Executive Committee agreed to this affiliation. They have accepted for the year 1945 the token contribution of \$1,000, but propose to negotiate about the amount payable for 1946.

I

AFFILIATIONS EFFECTIVE SINCE BEFORE THE WAR

<i>Countries</i>	<i>Unions</i>	1st Jan. 1939	1st Jan. 1946
Argentina ..	Unión Ferroviaria, Sociedad de Empleados y Obreros de los Ferrocarriles (Railwaymen)	68,100 ¹	—
Belgium ..	Centrale Générale des Services Publics (Railwaymen's Section) ..	33,353 ¹	40,000
	Union Belge des Ouvriers du Transport (Transport Workers) ..	29,200 ¹	25,000
Canada ..	Centrale Belge du Personnel des Tramways, Vicinaux et Autobus (Tramway, Light Railway and Bus Workers)	10,000	8,000
	Canadian Brotherhood of Railway Employees	8,000	22,000
China ..	Chinese Seamen's Union	10,000	—
Denmark ..	Dansk Jernbaneforbund (Railwaymen)	7,507	8,017
	Dansk Lokomotivmands Forening (Locomotivemen)	1,840	1,800
	Dansk Arbejdsmandsforbund (Transport Workers)	42,647	35,000*
	Sø-Fyrbødernes Forbund i Danmark (Ships' Firemen)	2,200 ¹	1,400
	Sømaendenes Forbund i Danmark (Seamen)	4,703	2,878
	Dansk Sø - Restaurations - Forening (Catering Personnel)	1,061 ¹	—
	Dutch Guiana	Surinaamse Sjouwersbond (Dockers)	423
Finland ..	Suomen Rautatieläisten Liitto (Railwaymen)	2,024 ¹	11,000
	Finlands Transportarbetareförbund (Transport Workers)	4,558	17,720
France ..	Suomen Merimies-Unioni (Seamen)	3,832	5,041
	Fédération Nationale des Moyens de Transports (Road Transport Workers)	106,300 ¹	100,000
Gt. Britain ..	Fédération Nationale des Syndicats Maritimes (Seamen)	20,000 ¹	20,000
	National Union of Railwaymen ..	350,724	357,000
	Railway Clerks' Association of Gt. Britain and Ireland	64,600	89,425 ²
	Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen	53,000	—
	Transport and General Workers Union	220,000	250,000
	National Union of Distributive and Allied Workers	31,000	37,000
	The Cardiff, Penarth and Barry Coal Trimmers' Union	1,000 ¹	—
	National Union of Seamen	30,000	55,000

AFFILIATIONS EFFECTIVE SINCE BEFORE THE WAR.—Continued.

<i>Countries</i>	<i>Unions</i>	<i>1st Jan. 1939</i>	<i>1st Jan. 1946</i>
Holland ..	Nederlandse Vereniging van Spoor- en Tramwegpersoneel (Railway- men and Tramwaymen)	15,451	16,099
	Centrale Bond van Transportarbei- ders (Transport Workers)	37,540	22,144
Iceland ..	Sjómannafljagelag Reykjavíkur (Sea- men)	1,100 ¹	—
India ..	All-India Seamen's Federation	15,000 ¹	—
Ireland ..	Irish Transport and General Wor- kers' Union	6,000	—
Luxemburg..	Fédération Nationale des Cheminots Luxembourgeois (Railwaymen) ..	5,000	5,375
New Zealand	New Zealand Locomotive Engineers, Firemen and Cleaners' Association	1,500 ¹	2,150
	New Zealand Waterside Workers' Federation	5,075	6,108
Norway ..	Norsk Jernbaneforbund (Railway- men)	13,000	14,000
	Norsk Lokomotivmandsforbund (Locomotivemen)	1,698	1,987
	Norsk Styrmandsforening (Naviga- tion Officers)	3,053	3,007
	Norsk Transportarbeiderforbund (Transport Workers)	19,750	17,284
	Norsk Sjømannsforbund (Seamen)..	20,000	18,000
Palestine ..	International Union of Railway, Post and Telegraph Employees	400	450
	Palestine Seamen's Union	98 ²	325
Rhodesia ..	Rhodesia Railway Workers' Union	1,000 ¹	—
Sweden ..	Svenska Järnvägsmannaförbundet (Railwaymen)	39,085 ¹	58,262
	Sveriges Lokomotivmannaförbund (Locomotivemen)	4,660	
	Svenska Transportarbetareförbundet (Transport Workers)	34,393	
	Svenska Sjöfolksförbundet (Seamen)	13,270	16,475
Switzerland..	Fédération Suisse des Cheminots (Railwaymen)	32,320	37,165
	Fédération Suisse des Travailleurs du Commerce, des Transports et de l'Alimentation (Transport and Dis- tributive Workers)	7,228	8,000

¹ Figures at 1st January 1938.

² Including 21,597 members with the Forces.

* Provisional figure.

II
AFFILIATIONS BETWEEN 1940 AND 1946
(All effective members)

<i>Countries</i>	<i>Unions</i>	<i>Membership</i>
Australia ..	Maritime Transport Council	6,000
Chile ..	Federación Industrial del Transporte marítimo y portuario de Chile (Seamen and Dockers)	—
China ..	Chinese Seamen's Union in Gt. Britain ..	6,000
Czechoslovakia	Dopravní sekce, Ustřední rada odboru (Transport Workers' Section of Trade Union Centre)	180,650
Egypt ..	General Union of Cairo Motor Drivers	1,000
	Egyptian General Omnibus Company Workers' Union, Cairo	500
	Misir Airworks Union, Heliopolis	300
	Heliopolis Metro Workers' Union	700
	Taxi Chauffeurs' Union of Alexandria ..	700
	General Union of Motordrivers of Alexandria	350
	Motor Drivers' Union, Port Said	200
	Motor Drivers' Union, Ismailia	150
Finland ..	Suomen Veturimiesyhdistys n.y. (Locomotivemen)	2,630
Greece ..	Federation of Greek Maritime Unions, Cardiff	4,000
	Fédération Panhéliénique des Cheminots (Railwaymen)	13,000
India ..	Indian Maritime Union	519
	National Union of Railwaymen of India and Burma	—
Italy ..	Sindacato Ferrovieri Italiani (Railwaymen)	140,000
	Federazione Auto - Ferro - Tramvieri (Motor Drivers, Light Railway and Tramway Workers)	—
	Sindacato Gente dell 'Aria (Civil Aviation Personnel)	10,000
	Federazione Italiana Lavoratori del Mare (Seamen)	—
Kenya ..	Kenya and Uganda Railway Asian Union	980
Lebanon ..	(1) Association des Chauffeurs des voitures privées, Beyrouth (Private Chauffeurs)	1,000
	(2) Chauffeurs' Union, Beyrouth	2,000
Mexico ..	Alianza de Tranviarios de Mexico (Mexico City Tramwaymen)	3,862
New Zealand	Federated Seamen's Union	2,900
Palestine ..	Road Transport Workers' Union	3,960
Syria ..	Union des chauffeurs (Motor Drivers) ..	1,000
Trinidad ..	Seamen's and Waterfront Workers' Union	2,011
South Africa ..	South African Transport Workers Council	3,000
U.S.A. and Canada	Seafarers' International Union of North America	40,000
	International Mercantile Marine Officers' Association	9,300

III

TOKEN AFFILIATION

<i>Country</i>	<i>Union</i>	<i>Membership</i>
U.S.A. and Canada	Railway Labor Executives' Association	1,000,000

The number of affiliations effective at the beginning of 1946 was 77 ; of which 76 were in 32 different countries and one was international in character.

IV

NOMINAL AFFILIATIONS

(Effective before the war)

<i>Countries</i>	<i>Unions</i>	<i>1st Jan. 1939</i>	<i>1st Jan. 1946</i>
Argentina ..	“ La Fraternidad ” Sociedad de Personal Ferroviario de Locomotoras (Locomotivemen)	12,000	—
	Unión Tranviaria (Tramwaymen) ..	—	—
	Federación Obrera Marítima (Seamen)	3,000 ¹	—
Dutch East Indies	Railwaymen's and Tramwaymen's Union	12,000 ²	—
France ..	Fédération Nationale des Ports et Docks et des Transports et Manutentions des Fleuves, Rivières, Canaux, Villes de France, Colonies et Protectorats (Dock and Inland Navigation Workers)	45,000	—
	Fédération Nationale des Travailleurs des Chemins de fer de France, des Colonies et Pays de Protectorat (Railwaymen)	225,000 ¹	360,000 ²
Hungary ..	Villamos és Helyiérdekű Vasúti Alkalmazottak Országos Szövetsége (Tramwaymen)	1,500 ¹	—
	Magyarországi Szállítási és Közlekedési Munkások Országos Szövetsége (Dockers and Road Transport Workers)	3,104 ¹	—
India ..	All-India Railwaymen's Federation	78,545 ¹	—
Poland ..	Związek Zawodowy Pracowników Kolejowych w Polsce (Railwaymen)	27,546 ¹	130,000 ²
	Związek Zawodowy Transportowców Rz.P. (Transport Workers and Seamen)	3,857	—
Rumania ..	Uniunea Muncitorilor din Porturi si Transporturile din România (Dockers and Road Transport Workers)	16,380 ¹	—

NOMINAL AFFILIATIONS (Effective before the War).—*Continued.*

<i>Countries</i>	<i>Unions</i>	<i>1st Jan. 1939</i>	<i>1st Jan. 1946</i>
Spain ..	Sindicato Nacional Ferroviario (Railwaymen)	43,431 ¹	—
	Federación Nacional del Transporte Terrestre de España (Transport Workers)	54,803 ¹	—
	Federación del Transporte, Pesca é Industrias Marítimas de España (Seamen and Fishermen) ..	10,000 ¹	—
Yugoslavia ..	Savez tramvajskih, elektrofabričkih i opstinskih radnika i sluzbenika Jugoslavije (Tramwaymen) ..	693 ¹	—
	Ujedinjeni Savez Zeleznicarjev Jugoslavije (Railwaymen)	693 ¹	—
	Savez Pomorskih Radnika Trgovačke Mornarice Jugoslavije (Seamen) ..	500 ¹	—

¹ Figures at 1st January 1938.

² Affiliated 1941. Country invaded by Japanese before affiliation could become effective.

³ Estimate.

V

AFFILIATIONS LAPSED SINCE 1938 CONGRESS

<i>Countries</i>	<i>Unions</i>	<i>Membership 1st Jan. 1939</i>
Czechoslovakia	Verband der Eisenbahner in der tschechoslowakischen Republik (Railwaymen)	16,219
	Verband der Transport- und Lebensmittelarbeiter (Transport Workers) ..	5,251
Ecuador ..	Sociedad Unión de Chóferes del Pichincha (Motor Drivers)	100 ¹
Estonia ..	Eesti Autojuhtide ja Mototehnikute Ühing (Motor Drivers)	150 ¹
	Pärnu Sadamatöoliste Ühing (Dockers) ..	94 ¹
	Tallinna Sadamatöoliste Ametiühisus (Dockers)	71 ¹
	Eesti Meremeeste Ühing (Seamen) ..	968 ¹
Trinidad ..	Trinidad and Tobago National Trade Union Centre (Dockers)	100 ¹

¹ Figures at 1st January 1938.

The Governing Bodies of the I.T.F.

A.—EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

The Executive Committee met for the last time prior to the war early in June 1939, together with the General Council. A meeting was scheduled for 10th and 11th October 1939 in Amsterdam, but it did not take place.

A meeting held on 27th and 28th January 1940 in London was attended by Messrs. Lindley (President), Marchbank (Vice-President), Jarrigion, Gómez and Fimmen. Mr. Bratschi wrote apologising for his absence. Further, there were present Mr. K. Maxamin, Polish member of the General Council, H. Jahn, organizer of clandestine groups of railwaymen in Germany, J. H. Oldenbroek, Assistant General Secretary, and P. Tofahrn, Railwaymen's Secretary.

The next meeting could not be held before 24th, 25th and 26th November 1944. It was held in London, and was attended by Messrs. Lindley (President), Marchbank (Vice-President), Bratschi, Garcias (successor of Jarrigion), Gómez, Oldenbroek and Tofahrn. Messrs. Deakin and Jarman were also present as members of the Management Committee. The Management Committee and Secretariat had also invited the members and deputy members of the General Council, and as a result the following also attended: Messrs. Ph. de Witte (Belgium), C. N. Gallie (United Kingdom), I. Haugen (Norway), H. Leuenberger (Switzerland) and K. Maxamin (Poland). An invitation had further been sent to the Belgian Railwaymen's Union, whose representative on the General Council could not be admitted to the meeting, and as a result Messrs. P. de Bruÿne and H. Hazard attended. Finally Mr. Omer Becu, formerly manager of our office in New York, was also present for some part of the meeting.

The Executive Committee has since met twice: on 8th and 10th July 1945 in London and on 14th and 15th January 1946 in Zürich.

B.—BRITISH MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE

Soon after the transfer of the I.T.F. headquarters to Great Britain the Secretariat invited the affiliated British unions to appoint a Management Committee. A meeting of the British section of the I.T.F. chose Messrs. Bevin, Marchbank and Spence to form the committee.

The British Management Committee met for the first time in November 1939 and elected Mr. Marchbank as chairman.

In June 1940 the British Section appointed Mr. Deakin to the Management Committee in succession to Mr. Bevin, and in March 1942 Mr. Jarman in succession to Mr. Spence.

President Lindley came to Britain in the autumn of 1942 and attended a meeting of the Management Committee.

Between November 1939 and February 1946 the Management Committee met thirty-nine times.

Circumstances forced the Management Committee to assume the functions of the Executive Committee during the five years the latter was unable to meet. It should be borne in mind, however, that Mr. Marchbank is also a member of the Executive Committee, and that where there were important decisions to be come to other members of the Executive Committee who were within reach were consulted.

C.—THE SECRETARIAT

At the end of August 1939 the Secretariat was split into three parts. The General Secretary went with a part of the staff to Britain, the Assistant General Secretary remained with a further part in Amsterdam, and the Secretary of the Railwaymen's Section went with two members of the staff to Paris. The Assistant General Secretary came to Britain in October 1939 with part of the staff, and the Secretary of the Railwaymen's Section at the beginning of April 1940.

The General Secretaryship was in the hands of Edo Fimmen up to September 1941, though, owing to ill health, he had to absent himself for some weeks at the end of 1939. He returned to the office for a few weeks early in 1940 and had to leave again in April of that year. From that time on until September 1941, he put in occasional days of work at the office ; for the rest, he followed affairs from his home and had more or less regular personal contacts with Messrs. Marchbank, Oldenbroek and Tofahrn.

In September 1941, the Management Committee granted him leave of absence for twelve months to seek restoration of his health in Mexico. This leave was extended for another twelve months in 1942. Edo Fimmen died on 14th December 1942.

On 15th May 1943 the Management Committee dealt with the question of the appointment of an Acting General Secretary. The Chairman wished to be enabled to consult first, on the principle of the proposal, those of his colleagues on the Executive Committee with whom consultation was possible, viz., Messrs. Lindley and Bratschi. The Management Committee, however, decided to propose to these members of the Executive the appointment of Mr. Oldenbroek to the position of Acting General Secretary and of Mr. Tofahrn to that of Acting Assistant General Secretary. Agreement with the proposal having been expressed by these two members, the Management Committee made the appointments effective as from 1st July 1943, it being understood that both secretaries should remain in charge of their respective sections.

D.—EMERGENCY GENERAL COUNCIL

In view of the fact that the holding of a meeting of the General Council or Executive Committee of the I.T.F. had become impossible, the Secretariat proposed, in February 1941, to set up an Emergency General Council, to be composed of one representative from each union affiliated to the I.T.F. and able to send one to meetings.

The Management Committee approved the proposal as a war-time measure and decided to inform organizations in Europe and overseas of the decision, and to invite them to take part in the Council's work as far as conditions permitted.

The Emergency General Council was composed as follows :

- J. Marchbank (National Union of Railwaymen).
- A. Deakin (Transport and General Workers' Union).
- W. R. Spence (National Union of Seamen) ; Deputy : C. Jarman.
- C. N. Gallie (Railway Clerks' Association).
- W. P. Allen (Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen).
- W. A. Robinson (National Union of Distributive and Allied Workers) ; Deputy : G. Beardsworth.
- J. T. Clatworthy (Cardiff, Penarth and Barry Coaltrimmers' Union).
- A. Adamczyk (Polish Seamen).
- H. Baloche (French Seamen).
- T. W. Chen (Chinese Seamen).
- J. C. Esveldt (Dutch Seamen).
- H. Gulliksen (Norwegian Mates) ; Deputy : T. Erichsen.
- H. Jahn (German Railwaymen).
- B. Møller (Danish Seamen).
- Th. Sønsteby (Norwegian Seamen) ; Deputy : I. Haugen.
- Ph. de Witte (Belgian Transport Workers).
- E. Fimmen (General Secretary).
- J. H. Oldenbroek (Assistant General Secretary).
- P. Tofahrn (Recording Secretary).

The Council met for the first time on 25th and 26th July 1941 and received and approved a report on the activities of the I.T.F. covering the period from September 1939 to June 1941. In the discussion of the report, first place was naturally taken by seamen's affairs, such as the setting up of foreign seamen's unions in Great Britain, and especially the setting up of a Branch of the Chinese Seamen's Union. The Council also appointed a delegation to wait upon the Soviet Ambassador in order to plead for the release of Polish trade unionists still in captivity in Soviet Russia. The Council received a number of reports on the situation in occupied countries and concluded the debate with the adoption of five resolutions.

The resolution on the occupied countries expressed admiration for the resistance put up, particularly by the working class. It extended greetings to workers of the fascist and national-socialist countries who, in spite of terrorism and war, had fought their tyrants. It finally pointed out that transport was the weakest spot in the German war machine and appealed to transport workers to sabotage it in every possible way.

The resolutions on the war indicted the rulers of the Axis powers for their plotting against peace, for their endeavours to subjugate free peoples and reduce them to slavery, and for their savage methods of warfare, and called for the prosecution of the war with undiminished vigour.

Three further resolutions dealt with the blockade, war and peace aims, and the Russo-German war.

A second meeting of the Emergency General Council, held on 7th October 1941, dealt with work to be done through the I.L.O.

A third meeting was held on 30th March 1942 to consider the draft of a manifesto which was intended to express the view the I.T.F. took of the world situation.

The Council met for the fourth and last time on 4th April 1942, taking advantage of the presence in London of many seamen's leaders from distant countries who had come for the meeting of the Joint Maritime Commission of the I.L.O. The General Council meeting was attended by Messrs. Chu (China), Weisberger (U.S.A.), Lundgren (Sweden), Becu (Honorary Secretary of the I.T.F., New York Office)—Mr. Tudehope (Australia) being unfortunately prevented—and was devoted to the exchange of views and information on seamen's affairs.

The Emergency General Council was dissolved when, towards the end of 1944, the regular Executive Committee and General Council were able to resume their functions.

E.—GENERAL COUNCIL

The regular General Council met in Paris on 29th September 1945. The meeting had been called for the purpose of considering developments at the World Trade Union Conference, and defining the attitude to be taken up by the I.T.F. representatives at that Conference.

Death of the General Secretary

IN 1941 endeavours were made to secure from an American labour organization an invitation for Mr. Fimmen to spend a convalescent leave in a milder climate in the United States, California, for instance. While these efforts were being made, an invitation came from the Mexican Confederation of Workers. Mr. Fimmen was finally persuaded to accept the invitation, and he left for Mexico late in September 1941.

The prospects of his partially recovering his health seemed at first to improve, but towards the autumn of 1942 hope of recovery had to be given up.

News of his death was received on 16th December. A week before we were informed that he had suffered a new stroke, but were encouraged to hope that no fatal consequences were to be expected.

Since it was not possible to pay to Edo Fimmen's memory the respects we should have wished, we decided to devote a whole issue of our *Journal* to him, and we further arranged for a Memorial Service in the Dutch Church in London, on 6th January 1942. Some sixty leaders and former leaders of the labour movements of the world contributed to the special number of the *Journal*, while the very impressive Memorial Service was very largely attended by labour leaders and workers.

Different people reporting to us about Mr. Fimmen's funeral in Mexico state that the ceremony drew a large attendance and was a manifestation of the sympathy of the labour organizations of Mexico City, and altogether, owing to the participation of a large number of European exiles, a genuine international demonstration. Much praise is given to the Mexican Confederation of Workers, who made the funeral their own official business. A delegation of the Mexican Confederation and of the Spanish Trade Union Centre in exile went to Cuernavaca to attend to the transfer of Mr. Fimmen's remains to Mexico City. Delegations of local and exile organizations came to pay their last respects while the body was lying in state, watched by guards of honour of the most prominent leaders of both organizations.

The Mexican Confederation of Workers presented a silver urn to receive the ashes of our late General Secretary. Until its transfer to Europe in November 1945, the urn was placed in the reading room of the Confederation's library.

The Finnish Seamen's Union informs us that they have established an Edo Fimmen Fund, for which they have earmarked 50,000 Finnish marks, from which bursaries will be granted to union members desirous of staying ashore to improve their education.

On 14th December 1943, a commemoration ceremony took place in Mexico on the initiative of the Mexican trade unions. According to eye-witness accounts it was a beautiful and impressive ceremony. It was attended by some 400 representatives of the trade union movement of Mexico and of the Spanish movement in exile. Other groups of European

exiles were also represented. Telegrams from the Head Office and the New York Office of the I.T.F. were read, as well as from the Canadian Brotherhood of Railway Employees, the National Union of Seamen of Great Britain, the Transport and General Workers' Union of Great Britain, the National Union of Railwaymen of Great Britain, the Railway Clerks' Association of Great Britain, the International Labour Office, and many others.

Establishment

A.—KEMPSTON AND LONDON OFFICES

At the end of August 1939, an Office of the I.T.F. was opened in premises put temporarily at our disposal in London by the National Union of Railwaymen. It was finally decided to rent a house in Kempston, and the offices were definitely established there in October 1939.

In April 1942, the Assistant General Secretary suggested opening a small office in London in order to facilitate the work connected with seamen's affairs, which had all to be discussed with authorities established in London. In the course of 1943 the London Office gradually expanded, some members of the staff being transferred from Kempston to London. In May 1943 it was decided to make the London Office the Headquarters of the I.T.F., while the work of the Kempston Office was in the main limited to the publication services. The lease of the Kempston Office expired on 30th September 1945, since which all work has been done by the London Office.

B.—PARIS OFFICE

From September 1939 until the end of March 1940, a small office was run in Paris by the Secretary of the Railwaymen's Section, with two members of the staff under his orders. In January 1940 the Executive Committee decided to wind up this office, one member of the staff being transferred to Britain and the other ceasing to be employed in accordance with the notice of dismissal given in Amsterdam in August 1939.

C.—AMSTERDAM OFFICE

After the departure of the General Secretary and the Railwaymen's Secretary, the Amsterdam Office was kept functioning under the direction of the Assistant General Secretary. When the latter took up his duties at Headquarters in Britain in October 1939, the Amsterdam office was left in the charge of Mr. A. Treurniet, Research Department Officer, who had offered to stay behind in Amsterdam, assisted by another member of the staff, Mr. J. Leliveld.

When they occupied Amsterdam the Nazi authorities seized our building and carried off its contents. Later they confiscated and sold the building. The new "owner" let it to a number of Dutch fascist organizations.

After Amsterdam was liberated by the Allied armies, the military authorities took over the building. When our employee, Mr. J. Leliveld, managed to establish the property rights of the I.T.F., he was authorized to occupy first of all one room and later several. By a court decision our title to the building has been provisionally recognized.

The Dutch and Allied authorities whose task it is to recover property looted and carried off to Germany have found a considerable part of our archives, files and library, which have been returned to our office in Amsterdam.

D.—NEW YORK OFFICE

On 18th June 1940 the Management Committee asked Mr. Fimmen to proceed to North America for the purpose of undertaking a propaganda

campaign among American organizations eligible for membership. The General Secretary, after long reflection, informed the Management Committee that his health was too poor to allow of his undertaking such strenuous work. By September 1940 it appeared that seamen's affairs in the United States were becoming very serious owing to confusion in the minds of European seamen there—confusion aggravated by skilful German propaganda and that of disruptive elements in the trade union movement itself. The Management Committee, therefore, decided to instruct Mr. Oldenbroek to go to the United States and to establish in New York an auxiliary secretariat of the I.T.F. Mr. Oldenbroek's departure was seriously delayed, but in the meantime Mr. O. Becu, Secretary of the International Mercantile Marine Officers' Association, proceeded to the United States for a long stay, and as he had always co-operated closely with the I.T.F., the Management Committee decided, on 18th February 1941, to ask him to represent the I.T.F. in the United States and to look after I.T.F. interests there. Mr. Becu made contacts with all European seamen's organizations in the United States, and on 2nd May 1941, opened an I.T.F. office in New York. Mr. Oldenbroek spent over five months in the United States (from October 1941 to March 1942) and completed the arrangements made by Mr. Becu.

In May 1941 Mr. Becu took on a full-time typist, and in November 1941 Mr. Oldenbroek engaged the part-time services of Mr. A. S. Lipsett as editor. Due to the expansion of the publication work Mr. Lipsett was placed on a full-time basis as from 1st November 1942. From June to November, while Mr. Becu was away, Mr. Lipsett was in charge of the office. He left our service on 1st October, 1943. In June 1943 Mrs. Lili Krier kindly agreed to devote part of her time to the New York office on a voluntary basis.

Towards the end of 1943 Mr. Becu left New York on a trip to Egypt and Italy and did not return there. Consequently he resigned his position as Honorary Secretary of the I.T.F. in New York, and the Office was provisionally left in the charge of Mrs. Krier. Mr. Oldenbroek proceeded to the United States in April 1944 and engaged the free-lance services of Mr. Daniel Bell (who is editor of a labour paper) as assistant to Mrs. Krier.

After the liberation of her country (Luxemburg), Mrs. Krier informed us that the end of her sojourn in the U.S.A. was drawing near. Mr. Marchbank visited the New York Office in September and October 1944 and found a Belgian comrade, Mr. W. Dorchain, willing to remain some time longer in the U.S.A. and to run our Office there. The Management Committee decided, on 18th October, to avail itself of this offer.

In November 1945, Mr. Dorchain left New York for several months in order to attend the Tripartite Maritime Conference of the I.L.O. in Copenhagen, and for other trade union and private business in Europe.

E.—CORRESPONDENT IN MEXICO

After the death of Mr. Fimmen, it was considered necessary to take steps to ensure the maintenance of relations established by him in Mexico and Latin America. The Management Committee decided to employ Mrs. A. de Jager, for the duration of the war, as correspondent in Mexico. She returned to Europe in November 1945.

Organizing Work

A.—WAR-TIME ORGANIZATION OF EUROPEAN SEAMEN IN GREAT BRITAIN

When Hitler overran Denmark and Norway, the I.T.F. was confronted with the problem of attending to the needs of many thousands of seamen scattered all over the world. Norway's big merchant fleet was suddenly cut off from all contacts with the home country, and so was the smaller but nevertheless important Danish fleet. There was nobody able to come to decisions and issue instructions to officers and crews. The Secretaries and Management Committee of the I.T.F. immediately proposed to the British authorities that the I.T.F. and the British office bearers of the I.M.M.O.A. (International Mercantile Marine Officers' Association) should be enabled to broadcast and telegraph an appeal to Danish and Norwegian ships. After some hesitation the proposal was accepted and the appeal issued. Officers and men were invited to put themselves and their ships at the disposal of the Allied authorities; to make at once for an Allied controlled port, and to ignore instructions from German controlled authorities or shipowners in their own countries. The Norwegians responded to the appeal the more readily, since an instruction to the same effect as the appeal of the I.T.F. was issued soon after, from Great Britain, by the Norwegian Government. But the Danes also, in great numbers, rallied to the Allied cause. In one case that has become known, the crew mutinied successfully and imprisoned several officers in order to bring the ship to a British port.

(1) Norwegian Seamen

Then came the question of the men's organization. For the Norwegians the matter was fairly simple and could be settled quickly. The Norwegian Seamen's Union had had for many years a branch office in London. In the beginning of March 1940, at a meeting held in London of representatives of the Norwegian and British Seamen's Unions and the I.T.F., it was decided that the London Branch office of the Union should become Emergency Headquarters in the event of the Oslo headquarters being put out of action, or cut off by operations of war from its members afloat. On 13th April 1940, this decision was put into effect. Crews were informed by radio, and all rallied as expected. In a few weeks' time the organization was capable of sailing under its own steam. Soon afterwards the President and the Secretary-Treasurer of the Union came to England and carried on their work from the new Head Office.

(2) Danish Seamen

The Danes had to start from scratch. It was decided to open to them the ranks of the British National Union of Seamen, grouping them in a special section, as Danish ships were brought under the British flag. While these endeavours were being made, the Secretary of the Antwerp Branch of the Danish Sailors' Union arrived in Great Britain, having escaped after the invasion of the Low Countries. He was put in charge of the Danish section of the N.U.S.

(3) Dutch Seamen

The next group to be organized on British soil were the Dutch seamen. No responsible leader of their organization was able to come to Great Britain, but the possibility of its being put out of action by invasion had already been envisaged at the end of April 1940, when the Assistant General Secretary of the I.T.F. visited Holland. It was explained to the Dutch leaders what had been done for the Norwegian seamen and it was agreed to organize Dutch seamen abroad. When Holland and Belgium were overrun, appeals by the I.T.F. and the I.M.M.O.A. were also broadcast to all Dutch and Belgian ships. The response was excellent in both cases. The building up of a Dutch Union was immediately taken in hand and very rapidly contact was made in Great Britain and the U.S.A. with trade unionists of long standing who in peace-time filled honorary positions.

(4) Belgian Seamen

The Belgian Transport Workers' Union, which organized merchant seamen and officers, had officially decided, some time before the invasion, that in case of a German occupation of Belgium the Union's head office should be transferred to France, and that part or the whole of the Union should function in that country. Consequently when invasion started everything was ready for the flight. A number of officials escaped to France and later to England. On arrival, at the end of June 1940, they were welcomed by the I.T.F. and assisted in their task of making their organization work on foreign soil.

By that time two "co-ordinating committees" were functioning, one for the Norwegians and British, with the participation of the I.M.M.O.A., and one for the Dutch, Belgians and British. The object of these committees was primarily to enable the I.T.F. and the British National Union of Seamen to assist the foreign unions to establish themselves, and further to keep each other informed of developments and, when required, to take joint action. Between the Dutch and Belgians no language difficulties arise, and the desire to assist each other led to the setting up of a joint administration.

(5) French Seamen

In June 1940 came the problem of the French Seamen. Psychologically it was the most difficult of all. The same confusion that troubled the minds of the people in France also reigned on board each French ship. From nowhere came any guidance, until it was given jointly by the representative of the French Confederation of Labour in Great Britain (who was at the time social attaché to the French Embassy in London) and the I.T.F. As early as 18th June 1940 this French representative and a secretary of the I.T.F. agreed upon an appeal to be addressed by radio and telegraph to all French crews, while a separate appeal was to be made to French merchant officers. It took some time, however, before the British authorities decided to ignore French diplomatic opposition, and allowed the appeals to be broadcast to French ships. This was eventually done on 23rd July. About one-quarter of the French merchant fleet joined Great Britain and General de Gaulle. There was no experienced French trade-union leader available. A French comrade, who had

made his way from Normandy to England in a rowing boat, responded enthusiastically to the I.T.F. appeal to French seamen to organize. His qualities led to our appointing him as organizer, although he had no experience of trade-union administration, and not too much of organization in general. Owing to the absence of language difficulties between Belgian and French, the administration of French trade-union affairs was entrusted to the Belgian union.

Thus we had in July-August 1940 an administration attending to the business of Dutch, Belgian and French seamen's unions, all three existing at that time less in reality than on paper.

(6) Polish Seamen

There were about a thousand Polish seamen, and since the defeat of Poland the little that had been done from France to further their trade-union affairs had come to nothing. After the fall of France the Polish Government and many Polish refugees came to Great Britain. Among them was a recognized leader of the Polish Transport Workers' Union. With his help and authority a new start was made and an official was appointed. As there already existed an administration looking after the affairs of three different national unions, it was thought it might just as well take a fourth under its wing.

The B.D.D.F.P.

After the setting up of the Polish Union, the joint body adopted officially the name of the Belgian, Dutch, French and Polish Transport Workers' Organization (B.D.F.P.) and work started all round. The British member-organizations of the I.T.F. gave the B.D.F.P. a starting fund of £1,735. The bulk of the seamen in the Belgian, Dutch and the Polish fleets were organized fairly quickly. The French Union had to battle with difficulties, some of which have always been characteristic of the trade-union movement in France, while others were due to the fact that the organization had to function abroad and to organize men whose conditions of life and work had become quite abnormal, more so than for any other Allied maritime country. Progress was speeded up when an experienced French trade unionist, who held an important office in the Seamen's Federation in pre-war days, at last became available and took over the leadership of the organization. The Danish section of the British union also prospered and on 1st July 1941 it was given the autonomy enjoyed by the other foreign unions. It joined the B.D.F.P., which became from that date the B.D.D.F.P.

