

THIRD PART

Proceedings

**of the Congress of the International Transport Workers' Federation held
from 6th to 12th May, 1946, at the Congress House, Zürich, and**

Reports

**of the Sectional Conferences of Dockers and Inland Navigation Workers,
Seamen, Railwaymen, Road Transport Workers and Tramwaymen, and
of Rhine Navigation Workers.**

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LIST OF DELEGATES

<i>Country</i>	<i>Organization</i>	<i>Membership</i>	<i>Delegates and Substitutes</i>
Austria ..	Gewerkschaft der Handels-Transport- und Verkehrsarbeiter (Transport Workers)	10,000	<i>Weigl, Karl and Balzer, R.</i>
Austria ..	Verband Oesterreichischer Eisenbahner (Railwaymen)	30,000	<i>Freund, Richard and Thaler, A.</i>
Belgium ..	Union Belge des Ouvriers du Transport (Transport Workers)	25,000	<i>Becu, O; Major, L.; Dekeyzer, R.; Cassiers, W. and Hendricks, G.</i>
Belgium ..	Centrale Belge du Personnel des Tramways et Vicinaux (Tramwaymen)	8,000	<i>Vercruyce, A.; Lauwereins, J. K. and Hubert, R.</i>
Belgium ..	Centrale Générale des Services Publics (Railwaymen)	40,000	<i>Despontin, Z.; Devaux, G.; Sencier, V.; Morel, Pierre and De Bruijne, Prosper</i>
Canada ..	Canadian Brotherhood of Railway Employees	22,000	<i>Simpson, A. S.</i>
China ..	National Chinese Seamen's Union	6,000	<i>Teh, S.</i>
Denmark ..	Dansk Arbejdsmands Forbund (Transport Workers)	35,000	<i>Winther, H. C.; Jensen, A.</i>
Denmark ..	Dansk Jernbane Forbund (Railwaymen)	8,017	<i>Jensen, J. K. F.; Boetchejaer, Fr.; Madsen, P. and Vejre, Chr.</i>
Denmark ..	Dansk Lokomotivmands Forening (Locomotivemen)	1,800	<i>Jensen, Soph and Kuhn, E.</i>
Egypt ..	Egyptian Motor Drivers' Union	3,900	<i>Zein el Din, M. and Labib, N.</i>
Finland ..	Suomen Meremies-Unioni (Seamen)	5,041	<i>Wälläri, N.</i>
France ..	Fédération Nationale des Moyens de Transport (Road Transport Workers)	100,000	<i>Garcias, C.; Jaccoud, E.; Frey, G.; Fardeau, E.; Gaston, M.; Dedieu, M.; Moscatelli, P.; Laurent, J.; Thoirain, R.; Vlard, A.; Saint-Genest, Henri and J. Schoettel</i>

<i>Country</i>	<i>Organization</i>	<i>Membership</i>	<i>Delegates and Substitutes</i>
France ..	Fédération Nationale des Syndicats Maritimes (Seamen)	20,000	<i>Ehlers, E.; Gruenais, A.</i>
Great Britain	Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen	68,000	<i>Auty, S.; Saunders, K. and Hallworth, A.</i>
Great Britain	National Union of Distributive and Allied Workers	37,000	<i>Beardsworth, George and Price, H.</i>
Great Britain	National Union of Railwaymen	357,000	<i>Benstead, John; Binks, J. E. Rathbone, W. H.; Bridges, C. W.</i>
Great Britain	National Union of Seamen	55,000	<i>Jarman, Charles; James, S. W.; Tanner, H. J.; Manson, A. and Westlake, Miss Vera</i>
Great Britain	Railway Clerks' Association	89,425	<i>Haworth, J.; Lugton, G.; Beckett, W.; Richardson, H.; Forrester, P. G.; Burnley, F. B.; Hill, E. J. H.; and Heady, P. T.</i>
Great Britain	Transport and General Workers' Union	250,000	<i>Deakin, A.; Donovan, J.; Edwards, H. J.; Rogers, J.; Thorrowgood, S. R.; Evans, J.; Slack, B.; Leahy, W.; Grant, A. and Shaw, S.</i>
Holland ..	Centrale Bond van Transportarbeiders (Transport Workers)	28,144	<i>Kievit, A.; Smeding, T.; Damme, C. and Buquet, J.</i>
Holland	Nederlandsche Vereeniging van Spoor en Tramwegpersoneel (Railwaymen and Tramwaymen)	16,099	<i>Joustra, G.; Kanne, H. and Peterse, L. W.</i>
Italy ..	Ferro - Tramvieri (Light Railwaymen and Tramwaymen)	50,000	<i>Canini, G.; Martelli, G. and Mancini, L.</i>
Italy	Sindacato Ferrovieri Italiani (Railwaymen)	140,000	<i>Borghesi, G.; Castagnoli, R.; Benedetto, A. E.; Fantozzi, E.; Bucci, E.; Fiorini, A. and Rissone, I. S.</i>
Luxembourg	Fédération Nationale des Cheminots Luxembourgeois (Railwaymen)	5,375	<i>Leick, F. and Bousser</i>
Mexico	Alianza de Tranviarios (Tramwaymen)	40,000	<i>De Jager, Mrs. Alida</i>
Norway ..	Norsk Jernbaneforbund (Railwaymen)	14,000	<i>Trana, M.; Kiil, E. and Jørgenvaag, P.</i>
Norway ..	Norsk Lokomotivmandsforbund (Locomotivemen)	1,987	<i>Heggstad, M.</i>
Norway ..	Norsk Sjømannsforbund (Seamen)	18,000	<i>Jensen, E.; Jordahl, A.; Kristianson, H. and Sønsteby, T.</i>
Norway ..	Norsk Transportarbeiderforbund (Transport Workers)	17,284	<i>Fladeby, Hans; Kjøniksen, Kjønik; Klausen, H. and Paulsen, Edv.</i>

Country	Organization	Membership	Delegates and Substitutes
Poland ..	Związek Zawodowy Transportowców w Polsce (Transport Workers and Seamen)	7,000	Kolodziej, A.
Sweden ..	Svenska Järnvägsmannaförbundet (Railwaymen)	58,262	Kristiasson, K. G. S.; Ellusson, A. E. V.; Kjellvard, G. K.; Thoren, A. G. H.; Bohlin, O. G. and Norell, J. S.
Sweden ..	Svenska Sjöfolksförbundet (Seamen)	16,475	Svenson, J.; Olsson, N. and Holm, E.
Sweden ..	Svenska Transportarbetarförbundet (Transport Workers)	38,279	Helgesson, R.; Olsson, O. and Martensson, Nils.
Switzerland	Fédération Suisse des Cheminots (SEV) (Railwaymen)	37,165	Bratschi, R.; Perrin, P.; Zeli, E.; Schellenberg, O.; Willfratt, E.; Bucher, E. and Fell, E.
Switzerland	Fédération Suisse des Travailleurs du Commerce, des Transports et de l'Alimentation (VHTL) (Transport and Distributive Workers)	8,000	Leuenerberger, H.; Meier, R.; Nicolet, C. and Schneiter, W.
Syria ..	Syndicat des Chauffeurs (Drivers)	1,000	Zein el Din, M. (proxy)
U.S.A. ..	Seafarers' International Union of North America	40,000	Becu, Omer (proxy)
I.M.M.O.A.	International Mercantile Marine Officers' Association	9,000	Larsen, J. H.; Coombs, W. K.; Tennant-Smith, C. D.; Carmichael, D.; Jones, C. C.; Drake, Mrs.; Fafoutakis, J.; Lövgren, A.; Dabkowski, J.; Veenstra, L.; Bury, Miss A.; Van Muijlwijk, J. F.; van Driel, C.; De Vries, P.; Miniou; and Français, F.

MEMBERS OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL
(not included in national delegations)

Gómez, T., Spain

Lindley, Ch., Sweden

SECRETARIES

Oldenbroek, J. H.

Tofahrn, P.

GUESTS

Bertholet, R. (Pierre Robert)

Koenig, B.

Mrs. and Miss Marchbank

Sardelli, G.

} specially
invited
by the
I.T.F.

Kaegi, J., Government of the Canton of Zürich

Luedinger, Dr., President of the Municipality of Zürich

Spuehler, Dr., Alderman of the Municipality of Zürich

Miss Sells, Dr. D. M., Labour Attaché, U.S. Legation, Bern

Miss Scheidegger, M., U.S. Legation, Bern

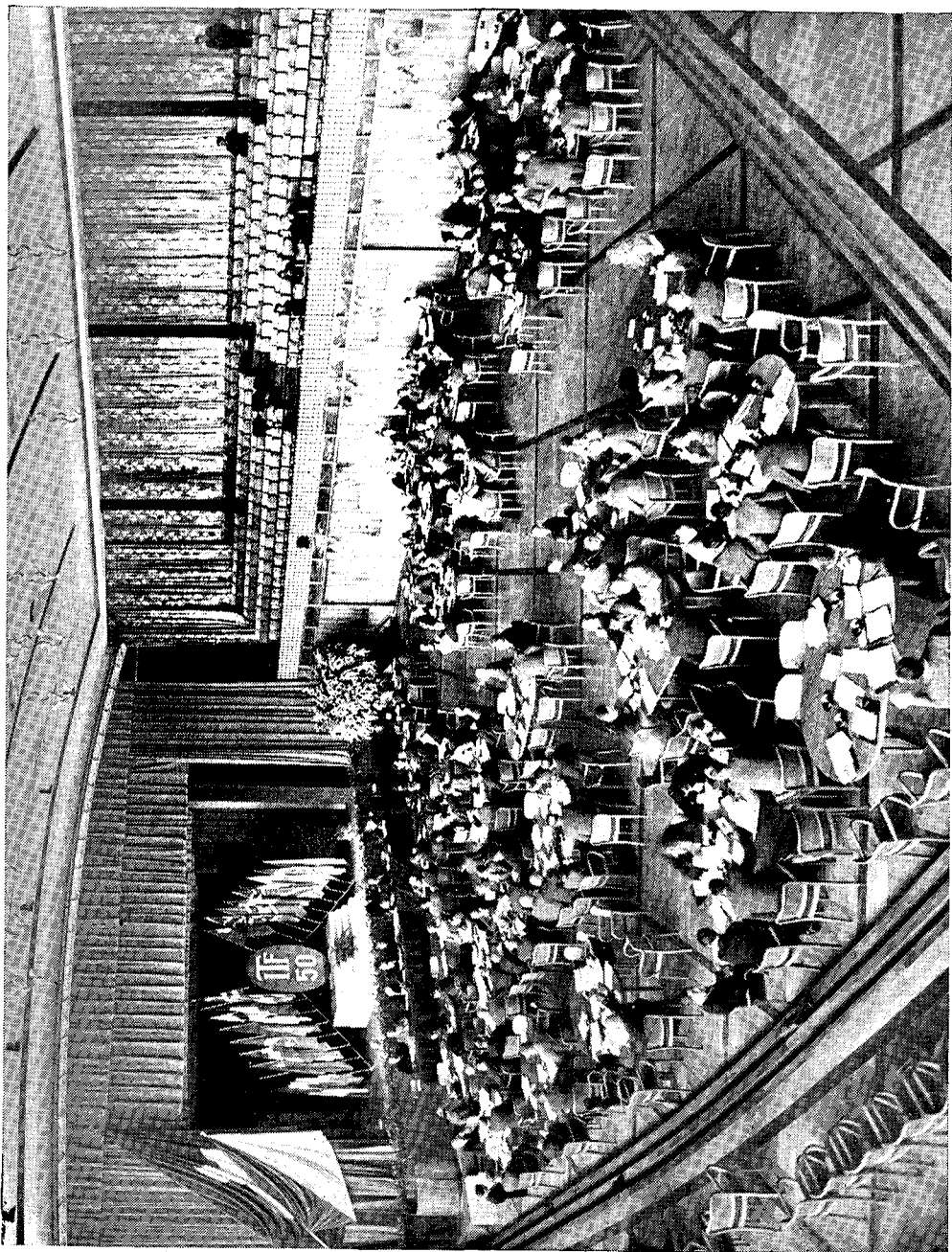
Rimensberger, E. F., Swiss Trade Union Federation

Schutz, O., Trades Council of Zürich

Bader, A., Tramwaymen's Union, Zürich

Billeter, H., Swiss Metalworkers' and Watchmakers' Union

*Pfefferman, H., International Rescue and Relief Committee, New
York-Geneva*



AGENDA

- A. OPENING AND WELCOMING ADDRESSES
- B. PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS
- C. ELECTION OF CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE
 1. REPORT ON ACTIVITIES
 2. FINANCIAL REPORT
 3. REVISION OF CONSTITUTION
 4. WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS DECISIONS AFFECTING THE I.T.F.
 5. EXTENSION OF I.T.F. (INCLUDING QUESTION OF SETTING UP SUB-SECRETARIATS AND HOLDING OF REGIONAL CONFERENCES)
 6. DEVELOPMENT OF TRANSPORT WORKERS' ORGANIZATIONS IN CERTAIN COUNTRIES
 7. RESOLUTIONS AND PROPOSALS SUBMITTED
 8. PROBLEMS OF RECONSTRUCTION IN THE TRANSPORT INDUSTRY :
 - (a) Physical and Technical
 - (b) Economic
 - (c) Social(This item forms part of the Agenda of the Sectional Conferences)
 9. AFFILIATION FEES
10. ELECTIONS :
 - (a) General Council
 - (b) Executive Committee
 - (c) General Secretary
 - (d) Assistant General Secretary
 - (e) Auditors
11. HEADQUARTERS
12. DATE AND PLACE OF NEXT CONGRESS

PROPOSALS SUBMITTED

A.—AMENDMENTS TO CONSTITUTION

1. To Article V of the Constitution of 1930

Add at the end the words : “ and are affiliated to the recognized trade union centre of their country ” ;

or alternatively

TO RULE II OF THE DRAFT REVISED CONSTITUTION

Insert after the words “ provided that ” the following sub-section :

“(i) they are affiliated to the recognized trade union centre of their country”;

and

Alter the numbering of sub-sections i, ii and iii to ii iii and iv.