The B.D.D.F.P. worked, until its dissolution in the Summer of 1945, under the auspices of the I.T.F. The secretary of the Seamen's Section of the I.T.F. was the president of the B.D.D.F.P. The London Office of the I.T.F. and the head office of the B.D.D.F.P. were in the same building.

The B.D.D.F.P. had branch offices in Liverpool, Cardiff, Glasgow and Newcastle. The organizers stationed in these ports visited any Belgian, Danish, Dutch, French or Polish ship coming into their area, contacted the members of all the five unions and attended to business concerning any of these unions. This worked well because none of the unions was inclined to split hairs. With such a state of mind prevailing it was a fairly simple matter to keep separate accounts of the receipts and

expenses of each organization and to apportion fairly the expenses jointly incurred.

(7) Swedish Seamen

Although their country was not at war, thousands of Swedish seamen were in the same plight as other European seamen, cut off from their homes, after the extension of the war to Scandinavia. These circumstances induced the Swedish Seamen's Union to ask the I.T.F. to set up a branch of its organization in Great Britain. The job was tackled rapidly and successfully, thanks to the existence on the spot of the trade-union machinery of the I.T.F. The Great Britain branch of the Swedish Seamen's Union kept many men from lapsing and had many an opportunity of safeguarding and defending the interests of the men of various nationalities employed on board Swedish ships chartered by the British Ministry of War Transport.

(8) Greek Seamen

Finally, there were the Greek seamen, whose trade-union position was very complicated. There appeared on the scene in Great Britain a Greek Seamen's Federation, which was a component part of the Government-controlled Greek Federation of Labour, a body of Fascist pattern whose general secretary, M. Dimitratos, was at the same time Minister of Labour. He had risen to both positions under the Fascist regime of General Metaxas. Attempts to democratize the Federation failed because the Greek seamen themselves were too distrustful to take any part. While it is true that certain people in the Federation desired to steer a democratic course, they did not know how, and did it clumsily and, consequently, unconvincingly. For some time, however, the Federation continued to maintain a precarious existence. Certain seamen, who had breathed in Great Britain the air of liberty and had many old grievances against the Federation, founded the "Union of Greek Seamen in Great Britain." As long as this organization was in its infancy, it was possible to talk—but talk only!—about co-operation between the two organizations, but as the Union grew the need to listen to such talk, and even take an occasional part in it, faded gradually. In February 1942 the Union felt strong enough to claim for itself the sole right to represent Greek seamen working in Great Britain, and it even refused to enable the Federation to save its face by becoming party to a mock amalgamation. With the help of the I.T.F. the Union of Greek Seamen in Great Britain secured official recognition in February 1942. That was the signal for the definite break-up of the Federation. The officers' sections of the Federation left it and established independent organizations, and the remaining section of lower ratings withered away. The Union of Greek Seamen in Great Britain succeeded in enrolling practically all Greek seamen whose war-time home port was in Great Britain. At the instigation of the I.T.F., contacts were made, between the Union and an independent organization of Greek seamen in the U.S.A., which led to an agreement to amalgamate the two organizations, and the New York organization became a branch of the Union. The secretary of the New York group became the General Secretary of the Union. This man was at one time interned at Ellis Island (U.S.A.); his release was the outcome of efforts made by Mr. Becu, the honorary secretary of the New York Office of the I.T.F.

The Greek Seamen's Union and the Greek Officers' unions subsequently founded a new federation in which each organization retained an ample measure of autonomy, and through which they acted together to safeguard their common interests.

The Greek captains' organization, however, stood aloof, endeavouring to undermine the position of the officers' unions which are federated with the Seamen's Union.

After the liberation of Greece the Federation immediately took steps to transfer its headquarters from the United Kingdom to Greece, but obstacles were placed in its way, so that it was a long time before its leaders were able to return to their own country. On their return they found that the old Pan-Hellenic Seamen's Federation had been reconstituted within the General Confederation of Labour.

The Federation set up in the United Kingdom is affiliated to the I.T.F. : the Federation reconstituted in Greece wishes to be, and makes great play with the fact that it is a member of the Greek General Confederation of Labour, a fact which, in its own eyes, gives it a prescriptive right to recognition by the I.T.F.

It is clear that the interests of the members of the two organizations demand an amalgamation, but internal difficulties in the Greek trade union movement have been reflected in the negotiations on the matter. In February 1946 the I.T.F. sent two mediators to tackle the problem on the spot, and after twelve days of meetings and conferences a solution of the difficulties seemed to be in sight.

(9) Yugoslav Seamen

These men came from a country in which, be it noted, liberty did not exist at the outbreak of war. Yugoslav seamen stranded in the U.S.A. took the initiative of setting up a trade union. Their efforts eventually spread to Great Britain and were successful on both sides of the Atlantic.

Since its return to liberated Yugoslavia the organization has given no further signs of life.

B.—WAR-TIME ORGANIZATION OF EUROPEAN SEAMEN IN U.S.A.

After the middle of 1940 our first and foremost concern was our seamen's movement and the position of our seamen on the other side of the Atlantic. It is generally known that in the period following the outbreak of war and up to April 1941, numerous ships of the Allied Nations, loaded with vital war materials, were held up in the ports of the United States owing to desertions and other troubles with the crews. Great confusion prevailed among the men ; those of some nationalities tended to believe that their country was no longer at war ; others were dissatisfied with the collective agreements concluded and considered that their wages and working conditions were at too low a level.

This confusion was actively exploited, with disastrous effects from the Allied point of view, by well-organized German propaganda backed by rather obscure American subjects whose aim was to undermine the Allied war effort by luring seamen away from their ships and thus causing delays in sailings. Persistent efforts were made to destroy the European's seamen's unions. It was with the dual object of undermining the Allied

war effort and smashing the European seamen's unions that rival organizations were started under various names : European Seamen's Committee, the Belgian-Dutch Seamen's Club, the Yugoslav Seamen's Club, and in the background, assisting them, the Scandinavian Seamen's Club, which had already been in existence several years before the war.

Branches of several of the seamen's unions affiliated to the I.T.F. already existed in the United States when Mr. Becu arrived in New York in March 1941, viz., the British National Union of Seamen, the Swedish Seamen's Union, the Dutch Central Transport Workers' Union, the Norwegian Seamen's Union and the Danish Seamen's Union.

Preliminary discussions took place without delay with a view to the co-ordination of the Allied seamen's movement and the formation of the B.D.D.F.P.—in which task comrade Charles Jarman, then national organizer of the British National Union of Seamen, who was on a visit to the United States at the time, lent valuable assistance.

An American branch of the B.D.D.F.P. was set up, of which P. J. van den Berge (of the Dutch Central Transport Workers' Union) became the Secretary and Mr. Becu the President. An office was opened on 1st May 1941 at 21, Pearl Street, New York, on behalf of the I.T.F. and the B.D.D.F.P. Mr. Becu dealt with the Belgian, French and Polish sections, whilst the Dutch and Danish seamen had their own representatives. Dutch and French seamen.

(10) Chinese Seamen

Mr. Chu-Hsueh-Fan, the president of the Chinese Seamen's Union, came to Britain in June 1942 to attend a meeting of the Joint Maritime Commission of the I.L.O. He investigated the situation and as Chinese seamen sail mainly from Liverpool, he set up a branch there, and informed us that it was to be considered as the chief branch in Great Britain of the Chinese Seamen's Union.

Chinese organizations abroad are, by virtue of Chinese law, subject to supervision by the Chinese Foreign Office, through its diplomatic agents. The Liverpool Branch did not escape this regulation. In May 1943 we received an intimation that the Chinese Foreign Office, in consultation with Mr. Chu, had decided to give to the London Branch the attributes of the chief branch in Great Britain of the Chinese Seamen's Union. We learned from Mr. Chu, however, that his union did not agree with the law governing Chinese associations abroad, and that they resented this interference in the union's affairs.

We have therefore continued to ignore the London branch and to support that in Liverpool, which has grown steadily and become a strong organization with some 8,000 members. Since the Chinese national union became almost completely disorganized during the war, we have looked upon the Liverpool branch as the effective organization, and have accepted its affiliation fees.

Now that the war in China has ended the question arises of the integration of this branch in the national organization. The reconstructed national organization seems to be different in character from what it was before the war, and it is possible that there may be some friction between it and the Liverpool branch, or between the national union and the Chinese Association of Labour. Pending the solution of these difficulties

and disputes we are keeping up our relations with the Liverpool branch, while trying to establish normal relations with the Chinese National Union of Seamen.

(11) Indian Seamen

After the I.T.F. established its headquarters in Great Britain, we got into touch with Mr. Surat Alley, the representative in the United Kingdom of the All-India Seamen's Union. It was found that he was not in a position to make all desirable contacts with the Indian seamen sailing from British ports. In the Spring of 1943 the matter was discussed with him, with the result that he submitted a scheme of work amongst Indian seamen that was carefully considered by the I.T.F. Secretariat. At the suggestion of the Secretariat the Management Committee decided to employ Mr. Alley as a full-time organizer and to secure for that purpose his release from the Civil Defence Service. He started work during the first week of July 1943. After having contacted a number of Indian seamen in different British ports, it was decided to establish an Indian Seamen's Centre in Great Britain. The inaugural meeting of the Centre was held in August 1943 in Liverpool, and a further meeting took place in October in Glasgow. In both places the Centre set up an office that was open for about two hours daily, affording Indian seamen an opportunity to go and explain their troubles. In both towns there was an Advisory Council composed of resident Indian and British trade unionists. These councils organized meetings of seamen, visited their boarding houses, and gave all callers guidance and advice when medical, legal or other help was needed. All matters that could not be dealt with directly were referred to the organizer. From time to time the Centre issued a bulletin in Urdu, Bengali and English, containing essential information for seamen; this bulletin was distributed by the advisory councils.

While staying in the U.S.A. from April to June 1944, the Active General Secretary met Mr. Aftab Ali, the leader of the All-Indian Seamen's Union, and reached with him an agreement to convert the Indian Seamen's Centre in Great Britain into a Branch of the All-India Seamen's Union. In addition, they undertook jointly the setting up of a branch in New York.

Mr. Aftab Ali came to Europe for a stay at the end of 1945 and beginning of 1946. The opportunity was seized to complete the transformation of the Centre in the United Kingdom into a branch of the All-India Seamen's Union. Mr. S. Alley was transferred to the service of the Union.

D.—RECONSTITUTION OF ITALIAN TRANSPORT WORKERS' UNIONS

As soon as Sicily and Southern Italy had passed under the control of the Allied armies, steps were taken to secure permission for emissaries of the I.T.F. to undertake the organization of transport workers' trade unions in those areas. We selected, from among the Italian refugees in Britain, Pierpaolo Fano as organizer. He left for Italy early in November, travelling via Algiers, and arrived in Bari on 2nd December, 1943. On his arrival Fano found that Comrade Bozzi, the secretary of the Bari Branch of the Italian Railwaymen's Union of pre-fascist days, was engaged in setting up his branch again, helped by a few comrades with whom he formed a committee. It was learned that similar committees were at

work in many towns of the Allied-controlled area. Fano suggested establishing a link between all these committees and urging all groups already at work to elect representatives for a Railwaymen's Congress.

This Congress was held on 9th and 10th January 1944. Over 100 people attended, thirty-three of them being regularly elected delegates from the different parts of liberated Italy. They represented approximately 20,000 organized railwaymen. Rome and Ancona were still in German hands at the time, but a delegate from each was present. Among the fraternal delegates were a number of railwaymen from localities where no trade union branch had yet been established, but who had been chosen by their comrades to take part in the discussions. The Congress did the essential groundwork for rebuilding the organization; it adopted provisional rules modelled on those of the organization of pre-fascist days; declared the Italian railwaymen's determination to take part in the war effort of the United Nations; called for the establishment of political democracy, and the extermination of the remnants of fascism in public life and civil administration; and formulated a series of claims regarding working conditions. The Congress further decided to publish a journal under the old name of "La Tribuna dei Ferrovieri." The Union has since been making steady headway, and by August 1944 had enlisted 50,000 members, i.e. about 70 per cent of the railwaymen eligible for membership.

In Bari there were further set up, with the help of the I.T.F. a Union of Tramway and Light Railway Employees and a Union of Dockers.

In Naples the I.T.F. organizer found that a trade unionist of pre-fascist days, by the name of Aiello, was engaged in organizing the seamen. The work was progressing well, and eventually Captain Giulietti, the leader of the Italian seamen in pre-fascist days, came upon the scene again. It was soon discovered that he had lost nothing of the enormous prestige he built up in the past. The tramwaymen in Naples were also busy reconstituting their former organization under the leadership of trade-unionists who had remained faithful to their ideals. They attached the name of Giuseppe Sardelli to that of their union.

In Rome Fano found that a Trades Council had been set up which undertook the establishment of trade unions in all industries, and had also set up a committee for the organization of railwaymen. The Rome group of railwaymen immediately joined up with the Union set up by the Bari railwaymen's congress. Contacts were made with a Co-operative Society of Air Transport Workers and they led to the constitution of the Air Transport Workers' Trade Union.

Fano returned to Britain in September 1944 for a short visit. During his stay in Italy he confined his activities mainly to giving advice and help, sometimes money, and to intervening with the Allied authorities on behalf of trade unions. He also made contacts with trade-union organizers in other industries, and with political labour organizations. He presided over the committee that organized the first general trade union conference, at which the General Confederation of Labour of Italy was resurrected.

From 24th December 1943 to 28th January 1944 Hans Jahn was also in Italy, where he went to contact German railwaymen. As Jahn and Fano were together for some time in Bari and Naples, Fano made use of the former's services as adviser, in view of his great experience of trade union matters.

On 18th October 1944 the Management Committee decided to send

Fano back to run the Italian Office of the I.T.F. set up in Rome, but he did not obtain his permit to re-enter Italy until the summer of 1945. In the meantime our endeavours to get Mr. Sardelli back to Italy were successful, and it was agreed with Fano that his agreement for service with the I.T.F. should be terminated about the end of 1945. Fano put in his resignation on 30th November, and entered the service of the I.L.O. The coincidence of Fano's withdrawal with the return of Sardelli to his own country, naturally led to the reinstatement of the latter as manager of the Rome office. The reasons for which the office was set up in 1925 no longer held good, while with the consolidation of the Italian unions the reasons for its continued existence are diminishing, but there is no doubt that the Italian unions still need help and advice to get out of their present administrative confusion, and the advice is more likely to be listened to if it comes from the I.T.F., which enjoys considerable prestige among them. At the same time the exchange restrictions are insurmountable for the payment of their contributions in sterling.

In the circumstances the Management Committee decided to ask the Italian unions to pay their contributions to the Rome office of the I.T.F., where they will be used on the spot in such a manner as to be of direct benefit to the Italian unions themselves. It therefore decided to maintain the Rome office for the time being, and to instruct Mr. Sardelli to endeavour to bring the Italian transport workers' unions together in a transport workers' federation, and to give his attention to the training of new trade union leaders. The position will be reconsidered before the end of 1946.

On 24th August 1945 Sardelli had a meeting with representatives of the Italian transport workers' unions, at which it was agreed that he should draw up rules for a federation for consideration at a subsequent meeting.

E.—RECONSTRUCTION OF GERMAN TRADE UNIONS

As a result of I.T.F. representations to the occupation authorities, Hans Jahn, a former secretary of the German Railwaymen's Union, has been allowed to return to Germany, where he has been successful in re-establishing contact with a number of leaders who have kept the faith throughout the period during which the country was under the Nazi regime. He has found, however, that opportunities for organizing the railwaymen vary a great deal from one zone to another. Political, moral, material and psychological factors also exert very varying effects, mostly adverse.

After travelling all over Germany, Jahn worked for a time in Berlin, at the head offices of the Railwaymen's Union, whose authority is greatest in the Soviet zone of occupation. The urgent need to get the railways working better in the Ruhr Basin finally led him to leave Berlin and settle in Bielefeld, from where he is directing the reconstruction of the local unions in that area.

Political Matters

(1) Help for Republican Spain and Maintenance of Peace

On 9th February 1939 the Secretariat of the I.T.F. received from the French Railwaymen's Federation a copy of a resolution adopted by its Executive Bureau, calling upon the I.T.F. :

1. To consider speedily, in conjunction with the French transport workers' organizations, steps to be taken to continue help to the Spanish Republicans.

2. To decide to organize a world conference of transport workers' organizations—whether affiliated or not affiliated to the I.T.F.—to consider and decide upon the joint propaganda and action that all transport workers should carry on for the purpose of giving effective support to the Spanish Republicans, succouring refugees, safeguarding democratic liberties and putting up a mass resistance to the Fascist aggressors with a view to restoring and maintaining peace in Europe and the rest of the world.

The Executive Committee of the I.T.F., meeting in Amsterdam on 20th and 21st February 1939, reached, with only one dissentient voice, the following conclusions :

“ 1. That the failure of such a conference would be certain, in view of the attitude of the chief organizations not affiliated to the I.T.F.

“ 2. Though it might be possible that some unaffiliated organizations would respond to such an invitation, it is certain that some of the affiliated organizations would abstain, either because they would not wish to co-operate with organizations indifferent or hostile towards the I.T.F., or because they would consider that such a conference could only be a repetition of the recent Congress of the I.T.F., and that its conclusions could hardly be different from those of the Congress itself.

“ 3. That the unaffiliated organizations whose participation in the work of helping Spain would be desirable, on account of their importance, are undoubtedly cognizant with all facts bearing upon the problem, and there is nothing to justify the expectation that it would be possible, by means of a conference, to dissuade them from their present inaction.

“ 4. It was established, in the course of the discussion at the Luxemburg Congress, that a boycott of Franco Spain by stopping transport is beyond the capabilities of the organizations belonging to the I.T.F., and that the attempt would be useless, particularly since Franco Spain would in any case be chiefly supplied and provisioned by Italy and Portugal.

“ The problem of the defence of French democracy, and the maintenance of peace, since the conquest of Catalonia by Fascism, is too great a one for an International Trade Secretariat, and is obviously a matter for the I.F.T.U.

“ Consequently it is not possible to respond favourably to the proposal formulated in the second part of the resolution.”

(2) Commercial Boycott of Japan

At a meeting of the General Council of the I.T.F., held on 4th and 5th June 1939, Mr. Chu-Hsueh-fan, President of the Chinese National Union of Seamen, described the part played by the Chinese transport workers in the resistance against the Japanese aggressors. The General Council responded to his appeal for solidarity by adopting the following resolution :

“ The General Council, recalling the resolution adopted by the Triennial Congress in Luxemburg, from 31st October to 5th November 1938, which declares among other things that it is the duty of the organized workers to give the Chinese workers and peasants all possible moral, material and political assistance in their struggle, and recommends organizations affiliated to the I.T.F. to ask their members to refuse to buy Japanese goods. . . .

“ Expresses its deepest sympathy with the heroic fight put up by their Chinese comrades in defence of democracy and peace ; and

“ Appeals to the organizations affiliated to the I.T.F. to intensify their efforts against Japanese aggression and in favour of Chinese resistance, by actively giving practical effect to the above-mentioned resolution.”

(3) The I.T.F. and the War

At its first war-time meeting, held in London on 27th and 28th January 1940, the Executive Committee of the I.T.F. adopted the three following resolutions :

(a) *The International Situation*

“ The Executive Committee of the I.T.F., meeting in London on 27th and 28th January 1940, for the first time since the outbreak of war :

“ Desires to put on record the failure of the great powers to establish collective security and welfare on a sound basis ;

“ Considers that if the great powers had proved capable of establishing such security and welfare they would have become the vehicles of a new world order ;

“ Reiterates its oft-expressed opinion that the German dictators have deliberately sought to wreck peace in Europe, possessed as they are by the mania to subjugate Europe and the whole world, an object for the attainment of which they shun no means ; that a victory of this brutal regime would bring for the working classes the enslavement already witnessed in Germany and Austria, Czechoslovakia and Poland, and war and misery for generations to come ; that it is therefore the task of the workers of all countries, without committing themselves to the policies of the governments, to help all they can to bring about the defeat and downfall of the Nazi dictatorship, whilst watching for the maintenance of their own rights.

“ Expresses its sympathy with the British and French workers and peoples who have been obliged to go to war against aggression and for the defence of the peoples, including the German ;

“ Extends its fraternal greetings to the working classes in Germany and the countries under the yoke of Nazi dictatorship, and its sympathies to

those harassed, tortured or murdered in concentration camp or prison because they have incurred the displeasure of or have opposed the Nazi regime of violence ;

“Calls upon these peoples to struggle against their oppressors by all suitable means and assures them of all the assistance of which the I.T.F. is capable, satisfied as it is that the overwhelming majority of the German people can be won over to the cause of democracy ;

“Brands the alliance between Soviet Russia and Nazi Germany as a betrayal of the cause of peace and of the struggle against Nazism and Imperialism, as a betrayal of the workers whose countries are at present at war with Nazi Germany and who have always been urged by the followers of Moscow to such active resistance, as a betrayal also of the German workers who believed in the Soviet system and policy and sacrificed their freedom and lives in the struggle against National Socialism ;

“Declares that the denial of human rights, and terrorism and violence, have made possible the developments witnessed in Germany and Russia ; that experience shows that authoritarian, totalitarian and dictatorial rule result in oppression and war, and that the working classes have therefore to strive for complete economic and social as well as political democracy ; that to attain these objects, to achieve a peace based on justice, and to bring about between the peoples co-operation to promote the common welfare, it is necessary for the workers and their *independent* organizations to join together in fighting the dictatorships of Hitler, Stalin and other potentates ;

“Appeals to all organized transport workers still outside to join the ranks of the International without delay.”

(b) *Finland*

“The Executive Committee of the I.T.F., meeting in London on 27th and 28th January 1940, for the first time since the outbreak of war :

“Expresses its horror at the treacherous attack upon Finland, an outcome of the unholy alliance between Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia ;

“Observes that the staging of the conflict with Finland is an exact imitation of the Nazi method, and that the bombing of open towns and villages and shooting of fleeing women and children from the air reveals a brutality like the German bombing and killing at Guernica in Spain ;

“Expresses sympathy with the Finnish people who, including the workers, are united in the struggle against aggression ;

“Notes with satisfaction that they are not prepared to submit again to the Russian yoke under which they suffered so long ; that they rally to their own democratic government and repudiate the puppet government installed by Stalin ;

“Urges that the utmost moral and material support be given to the affiliated Finnish trade unions ;

“Calls upon the Russian workers to resist a regime which by the attack on Finland has outraged the conscience of humanity, and trusts that the workers in all countries will turn in disgust from the Stalin regime ;

“Strongly urges the states who are members of the League of Nations and the United States to give all effective assistance in men, munitions, medical supplies and food to the resistance to this brutal aggression.”

(c) *Poland*

"The Executive Committee of the I.T.F., meeting in London on 27th and 28th January 1940, for the first time since the outbreak of war :

"Extends its deep-felt sympathy to the Polish people overcome after a heroic struggle, especially on the part of the labour legions, against an overwhelmingly stronger aggressor.

"After hearing a report by a member of the General Council of the I.T.F., K. Maxamin, general secretary of the Polish Railwaymen's Union, the Executive Committee :

"Expresses its horror at the extortions, evictions, lootings, violations, executions and other atrocities, defying description which have been committed by the Nazi invaders ;

"Stigmatizes these outrages before the world as an outcome of National Socialist education of the young, and expresses its contempt for the bestial Nazi regime ;

"Protests against the destruction of the free trade unions in the regions occupied by Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia and against the arrest and carrying off of Polish workers and their leaders ;

"Assures the Polish members of the I.T.F. of the fullest possible assistance in their struggle for the liberation of their people and for the establishment of an independent democratic Poland."

(4) *Soviet-Finnish Wars*

During the Soviet-Finnish war of 1939-1940, the Management Committee approved a proposal of the Secretariat to produce a film as a contribution to the defence of the moral and material interests of the Finnish people. When the war ended, the film was nearing its completion. The end was altered so as to include scenes of the evacuation of Finnish territory ceded to Soviet Russia. The film was shown once in London and some copies were dispatched to Scandinavia, Australia and India.

The Management Committee made a grant of £100 to the Finnish Relief Fund opened by the British National Council of Labour (a joint body of the British Labour Party and the British Trades Union Congress).

A report from the Finnish Seamen's Union was received after the conclusion of peace, stating that about one-quarter (in exact figures 1,777) of their members were homeless and that they proposed to start a relief campaign on their behalf. They asked for help. The Management Committee decided to ask the British Transport and General Workers' Union to open a credit of £5,000 upon which the Finnish Transport Workers' Unions could draw as required. The credit was granted, but whether the advice sent to that effect was duly received by the Finnish Seamen's Union is not known. In our communication we declared ourselves willing to collect funds on their behalf in the United States.

When Finland became involved in the Germano-Soviet war on the side of Germany, the Finnish Seamen's Union sent us a telegram stating that Finland was again brutally attacked by Russia ; that the trade unions were unanimously defending Finland's independence and democracy, and that they were grateful for our support for Finland's defence against Russia in 1939-1940 and hoped we understood them now.

When reporting the receipt of this telegram to the Emergency General Council of the I.T.F., the Secretariat said : "The obvious reply to this telegram is that since the Finns first allowed the Germans to land in

Finland for the purpose of attacking Russia, the latter now has the same justification for her action as Britain had for its march into Syria.”

(5) Invasion of Denmark and Norway

When these two countries were invaded the Secretariat submitted to the members of the Management Committee the draft of a manifesto which was approved. In this manifesto the transport workers of Denmark and Norway were called upon to resist the invader ; and seamen to take their ships to an Allied port or control station and to disobey counter-orders from wherever they might come. The workers in neutral countries were called upon to stop the transport of anything that was intended to supply the Nazi war machine. Transport workers in Germany, Austria, Yugoslavia and Poland were exhorted to sabotage transport, if possible in an organized manner. Transport workers in overseas countries were asked to be on the watch against the danger of fascist machinations in their own countries and to give their moral support to the war effort against the fascist powers. The appeal was broadcast on 11th April 1940.

(6) Invasion of Holland, Belgium and Luxemburg

On 10th May 1940 the Secretariat submitted to the members of the Management Committee, for their approval, the text of a further manifesto. In this the German transport workers and the German workers in general were told that the time had come for the total sabotage of the Hitler regime. Workers in occupied and neutral countries were urged to stop transport and to organize transport sabotage. Workers in overseas countries were asked to give all possible support in the fight against the fascist powers.

(7) French Capitulation

As soon as Marshall Pétain had announced that fighting must cease, contact was made with the Labour Attaché at the French Embassy in London. In agreement with him an appeal to the French seamen was drafted and handed, on 18th June 1940, to the British authorities for broadcasting to all French ships. In this appeal it was declared that the organized working class of the free nations of the world would not lay down their arms in the struggle against Germany and Italy. French seamen were given instructions that not a single French ship should be handed over to Hitler or Mussolini ; that all French seamen and all French ships should be put into the service of the liberation of France. The appeal was broadcast on 23rd July 1940 and succeeding days.

(8) Blockade

At its meeting on 25th and 26th July 1941, the Emergency General Council of the I.T.F. adopted a resolution on the blockade, declaring that “ the fight in which seafarers in the services of the Allied countries are doing their part is the common fight of all seafarers of the world.” The resolution further declared that the Allied seafarers should “ refuse to carry cargoes to countries associated with the Axis powers ” and appealed to the seafarers of all countries to follow this example. The resolution instructed the Secretariat of the I.T.F. “ to approach all seamen’s and dockers’ unions concerned, with a view to a complete blockade of all ports of the Axis countries.”

(9) Germano-Soviet War

At the outbreak of war between Soviet Russia and Germany no special steps were taken immediately, but at the meeting of the Emergency General Council held a month after the outbreak of war a statement was issued declaring that "the differences which have existed in the past sink into insignificance in face of the common danger," and that "the defeat of Soviet Russia would destroy a state founded for the achievement of socialism." The Council sent "its fraternal greetings to the transport workers and the whole working class of the U.S.S.R. and declared its solidarity with them in the defence of their country."

On 11th January 1942, the Management Committee made a grant of £100 to the Aid to Russia Fund started by the British Trades Union Congress.

(10) War and Peace Aims

At the meeting of the Emergency General Council on 25th and 26th July 1941 (i.e. about three weeks before the proclamation of the Atlantic Charter) a resolution on war and peace aims was adopted, declaring "that the war aim is and must remain the complete and joint victory of the armed forces of all the countries at war against fascism." With regard to peace aims the governments concerned were invited to include :

(1) The establishment in all countries of democratic methods of government ensuring freedom of thought, of speech and the press, of association, of movement and of

(2) Choice of occupation as well as inviolability of the person and of domicile ;

(3) Economic security for all nations through the association of all nations in the joint use of the world's resources ;

(4) Protection of the right of self-government of all peoples through an efficient system of collective security ;

(5) Social security for every individual and social progress for the working people through democratic organization and management of the economy in every country ;

(6) Investment of the International Labour Organization with powers sufficient for the task of systematic and world-wide action for the improvement of the workers' conditions by the promotion of economic progress and the development of social legislation.

(11) The Allies in North Africa

When in November 1942 Allied forces landed in North Africa, and the occupying authorities made a political agreement with Darlan, the I.T.F. Secretariat handed to an American official, on 16th November, a statement expressing bewilderment and disagreement with this policy. It was pointed out that the policy followed in North Africa was undermining the I.T.F. efforts to induce transport workers on the European continent to disorganize the Nazi transport system. On 25th November the Management Committee considered the matter and adopted a resolution "warning the governments of the United Nations, and the United States' Government in particular, that Allied seamen are not making heavy sacrifices in order to put or keep fascist regimes in power." The resolution then repeated the demands made in the statement of 16th November, viz., "that measures be taken with the least possible delay to ensure that

freedom of association, speech and the press be restored, that all persecution of the Jews be ended and that all laws and regulations be nullified which were introduced with the object of curtailing personal, trade union, political, ideological and religious liberties, and which were directed against those whose sympathies were with the United Nations."

The statement of 16th November also asked to "set at liberty those who on account of their resistance to the Vichy regime (i.e., on account of their activity in favour of the cause of the United Nations) have been sentenced and sent to forced labour, among other places on the building of the Trans-Saharan Railway," and to "set at liberty the foreign anti-fascists who are detained in prison camps."

(12) Contacts with the U.S.S.R. Railwaymen's Union

In December 1941 a delegation of Soviet trade unionists visited Great Britain. It included Mr. M. P. Tarasov, president of the Railwaymen's Trade Union of the Centre. The Chairman and the Secretary of the Railwaymen's Section of the I.T.F. sought to contact him, and with the help of the British T.U.C., through Mr. Deakin, secured a brief interview. It did not, however, lead to more than the making of his acquaintance; he showed obvious reluctance to discuss any problem of international trade union action, either for the present or the future.

In September 1943 a further delegation of Soviet trade unionists came to Great Britain, and Mr. Tarasov was again a member. His presence in Britain happened to coincide with the holding of our International Railwaymen's Conference, on 28th and 29th September. An invitation was extended to Mr. Tarasov, and after the T.U.C. had given its assent and encouragement, Mr. Tarasov accepted, and came to the Conference in the company of Mrs. Zhukova, of the Soviet Textile Workers' Union, and an interpreter. He addressed our Conference, giving an account of the Soviet railway workers' contribution to the war effort. He also endorsed the messages the Conference sent to the European, Italian and German railwaymen. But as on the former occasion, no problems of international trade union action were discussed.

(13) Resolutions of the Seamen's Section on the War at Sea

The Seamen's Section of the I.T.F. held a Conference on 30th and 31st January 1943, in London. It adopted a resolution "calling the attention of the seamen of the Axis countries to the criminal methods of warfare at sea adopted and practised by the armed forces under the command of their rulers." The resolution further reads: "The seamen of the United Nations will secure the inclusion of the men responsible for these crimes among the war criminals from whom severe retribution will be exacted.

"We believe that when they have regained their freedom, through the sacrifices and victory of the United Nations, the seamen of the Axis countries will certainly desire to belong once more to this brotherhood of the sea. But to be considered worthy of readmission into the brotherhood it is essential that they give, during the war, tangible proof that they disapprove of this criminal warfare and actively endeavour to prevent it. The most convincing proof would be persistent anti-fascist action ranging from sabotage to insurrection and revolution which, to be genuine and calculated to open the way for international working-class solidarity, must contribute effectively to the final defeat of the Axis forces and the downfall of the dictators.

“The seamen of the Axis countries will not be judged by the deeds of their oppressors ; they will be judged by their own.”

The International Seafarers' Conference, held in London on 28th and 29th July 1944, under the auspices of the I.T.F. and the I.M.M.O.A., adopted, at the proposal of the British National Union of Seamen, a resolution expressing indignation at the brutal crimes perpetrated by and in the name of the German people. The operative clauses of this resolution read as follows : “We ask whether the workers of the Axis countries do not think that the time has finally come to offer open resistance against those who send them to their death and seek to massacre the populations of our countries.

“We further indict German seafarers, equally responsible with the German authorities, for inhuman conduct against seamen and users of the sea, and reserve ourselves the right to take such action at the close of the war as will bring home to the Axis nations the fact that they have placed themselves beyond the pale in the brotherhood of the sea.

“We demand the punishment of all war criminals, whatever their rank ; we demand that such war criminals shall be debarred from going to sea ; we demand that all Axis seamen, before being allowed to go to sea, shall condemn the crimes of their countries and solemnly pledge themselves to work for a lasting peace. Unless this happens, we shall refuse in future to sail in any ships carrying seamen of Germany and her Allies.”

(14) Messages from the International Railwaymen's Conference

On 28th and 29th September 1943 a Conference of the Railwaymen's Section was held in London. Besides affiliated unions, the Railway Brotherhoods of the United States were represented by two fraternal delegates and the Soviet Railwaymen's Union by an observer. The Conference adopted a message to European railwaymen declaring that our comrades on the European transport sabotage front must be reinforced by those in Germany and the vassal states. Looking beyond the destruction of the Nazi tyranny the message stated that “in so far as Europe is concerned we can only distinguish one path leading to peace—the co-operation of all the peoples of Europe in the struggle against famine and pestilence, more dangerous than war itself. When hostilities cease the European workers will hear that same cry of distress that the workers in Central Europe and the Soviet Union heard after years of foreign and civil war : ‘Give us transport, bread and coal !’ Transport to forward speedily food and help, to repatriate the prisoners and exiles, to maintain and expand agricultural production, to carry coal to the millions of human beings who would otherwise die of cold. This tremendous task cannot be accomplished unless you all get into harness. By uniting all your forces for the salvation and reconstruction of Europe you will create the conditions which are necessary to restore European working-class solidarity and bring about an understanding between the peoples of Europe. Out of your action there can arise a Europe united by the association of its peoples in freedom and equality, organizing their co-operation to put an end to armed aggression and abuse of economic power. Out of your action there can arise, in each of your countries, governments whose watchword will not be ‘to each according to his power,’ but ‘to each according to his needs.’”

The message addressed to Italian railwaymen congratulated them on the overthrow of the fascist regime and on their efforts to win back freedom of association, to build up new organizations and institutions and to make ready to transform the political and social order in their country. The message further declared that "the vicissitudes of war have prevented you from pursuing a movement so rich in promise, and Nazi barbarity has forced you into a new and sanguinary struggle. Reports on the battle in Italy show that the Italian workers, with the railwaymen and transport workers at their head, have joined the great working-class army of sabotage. Carry on the fight with determination, with all means, both great and small, at your disposal; and with full confidence in the issue. Together we will rid the world of Nazi tyranny; and together we will reform the workers of Europe into a united and powerful trade union army that will work for the establishment, in the liberated countries, of political and social regimes that will give the workers liberty and security. And in the larger life of Europe the unity of the working-class must lead to the unity of its peoples in the effort to fight off the famine and pestilence which war brings in its train. Thus, and only thus, can the way be opened to permanent association of all the peoples in freedom and equality, and their organized co-operation to promote the common welfare."

Finally a message was addressed to the German railwaymen. Its salient passages read as follows: "Very considerable difficulties have already arisen in connection with transport, and the air attacks of the Allies will certainly add to and intensify them. And so can you. Your co-operation in this struggle would not only help to shorten the war, but also to relieve the German working class, in the eyes of the world, from much of the responsibility for the terrible sufferings which the Nazis have brought to the peoples of Europe. . . . The future of the German people will be largely determined by those who, by their action inside Germany, actively help to overthrow Nazi domination. Much depends, therefore, on what the German workers do."

(15) Allied Invasion of Europe

On 7th June 1944 the Chairman of the Management Committee (Mr. Marchbank) and the Secretary in charge of the I.T.F. offices in Britain (Mr. Tofahrn, Mr. Oldenbroek then being in the U.S.A.), after consultation with the members of the Management Committee, broadcast to the transport workers of Europe. In his appeal (broadcast over the B.B.C.), Mr. Marchbank said: "Soon—very soon for some of you—the opportunity for more active combat will come. Soon you will receive precise and detailed instructions from the Allied High Command. Until then, you know your duty. Do all that you can with safety to yourself to delay and impede the movements of the enemy."

The Secretary of the Railwaymen's Section's appeal (broadcast over the American Broadcasting Station in Europe) contained the following: "With the opening of the new battlefield in the West the weapon of transport sabotage, which you have used so courageously and efficiently, acquires a new and still greater significance. . . . Once more, the International Transport Workers' Federation appeals to the transport workers and, indeed, to all workers of Europe, to do everything in their power to throw the whole Nazi transport system into utter confusion. We appeal to you to help thus to achieve victory for the sake of the future of the

Labour Movement and for the sake of the ideals for which our Movement has fought for more than half a century. Destruction of the Nazi tyranny means to us a new opportunity for the workers of Europe to rally under the banners of international socialism, and to join forces for bringing into being a Europe united by the association of its peoples in freedom and equality, co-operating for the promotion of their common welfare, and making Peace at last secure."

The instructions of the Allied High Command, referred to in Mr. Marchbank's appeal, were almost textually identical with the drafts worked out by the I.T.F.

Prior to the invasion of the Continent, appeals and instructions calculated to make transport workers contribute to the war effort were broadcast frequently. This activity will, in due time, be fully set out in a special report.

(16) Extermination of the Jews

On 4th July 1944 we were approached by the World Jewish Congress with a request that we should address an appeal to railwaymen working on the lines leading to Poland to prevent the deportation of Hungarian and other Jews to the Nazi murder camp in Poland. The Chairman of the Management Committee spoke on 5th July to the Hungarian railwaymen (over the B.B.C.) and said: "I appeal with confidence to my fellow railway workers in Hungary to do everything in their power to impede, delay and prevent the transport by rail of these helpless victims, and to aid them to escape in transit. I appeal to them in the name of workers' solidarity and for the future reputation of Hungary, which is being indelibly stained in the closing stages of a lost war."

The Secretary of the Railwaymen's Section (speaking over the American Broadcasting Station in Europe) said on 6th July 1944: "The International Transport Workers' Federation makes an urgent appeal to all transport workers in Hungary, Eastern Germany, Czechoslovakia and Poland, but above all to the railwaymen on the lines in Poland and leading to Poland. Save your unfortunate fellow-creatures from destruction in the lethal establishments in Poland. Prevent and delay their transport there. Facilitate their escape and help them to hide. Defend your fellowmen with the weapon of sabotage." Addressing himself to the railwaymen of Hungary and Germany, he said: "Prevent at least one of the many crimes against which the conscience of Humanity is in revolt. If you help to save the doomed Jewish populations of Hungary and Czechoslovakia, you will become companions-in-arms of your Czechoslovakian and Polish comrades, and fellow fighters with the workers of Europe who are struggling, by strike, sabotage or arms in hand, against the Nazi tyranny. By joining in this struggle during the war you will be smoothing the way for the restoration of solidarity between the workers of all countries and all races, without which no peace can be prosperous or lasting."

(17) Food for the Continent

In a report to the Management Committee, dated 12th May 1943, the Secretariat suggested that the I.T.F. should endeavour to use its influence to secure authorization for consignments of food to Europe through the Swiss or Swedish Red Cross. The matter was deferred and finally dropped, when it was found that there were practical as well as political objections.

(18) The Situation in Italy

On 15th September 1943 the Management Committee was informed that the Secretariat had proposed to the I.F.T.U. that a delegation be sent to Sicily to help workers to recognize their trade unions and to convince them of the necessity of taking part in the United Nations' war effort. It was further reported that the I.F.T.U. agreed in principle but professed divergent views as to the composition of the delegation, the possibility of securing the necessary assent of the authorities concerned and the urgency of the proposed action.

The Management Committee agreed that if the I.F.T.U. did not take the interests of the I.T.F. sufficiently into account, the I.T.F. would have to act on its own, but considered that this should not be done in conjunction with other international trade federations. It was decided to press the I.F.T.U. to give us early information of its decision and of any steps to be taken. Should the result be negative, the British Foreign Office would be approached with a view to securing assent and facilities for an I.T.F. delegation to visit Sicily and other Italian territory occupied by the Allies, the delegation to be composed of Marchbank, a Norwegian seaman, Switzer, Charles Garcias, De Witte, a British seaman from North Africa, an Italian interpreter and Tofahrn.

On 2nd October 1943, the Secretariat reported that correspondence had been exchanged with the I.F.T.U. and that the matter had also been discussed at a meeting of its Emergency Council on 23rd September 1943. At that meeting the Acting General Secretary had pleaded for the sending of an international trade-union delegation at an early date. He had also informed the I.F.T.U. Council that pending their decision action for sending an I.T.F. delegation had been postponed. When it had become clear from the discussion that the probable outcome would be the sending not of an international delegation but of one composed of one American and one British trade unionist, and a representative of the I.F.T.U., presumably the General Secretary, he had said that if the I.T.F. were not included in the delegation he hoped it would not be regarded as an hostile act if it acted on its own. Shortly after this I.F.T.U. meeting discussions were opened between the British T.U.C. and the Foreign Office about the sending of a trade-union delegation to Italy. The Management Committee decided, on 30th October 1943, that if the delegation were to consist of only four persons, one of them to be appointed by the I.T.F., the Acting General Secretary should become a member of the delegation.

On 2nd October 1943, the Secretariat also reported that it had found an Italian who was prepared, so long as Sardelli was not in a position to proceed to Italy, to visit Sicily and Southern Italy for the I.T.F. and make preparations for the organization of the transport workers. Eventually, when our endeavours to enable Sardelli to proceed to Italy seemed to have definitely failed, the Secretariat appointed this Italian, Pier Paolo Fano, as organizer, and sent him to Italy. He left England early in November 1943, together with Hans Jahn (see Chapter 5, Section D). Mr. Becu, proceeding from New York, also spent some time in Southern Italy, where he got into touch with Fano and Jahn, assisting them in various ways, notably by impressing the American occupation authorities still more with the usefulness of their work for the Allied war effort. On 1st February 1944, he reported to the Management Committee that the

political, economic and social situation in that part of Italy under Allied control was on the whole unsatisfactory and called for trade-union representations to the governments responsible. He held that it was necessary for an official trade-union delegation to proceed to Italy and undertake an investigation.

At that time the decision of the Foreign Office regarding the application of the T.U.C. to enable a trade-union delegation to visit Italy was still pending. A deputation of the I.T.F. waited upon the General Secretary of the T.U.C., but the result of the conversation was inconclusive. A trade-union delegation, composed of two representatives of the British T.U.C., one of the American Federation of Labor, one of the Congress of Industrial Organizations and the General Secretary of the I.F.T.U., left for Italy in August 1944.

On 4th September 1944 Mr. Fano reported to the Management Committee and confirmed Mr. Becu's impressions. A resolution of the General Council of the Italian Railwaymen's Union painted a sombre picture of economic and social conditions. The Management Committee decided to make representations to the British Government to get something done about it.

(19) European Transport

Early in April 1945, we learned that an Inter-Allied committee had been set up to study and formulate recommendations designed to promote co-operation between or the possibility of unification of the transport systems of Europe. We approached the British Foreign Office with an offer to co-operate with this inter-Allied body, as well as with the British occupation authorities in Germany. So far no reply has been received to this offer.

Then the Allied Governments set up a body called E.C.I.T.O., which stands for European Centre of Inland Transport Organization. Representatives of the I.T.F. took part in some of the meetings where the foundations were laid of this organization. The Director-General of E.C.I.T.O. invited the secretary of the Railwaymen's Section to an interview, where he stated that he would like the I.T.F. to co-operate with E.C.I.T.O. in matters of common interest, particularly those concerning staff questions.

(20) International Shipping Policy

During the war the Allies set up a United Maritime Authority (U.M.A.) which had powers of disposal over the whole of their merchant fleets. This step was dictated by war-time needs. We considered that its continuation after the war, in some form adapted to post-war and peace-time requirements, was highly desirable; on the one hand to make possible the satisfaction of the shipping requirements of all countries, particularly those which have no merchant marine, or one adequate for their purposes, and on the other to facilitate a large measure of unification of the seamen's working conditions. The Seamen's Section therefore appended to its International Seafarers' Charter the following resolution, which was adopted by the International Seafarers' Conference held in London on 31st March and 1st April 1944:

International Shipping Policy

1. It is considered necessary that the war-time control of shipping

should continue until the final cessation of hostilities in all theatres of war.

2. It is further essential that war-time control should not be discontinued unilaterally but by international agreement.

3. Abrupt removal of control would inevitably lead to chaos and it is therefore advocated that the transition from war to peace function should take place in the following stages :

(a) War-time control to continue until the final cessation of hostilities. During the period of relief and rehabilitation the control should be widened to include a larger number of countries and provide for representation of Governments, Operators and Seafarers.

(b) A permanent international authority to function at a date to be determined—presumably when the previously occupied countries have been reasonably re-provisioned.

4. Shipping services must be primarily conducted for the benefit of the communities and not as a means of speculation and profit-making. In some countries shipping services will be publicly owned ; in others there will be a measure of public direction ; whilst in others shipping services will be privately owned. It is considered that in the planned development of shipping services governmental direction in policy will be necessary, even in those countries where the shipping services are privately owned, as Governments alone are in a position to assess accurately the countries' shipping requirements. Direction being necessary nationally, co-ordinated international policy through an established authority must follow as a natural corollary.

5. It will be necessary for the post-war authority to allocate tonnage—thus avoiding a return to unbridled competition—on a basis which takes account of the different needs of the several countries and of their past contribution to maritime enterprise.

6. The vessels comprising the allocation of tonnage made by the international authority would be registered with that authority.

7. A condition of registration would be the country's observance of internationally agreed safety and social standards and adherence to conditions of employment for seafarers in accordance with internationally agreed minimum standards established in concurrence with the International Labour Office.

8. It will be the function of the international authority to assist in the development by international agreement of shipping services so as to ensure the necessary transport facilities for the interchange of commodities required for the sustenance of the communities and for the general development of trade.

9. It will be advisable to include in the international arrangements countries not belonging to the United Nations on conditions to be defined in agreement with the international authority.

10. The position of Axis and satellite countries will require special consideration by the international authority, in the light of the terms of peace.

11. Machinery should be established empowered to take effective action in the event of unfair trading. Unfair trading may take various forms, with undercutting of freights, avoidance of safety standards, granting of direct or indirect subsidies calculated to disturb the inter-

national policy laid down by the authority, and departure from minimum seafarers' standards subsequent to registration.

The rules of the U.M.A. provided that it should be dissolved six months after the war with Japan, and accordingly the Executive Bureau of the U.M.A. called a conference, to be held in London in February 1946, with a view to its liquidation on 2nd March 1946. The Secretariat of the I.T.F., acting on behalf of the Seamen's Section of the I.T.F. and the International Mercantile Marine Officers' Association, wrote to the U.M.A. asking that representatives of the seamen should be enabled to take part in the discussions. The request was turned down on the grounds that it did not come within the "strictly defined terms of reference" of the Executive Board of the U.M.A. "It was agreed, however, to circulate a copy of the letter (from the I.T.F.) to each delegation." One single government, that of France, had appointed a seamen's representative as adviser to its own delegate, but this adviser had to keep much more in the background, and play a much less effective part, than the technical advisers generally attached to delegates to other international conferences, such as those of the I.L.O. for instance.

(21) Delegation to the Ruhr Basin

On 25th July 1945 the I.T.F. received from Hans Jahn a report on the production and transport of coal from the Ruhr Basin, from which it appeared that the production for the month of June was only 9.4 per cent of the monthly average for the year 1938. Even this small quantity was causing transport difficulties. Jahn thought that many of these difficulties could be overcome if the workers concerned could make an effort to prevent sabotage, among other things, but it would be necessary first to convince them, and for this trade union organization and action was necessary.

Steps were immediately taken to agree with the Miners' International to propose to the occupation authorities that a delegation from the two Internationals should be sent to the Ruhr Basin. Though we had proposed that the delegation should leave about the middle of August, a reply was only received in mid-September, to the effect that it was desirable that the matter should be postponed until the return of a British trade union delegation.

The delegation from the British Trade Union Congress left for Germany on 21st November, and returned to London on 16th December 1945.

(22) Publication of a Trade Union Journal in Occupied Germany

In agreement with the International of Workers in the Public Services we have asked for authority to publish a trade union journal—in the British occupied zone to commence with—publication to cease as soon as the German trade unions were able, and had authority, themselves to publish such papers. Our idea was that the journal should serve to inform the German workers about methods of organization and action employed by the trade unions in other countries, problems of trade union administration, social legislation, etc. It was to be edited by one of our assistants, a former employee of one of the German trade unions affiliated to the I.T.F. prior to 1933.

We were told at first that such authority could not be given to persons domiciled outside the British occupied zone, and that it seemed preferable,

for the moment, that publications of this kind should be left to the initiative of the Germans themselves. On further pressing the matter we were assured, on 13th November 1945, that our proposal would be considered by the appropriate departments of the Control Commission, after which we might expect a further communication.

The matter was also discussed with the minister responsible for the administration of the British zone in Germany, and in February 1946 our Mr. Auerbach was allowed to go to Germany to make a preliminary investigation into the possibility of publishing the journal in question.

(23) General Policy

The entry of the United States into the war raised problems of general policy. At that time the Assistant General Secretary (Mr. Oldenbroek) was in the United States, and his deputy at the Secretariat (Tofahrn), in his report to the Management Committee meeting of 17th January 1942, suggested that it might be worth while considering the possibility of issuing an appeal to the Japanese seamen, in view of the fact that their organization had been affiliated with the I.T.F., and had only left it under duress. On the proposal of the Chairman of the Management Committee, Mr. Marchbank, it was decided to broaden the issue, to reconsider our general position as affected by events up to that time, and to issue a message to all transport workers, making it clear that we did not stand for imperialism, whether of the capitalist or fascist brand. The concern of the Management Committee was to try to keep and increase what sympathies the I.T.F. had awakened in Asia.

The Management Committee decided that the Research Officer should submit a memorandum on the international situation as it affected the I.T.F., and the Secretary a draft manifesto.

The memorandum, not intended for publication but only for the information of the members of the Management Committee and the Emergency General Council, was posted to the members of the Management Committee on 19th February. It was considered, together with the draft of a manifesto, on 7th March 1942. Only the draft manifesto was discussed and, with some alterations, approved. The Management Committee decided to submit both documents to the Emergency General Council which was called for 30th March 1942.

At the meeting of the Emergency General Council several speakers, including the Assistant General Secretary, who had arrived back from the United States on the day of the meeting, expressed agreement with the view that the fundamental beliefs and principles of the I.T.F. needed to be re-stated, but disagreed with the tenor of both documents, particularly that of the memorandum.

On 24th November 1945 the Secretariat submitted to the Executive Committee two documents on the general policy of the I.T.F., one entitled "Report on the General Situation and Future Policy of the I.T.F.," and the other "Report on the Organization of European Transport."

The Executive Committee, after explanations as to the scope and interpretation of certain passages of the report on the Programme, adopted both documents. They are reproduced as appendices to this Report.

Representations

Jamaica.—In November 1942 we learned from the press that the founders of a trade union of railwaymen and other transport workers in Jamaica had been interned. At the request of the Management Committee of the I.T.F. certain British members of Parliament interested themselves in the matter, and their protests led, in March 1943, to the liberation of the persons concerned, and a beginning of trade union recognition. We then entered into touch with the organization and were informed of its difficulties in getting the grievances of its members heard and attended to. At our request the British Trades Union Congress took the matter up with the Colonial Secretary, and secured some improvement of conditions, both material and moral.

Kenya.—The Kenya and Uganda Railways and Harbours Asian Union informed us early in 1944 of the difficulties they were experiencing in securing proper consideration of their demands for compensation for the rise in the cost of living. Through the British T.U.C. we approached the British Colonial Office in support of the Union's demands. We received the reply that changes were under way.

Palestine. The International Union of Railway Workers in Palestine has informed us on several occasions that their negotiations with the Palestine railway authorities for adequate compensation for increased cost of living was proceeding unsatisfactorily and yielding inadequate results. Each time we supported their claims either by direct correspondence with the British Colonial Office or through representations made by members of Parliament belonging to the National Union of Railwaymen of Great Britain.

Trinidad.—In June 1942 the Railwaymen's Section of the Transport and General Workers' Union of Trinidad asked the Colonial Bureau of the Fabian Society (which is affiliated to the British Labour Party) to secure support for their claims for increased wages, justified by the rise in the cost of living. The Society referred the matter both to the British National Union of Railwaymen and the I.T.F., and as a result we entered into correspondence with the Trinidad Union. Having secured good evidence that their claims were worthy of support, representations were made to the British Colonial Office through a member of Parliament belonging to the National Union of Railwaymen.

Middle East.—A report by Mr. Zein-el-Din on the trade-union situation in the transport industries of the Middle East, gave evidence that trade-union liberty is restricted or lacking in the countries mandated to France. On 4th September 1944, the Management Committee decided to approach the French Government for the purpose of securing trade-union freedom in mandated territories under its control and to inform the French General Confederation of Labour of the action taken.

Dutch Guiana.—The Transport Workers' and Dockers' Union of Dutch Guiana has approached us on several occasions during the war complaining that employers and authorities were withholding recognition of the Union, and that its members were being discriminated against in matters of employment. Representations were made to the Dutch authorities and employers' agencies in Britain and the United States, and even-

tually favourable decisions were secured. It appeared, however, that these decisions were not enforced fully by the authorities and the employers' agents on the spot and consequently representations were renewed in Britain and the United States.

Soviet Government.—On 29th August 1941 a delegation of the I.T.F., appointed by the Emergency General Council and consisting of Messrs. Adamczyk, Marchbank and Oldenbroek, waited upon the Ambassador of the Soviet Union in London to plead for the release of Polish trade unionists and socialists detained in Russia. The delegation proposed sending a Polish trade unionist to Russia to organize relief to Poles in Russia, to be financed by Polish socialist organizations in the United States. The Ambassador showed himself sympathetic, but pointed out that negotiations between the Soviet Government and the Polish Government in London were nearing completion and would doubtless settle the questions raised by the delegation.

Yugoslav Government. On 4th May 1940 we received a report from Comrade Stanko, a former member of the General Council of the I.T.F., explaining that the events of 1939 and 1940 had not induced the Yugoslav Government to repeal its decree by which it dissolved the Railwaymen's Union and others. The Secretariat wrote to the Yugoslav Ambassador in London urging the re-establishment of freedom of association in Yugoslavia. After some time the Ambassador replied that the communication could not be made to the Government at that time owing to the interruption of postal communications. Nothing more was heard about it. The question was taken up again in 1943 with the Yugoslav Government in London in respect of seamen.

Relations with Affiliated Organizations

In the material sense, relations with our affiliated organizations have been, generally speaking, as normal as the circumstances allowed. There has been a regular exchange of publications, and more or less regular of correspondence on matters interesting one or other of the parties and payment of affiliation fees, or arrangements with regard to payment, particularly where exchange control was an obstacle to transfers of money.

Personal contacts between leaders of affiliated organizations and members of the Secretariat and Management Committee have been affected in two different ways by the war. In the case of our affiliated organizations on the Continent of Europe they were interrupted, or rendered difficult and infrequent. On the other hand they became much more frequent and, it may be said, much closer with our British organizations and the majority of those in the countries overseas. Leaders of transport workers' organizations have taken a large part in general and special conferences organized by the I.L.O., which the Acting General Secretary of the I.T.F. nominally attended as Workers' Delegate for the Netherlands. The very active participation of the transport workers' unions in the war effort of the United Nations led to their representatives being often entrusted with missions which made it necessary for them to travel either from London to places overseas, or vice versa. The Acting General Secretary has had to make his share of such voyages. We may add that the two World Trade Union Conferences, in London and Paris, also afforded opportunities for making personal contacts which were often of considerable duration.

On the non-material side, we have every reason to congratulate ourselves on our relations with our affiliated organizations. The British unions have made substantial financial sacrifices to enable the I.T.F. to continue its work. Their leaders have given it much of their time and have taken great interest in its activities, and during the last two years also for its future position in the reorganized international trade union movement. In other ways our Swedish organizations have also made great efforts on behalf of the I.T.F. during the war, and after.

The railway union we have affiliated in Canada has cheerfully made a contribution similar to those of our British organizations. All organizations affiliated before the war with whom communication has been possible have given us their moral and material support, while those which have affiliated during the war have proved, by this very fact, their desire to be in the running. After the liberation of their countries many European organizations showed the same attachment to the I.T.F.

There are, however, some shadows in the picture. We give below, country by country, a commentary on the facts, events and attitudes which have affected our relations with some of our affiliated organizations.

(1) Argentina

On 23rd August 1943 the Argentine Government (a military clique which had seized power) established government control over both the Argentine railwaymen's unions, which are members of the I.T.F. The

Government accused the leaders of the two unions of "governing the organizations irregularly and in violation of the rules." It declared that the railwaymen were in a state of convulsion and division as a result of such mis-management. Consequently, and regarding the two organizations as "institutions of public interest," it had decided to step in and to "put an end to dictatorship."

For a period military "interventors" were placed in charge of the unions—in one case an admiral, in the other a colonel. During this period most of the old leaders seem to have been removed from their posts. Subsequently an election was held, in the Railwaymen's Union (Union Ferroviaria), under conditions which appear to have been free from Government interference, and resulted in the return of a majority actually or avowedly favourable to the Government. Some of the old leaders are back, though Jose Domenech is not.

Though nominally "free," the paper issued by the Railwaymen's Union contains a good deal of matter which suggests that they support the present regime in Argentina—in some cases even propaganda in favour of it—but in how far this is done out of conviction or for the sake of expediency for keeping the organizations in being it is difficult to say. Certainly Peron has substantially improved the conditions of the Argentine workers, and has given the railwaymen many material advantages in the form of wage increases and the granting of other claims, and this has given him a substantial following among them. There is little doubt, however, that what he is after is political advantage for himself, and he seems to be having considerable success as the result of the election of the Union's Committee goes to prove.

In *La Fraternidad*, the locomotiveman's organization, things seem to have taken a different turn: its elections gave a majority against Peron's followers. The organization's journal expresses hostility to the regime, though naturally in guarded terms and a round-about-way.

On 30th October 1943 the Management Committee of the I.T.F. decided to interview the Argentine Ambassador in London, to make representations about the action of his Government. The interview took place on 9th November, and the Ambassador promised to report to his Government. On 12th February 1944 he stated that no reply had yet been received. The Management Committee then decided to send a communication on the subject to the I.F.T.U., and to renew representations to the Argentine Ambassador. Later we received a communication, dated 26th June 1944, from a member of the Executive of the Spanish Railwaymen's Union, now in exile in the Argentine, in which he said: "You should not pay any attention to statements reaching you about the attitude of the railwaymen in this country. It is true that the organizations affiliated to your International have twice been placed under Government supervision, but it is also true that in the consequent elections for new Executive Committees nearly all those who were members before the two Government interventions were elected. It is desirable, therefore, to maintain the same friendly relations as before with them."

We did not react to this communication, and except for the more or less regular receipt of their journals had no communication with either of the two organizations during 1944 and the greater part of 1945.

At the end of 1945 we received a letter from the Railwaymen's Union referring to an agreement we came to with it in 1940 about the payment of

contributions. Its legitimate leaders then explained to us that for reasons connected with the war they were not in a position to pay their full contributions, but to maintain their affiliation they offered to pay a lump sum of 3,000 pesos a year, irrespective of the number of members they might have. The Management Committee accepted the offer, but the payments were not made, as the Argentine Exchange control prohibited the transfer of money to a belligerent country. The Union now offers to pay the sum of 15,000 pesos for the years 1940 to 1944 (less 2,900 pesos paid to a Spanish railwayman refugee as a result of a request we made to the old leaders). They say they "wish to maintain affiliation to the I.T.F. and by paying the arrears contribute to the best of their ability to the financial assistance, so necessary at the present moment, to the international trade union movement."

The Executive Committee decided to accept the payment offered.

(2) Austria

Before the Dollfuss coup d'état in February 1934, we had three organizations affiliated in Austria, the Railwaymen's Union, the Federation of Transport and General Workers, and the Inland Navigation Section of the Industrial Employees' Federation. It would have been difficult for the organization of any country to show closer attachment to the I.T.F. than our Austrian organizations. It was shown in a most moving manner at our Copenhagen Congress, in 1935, when a delegate of the Austrian Railwaymen came to hand over to the care of the I.T.F. the banner which his Union had received from the I.T.F. in 1927. He asked that it should be kept until it could once more be displayed in an Austria that had recovered its freedom.

We have reliable information that the two first-mentioned organizations have now been reconstituted as trade sections of the Austrian Federation of Trade Unions. We also know that at least one of the old leaders is one of the team now running the Railwaymen's Section of that Federation, and that our old friend K. Weigl has a position in its Transport Workers' Section. But we have no communication from these organizations at the time of writing.

(3) China

For information with regard to the Chinese National Seamen's Union see Chapter 5, Section C.

(4) Finland

Direct relations were maintained with our Finnish organizations, and particularly the Finnish Seamen's Union, until the Nazi attack on the Soviet Union (see also Chapter 6). After that relations were maintained indirectly through Sweden, and in particular through the President of the I.T.F., Charles Lindley. This maintenance of relations had its justification in the fact that the Finnish Seamen were secretly contributing to the Allied war effort by such means as they had at their disposal.

(5) France

As soon as our French organizations were reconstituted we tried to get into touch with them again. We have not succeeded in re-establishing normal relations with the Railwaymen's Federation. It held its Congress

from 5th to 7th August 1945, that is to say only seven weeks before the World Trade Union Conference was to discuss the draft Constitution of the W.F.T.U. The reservations which the majority of the I.T.F. Executive Committee had made with regard to Article 13 of the Draft Constitution (which regulates the activities of the Trade Departments which are expected to take the place of the International Trade Secretariats) were found very displeasing by the leaders of the Railwaymen's Federation. A resolution adopted by their Congress calls upon the Executive Committee of the I.T.F. to reconsider its attitude which, if not changed, will make it impossible for the Federation to remain in the I.T.F.

On 29th September 1945 the General Secretary of the Railwaymen's Federation, R. Tournemain, accepted an invitation to attend a meeting of the General Council of the I.T.F. which was held in Paris while the World Trade Union Conference was meeting, and he took part in the discussions.

The leaders and Congress of the Railwaymen's Federation gave a good reception to the I.T.F.'s representative, Mr. Tofahrn, Secretary of the Railwaymen's Section of the I.T.F., and on other occasions also the relations between the leaders of the Federation and the secretaries of the I.T.F. have been cordial; but this does not alter the fact that practically all correspondence from the I.T.F. remains unanswered, and that the Federation has never informed us whether or not it is in a position to meet its financial obligations towards the I.T.F. As far as its intentions are concerned, the only time that these financial obligations were mentioned, in a conversation between Tournemaine and Tofahrn, the former did not give the slightest hint of a desire to settle the matter.

As far as the Dockers' Federation is concerned, here again we have not succeeded in re-establishing normal relations. We do not know the reasons for the apparently almost complete indifference shown by this organization towards the I.T.F., which is in marked contrast with its attitude before the war.

(6) Hungary

We had no relations with our Hungarian organizations at any time during the war, nor have we had any communication since it ended.

We have learned, however, that a railwaymen's organization exists, as a result of a letter it addressed to a British railway company. As there was practically no freedom of association for railwaymen in Hungary at any time between the two wars, it is quite probable that the new organization knows little or nothing about the I.T.F.

(7) India

The war has had unfavourable repercussions on our contacts with affiliated organizations in India. For a long time we had no news at all, but when postal communications became a little better, and our letters increasingly pressing, we received a few replies.

In August 1942 we made a personal contact with Mr. Krishnamurthy, an Indian railway trade unionist sojourning in Britain for a few months. All aspects of trade union work on Indian railways were thoroughly examined in prolonged conversations with him, and a plan for consolidating and expanding the Indian railway trade unions was hammered out. The Management Committee adopted the plan and promised a subsidy of £2,500 to carry it into effect.

This decision was communicated to the All-India Railwaymen's Federation, but no response was forthcoming. It was later learned that in 1943 and 1944 there was strife within the A.I.R.F. This ran parallel to and was connected with a split that occurred in 1942 in the Indian trade union movement. A rival of the All-India Trade Union Congress, the Indian Labour Federation, was set up, with the co-operation of the President of the A.I.R.F. The General Secretary of the A.I.R.F. wrote to us, early in 1944, that the conditions in the railway trade union movement of India were so muddled that it was not considered desirable, in fairness to the I.T.F., to make use of the generous offer of financial assistance. He stated that this position was due to communist interference with railway trade union affairs.

In June 1944 there arrived in Britain another Indian railway trade unionist, Mr. M. A. Khan, the first vice-president of the A.I.R.F. He told us that the offer of assistance made in 1942 had not been brought to the notice of the Executive of the A.I.R.F.

In 1944, on the occasion of the International Labour Conference in Philadelphia, the Acting General Secretary was able to contact the chief leader of the All-India Railwaymen's Federation, Mr. Jamnadas Mehta, and the President of the All-India Seamen's Federation, Mr. Aftab Ali.