Proposed by Finnish Railwaymen’s Union.

2. To Article XIX of the Constitution of 1930

Commence the article with the following paragraph :

“ Only organizations that have paid their contributions, in accordance with Articles XI, XII and XIII, up to and including the quarter preceding the date of the Congress, shall have the right to be represented at the Congress and to take part in the voting.”

Proposed by the Swedish Railwaymen’s Union, supported by the Association of Railwaymen’s Union of the Nordic countries.

B.—COMPOSITION OF GENERAL COUNCIL

Draft Resolution

In view of the fact that the number and membership of organizations affiliated in the Nordic countries have increased since their representation on the General Council was fixed at two members, and since it is desirable that each large group of transport industries in this region should be represented, the Congress decides to increase to three the number of members attributed to the four Scandinavian countries in virtue of Article XXIII of the Constitution (of 1930).

Proposed by the Swedish Railwaymen’s Union, supported by the Association of Railwaymen’s Unions of the Nordic countries.

C.—POLITICAL MATTERS

Full Employment and International Working Conditions

It is waste of time trying to analyze working conditions after six months of peace, for the purpose of proving that the capitalist régime has not been encroached upon, or that it has become more generous ; it is waste of time, also, to enquire whether or not capitalism is on the point of changing its methods of exploitation for the purpose of preventing unemployment, and to provide all men with work and bread ; the principles of liberal economics are still intact, and the exploitation of Man by Man is proving more cruel already than it was in the past. Five facts will suffice to prove it :

1. The struggle of British capitalism to keep wages lower than in other industrial countries, so that they can the better compete with their neighbours ;
2. The bloody armed struggles to keep colonial possessions ;
3. The secret of the atomic bomb, jealously guarded for imperialistic purposes ;
4. The bankruptcy of the international army ;
5. The bankruptcy of the policy of a certain degree of planned economy, of a more equitable sharing of raw materials and of an equilibrium between supply and demand.

After 1918 the great humanitarian principle that "labour shall no longer be regarded as a commodity," which emerged from the Versailles Treaty, became no more than a slogan to mislead the masses and the peoples. The principle of "full employment" will become the same if the "Internationals" continue to be, as in the past, mere recording bodies, instead of organizations for initiative, action and struggle.

Economic liberalism, of which nobody in times past suggested that it would bring a world of increasing well-being, has become transformed into a kind of hyper-capitalism, and it is quite unnecessary to describe here the terrible ravages which its conveyor-belt exploitation has caused among the masses, and which can be summarized in two words, unemployment and misery.

It is to be regretted that the workers' International meeting in Paris has not placed on its agenda a programme of demands which would have represented to the peoples the hope of a better world.

Our International, which has always been in the foreground in so far as action is concerned, and has often been the inspiration of many international demands, should be to-day—now that we are threatened with generalized pauperism as a consequence of the development of mechanization and the setting up of factories in the colonies—the one organization that will provide the world of labour with the means to avoid the plague of unemployment, by pursuing the realization of the following demands :

1. The earliest possible reduction of the retiring age to 55 years. (This demand aims at the great humanitarian principle of allowing the younger people, who have families dependent upon them, to work and bring up their children in a worthy manner. The means to realize it are no longer a difficulty : it will suffice to transform unemployment pay into superannuation allowances, raised to 75 per cent of wages. This will be compensated by the work of the younger people who, in a nationalized industry, are the only ones capable of achieving maximum output).
2. Reduction of working time, in the first place generally to forty hours a week, and later still more, according to the world production that humanity may need.
3. Increase of the annual holiday with pay to one month.
4. Raising of the school age, combined with apprenticeship to a trade.
5. Nationalization of all industries providing for public needs, without any other consideration than that of progress and the preservation of the common wealth.
6. Workers' co-management in all undertakings and in all industries, under the authority of the State, with a view to abolishing the

trusts that are at the root of over-production, and therefore of misery. This implies the idea or principle of economic democracy, in which Labour would participate in the control and direction of production.

Full employment, and the abolition of unemployment, cannot be achieved as a result of the calculations of economists, however wise they may be.

The first, second and third of the means suggested above would have an immediate effect, and all the recommended formulas of "happy harmony between production and consumption" are useless because maximum production without taking into consideration the power of absorption of the consumer cannot, under the capitalist system, prevent competition—the fundamental basis of liberal economics—from adopting means of production that will give a large output, and therefore over-production, unless legislation provides for full employment for everybody.

Such legislation—on an international basis—will be a long time coming, and it is necessary to hasten matters, because once the few moments of economic "prosperity" have passed again, and the fighting spirit inspired in the masses, by the hope of seeing a better world emerge after so many years of suffering, has been blunted by distrust of, or even disgust with, their leaders, it will be necessary to put forward clearly defined demands which will be comprehensible to the workers, and which will give them the assurance of a great improvement in their conditions. The fact is that the workers have no longer any faith either in theoreticians or in phrasemongers. What they expect of us, and of the Workers' International, is action and results. Since full employment is an international problem, we venture to hope that our own international trade secretariat will adopt our proposals for immediate demands.

Proposed by Mr. A. Verduyck on behalf of the Belgian Central Union of Tramway, Light Railway and Omnibus Personnel.

D.—ADMINISTRATIVE MATTERS

Use of a Scandinavian Language by the I.T.F. Secretariat Draft Resolution

Whereas a considerable increase in the membership of the I.T.F., necessitating an increase in the personnel of the Secretariat, may be expected in the near future ; and

Whereas it is desirable that correspondence and documents intended for affiliated organizations in the Nordic countries should be written in a Scandinavian language, to facilitate their participation in the activities of the I.T.F. ;

The Congress recommends that when it may become necessary to increase the personnel, it shall be strengthened by the addition of some person having a thorough knowledge of one of the Scandinavian languages.

Proposed by the Swedish Seamen's Union, supported by all the organizations belonging to the Association of Railwaymen's Unions of the Nordic Countries.

E.—REGIONAL ACTIVITIES

Draft Resolution

This Congress urges the necessity of calling a Conference of transport workers' organizations in the Pacific Area, such as was planned for 1940.

Proposed by the Australian Maritime Council.

FIRST SESSION

Monday, 6th May, 1946, at 10 a.m.

CH. LINDLEY (President of the I.T.F.) opened the Congress by calling on MR. R. BRATSCHI, President of the Swiss Federation of Trade Unions and General Secretary and President of the Swiss Railwaymen's Federation.

OPENING AND WELCOMING ADDRESSES

BRATSCHI (Swiss Railwaymen) : In the name of the two Swiss organizations affiliated with the I.T.F., namely the Swiss Railwaymen's Union and the Swiss Transport, Commercial and Food Workers' Union, I bid you cordially welcome to Switzerland.

An I.T.F. Congress has ever been an international trade union event of capital importance. To the Congress in session here special significance attaches for two reasons : it is the first congress to be held after the Second World War and it is a Jubilee Congress. The I.T.F. is not only the biggest and most important of international trade organizations, it is also one of the oldest. This year it can look back on fifty years of effort and achievement.

On the morrow of the First World War, too, we had the honour to be the hosts of our International on important occasions. The first Congress of the I.T.F. after the 1914-18 war took place in Geneva in 1920 ; an important conference of its Railwaymen's Section was held in Bellinzona in 1925.

We are grateful to the leaders of the I.T.F. for accepting our invitation and selecting the town of Zürich as the venue for this Congress. The Swiss workers and people as a whole are conscious of the honour thus conferred upon them. We shall do our utmost to make your sojourn in Switzerland as agreeable as possible.

On the activities of the I.T.F. since its previous congress in Luxemburg, in the year 1938, the competent persons will speak in due course. But I would already take this opportunity to voice my keen gratitude to the leaders of the I.T.F. for the struggle which, during the war under the most unfavourable circumstances, was waged against Fascism and Nazism and thus for the preservation of human rights and human dignity.

Fascism and war rudely severed the international relationships built up by decades of patient effort. Moreover, the I.T.F. suffered heavy personal losses, and death took a heavy toll among its truest and bravest fighters. The incomparable, undauntable and unforgettable Edo Fimmen is no more. We rejoice, however, to observe that young men have seized the proud banner of the I.T.F. and carry on the struggle in the spirit of their great teacher.

I then have the pleasure to salute a number of guests at our Congress. The Government of the Canton of Zürich is represented here by its member Brother Jacob Kaegi, who is a member of the Swiss Railwaymen's Union and thus of the I.T.F. Representing the Municipality of Zürich there are the Mayor, Dr. Luechinger, and Councillor Dr. Spuehler. Both are representatives of the Zürich workers in the supreme councils of the town. Further representatives of the American and Netherlands Embassies, as well as of the Swiss Transport Centre.

A special word of greeting I would extend to several comrades who in the past served on the General Council and Executive Committee of the I.T.F. Brother B. Koenig, of Vienna, has come here all the way from Los Angeles. Brother Guiseppe Sardelli, of Italy, is present. Brother Brodecky, of Czechoslovakia, is expected, as well as two comrades who played a brilliant part in the resistance movement inspired by the I.T.F., Hans Jahn and Rene Bertholet.

Several guests of honour have had to send us an apology for their absence. Among these, unfortunately, is our friend Ernest Bevin, Foreign Secretary of the United Kingdom, who has written to explain why he cannot be here and to wish us a very successful congress. Other absent ones are Brothers Jean Jarrigion, France, and Pierre Krier, Luxemburg.

Among us we have Mrs. and Miss Marchbank, who have had to make the journey to Switzerland alone. Brother John Marchbank, who as Vice-President, did so much for the I.T.F. in recent years, was in Zürich only a few weeks ago and was to have been with us again to-day. As you know, death has suddenly taken him from us, and in your name I offer our sincere condolences to the ladies Marchbank in their bereavement.

We mourn the absence of another highly esteemed figure we have been wont to have with us on these occasions. The wife of our worthy veteran President, Charles Lindley, passed away a few weeks ago after an operation. To our President we extend our heartfelt sympathy and sincere condolences.

It is further my task to greet you cordially also on behalf of the Swiss Trade Union Federation and the Trades and Labour Council of the Town and Canton of Zürich. To this I add the assurance that the Swiss Trade Union Movement during the war as much as at any other time was concerned to do its duty. The trade unions have gained in strength. The Swiss Railwaymen's Union embraces over 90 per cent of the railway workers of our country. The membership of the Swiss Transport Workers' Union is also increasing steadily. The two organizations co-operate closely, believing as they do that a pooling of resources is calculated to hasten the solution of the problems that confront them.

Switzerland is a small country with a population of four and a half millions. Situated though it is in the heart of Europe, it was neutral in both the first and the second world wars. We know that our neutrality was not greatly liked by the nations which during those years were locked in life-and-death struggle. We well understand this. But then we would observe that none of the peoples who were victorious finally entered the war of their own free will. All were either ruthlessly overrun by Fascism and Nazism or otherwise forced to take up arms. Put to the test, our people would not have been untrue to their century-old history and its tradition of battle for freedom. Particularly of the trade unions may it be claimed that even in the most critical days they stood squarely for their old ideals. And when all was dark, the country completely encircled by Fascism, we still kept contact with the I.T.F. and the I.T.F. with us. Thin though may have been the thread which connected us, it never snapped completely.

This enhances our rejoicing that the I.T.F.'s Congress is being held on Swiss soil and is to apply itself without restraint to the problems of our times. We render thanks to the peoples who have triumphed in the struggle for liberty and human dignity. We know that their struggle was also ours.

During the war years the Swiss trade unions were for the most part confined to their own resources. They could not play a role in the international sphere. Nevertheless I think I can claim that they did fulfil a mission. At a time when the trade unions of Europe, with the exception of the British and Swedish, lay prostrate and were condemned to silence, our journals proclaimed in the Italian, French and German languages what others could say no longer.

With great joy we grasped the first opportunity of restoring contacts with our friends in other countries. Here in this hall the congress of the Swiss Trade Union Federation a few weeks ago decided unanimously to join the World Federation of Trade Unions and to take its old place again in the new wider International. We hope that Freedom, Justice, Tolerance will be the hall-marks of the new organization. Our Trade Union Congress expressed the hope that the W.F.T.U. would accord the trade organizations the necessary liberty for coping with their great tasks.