The contact with Mr. Mehta did not have lasting consequences. A little later internal troubles broke out in the Railwaymen's Federation, leading to the expulsion of a number of fairly important unions. The Federation seemed to be breaking up, and subsequently Mr. Mehta gave up the leadership. We have no exact information as to the results of the efforts made by a number of leaders to reorganize the Federation. A number of I.L.O. conferences and the two World Trade Union Conferences of 1945 have given us an opportunity to get into touch with the leaders of trade unions organizing the workers of a number of big Indian railways, one of which has asked to be admitted into the I.T.F. Since, however, no decision has been yet taken to regard the affiliation of the All-India Railwaymen's Federation as ended, this admittance has been left in abeyance. In this connection it may be mentioned that it was possible to accept the affiliation of the National Union of Railwaymen of India and Burma because this organization was neither a member nor a rival of the All-India Railwaymen's Federation.

The contact with Mr. Ali was more fruitful in results (see Chapter 5, Section C).

(8) Poland

A.—Polish Seamen's Union in Great Britain. The Polish Seamen's Union established in Great Britain during the war has split on the question of recognition of the Polish Government. In January 1945 the Executive Committee of the Union had decided to recognize the Polish Government established in Lublin.

This decision caused such a reaction among a part of the membership, that the I.T.F. had to step in and stop the activities of a self-appointed committee that aimed to supersede the Executive Committee and thus threatened to split the organization.

A general delegate meeting held in Liverpool on 14th and 15th April did not bring about a settlement. In the election of the president the candidate of the group of so-called London Poles received 22 votes and

the candidate of the group of the so-called Lublin Poles 21. In view of this result, all candidates for the Executive nominated by the Lublin group withdrew and all followers of that group abstained from voting. Thus six candidates of the London group were elected with only one-half of the delegates taking part in the vote. As there were a few additional abstentions or invalid votes, the position arose that the new Executive was elected by a minority. Because of this, the delegate meeting adopted by 31 votes to nil a resolution declaring that it found itself "unable to elect a new Executive" and that new elections should be held at another delegate meeting to be convened by the old Executive Committee in conjunction with a committee of three designated by the so-called London Poles.

After the meeting, the new Executive declared this resolution to be invalid, while the old Executive held that it was under an obligation to carry out the instructions of the resolution. Consequently there now exist two Executive Committees, each claiming to be the lawful administrative body of the Union.

There is scarcely any doubt that any body of Western European trade unionists who were invited to arbitrate in this dispute from the point of view of procedure at the general delegate meeting, would find in favour of the group composed of the so-called London Poles. The B.D.D.F.P. (the organization administering funds belonging to the foreign seamen's unions established in Great Britain during the war), at any rate, found that the president newly elected at the meeting of 14th and 15th April, a so-called London Pole, was a regularly elected officer. (The new president, using the powers he enjoys under the Union's constitution, has intimated to the B.D.D.F.P. that no payments shall be made to former officials without his authorization).

All efforts to bring the two parties together have failed. The new Executive rejected a suggestion of the I.T.F. Secretariat that it should abide by the resolution. It further refused to meet the old Executive with a view to seeking a compromise. It refused, finally, to arrive at a settlement by means of a ballot of the membership. These refusals, coupled with the intense activities it carried on, wrecked the chances of winning the old Executive's consent to the election of a new Executive, by ballot, from a list of candidates drawn from both groups in equal numbers. The proposal for a ballot was repeated early in June by the B.D.D.F.P. This time it was accepted by the new Executive, while the old Executive refuses to reply until the I.T.F. has pronounced itself on the Liverpool resolution.

Pending a solution of the dispute the I.T.F. is recognizing the president who was elected at the Liverpool meeting.

B.—Transport Workers. We have no information as to the fate of our old Polish National Transport Workers' Union, nor that of its leaders. We know that there is a Seamen's Union at Gdynia that also organizes dockers, but we do not know whether it forms part, as before the war, of the National Transport Workers' Union.

C.—Railwaymen. The President of the new Polish National Union of Railwaymen, which has absorbed all the old rival organizations, told us, on the occasion of the World Trade Union Conference in Paris, that his Union regarded itself as affiliated to the I.T.F., and he was consequently invited to attend the meeting of the General Council of the I.T.F. which was held in Paris on 29th September 1945. The relations which

normally exist between the I.T.F. and its affiliated organizations, however, have not yet been re-established.

(9) Rumania

The Federation of Railwaymen's Unions of Rumania belonged to the I.T.F. as long as it was able to keep alive, even as a diminutive organization, but it appears to have disappeared in 1936. Since the end of the war a railwaymen's organization has been set up again in Rumania, but it has not re-established relations with the I.T.F.

The Federation of Dockers and Transport Workers (which had 16,380 members in 1938) was an effective member of the I.T.F. before the war, but we have no news of what has happened to it during and since the war.

(10) Yugoslavia

So long as they enjoyed even restricted freedom of association, the Yugoslavian railwaymen were affiliated to the I.T.F. When the last vestige of this freedom was taken away from them they set up an Association for the purpose of publishing a trade journal, which kept in touch with the I.T.F. up to April 1940. Since the liberation of Yugoslavia the Railwaymen's Union, which has been reconstituted, has not restored its relations with the I.T.F.

We have no news of the Tramwaymen's Union, which was also affiliated to the I.T.F. before the war.

(For information as to the Yugoslav seamen see Chapter 5, Section A (9).

Relations with Underground Organizations

Up to the time that their countries were overrun, the unions of Belgium, Denmark, France, Luxemburg, the Netherlands and Norway, maintained regular and normal relations with the I.T.F. Secretariat. After the military disaster in the West, these organizations ceased to lead a normal and regular life and relations with the clandestine groups were extremely irregular and infrequent, and had to be maintained in diverse ways. The exception was France, with whose underground movement relations have become more and more frequent during the last two years, and as soon as we could, we appointed Comrade E. Ehlers as I.T.F. representative to look after all groups in which the I.T.F. was particularly interested.

In the countries already overrun before 1940, i.e. Austria, Czechoslovakia, Poland and Spain, there existed clandestine groups, but relations with them were few and far between.

In Germany and Italy, too, there existed underground groups with whom connections were maintained, but communication with them was difficult, hazardous and of necessity infrequent.

The I.T.F. has been associated with clandestine activities and has financed some of them. Owing to the nature of these affairs, their conduct, and the expenditure involved, was left, in the past, to the discretion of Edo Fimmen. After his departure to Mexico, the Management Committee decided to leave the whole question of clandestine activities and the restoration of transport trade unions on the Continent to the discretion of Mr. Oldenbroek acting in agreement with Mr. Marchbank.

Propaganda

A.—RECRUITING OF NEW MEMBERS

In 1940 the Secretariat sent to all unaffiliated unions of transport workers whose addresses we had a propaganda circular raising the question of affiliation with the I.T.F. It led to correspondence with and affiliation of the Maritime Council of Australia, the South African Transport Workers' Council and the Chauffeurs' Union of Cairo. We also had correspondence with a number of Australian organizations, the Road Transport Workers' Union of Argentina, the Trade Union Centre of Peru and the Dockers' Federation of Mexico.

For the rest, relations with unaffiliated organizations have been maintained chiefly by personal contact on the occasion of Conferences organized by the I.L.O., and the two World Trade Union Conferences. Tangible results of these personal contacts were the affiliation of the Seamen's and Dockers' Federation of Chile, the Maritime Union of India (officers), the Union of Railwaymen and Tramwaymen of the Dutch East Indies, the Federated Seamen's Union of New Zealand, the Seamen's and Water Front Workers' Trade Union of Trinidad, the Seamen's International Union of the U.S.A., and the token affiliation of the Railway Labor Executives' Association, also of the U.S.A.

There have also been other results which, though they cannot be termed "tangible," are nevertheless of value. Many leaders of transport workers' organizations have learned to know the I.T.F. better, and to take an interest in it. These things often take time to develop, as may be seen from the fact that the token affiliation of the Railway Labor Executives' Association of America was the result of five years' discussion. It is of some importance, also, that the I.T.F. and its work should become known outside of the transport industry, that is to say in the trade union movement in general. Something has been achieved also in this direction.

There is occasion to mention, in this connection, the work of Edo Fimmen, and after his death that of Mrs. Alida de Jager, in Mexico. Thanks to their activities the I.T.F. is well known throughout the Mexican trade union movement, and the question of affiliation with the I.T.F. was under consideration by several transport workers' organizations in that country when internal political events, and the proposal to set up the World Trade Union Federation, led to the postponement of a decision. We have nevertheless recently secured the affiliation of the Tramwaymen's Union.

Special mention is also due to our New York Office. Its constant activities have opened the eyes of the trade union movement of North America to the nature and work of the I.T.F. The Labour press throughout the continent, as well as a part of that of Latin America, has been led to devote attention to the publications of the I.T.F. and to inform readers of its activities. On more than one occasion the big daily newspapers have drawn largely upon the press reports issued by the I.T.F. New York Office.

B.—RADIO

In 1940 contacts were made with the British Ministry of Information and the I.T.F. suggested the setting up of one or more advisory committees for radio propaganda to Germany. The Ministry of Information officially set up a committee to plan radio propaganda under the chairmanship of a trade unionist, Mr. W. H. Adamson, M.P., of the Transport and General Workers' Union. A German member of the I.T.F. Staff, Mr. Auerbach, served on the consultative committee for Germany. After that we regularly supplied the Ministry of Information and the B.B.C. with reports on enemy and enemy-occupied countries. High officials at both the Ministry of Information and the B.B.C. have said that the information supplied by the I.T.F. was valuable and that without it they would have been unable to broadcast to the workers in Germany and Nazi-occupied countries.

In 1940, on the first anniversary of the outbreak of war, a message from Edo Fimmen was broadcast to the German workers.

In July 1942 an agreement was reached with the B.B.C. by which the I.T.F. was enabled to assist in a more effective way in broadcasting to the European continent propaganda intended to assist and encourage resistance among the workers, particularly the transport workers, both in enemy and enemy-occupied countries. The Miners' International wished to do similar work and in December 1942 asked for the assistance of the I.T.F. in securing broadcasting time. Mr. Oldenbroek and Mr. Marchbank exchanged views with the Miners' International, which resulted in a meeting of representatives of the I.T.F., the Miners' International and the British Section of the Metal Workers' International. The General Secretary of the I.F.T.U. attended the meeting. It was agreed to send a deputation to the B.B.C. This deputation made proposals for a joint propaganda campaign of the three Internationals. The International Federation of Trade Unions did not take part. Agreement with the B.B.C. having been reached the three Internationals set up a Joint Council, and in March 1943 issued their first declaration. The representatives of the I.T.F. on the Joint Council were Messrs. Oldenbroek, John Price (Secretary of the Educational and Political Department of the Transport and General Workers' Union), and Hans Jahn.

In September 1943 the Joint Council appointed an Inner Committee of four with Mr. Oldenbroek as Secretary. In October the size of the Joint Council was increased, each International appointing five members. Mr. Marchbank and Mr. Maxamin were added to the I.T.F. delegation. (Mr. Maxamin, however, did not come to London as was expected and his seat on the Joint Council remained vacant). The work of the Joint Council grew steadily and a full-time secretary (Mr. I. Milner) was appointed early in 1944 ; he took up his duties on 11th April 1944.

The work of the Joint Council was directed by the Inner Committee, and it was carried out by six Language Groups, viz., French, German, Austrian, Czech, Polish and Dutch. Speakers included Messrs. Oldenbroek, Marchbank, Jarman and Deakin.

The material provided by the Joint Council and the B.B.C. jointly was used for broadcasts in a minimum of thirteen languages, and this material was also circulated to several of the foreign government organizations in London, who also made use of it.

In August 1944 the work of the Joint Council led to a difference with Sir Walter Citrine. On the liberation of France, the Council decided to send two representatives to France in order to secure first-hand information about the rebirth of the French trade union movement for use in radio propaganda. Sir Walter declared that such activity went beyond the task of propaganda for encouraging resistance and held that it assumed political aspects. He disputed the right of the Joint Council to embark upon a policy of trade union reconstruction, and said that this was I.F.T.U. business.

As it had always been open to the I.F.T.U. to take part in the work of the Joint Council, the Management Committee, on 4th September 1944, advised the I.T.F. delegation on the Joint Council to seek once more the co-operation of the I.F.T.U.

On 14th September 1944 the Emergency Council of the I.F.T.U. unanimously agreed that the I.F.T.U. should, in consultation and co-operation with the Three Internationals and supplementing their work in this connection, become responsible for the control and supervision of future activities, and should undertake to provide the necessary funds. This decision was ratified by the Joint Council of the Three Internationals.

In practice, however, nothing much came of these proposals, and the activities of the Council went on as before, with the difference, however, that the I.F.T.U. paid the secretary's salary.

After hostilities ceased the B.B.C. ended the agreements of 1942 and 1943, and stopped, one by one, the workers' broadcasts in foreign languages. There was no response to the Joint Council's pleas that they should be continued in some form or other. The activities of the Council therefore ended in Autumn 1945, and its secretariat was abolished on 31st January 1946.

Reconstruction of Trade Unions

The problem of rebuilding trade unions on the European continent has preoccupied the Secretariat and the Management Committee from 1942 onwards. At that time it was felt that it was imperative to assist the clandestine movement in the occupied countries and to give, whenever necessary and possible, financial assistance. To that effect discussions on the subject of financial provision were already initiated in the United States, by Mr. Oldenbroek, at the end of 1941 and early in 1942, and were continued by Mr. Marchbank, assisted by Mr. Becu. Grants amounted to \$35,000 were received from the New York War Labor Chest, a fund run jointly by several organizations, including the A.F. of L. and the C.I.O. When Mr. Lindley came from Sweden, and when Mr. Oldenbroek went there, the subject was also discussed with Swedish organizations, which made a total contribution of £7,480. The matter was, of course, also brought to the attention of British Unions and they contributed £1,050 in 1943 and £2,950 in 1944 towards the Edo Fimmen Trade Union Reconstruction Fund set up by the Management Committee. The Canadian Brotherhood of Railway Employees contributed £112 and the Irish Transport Workers' Union £100.

When North Africa came under United Nations' control at the end of 1942, the Management Committee decided to grant financial assistance if, and when required, and a total of £1,000 was put at the disposal of transport workers' unions there.

Of this amount only one half was used in North Africa, the remainder being later sent by secret channels to the French General Confederation of Labour, for its work in France.

From that time on, relations with France became more regular and frequent, and the underground movement in France increasingly important. Representatives of the C.G.T. (Messrs. Guigui and Buisson) informed us early in 1943 that their clandestine organizations in France were in need of financial assistance, and that a sum of about £2,000 a month was required. On 25th May 1943 the Management Committee decided to provide £6,000 in monthly instalments of £1,000. Further, they put the French C.G.T. in touch with the Joint Council of the Three Internationals and thus secured an additional subsidy of £3,000 from the British Mineworkers' Federation. To our knowledge, this is all the financial help that was given to the French clandestine trade union movement.

In October 1944, after receiving an oral report from Mr. Ehlers, the Management Committee decided to put the sum of £1,000 at his disposal for carrying on the preparatory work for the reconstitution of seamen's and dockers' organizations in French ports.

The emissary of the I.T.F. to Italy was given a credit of \$10,000 (£2,480) and part of that money was put to good use.

On 4th September 1944 the Management Committee examined a report, by Hans Jahn, on the reconstruction of trade unions in Germany, and agreed to the outline of his plan.

Action in this field requires the co-operation of the Allied occupation authorities. To this effect relations of a confidential nature were established by the Acting General Secretary, who acted in conjunction with Mr. Becu and in consultation with Mr. Marchbank.

International Trade Union Movement

A.—I.F.T.U. CONGRESS IN ZÜRICH, 4th TO 8th JULY 1939

The I.T.F. was represented by Mr. Oldenbroek at the I.F.T.U. Congress held in Zürich in July 1939. The chief item on the agenda was a proposal to invite the Soviet trade union centre to affiliate to the I.F.T.U. The proposal was turned down. In the light of after events there is no reason for any great regret at the decision, as the German-Soviet Pact, signed shortly after this Congress, would necessarily have led to a further breach.

At the Conference of international trade secretariats, held in connection with the Congress, the I.T.F. delegate urged the necessity of taking steps that would allow of international trade union activity continuing in case of war. This suggestion, however, was not discussed.

The most time was taken up with the discussion of a dispute between the Belgian General Confederation of Labour and the I.T.F. over the answering of questionnaires sent out by the I.L.O. to national trade union centres. The Belgian Confederation maintained that only the national trade union centres were qualified to answer such questionnaires. The I.T.F. representative challenged this point of view, and claimed the right to intervene in matters concerning transport workers, for the purpose of co-ordinating replies and formulating an international point of view.

B.—THE INTERNATIONAL TRADE SECRETARIATS AND THE I.F.T.U.

At a meeting held in September 1939, on the initiative of the I.T.F., the International Trade Secretariats with headquarters in Amsterdam decided to press the I.F.T.U. to call a joint meeting of the I.T.S. This meeting took place on 16th and 17th November 1939 in Brussels, but no plan was adopted to ensure the functioning of the whole of the international trade union machinery during the war. In April 1940 a meeting was held of the I.T.S. established in Amsterdam. Mr. Oldenbroek pressed for the transfer of the offices of the Secretariats to Great Britain, but his suggestion met with very little response. It was, however, agreed to transfer compromising documents to Great Britain, though the decision was not carried out before Holland was overrun.

In August 1940 a joint meeting was held, in London, of the I.F.T.U., the I.T.S. with headquarters in Great Britain and British representatives of I.T.S. with headquarters abroad. On this occasion the I.T.F. representatives urged the resumption of the activities of the I.F.T.U., and for arrangements to be made to ensure the continuation of some kind of activity by the I.T.S. Further meetings took place at long intervals and, on 23rd July 1942 a further proposal of the I.T.F. was adopted: It was decided to set up an Emergency International Trade Union Council composed of (a) available executive members, viz., Sir Walter Citrine and Messrs. William Green, W. Schevenels and G. Stolz; (b) representatives of Great Britain, the United States, Canada, Sweden, Norway, the Argentine, Mexico and Palestine; and (c) representatives of the International Trade Secretariats: the I.T.F., the Textile Workers, the Miners and the Boot and Shoe Operatives—established in Great Britain; further

the British Sections of the Metal Workers, the Building and Wood Workers and the Clothing Workers. In addition one representative from each of the foreign trade union groups established in Great Britain was to attend on one or two occasions a year in an advisory capacity. The Council held a few meetings and, at the suggestion of the I.T.F. representative, decided to issue a paper devoted to the interests of the I.F.T.U. and all I.T.S. A Secretary of the I.T.F. was appointed associate editor and the paper was published from January 1943 to December 1945, the I.T.F. bearing one half of the expenses.

The Council further set up two committees to work on post-war policy. The one was to study the future organization of the International Trade Union Movement and the other its post-war social and economic programme. It was understood that the work of both committees would be of an exploratory nature. The result of the protracted discussions of these committees has been incorporated in two I.F.T.U. reports which have been submitted to the national trade union federations and International Trade Secretariats for consideration. In all the discussions on the committee on the future organization of the International Trade Union Movement, the I.T.F. representative (Mr. Oldenbroek) defended the principle of autonomy of the I.T.S.

On 14th September 1944 the President of the I.F.T.U. summoned a meeting of the Emergency International Trade Union Council and proposed holding a meeting of the regular General Council of the I.F.T.U. *The proposal was adopted, this involving the dissolution of the Emergency General Council.*

International trade union affairs were, however, also dealt with by other bodies than the I.F.T.U. In 1939 there was set up an Anglo-French Trade Union Committee, whose work was interrupted from June 1940 to November 1944. At the outbreak of the Soviet-German war the British and Soviet trade unions set up a joint committee. On the entry of the United States into the war, the British T.U.C. and the American Federation of Labor also set up a joint committee. The Anglo-Soviet and Anglo-American committees discussed the question of the establishment of a joint committee embracing the trade union movements of all the United Nations. The British Trades Union Congress further took the initiative of calling a World Conference of Trade Unions to be held in June 1944 in London. The I.T.F., like all the I.T.S., was invited to send one representative. The Management Committee accepted the invitation, but decided to make no proposals at the Conference. Owing to the special dispositions taken by the Allied authorities in April 1944, in preparation for the invasion of the European continent, the Conference could not be held in June, and was postponed indefinitely.

The Anglo-Soviet Trade Union Committee held an important meeting in London from 2nd to 6th October 1944. Their agreed views on the postponed World Trade Union Conference were "that the conference should be held on or about 8th January 1945; that a Preparatory Committee be set up representative of the British Trades Union Congress, the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions of the U.S.S.R., and the trade unions of the United States of America; that the American representation on the Preparatory Committee should be on the basis of two representatives of the American Federation of Labor, two representatives of the Congress of Industrial Organizations, and one representative of the

Railroad Brotherhoods." The American Federation of Labor eventually took no part in the Conference.

The Conference met from 6th to 17th February 1945 in London, and it was followed by a second Conference, held from 25th September to 9th October 1945, in Paris. The I.T.F. was represented at both by Mr. Oldenbroek, the Acting General Secretary. The first Conference started the big discussion on the question of the integration of the International Trade Secretariats in the World Federation of Trade Unions, and their transformation into Trade Departments of that Federation. The second finished the discussion by deciding that the W.F.T.U. should negotiate with the I.T.S. about their position within the W.F.T.U., and the manner of integration.

As regards the I.F.T.U., all its activities ceased at the end of 1945, and its General Council appointed Trustees to look after its remaining assets until a decision is come to as to their disposal.

Work in the I.L.O.

A.—INTERNATIONAL LABOUR CONFERENCES

The 1939 International Labour Conference had on its agenda a draft convention on working hours in road transport. The Workers' Group of the Conference Committee which had to deal with this question included eight members belonging to organizations affiliated to the I.T.F. The other four members, as well as the three substitute members, made common cause with the I.T.F. and actively supported its policy.

Faced with the opposition of the Government Group, the Workers' Group had to drop its proposal to include in the convention the limits of 40 or 44 hours work a week, and to accept instead that of 48 hours. To secure the adoption of the convention it also had to make some other concessions in connection with intermittent work, overtime and the period of daily rest. On the other hand it secured substantial concessions strengthening the provisions relating to the application of the convention.

During 1940 and the first half of 1941 the I.L.O. was practically out of action. Then the Conference in New York was convened in October 1941. As the Acting General Secretary had been appointed a representative of the Netherlands' workers, the Management Committee and the Emergency General Council decided to take advantage of the opportunity of furthering I.T.F. interests, and approved a draft proposal, to be submitted to the Conference, calling for the setting up of a transport section within the I.L.O. The resolution suggested a scheme based on the tripartite principle. The purpose, as stated in the resolution, was that at the end of the war plans should be available for international regulation of economic and social conditions in transport. This resolution was duly submitted to the Conference in New York and referred to the Governing Body for further consideration.

The Conference further adopted a series of resolutions dealing with the role of the I.L.O. in the task of post-war reconstruction, and the Management Committee considered at length what action could be usefully undertaken by the I.T.F. on the basis of these resolutions. It instructed the Secretariat to prepare a report on the question in order that all possibilities might be more closely examined.

The Acting General Secretary was again appointed representative of the Netherlands' workers for the International Labour Conference held in Philadelphia in April 1944. As a result of the decision of the Governing Body to call a Maritime Session of the International Labour Conference, seamen's questions were not to be dealt with in Philadelphia, but the question raised by the resolution submitted in 1941, calling for the creation of a Transport Section, was again discussed and resulted in the adoption of a resolution to the effect that the International Labour Office should proceed forthwith with the setting up of industrial sections and that the Governing Body should frame regulations covering the activities of industrial committees. The Management Committee, when considering this resolution at its meeting of 4th September 1944, concluded that we should press for the creation of a Transport Section with sub-committees for railways, road transport, inland navigation, shipping and fisheries, docks

and warehouses, and civil aviation. With regard to the appointment of Workers' Members on such committees, the Management Committee proposed to claim for the I.T.F. the right to submit a list of nominations. Having regard to the experience gained on the Joint Maritime Commission, and owing to the fact that the Seamen's Section of the I.T.F. had proposed to make the Maritime Commission tripartite instead of bipartite, the Management Committee leans towards advocating a tripartite composition for all committees within the Transport Section without, however, rejecting bipartite meetings for special purposes.

The International Labour Conference in Paris in 1945 was mainly devoted to the consideration of constitutional questions connected with the relations between the International Labour Organization and the U.N.O., and the latter's Economic and Social Council.

Among the questions discussed there were none of special interest to the I.T.F.

B.—JOINT MARITIME COMMISSION AND MARITIME PREPARATORY TECHNICAL CONFERENCE

As a result of the decisions of the New York Conference, the Joint Maritime Commission of the I.L.O. was called to life again, and met in London on 26th to 30th June 1942. The appointment of workers' delegates was left to the I.T.F., which nominated Messrs. Becu (Belgium), Chu (China), Haugen (Norway), Lundgren (Sweden), Jarman (replacing Spence, Great Britain), Oldenbroek (replacing Fimmen, The Netherlands), Tudehope (Australia), Coombs (for the Officers, Great Britain), and kept two seats open for representatives of American seamen's organizations which were taken by Mr. Weisberger of the Seafarers' International Union of America (affiliated with the I.T.F. and the A.F. of L.), and Mr. Curran of the National Maritime Union of the U.S. (affiliated with the C.I.O.).

The Joint Maritime Commission unanimously adopted a number of resolutions dealing with :

(1) Improvement of appliances and methods of work in relation to safety at sea and inspection of ships in ports ;

(2) Improvement of welfare arrangements in ports ;

(3) Ratification of international maritime labour conventions presenting no substantial difficulties—governments being invited to call conferences of the shipowners and seafarers' unions in the different countries to examine whether the difficulties in the way of ratifying conventions can be removed ;

(4) Studies with a view to the preparation of an international maritime charter embodying international minimum labour standards for seafarers ;

(5) Studies of the developments as regards the organization and control of shipping and international agreements for the use of shipping ;

(6) Representation of shipowners and seafarers' unions at the Peace Conference (proposed by the shipowners) ;

(7) Working conditions of coloured seamen not to compare unfavourably with those of their white fellow workers.

The Commission met again from 8th to 12th January 1945, to consider the International Seafarers' Charter prepared and proposed jointly by the

Seamen's Section of the I.T.F. and the International Mercantile Marine Officers' Association. It was unanimous in considering that every effort should be made to reach as general an agreement as possible between all maritime countries to provide seamen with the best possible conditions. It was the general feeling that the essential proposals of the Charter should be made the subject of international conventions. To make possible the adoption of appropriate conventions or recommendations at the next Maritime Session of the Conference, the Commission asked for the holding of a Tripartite Preparatory Technical Conference.

The Governing Body of the I.L.O. gave a favourable response to the request, and the Conference met at Copenhagen during the second fortnight of November 1945.

Practically all the workers' delegates represented organizations belonging to the I.T.F., and they attended a preparatory meeting before the Conference started. On only one occasion was there any lack of understanding and cohesion in the workers' group. This was in the voting on a proposal of a few members of the Government group to fix the minimum wage of an A.B. at £16 a month, when the workers' group was divided. The incident caused a little bad blood, but after full explanations unity was restored.

The Conference worked out a series of draft conventions and recommendations which will be included in the Agenda for the Maritime Session of the International Labour Conference to be held at the end of May or beginning of June 1946, in Seattle, U.S.A. These drafts cover the questions of minimum wages; working hours and manning scale; leave; accommodation, food; entry, training and promotion; insurance against sickness, accident, death and unemployment; and pensions. It was not found possible to arrive at a common agreement on the question of continuity of employment in shipping, and further experience will have to be awaited before the preparation of a draft convention can be considered. One draft recommendation asks governments to enter into reciprocity agreements for the protection of aliens employed on board.

The Conference adopted a resolution calling for freedom of association for both shipowners and crews, and urging the necessity of mutual recognition of organizations, and of the utility of collective agreements.

Finally the Conference discussed the question of a new procedure for ratification which would make it possible for conventions to be wholly or partially put into force by other than legislative measures, and particularly by means of collective agreements.

The Workers' Group of the Conference adopted a resolution calling for the continuance of the requisition of vessels until the misery resulting from the war has been completely liquidated, and until the conclusion of international agreements on marine transport that will ensure that international competition shall not be an obstacle to the satisfaction of the vital needs of all countries.

At its meeting in January 1945 the Joint Maritime Commission welcomed the proposal that a diplomatic conference should be convened to revise the Convention on the *Safety of Life at Sea*, adopted in London in 1929, and urged that at that conference shipowners' and seafarers' organizations should be represented in the national delegations and that

the International Labour Organization should be represented by a delegation from the Joint Maritime Commission. Mr. van den Toorn (Netherlands) and Mr. Snedden (United Kingdom) were appointed as ship-owners' representatives for the Commission's delegation, and Mr. Perkins (United Kingdom) and Mr. Moeller (Denmark) as seafarers' representatives.

At the same meeting the special position of *Indian, Chinese and certain other classes of seamen* was again considered. The Commission noted that progress has been made in respect of the wages and conditions of Indian seamen since 1942, but nevertheless decided to reaffirm the resolution it adopted at the previous session and to urge that all practicable steps should continue to be taken to ensure that in the conditions of employment and general treatment of these seamen there shall be no unfavourable comparison with crews of vessels in similar trades and under the same registry.

C.—TRIPARTITE TECHNICAL RAILWAY CONFERENCE

A Tripartite Technical Conference on working hours on the railways was held in Geneva from 20th to 25th March 1939. All workers' delegates to this Conference, with the exception of the one from the United States, were leaders of organizations affiliated to the I.T.F. The United States delegate, Mr. J. A. Phillips, then Vice-President of the Railway Labor Executives' Association of the United States and Canada, made common cause with the I.T.F. group. The majority of the workers' technical advisers also belonged to affiliated organizations, and those few of them who belonged to Christian trade unions followed unreservedly the line mapped out by the I.T.F.

The Conference had to lay down suitable bases for the international regulation of working hours on the railways. Only the Workers' Group had any ideas on the subject, or brought forward matter for discussion. Consequently, the Conference produced "technical" results, i.e. a definition of "railways" for the purposes in mind; a definition of the scope of application of the proposed regulation, as regards persons; a definition of working hours and intermittent work; fairly precise indications of the principles to be applied in respect of overtime, daily rest and night work; and indications as to the necessity of safeguarding the right to the weekly rest and paid holidays. Since this conference all the necessary "technical" conditions have been fulfilled for the working out of an international regulation of working hours on the railways.

D.—INLAND TRANSPORT COMMITTEE OF THE I.L.O.

One of the decisions of the Governing Body of the I.L.O. in London in January 1945 was to set up immediately international industrial committees for seven main industries, viz., Inland Transport; Building, Civil Engineering and Public Works; Coal Mining; Iron and Steel Production; Metal Trades; Petroleum Production and Refining; and Textiles.

It was decided that the Committees were to be tripartite in character, subject to the right of any Committee to set up bipartite sub-committees or to decide that part of its meetings should be bipartite in character.

With regard to the workers' and employers' representatives on the Committees, it was agreed that each Government should be responsible

for appointing them, in agreement with the organizations having a substantial membership in the industry.

The Governing body considered also that it might frequently be convenient to set up national committees in the different countries to work in close collaboration with the international industrial committees, and also that in the case of industries where there are well established international organizations of workers (such as the International Transport Workers' Federation) or of employers, it might be appropriate to include representatives of such organizations in the membership of the Committees.

The Committees are designed primarily as an instrument of co-operation between their worker and employer members, and to facilitate exchanges of views between both sides, with regard to the problems of their respective industries. Until they have themselves worked out programmes of future action which indicate the assistance which the International Labour Office can give in the future development of their work, the Office can do little more at the moment than make arrangements to bring together the parties concerned. As the Committees develop, however, they will of course acquire their own characteristics and interests, for the problems vary from one industry to another and the solutions will therefore vary accordingly.

The creation of the committees described above is the result of work initiated by the I.T.F. at the I.L.O. Conference held in New York in 1941 and pursued actively since in conjunction with the other International Trade Secretariats.

The agenda for each Committee at its first meeting will consist of the following two items : (1) The social problems of the industry during the period of transition from war to peace ; (2) Future international co-operation concerning social policy and its economic foundations in the industry.

It was decided that in the case of the Inland Transport Committee the urgent problems of European transport should have first priority.

The Inland Transport Committee of the I.L.O. held its first meeting in London from 13th to 20th December, 1945. Practically all the workers' delegates belonged to organizations affiliated to the I.T.F., and even those belonging to unaffiliated organizations gladly agreed to follow I.T.F. policy. Both secretaries of the I.T.F. took part in the work as observers and were chosen as secretaries of the Workers' Group.

The policy to be followed by the Workers' Group had been laid down in a preliminary meeting of delegates belonging to affiliated organizations, held on 11th and 12th December.

The I.L.O. Committee separated into three sub-committees for Railways, Road Transport and " Other Transport " (i.e. : Inland Navigation and Port Industry). This gave workers' delegates an opportunity to raise their problems—some similar, some different, but altogether fairly numerous—in each sub-committee.

The Workers' Group in the Railway Sub-Committee devoted the best part of its efforts to throwing light on the urgent problems connected with the reconstruction of transport facilities damaged or destroyed by the war. It insisted on the necessity of a collective effort by the countries which have suffered from the war, jointly with a co-ordinated effort by such countries as are able to give assistance, and pointed out how the international bodies already existing, such as U.N.R.R.A. and E.C.I.T.O., could best

do their work. In this connection the group asked that the industrial power of the ex-enemy countries should be utilized to hasten the restoration and reconstruction of the transport industry of Europe. The artificial financial obstacles that prevent the utilization of military transport equipment that is available unused were severely criticized. The railwaymen's group also raised the question of immediate preparations for the later introduction of automatic couplings on the railways on the continent of Europe. Social questions raised by the railwaymen's group included an enquiry into railwaymen's superannuation ; and the resumption of the activities of the I.L.O. in working out international regulations on working hours in the transport industry. Finally this group raised the question of the reconstruction and development of the transport industries in accordance with a long term European plan ; emphasizing the assistance that could be given by the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development which the United Nations Monetary and Financial Conference, held at Bretton Woods in July 1944, decided to establish.

The Workers' Group in the Road Transport Committee also raised the question of assistance for the distressed transport industry of Europe and elsewhere, and urged a better policy of production, distribution and reciprocal exchange of the products and raw materials essential to the restoration of the transport industries. It pleaded for more generous financial assistance, and asked that the problem of the reconstruction of the transport industries should be tackled in the same spirit as those of a similar character raised by the needs of the collective effort to win the war. It also induced the sub-committee to express itself on the questions of freedom of association and collective bargaining and agreements, and secured a pronouncement in favour of effective association of the trade unions in the direction and carrying out of the work of reconstruction.

The Workers' Group in the sub-committee on "Other Transport" also raised the question of material help for the countries which have suffered from the war. It further urged the conclusion of an economic and social agreement between Belgium, France, the United Kingdom, Holland and Switzerland (with suitable participation by the military occupation governments in Germany), to prevent a recrudescence of the cut-throat competition between the Western European ports, and the shipping companies operating on the network of rivers and canals based on the Rhine. Among other economic questions the workers' group also raised the problem of the organization, training and distribution of man-power for the special work of restoring and reconstructing the transport industries ; in the social field it induced the sub-committee to express itself on the subject of freedom of association and collective bargaining and agreements, and on the necessity of continued efforts to introduce in the port industry systems of engagement that would make for continuity of employment. It asked, also, that the I.L.O. should obtain and publish the statistical material necessary for the proper study of the social and economic problems of the transport industry. It further called for an enquiry into existing methods of collective bargaining, with a view to securing pointers as to the best way of solving certain problems connected with industrial relations. Finally, coming to the question of the manner in which the Inland Transport Committee of the I.L.O. would operate, the workers' group raised the question of industrial sub-committees meeting independently of meetings of the full Committee.

In all the sub-committees only the Workers' Group put forward subjects for discussion, and gave the lead for the work done. A great effort was necessary to resist the endeavours of both the other groups to exclude economic questions from the discussion. The final results show the success of the workers' efforts in this connection : practically all the proposals put forward by the workers in the sub-committees were accepted by the plenary session of the Committee, though some of them have been limited somewhat in their scope.

One important workers' proposal was not accepted : that which asked for the utilization, for transport reconstruction, of the industries of the ex-enemy countries. It had been accepted by all groups in the Railway sub-committee, but when it came before the plenary meeting of the Committee the representatives of the governments of the United States, Canada and the United Kingdom declared that this was a highly political problem, and that the future of German industry had not yet been decided. They claimed that the participation of German industry in the reconstruction of European transport involved the restoration of German industry as such, and that the proposal would prejudice the decision as to the future of that industry.

The leaders of the Workers' Group wished to avoid the vote of these three governments against a workers' proposal, and suggested dropping the proposal. There was no opposition to this in the meeting of the Workers' Group put forward, but when it came to a vote, in the full Committee, on an American proposal to drop the passage from the resolution, the Workers' Group divided into three parties : one-third voted for dropping the passage, one-third against, and one-third abstained from voting. There was also a division within the Employers' Group, as some of their delegates wished to keep the passage, and voted in this sense. The majority of the votes cast, however, were for dropping it.

This time the Inland Transport Committee dealt almost exclusively with European questions. The Governing Body of the I.L.O. had suggested that course of action. It was not the intention of the I.T.F. to limit its scope in this way, but the very short duration of the meetings of the Committee left no time for going into problems of interest to the transport workers in other parts of the world.

Seamen's Section

A.—CONFERENCES

The Seamen's Section of the I.T.F. has held eight conferences from 1940 to 1944. The first was on 15th July 1940 and dealt with the position of the Belgian Mercantile Marine. Belgian shipowners were reported to be claiming the return of their ships, on legal grounds, for the exclusive purpose of carrying on private trade for their personal profit between the Belgian Congo and America. At the beginning of the war the ships were requisitioned by the Belgian Government, and the Belgian Union in Great Britain held that this act was still effective. At that time the Belgian Government was not able to administer affairs of State as it was virtually a prisoner in Vichy France. The Conference recommended the Management Committee to take steps to ensure that the Belgian Mercantile Marine be made available for the war effort of Great Britain. The Management Committee informed the British Ministry of War Transport that the crews would refuse to sail Belgian ships unless they were used fully for the war effort.

The second conference was held on 4th September 1940. It dealt for the most part with the complicated situation arising out of the fact that the war risk bonus of countries which had been neutral at the beginning of the war was much higher than that granted to British seamen. A decision come to by the Norwegian Government had serious repercussions on the policy to be followed in the matter by all Allied merchant fleets. The affiliated organizations agreed on a common policy. The second subject was the situation created in the United States by the activities of organizations interfering with the affairs of European seamen. The disturbances were reported to be very serious and to have adverse effects on the British war effort. The situation was so grave that the Management Committee, on receipt of the report, decided to send Mr. Oldenbrock to the United States with the mission of opening there an auxiliary Secretariat of the I.T.F.

A conference held on 31st March 1942 dealt with a request of the All-India Seamen's Federation for support in their efforts to secure better working conditions for Indian seamen. The Conference was led to consider the question of the conditions of employment of seamen not belonging to the white races, and adopted a resolution declaring that discrimination against such seamen might weaken the war effort and was moreover contrary to the understood aims of the war. It called for equal wages for equal work regardless of nationality, race or creed, and decided to give all moral and material support to unions of seamen not belonging to the white races in their efforts to improve the conditions of their members. The Conference further discussed the difficulties arising out of the lack of a uniform wage policy for the merchant fleets of the United Nations, and took further steps to bring about a common policy for all trade unions concerned.

The Seamen's Section met in conference again on 28th and 29th September 1942, under the Chairmanship of Mr. Charles Lindley, President of the I.T.F. The main subject of discussion was the course of the

negotiations which had been going on for the crews of the merchant fleets of several countries. The Conference reaffirmed its support of the principle of inter-Allied negotiations with a view to bringing about approximately uniform conditions in all the merchant fleets of the United Nations. It further dealt with the decisions of the Joint Maritime Commission, the most important of which concerned the ratification of conventions and equality of treatment for seamen not belonging to the white races. Finally it considered the organization of Chinese and Indian seamen in Great Britain and decided on action to be taken to improve their working conditions.

A fifth conference of the Seamen's Section was held on 30th and 31st January 1943, with a delegation of the International Mercantile Marine Officers' Association in attendance. Following full discussions, particularly about the war practices of the Axis powers and the—for seamen so important—questions of the convoying of ships and safety measures at sea, six resolutions were adopted. The first of these appealed to the seamen of the Axis countries to show by their deeds that they condemned the methods of warfare at sea practised by their rulers ; the second called for better protection of convoys against submarine and aircraft attacks and instructed the Seamen's Section of the I.T.F. to submit to the authorities proposals based upon the experience of the seamen ; the third expressed the seamen's dissatisfaction that the I.L.O. had not given sufficient attention to all the resolutions adopted by the Joint Maritime Commission ; the fourth confirmed the view, constantly advocated by the I.T.F., that seamen were entitled to equality of treatment and working conditions irrespective of nationality, race or creed, and instructed the Seamen's Section to make to the authorities concerned, and more particularly to the Government of India, representations in favour of steps in that direction. Finally a resolution was adopted warning the workers in occupied countries, engaged in industrial establishments producing or repairing submarines and submarine parts, that Allied seamen were calling for the destruction of such establishments.

A sixth conference, held on 13th and 14th December 1943, was called jointly by the Seamen's Section of the I.T.F. and the I.M.M.O.A. It dealt in the main with the post-war working conditions of seamen. The resolution on the subject stated that "seafarers of the United Nations will not tolerate that the competition between the various maritime countries be fought out on their backs and therefore demand the fixing of minimum standards to which every country engaging in shipping shall conform. International maritime conventions which may in future be agreed must be ratified without undue delay. In case of refusal to conform to or of evasion of such international minima sanctions must be imposed upon offenders." It decided to work out a comprehensive international programme of seafarers' demands covering the following subjects :

- (1) Wages, increments, allowances, bonuses, overtime ;
- (2) Contract of continuous employment ;
- (3) Entry, training, promotion ;
- (4) Working hours, manning ;
- (5) Annual leave, voyage leave, subsistence allowances ;
- (6) Accommodation, bed and bedding, linen, utensils, laundry ;
- (7) Safety ;
- (8) Hygiene, food and medical services ;

(9) Social insurances : unemployment, sickness, incapacitation, widow's and orphans' pensions, old age pensions, loss of effects, repatriation, legal position of merchant navy prisoners of war ;

(10) Full trade union recognition of seafarers' organizations ;

(11) Rights and obligations of seafarers.

The resolution urged the national and international organizations of shipowners, the governments of the United Nations, and the I.L.O., to co-operate in the realization of a Seafarers' Charter. The conference further examined the position of merchant seamen detained as prisoners of war and claimed for them allowances that should not be less than the basic rates of pay for the whole period of detention. Finally a deputation was appointed to approach the shipowners and Indian authorities in order to assist the Indian seamen in their struggle to improve their working conditions.

A conference held on 31st March and 1st April 1944 was again convened jointly by the I.T.F. and the I.M.M.O.A. It considered the draft of an International Seafarers' Charter, which had been prepared by a Joint Committee of the I.T.F. and the I.M.M.O.A., and instructed that Committee to prepare a revised text, in the light of the discussion which had taken place, for submission to a further conference of the two Internationals. At the same time a sub-committee was set up to consider to what extent the Charter would be applicable to seamen not belonging to the white races.

The Conference further adopted, with a few amendments, a resolution proposed by the Norwegian Seamen's Union, which called for the continuation of the control of shipping instituted by the several Allied governments during the war, the extension of this control to a larger number of countries during the post-war period of relief and rehabilitation, and the setting up, at a date to be determined, of an international maritime authority to which the merchant navies of the several countries would be subject. It further enunciated the principle that shipping services should be conducted primarily for the benefit of the community and not as a means of speculation and profit-making for individual shipowners.

Finally the Conference discussed a proposal of the representative of the French officers in favour of closer co-operation and relations between the two seafarers' Internationals, and another envisaging an inter-union scheme for appointing union representatives, after the war, to the major ports of the world, with the task of promoting the interests of seamen of all nationalities.

The Seamen's Section of the I.T.F. and the I.M.M.O.A. convened a further International Seafarers' Conference on 28th and 29th July 1944 for the final discussion of the International Seafarers' Charter, which had been drafted by the Joint Committee set up by the two Internationals. After debating the text of the Charter, the Conference decided to undertake a large scale propaganda campaign to bring it to the knowledge of all seamen and to enlist their support for its enforcement. A sub-committee was set up to organize this campaign.

The Conference also adopted a resolution on the future allocation of the world's shipping tonnage, and post-war shipping policy, and decided that the seamen's delegations of the several Allied countries should protest to their respective governments against the discussions which were taking place in secret on the subject in Allied government circles in London, and

urge that representatives of the seafarers should be allowed to take part in the discussions, in order that their voice might be heard.

The Conference adopted a resolution on the attitude to be taken up after the war towards the seafarers of the Axis countries.

Finally the Conference decided that the question of closer relationships between the two seafarers' Internationals should be referred to the managing bodies of the two bodies for separate consideration, and instructed the Joint Committee to work out practical proposals for carrying out the scheme for appointing seamen's representatives in the principal ports of the world.

The ninth Conference of the Seamen's Section was held in Copenhagen during the two days preceding the Tripartite Maritime Conference of the I.L.O. in November 1945. It was devoted exclusively to a discussion of the line to be followed by the Workers' Group at this Conference.

Finally the Section held a tenth Conference on 31st January and 1st February 1946, to review the results of the Copenhagen Conference and prepare for the Maritime Session of the International Labour Conference which will commence on 6th June 1946, at Seattle, U.S.A. The Conference reiterated its claim that representatives of the seamen should be called upon to take part in the discussions on the sharing out of shipping tonnage after the war, and demanded the right to take part in the Conference of the United Maritime Authority due to commence in London on 4th February, 1946.

B.—ACTION FOR THE RATIFICATION OF INTERNATIONAL CONVENTIONS

On 25th April 1939 the Joint Action Committee of the I.T.F. and International Mercantile Marine Officers' Association met in London to prepare for a campaign to accelerate the ratification of the international maritime labour conventions of 1936. It was decided to approach the I.L.O. to get it to take suitable steps from its side. The Committee prepared a draft manifesto which was sent out to seamen's organizations. The war broke out before the plan of action had time to develop.

The matter was taken up again by the Workers' Group on the Joint Maritime Commission at the meeting of June 1942, and the Commission adopted the following resolution :

“In view of the fact that a number of important Conventions on maritime questions adopted by the International Labour Organization have so far not been ratified by various Member Governments, including those of important maritime countries ;

“And in view of the special urgency of measures to promote the safety and well-being of seafarers ;

“The Joint Maritime Commission urges Governments to ratify as soon as possible those Conventions which present no substantial difficulties and to institute immediately national consultations between the Governments and the organizations of shipowners and seafarers on the other Conventions to see whether the essential principles of those Conventions are capable of early application and whether the obstacles to ratification can be overcome.”

C.—SYMPATHETIC ACTION

Strike of American tanker crews. In January 1939 the National Maritime Union (C.I.O.) of the United States informed us that it had

declared a strike on board of 92 oil-tankers belonging to the Standard Oil Company and associated companies, for the purpose of forcing the companies to engage their crews through the Union. It asked the I.T.F. to prevent the chartering of tankers belonging to other countries for cargoes normally carried by Standard Oil ships. In reply to our enquiries, the Seafarers' International Union (affiliated to the American Federation of Labor) informed us that it was not directly concerned in the dispute, but was recommending its members not to join ships held up by the N.M.U.

From cables and letters immediately exchanged with the Norwegian Seamen's Union and the Danish and Swedish organizations concerned it appeared that sympathetic action would be very difficult in view of the fact that tankers were normally chartered through brokers, so that it was never known beforehand for what shippers they were sailing. The matter was nevertheless given further consideration, but unfortunately the N.M.U. failed to keep us informed of the course of the conflict (the omission was apparently due to internal differences which broke out at that time), and the Company soon secured enough blacklegs to send out twenty tankers only a few days after the strike started. The N.M.U. also failed to inform us of the names of the tankers that had sailed, so that it was not possible to put difficulties in the way of the discharge of these ships.

In the circumstances it was necessary to give up all thought of sympathetic action. Shortly afterwards we heard from another source that the N.M.U. had called off the strike to prevent the setting up of a company union.

D.—PROPAGANDA FOR THE SEAFARERS' INTERNATIONAL CHARTER

The propaganda campaign for the International Seafarers' Charter was opened in Liverpool on 3rd October 1944, with an international mass meeting. Numerous seamen of many nationalities attended. The meeting closed with the adoption of a resolution appealing to governments and shipowners of the maritime nations to adopt the International Seafarers' Charter without delay "thus ensuring just conditions of employment for the seafarers of the world and thus—by removing unfair competition in shipping—increasing the possibilities of an enduring world peace."

Since then a number of public meetings have been held in many ports throughout the world for the purpose of popularising this programme of demands and awakening the sympathy of the public. In addition the Charter has been printed in eight different languages—English, French, Flemish, Norwegian, Danish, Swedish, Finnish and Chinese—for distribution amongst the seamen of different nationalities. A poster has also been printed and sent out to all parts of the world.

E.—CAMPAIGN FOR THE ENFORCEMENT OF THE CHARTER

The action taken to secure the application of the Charter has been described in the preceding chapter.

In so far as action to be taken on the national plane is concerned, the Norwegian Seamen's Union raised in March 1945, the two following questions :

- (1) Does there exist any international understanding or decision on which it is safe to assume that at least the minimum standards laid

down in the International Seafarers' Charter will be adhered to by officers' and seamen's national organizations when the present war-time conditions are adjusted to peace conditions ?

(2) Is there a similar decision or agreement so that when the inevitable revision of the war bonus agreements is made at the end of hostilities in Europe this is not done nationally but according to an international plan ?

The Seafarers' Section Ways and Means Committee, which has been entrusted with the campaign of propaganda and action for realizing the Charter, gave consideration to these two questions and made the following recommendations :

(a) Unions should refrain from all discussions on reductions of wages and war bonuses before the meeting of the I.L.O. Tripartite Technical Maritime Conference to be held in October 1945.

(b) In view of the present situation, unions should not agree to any reduction in sterling earnings, bonuses or other existing conditions of employment.

(c) Where approached by shipowners or other parties with a view to abrogating existing standards, unions should take up the attitude that negotiations should be on an international basis.

(d) In cases where it is not possible to defer negotiations until October, unions should advise the Secretariat of the I.T.F. or the I.M.M.O.A., which will call an international conference to consider the position to be taken up.

These recommendations were duly communicated to affiliated seamen's organizations in a circular dated 24th April 1945.

The matter was discussed on 31st January and 1st February 1946 at a Conference of the Seamen's Section of the I.T.F. and the I.M.M.O.A. The resolution adopted "urgently recommends national unions which are or will before the Seattle Conference be engaged in negotiations with the governments or shipowners of their country concerning wages and other conditions of employment of officers or ratings, in no case to accept standards lower than the minima provided by the International Seafarers' Charter."

F.—SEAFARERS' REPRESENTATION ABROAD

The Joint Consultative Committee of the I.T.F. and the I.M.M.O.A. has had under consideration a proposal for appointing joint international representatives of seafarers in different ports throughout the world.

Before the war only a few of the larger seamen's organizations had representatives abroad, but since the war the system has been extended and unions which previously had no representation abroad have also taken it up. The system seems to have worked well and many countries desire to maintain it in some form or other.

It is not expected that the several unions will be able to maintain representatives abroad when the war is over, but the difficulty could be solved through an international scheme to which all officers and seamen would contribute through their organizations, making it possible to have one or more representatives in all important ports of the world.

The Joint Committee suggests the creation of a fund to be financed by a special direct contribution from individual members of, say, one shilling per quarter. The fund would be administered by a specially appointed

committee and its reports would be laid before the Seafarers' Section during Congresses of the I.T.F. or any other International Seafarers' Conference that might be held in the intervening periods. International representatives would be appointed on the recommendation of affiliated organizations, roughly on the basis of one to every 5,000 members. National organizations could, of course, have representatives of their own if they so desired, and such representatives could also in special cases get support from the international fund. The I.T.F. would keep in regular touch with all the international representatives and supply them with information about changes in conditions, etc., to ensure that they would always be up to date.

The tasks of the joint seafarers' representative would be as follows :

(a) To maintain cordial relations with the unions affiliated to the I.T.F. in the port and country where stationed ;

(b) To maintain relations with consulates and shipping offices for foreign seamen existing in the port ;

(c) To visit as far as possible ships in the port or to inform crews when and where they can see the union representative ;

(d) To co-operate with the national and local authorities in improving and providing welfare arrangements for foreign seamen ;

(e) Either himself, or through some organization, set up for the purpose, visit seamen in hospital ;

(f) Deal with complaints which must be attended to immediately and inform the headquarters of the union concerned ;

(g) Pass on literature from the unions and the I.T.F. to ships that call in his area ;

(h) Hold international meetings on the instructions of the I.T.F. or meetings for particular nationalities if requested by the unions concerned ;

(i) Send in fortnightly reports to the headquarters of the I.T.F. and reply to enquiries from the I.T.F. or the unions ;

(j) Handle financial matters to the extent of remitting money on behalf of a seaman or making payments at the request of a union. For money accepted from a seaman for any purpose receipts would be made out in triplicate.

There are already a number of leaders who have done this kind of work for their own organizations or for the B.D.D.F.P., and they would be the first to come into consideration for appointment as international representatives.

The proposal is now under consideration by the several seamen's unions.

G.—NEGOTIATIONS AND REPRESENTATIONS ON BEHALF OF SEAMEN

(1) **Chinese Seamen.**—In 1940 and 1941 unrest developed amongst the Chinese seamen in the United States and Great Britain. These men had always been paid lower wages and supplied with cheaper food than the white seamen. Active resentment at this state of affairs induced the crews to refuse to sail unless they were given higher wages, a war risk bonus equal to that paid to the men in the British merchant fleet and also the same allowances for loss of effects and loss of life. The plight of the Chinese seamen preoccupied the Chinese colony in London and they decided to create a Chinese Seamen's Trade Union in Great Britain as a

branch of the national Chinese Seamen's Union. The Union soon approached the National Union of Seamen of Great Britain, which called in the I.T.F. The Chinese Union was duly assisted in negotiations with the British Shipping Federation. This led at the end of 1940 and early in 1941 to agreement on all questions excepting the compensation for loss of life, which could only be dealt with by the British Ministry of Pensions.

Various factors, nevertheless, contributed to the recurrence of unrest and refusals to sail. The Chinese seamen seemed to consider the agreement inadequate, and the Chinese Seamen's Union, owing to lack of experienced administrators and leaders, was unable to ensure observance of the agreement terms by the men, of whom only a minority were previously organized or understood trade unionism at all. Disputes were frequent and their settlement often proved to be beyond the capacity of the Great Britain Branch of the Chinese Seamen's Union.

It should be added, too, that settlement of disputes was often rendered difficult by lack of sympathy and understanding on the part of agents acting on behalf of the ship-owners. In such cases the I.T.F. could help, and often did so with success, but could not, of course, remedy the fundamental defect, which was poor organization and lack of trade union education amongst the men.

Matters were then taken in hand by the Chinese Embassy in London and the British Government. On 24th April 1942 a treaty was concluded between the British and Chinese governments which embodied a comprehensive agreement with regard to conditions of employment of Chinese seamen on board British ships, and also the settlement of such questions as compensation for loss of effects and loss of life. (A supplementary agreement was concluded in 1944).

The fact that strictly trade union business had been handled through diplomatic channels was the cause of some concern to the Management Committee of the I.T.F.

In August 1942 the Anglo-Saxon Petroleum Company, one of the chief employers of Chinese seamen, showed willingness to recognize the reorganized Chinese Seamen's Union branch established in Liverpool. The Company laid down a number of conditions for granting recognition of the Chinese Seamen's Union, and for negotiating with it. One of them was that the appointment of officials of the Union should be approved by the I.T.F. Eventually, on 20th October 1942, the Union was persuaded to accept the conditions laid down by the Company, but a fortnight later they informed the I.T.F. that the Chinese authorities had prevailed upon them to go back on their decision. It was then agreed between the Union and the I.T.F. to substitute "consultation" for "approval" in matters connected with the appointment of officials. But very shortly afterwards the Union appointed as officials two men who had been sentenced in court, under the terms of the Sino-British Treaty, for desertion. That put an end, for the time being, to endeavours to supersede inter-government agreements by regular collective agreements concluded by the trade union.

(2) **Finnish Seamen.**—Shortly after the outbreak of the Soviet-German War a number of Finnish ships were brought into British ports. The seamen were removed from the ships and interned. The I.T.F. persuaded the Ministry of War Transport that it would be useful to allow trade union contacts with the interned crews so as to recruit from among them reliable elements employable on board ship. Eventually the I.T.F. delegate was

able to contact the men, but on arrival he learned that they had already been interned for two months. On 26th September 1941 the Management Committee decided to issue to Finnish seamen a circular calling upon them to volunteer for work on ships sailing under the British flag. This, however, came to nothing owing to the fact that the British authorities stuck rigidly to their principle that no enemy aliens should be employed on board ship; even the offer of the Norwegian authorities to re-employ Finnish seamen, who had been taken off Norwegian ships, did not induce the British authorities to agree.

Thereupon the I.T.F. contacted the Finnish Seamen's Union (through President Lindley) in order to find trustworthy trade unionists who could help to determine which men were reliable and could be released for work on shore. The President of the Finnish Seamen's Union travelled to Stockholm to discuss the matter with President Lindley and to supply names of seamen interned in Britain and the United States for whose loyalty he would vouch. Persistent pressure finally made the British security authorities give way, and by September 1942 all Finnish seamen willing to sail were released.

President Lindley informed the Management Committee that for social and political reasons it was advisable to allow Finnish seamen to transfer part of their earnings to their families. The Management Committee was in sympathy with the request, but endeavours to secure this further concession were unsuccessful, and it would have resulted in supplying foreign currency to the enemy.

In November 1943 the Finnish Seamen's Union reported to us, through President Lindley, that Finnish seamen had been interned in Australia in a camp occupied mainly by Nazis. Upon approaching the British authorities we were informed that in July 1943 certain Finnish seamen had been transferred to a camp holding Italians, but that authority had been given for twelve seamen to be released as soon as suitable employment could be found. Only a small number were said to remain as prisoners of war and the British authorities stated that we could therefore assure the Finnish Seamen's Union that the complaint of their members had been suitably dealt with.

(3) French Seamen.—In October 1941 we were informed that a very unsatisfactory state of affairs existed in the Free French mercantile marine: the men were badly treated by the French authorities; arbitrariness on the part of the officers took the place of a proper disciplinary code, and bureaucratic arbitrariness and incompetence that of proper administrative regulations; while the Union, though recognized in theory, was in practice completely ignored, and even tricked. It was stated that in consequence the moral of the crews was very low.

As soon as we received the first inkling of this state of affairs a fairly extensive enquiry was made and the British Ministry of War Transport was informed of its result. Further, a delegation of the I.T.F. waited upon the General Staff of the Free French naval forces, on 20th December 1941, and suggested a number of remedies. It was found that the French authorities had good intentions but were none too well equipped for administering a merchant fleet. They showed themselves willing to listen to advice and made a serious endeavour to improve conditions. Their instructions were, however, not always understood, or not always received

with sympathy, by officials of lower ranks. Eventually two conditions of success were realized almost simultaneously. The administration of the Free French merchant fleet gradually improved through the influx of competent administrators, and the French Seamen's Union was reinforced by the arrival of a competent leader.

(4) **Greek Seamen.**—(a) *Recognition of Union.*—During the second half of 1941 the I.T.F. was informed from various sources of unrest and labour troubles in the Greek merchant fleet operating from Great Britain and the United States. It was found that the first condition for improving the situation was to unravel the intricate state of affairs from a trade union point of view. There appeared on the scene in Great Britain an organization dating from the time of fascist rule in Greece, which endeavoured to uphold in Great Britain its fascist tradition. A number of seamen, however, realizing that the Greek authorities were considerably weaker abroad than at home, seized the opportunity to found an independent trade union. From November 1941 to February 1942 I.T.F. action consisted mainly in bringing order into trade union affairs and in securing recognition for the independent seamen's union, which later constituted, together with the officers' unions, the Federation of Greek Maritime Unions. This action involved many demarches with the Greek Government and the Ministry of War Transport. Once recognition was secured, the independent trade union and the Federation were helped to open negotiations for a collective agreement that was to supersede the regulation of working conditions by government decree.

(b) *Greek Maritime Court in Great Britain.*—During the war the Allied maritime countries were enabled to set up in the United Kingdom courts to deal, under their own laws, with offences committed in their respective mercantile marines. Greece set up such a court in the United Kingdom, and it was still in operation several months after the liberation of Greece. The I.T.F. shared the view of the Greek seamen that there was no longer any justification for bringing offenders before this court, and that they should be tried in their own country, where the courts would be under the control of Greek public opinion, and the offenders would have more adequate defence than they could find in London. We therefore made representations to the British Foreign Secretary with a view to the early liquidation of this court.

(c) *Greek Seamen's Hunger Strike.*—Early in November 1945 a number of unemployed Greek seamen approached the Greek consul in Liverpool to repeat an earlier demand for the payment of unemployment pay or a subsistence allowance. On receiving the usual refusal they remained in the consulate and started a hunger strike. A few days later Greek seamen stationed at Cardiff followed the example. The Secretary of the Union was one of the hunger strikers at Cardiff.

On 13th November, the ninth day of the Liverpool strike, the Acting Assistant General Secretary of the I.T.F. received a deputation from the Federation of Greek Maritime Unions, and as a result a telegram was sent to the Greek Regent and the Greek Ambassador in London was asked for an interview. On 14th November the consuls at both Liverpool and Cardiff informed the strikers that they had received instructions to pay a subsistence allowance to seamen unemployed through no fault of their own.

(5) **Indian Seamen.**—Towards the end of 1941 about 40,000 Indian seamen were working in the British merchant fleet. The representative in Great Britain of the All-India Seamen's Federation submitted to the ship-owners, the British authorities and the I.T.F. a memorandum stating claims for improvements in the working conditions. The log of claims was examined by the Management Committee and found reasonable and worthy of support.

In January 1942 the Management Committee decided to approach the British Ministry of War Transport, but this authority declined to discuss conditions of employment in connection with Indian seamen, on the grounds that they were regulated by Indian laws and Indian authorities, and that the matter should be settled in India. The Management Committee replied that this could not be accepted by the I.T.F., and expressed alarm that such an unsatisfactory reply should be forthcoming in the circumstances then prevailing. Eventually, on 15th May 1942, a large delegation of the I.T.F. and its Seamen's Section waited upon the Parliamentary Secretary of the British Ministry of War Transport. The answer was again that matters must ultimately be settled in India, but the British Government was willing to reconsider all its welfare arrangements in British and United States ports and to make all improvements that were called for. A hostel and two clubs were indeed opened in British ports.

When Lord Wavell was appointed Viceroy for India, a memorandum on Indian seamen's conditions and claims was submitted to him before his departure.

The Conference of the Seamen's Section of the I.T.F., held on 13th and 14th December 1943, decided to send a deputation to the High Commissioner for India in London. The deputation was received on 7th January 1944. The High Commissioner said that decisions on all basic aspects of working conditions, such as wages, must be taken in India. He assured the deputation that the Government of India was already engaged in considering claims for improvement in seamen's conditions, and he promised to report to his Government on the representations made by the deputation. On 23rd February 1944 the deputation was received by the Secretary of State for India, who also pointed out that the matter was one that had to be settled by the Government of India. Meanwhile, the General Secretary of the British National Union of Seamen had approached the shipowners who replied that the conditions of employment of Indian seamen must be settled in India.

The memorandum submitted to Lord Wavell was communicated to other authorities concerned as well. The complaints about welfare arrangements have prompted further action. Three more clubs have been opened (one as a gift from American seamen) and in some ports facilities for entertainments have been provided.

At the meeting of the Governing Body of the I.L.O., the Acting General Secretary charged the Indian Government with neglecting the interests of Indian seamen. The High Commissioner for India of course denied the charge.

(6) **Italian Seamen.**—On 15th September 1943 the Management Committee decided to take steps to secure the release of Italian seamen detained as prisoners of war in Great Britain.

(7) **Norwegian Seamen.**—A number of Norwegian seamen had in 1941 entered with their vessels the service of the Government of the Dutch colony of Curacao. Owing to difficulties arising out of the agreement between the two Governments, the men suffered a wage reduction of about 6 per cent. The Secretariat endeavoured to convince the Dutch Colonial Secretary that the men should not be made victims of variations in the rates of exchange and that the losses incurred should be made up.

(8) **Yugoslav Seamen.**—In September 1943 it became necessary to urge the Yugoslav Government in London (later in Cairo) to proclaim freedom of association, and to recognize the Yugoslav Seamen's Union functioning in Great Britain and the United States. The Government replied that freedom of association had been proclaimed in Yugoslavia before it was compelled to leave the country, but it did not seem keen to reiterate the declaration made. The démarches to secure recognition were repeated, but no answer had been received up to 1st February 1944. The Management Committee decided to take the matter up with the Government of Marshal Tito.

Railwaymen's Section

A.—CONFERENCE OF MARCH 1939

The Railwaymen's Section held a Conference in Geneva on 17th March 1939. It was attended by thirty delegates from affiliated organizations in Belgium, Denmark, France, Great Britain, Norway, Holland, Sweden and Switzerland. The Conference met to consider an I.L.O. report on the international regulation of working hours on the railways. Work was greatly facilitated by the fact that the Advisory Committee of the Section had carefully analysed the I.L.O.'s report and proposals, and drafted a series of proposals as to the line to be followed at I.L.O. Conferences dealing with the question.