One of the most important tasks of the International Trade Union Movement is to help to preserve the peace. The nearer the peoples are brought to one another by modern transport and communications, the more they become economically inter-dependent, the greater a crime becomes war, the more war assumes the character of civil strife, the more the preservation of peace becomes conditional on the safeguarding of freedom and social justice.

To the cause of freedom and social justice the trade unions in the different countries, and particularly in their international organizations, are pledged. On the success of their struggle depend the peace, the happiness, perhaps the very existence of mankind.

The PRESIDENT then asked MR. KAEGI to address the Congress on behalf of the Canton of Zürich.

COUNCILLOR KAEGI, on behalf of the Zürich Cantonal Council and the Zürich City Council, offered delegates to the I.T.F. Congress a very hearty welcome. The welcome came not only from the authorities but from the people of Zürich city and canton themselves, who had celebrated the opening of the Congress by voting 105,000 to 29,000 in favour of a sixty million franc credit for the construction of a Zürich municipal airport. This demonstrated the good feeling of the population towards the representatives of the seamen, railwaymen and transport workers as a whole.

Throughout the whole duration of the war, Switzerland as a whole, and Zürich in particular, had never abandoned their belief in the victory of the good in humanity, continued Mr. Kaegi. Those in the ranks of the workers who had sometimes felt that the Swiss workers and the Swiss people had been contaminated by National Socialism had been mistaken. It was particularly the people of the City and Canton of Zürich who, just like the delegates themselves, had never given up their faith in the victory of the forces of good or had abandoned the fight against National Socialism. They knew, that, in alliance with the resistance movements in all the occupied countries and with the armies of all the democratic powers, victory would be won over National Socialism and Fascism. The people of Zürich had confirmed this again and again, and no one knew better than the National Socialist rulers that Switzerland's will to resist was unconditional and was solidly backed up by a strong army.

On behalf of the Swiss people, Mr. Kaegi wanted to bring greetings and thanks to the representatives of the seamen, railwaymen and transport workers, who had everywhere taken the lead in the resistance movements and had rendered great services. He would express his satisfaction that the I.T.F. had been able again and again to bring new courage to the struggle against National Socialism and Fascism.

They who had not taken part in the war knew that they now had a great task before them. Together with Sweden (the speaker here offered special greetings to the home country of their President Lindley), they had to co-operate on the reconstruction of the devastated countries, not only through financial aid but through their trade and industry. They wanted to help all peoples to obtain work and bread.

Recalling his own experiences as Swiss Railwaymen's delegate to six I.T.F. Congresses between 1920 and 1938, the speaker, who had since left the service of the railwaymen to work on the Zürich Cantonal Council, concluded with his own personal greetings to the meeting. He would like to return the hospitality shown him at the Congresses of Hamburg in 1924, Stockholm in 1928, Prague in 1932, Copenhagen in 1935 and Luxemburg in 1938, by making the delegates' stay in Zürich as pleasant as possible and he offered them a most hearty welcome.

THE PRESIDENT then made his opening address.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

On behalf of the Executive Committee of the I.T.F. I welcome you to the Eleventh International Congress of the Transport Workers, the Congress which marks the fiftieth anniversary of its foundation.

It is a very great pleasure indeed to us to be able to hold our first post-war Congress in Switzerland—the pleasure one feels in reviving an old tradition. As far back as 1893 one of the international meetings of transport workers—an International Congress of Railwaymen—was held in Switzerland; and the I.T.F. Congress met in this country in 1921, and the Railwaymen's Section of the I.T.F. held a Conference in Bellinzona in 1925. The governing bodies of the I.T.F., whose meetings, of course, are not spectacular, met several times in Switzerland in the interval between the two world wars.

In calling our first post-war Congress in Zürich we have wished to pay a tribute to our two Swiss affiliated organizations who have, both in war and peace, loyally taken their part in the I.T.F.'s trade union and anti-fascist work. We have also wished to express our appreciation of the Good Samaritan's work which the Swiss people have been doing during the past seven years.

The second world war, like the first, has bequeathed to us a terrible aftermath of human misery, and I hope that this Congress will show the same wisdom as the meetings of the I.T.F.—and in a general way other international trade union gatherings—held during the few years immediately following the first world war. It was because the holders of power at the time rejected the counsels of the workers' organizations that the world had to suffer a second catastrophe in our century. It is up to us, therefore, and to all the international trade union organizations, to say, in such a manner as to be better understood this time, what will have to be done to avoid a third war.

The international trade union movement has come out of the second world war very much changed in outward appearance. The International Federation of Trade Unions, with which we were in close moral alliance, has ceased to exist. A new World Federation of Trade Unions has been set up, and its leaders propose to absorb our I.T.F. The Congress will, therefore, have to give careful consideration to the future of the I.T.F., and my membership of its governing bodies for something like half-a-century entitle me to call upon you to show prudence and sagacity, and to act in such a way that the organization may be enabled to preserve its value and efficiency as an instrument to fight against the economic exploitation and political oppression of the workers in general, and the transport workers in particular. I hope that all of you delegates to the 1946 Congress of the I.T.F. will make your plans for the future with the same boldness and enthusiasm as the handful of leaders who founded the I.T.F. in July of 1896. We were about a dozen of transport workers' leaders which included six Britishers—Tom Mann, Ben Tillet, James Sexton, Tom McCarthy, J. H. Wilson and L. M. Johnson. Störmer, from Germany, and I myself, were the only leaders of transport workers' organizations from the Continent, but a few other comrades who had come to London to take part in the International Socialist Congress also attended our meeting, among them Henri Polak of the Dutch diamond workers, L. Jansen from Belgium, Favert from France and McGuire from the United States. We decided to set up an international organization that should be capable of breaking the power of the British Shipping Federation, and we were aiming at nothing less than a great international strike against this all-powerful capitalist organization. We gave our organization the name of "International Federation of Ship, Dock and River Workers."

The new Federation got to work on the spot. The British leaders undertook a propaganda campaign in Belgium, Holland, France and Germany, aiming to get the workers there to start trade unions or strengthen those already existing. Attempts were also made to get into touch with the transport workers in Italy and Spain. These British emissaries soon managed to set the governments of the European countries in a flutter for fear that mobilization would be hindered in case of war, and international trade exposed to danger in times of peace. So the agitators were soon arrested and deported. Tom Mann was forbidden entry into several countries, France and Germany among them. But as passports were not necessary in those days, it was easy enough to evade such prohibitions, though at somewhat increased risk. And so it happened that Ben Tillet was put into prison in Belgium. The Belgian police little realized what a service they were rendering to the trade union cause and to the I.T.F. The whole of the British press protested, and in Parliament the Prime Minister, Lord Salisbury, raised his voice against such treatment of a British subject who had committed no greater crime than to make use of his right, as a free man, to advocate organization among the workers. The Prime Minister declared "that the Belgian authorities must remember that Antwerp is not in the Congo." Ben Tillet was paid ample compensation by the Belgian Government, but both he and we appreciated still more the unintentional propaganda for our cause and organization that had been made by our class antagonists.

The success of the campaign was such as to make it possible, in

February 1897, to place on a firm basis the organization that had been set up the previous year. A Conference held in London in that month drew up a draft constitution. Apart from the British there were four French delegates representing the dockers of Havre and Marseilles and the seamen of Bordeaux. Tom Mann had further been asked to represent the Nantes seamen, and three German delegates representing seamen and dockers ; while Holland, Belgium and Spain had each sent one delegate. Sweden was unable to send anybody on this occasion. In June 1897 another meeting was held, again in London, to adopt the final constitution. The United Kingdom had thirty delegates, but the representation of other countries was on the modest side. Tom Mann held proxies for three French organizations, the National Union of Dockers and Warehousemen of France ; the Seamen's Union of the Lower Loire ; and the Seamen's Union of Bordeaux. G. Kellermann represented the German dockers, A. Störmer the German seamen, and I the Swedish transport workers. There were also two Russian participants, Felix Volkhovskz and N. W. Tchaikovsky, who claimed to represent the dockers in Russia.

It emerged from the discussions that the laws of certain countries, Germany in particular, forbade the collective affiliation of the trade unions to federations such as ours ; so we included in our constitution a rule to permit of individual members joining. On this occasion I tried without success to get the organization to take the name of International Transport Workers' Federation, and thus open its ranks to road transport workers. It was not until the 1898 meeting that my proposal was adopted, thanks to the support of the Scandinavian and German delegations. The British proposed the name International Workers' Federation.

We discussed not only our own rules, but also those of our affiliated unions, and so it was that the 1898 meeting adopted a resolution I proposed, asking the British to form a single national union for all transport workers instead of dispersing them over a multitude of smaller unions ; but although the British themselves supported the proposal, its adoption led to no practical result. The Committee elected in 1898 consisted of Tom Mann as President, Charles Lindley as Vice-President, George Shelley as Treasurer, Harry Orbell and Tom McCarthy. It was also decided, at the 1898 meeting, to call an International transport workers' congress the following year in Berlin, on the occasion of the Congress of the Labour and Socialist International, but, in fact, neither of these two Congresses was held in Berlin, as the German Government would not allow it, so they were both held instead in Paris in 1900, the year of the Universal Exhibition. This first International Transport Workers' Congress was attended by forty-eight delegates representing the workers of ten different countries—four for the United Kingdom, twenty for France, five for Germany, three for Austria, six for Belgium, four for Holland, three for Denmark, one for Spain, one for Norway and one for Sweden. Among the delegates there were also railwaymen and other land transport workers, who had affiliated to the I.T.F. after 1898.

Tom Mann could not preside over the Paris Congress, as he was still forbidden entry into France, so the chairmanship was entrusted to E. Guérard, of the French railwaymen, and myself. The Congress was marked by a heated discussion about the question of the securing of social reforms by legislation, the French constituting the anti-reformist camp. At the proposal of the French, it came also to the unhappy decision to

reduce the contribution from one penny to a halfpenny per member and per year, with a view to increasing membership by facilitating the affiliation of organizations that had so far stayed outside. The Executive Committee elected at the 1900 Congress consisted of Tom Mann as President, Tom Chambers as Secretary, E. Cathery and Harry Orbell for the United Kingdom, C. Marc for France, P. Fabri for Belgium, A. C. Wessel for Holland and A. Störmer for Germany. I had refused to stand because Sweden was too far away from I.T.F. headquarters. On account of the reduced income Tom Mann soon had to seek a living elsewhere, and placed himself at the service of the Australian trade union movement ; so Tom Chambers carried on alone.

The second Congress was held in Stockholm in 1902. Participation was as follows :

UNITED KINGDOM.—J. Vignall and Harry Orbell for the dockers ; J. Havelock Wilson for the seamen ; Richard Bell for the railwaymen ; George Jackson for the tramwaymen and cabmen.

GERMANY.—Johann Döring for the dockers ; Paul Muller for the seamen ; A. Störmer for the railwaymen.

HOLLAND.—A. C. Wessel for the dockers.

ITALY AND AUSTRIA.—Angelo Cabrini, representing Genoa dockers and Austrian seamen.

DENMARK.—Louis Andersen for the transport workers ; S. C. Pedersen for the seamen.

SWEDEN.—Charles Lindley, John Svensson, Niels Larsson, C. J. Edkvis and F. Lundström for the transport workers.

UNITED STATES, FRANCE AND IRELAND.—Tom Chambers, proxy for the dockers of Hoboken, Marseilles and Ireland.

The 1902 Congress did good and successful work. There was a long discussion on international trade union strategy, with particular reference to strikes and lockouts. The Congress laid down rules for financial assistance, on an international scale, for unions in distress. It set up a permanent committee to deal with seamen's affairs, and considered for the first time the question of constituting a General Council for the I.T.F. We discussed one important question which has not yet been settled even to-day, that of the international minimum wage. There was an interesting debate on social legislation. It was decided to issue a monthly paper. We also tried to frame rules for the transfer of members from one affiliated union to another without the payment of an entrance fee ; and, worried by language difficulties, we expressed the hope that Esperanto would be adopted as sole language for use at international congresses. And finally we took steps to render financial assistance to the Dutch union. The financial report disclosed that expenditure had exceeded income, amounting to 5,354.79 crowns, by 2,030.60 crowns, so we decided to consult the unions about raising contributions again from a half-penny to a penny per member and per year, so that we could clear off our debt to our Secretary. The Committee elected consisted of Harry Orbell, J. Havelock Wilson and Richard Bell for the United Kingdom, A. Störmer for Germany and Austria, A. Cabrini for Italy and France, A. C. Wessel for Holland and Belgium, and Charles Lindley for Scandinavia.

This fine Congress, full of promise for the future, was followed by a bitter disappointment : the Secretariat of the I.T.F. was slack, correspondence remained unanswered and complaints came in from all sides.

The Germans sent a delegation to London to go into the position ; Tom Chambers was dismissed and Ben Tillet was entrusted with the management of the I.T.F. But at the next following Congress, held in Amsterdam in 1904, the complaints were renewed. As we were short of interpreters, a committee consisting entirely of German-speaking delegates was nominated to consider and make recommendations on proposals that had been put forward with a view to making our International an effective one. The report of this committee proved to be a draft of a new constitution. As Chairman of the Congress I refused to allow a discussion of this draft, and limited the debate to a consideration of the principles embodied in it. It was decided to circulate the draft to affiliated unions, with a view of its consideration at a future Congress. But one important decision was come to : the headquarters were transferred to Germany, and the German organizations were empowered to appoint a Management Committee.

It is only fair to the Germans to say that they worked energetically to consolidate and expand the I.T.F. To commence with they did the work without a full-time secretary, but later Hermann Jochade, a railwayman, was engaged, first as half-time and then as full-time secretary. The I.T.F. progressed, and its growth was continuous. Starting difficulties were finally overcome, and at the 1913 Congress, in London, the last one held under German management, a membership was reported of 881,950—an increase of 765,850 since the 1902 Congress. But not all members were up-to-date with their affiliation fees.

During the war which started in 1914 the German trade union leaders tried to place the I.T.F. publications at the service of the false cause of the abettors of war in their own country. The violent protests that were raised on all sides forced them, however, to hand over the care of I.T.F. affairs to the Dutch.

This was for the I.T.F. the commencement of a new era, with Edo Fimmen at its head. Everybody—certainly all the delegates at this Congress—is acquainted with the history of the I.T.F. between the two wars, and know what its leader Edo Fimmen has meant for our International and its work. His death, three and a half years ago, was an irreparable loss, not only to the I.T.F., but to the whole of the international trade union movement. We owe our late General Secretary a very great debt of recognition for his brilliant services to our organization and our cause, and the best way we can pay it is by making up our minds to continue his work in the same spirit in which he did it.

Our grief at the death of Fimmen was aggravated a few weeks ago by the sudden death of our Vice-President, John Marchbank, who was for ten years Fimmen's comrade in arms. Throughout his term of office John Marchbank rendered very valuable services to the I.T.F., and during the war he was one of its pillars, devoting to it the best of his energies and a great deal of his time. To him, also, we owe a great debt.

The two great names of Fimmen and Marchbank are not the only ones on the scroll of comrades who have passed over since our last Congress in 1938. We must also note those of James Sexton and Ben Tillet, members of the team who founded the I.T.F., and Hermann Jochade, Secretary of the I.T.F. up to the 1914 war, and after that war a member of its General Council. Jochade was trampled to death in a concentration camp in 1939. Piet Moltmaker, Chairman of the Dutch Railwaymen's Union, and for many years a member of the Management Committee of

the I.T.F., died at home, though not without having spent several months in Nazi prisons. August Forstner, one of the leaders of the old Austrian Transport Workers' Union, is also no longer amongst the living, though so far we know nothing of the circumstances of his death. He was for many years a member of the Executive Committee of the I.T.F. We mourn the death, also, of Pierre Sémard, General Secretary of the French Railwaymen's Federation, killed by the bullets of a German firing squad. A few hours before his execution he managed to send out of prison a message to his comrades, calling upon them to redouble their energy and courage in their resistance to the Nazi invader. Ludvik Buland, President of the Norwegian Railwaymen's Union died in exile in Germany after the commutation of the sentence of death pronounced against him by the Nazi hangmen. Our comrade Michel Hack, President of the Railwaymen's Federation of Luxemburg, was killed, together with his wife and daughter, as a result of a bombardment by Allied planes. E. Grzłowski, General Secretary of the Polish Railwaymen's Union, died in prison in the Soviet Union, where he was deported after the occupation of the eastern provinces of Poland by the Red Army in 1939. Mieczyslaw Mastek, President of the Polish Railwaymen's Union, came to England after two years of captivity in the Soviet Union, and died after a series of surgical operations. A. Reissner, President of the old German Transport Workers' Federation, ended his own life, together with those of his wife and daughter, when the Germans invaded Holland, where he was living as a refugee from Nazi oppression. John Jagger, President of the British National Union of Railwaymen, lost his life while at work. Robert Nielsen and Niels P. Hansen, two leaders of the Danish Transport Workers' Union, and F. B. Simpson, Assistant General Secretary of the British Railway Clerks' Association, have also left this world after having devoted a life's work to our cause.

We also mourn the death of thousands of other comrades whose activities and devotion, at their places of work and in the administration of our trade unions have made them the pillars of our movement. Some of them have died a natural death, but many others a violent one, defending our cause on the field of battle, in the resistance movements, in torture chambers and concentration camps, and facing the firing squad.

All these comrades have contributed, in differing degrees, to the work of the I.T.F. I ask the Congress to rise and honour their memories in a minute's silence.

* * *

And now to work. There is much to be done. From the Volga to the Atlantic, from the North Cape to the Mediterranean coast of Africa, and in the vast spaces of Asia, immense graveyards have been opened, and filled, in the course of the past seven years. Tens of thousands of towns and villages present a dismal spectacle of physical and economic ruin. The monstrous atrocities in the concentration camps, the mass murders in extermination camps and gas chambers, and the execution of hostages and carrying off to slavery of millions of men and women, have caused ruin still more lasting than the destruction of towns and factories, or the scientific organization of the pillage of the economic resources of the occupied countries. These vast deserts of ruin are peopled with human

beings who are suffering the miseries of hunger, cold and disease. Tens of millions, perhaps hundreds of millions, are living in moral and material conditions that must make them doubt whether our world will ever again become habitable.

The world *must* be made habitable again. The task is a formidable one, but not beyond human power. Transport is one of the key industries for physical reconstruction. Our members and their trade unions have therefore a highly important contribution to make to this work of reconstruction. I earnestly hope that the I.T.F. may so order its work that the workers in the transport industry, and their leaders, may set the workers and leaders of all industries, as well as the peoples and their governments, an example of solidarity in this effort.

Humanity can save itself if it will only join all its forces in the pursuit of a common aim, an aim which can only be the welfare of Humanity as a whole. May the peoples of the world pursue this aim with methods and means adequate to the purpose, so that the war of yesterday and the famine and distress of to-day may soon be nothing but the memory of a time of tragedy. The day when the peoples of the world pool both their resources and their efforts for the purpose of achieving a common prosperity, that they will have set foot on the road leading to the social justice which is the only possible assurance of permanent peace.

MR. OLDENBROEK (acting General Secretary of the I.T.F.) reported the Executive Committee's proposal that Congress should meet from 10 a.m. to 1 p.m., and from 3 p.m. to 6 p.m. daily, as this would be necessary to get through the work. On Item C, it was suggested that one representative each from Belgium, France, Great Britain, Italy, the Scandinavian countries and Switzerland be appointed to form the Credentials Committee. If Congress agreed with this choice of countries, the delegation might meet at once and fix a time-table so that the Committee could start work forthwith.

Nominations having been made, MR. OLDENBROEK announced the following composition for the Credentials Committee :

Belgium	P. de Bruijne
France	A. Gruenais
Great Britain	J. Binks
Italy	A. E. Benedetto
Scandinavia	R. Helgesson
Switzerland	H. Meyer

The meeting adjourned at 1.15 p.m.

SECOND SESSION

Monday, 6th May, 3 p.m.

The PRESIDENT threw open the discussion on Item I of the Agenda, the

REPORT ON ACTIVITIES.

MR. VERCRUYCE (Belgian Tramwaymen), speaking in French, said he had nothing but praise for the Secretariat and for the Executive Committee. He wanted, however, to bring the backing of his Union to the Secretariat's appreciation for the work of their great comrade, Edo Fimmen, whose passing had been such a great loss. Fimmen had been the most criticized and attacked by the bourgeois press because he had been so deeply desirous of transforming society. Fimmen had been a symbol; he had had a horror of war because he knew how it sowed hatred among mankind. Edo Fimmen should be always in their thoughts, and they should always have in mind the aim he had expressed in every Congress.

Congratulating the Secretariat on its reminder to the world how the I.T.F. had not failed during the war, the speaker said it had kept the International's banner waving above the grief and bloodshed. It had furthermore done a great job, after the liberation, in recalling to the workers of the world the necessity of joining up again to reinforce the International which they had never abandoned. The I.T.F., which had safeguarded the honour of all the transport workers, was entitled to all their gratitude.

His only regret, with regard to the Report on Activities, was that the Secretariat had not underlined the view that, in the matter of affiliation to the World Federation of Trade Unions, the I.T.F. intended to maintain its autonomy and independence. He feared a too intensive centralization; he did not want a repetition of their pre-war experience, when the International was Germany and Germany was the International. They should avoid the International becoming dominated by just one large country. In the same way, the Unions in the different trades, by maintaining their autonomy, would be able to assure a proper direction to the World International.

The speaker then reported to Congress the growth of his own Union from 8,000 to 16,000 members.

In concluding, he expressed the wish that the I.T.F. should give just a little more attention to the tramwaymen. Although they formed only a small group among the railwaymen, seamen and others, they had nevertheless in their own countries done all they could for the emancipation of the workers; if they were given all the necessary moral support by the I.T.F. the workers would be able to achieve their emancipation, not only in the companies exploited by the capitalists, but also in the services dominated by the public authorities.

MR. BENSTEAD (British Railwaymen) felt they should not let the Report merely pass through the Congress. It contained the fruits of the I.T.F.'s work during the war period, and they should in the first place convey their thanks to the Emergency General Council for the way it had kept the I.T.F.'s flag flying during that difficult period. Whatever future policy might be determined on later by the conference, the fact remained that the

I.T.F. had emerged with its structure intact and with greater possibilities of carrying on the work done for the past fifty years. He wanted accordingly to offer hearty thanks to the President and to the Emergency General Council for the work done in general, and in particular in 1940, when, with the whole world falling in ruins, the I.T.F. had managed to bring to Great Britain people from all the countries under Nazi occupation and to enable them to carry on the Federation's work.

On the Report itself, he would express the view that the approach to the air transport question was very limited, bearing in mind the future of aviation for passengers and freight. The I.T.F. should aim at bringing within its framework the people concerned with civil aviation.

Great technical problems confronted the transport workers, particularly those concerned with seafaring, but also on the railways, where the problem of electrification was bound to crop up. Whatever the form of transport or the country concerned, he felt after listening to that afternoon's debates, that they were going to stand together in order to benefit all transport workers.

With regard to the future, the speaker hoped that whatever happened in the sphere of international trade union reconstruction, the I.T.F. would be able to continue to handle the great problems of transport labour as it had done in the past.

Referring to the last speaker's statement, MR. BENSTEAD gave the assurance that the countries with a large amount of personnel represented in the I.T.F., and he thought Great Britain was still among these, would always have regard to the small countries and assist them as in the past. They hoped to be able to carry on the work of uniting the workers all over the world.

THE PRESIDENT pointed out that they were taking the Report on Activities as a whole because delegates had already read it. If Congress wanted it taken chapter by chapter, this could be done, but he felt it might be better to have delegates speak on any point they wished to.

MR. WEIGL (Austrian Transport workers), speaking in German, first of all transmitted the greetings of the Austrian transport workers who had awaited with great longing this first post-war Congress of the I.T.F. The Austrian transport workers had always been especially closely linked with the I.T.F. Edo Fimmen had been a very dear personal friend of many of them. Many persons there present knew how the Austrian transport workers in critical times had respected the I.T.F.'s decisions and carried them out to the letter.

Austrian trade unionists had been deeply affected when they had first of all been overrun by Fascism in 1934; it had been a great grief and shame to them when Hitler marched in and completely suppressed the workers and their organizations. Thousands of their comrades had been thrown into concentration camps, thousands had paid with their lives for standing up to their convictions.

It had therefore been a great satisfaction to them to see how the I.T.F. had during the war never wavered in its attitude against the warmongers. They had seen with admiration how the seamen of all countries had followed the I.T.F.'s instructions to bring the ships into allied and neutral ports, thus dealing the first blow at Nazism. This had strengthened their hopes and encouraged them to maintain contact with the I.T.F., as an organization which throughout the whole war had conserved its world-

wide links and had acted wherever necessary to help the persecuted workers.

The underground workers in Austria had benefited greatly from this help, for which he wanted to express the gratitude of the Austrian transport workers and indeed for the Austrian workers as a whole. The rule of Nazism was now ended; their country had been freed from National Socialism, Hitler's bands had been done away with. It was satisfactory to note how great had been the contribution of the organized workers, who had maintained their unions underground and carried out much dangerous work, to the frustration of the Nazi plan to make Austria and Vienna in particular into the last stronghold of National Socialism. The preservation of at least part of Vienna was due to the Austrian workers' having brought to nought the Nazis' plans for its complete destruction.

Speaker then expressed further thanks to comrades in all countries who were still helping his country. Famine was rampant in Austria, and the workers were trying to carry on under inexpressible conditions of shortage in food, clothing and transport. Their gratitude was all the greater—especially towards the Swiss, Swedish and Danish comrades in their efforts to provide better food at least for the Austrian children—since they realised that the Austrian workers continued to hold the sympathy of the whole world.