The question of the international regulation of working hours on the railways had been brought to the agenda in the following manner. In 1934 the International Labour Conference adopted a Convention providing for the reduction of working hours to 40 a week, the manner of its application to be determined for each industry or group of industries by means of special conventions. In execution of this decision the I.L.O. called, for 20th March 1939, a conference to deal with the application to the railways. At the time there could be no question of a 40-hour week in view of the great activity in the armaments industry, and many people considered the railway conference superfluous. The Railwaymen's Section of the I.T.F., however, thought the opportunity should be seized to lay down the basis of a special international regulation for the railways, even if the weekly working period stipulated should exceed 40 hours a week. It therefore examined the I.T.F. documents very carefully, and adopted a number of proposals relating to the principles upon which an international regulation should be based.

(At the first meeting of the Inland Transport Committee of the I.L.O., held in London in December 1945, the railwaymen's delegates asked that the work of drafting an international regulation on working hours should be resumed).

B.—CONFERENCE OF SEPTEMBER 1943

In a report to the Management Committee meeting of 25th November 1942, the Acting General Secretary suggested that "the framework of a Railwaymen's Section be set up within the I.T.F." The Secretary of the Railwaymen's Section, while accepting the idea of holding a meeting of the Section, emphasized that circumstances were hardly favourable for discussions of a positive character, but he thought it might be useful to give preliminary consideration to a general railway policy for Europe, and to the question of the post-war organization of the European railwaymen, notwithstanding that the complete uncertainty prevailing as to the future situation and economic regime would prevent the drawing up of any clearly defined social programme. He considered, further, that circumstances would hinder any really representative meeting of the railwaymen's organizations more directly concerned. The Management Committee thought that the holding of a conference for the purpose of considering future possibilities would be an encouragement to the railway-

men in the occupied countries, and decided, therefore, to call such a conference. It was held in London on 28th and 29th September 1943.

In view of the circumstances, the only organizations in a position to appoint delegates were those in the United Kingdom and North Africa. All other participants in the Conference were either refugees or more or less representative railwaymen's leaders who had come to Great Britain for other reasons than to attend the Conference. Some of them had no connection with the railway industry.

Great Britain was represented by three large delegations: the National Union of Railwaymen and the Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen sent six delegates each and the Railway Clerks' Association four. The Canadian Brotherhood of Railway Employees wrote saying that they wished to send a delegate, but that the chances of their being able to do so were practically nil: in fact no delegate was able to come. The General Secretary of the Swiss Railwaymen's Federation had already written on a previous occasion that it was hardly possible for him to leave his country, in spite of his keen desire to visit England, and in view of the fact that the situation in Switzerland had become even more difficult in the course of the summer of 1943, we thought it better not to embarrass the organization with an invitation to attend this Conference. The Swedish Railwaymen's Union had taken all necessary steps to be represented by its General Secretary, but at the last moment no means of transport was available.

The occupied countries—Austria, Belgium, Luxemburg, Poland and Czechoslovakia, were represented by railwaymen and trade union leaders in exile. As there were no railway trade unionists among the Danish, Greek and Dutch Colonies in the United Kingdom, these countries were represented by leaders of the respective seamen's unions. Norway was represented by the President of the Norwegian Federation of Civil and Public Service Employees, to which the Railwaymen's Union is affiliated. Spain was represented by one of the leaders of the former Madrid branch of the Spanish Road Transport Workers' Federation and the former General Secretary of the Spanish General Union of Workers, a leader of the Metal Workers' Union. Occupied France was represented by two of the Secretaries of the General Confederation of Labour (neither of them a railwayman), and French North Africa by the Secretary of the Federation of Railwaymen's Trade Unions of Algeria. Germany was represented by one of the secretaries of the former German Railwaymen's Union, who was the representative outside of Germany of the underground organization of German railwaymen. We had also invited representatives of the delegation in Great Britain of the Austrian trade unions and the Belgian General Confederation of Labour. The Railway Labor Executives' Association of the U.S.A. had been invited long before the date of the Conference was fixed, and it was represented by Messrs. J. A. Phillips and F. K. Switzer.

While preparations for the Conference were being made we were informed that Mr. P. M. Tarasov, President of the Railwaymen's Union of the Centre of the Soviet Union, was among the fraternal delegates to the annual Trades Union Congress in the United Kingdom. The President and Secretary of the Railwaymen's Section decided to invite him to the Conference if he should still be in England when it was held. After the Soviet trade union delegation had made sure that the Trades Union

Congress had no objection, Mr. Tarasov duly attended the Conference, accompanied by Mrs. Zhukova and an interpreter.

Endeavours were also made to get an Italian delegate to the Conference, but circumstances combined to make it impossible.

The Conference was held behind closed doors, as the President and Secretary of the Railwaymen's Section wanted every delegate to feel quite free to say anything he might not care to say in public.

The Secretary presented a memorandum on the organization of railwaymen after the war, based on the assumption that the I.T.F. would then be in a position to take an active part in the reconstruction of the railwaymen's trade unions. He put forward the view that the new unions would have the double task of solving all problems arising in connection with the railwaymen's occupational and family life, and making a substantial contribution to the restoration of transport services. The chief conditions necessary for success were two : the existence of trade unions able to undertake these tasks and the prospect of social and political conditions capable of inspiring the workers concerned with enthusiasm. He proposed to claim for the trade unions a share in the power and responsibility of managing and directing transport services. With a view to creating the conditions necessary for co-operation between the different railwaymen's trade unions, he asked for freedom of movement throughout Europe for the representatives of the I.T.F.

The discussion showed that some of these ideas were controversial, but since the Conference was not in the necessity of providing for immediate requirements, no decision was come to, but a resolution was adopted offering I.T.F. co-operation to the Technical Advisory Committee for Inland Transport which had been set up by the Allied governments.

The Conference further had before it a memorandum on the post-war organization of European inland transport, with special reference to the railways, prepared by the Research Department of the I.T.F. The author sustained the thesis that the economic integration of Europe was a necessity, and that the I.T.F. should therefore include in its programme the setting up of unified transport services for Europe. He envisaged a vast network composed of more or less small economic units existing within the greater structure ; but unlike the old units, they would be economic and not political. He proposed that the I.T.F. should, while the war was still on, pursue the unification of European transport, with a view to creating a starting-point for the organization of the economic life of Europe on a new and higher plane.

A number of speakers declared that they did not share the views of the author of the memorandum as to the requirements for reorganization, while others considered that the proposed policy was an impracticable one in view of the political tendencies prevalent in Europe. The Conference adopted the proposal, embodied in the memorandum, to set up a committee to study the question and draw up a programme.

It further adopted a resolution demanding " that the railwaymen of the world be afforded, through the I.T.F., representation at the Peace Conference and at any reconstruction conferences dealing with transport problems." The Conference also sent a number of messages to European railwaymen (see Chapter 6, Section 14).

C.—EUROPEAN TRANSPORT COMMITTEE OF THE I.T.F.

On 30th October 1943 the Management Committee, acting upon the decision of the Railwaymen's Conference, set up a European Transport Committee composed as follows :

- Allen (Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen)
—Great Britain.
- Beardsworth (National Union of Distributive and Allied Workers)
—Great Britain.
- Champion (National Union of Railwaymen)—Great Britain.
- Clay (Transport and General Workers' Union)—Great Britain.
- Deakin (Transport and General Workers' Union)—Great Britain.
- De Block (Member of Board of Directors of National Railway Company)—Belgium.
- De Witte (Transport Workers' Union)—Belgium.
- Gallie (Railway Clerks' Association)—Great Britain.
- Helland (Seamen's Union)—Norway.
- Jarman (National Union of Seamen)—Great Britain.
- Jahn (Railwaymen's Union)—Germany.
- Marchbank (International Transportworkers' Federation).
- Maxamin (Railwaymen's Union)—Poland.
- Nemeč (Railwaymen's Union)—Czechoslovakia.
- Oldenbroek (International Transportworkers' Federation).
- Tofahrn (International Transportworkers' Federation).

The Management Committee chose the terms of reference proposed by the Acting General Secretary and instructed the Committee to report on the following questions :

(1) Is it necessary, desirable and possible to facilitate, to improve and to promote international traffic in Europe and to secure that the several means of transport occupy the place due to them within the system as a whole and to prevent the natural flow of traffic from being hampered by national measures ?

(2) What measures need to be taken and what authorities need to be directed or newly created to bring about collaboration between the countries of Europe in order to secure that those sectors of the transport networks of European countries, including ancillary natural and constructed works, which are or may be calculated to play a role in the international transport of goods and passengers by airway, railway or highway, or by water, shall contribute to raising the welfare of the whole European community of nations ?

(3) What part should the trade unions of transport workers take in the international or regional management boards to be constituted and how can the greatest possible uniformity in the conditions of work and service and the social provisions of the personnel be realized ?

The Committee held eight meetings between November 1943 and September 1944, and adopted a report calling for the establishment of a European Transport Authority ensuring the smooth operation of transport in a Europe conserving its present political structure, i.e., one of nation states enjoying national sovereignty and running their own transport systems.

D.—TECHNICAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE FOR INLAND TRANSPORT OF THE ALLIED GOVERNMENTS. (T.A.C.I.T.)

In October 1942 the Post-war Requirements' Bureau of the Allied governments, known as the Leith-Ross Committee, set up T.A.C.I.T. When this Committee had made some headway with its work, the I.T.F. Secretariat approached its Chairman and an interview took place in March 1943. The Chairman was informed that in our view transport personnel problems deserved early attention and that the I.T.F. was representing the European workers so long as their organizations were out of action. The Chairman declared himself to be willing to accept the co-operation of the I.T.F. and to do all he could to smooth the way for such co-operation. On 15th March 1944 the Railwaymen's Secretary was invited to attend a meeting of T.A.C.I.T. The discussion brought out the fact that T.A.C.I.T. had no powers to negotiate with the I.T.F., or any other trade union body, and that for the time being co-operation would be confined to the giving of advice. The meeting drew up the terms of reference for a Personnel Sub-Committee and invited the I.T.F. to appoint two members. The Management Committee appointed Messrs. J. E. Corrin (of the British T.G.W.U.) for road transport and Tofahrn (of the I.T.F.) for railways. Both took an active part in the work of the Personnel Sub-Committee and the final report, containing the recommendations to the Allied Governments, bears visible traces of this trade union contribution.

E.—THE EUROPEAN CENTRAL INLAND TRANSPORT ORGANIZATION (E.C.I.T.O.) AND AUTOMATIC COUPLING

By an agreement of 8th May 1945 the Governments of the United States, Belgium, France, United Kingdom, Luxemburg, Holland and Norway set up a Provisional Organization for European Inland Transport. On 27th September 1945 this body made way for a European Central Inland Transport Organization, in which, in addition to those above-mentioned, the Governments of Greece, Poland, U.S.S.R. and Yugoslavia took part. Article VII, Section 21, of the agreement provides that the Organization will take steps to consult with the representatives of inland transport workers on such international matters falling within the scope of activities of the organization as may concern such workers.

The matters falling within the scope of the Organization's activities are mainly technical and administrative, and not social, so that opportunities for consultation with the national or international trade union organizations of the transport workers are not very frequent. So far only one question concerning the Organization and the railwaymen's trade unions has been the subject of communications between the Organization and the I.T.F., viz., that of automatic coupling. On 15th February 1946 the Director General of the Organization, replying to a request of the Secretary of the Railwaymen's Section of the I.T.F., promised to take in hand immediately the preparation of a conference of railway managements in continental Europe with a view to coming to general agreement on the design of new wagons. The general idea is that all wagons should be built with a chassis that will serve for either automatic or screw coupling, so that the substitution of the one for the other can be effected at any future date without any additional reinforcement. Plans of wagon types meeting this requirement, prepared during the war by T.A.C.I.T., are already available.

Road Transport Workers' Section

The Road Transport Workers' (motor drivers and tramwaymen) Section met in Conference at Geneva on 6th June 1939. Seventeen delegates attended from Belgium, France, United Kingdom, Holland, Sweden and Switzerland. Delegates from Denmark and Norway were on the way, but did not arrive in time.

The agenda for the Conference was consideration of a draft international convention on working hours in road transport, prepared by the I.L.O. The work of the Conference had been prepared by the Advisory Committee of the Section, which had examined the I.L.O. draft critically and drawn up a series of proposals for amendment. There were a number of controversial questions on which it was not found possible to reach unanimity, but decision by vote was avoided. In view of the make-up of the International Labour Conference and its committees, the Section decided to leave delegates to the Conference free to accept or propose compromises provided they were not incompatible with trade union demands.

No work was done by this Section during the war.

Dockers' Section

A.—INTER-PORT COMPETITION AND WORKING CONDITIONS

The Antwerp dockers secured in 1936 a seven-hour day. By 1938 the political situation had deteriorated to such a point that the employers proposed to abolish the seven-hour day and reduce wages, declaring that Antwerp could not compete with the Dutch ports. At the request of the Belgian Transport Workers' Union the I.T.F. called two conferences of Belgian and Dutch trade unions, which were also attended by representatives of the Belgian Roman Catholic and Liberal, and the Dutch Protestant and Roman Catholic, trade unions.

These conferences were held in Antwerp on 10th December 1938 and in Rotterdam on 27th January 1939, and the unions represented made a joint protest against endeavours to continue and accentuate, at the expense of the workers, the competition between Dutch and Belgian ports. They urged the municipal authorities concerned to come together and try to unify port charges. The authorities did enter into negotiations, but they were long drawn out, and up to the outbreak of war no positive results had been achieved.

The war, the destruction which accompanied it, and post-war conditions naturally changed all aspects of the problem. At the meeting of the Inland Transport Committee of the I.L.O. the matter was taken up again on a broader basis, by the Workers' Group.

B.—APPLICATION OF THE INTERNATIONAL CONVENTION ON MARKING OF WEIGHTS ON PACKAGES

At its meeting in connection with the I.T.F. Congress of 1938, the Dockers' Section decided to undertake an enquiry into the application of the international convention which makes it compulsory to mark the weight on heavy loads, adopted by the International Labour Conference of 1929. The Secretariat sent the necessary questionnaire out at the beginning of 1939, but had not received a single reply when the war put an end to the work.

C.—DECASUALIZATION OF DOCK LABOUR

Dock labour schemes ensuring permanent and continuous employment of dockers are a new development in this industry. The original impulse came from Great Britain, but changes were also made early in the war in New Zealand and Australia, and have aroused widespread interest amongst the dockers' organizations. All available information has been disseminated through our publications.

In addition the Secretariat has prepared and distributed a draft international programme of demands of which the decasualization of dock labour is the chief point. It has had a preliminary examination at a meeting of delegates of affiliated dockers' organizations who came to London to take part in the meeting of the Inland Transport Committee of the I.L.O.

It turned out that the dockers' unions of continental Europe would have to go more closely into the question of continuity of employment for dockers before it would be possible to come to an agreement on a common policy. It was therefore decided to ask the Secretariat of the I.T.F. to submit its proposals in their present form to affiliated unions, with the request that they be considered with a view to reaching common conclusions at an international dockers' conference to be held on the occasion of the I.T.F. Congress in May 1946.

Considerable anxiety was expressed at the meeting lest, with the resumption of commercial shipping, there would be a recrudescence of competition between the ports of Western Europe, as well as between inland water transport undertakings. It was decided to try to raise the matter at the meeting of the I.L.O. committee, and to propose that the governments concerned—particularly France, the United Kingdom, Belgium and Holland—should endeavour to reach immediate agreement on a plan to eliminate unfair competition, and to call a conference of qualified Government representatives empowered to negotiate economic agreements, representatives of authorities and employers responsible for the organization of the port industry, and representatives of the trade unions signatory to collective agreements determining working conditions in the ports. Emphasis was laid on the necessity of a conference able to come to decisions, and not merely to adopt resolutions and make recommendations.

It was also decided to raise in the I.L.O. committee the question of the re-equipment of ports that have been destroyed.

Inland Waterway Workers' Section

At its meeting in February 1939 the Executive Committee decided to invite organizations of inland waterway workers to a Conference for the purpose of considering the chief factors which play a part in international competition, i.e. working hours, manning scales, wages, and the position of inland navigation in the transport system as a whole ; and further it was suggested that the question of the schooling of bargemen's children should be considered. The Executive Committee realized that the obstacles to an adequate solution of these problems were almost unsurmountable in view of the political situation at the moment, which made impossible any endeavour to solve, with German participation, the economic and social problems arising in the Rhine and Danube basins. That it nevertheless called the Conference was due to the fact that it would be useful to hear all the facts concerning these questions, and also to gauge the importance of the unfavourable political aspects.

The Conference was called for 27th, 28th and 29th August at Liège, and all preparations had already been made by the beginning of the month, but the increased international tension forced the Secretariat to call it off about a week before it was due to begin.

The question of international competition in inland navigation was raised once more by workers' delegates to the meeting of the Inland Transport Committee of the I.L.O.

Air Transport Workers

There was no Section of air transport workers within the I.T.F. prior to the war. In February 1942 correspondence on the subject was opened with the British Radio Officers' Union and the British Air Line Pilots' Association. These two organizations were informed of the I.T.F.'s desire to promote the following aims :

(1) To organize air transport workers of all countries in genuine trade unions ;

(2) To link up internationally all organizations of air transport workers ;

(3) To associate air transport workers' unions with those of land and sea transport workers for the advancement of their interests and the joint advocacy of a rational transport policy.

The exchange of correspondence and the conversations that took place led to the conclusion that conditions were not yet favourable enough to arouse the interests of air transport workers and their organizers.

Publications

A.—PRINTED JOURNAL

The I.T.F. Journal ceased publication in 1933. At the first meeting of the British Management Committee, in November 1939, Mr. Bevin proposed issuing it again. As the cost could not be met out of ordinary income, the Management Committee decided to appeal to the affiliated British unions to make an extra contribution to a Publication Fund of the I.T.F. This fund has received the following sums from British unions :

	1940	1943
Transport and General Workers' Union ..	£500	£450
National Union of Railwaymen	220	500
Railway Clerks' Association	75	150
National Union of Seamen	75	100
Canadian Brotherhood of Railway Employees ..	25	—
National Union of Distributive and Allied Workers	—	75
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	£895	£1275
	<hr/>	<hr/>

The Journal has been published in English and Spanish since January 1940. It was intended to be a monthly journal, but that proved too difficult an undertaking. Ten issues were published in 1940, five in 1941, five in 1942, six in 1943, six in 1944 and five in 1945.

During the first three years the circulation was 9,000 for the English edition, and 1,000 for the Spanish. In 1943 our stock of paper was exhausted and the allocation made to us by the Paper Control was too small to maintain so high a circulation, so from 1943 onwards it has been between 5,500 and 6,000 for the English edition, the Spanish being maintained at 1,000. Roughly 4,100 copies of the English edition are distributed to our affiliated British organizations, 300 to the branches of foreign unions in Great Britain, and 700 to our affiliated organizations overseas. Part of the remainder is distributed among non-affiliated organizations, another part consisting of exchange copies and stock. The Spanish edition is distributed throughout South America to affiliated and non-affiliated unions.

A scheme to re-issue the French edition by getting it printed in Switzerland as from the middle of 1945 came to nothing. The Swiss authorities have controlled paper for the purpose of supplying France, and will not at present issue licences for new publications. Owing to the shortage of paper the British authorities take the same standpoint.

B.—PRESS REPORT

Owing to the disorganization of postal relations and the occupation of many European countries by enemy armies, we had to discontinue in August 1940 the publication of the German Press Report, and in June

1941 the Swedish edition. In August 1942 the Spanish edition was discontinued as well on account of the publication of a Spanish News Sheet by the New York Office of the I.T.F. The circulation of the English edition of the Press Report is at present 320 and the French 80.

Since April 1945 the editing of the Press Report has been in the hands of Mr. M. Zwalf, Director of our Research Department. This arrangement has made possible a considerable expansion of the contents of the publication by including general items about the transport industry which we did not previously publish.

C.—ESPERANTO MONTHLY

In 1940 the number of readers able to receive the monthly Esperanto publication of the I.T.F. dwindled to next to nothing, so that the work and expenditure involved was no longer warranted. The publication was discontinued in December 1940.

D.—FASCISM

The French edition of "Fascism" was discontinued in December 1940 and the Swedish in June 1941. The Spanish edition was also dropped in 1942 when the New York Office undertook the publication of a News Sheet in Spanish. 550 copies of the English and 160 of the German edition were published up to April 1945, when the reason for the existence of the publication disappeared with the more important fascist régimes.

E.—NEW YORK PRESS SERVICE

The New York Office of the I.T.F. has issued, since November 1941, a fortnightly bulletin in English, distributed to the Labour Press in the U.S.A. and Canada, the contents of which are drawn from the publications issued in England, and from cabled information supplied by the Head Office. It further issues a monthly bulletin in Spanish, distributed to the Labour papers in Latin America.

F.—SWEDISH NEWS LETTER

From time to time a few copies of a News Letter containing translations of the most interesting matter appearing in our regular publications have been sent to our Swedish organizations.

Emigrants and Refugees

(1) Spaniards in France

The disastrous end of the war in Spain, at the end of January and beginning of February 1939, caused a flood of some 400,000 or 500,000 Spanish soldiers and civilians to take refuge in France. The I.T.F. sent one of its secretaries to the south of France to enquire into the possibility of doing something to help them, and a plan was drawn up in close co-operation with the French Railwaymen's Federation, acting in agreement with all organizations affiliated to the I.T.F., and in their name. Compared with the enormous needs of the refugees it was a very modest plan, but it was put into immediate operation, thanks to the earnestness and devotion of the French leaders. The I.T.F. provided two different amounts of 200,000 francs each, to give some little assistance to 3,500 railwaymen, 3,700 seamen and fishermen and 7,000 road transport workers whom it was possible to trace among the mass of refugees. The French affiliated organizations further imposed on their members a special levy for this purpose, and they also granted considerable sums from their union funds.

While the I.T.F. was doing this work, it urged the International Federation of Trade Unions and all the other international trade secretariats to take parallel action. The result was the establishment of a general relief fund, managed by a joint committee of the I.F.T.U. and the international trade secretariats, to which the I.T.F. paid a further 100,000 francs.

When the war started it became very difficult for the French trade unions to continue this work, but they managed to do so for another seven or eight months, though on a somewhat smaller scale. The funds eventually became exhausted, and before further steps could be taken the German armies invaded Western Europe.

(2) Spaniards in Mexico

The I.T.F. has helped a number of leaders of Spanish transport workers' unions to emigrate to Mexico. Contact with them has been maintained by correspondence. Further, the late General Secretary went himself to Mexico and organized relief action on their behalf on a fairly substantial scale. After his death contacts with the leaders of Spanish transport and other workers' unions were still maintained, mainly through the I.T.F. correspondent in Mexico.

(3) Spaniards in North Africa

Early in 1943 we endeavoured to make contacts with Spanish trade unionists who had been transferred from France to North Africa. We thus learned that soon after the liberation all were set free, and that all able-bodied men had found work. There was still a great deal of suffering, particularly among those unable to work. Through the good offices of a French comrade travelling from London to Algiers we sent the sum of

£100 to be administered by Spanish comrades and to be used to relieve dire and urgent need in individual cases.

(4) Germans in Lisbon

In 1941 we received an appeal from German trade union and political refugees in Lisbon who were waiting there for passages to America. Through the good offices of the Swiss Railwaymen's Federation we made them a grant of 2,000 Swiss francs.

(5) Individual Cases

A few refugees of different nationalities, in Great Britain and elsewhere, who have been up against particular difficulties, have been helped with money.

Staff

A.—COMPOSITION

On the eve of war, the Staff was composed as follows :

Translators : Thérèse Asser, G. R. Clutterbuck, Lina Kant, V. Klatil, J. Leliveld, T. S. Lundgren, R. P. Santley.

Research Officers : A. Treurniet, M. Zwalf.

Clerks and Shorthand-typists : Mien Anken, Marguerite Cabos (temporary typist), C. du Bruin, Dini Emond (Research Department), Sonja Polak, Mariette Thomas (on temporary leave), Nora van Swede.

Caretaker : Miss Riet.

In the course of 1939 Thérèse Asser, G. R. Clutterbuck, Lina Kant, V. Klatil, T. S. Lundgren, R. P. Santley and M. Zwalf were transferred to the United Kingdom. Mariette Thomas was already in England on unpaid leave of absence.

J. Leliveld, A. Treurniet and Miss Riet were left in the Amsterdam office.

Mien Anken, Marguerite Cabos, Dini Emond, Sonja Polak, Nora van Swede and C. du Bruin were dismissed in August 1939. Mrs. Lina Kant and Miss Mariette Thomas were also dismissed, on 28th February 1941, when the German and French publications were stopped. Mrs. Kant was re-engaged, as a shorthand typist, on 1st January 1945.

W. Auerbach, editor of "Fascism," and H. L. Steenmeyer Dros, private secretary of Mr. Fimmen, who were transferred to the United Kingdom in 1939, were also included in the established staff. Steenmeyer Dros joined the colours after the end of August 1940.

The following joined the staff in the United Kingdom, but subsequently left it : H. G. Storey, junior clerk ; Miss Raquel Viliesid, typist ; Miss Sheila Stone, shorthand-typist ; Miss Marcelle Lemmens, telephone operator.

The staff of the I.T.F. Secretariat is now composed as follows :

(1) London Office

Translators : Thérèse Asser, G. R. Clutterbuck, V. Klatil, T. S. Lundgren and R. P. Santley.

Research Officer : M. Zwalf.

Editor of "Fascism" : W. Auerbach.

Clerks and Shorthand-typists : H. L. Steenmeyer Dros (on military service), Lina Kant and Ilma Brooks (transferred from the B.D.D.F.P. to the I.T.F. on 1st February 1946).

(2) New York Office

Manager : Willy Dorchain.

Shorthand-typist : Miss Constance Sheehy.

The employees left behind in the Amsterdam office are no longer in the service of the I.T.F., for the following reasons :

Arie Treurniet, after five years of captivity in Germany, does not wish to leave his native land, Holland, at least for the moment. He is now working in a sociological institute.

Jan Leliveld, after the liberation of Holland, took in hand the affairs of the I.T.F. in Amsterdam, and (this he is still doing) the recovery of the archives, furniture and material looted and dispersed by the German and Dutch nazis. He did not wish to come to the office in London, and handed in his resignation. He is at present working for the Building and Wood Workers' International.

Miss Riet is unemployed now that the I.T.F. office in Amsterdam is closed. On account of her age she wishes to retire.

It should be mentioned that Mr. Treurniet had to pay a heavy price for his convictions and the fact that he was in the service of the I.T.F., an organization that had earned the special attentions of the Gestapo. He was arrested on 25th May 1940, and sentenced on 8th April 1942 to two and a half years hard labour for "high treason," subject to deduction of the twenty-two months he had been awaiting trial. When "released" from prison, at the end of 1942, he was transferred to "protective arrest," that is to say, to a concentration camp, "because the political antecedents of the prisoner justify the presumption that he will in the future always act against the Third Reich." Treurniet was more than two years in Buchenwald concentration camp, from where he was repatriated to Holland in May 1945.

B.—TRANSFER COSTS

On 26th November 1939 the Management Committee decided to bear all travelling expenses plus part of hotel and extra expenses incurred by the secretaries and members of the staff transferred to Great Britain.

Members of the staff in most cases had to leave all or nearly all their belongings in Amsterdam on being transferred to Britain. They asked for an assurance that the I.T.F. will bear transportation and connected costs when they can enter again into possession of their furniture and household equipment. On 14th June 1941 the Management Committee decided to inform the members of the staff that at the appropriate time arrangements will be considered for placing them once more in possession of belongings which have been left behind in Holland, and under the agreement entered into with their Union in July 1941 responsibility for this was accepted.

Personalia

A.—EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

J. Marchbank.—Mr. Marchbank retired from the general secretaryship of the National Union of Railwaymen of Great Britain on 31st December 1942. His organization has decided that he may continue his office in the I.T.F. until the next I.T.F. congress.

J. Jarrigion.—Mr. Jarrigion retired from the general secretaryship of the French Railwaymen's Federation in June or July 1940. In retirement he maintained relations and helped with the clandestine trade union movement. After the liberation of France he resigned his membership of the Executive Committee of the I.T.F.

T. Gómez.—Mr. Gómez was in France throughout the war, often in danger of falling into the hands of the fascists. He had many tribulations and difficulties and suffered heavy losses. Mrs. Gómez died in France during the war. One of Gómez' sons was shot in a Madrid jail and a second son is still a captive in the hands of the Spanish fascists. Our plans to enable Gómez to proceed to South America miscarried in spite of strenuous endeavours made, in France, Argentina, Mexico and Britain, at the request of the I.T.F.

B.—GENERAL COUNCIL (*Substitute Members)

Ernest Bevin, M.P.—Mr. Bevin entered the British Government, as Minister of Labour, in 1940. After a short interruption of his ministerial career he joined the new Labour Government as Foreign Secretary.

In the spring of 1946 he will reach the age limit for officials of the Transport and General Workers' Union, so he has retired from his position as General Secretary of that organization.

**Arthur Deakin (Great Britain).*—Mr. Deakin has been elected, on the retirement of Mr. Bevin, General Secretary of the Transport and General Workers' Union. He was substitute for Mr. Bevin on the General Council and Management Committee of the I.T.F., and has replaced him since May 1940.

**Ph. de Witte.*—Mr. de Witte escaped, in May and June 1940, from Belgium and France to Great Britain, where he organized the Belgian Seamen's Union and became General Secretary of the B.D.D.F.P. On returning to his own country he has not resumed his leadership of the Belgian Transport Workers' Union.

E. Ehlers.—Mr. Ehlers has been active, throughout the war, in the clandestine trade union movement of France. After the end of 1942 he was the liaison officer between the I.T.F. and the clandestine C.G.T. After the liberation, he resumed his position as General Secretary of the French Seamen's Federation.

**Ch. Garcias.*—Mr. Garcias was arrested in September 1939 and was detained in a political prison in French North Africa. He was set free early in 1943 by the French Committee of National Liberation and resumed his work with the French Transport Workers' Federation. At its Congress in November 1945 he was elected General Secretary.

**I. Haugen*.—Mr. Haugen escaped late in 1940 from Norway to Britain and resumed here his office of General Secretary of the Norwegian Seamen's Union. His duties called him also to the U.S.A., where he worked in 1941 and 1942.

**C. Hernandez*.—The General Secretary of the Spanish Transport Workers' Federation escaped to France after the defeat of the Spanish Republic. Since December 1942 he has been in Mexico.

G. Lambert.—Mr. Lambert was dismissed from the service of the Belgian Railwaymen's Union upon the liberation of the country.

**H. Leuenberger*.—Mr. Leuenberger has assumed the office of President (chief full-time official) of the Swiss Federation of Commercial, Transport and Food Workers, in succession to the late Mr. Schifferstein.

**G. Lorient*.—General Secretary of the French Dockers' Federation, tried to integrate his organization into the Vichy régime and, consequently, had no relations with the clandestine trade union movement of France.

K. Maxamin.—Mr. Maxamin escaped in September 1939 from Poland to Rumania and, with the help of the I.T.F., in December from there to France. He succeeded in getting from Paris to Toulouse, and from there eventually made his way to Lisbon, with the help of Mr. Jarrigion. In Lisbon he is engaged on Polish relief work. He attended the International Railwaymen's Conference in London in September 1943. From his vantage point in Lisbon he is doing relief and information work for the I.T.F.

**G. Reed*.—Mr. Reed resigned his position with the National Union of Seamen of Great Britain in November 1940.

W. R. Spence.—Mr. Spence, on retiring on 30th June 1942, from the general secretaryship of the National Union of Seamen of Great Britain, resigned his offices in the I.T.F.

**W. Stott*.—Mr. Stott retired in September 1940 from the general secretaryship of the Railway Clerks' Association of Great Britain.

**W. Wojewoda*.—We have no information as to the fate of Mr. Wojewoda of the Polish Railwaymen's Union.

C.—AFFILIATED ORGANIZATIONS

P. de Bruyne (Belgium), President (chief full-time official) of the former Belgian Railwaymen's Union was at the head of those leaders of his organization who were active in the clandestine trade union movement of Belgium. He helped during and after the war to set up the new trade union embracing the employees of all public services, to which the railwaymen are affiliated.

H. Hazard (Belgium), who before the war was General Secretary of the Belgian Railwaymen's Union, resigned his position in October 1940, returned to the railway service and became one of the organizers of the resistance movement. During and after the war he helped to set up the new Central Public Services Union, to which the railwaymen are affiliated, but he refused a paid post in the organization. At its congress in September 1945 he was elected President of the Railwaymen's Section of the organization.

O. Becu (Belgium), President of the Belgian Union of Officers in the Mercantile Marine (a section of the Belgian Transport Workers' Union), and Secretary of the International Mercantile Marine Officers' Association, escaped to England during the war. There he worked at the reconstruction of the organization on British soil, and actively helped to set up the B.D.D.F.P. He was for a long time in the U.S.A., where he did valuable work in organizing merchant seamen and managing the I.T.F. office there. After the liberation he returned to his own country and took in hand the reconstruction of the Belgian Transport Workers' Union. At its congress in February 1946 he was elected President.

R. De Keyzer (Belgium), full-time secretary of the B.D.D.F.P. during the war, has been appointed National Secretary of the Belgian Transport Workers' Union.

B. Møller (Denmark).—Mr. Møller was, before the war, the agent of the Danish Seamen's and the Danish Stokers' unions in Belgium. In 1940 he made his way to Britain and became the leader of the Danish Seamen's Federation in Great Britain and the U.S.A. This organization was dissolved after the liberation of Denmark, and he returned to his own country.

G. Ouradou (France).—Mr. Ouradou became, on liberation day, Joint General Secretary of the French Railwaymen's Federation, in succession to Mr. Jarrigion. At its congress in August 1945 he was elected Assistant General Secretary.

R. Tournemaine (France).—On liberation day Mr. Tournemaine became Joint General Secretary of the French Railwaymen's Federation in succession to Mr. Semard. At its congress in 1945 he was elected sole General Secretary.

Eugene Jaccoud (France), was active throughout the war in the clandestine trade union movement in France. On the liberation he resumed his position as General Secretary of the French Transport Workers' Federation. At its congress in November 1945 he was elected Assistant General Secretary.

John Benstead (Great Britain). Mr. Benstead assumed the office of General Secretary of the National Union of Railwaymen of Great Britain, in succession to Mr. Marchbank, in January 1943.

C. N. Gallie (Great Britain).—Mr. Gallie assumed on 1st September 1940 the office of General Secretary of the Railway Clerks' Association of Great Britain, in succession to Mr. Stott.

C. Jarman (Great Britain).—Mr. Jarman, in July 1942, assumed the office of Acting General Secretary of the National Union of Seamen of Great Britain, for the duration of the war, in succession to Mr. Spence.

J. Roberts (New Zealand).—Mr. Roberts gave up, early in 1942, the office of Secretary-Treasurer of the New Zealand Waterside Workers' Union, which he had held for twenty-six years, and, at the request of the organization has taken up the office of Waterfront Control Commissioner, organizing, on behalf of the Government, the work in the ports of New Zealand.

T. Hill (New Zealand).—Mr. Hill assumed, in April 1942, the office of Secretary-Treasurer of the New Zealand Waterside Workers' Union in succession to Mr. Roberts.

Messrs. A. Lofgren and A. Borgstedt (Sweden), President and Vice-President of the (amalgamated) Swedish Railwaymen's Union, retired on 17th November 1940 and 31st December 1941 respectively.

S. Christiansson (Sweden).—Mr. Christiansson was elected President (chief full-time official) of the Swedish Railwaymen's Union in succession to Mr. Lofgren. He resigned in February 1946, and resumed his old position as National Propaganda Secretary.

B. Konig (Austria).—Mr. Konig, the general secretary of the Austrian Railwaymen's Union, fled from Austria to Czechoslovakia after the Austrian civil war of 1934. He is at present in the U.S.A. and was acknowledged as the representative of Austrian workers by the Workers' Group of the I.L.O. Conference in Philadelphia in April/May 1944.

K. Weigl (Austria).—Mr. Weigl, the General Secretary of the Austrian Transport Workers' Union, is living in Switzerland.

W. Brodecky (Czechoslovakia), General Secretary of the Czechoslovak Railwaymen's Union, retired some time before Czechoslovakia was made a German "Protectorate." He suffered maltreatment at the hands of the Nazis, and his health suffered severely while in captivity.

F. Nemeč (Czechoslovakia).—Mr. Nemeč took over the general secretaryship of the Czechoslovak Railwaymen's Union from Mr. Brodecky, but in 1940 he had to flee to Paris. During the war he came to Britain and became a member of the Czechoslovak Government. In 1944 he went to Slovakia for the purpose of organizing civil administration in liberated territories. He now represents his country in U.N.R.R.A.

H. Jahn (Germany).—Mr. Jahn was the leader and organizer of the clandestine anti-Nazi groups of railwaymen in Germany. After many tribulations he made his way from Luxemburg to Great Britain in 1940. He has now returned to Germany, where he is working on the reconstruction of the German Railwaymen's Union.

M. Vidal (Spain), General Secretary of the Spanish Seamen's Federation, escaped to France early in 1939 and proceeded from there to Mexico.

R. Gonzalez Ania (Spain), Assistant General Secretary of the Spanish Transport Workers' Union, escaped to France early in 1939 and from there proceeded to Mexico.

Obituary

L. Buland (Norway), President of the Norwegian Railwaymen's Union, was condemned to death by the Nazi invader, but the sentence was not carried out. He was sent to Germany, where he died in a camp for political deportees.

Jan Chapelle, General Secretary of the Belgian Seamen's Union (a section of the Belgian Transport Workers' Union), came to Britain in July 1940 and died on 18th September 1942, aged 63 years.

Edo Finmen, the general secretary of the I.T.F., died on 14th December 1942, aged 61 years (see Chapter 3).

A. Forstner (Austria), former President of the Austrian Transport Workers' Union and member of the Executive Committee of the I.T.F., died during the war. No particulars are available.

E. Gryłowski, General Secretary of the Polish Railwaymen's Union, fled to Eastern Poland in September 1939 and was arrested by the Soviet authorities. He died in prison in December 1941.

M. Hack, President of the Luxemburg Railwaymen's Union, was killed in an air raid.

H. Jochade, a secretary of the German Railwaymen's Union, and former General Secretary of the I.T.F., died in a concentration camp in the autumn of 1939, aged 63 years. He was trampled to death by the Nazis.

Mrs. E. Lindley (Sweden), the good wife of our President, died in Stockholm after an operation. She was rightly regarded as the first lady in the I.T.F., and attended nearly all Congresses of the I.T.F. since it was founded. Her charming personality will be greatly missed at Zürich, and she will be long remembered in I.T.F. circles.

M. Mastek, President (chief full-time official) of the Polish Railwaymen's Union, fled to Eastern Poland in September 1939 and was arrested by the Soviet authorities. Soon after the outbreak of war between the Soviet Union and Germany he was released and came to Great Britain. He underwent three surgical operations and died at the Polish military hospital in Edinburgh on 9th May 1942, aged 51 years. The I.T.F. sent a wreath and was represented at the funeral.

P. Moltmaker, President (chief full-time official) of the Dutch Railwaymen's and Tramwaymen's Union and a member of the Dutch Management Committee of the I.T.F., died in Holland on 16th September 1941, aged 59 years.

R. Nielsen, President (chief full-time official) of the Danish Transport and General Workers' Union, died on 25th September, 1944, aged 58 years.

A. Reissner (Germany), former President of the German Transport Workers' Union, escaped to Holland in 1933. When the German troops entered Amsterdam in 1940, he took his own life, together with his wife and daughter.

J. Schifferstein, President (chief official) of the Swiss Federation of Commercial, Transport and Food Workers, and Secretary of the International Federation of Food and Drink Workers, died on 19th May 1941, aged 63 years.

P. Semard, joint General Secretary of the French Railwaymen's Federation, was arrested in September 1939 and held in captivity in France when the country was occupied by the German Army. Semard was shot by the occupation authorities on 7th March 1942. In a message smuggled out of jail he himself announced his execution and called upon the railwaymen to hold out and persevere in their resistance to the invader.

Ben Tillett, one of the founders and the first Secretary of the I.T.F., retired from his position in the British Transport and General Workers' Union in 1931 and died on 27th January 1943, aged 82 years. The I.T.F. sent a wreath and was represented at the funeral.

ADDENDA

I

REPORT OF THE ACTING GENERAL SECRETARY ON THE GENERAL SITUATION AND THE FUTURE PROGRAMME AND POLICY OF THE I.T.F.

(Approved by the E.C. on November 26th 1944).

Need for International Consultation

For an international organization like the I.T.F. it is an urgent necessity that it should be able to hold at regular and determined intervals congresses and conferences as well as meetings of its Executive Committee and General Council, attended by representatives from the largest possible number of countries. The lack of such meetings has been felt very acutely during the war, but the trend of events precluded all possibility of circumventing the difficulty. Not only have communications with organizations and countries which always played an important role in the I.T.F. been cut off for many a year—and consequently also with those who in those countries had been elected to the governing bodies of the International—but in addition in one country after another trade unionism was suppressed or crushed outright, so that it became extremely difficult, if not impossible, to give organized expression to the will of the workers.

It need hardly be stressed here that the programmes and policies which govern the activities of trade union organizations must be based on the will and the wishes of the workers and take account of existing conditions. What is true of those who in a community of interests, big or small, give expression to what concerns and unites them, is equally true of an organism like the I.T.F. which seeks to be an aggregation of such communities of interests.

With a view to restoring the necessary contacts as soon as possible, the Management Committee of the I.T.F. has not hesitated to take the first opportunity of calling a meeting of the Executive Committee, and it has considered it desirable to invite also to this meeting such regular and deputy members of the General Council as are accessible. Even so, the meeting planned could not be regarded as really representative, but that could not be a reason for the Management Committee to wait any longer. Indeed, it may be supposed that the transport workers' unions which are in course of being reconstituted in the liberated countries rely on a resumption of international activity and on moral and material support from us. They desire to know what the I.T.F. is able and willing to do to assist them in the reconstruction work, and to be informed, on the other hand, what is expected of them in the common struggle of the transport workers and the workers' movement as a whole.

Need for Regular Meetings

In view of these desires, and for the other reasons set forth, it would seem desirable that the governing bodies of the I.T.F. should meet regularly, and that an International Congress should be held as soon as possible. Further, it may prove necessary to arrange, in the meantime, international sectional or regional conferences if the need should be felt by the Executive Committee or by the organizations or countries concerned. We hope that the members of the Executive Committee and the

General Council will be prepared to help, in respect of the groups of countries and sections which they represent in the convocation and preparation of such conferences and to take part in them.

* * *

European War Drawing to a Close

By the look of things, the war in Europe will not last much longer and there will be opportunity again for effectual international consultations and close co-operation between the trade unions of the different countries. It is therefore appropriate to consider what will be the role and the task of the trade unions in coming international events. At the present juncture, of course, we still have to start to some extent from assumptions, but it would seem to us that we have already reached the stage where there is no great danger of being guided by wishful thinking rather than hard facts.

Outlook for the Trade Unions

In the free countries, i.e., those where the right of association has remained operative, the trade union movement has everywhere gained in numbers and influence. In the countries where this freedom is restored, the workers will flock into the trade unions in large numbers. For there is no doubt that one of the first needs of the workers will be for organizations to represent their economic and social interests. It may therefore be assumed that the trade unions will be ready much sooner to rebuild their machinery than is the case with the political organizations of the working class. For this reason it will also be possible for the international trade union organizations at an early date, perhaps even before the cessation of hostilities, to convene representative congresses and to take decisions regarding their future activities.

General Deepening of Social Consciousness

The deepening of social consciousness and the desire for economic reforms is manifest everywhere, not only in working class circles, but also broad circles outside are urging that there can be no return to the pre-war conditions.

The trade union movement must assume the leadership of this opposition to social insecurity and poverty. Otherwise it runs the risk that circles hostile more or less to the labour movement will exploit the opportunity. Worse than this, there will be a serious danger that the results achieved would be increasingly unsatisfactory.

It is not possible to lay down a universal line of conduct to be followed in all countries. If the labour movement of a given country can develop sufficient economic and political power to realize its demands on its own account that would of course be preferable ; but we must be careful not to issue directives which might prove to be disastrous both for the labour movement of any country and consequently also indirectly for the success of the international activity which must accompany activity on the national plane. For, apart from the fact that the further conduct of the war might be prejudiced, a bid for power can only succeed if the overwhelming majority of the people reject the existing regime or at least are indifferent towards it. In the other event failure is not only certain, but a new form of fascism will be provoked.

Contacts Needed with Other Sections of the People

We therefore repeat that the trade union movement has to assume the leadership of the resistance to social insecurity and poverty. It will be well for it to seek contact with other sections of the people, such as self-employed artisans and traders, tenant and smallholder farmers, as well as technicians, scientific workers and others who, although in an employed capacity, do not belong to any trade union. Demands for full employment, social security, increased production, and expansion of the national income and its redistribution by a fair incidence of taxation, are calculated to evoke a mighty popular movement in every country. The formulation of these demands on the national plane is a condition for international co-operation.

Position of the International Trade Union Movement

The question now arises whether the international trade union organizations, as we knew them before the war, viz., the I.F.T.U. and the International Trade Secretariats, will be capable of giving a lead to this popular movement. It would seem to us that the answer to this question can only be given when sufficiently representative meetings are held to discuss it, and that in no case is it permissible that a few countries should take the decisions or that decisions should be taken which would make a mockery of the participation of countries and organizations which have played an important part in the international movement. For the success of large-scale international action confidence and unity are indispensable.

An international trade union organization is a combination of national trade union organizations whose significance is determined by a variety of factors. The significance of a country depends not only on the influence and the size of the country and its trade union membership, but also on the internal strength and spirit of sacrifice of that membership, the experience at its disposal, the results it has been able to secure, and the support it is capable of giving to the international organization in both the moral and the material spheres. It would be contrary to the spirit of international trade union work if not all the affiliated countries could exert a direct influence in the taking of decisions, if the arguments of Luxemburg were not taken as seriously into account as those of a large country. For that matter, what is a large country? To-day a large country is one with 40 million or more inhabitants, but to-morrow it may be one with 100 or 200 million. The international trade union movement must be a fellowship of free countries whose right to their own opinions must be respected and whose participation in the making of decisions must be safeguarded.

The International Trade Union Movement must be All-embracing

Although it is comprehensible that as a result of and during the war closer co-operation has grown up between the trade unions of the United Nations, the international trade union movement must emphasize that in its ranks there is room, on a footing of quality, for all countries eligible for affiliation, regardless whether they belonged to the United Nations, the Neutrals or the Axis.

Structure of the International Trade Union Movement

Among the problems to which the Executive Committee will have to

devote serious attention is that of the future of the international trade union movement.

The I.T.F. has always occupied a distinctive place. The organizations composing it have always, generally speaking, co-operated effectively in the international field and both their leaders and their rank and file have taken an active interest in international work. In addition the affiliated unions have shown themselves capable of taking vigorous action in respect of both political and economic questions affecting not only the interests of their own members but those of the working class as a whole. Nevertheless, important though may have been the role, the activity and the achievements of the I.T.F., we may not lose sight of the fact that the transport workers are, in the last analysis, an integral part of the general labour movement.

Unfortunately, the position of the I.T.F. has often been misunderstood and misinterpreted, which has been partly due to envy. Yet the I.T.F. has not given occasion for such reactions as it has never sought to domineer other sections of workers.

In 1940 we were in the by no means enviable position of being the only one of the trade union internationals to "carry on." Neither the I.F.T.U. nor any of the other Trade Secretariats were functioning. In August 1940 already the I.T.F. suggested to the President of the I.F.T.U. that certain activities should be undertaken in London. We went so far as to offer that the I.F.T.U. should take over our publication "Fascism," of which all the work, including translation, would continue to be done by the I.T.F. The offer was turned down, and it was only much later that the I.F.T.U. began to issue a roneoed Bulletin. The initiative for the publication of the printed journal "Trade Union World" was taken by the I.T.F., which throughout has borne one half of its costs. We may therefore say in all modesty that we have done our duty in encouraging the activity of the I.F.T.U., but we have the impression that our efforts have not always been properly appreciated by the other sections of the trade union movement.

The question of the re-organization of the trade union movement has been the object of much discussion. If nothing conclusive has emerged, it is because the National Trade Union Centres affiliated to the I.F.T.U. have tried to impose on the International Trade Secretariats the thesis that the supreme body of the trade union movement is the I.F.T.U. Acceptance of this thesis by the International Trade Secretariats would have been to relegate them to a subordinate position, without any voice in the decisions of the I.F.T.U.

We illustrate the matter by recalling a discussion which took place at the I.F.T.U. Congress held in Zürich in 1939. The Belgian Trade Union Centre had protested against the fact that the I.T.F. had asked its affiliated unions for their views on the questionnaire drawn up by the I.L.O. preparatory to the discussion of the question of working hours in the road transport industry at the 1939 International Labour Conference. According to the Belgian T.U.C., questionnaires of this kind should be referred to the National Centres, and the I.T.F., it considered, was not entitled to collect data concerning nor to seek to influence the answers given by the transport workers' unions to their National Centres. The I.T.F., for its part, held that it had not only the right but even the duty to assemble information and to try to establish a common policy before

answers were given to the questionnaire. The Belgian transport workers agreed entirely with the point of view of the I.T.F. In other words, in this connection the Belgian transport workers regarded the I.T.F. as the appropriate international body and not the I.F.T.U.-affiliated National Centre. The question of international representation is therefore not one to be settled by the National Trade Union Centres but by the individual unions themselves. It should not be overlooked, in this connection, that the individual unions are able, through their International Trade Secretariat, to exert a direct influence on international policy, whereas in the I.F.T.U. they are only indirectly represented, through their National Centre.

A New Scheme has been Drawn Up

During the war the question of the future structure of the international trade union movement has again been broached and a committee set up to study it. The report of this committee has been submitted for inspection by the organizations concerned and the Executive Committee will have to consider its attitude towards the document. From the report it appears that it was never the intention to impose a decision and that the National Centres and the Trade Secretariats are to have ample opportunity of discussing all the aspects of the proposals made. As to the I.T.F., the Management Committee intimated to the I.F.T.U. at the proper time that the Congress of the I.T.F. was the competent body to take a decision in the matter. In the meantime, however, the question has arisen whether the I.F.T.U. will continue to exist after the war. A World Trade Union Conference has been convened and will probably open on the 6th February 1945. The initiative for the holding of this Conference did not come from the I.F.T.U.

Although the decisions to be taken by the World Trade Union Conference will not be binding in character, it might be that a provisional decision to set up a new Trade Union International might automatically involve the dissolution of the I.F.T.U. The I.F.T.U. and those Trade Secretariats which are able to function at the moment have been invited to send delegates to the Conference, but the number of these Secretariats is necessarily very limited, and furthermore their delegates are only to have a consultative capacity.

Position of the I.T.F.

As far as the I.T.F. is concerned, there can be no difference of opinion: we think, that it has also during the war continued to do its duty and that it must go on doing it, although the possibility is not precluded that later it will have to deliberate regarding the organizational form it has to assume in the structure of the international trade union movement as a whole. It is true that the I.T.F., too, has lost a large number of countries, but on the other hand there have been a fair number of gains during the war—France being one of those who again occupy their place in the ranks.

World-wide Expansion of the I.T.F.

The I.T.F. without doubt has reason to be proud of the work it has done and the expansion it has achieved. At the same time it is well to

realize that we are still far from the goal which was set when the International was founded.

In the first place, we have never at any moment succeeded in becoming an organization world-wide in the real sense of the term. Powerful organizations have remained outside our ranks and we have accomplished in only a limited degree the task formulated in our Rules, of supporting and promoting the trade union organization of the transport workers in the countries where they are poorly organized or not at all.

This does not mean that the I.T.F. has been unwilling to embrace the whole of the transport workers in its ranks, but simply that the task has so far been beyond its powers. Once the war is over, we shall without delay have to concentrate all our efforts on this object, since it would seem a justified assumption that at that juncture there will be a forward surge in international trade union organization and that throughout the world trade unionism will gain in influence and power. It will above all be necessary, however, to reach agreement on the principles which are to underlie international co-operation.

Not only European

During the whole of its existence the international trade union movement has based its activity on European conceptions and more particularly it has been under the influence of German ideas regarding organic structure, methods of work and trade union ideology. This is comprehensible and easy to explain, seeing that the international movement has to all intents and purposes been confined to Europe and that in the great majority of the countries of the European continent the trade union movement and the labour movement in general have borne the imprint of Germany. This German influence diminished after 1914, it is true, but traditions are stubborn.

Conditions of Admission

When admitting unions to membership, the I.T.F. has never made any other stipulations except to require compliance with its Rules and with the decisions of Congress. It has never posed as a condition the acceptance or the rejection of certain dogmas, and we are of the opinion that the same practice should be upheld in the future and that we should make allowances for differences of conception and mentality, and endeavour to make room for various tendencies. This would include respect for divergent opinions and abstention from any attempt to impose a point of view on a country or organization because that point of view had been adopted or operated in another country. It is only through co-operation within the I.T.F. that it will be possible—after a due lapse of time—to arrive at a common point of view. In other words, the mutual influencing of one tendency by another cannot precede co-operation within the I.T.F. but must follow it.

Let us take the American organizations as an example. They would never be prepared to join the I.T.F. if they were required to subscribe to socialist principles before being admitted to membership. Yet everyone will agree that it is of the highest importance—both for the international movement and for the American workers—that they enter the International. What matters is that the organizations affiliated with the I.T.F.

should be prepared to act together for the realization of a common programme, whilst retaining their autonomy and right to play, in their respective countries, the role corresponding to their conceptions and to the trade union development and political temper of their country.

Regional Organization

The 1928 Congress of the I.T.F. already pronounced in principle in favour of a regional sub-division, with sub-secretariats to be set up in the different regions. The measures so far taken in this direction do not amount to very much, but that should be no reason for us not to renew these efforts after the war. It would be well for the Executive Committee to consider how many such regional secretariats should be set up and where. We suggest that one will be needed for North America, one for Latin America, at least one for Europe, one for the Middle East, one for the Far East, and one for the South Pacific. It may be stated that all these secretariats will be necessary, though it is not possible to specify when they can be set up. If the Executive Committee approves the principle of the constitution of regional secretariats, it will enable us to use the project in our propaganda, for which purpose draft rules will have to be worked out for the secretariats. We could make good use of a first draft made some years ago by comrade Gómez. At the same time it will be necessary to make some appropriate amendments to the Rules of the I.T.F.

Principles of Free Trade Unionism

There are certain principles and obligations which will have to be laid down for affiliated unions. It should be stipulated that only free trade union organizations can qualify for or retain membership in the I.T.F. Free trade unions may be defined as organizations which are not under outside control be it government, employers, political party or any other influence. It is necessary to formulate such a restriction, because organizations which were not free to take decisions in complete independence or which might be prevented from carrying out decisions taken by Congress, conferences, or governing bodies of the I.T.F., might hamper the international effort instead of furthering it. This does not mean that we have anything against organizations co-operating with one or more political parties prepared to defend the programme and the interests of the organizations in question or of the trade union movement in general, but the I.T.F., no more than any other organization, could endure that bodies not forming part of it should give instructions to organizations which do form part of it as to the line of conduct they are to follow or prohibit them from carrying out decisions duly taken by the International. We are not unaware that the relations between trade unions and political parties or governments differ from one country to another and that the methods and objectives of the organizations are rooted in the economic, social and political structure of a country, but if we hope to bring about a world-wide Transport Workers' International, as we do, we shall have to act as an independent organization whose decisions will be respected by the member organizations and will not be undermined by outside influences.

It will be necessary for the I.T.F. and the International trade union movement as a whole to set to work with the least possible delay to build

up a powerful force capable of playing its role in shaping the international shape of things to come. They will, to be sure, support the forces—governments or political parties—which defend the interests of the workers, and will advocate sincere international co-operation, the liberation of all oppressed peoples, the ensurance of peace and the destruction of militarism, but in our opinion such objectives can best be promoted by the existence of independent international movements each making their own appeal to public opinion, using their own resources, and acting on their own account to bring about these ends.

What about Denominational Organizations ?

The I.T.F. will have to be prepared, therefore, to admit all transport workers' unions willing to support one another and to act for the realization of the aims formulated in the Rules and the programmes of the I.T.F. There is one point, however, on which we have to decide our attitude, namely, on the question whether the I.T.F. is to recognize and admit to membership trade unions of the denominational type which are in existence—Catholic and Protestant—in some countries. Now our principle is that the ranks of the International are open to all transport workers, regardless of nationality, race or creed. This implies that there is a place for all in the International and that there must be within it no sub-divisions according to colour, race or creed. To recognize denominational organizations would be to promote divisions in countries which have been able to preserve the unity of the trade union movement.

The Redevelopment of Transport Workers' Unions

The I.T.F. has already had the opportunity of helping in the reconstruction of trade union organizations in territories freed from enemy occupation. The first assistance of this kind was given in North Africa. Next we granted aid to the French underground movement and to the French seamen's organization, and then we lent a hand in the restarting of trade union organizations in Italy. There is no doubt that our assistance will also be required in Belgium, Luxembourg and Holland, as well as in Norway, Denmark and Finland, although the latter countries will receive substantial support from Sweden. Further there are Poland, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Greece and Austria. And finally, in our opinion, it will also be the duty of the International to help in the constitution of a new trade union movement in Germany.

To give to all these countries the assistance they need will be a very formidable task for which the necessary funds are at present lacking, notwithstanding the sacrifices made by the small number of affiliated unions capable of contributing and by the New York Labour Chest. We shall have to continue our efforts to collect funds. Assistance schemes are under consideration in Australia and it is possible that further donations will come from America.

We have created a fund entitled Edo Fimmen Trade Union Reconstruction Fund, the resources of which are to be used for organizations in need of financial assistance, with the idea, however, that they shall repay it, completely or partly, if later they are in a position to do so. The question arises whether it would be desirable, if it is not possible to collect sufficient funds otherwise, for the I.T.F. to endeavour to raise loans free of interest

which would be repaid either from repayments from recipients of assistance, from donations received for the purpose, or from the regular revenue of the I.T.F.

The I.T.F. will not have to confine itself to the reconstruction of trade union organizations in Europe. It will also have to make a great effort in other parts of the world, and if and when the state of our Fund permits, we shall have to make a real contribution to the trade union organization of transport workers in every part of the world where our assistance can be usefully given.

If we are to perform this task in a satisfactory manner very large sums will be needed. Never before have we had to tackle a task of such a magnitude. To begin with, we estimated the sum to be raised at £100,000, but we fear that it will be impossible to reach such a figure. In all probability we shall have to revise our original scheme on a more modest scale, but we should like to know the views of the Executive Committee on the subject.

Whereas there will be complete agreement regarding the aid to be given to the countries which have been the victims of German invasion, some doubt may be felt about the case of Germany itself. We are of the opinion that a new internationally minded trade union movement has to be built up in Germany, and that this has to be done as soon as possible. It should be our aim to assist in the creation of such a trade union movement. The Management Committee has provisionally approved a scheme for the setting up of an I.T.F. office in Germany as soon as conditions permit, which would be an office functioning under the regular control of the central Secretariat of the I.T.F.

Framing of Policy

The policy of the international trade union movement, and therefore also of the I.T.F., must be an independent international policy. It must be based on the principle: all for one and one for all. International policy is not merely an attempt to find a common denominator for the national policies or rather the foreign policies of different countries. International policy must spring from a willingness to sacrifice at the shrine of international fellowship and international co-operation, rather than from a fear of violence. International policy must be a prelude to world policy.

Participation in International Institutions

Inspired by this spirit, the international trade union movement must act in international institutions and elsewhere. International co-operation between the peoples must in no case be left to governments alone. On the contrary, it must be the common good of the peoples themselves, and it can only find its full expression in the formation of independent international organizations in numerous fields. It will be the duty of the international trade union movement to study the foreign policies of the countries and if necessary to oppose them. Foreign policies are frequently obstinate things, which must be obstinately opposed in order to avoid bloody conflicts.

Always retaining its independence, the I.T.F. therefore has to take part in the activities of the appropriate official international institutions.

The first of those to be mentioned in this connection is the I.L.O., which adopted decisions of far-reaching importance at the conference held in Philadelphia this year. They provide, among other things, for the creation of Industrial Sections and the setting up of Industrial Committees—Transport will be one of them—and the I.T.F. will be the appropriate body to co-ordinate the activities of and to give guidance to the workers' side of these committees.

In this I.T.F. participation in international institutions constant care will have to be taken that activity in this sphere does not stagnate, but that on the contrary the workers and public opinion are kept fully informed. Furthermore, we have to ensure that there is co-ordination with the national and international activities of the trade unions themselves. In this way we avoid, on the one hand, an impression that the trade union movement is a wagon hitched, say, to the I.L.O., and on the other hand we lay the foundation of the best result possible.

International Programmes

When drawing up programmes which are to be world-wide in application, account has to be taken of very widely varying conditions. An international programme therefore has to be drawn in broad lines. It must be more than the highest common factor, that is to say, it must not be content with the position reached in the least advanced country, but on the other hand it may not be so ambitious that conditions which even the most advanced have failed to secure after long years of effort set the standard for the programme. The trade union must indeed keep its eyes on the future, but also it must act in the present and make its contribution towards the solving of problems as they present themselves.

There are various ways of framing a programme. One way is to take as the starting point the desire to realize certain ideals, declaring that it is necessary for the achievement of those ideals to effect sweeping changes in the social system, and then to formulate certain social demands and affirm that without faith in the ideals and the change in society the social demands are incapable of realization. Another way is to formulate the same social demands, and to leave to the trade union movements of the different countries the task of taking the economic and political measures which they consider conducive to the social goal envisaged. As the result of an exchange of views and of information about the methods employed in the different countries to achieve the common aim, a uniform line of conduct may finally emerge.

World Programme and Regional Programmes

Apart from a common world programme, it will no doubt be possible, by means of trade union groupings in certain zones and parts of the world, to work out regional programmes which, whilst in harmony with the general programme as formulated from time to time, take account of the special economic and political conditions of the region concerned.

Programme of the I.T.F.

The programme of the I.T.F. will have to consist of two parts, first a general part comprising the general demands of the international trade

union movement, and secondly a series of demands of the I.T.F. itself, derived either from the general programme or bearing on questions affecting more specifically and exclusively the transport workers.

We therefore start from the assumption that the general programme will be the fruit of discussions and agreements between the different sections of the workers' movement.

The Emergency International Trade Union Council, set up in London during the war, dealt with a programme of demands of an economic and social character which had been prepared by a committee on which the I.T.F. was represented, and it decided to submit the programme to the organizations concerned.

With regard to the second part of the programme of the I.T.F., it may be observed that the I.T.F. has had little opportunity of devoting attention to it. The Seamen's Section has been in a favourable position in having been able to function normally, so to speak, during the whole period of the war, and it has adopted an International Seafarers' Charter which has been approved by the Management Committee. We consider that the other sections of the I.T.F. will have to act in a similar fashion, and it follows that it will be necessary for them to meet as early as possible in the future. European Transport problems have been under discussion for some time past on the Technical Advisory Committee for Inland Transport, a study committee on which the I.T.F. is represented by two members.

In relation to these activities of a more professional kind, the international trade union movement has to undertake the task of bringing about the widest possible uniformity in conditions of employment, with a view to arriving at a levelling of the costs of living as one of the conditions for raising the standards of living of the workers all along the line.

The problems of European transport have been the subject of study within the I.T.F. A committee set up for the purpose prepared a report for submission to the Management Committee, which decided to refer it to the Executive Committee as that body was to meet in the near future. (Annex II).

The difference between the International Seafarers' Charter and the other documents already prepared or to be prepared shortly, lies in the fact that the former is world-wide in scope, whereas the other documents are confined to Europe. If the I.T.F. had completed the organizational structure it envisages, such a document would be submitted to the attention of a European regional organ. Since that stage has not yet been reached, it will be for the I.T.F. as a whole to occupy itself with the matter.

Struggle against Fascism and National Socialism

The numerous decisions taken by the I.T.F. in the inter-war period are evidence of how seriously it took the struggle against Fascism and National Socialism. The first proof of its uncompromising attitude was in 1919, when it supported the resistance to the Hungarian dictatorship; then from 1922 on in the struggle against Fascism, first in Italy, later against the White Guards in Finland, and against Nazism in Germany, and finally when it supported the Spanish Republicans. It also intervened in other countries, though these activities did not attract attention to the same degree. In short it may be claimed that the I.T.F. has always ranged itself at the side of the organizations which waged the anti-fascist fight.

It would lead too far to enumerate all these actions separately in the present report. It has to be said that despite the resistance put up in a large number of countries, to say nothing of other parts of the world, heavy blows of one kind or another were dealt at trade union liberty and workers' rights in general.

When war broke out in 1939, the I.T.F. did not hesitate openly to take the side of the Allies, convinced as it was that by so doing it was acting in accordance with the will of the affiliated unions, both of the neutral and the belligerent countries, and also that of the overwhelming majority of their rank and file.

The I.T.F. has made contributions to the Allied war effort in various fields, on the one hand by urging transport workers to support the struggle to the extent of their abilities, on the other hand by appealing to the workers of the occupied countries and Germany to sabotage the German war machine and finally by giving material assistance to the resistance movements as well as to individual comrades in distress.

The war, at least as far as Europe is concerned, is nearing its close, but that does not mean that the struggle against Fascism is over. Fascism will continue, even after the war, to propagate itself clandestinely in a number of countries and in many others it will still be openly in control. We need but recall Spain, Portugal, Argentina and other countries to realize the necessity of carrying on the struggle with all our forces.