They would be able to pull themselves up again in their country. They would do everything that lay in their own power to bring Austria once more within the great world group of class-conscious organized workers. They wanted nothing better than to be able themselves to develop their economy, but there were many obstacles, which it was difficult for comrades from other lands to understand. One of the greatest of these was the fact that the country was being administered by four different occupying powers whose interests were not always the same. It thus happened much more often than they would like that matters of vital importance to Austrian economy were not given due consideration. Austria had been bled white under Hitler. Not only had everything of value been taken to Germany, but large-scale industry and the transport system had been systematically brought under German control. The Nazis had easily found a legal formula to transform the great industrial undertakings into German joint stock companies, and German directors had been appointed everywhere.

This meant that the Potsdam decisions were to-day placing Austria in an unhappy and untenable position, unless a change could be brought about soon. Arising out of the Nazi action already described, all Austrian property had been declared German property, and German property was being claimed by the Allies as reparations. The great question was therefore to distinguish between Austrian and German property. As an illustration, the speaker pointed out that the Unions were working in buildings which had formerly been their own property, but they did not know if they would remain so in the future. All trade union and co-operative property had in fact been incorporated into the German Labour Front by Hitler and had thus become German property. It was not at all a simple matter for the Unions to get back their own possessions; for them the crucial question was whether the Allies could decide on such an interpretation of the Potsdam decisions as would permit the Austrian

trade unions again to come into possession of what had been stolen from them once in 1934 by Austro-Fascism and later by the Nazis.

The same situation applied to the whole of industry. It was doubtful whether their large industrial enterprises, like spinning mills, machinery works and mines would be declared Austrian property. Were the narrow interpretation of Potsdam to be maintained. Austria would actually possess nothing in her own country to enable her to reconstruct her economy and start up production again.

They were therefore expecting that the Allies would implement the Potsdam decisions in such a manner as would allow of production being resumed and industry being rebuilt, thus assuring work for the Austrian workers, although in extremely difficult circumstances, and furthering the establishment of the democratic state which must after all be the ultimate aim of all Allied action.

They hoped this would happen. The country had in any case difficulties enough. Under the rule of the four occupying powers, it was divided up into four zones, and each demarcation line meant just one more economic difficulty. In one case, for example, the factory might be in one zone, but the raw material it needed in another, so that it could not obtain it since export across the demarcation line was simply not allowed.

In conclusion, the speaker said he would not go into details about the misery of the population and particularly of the working class in Austria. This was well known through reports in the press, and the International had already demonstrated by its decisions and its action that it appreciated these difficulties. The Austrian transport workers, and indeed all the Austrian workers, were on the alert; thanks to their resistance, their determination and their faith in their principles and in the class-consciousness of the workers, they would again become the respected and useful member of the International they had always been in the past.

MR. JOUSTRA (Dutch Railwaymen), speaking in Dutch, apologized in the first place for using his own language. Representing a small organization from a small country, he recalled that formerly everything had gone well in the I.T.F. and that "fortunate countries have no history." The Dutch organizations had never had much to say in International Congresses, but he felt bound to-day to express the gratitude they felt so deeply.

Congress would know that the Dutch workers had been through a period of terrible difficulties; they had notwithstanding never lost their faith in the final victory. One of their first thoughts after the invasion of the Netherlands had been for the wisdom of the I.T.F. leaders in transferring the Secretariat to London in good time and taking steps to allow of the International continuing its work.

In spite of the Dutch comrades' pride in having formerly had the I.T.F. Secretariat in their country, they were extremely glad to know that it had been transferred to London and thus enabled to continue its work. Many of those present, including the Dutch themselves, knew how useful it had been to have the I.T.F. in Great Britain, because it could carry on and maintain contacts.

The five-year occupation of Holland had been a period of blood and tears which the Dutch would never forget. In the darkest hours, with

courage at the lowest ebb, the Dutch had always found encouragement in the firm attitude of Great Britain, the Dominions and the United States.

As representative of the Dutch railwaymen, the speaker continued, he wanted to express thanks for the aid given by the I.T.F. For two years, their union had continued to function more or less normally ; when the Germans had wanted to incorporate everything into the Labour Front, the union had continued its work in camouflaged form. In September 1944, instructions had been given the railwaymen by the Allied Command, and carried out to the letter by all the railwaymen, acting as one man, thus showing how carefully action had been prepared. The strike had started on September 17th 1944, the railwaymen having realized that the time had come to act. They had thought it would be a matter of only a few weeks, because the Allies would be able to break through at Arnhem. This hope, however, had been cruelly disappointed, and the strike had had to be continued for eight months.

It was impossible to express in words the suffering which this had brought in a country which had already been deprived of all its resources by the occupation. But the railwaymen had stood fast nevertheless and had thus contributed to the help given by the resistance to London and the Allies.

As soon as it became possible to re-establish communications abroad, the Dutch railwaymen had tried to get into touch again with their old friends. The people, and the railwaymen, were at the end of their tether ; more than five hundred railwaymen had lost their lives. At this moment fortunately, they had received help from the comrades of Great Britain, Denmark, Norway, Switzerland, Belgium, and it was for this he wished now to offer their hearty thanks. Children of Dutch railwaymen had been received into British, Danish and Swiss families. After a few months' stay, they had returned completely transformed and in perfect health. The parents of these children wanted to transmit through him their infinite gratitude.

When the Dutch railwaymen's representatives had gone to London to visit the I.T.F. for the first time, went on the speaker, Mr. Oldenbroek's first action had been to ask them what they needed and to assure them everything possible would be done to give it them. This showed the I.T.F.'s wisdom in taking action to allow of its continued work during the whole war.

Thanks to the aid given their organization, it had now happily been able to start up again ; thanks to international solidarity, it had started to work again completely satisfactorily. On the forthcoming 1st July, it would be celebrating its sixtieth birthday and would be inviting its sister organizations to take part in the Congress and commemoration celebrations.

It was satisfactory to note that the Union was 90 per cent reconstructed ; it would soon surpass its former strength and become even more powerful than it had been before.

In conclusion, the Speaker again expressed the great gratitude of the Dutch comrades, not only to the I.T.F., but to all its affiliated organizations for their good example and the aid given to his Union, thus enabling it to rebuild itself.

MR. DEAKIN (British Transportworkers), speaking as a member of the Management Committee, said they would have been surprised and

possibly disappointed if there had been no comment nor criticism on the Report submitted. The Report covered seven and half years' work of the I.T.F., of which six and a half had been spent in Great Britain. As provided in the Constitution, the Management Committee had been drawn from the affiliated organizations in the country where the Secretariat was operating.

They were proud to have been able to continue the I.T.F.'s work in accordance with its past tradition ; he felt the work had been carried on with vigour and courage and foresight, in times of great difficulty and of problems without precedent in the Federation's long history. Grateful tributes had been made by Belgian, Dutch and Austrian friends, which were much appreciated, but they felt they had done nothing more than their duty.

In the matter of underground activity, the Management Committee had felt it vitally necessary to get over to the comrades in occupied countries those words of encouragement and inspiration they needed. Through a small committee set up under the B.B.C., on which comrade Oldenbroek had represented the I.T.F., they had been able to prepare material and get across messages which had strengthened the occupied countries' belief in their ultimate deliverance and kept alive the vital spark which had enabled them themselves to make their contribution when the time came. That work had not been in vain ; the trade union movement was even now a burning force in the international life of the ordinary people of Europe and of the world.

In the field of reconstruction, too, the I.T.F. had taken its part. They had realized that when the time for liberation was at hand, they would have to build, in conjunction with the comrades who had remained in the liberated countries, the trade union organizations which would work for the future. Their faith and hopes had been realized ; delegates had already heard something of the rebuilding that had taken place, and of the increased union membership.

In the early days in North Africa, immediately the landing had taken place and it was possible to get in, the Speaker explained, his union and the I.T.F. representatives had gone along with a clear idea of what was to be done and the determination to help revive and extend trade unionism there. A substantial contribution had been made in money and effort to aid capable and trusted representatives there, and as a result it had been possible to help in the rebirth of the North African unions.

In the same way, representatives had gone to Italy as soon as possible and had taken part in the memorable Bari Conference which marked the rebirth of the Italian movement. Funds had been readily forthcoming from many sources—America, Great Britain, Sweden, Switzerland and other countries—for this great work ; this solidarity was a tribute to the high efficiency of transportworkers organized in their own International.

In the matter of European transport, the Management Committee had realized the necessity to prepare for liberation and the necessity that would then arise for the free interchange of goods and services between nation and nation. It was felt vitally necessary to prepare as complete a plan as possible for a properly co-ordinated European transport system, and the I.T.F. had accordingly taken part in the Committee set up by the United Nations. The Acting Assistant General Secretary Tofahrn had been one of the two representatives. Transportworkers had made a

contribution here from their own practical experience ; it remained to be seen whether the desired results would be produced.

Referring to Mr. Benstead's remarks about air transport, the speaker pointed out that they had not forgotten it in the Report which, while admitting the whole problem of freight and passenger transport was a big one, had stated that it would receive the I.T.F.'s close consideration.

On the question of autonomy within the world trade union organization a statement on behalf of the Executive Committee would be made later in the week when the question came up on the agenda. For that reason, continued the speaker, they had not felt impelled to deal with it now but he would say that, whatever form the international trade union organization might take, it was essential for transportworkers to see to it that the I.T.F.'s fifty years of knowledge and experience should not be lost to its members. The contacts built up during that period had bred a confidence in international trade union action which should not be impaired in any way, but should on the contrary be utilized to the full.

On the point raised by the Austrian delegate, concerning the return of trade union property stolen during the Nazi occupation, they had borne in mind the necessity of claiming their own and steps had in fact already been taken to compile a schedule of claims for return of property which was returnable or for compensation in lieu. Some property, such as the Amsterdam property, had already been returned. The I.T.F. had a claim on whatever international authority might finally be set up to deal with the issue, and they were determined to attain complete restoration of whatever trade union property had been stolen.

In the work of the I.L.O., too, the I.T.F. had taken its full part. Speaker would repeat what he had said in the World Trade Union Conference at which he had represented the British T.U.C., that, whatever future policy might be arising from the operation of the Economic and Social Council within the United Nations, they were determined not to lose the great experience available through the International Labour Organization, which had made a magnificent contribution to the solution of working class problems. He was sure that the British seamen in particular would speak with gratitude of the results achieved through the I.L.O. The I.T.F. was fully aware of the need to maintain that organization as an instrument of economic and industrial policy. The Maritime Conferences had considerably furthered the welfare of seamen throughout the world, and he was looking forward to see this work developed in such a way as to provide a full measure of reward and justice to people who had not received their due for their services to the community.

He could have wished for much wider criticism of the Report. He thought that they should build up the international organization in such a way as to inspire others to come in and make that common contribution to the removal of inequalities and injustices under which they had laboured so long. Out of their experience they should forge a more effective instrument to implement international trade union policy. Approaching the problem in that way they need have no fear for the future. Courage and vision were required, but he hoped that that Congress was going to give a clear lead in the international field at that momentous time in the history of their movement and of the world.

MR. FREY (French Transportworkers), speaking in French, said that they had given close consideration to the Report on Activities and would

not vote against it. Clearly the I.T.F. had positive action to show in the fight against Nazism and Fascism ; and had furthermore given material, financial and moral support to the resistance movement in the invaded countries.

But he would like delegates to know that the French workers, and in particular the transport workers, had never accepted the cowardly repression of the traitors Petain and Laval. It was their fear and hatred for the people of France that had permitted the shameful capitulation of 1940, logical consequence of Munich. He wanted delegates to realize that it was out of their fear of the French people, who were anti-Fascist, that the high command and the government had not given arms to the soldiers when, after the German invasion, thousands of tanks and hundreds of aeroplanes were ready to fight. This treason had since been made good by the heroic action of the French workers who, under the impetus of the Parties of the Left and especially of the French General Confederation of Labour, had harassed the enemy from July 1940 onwards. Tens of thousands of active trade unionists had paid for this with their lives.

It was easy to understand their joy therefore when the railwaymen, seamen, dockers and road transport workers had received the strike call. The railwaymen, in August 1944, had started the revolutionary strike which had allowed Paris to be freed and had given active assistance to the Allied troops engaged at that time in liberating the country.

His delegation agreed with Deakin that there had not been much criticism of the Report, but wanted to make some corrections and point out some omissions.

His delegation thought the Executive's resolution of January 27th to 28th 1940 on the Finnish war showed a deplorable point of view. This resolution had taken up all the lies printed by the Fascist press agencies. The I.T.F.'s policy should be determined by feelings other than those which had guided the authors of this resolution.

A few months later, another resolution had appeared which said just the opposite. This one stated that "the defeat of the U.S.S.R. would destroy a State founded for the achievement of Socialism." The change of attitude had taken place in a few months, and he felt this to smack too much of opportunism. It would perhaps have been better to reflect a little longer, to try to understand the U.S.S.R.'s position before having drafted and voted the resolution of January 27th to 28th, 1940.

At that time, anti-Communist propaganda had been carried on, and was still to-day in a more concealed form. This was obvious from the Report's statement that it was just as well that Russian affiliation of the I.F.T.U. had been rejected at the 1939 Congress, since the signature of the Germano-Soviet pact would have brought about a split. He wondered whether adequate consideration had been given to this, since it would imply the expulsion in future of the trade unions in a third country which might decide to remain neutral when two countries went to war. What was sauce for the goose was sauce for the gander. There were countries represented within the I.T.F. which had not been at war with Germany, neutral countries which no one had ever thought of excluding from the International. But it appeared that, if the Russian Unions had been affiliated to the I.F.T.U. in 1939, they would have been expelled

in 1940. The fact that this was said now illustrated the state of mind which might exist.

Dealing with the Report's statement that £1,000 had been donated for the organization of transportworkers in North Africa, and with Deakin's statement that this had been distributed to worthy comrades, the speaker expressed his astonishment that Comrade Garcias, who had completely resumed his trade union activity since 1942, had not seen a penny of this fund. He wondered if Garcias was not considered worthy because he had come out of a concentration camp. In any case, he wanted to say that Oran had received 15,000 francs (£75), Morocco between 10,000 and 20,000 francs (£100) and Tunis nothing. This total of £175 was far behind the £1,000 mentioned. Garcias had asked the Executive for an account in 1944, but he had not received one, either then or since. The National Federation of Transport Workers, which had worked in part legally and in part underground where it had done a tremendous amount of work, had never seen a penny of the I.T.F.'s fund.

The question of relations with other trade unions was also a burning one. In France, there were the Railwaymen's and Dockers' Unions which were not represented at the Congress; although not in good standing with the I.T.F., they were nevertheless referred to in the Report—as the speaker agreed they ought to be. On the other hand, however, the National Federation, which was in good standing and had paid its fees, was not mentioned at all. They very much regretted this because they had 150,000 members and thought they should not be regarded as a negligible quantity.

Nor was any mention made of the clandestine work carried on, particularly by Gruenais, who had been in London. They felt that he had done a very fine job in the fight against Nazism and for the Allies. He had organized the seamen in London, but his name was not mentioned, and they thought perhaps it was because their Union was in the minority. They felt this was hardly fair. Within their Federation and thus within the I.T.F. they had the navigating officers, the officers and staffs in French commercial aviation, and they regretted also that no mention had been made of them.

In conclusion, said the speaker, they would ask the Congress to delete from the Report on Activities the resolution of January 27th to 28th, 1940. This would please the French transport workers and allow them to vote for the Report without any reservations.

MR. WÄLLÄRI (Finnish Seamen) referred to the passage of the Report on Activities, which stated that :

“ 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.”

He explained that when Finland had become involved in the Germano-Soviet War on June 22nd 1941, they had not been aware of the exact

extent of the intrigues of Finnish reactionaries. They had known that German troops had been transported across Finnish territory to Norway, and had heard rumours that Germans were to remain in Finnish Lapland. Asking for an explanation from the Trade Union Centre and the Social-Democratic ministers in the coalition government, they had been told that Finland was granting the Germans just the same rights as Sweden was and nothing more. This explanation being accepted, the Finnish Seamen's Union, Transportworkers' Federation and Railwaymen's Federation had wired the I.T.F. as reported.

It was only long afterwards they had learned that the story about an unprovoked Russian attack on Finland was false, but only in 1944 had they learned the whole truth—that the Finnish High Command had collaborated with the Nazis since 1940 and had helped the Germans against the Soviet Union. Finland was thus no longer neutral, although the official Labour Movement had supported the prevailing régime throughout the war. The Seamen's Union had taken another course, being the only one openly to take a stand against the Germans. They had refused to let their members work on German ships, and had recalled such members as had been sent by employment officers to work on German ships. They had organized underground groups and had carried action against the Nazis into German ports and had given their best support to the Allied cause, as set out in the Report. Because of their activities, their representative had been expelled from the Finnish National Centre's Executive Committee.

The speaker wanted further to express the Finnish seamen's thanks to the I.T.F. for its splendid lead during the war and its encouragement during the darkest days.

THE PRESIDENT then adjourned the meeting until the next morning at 10 sharp.

THIRD SESSION

Tuesday, 7th May, 10 a.m.

THE PRESIDENT appealed for brevity, seeing that he had nine speakers on his list.

MR. FREUND (Austrian Railwaymen), speaking in German, first of all transmitted the greetings of the Austrian railwaymen and thanked the Congress for its invitation, which had enabled them, after years of interruption in communications, again to get into touch with the I.T.F.'s representatives. The interruption had really been only apparent, since links with the International Labour Movement could not be broken and even the worst persecution could not deprive of them of their faith in international solidarity.

The workers of his country had suffered for more than twelve years under the most brutal oppression, but had never given up for a single hour the fight against Fascism. Their underground struggle had begun as far back as February 1934, when they had gone down in the armed fight for freedom and democracy. Delegates were aware of all the phases of this struggle, in which Austria's bravest workers had given their lives. Thousands had been thrown into prison and some of their best people had had to flee into exile.

They were particularly grateful to the I.T.F. for the help given to all those who had then lost their homes and property. But the period immediately after 1934 had been as nothing compared with the 1938 Nazi invasion. The ruthless brutality and bestiality of the Gestapo and SS had forced the underground to work cautiously, but the number of victims had still been terribly high; those who had suffered in life and limb amounted to hundreds of thousands. No one could describe the humiliations undergone by those who had wanted to remain true to their faith, and Fascist hatred for these people had increased tremendously with the outbreak of war. But it had not helped in the long run—finally the great break-through had come, freeing the whole of humanity from immeasurable terror.

With it, however, had come all the post-war problems which were inevitable consequences of such a gigantic catastrophe, and which could only now be realised to their full extent. In Austria they were suffering very greatly from them, since a large part of their country, and Vienna in particular, had been a battlefield. Their factories had been destroyed, railway stations were in ruins, thousands of dwellings destroyed and the warehouses plundered.

Immediately after the end of hostilities, they had taken in hand the work of reconstruction, which was not easy and had from the outset come up against great difficulties. Not only was there a lack of raw materials and of coal, the country was under four occupying powers and divided into four zones, hermetically sealed from each other, which prevented a proper distribution of what little had been left in the country. In spite of their gratitude to the Allies for their liberation from Fascism, they had continually to be pleading with the Military Government (which had the final decision over the elected Austrian Government) to restore

the economic unity of the country and to do away with these lines of demarcation, which had the effect of a Chinese wall, and thus to enable the resumption of free communications.

Although a year had passed since the end of the war, no constitution and no peace treaty were as yet in existence. They in Austria did not know what belonged to them and what to others ; all this meant delay in reconstruction and in the return to normal economic life.

There was a further consequence for the people. Not only their towns and industries and communications had been destroyed, but their social institutions also. What the Austrian workers had achieved had been gradually broken down by Fascism and completely finished off under National Socialism. The Austrian workers knew that restoration of their social institutions would only be possible when economic life was in full swing and the State had regained its full freedom of action. But this again could only be attained when the State had been given its independence and freed from foreign influence, thus allowing of the overall planning and direction of Austrian industry. The workers knew this and would put all their power behind reconstruction. But they demanded their due share of influence.

In order to prevent any future return of reactionary movements, they had rebuilt their Unions and now had a National Trade Union Centre in Austria. There was no longer separate Unions of manual and non-manual workers as they had had in the past, but one single union to which all could belong. Both the Austrian workers and employees could not believe that all the bourgeois people now calling themselves democrats had really become democrats in such a short time ; only time would show whether they were so in fact. In any case, the workers would do everything they could, within this new form, to remain in contact with the international organizations ; they aimed not only at reconstructing their country and their social institutions but also their trade unions.

He was not speaking on these lines, the speaker declared, merely to lay bare their troubles, but to make the real situation in Austria clear to delegates, so that they could in their turn report the real situation to others outside. This would prevent what was now happening, with masses of rumours about Austria being spread around with no one able to distinguish the true from the false.

In order to live, they needed outside help. They did not want to beg, but to work, but this meant they needed food. Workers who only saw meat two or three times a year could not be expected to use their full strength ; they were simply incapable of it. They accordingly needed the help of all comrades in other countries to overcome their worst problems of food shortage ; they would ask them to do all they could to get raw materials, particularly coal, into Austria.

Furthermore, it was necessary that Austria should be really free. The occupying Powers had garrisons in Austria whose strength was quite out of proportion to the circumstances. A small country could not stand such an occupation in the long run. Austria had been liberated from Fascism, but the Austrians were not free. They had indeed a sovereign parliament and a government with sovereign powers. They were notified from time to time of its recognition by yet another country. But no Act of Parliament could come into force before its approval by the Allied Military Government.

The food problem, the supply of raw materials and coal, and the occupation all needed to be settled so as to help Austria to complete the work of reconstruction.

The speaker in conclusion wished to express the thanks of the Austrian railwaymen and all other workers for the international help given them. The railwaymen wanted in particular to thank the I.T.F. for enabling them to remain members. Although they had not been able to maintain direct and open contact, the link was still there and in future they would fulfil their obligations to the I.T.F. They had especially looked forward to the present Congress because it offered them the opportunity to meet again one of their best men—Comrade Koenig—who had contributed so much to the railwaymen's achievements.

Finally they wanted to thank the I.T.F. for guarding their banner since 1935. He remembered how they had gone secretly to Copenhagen in 1935—their last chance of seeing the comrades from abroad. In the intervening decade, they had suffered incredibly, but they had never given way, they had always believed that the hour of deliverance would come and that they would again be able, as part of the international, to build up a new world.

MR. TENNANT-SMITH (I.M.M.O.A.) brought greetings from the International Mercantile Marine Officers' Association, whose Congress had just preceded that of the I.T.F., also in Zürich. He thanked the I.T.F. Management Committee and Secretariat for the help given mercantile marine officers during the difficult war years. Expressing their gratitude for Mr. Oldenbroek's help, he said the war had shown the necessity for close co-operation.

Seamen and railwaymen had together fought the fascists during the war. Not only had the seafarers fought at sea, through their international organization in London, they had worked together so as to ensure equitable treatment. The work of organizing seafarers driven from their own countries had fallen on the Seamen's Section of the I.T.F. and the International Mercantile Marine Officers' Association, which had arranged for the various nationalities to set up their unions in London. He wanted again to pay tribute here to the outstanding work of Mr. Charles Jarman, Chairman of the I.T.F.'s Seamen's Section, and Mr. Oldenbroek, the Secretary, and others. In addition to their interest in the seafarers' cause during the war, the two Internationals had produced a historic document—the Seafarers' Charter—the first code of minimum conditions ever drafted for one particular section.

The two Internationals' efforts had promoted fulfilment of the Charter. They hoped that the International Maritime Labour Conference, meeting in the coming month, would be able to translate into practice much of what the Charter contained. They believed that the peoples of the world could not pay better the tremendous debt they owed the seafarers than by fulfilling the Charter's conditions.

Not only had collaboration between the two Internationals been close during the war, but arrangements had been entered into, of a temporary nature because the I.M.M.O.A.'s Management Committee at least, in its war-time composition, could not undertake any constitutional changes. But friendly collaboration had been further developed and proposals made which would allow them to draw closer together in the post-war years. These proposals were to come up later on the Agenda.

The speaker asked for a slight amendment to the third paragraph on page 10 of the Report, merely to ensure greater clarity and prevent possible misunderstanding. He proposed (1) to insert "war-time" between the "following" and "basis," and (2) to add after the word "basis": "and to be reconsidered by the respective congresses of the I.T.F. and I.M.M.O.A. after the termination of the war."

The amendment was suggested to prevent the paragraph being read to mean that a final arrangement had been completed as a result of the war experience. This was not the case; it had been a war-time arrangement and they would like that to be clear.

MR. KOLODZIEJ (Polish Transport Workers and Seamen), speaking in Polish, observed that there were several mis-statements in the I.T.F. Secretariat's report concerning Poland, probably due to lack of information about the present position in the trade union movement of that country. On page 15 the membership of the Polish Railwaymen's Union in January 1946 was said to be 130,000. Actually the figure of 225,000 had already been reached by November 1945. On the same page the membership figure of the Transport Workers' Union should be 7,000 higher, including dockers, seamen and merchant navy officers. Then, under the heading of Polish seamen, the I.T.F. said it recognized the President of the Seamen's Union who had been elected at the delegates' meeting held in Liverpool on 14th and 15th April. The speaker observed that there was no longer a Polish Seamen's Union in existence outside the one operating from Poland. Consequently, no recognition could be accorded to such an organization, nor was anyone entitled to act as its president. The officers and men of the merchant navy had merged into one single organization known as the Maritime Department of the Polish Transport Workers' Union. The I.T.F. had been informed of this by letter. The unified Union embraced the majority of Polish seafarers. Outside it, of course, were the small number of officers and seamen sailing in foreign ships, who had no right to set up a separate union. On page 37 of the report it said that the Executive Committee had taken cognizance of a statement by Mr. K. Maxamin, who called himself general secretary of the Polish Railwaymen's Union. The speaker observed that Mr. Maxamin had not received any mandate to speak on behalf of that Union or to represent it on any occasion. Quoting from the report that the I.T.F. "assures the Polish members of the fullest possible assistance in their struggle for the liberation of their people and for the establishment of an independent democratic Poland," he commented that the implication seemed to be that his country was not yet free and democratic. He observed that thanks to the victorious offensive of the Red Army and the collaboration of the other Allies, and last but not least to the contribution made by Polish soldiers on the battlefields of Europe, Poland had been liberated after six years of frightful terror. She was free and independent as never before in her history. Polish workers and their leaders had played a prominent and decisive part in the struggle against the occupation and for the liberation of their country. They were doing the same in the efforts to reconstruct their devastated country and usher in an era of social reform. These efforts were part of the struggle proceeding in all the countries of the world and they had already made Poland a democratic country in the real sense of the word. The truth of this had been appreciated by the members of the British Parliamentary Labour Party who had visited Poland earlier in the

year. The agrarian reform which had been introduced, in collaboration with workers and peasants, had freed the peasantry from the misery and oppression they had endured for centuries. With the support of the trade unions, industry had been nationalized and the control of production handed to the people of Poland. By these two reforms, reaction had lost for ever its most powerful weapon against the people and the foundations had been laid of an economic order which guaranteed progress in material conditions and the dignity of the human being. The Polish people were proud of these achievements and of the great part played therein by the trade unions. Therefore the speaker requested that the report of the Secretariat be amended in the sense of his remarks. On behalf of the Polish delegation, finally, he supported the proposal of the French delegation that the passage on the Russo-Finnish question be deleted from the Report.