II

REPORT ON ORGANIZATION OF EUROPEAN TRANSPORT

(Approved by the E.C. on November 26th, 1944).

INTRODUCTION

The Report that the European Transport Committee hereby presents at the request of the Management Committee of the I.T.F., is the result of eight meetings of the E.T.C., spread over a period of almost ten months. The first meeting was held on 30th November 1943, the last on 19th September 1944. Apart from the minutes of the eight meetings, the Committee has had laid before it twenty documentary items, seven of which contained statistical material. All these items, a list of which is attached, are appended to this Report.

At the first meeting of the E.T.C. its Chairman, Mr. J. Marchbank, made the following statement as to the inception and tasks of the Committee :

“ The International Railwaymen’s Conference held in London on 28th and 29th September 1943, requested the I.T.F. to set up a committee to deal with the European transport problem ; for it was felt that whatever the economic and political situation which might emerge after the war, the trade unions would have to demand—as many of them are demanding already—a say in the reorganization and the operation of transport, and that the trade unions should prepare themselves for the task of subjecting the problem to preliminary study. It is in accordance with the request of the International Railwaymen’s Conference that this committee has been constituted with the terms of reference as laid down by the Management Committee of the I.T.F.”

The terms of reference to which the Chairman referred were the following :

(1) Is it necessary, desirable and possible to facilitate, to improve and to promote international traffic in Europe and to secure that the several means of transport occupy the place due to them within the system as a whole and to prevent the natural flow of traffic from being hampered by national measures ?

(2) What measures need to be taken and what authorities need to be directed or newly created to bring about collaboration between the countries of Europe in order to secure that those sectors of the transport networks in European countries, including ancillary natural and constructed works, which are or may be calculated to play a role in the international transport of goods and passengers by airway, railway or highway or by water, shall contribute to raising the welfare of the whole European community of nations ?

(3) What part should the trade unions of transport workers take in the international or regional management boards to be constituted and how can the greatest possible uniformity in the conditions of work and service and the social provisions of the personnel be realized ?

The composition of the European Transport Committee, as determined by the Management Committee, was as follows :

Messrs. Allen (A.S.L.E.F.)	Messrs. Helland (Norway)
Beardsworth (N.U.D.A.W.)	Jarman (N.U.S.)
Champion (N.U.R.)	Jahn (Germany)
Clay (T.G.W.U.)	Marchbank (I.T.F.)
Deakin (T.G.W.U.)	Maxamin (Poland)
De Block (Belgium)	Nemeč (Czechoslovakia)
De Witte (Belgium)	Oldenbroek (I.T.F.)
Gallie (R.C.A.)	Tofahrn (I.T.F.)

On the same occasion the Chairman of the E.T.C. made the following remarks with regard to the difficulties war circumstances placed in the way of a really representative composition of the Committee :

“ Although we all feel that on a committee like this many more countries and organizations should be represented than is the case, we are in the unhappy position that the number of Continental representatives in this country is very limited. I think, however, that we are all agreed that it is the duty of the I.T.F. to apply itself to the matter in spite of this handicap, in spite of the absence of comrades who in the past have shown themselves of such great value in the councils of the I.T.F.”

All members of the E.T.C. have taken part in its deliberations with the exception of Messrs. Jarman and Maxamin. Mr. Maxamin, who was absent abroad, was replaced by Mr. Szapiro. Mr. Jarman asked Mr. Yates to take his place at the meetings of the Committee. At some of the meetings Mr. Collick deputized for Mr. Allen.

In its report the E.T.C. wishes first of all to say that the task set it by the terms of reference and the opening address of its Chairman has proved to be a many-sided and complicated question, open to many different interpretations and of the highest importance for the future of Europe. The Committee has given the fullest consideration to the several aspects of the problem, economic and political, as well as social and technical, and has come to the conclusion that it is impossible to foresee and appreciate at their true value the social circumstances that will present themselves in Europe after the war, and which in the beginning will certainly be subject to very great changes. It has appeared to the Committee, as a result of its discussions, that it is possible to interpret in very divergent ways the data already available and the tendencies of development associated with them.

The E.T.C. has had to admit, therefore, that there may be some sense, according to the interpretation given to facts and tendencies, in cherishing more or less speculative hopes with regard to the future of Europe and the European transport system. It has decided, however, to give no place to such speculative considerations in its report. Whereas the Committee would welcome the creation of a unified system of transport for Europe and wishes all efforts to be directed to that goal, it confines itself to evolving a scheme fitted to present conditions. The consensus of opinion was that it could best fulfil the task set it by framing its report in terms of a practical proposition. As a basis for its proposals it has chosen what it

deems to be, at the present moment, the most likely course of development. At the same time the Committee recognizes that it is not yet possible to foresee any considerable number of particular circumstances as the future concrete result of this course of development, and for this reason is of the opinion that it would be unwise to give any detailed content to its proposals. It has considered that by formulating its proposals in terms as general as possible it would be offering the greatest possible scope for the later accurate insertion of the details which the unforeseeable particular circumstances will render necessary. In this way it will be easier to meet the requirements of unforeseen circumstances without violating the general principles upon which these proposals are based.

* * *

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS

The general picture which the E.T.C. has formed of post-war Europe is based upon its present political structure, that is to say the existence of a number of nation-states enjoying national sovereignty. The Committee regards it as obvious that these states will demand for themselves the right to run their own transport systems, and it is within this framework that its proposals of the organization of European transport are placed.

The Committee believes, however, that it can assume that the European states will have learnt, as a result of the present war, that whatever the degree of independence they may enjoy, mutual co-operation is absolutely necessary if chaos is not to be the ultimate result. It will therefore be necessary to create the machinery of such co-operation immediately after the overthrow of Nazi Germany. But since it is still uncertain what the basis of this co-operation is to be, and how it is to function, any proposal for future co-operation in Europe is necessarily tentative. The efficiency of such co-operation will naturally be determined by the general co-operative framework that is still to be created. As with any kind of co-operation between sovereign states, the measure of its realization in the field of transport will depend upon their willingness to co-operate. The E.T.C., however, regards it as imperative that there shall be a

European Transport Authority (E.T.A.) endowed with the power necessary for the control and regulation and the determination of policy in relation to European transport.

In so far as the internal transport of the European states is concerned, the Committee assumes that they will operate and control it with a view to advancing the economic and social conditions of their populations. This will be the more effective according as the states concerned co-operate in European transport affairs, in the interest of the economic and social advancement of all the peoples of the Continent. If this war has brought anything home to the peoples of Europe it is the fact that the economic and social development of the separate countries will be determined by the degree in which they recognize, in the form of practical measures directed at real co-operation, the mutual interdependence of their economic and social life.

The Committee, therefore, holds that the several states, in determining their own transport policy, should conscientiously meet the requirements of

Europe as a whole, and its transport in particular. For the success of such a policy of reciprocal service to the transport interests of the several countries and Europe as a whole it is a prime condition that national transport systems shall be brought under public ownership or control.

It is not likely, however, that such an E.T.A., which the Committee regards as necessary in the interests of a peaceful Europe, will come into existence on the very morrow of the war, but the Committee thinks it has reason to believe that if a strong case is made out, at the Peace Conference, for the setting up of an E.T.A., the period of peace-making at the end of the war will be favourable to acquiescence with such a step.

What the Committee does consider likely is that a supernational transport organization may come into existence towards the end of the war, or after, in connection with and in consequence of military operations, and that such an organization may be maintained temporarily in existence for relief and rehabilitation purposes.

In such circumstances the lodging of a claim, at the Peace Conference, for a permanent peace-time organization, such as the Committee has in mind, should be made at the earliest possible moment.

With these general observations as a background, the E.T.C. recommends to the Management Committee of the I.T.F. the adoption of the following principles for a peace-time E.T.A. :

PRINCIPLES

for

A PEACE-TIME EUROPEAN TRANSPORT AUTHORITY

endowed with the power necessary for the control and regulation and the determination of policy in relation to European transport.

(1) It should be one of the tasks of the E.T.A. to make a maximum contribution towards ensuring the smooth operation of European transport in the interests of the European community. The services which the E.T.A. should render above all to the European community consist in being helpful in the establishment and safeguarding of peaceful relations, the advancement of civic and cultural contacts between the peoples, and the raising of the general standard of living.

(2) The ultimate aim of the E.T.A. should be to ensure that transport will contribute to the achievement of a greater measure of unity of European life than was attained in the past. This should be associated with the removal of hindrances to trade and the integration of economically coherent regions.

(3) The E.T.A. should cover all forms of transport used for satisfying Europe's requirements, including coastal shipping, cross-Channel shipping and Mediterranean shipping (including North Africa and the Middle East) and aviation. It should be regarded as the appropriate authority to provide the super-national machinery for the internationalized European waterways (the great rivers and canals).

(4) The E.T.A. should consist of representatives of the countries whose territories come within the scope of its activities. In addition representatives should be appointed by countries with which important links exist, and which are contiguous to that territory.

(5) The organized transport workers should be duly represented on the E.T.A. Provision should be made for the right of free association of workers in trade unions and for the full representation of their organizations on the E.T.A.

(6) Rates for European traffic should be submitted to the E.T.A. for approval, as one of the objects of the E.T.A. should be the establishment of standards for the freight rates on a ton/km. or passenger/km. basis, paying due regard to the requirements of the various countries as well as to long distance transport of certain commodities.

(7) The E.T.A. should encourage adjustments in national and regional transport facilities to meet the needs of the European countries and help to provide the means for extending or improving those facilities.

(8) The normal financial needs of the E.T.A. should be covered by contributions from the constituent states.

SECOND PART

Financial Report

Introduction

The Financial Report which we hereby submit covers essentially the period from the 1st September 1939, to the 31st December 1944. Figures for 1945 could not be completed and verified in time for inclusion, owing to the fact that certain settlements still had to be made and that various accounts could not yet be closed. A statement of affiliation fees paid in 1945 has been included in the Table, however, in order to show that a number of unions which were not able to meet their financial obligations towards the I.T.F. during the war have now resumed doing so.

On the 1st September 1939, the Head Office of the I.T.F. was transferred to Great Britain, but during the remainder of that year, and even the beginning of 1940, a number of organizations continued to remit their affiliation fees to the Amsterdam address. Although nearly all the transactions which passed through our Amsterdam books during the year 1940 prior to the German invasion of Holland are known, some of the vouchers and the books covering that period have not yet been recovered, and consequently the Amsterdam accounts cannot yet be closed.

At the time of the invasion, we had 13,552.72 guilders, or £1,268 in the bank in Amsterdam, which was requisitioned by the Germans. We have, of course, entered a claim for the restoration of this money. Fortunately we had only two weeks before the invasion transferred a sum of £5,000 from our Amsterdam to our London account.

The sums paid in affiliation fees into our Amsterdam account in 1940 are all known and they have, as stated, been included in the Table.

While our administration was in Holland, there was a Dutch Audit Committee, consisting of the Treasurers of the Dutch Railwaymen's Union and the Dutch Transport Workers' Union. They audited the accounts up to the 31st December 1939, and their report was duly passed to the new auditors, a firm of chartered accountants, Messrs. Hardy, Hesketh and Hirshfield and Co., who were appointed by the British Management Committee.

It will be appreciated that the transfer of an office from one country to another, including a large part of the staff, involved a great deal of expense. Two days after the transfer war broke out. The consequent restriction of normal shipping services and steep rise in freight and premium rates made it impossible for us to move our office equipment from Amsterdam, so that we had no alternative but to equip ourselves anew in Great Britain.

Our income had been declining since 1933, yet prior to the outbreak of war we had been able to make ends meet and we had built up a small reserve, so that on the 1st September 1939 our General Fund stood at £10,821 12s. 0d., including the £5,000 transferred from Amsterdam in April 1940.

With the invasion of Norway, Denmark, Holland, Belgium and Luxemburg, important sources of revenue were lost to the I.T.F. Although the countries concerned were not very large, they were very sound from the trade union and the financial point of view, and could always be trusted not only to pay their full affiliation fees regularly but also to make

an extra effort when called upon. When these countries were lost and France also succumbed, the income of the I.T.F. fell to one-half its average pre-war level.

The Management Committee in November 1939 decided to fix affiliation fees, which before the war stood at 80 Dutch guilders per thousand members and per year, at £10 13s. 4d. for countries paying to Head Office. This rate was maintained when the pound sterling depreciated by something like 15 per cent in relation to the Dutch guilder. After the invasion there was no longer an authentic rate of exchange for the guilder, so the affiliation fee of £10 13s. 4d. continued to be applied.

The Management Committee realized that the small reserve which the I.T.F. had would have to be used for meeting the deficits which would inevitably arise during the war years. It was also realized that if the I.T.F. was to continue its work and even to extend its publications service, it would be necessary to raise additional income. This additional income was duly supplied by the British unions.

The following amounts were received in this connection :

	<i>In 1940</i>			<i>In 1942 and 1943</i>		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
National Union of Railwaymen	220	0	0	500	0	0
Transport and General Workers' Union ..	500	0	0	450	0	0
Railway Clerks' Association	75	0	0	150	0	0
National Union of Distributive and Allied Workers	—			75	0	0
National Union of Seamen	75	0	0	100	0	0
Canadian Brotherhood of Railway Employees	24	18	9	—		
	<hr/>			<hr/>		
	894	18	9	1,275	0	0

Again, when organizing work had to be done in England among Continental seamen, the British unions supplied the funds needed to set the reconstituted unions on their feet. Here are the sums which were received :

	£	s.	d.
National Union of Railwaymen	500	0	0
National Union of Seamen	500	0	0
Transport and General Workers' Union ..	500	0	0
Railway Clerks' Association	105	0	0
National Union of Distributive and Allied Workers ..	80	0	0
Ass. Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen ..	50	0	0
	<hr/>		
	1,735	0	0

In addition donations to the Edo Fimmen Trade Union Reconstruction Fund were received from the British unions, as well as from the

Swedish unions and the New York Labour War Chest. Our appeals under this head brought in the following sums :

	1943		1944		1945	
	£	s. d.	£	s. d.	£	s. d.
New York Labour War Chest..	8,515	16 3	—	—	—	—
Transport and General Workers' Union	500	0 0	1,000	0 0	—	—
National Union of Railwaymen	—	—	1,350	0 0	—	—
Nat. Union of Distributive and Allied Workers	100	0 0	—	—	—	—
Irish Transport and General Workers' Union	100	0 0	—	—	—	—
Railway Clerks' Association ..	—	—	600	0 0	—	—
Canadian Brotherhood of Railway Employees	—	—	112	0 0	112	0 0
Swedish Unions	1,497	0 0	—	—	6,000	0 0
	<hr/>		<hr/>		<hr/>	
	10,712	16 3	3,062	0 0	6,112	0 0

The establishment of an office in New York also involved the I.T.F. in considerable expenditure, but it was thought necessary to take this step in the interests of the organization of European seamen whom circumstances had taken to that part of the globe. It was hoped that part of the expenses of the New York office would be recovered by securing the affiliation of American unions. The hope was not realized during the war years, however, except that the Seafarers' International Union of America joined the ranks of the I.T.F., while immediately after the cessation of hostilities the Railway Labour Executives Association started to pay a nominal affiliation fee.

Finally we have to report that many seamen contributed a voluntary levy to the I.T.F., the proceeds of which were used to meet expenses connected with special organizing efforts on behalf of seamen. The salary and expenses of a special organizer for Indian seamen were defrayed out of this fund.

Affiliation Fees

We refer to the Table showing all affiliation fees received in respect of the years 1940-45. A few of the entries in the column 1939-40 are in guilders ; these are sums which were received in Amsterdam, but they are not, of course, included in the column total. The total sums received in London in the several years were as follows :

1939-40	£9,733	16 3
1941	9,271	14 6
1942	9,568	6 0
1943	10,385	3 10
1944	12,451	18 9
1945	16,499	7 8

The relatively marked increase in the figure for 1945 is due to the fact that various unions resumed paying affiliation fees which had not been able to do so during the war years. The Belgian Railwaymen's Union resumed payment as from 1st October 1945, and the Belgian Transport Workers' Union from 1st January 1945. With the Danish unions the arrangement was made that they should pay affiliation fees at the full rate for 1940, one-quarter of the full rate for the years 1941-44, and one-half the rate for 1945 ; the Danish seamen, however, decided to pay the full rate for 1945. The Dutch Railwaymen's Union has resumed paying contributions as from 1st July 1945, and the Dutch Transport Workers' Union from 1st October 1945. Of the Norwegian unions, the Navigation Officers and the Seamen, who were able to carry on outside Norway during the war, paid contributions regularly throughout that period ; as to the Norwegian Railwaymen's and Transport Workers' Unions, they have made the very generous decision to pay up arrears of contributions for the war years at the full rate. These back payments are reflected in the marked increase of income for 1945.

The Swedish and Swiss unions likewise, it need hardly be said, have paid affiliation fees in full for all the war years.

Organizations which paid no affiliation fees during the period covered have not been included in our statement. It does not follow that these are all organizations which were unwilling to make payment. In some cases they are unions which could not remit fees owing to the foreign exchange restrictions and which held the sums in question to the credit of the I.T.F. in their own accounts. These sums we may therefore expect to become available at some future date.

In this connection let us refer to the Report on Activities, which also contains some information about the payment of affiliation fees by certain unions.

Budget

When the Executive Committee met in November 1944, it gave consideration to a provisional Budget submitted to it for the years 1945-47 on the basis of an estimated annual expenditure of £20,000.

During 1945 the Management Committee, in view of the uncertainty of the situation, decided to wait as long as possible with making any additions to the staff, urgent though this was to meet the present and future needs of the Secretariat, and consequently, with the exception of one item, there is no heavy increase in administrative expenditure. The exception is the item Meetings and Travelling. It must be reckoned with that for several reasons this item of expenditure, as well as others, will continue to be higher than in the past. Firstly, fares are higher, and besides more time is spent on journeys owing to days lost waiting for connections and return transport facilities, but in addition charges generally are higher compared with pre-war levels, as trade union administrators in all countries well know from their own experience.

Consequently there are grounds to assume that a Budget of £20,000 will not prove adequate to meet normal expenditure, to say nothing of the need for the I.T.F. once more to build up a reserve. As mentioned, at

1st September 1939, the I.T.F.'s reserve fund stood at £10,821 12s. 0d. ; by the end of 1944 it had shrunk to £2,841 12s. 3d.

The year 1945 will show a modest surplus of Income over Expenditure, but as has been explained in the section Affiliation Fees, this is mainly due to the windfall of back payments from unions which were not in a position to pay their fees during the war years.

On the pages which follow we have tabulated the Income and Expenditure Accounts, as well as the Balance Sheets, for the period 1st September 1939 to 31st December 1944, which provides a conspectus of our finances for the whole of the period under review and facilitates comparisons between the different years.

AFFILIATION FEES RECEIVED DURING THE PERIOD 1st SEPTEMBER 1939 TO 31st DECEMBER 1945

<i>Country and Union</i>	1939-40	1941	1942	1943	1944	1945
AUSTRALIA : Maritime Transport Council	—	—	31 2 5	31 2 4	31 2 5	31 17 5
BELGIUM : Railwaymen Transport Workers	— f 2,212.32	— —	— —	— —	— —	112 5 10 280 0 0
CANADA : Railwaymen Seamen	(1) 102 14 0 —	60 2 8 —	10 0 0 —	50 2 8 —	296 10 8 —	234 13 4 64 0 0
CHINA : Seamen	—	—	—	—	73 0 0	64 0 0
DENMARK : Locomotivemen Railwaymen Seamen Transport Workers Seamen Newcastle	f 147.20 — f 393.92 — —	— — — — —	— — — — —	— — — — —	— — — — —	27 18 5 193 17 1 44 12 3 1,207 8 4 10 13 4
DUTCH GUIANA : Transport Workers	2 6 4	—	—	—	—	—
Carried Forward	105 0 4	60 2 8	41 2 5	81 5 0	400 13 1	2,271 6 0

(1) of which £42 3s. 3d. was for 1939.

<i>Country and Union</i>	1939-40	1941	1942	1943	1944	1945
Brought Forward ..	105 0 4	60 2 8	41 2 5	81 5 0	400 13 1	2,271 6 0
EGYPT:						
Cairo Motor Drivers ..	—	—	—	—	—	10 13 4
Cairo Omnibus Workers ..	—	—	—	—	—	5 6 8
Misir Air Workers ..	—	—	—	—	—	3 4 0
Heliopolis Taxi Chauffeurs ..	—	—	—	—	—	7 9 4
Heliopolis Motor Drivers ..	—	—	—	—	—	3 14 4
Port Said Motor Drivers ..	—	—	—	—	—	2 2 8
Ismaïla Motor Drivers ..	—	—	—	—	—	1 12 0
Minya Transport Workers ..	—	—	—	—	—	1 6 8
Alexandria Taxi Chauffeurs ..	—	—	—	—	—	7 9 4
FINLAND:						
Seamen	—	—	—	—	—	9 2 5
Transport Workers ..	f 182.32	—	—	—	—	—
FRANCE:						
Railwaymen	244 7 1	—	—	—	—	—
Seamen	—	—	—	—	—	238 14 8
Transport Workers ..	198 17 10	—	—	—	—	765 0 0
GREAT BRITAIN						
Coal Trimmers (Cardiff) ..	—	14 14 3	7 13 10	—	—	—
Distributive Workers (NUDAW)	368 0 0	426 13 4	426 13 4	426 13 4	426 13 4	394 13 4
Locomotivemen (ASLE & F)	565 6 8	618 13 2	650 13 4	693 6 8	714 13 4	725 6 8
Carried Forward ..	1,481 12 0	1,120 3 5	1,126 2 11	1,201 1 0	1,541 19 9	4,527 1 5

<i>Country and Union</i>	1939-40	1941	1942	1943	1944	1945
Brought Forward ..	1,481 12 0	1,120 3 5	1,126 2 11	1,201 1 0	1,541 19 9	4,527 1 5
Railway Clerks (RCA) ..	686 16 3	745 7 1	836 2 7	908 3 2	928 0 0	947 7 2
Railwaymen (NUR) ..	3,415 6 1	3,456 0 0	3,530 13 4	3,680 0 0	3,776 0 0	3,754 13 4
Seamen (NUS) ..	320 0 0	320 0 0	320 0 0	433 6 8	426 13 4	426 13 4
Transport Workers (T & GWU)	(2)3,505 19 6	2,337 6 4	2,346 13 4	2,666 13 4	2,666 13 4	2,666 13 4
GREECE						
Seamen (Cardiff) ..	—	—	—	15 0 0	20 0 0	40 0 0
ICELAND :						
Seamen and Fishermen ..	20 15 0	13 8 0	14 17 0	15 4 0	16 2 4	16 7 0
INDIA :						
Maritime Union ..	—	—	—	—	5 6 8	—
IRELAND :						
Transport Workers ..	53 6 8	53 6 2	53 6 8	53 6 8	53 6 8	53 6 8
ITALY :						
Tramwaymen ..	—	—	—	—	—	20 16 8
KENYA :						
Asian Railwaymen ..	—	5 0 0	—	—	15 0 0	5 0 0
Carried Forward ..	9,483 15 5	8,050 11 0	8,227 15 0	8,972 18 10	9,449 2 1	12,377 18 11

(2) of which £1,168 13s. 2d. was for 1939.

<i>Country and Union</i>	1939-40	1941	1942	1943	1944	1945
Brought Forward ..	9,483 15 5	8,050 11 0	8,227 15 0	8,972 18 10	9,449 2 1	12,377 18 11
LEBANON:						
Private Chauffeurs ..	—	—	—	—	—	5 6 0
MEXICO:						
Tramwaymen ..	—	—	—	—	—	10 0 0
NETHERLANDS:						
Railwaymen ..	f 1,239.04	—	—	—	—	65 9 0
Transport Workers ..	f 3,053.52	—	—	—	—	48 9 5
Seamen (London) ..	—	—	—	—	—	64 0 0
NEW ZEALAND:						
Locomotivemen ..	18 9 3	18 0 0	—	42 13 4	21 6 8	21 6 8
NORWAY:						
Locomotivemen ..	f 138.16	—	—	—	—	—
Mates ..	f 240.00	—	—	—	85 6 8	26 16 2
Railwaymen ..	f 1,080.00	—	—	—	—	586 13 4
Seamen ..	231 11 7	243 6 2	145 19 5	118 16 11	106 13 4	160 0 0
Transport Workers ..	f 1,673.60	—	—	—	—	582 5 0
PALESTINE:						
Railwaymen ..	—	5 0 0	—	10 0 0	5 0 0	5 0 0
SOUTH AFRICA:						
Transport Workers ..	—	—	—	—	—	32 0 0
Carried Forward ..	9,733 16 3	8,316 17 2	8,373 15 3	9,144 9 1	9,667 8 9	13,985 4 6

<i>Country and Union</i>	1939-40	1941	1942	1943	1944	1945
Brought Forward ..	9,733 16 3	8,316 17 2	8,373 15 3	9,144 9 1	9,667 8 9	13,985 4 6
SWEDEN :						
Railwaymen ..	(3) f 3,164.48	513 4 3	518 15 0	518 15 0	586 13 4	597 4 8
Seamen ..	f 1,160.25	101 1 3	101 1 3	139 15 0	91 0 0	170 13 4
Transport Workers ..	f 2,800.00	308 5 5	372 15 6	375 8 6	383 11 9	379 2 8
SWITZERLAND :						
Railwaymen ..	—	—	—	—	1,723 4 11	345 16 4
Transport Workers ..	f 519.68	32 6 5	—	—	—	300 5 10
U.S.A. :						
Railwaymen (RLEA) ..	—	—	—	—	—	248 2 9
Seamen (SIU) ..	—	—	201 19 0	206 16 3	—	386 0 4
I.M.M.O.A. ..	—	—	—	—	—	96 17 3
TOTAL .. (4)	£9,733 16 3	£9,271 14 6	£9,568 6 0	£10,385 3 10	£12,451 18 9	£16,499 7 8

(3) f 2,800.00 from the Swedish Railwaymen's Union and f 364.48 from the Swedish Locomotivemen's Union, since amalgamated.

(4) In addition f 18,004.49 was received from several countries by the Amsterdam Office.

BALANCE SHEETS AS AT 1ST SEPTEMBER 1939 AND 1ST JANUARY 1941 TO 1945

ASSETS

	1/9/39	1/1/41	1/1/42	1/1/43	1/1/44	1/1/45
Banks	6,594 15 1	5,974 15 8	10,335 15 6	9,138 12 6	11,303 5 7	7,448 8 11
Cash in Hand	—	74 4 0½	535 16 11	71 17 7	69 11 4	50 9 5
Gold and Foreign Currency	8,689 14 8	7,485 5 11	5,052 4 1	5,052 4 1	5,052 4 1	5,052 4 1
In Custody for Others	26,765 7 8	26,765 7 8	26,765 7 8	26,765 7 8	26,765 7 8	26,765 7 8
Loans	145 11 2	—	—	—	—	—
Advances	712 12 3	38 2 6	48 5 10	68 5 10	139 14 2	44 6 7
Affiliation Fees due	—	2,744 16 0	146 7 8	866 13 5	635 5 8	433 11 0
Rent Paid in Advance	—	350 0 0	150 0 0	225 0 0	225 0 0	225 0 0
Swedish Seamen's Union	—	27 3 6	—	—	—	—
Stock of Paper	—	300 0 0	300 0 0	300 0 0	300 0 0	300 0 0
Electricity Deposit	—	1 10 0	—	—	—	—
Library	—	1 0 0	1 0 0	1 0 0	1 0 0	1 0 0
Furniture, etc.	—	500 0 0	604 7 3½	693 17 4½	755 0 11½	741 8 5½
Motor Car	—	40 0 0	32 0 0	26 0 0	21 0 0	17 0 0
Salary Paid in Advance	—	—	775 0 0	775 0 0	—	—
Owing to Seamen's Fund	—	—	215 19 5	273 4 8	—	—
Deposit United Air Lines	—	—	—	103 8 1	—	—
Swedish Tr. W. Union	—	—	—	—	—	—
French Seamen's Union	—	—	—	—	135 18 0	203 18 11
Rates Paid in Advance	—	—	—	—	27 18 5	27 18 5
Swiss Railwaymen's Union	—	—	—	—	32 8 6	31 14 10
B.D.D.F.P.	—	—	—	—	—	372 1 11
Advance Trade Union Recon- struction Fund	—	—	—	—	—	966 4 0
Three Internationals	—	—	—	—	—	500 0 0
Joint Committee IIF/IMMOA	—	—	—	—	—	387 19 8
TOTAL	£42,908 0 10	£44,302 5 3½	£44,962 4 4½	£44,360 11 2½	£45,463 14 4½	£43,654 14 10½

BALANCE SHEETS AS AT 1ST SEPTEMBER 1939 AND 1ST JANUARY 1941 TO 1945

LIABILITIES

	1/9/39	1/1/41	1/1/42	1/1/43	1/1/44	1/1/45
Premium Fund	1,056 13 4	366 14 0	954 4 0	1,559 0 1	1,985 10 6	2,415 19 2
Strike Fund	269 0 11	269 0 11	269 0 11	269 0 11	269 0 11	269 0 11
Seamen's Fund	140 19 7	134 18 10	126 17 6	188 2 8	121 13 6	505 10 3
General Relief Fund	3,854 7 4	4,046 0 1	4,258 4 4	4,239 15 9	4,703 0 5	3,249 5 10
General Fund	10,821 12 0	7,798 3 7½	7,328 4 0½	6,132 11 3½	3,777 0 9½	2,841 12 3½
Sundry Creditors	—	119 18 10	293 3 11	210 8 4	401 9 10	374 10 7
Edo Fimmen	—	444 8 4	—	202 5 1	202 10 1	202 10 1
Swedish Seamen's Union	—	—	367 7 1	1,600 5 10	1,454 8 10	2,067 13 9
Polish Transport Workers' Union	—	—	452 1 11	402 1 11	202 1 11	—
Edo Fimmen Fund	—	4,357 13 0	4,147 13 0	2,669 18 7	2,069 8 2	1,753 2 11
In Custody for Others	26,765 7 8	26,765 7 8	26,765 7 8	26,765 7 8	26,765 7 8	26,765 7 8
Deposit New York Office	—	—	—	121 13 1	—	—
Indian Seamen's Union	—	—	—	—	11 7 6	15 11 6
Trade Union Reconstruction Fund	—	—	—	—	3,500 14 3	1,194 9 11
B.D.D.F.P.	—	—	—	—	—	2,000 0 0
TOTAL	£42,908 0 10	£44,302 5 3½	£44,962 4 4½	£44,360 11 2½	£45,463 14 4½	£43,654 14 10½

INCOME

	1939-40	1941	1942	1943	1944
Affiliation Fees	9,733 16 3	9,271 14 6	9,568 6 0	10,385 3 10	12,451 18 9
Sale of Publications	1,064 8 0	51 2 2	731 0 6	559 9 8	5 18 5
Interest	29 12 9	29 19 9	41 1 7	30 19 8	11 12 10
Discounts	81 8 6	27 14 2	31 11 7	92 13 8	86 9 0
Rents	19 0 0	151 0 0	141 0 0	152 0 0	180 0 0
Stock of Paper	300 0 0	—	—	—	—
Cash Advances by Amsterdam Offices	493 0 9	—	—	—	—
Donation	—	24 11 6	—	—	—
Deficit	11,721 6 3	9,556 2 1	10,512 19 8	11,220 6 10	12,735 19 0
	3,023 8 4½	469 19 7	1,195 12 9	2,355 10 6	935 8 6
TOTALS	£14,744 14 7½	£10,026 1 8	£11,708 12 5	£13,575 17 4	£13,671 7 6

EXPENDITURE

	1939-40		1941		1942		1943		1944	
Publications	1,832	7 5	500	4 0	484	19 3	894	18 2	1,095	12 0
Library	35	6 9	32	13 3	23	5 10	27	14 0	41	18 2
Postage, Telephone and Telegrams	343	5 9½	278	6 5½	252	6 6	445	4 9	391	19 6
Printing and Stationery	128	5 6	75	12 3	57	14 8	121	3 4	86	18 8
Kempston Office (Rent, Lighting, Heating, Cleaning, Water, etc.)	958	11 7½	920	11 2½	893	18 2	1,075	19 5	998	3 4
Salaries and Premiums	8,928	12 2	6,767	14 1	6,935	16 10	7,142	19 6	6,783	19 0
Meetings, Conferences and Travelling Expenses	1,015	13 10½	1,083	2 5	1,206	0 6	1,480	9 6	1,683	10 10
Depreciations	849	16 6	8	0 0	6	0 0	5	0 0	4	0 0
Miscellaneous Expenses	652	15 0	214	11 4	99	9 6	166	15 10	479	11 11
Expenditure—New York Office	—	—	145	6 8	1,749	2 2	1,888	10 2	1,771	4 3
London Office (Rent and Cleaning)	—	—	—	—	—	—	327	2 8	334	9 10
TOTALS	£14,744	14 7½	£10,026	1 8	£11,708	12 5	£13,575	17 4	£13,671	7 6