MR. KIEVIT (Dutch Transport Workers and Seamen), speaking in Dutch, stressed the necessity of holding regional conferences for dockers and inland navigation personnel. He then gave an account of the Dutch Movement during and after the war. Under the German occupation, the trade union movement had refused to co-operate in the formation of a Nazi trade union organization, and the Nazis had accordingly taken possession of union property and destroyed their records. When liberation came, they had a completely disrupted organization, but the earnest desire to reconstruct it at once, though this was very difficult, seeing the starvation among the population.

The Report on Activities mentioned what the I.T.F. had done to help them. One month before the invasion, Comrade Oldenbroek, at their request, had promised to assist the Dutch seamen if connections were broken off. The I.T.F. had helped them maintain their organization, so that the end of the war found them as a strong section within the Dutch Union, with conditions of work well regulated. They were thankful to the I.T.F. and to the National Union of Seamen, which had also helped the Dutch seamen as much as possible.

After the liberation in May 1945 they had again met their I.T.F. friends, whose first action had been to offer help. The Swedish Transport-workers' Union had sent food parcels for a thousand children of their members; members of the Swiss Union of Transport and Distributive Workers had taken five hundred Dutch children into their homes for a three months' stay. It was impossible to express the gratitude of these children's parents. They had received a tremendous number of letters asking them to convey thanks, and he took this opportunity of doing so.

Shortly before the Congress British and American friends had offered to arrange for two hundred Dutch children to go to Britain.

He was mentioning all these facts, the speaker explained, to show that the I.T.F. had made links which could never again be broken. The Report on Activities was a summary of similar acts of help during the past dark years. They were firmly resolved to carry on the fight, nationally and internationally, for a lasting peace and a better world, where justice would prevail. Action would do more than words to further their high ideals; for the Dutch comrades it would be a joy to maintain the spirit of solidarity and to work together to fulfil their aim.

MR. BECU (Belgian Transport Workers), speaking in English, brought the Congress first of all the hearty greetings of the Belgian Transport workers in his capacity of President.

Congratulating the Secretariat for its fine Report, he said that its task could not have been easy. It covered twice the normal number of years, and probably the most difficult years which the I.T.F. had experienced. The Report was too modest, compared with the work done ; perhaps it could not all be expressed, and they should read between the lines to understand all that the I.T.F. had done during the " phoney war."

Paying deep tribute to the late Edo Fimmen, the speaker recalled how Fimmen between the two wars had carried on his own war against Fascism and National Socialism. His underground work against those who were leading the working class to slavery was probably not well enough known. The speaker had to some extent been connected with Fimmen in this work, and he knew how Fimmen had given all his spirit and all his strength towards the defeat of Fascism and National Socialism. Unfortunately, he had not succeeded, but it should be recalled here how the I.T.F. with Fimmen at its head had led the battle before any government in the world had tried to oppose the Nazis' growing strength.

Moreover, it was thanks to Fimmen that a school of young trade union fighters had been formed, whose numbers had grown steadily in the inter-war years until they had become a whole regiment during the war and the occupation. It was thanks to Fimmen that these young people had played such a great part in the resistance movements at such great risks. The railwaymen, dockers, inland navigation workers, motor drivers and seamen had stood in the forefront of the underground work, and a tribute was due to Fimmen for having inspired the courage it had called for.

Speaking of the I.T.F.'s transfer to Great Britain during the war years, the speaker said there was no doubt that, without the help of the British comrades, the I.T.F. would not have been able to play such a big part during the war. For transport had played an immense role in the war, and it was the transport workers' organizations, affiliated to the I.T.F., and first and foremost the British National Union of Seamen, which had had to meet the men engaged in the work. As a Belgian and a former seaman, who had been fortunate enough to reach England, he wanted to pay the highest tribute to the I.T.F. and its Management Committee, and through them to the transport workers in general and the National Union of Seamen in particular.

Turning to the I.T.F.'s aid to the underground in occupied countries, the speaker, amid applause, formally proposed that the I.T.F. should issue in book form a history of its fifty years' work, including in it a biography of Edo Fimmen.

They should not forget that the Fascists were still there and the struggle against them had to be continued. In fact, its roots were spreading all over the world. Spain and Portugal were still bastions of Fascism, and he regretted that the I.T.F. Report made no mention of these two régimes. Trifón Gómez was a victim of Fascism, and in 1946 he still had to live in exile. The I.T.F. could not rest until all that had been wiped out.

The Belgian transport workers were standing aloof, ready for action as soon as the I.T.F. gave the word " go." If direct action could not be

decided on at that Congress, he would like them to empower the I.T.F.'s General Council to take action when the time came.

They had before them some decisions of very great importance for the future, notably the place of the I.T.F. within the World Trade Union Movement. He himself had been astonished to learn that steps had already been taken by many trade unions and trade union leaders to form a World Federation of Trade Unions, which would absorb such an important body as the I.T.F.—without the members of the I.T.F. having been given an opportunity to discuss the matter.

It was incredible that they had been placed in that position, which he for one could not accept. He congratulated the I.T.F. Executive on taking the stand that this could not be done without consultation of the I.T.F.'s constituent bodies. If they had to go into the larger body—which he was prepared to do—and if they were going to have one world federation, the spirit of the I.T.F. would have to be maintained within it in the interests of transport workers all over the world. If they could not have within the World Federation of Trade Unions the machinery which they needed in order to continue their work, then he personally would fight against the incorporation. The job they had to do was a tremendously difficult and important one; he did not think a World Federation of Trade Unions could take over the work done by the I.T.F. in the past and to be done by it in the near future. He did not want them to run the risk of not being able, in a transitional period, to achieve their object—the implementation of the International Seafarers' Charter, laid down under great difficulties and after long efforts in the interests of seafarers.

Within the I.T.F. they had attained great unity of action among seafarers, without distinction of race, rank or creed. He sincerely hoped that the I.T.F. was going to open its ranks so that the I.M.M.O.A. could come in. In this connection, the speaker referred to what was probably an omission of the Report, under the heading I.M.M.O.A., where no mention had been made of François Mas, who had for so many years been President of the International and had inspired it with a spirit of democracy and urged the greatest possible co-operation with the I.T.F.

Attention should also be drawn to the forthcoming Maritime Conference in Seattle, where the big battle against shipowners and against certain governments would be fought out. He doubted whether they would attain their aim, but if they did not achieve their goal through that conference under I.L.O. auspices, they would have to put their heads together in the I.T.F. and the Seamen's Section to see what means they had to fight the battle to its bitter end.

In conclusion, the speaker regretted that the Report contained no reference to the fishermen. He thought the I.T.F. should draw up a Fishermen's Charter similar to the Seamen's Charter. He recalled the Ostend Conference held a few years before the war, and suggested that the I.T.F. consider calling another international conference, probably a regional one, for fishermen, to see what could be done.

He closed with a final appeal to all to see that the I.T.F. remained as strongly united as possible, and should in the future even more than in the past always take the lead in the international struggle against fascism, and against the oppression of the working class, against capitalism, for the betterment of the workers' status.

MR. BORGHESI (Italian Railwaymen) recalled how the Italian Railwaymen's Union had participated in all the congresses of the I.T.F. since its foundation. Always in the front rank of working-class struggle, the Union had incurred the particular hatred of Italian reaction, and when Fascism rose to power it had been the most persecuted trade union organization in the country.

Tens of thousands of Italian railwaymen were sacked in the years 1921-23, and hundreds of them had to seek a refuge and a livelihood abroad. All the organization's offices and buildings were wrecked, scores of its officials maimed or killed, and finally the organization itself was dissolved by the Fascist Government.

The Italian Railwaymen's Union had never given up the fight against Fascism. Most of the Italian representatives present at the Congress were men who had been sacked from the railways in 1923, emigrated to France, spent periods in concentration camp, and performed voluntary service in the International Brigade in Spain. At the first opportunity, early in 1943, Italian railwaymen joined in the battle against Nazi-Fascism. While the Allied Armies were freeing Italy step by step, the Italian Railwaymen's Union was making ready for its resurrection, and with Nazi-Fascist forces still in control of the country railwaymen waged their war of sabotage, and by the wrecking of railway works and equipment aided the campaigns of the Allied and partisan forces. In spite of the difficulties and perils they did their part in a spirit of great courage and devotion.

But, said the speaker, this destruction of our transport system, when the battle was won, left us without the means for a speedy and effective reconstruction of our country. Thus it is that Italian railwaymen have to work for wages insufficient to buy even the first necessities. They lack not only enough food, but shoes, clothing and practically everything else.

Yet Italian railwaymen flocked into the Union as soon as—with the aid of the I.T.F. delegate Pier Paolo Fano, and later Guiseppe Sardelli—it was reconstituted, on 10th January 1944 at Bari, as an organization for all railway workers regardless of grade or of religious or political creed. We are profoundly grateful to the I.T.F. for the moral and material aid it has given us in the reconstruction of our organization.

Italian workers still suffer heavily from the effects of a war which was forced on the country by the Fascist régime. Among Italians hope never died of the defeat of the Axis Powers which alone could restore to them their honour and their freedom. When, abusing the name of the country, an assault is made on the peace, liberty and civilization of all peoples, it is the duty of all thinking workers to choose the side of the right, even though thereby they may seem to wage war on their own homeland. This choice was made by the workers and especially the railwaymen of Italy during their twenty-five year struggle against Fascism.

We have prepared reports on the situation of the Italian Railwaymen's Union and on the condition of our country's transport system. On the basis hereof the I.T.F. will consider the decisions to be taken. We appeal to the Congress to have regard for the plight of our country, so that the I.T.F. Secretariat may satisfy the Allied Governments that the Italian workers can only be a constructive force for democracy and liberty if they are enabled to reconstruct their transport and production systems.

We shall, concluded the speaker, always remain loyal to the I.T.F. and to the Italian C.G.T. ; we shall always endeavour to live up to our traditions and we are confident that we shall succeed in rebuilding our country and playing our part in the worldwide struggle of the workers for the maintenance and defence of peace and of working-class freedoms.

THE PRESIDENT, once more appealing for brevity, said he had five more speakers on his list, with whom he proposed to close the discussion.

(A proposal to this effect was moved by Mr. Deakin, seconded, and agreed to by Congress).

MR. SIMPSON (Canadian Railwaymen) brought greetings from one of the smallest units in the I.T.F., the Canadian Brotherhood of Railway Employees. There were many things in the Report on activities he did not understand, but which he did not intend to discuss. He felt that he could not let it pass without comment, but he would not have spoken had he known there were so many speakers.

He felt very humble in that gathering, since he had no great story of sacrifice and achievement. In Canada they had been far removed from the war, and their work had been of a detached kind, though there, too, there were people who had done a splendid job during the war.

The Report seemed to him something unique, as its dry facts were so exciting. This was perhaps not so for those whose lives had made the report possible, but those who had been five thousand miles removed from the war felt a sense of shame for the comfort, the security and the luxury they had enjoyed while others were making sacrifices.

He regretted the disunity between the Canadian Congress of Labour and the Trades and Labour Congress. The situation had not improved, in spite of the efforts of his organization, and it was a matter of great sorrow to them that they had not been able to achieve that unity in the trade union movement and among transport workers which seemed to exist elsewhere. He could have wished the whole of the Canadian trade union movement present in that gathering ; they would certainly change their viewpoint if they really knew what the European situation was. A realistic picture of the situation would make them much more amenable to co-operating in the world fight against Fascism. Not that they were not fighting in Canada for labour principles, but their efforts were divided and their accomplishments accordingly reduced.

He would like to see the Secretariat try to arrange for all the Canadian and American unions to be represented at the next Congress. He would like to see them enrol under the banner which had flown throughout the difficult war period. Up till then his own information had been rather meagre, and he was hearing for the first time of all the glorious and thrilling things that had been done. They should all be playing a part in that organization.

In conclusion, he wanted to salute those whose activities had made the report possible, and to congratulate those responsible for drafting it.

MR. ZEIN EL DIN (Egyptian Chauffeurs), spoke in English since it had not been possible to arrange for a translation from the Arabic.

Having read a telegram of greetings from the Egyptian transport-workers, the speaker explained he was speaking as a Mohammedan, on behalf of the Egyptian Motor Drivers' Union and as the I.T.F.'s honorary representative in the Middle East and Egypt. He was very happy to be attending this momentous I.T.F. Congress, the first at which he had been

present. That did not mean that he had not been connected with the International Labour Movement. In 1931 he had been present at the I.F.T.U.'s Madrid Conference, where he had met the late Edo Fimmen, since when he had worked for the International Transport Workers' Movement in the Arabic-speaking world. He had begun to work in the Cairo Motor Drivers' Union, from which inspiration had spread to other transport workers' organizations all over Egypt. Their decision to join the I.T.F. had coincided with the outbreak of the war, and they had fought hard against Hitler and in support of democracy's cause, which was their own too. Many thousands of Egyptian transport workers had worked with the Allied Forces throughout the whole war, confident in the ultimate victory over the Axis.

In 1944 he had received Omer Becu on his mission for the I.T.F. and had with him visited transport workers' unions in Cairo and Alexandria. He had then been invited by the I.T.F. to make a tour of the Arab-speaking world to survey transport workers' organizations in particular and other labour organizations in general, and had, on his return, sent in a detailed report on labour organizations in the Middle East. He had succeeded in getting affiliated to the I.T.F. unions in Egypt, Syria and Lebanon, and he regarded this as a hopeful tendency which would continue to spread among the transport workers' organizations in those countries.

There had been a renaissance in that part of the world. The discovery of oil, the construction of the pipe-lines and the formation of airlines meant that the Arab world was becoming rapidly mechanized, so that the transport movement would be playing an important part, economically and socially. The I.T.F. should contribute to ensuring economic and social reform for the workers of these countries.

In this connection, the speaker proposed that a transport workers' regional conference be held in the Middle East, to spread the spirit of international co-operation ; and that a Middle East Secretariat be set up for a part of the world that had a population of about seventy millions.

The I.T.F. had done a great deal during the war for the transport workers in the Middle East, and should continue this work. It was gratifying to report that through the I.T.F.'s good offices and those of the late John Marchbank, the then chairman of the Management Committee, the Union of Cairo Motor Drivers had secured a collective agreement with the British Overseas Airways Corporation, which had shown a very friendly and co-operative spirit during and after negotiations. As the I.T.F. representative in the Middle East, he himself had been appointed to the Higher Labour Advisory Council.

The speaker then referred to the ancient civilization of Egypt, which, over five thousand years ago had led the world in law, literature, medicine, art, transport, architecture, engineering and craftsmanship. The Egyptian transport workers had played a great part in ancient Egypt, since to their efforts were due the magnificent temples, statues and pyramids ; they had had to transfer by the Nile or across the desert the huge stones from Upper Egypt to Cairo and elsewhere. Their works would stand until doomsday ; samples of their ships were to be seen in the Cairo Museum. An international conference in Egypt would enable delegates to see something of the country's marvellous history and of its modern evolution as a democratic country.

The speaker was happy to report two important incidents which had occurred shortly before the Congress, one being the formation of the Higher Council to fight Poverty, Ignorance and Disease, with a special fifty million pound budget, and the other the suspension by the former Prime Minister of the Motors Act, against which the Motor Drivers' Unions had been protesting since 1930.

On behalf of the Middle East transport workers' organizations, he wished the Congress every success, fully confident that the I.T.F. would fulfil its mission and stand always for the defence and guidance of transport workers throughout the world. The I.T.F. occupied a leading position in the Arabic-speaking world, where the transport workers were very proud of it, and hoped it would remain independent and would defend the transport workers, not only in Europe and America, but also in those parts of the world which needed the I.T.F.'s help. The I.T.F.'s message would spread throughout the part of the world he represented ; they had never lost contact with it, even during the war. He had had the honour of knowing the I.T.F. through Edo Fimmen, through Bevin, Oldenbroek, Becu, Deakin, and he felt sure that it would always go ahead for the benefit not only of transport workers but of all other workers also.

FOURTH SESSION

Tuesday, 7th May, 3 p.m.

Opening the meeting, the PRESIDENT called on Mr. S. TEH, representing the Chinese Seamen's Union.

MR. TEH (Chinese Seamen) praised the Report on Activities as demonstrating the success of the I.T.F. in fighting for the workers' democratic rights, and thanked the officials and staffs for the work done. Turning then to the Chinese Seamen's Union set up in Liverpool, he explained that, at the moment of the Japanese attack, ten thousand Chinese seamen serving under Allied flags had been completely cut off from their homes. Refuge had been found for them in England, but their wages and conditions of work were very bad.

Prior to 1942 they had had no organization, but in June 1942, with the aid of Comrade Chu of the Chinese Association of Labour, they decided to set up a union, in which they had received the help of the I.T.F. They were proud to report that they had in those past four years attained all they could expect—official recognition from the shipowners; equality of treatment with British seamen; sickness and disablement benefit. For the first time in over eighty years of foreign sea service, Chinese seamen had achieved a standard worthy of their calling.

Their fight would not have been successful without the guidance and support of the I.T.F., which had always been with them, in the persons of Fimmen and Oldenbroek. They might occasionally disagree over words and constructions, but they knew the I.T.F. was always behind them, and he wanted to express deep appreciation for this assistance.

The speaker then expressed his satisfaction at the proposal to hold regional conferences. One in Asia, where conditions and the standard of living were so low compared with Europe and America, would not only demonstrate the I.T.F.'s work but help to solve the intricate transport problems in the region. Standards were so far behind in China that they knew uniformity could not be achieved overnight, but their aim should always be to bring Asiatic standards into line with the rest of the world.

The appointment of I.T.F. representatives abroad would also be of great assistance in the Far East. During the wartime shortage of labour, shipowners had shown astonishing consideration, but this had disappeared with the re-opening of the vast Far Eastern labour market; they knew the fight was going to be a very bitter one, but were confident of attaining justice, with the I.T.F.'s continued assistance.

MR. GRUENAI (French Seamen) said that the I.T.F. was presenting to the Congress the balance sheet of its activities since 1939, which could be said to show a positive balance. During his stay in England he had been able to watch the activity of the I.T.F., especially on behalf of the seamen, and it would be unfair to say that the International had not been active. Nevertheless, there was one point in the Report with which he did not agree. In his opinion, when writing the passage he had in mind it should have been borne in mind, first, that when this position was adopted not all the relevant information was available, and secondly, the significance had not been understood of the role played by Soviet Russia

in the life-and-death fight against Fascism. It would have been better if the Report submitted to the affiliated unions of the I.T.F. had been silent on this point. He joined the other speakers, such as the representatives of the French Road Transport Workers and the one from Poland, who had asked that this passage be deleted from the Report. With that deletion the Report could be adopted unanimously.

MR. DE BRUÏNE (Belgian Railwaymen), conveying fraternal greetings to the Congress, to its veteran President Charles Lindley and his lieutenant Oldenbroek particularly, congratulated the I.T.F. on the work it had performed during the war. He recalled that before the war the Belgian Railwaymen's Union had ever been a staunch and ardent adherent of the I.T.F. Profound changes had taken place in the Belgian Union in the intervening years, and even during the very period of underground existence the foundations had been laid of a new structure embracing all wage and salary earners employed by public services and authorities, whether national, regional or local. The organization had been highly successful and membership had already passed the 120,000. Of the various sections that of the Railwaymen was the most advanced. Whereas before the war they had a membership of 30,000, now they had passed 50,000 out of a total of 80,000 established staff eligible. Numerically, therefore, they had registered a substantial progress. It was gratifying to report that the independent Officials and Employers' Union which had existed before the war had entered the ranks of the General Union, that also the Liberal union and even the Christian union had joined the efforts to build a better future. During the war and the occupation of the country they, in common with many others, had suffered cruelly, but they had never forsaken their primary duty : to fight Fascism and Nazism in all their shapes. During this period, indeed, everything had been done to sabotage the rail traffic of the enemy to the utmost. At the time of the deportations to Germany, they had declared a general strike which had lasted for several days and had affected over 100,000 workers. When the hour of liberation came, all sections of the Belgian population by ceasing work hastened the rout of the common enemy. Railwaymen distinguished themselves particularly, as confirmed by the tributes paid by American and British Military Commanders to the way they performed their duties amidst the fly-bombs and other dangers. As to the Union, it had already conquered an influential position before the war, when it was represented by three members on the Board of Administration of the National Railway Company. Its strongest position had been in the industry's Joint Council, national and regional, and in the Medico-Pharmaceutical Service, national and regional. The Union had not only been able to maintain its positions, but even to strengthen them still further, with the result that it was listened to with attention in everything it proposed or undertook. At present the Union's efforts were directed at removing from the regulations governing the conditions of service the distinctions which still existed between wage, salary and established grades, holding as they did that all grades should be treated on the same footing. Recently they had secured that in case of sickness wage grades should have the same right to sick pay as salary and established grades. This equality should apply to all aspects of conditions of service. Thus they had in hand proposals which would end the differences between sedentary and non-sedentary staff under the retirement schemes. Further they had under

consideration a new scheme of holidays which would not only increase the number of days, but also treat the different grades on a footing of equality. Particularly important was the movement which was afoot for revising the wage and salary structure. The Union aimed at a scale which would fix earnings according to the responsibilities of the post, in such a manner that the maximum rate was attained after the same number of years for wage, salary and established grades alike. To start with, rapid annual increments assuring a man of a living wage at the age of 25, thereafter regular promotions to give him a comfortable income about the age of 40, when all grades should have reached at least two-thirds of the difference between their minimum and maximum. Further particulars would be given at the Sectional Conferences which were to meet on the following days. Meanwhile the speaker gave the assurance that the Railwaymen's Section of the Belgian Public Service Employees' Union was proud of the work of the I.T.F. and would remain loyal to it to the last. In conclusion he thanked the I.T.F. for the assistance it had rendered to the Belgian Union. The I.T.F. had helped with the formation of the Belgian Union after the last war ; it helped it when it was involved in a general strike ; it had helped during the most recent conflict ; it was helping the Union still. For this aid they wished to thank the I.T.F. very warmly, especially comrade Oldenbroek, who was so largely responsible for it. They hoped that some day they would be able to show their gratitude by extending to fellow organizations in difficulties the solidarity they themselves were the recipients of in the present.

Having announced the time-table for various Commissions, the PRESIDENT called on Mr. Oldenbroek to reply.

MR. OLDENBROEK (Assistant General Secretary of the I.T.F.) said the Report of necessity covered a long period, because they had had no opportunity of holding a congress during the war, but he thought they would agree that a consensus of the remarks made showed that there was nothing wrong with the I.T.F. During all those years, they had felt the need for criticism, since, as a democratic organization, they wanted affiliated unions to judge their work in a critical sense and suggest improvements.

The discussion had naturally covered a wide field, seeing that more than twenty countries were represented and that they had had no chance of being able to discuss their common problems. The Secretariat itself was not satisfied with the Report, which should really have been much more detailed. But they should remember that the I.T.F., although carrying on its work during the war, had lost many of its staff, and, if the same elaborate work were to be done as in the past, the staff would have to be increased.

Before turning to the speeches, the speaker associated himself with those who had again paid a tribute to Edo Fimmen. He had known Fimmen for thirty years, and he had been the greatest of friends and the greatest of comrades. Their best way of expressing appreciation would be to work for the end Fimmen had worked for—the creation of an independent international workers' movement which could, without interference from whatever source, discuss the workers' problems and find ways to settle them.

If it had not been for Fimmen, that comradeship which existed to-day

in the I.T.F. would never have been ; his integrity had been above doubt and his love for the organization fervent. All those who felt his loss ought to work together in his spirit, which had been completely and utterly devoted to the I.T.F.

All the speakers on the Report, went on MR. OLDENBROEK, had thanked the Secretariat, the Management Committee and the Executive Committee for their work. They had been glad to do this work and could wish to have done more, but that was beyond their powers. In expressing gratitude for the thanks rendered, he wanted to emphasise that they would never have been able to carry on if they had not transferred headquarters to Great Britain, and subsequently had the wholehearted cooperation of the British organizations. This had been given at the most difficult time, and, although the British organizations had virtually controlled the I.T.F., they had never tried to impose their particular ideas but had always wanted to maintain it as an international body. Tribute was due to them for this, as well as for the material help which had always been forthcoming. They had supplied all the funds required, and premises in London. This would never be forgotten. It was the British who had started the International Transportworkers' Federation, and they who had made it possible to continue during the world war. Sometimes the British were accused of not being sufficiently international ; no one was, but this record would take some beating.

Turning to the points raised, the speaker dealt first of all with the work of the I.T.F. Sections. They felt it essential for the I.T.F. to do the work in the international field for the several groups that were affiliated. The I.T.F. should continue to deal with problems of a general nature, but the work for the Sections, to improve conditions, was very important and would be handled with all the energy at their command. The tramwaymen had not been forgotten ; though they were beginning to disappear in some countries, this would take a very long time.

In the matter of civil aviation, a letter had already been received from the Norwegian Transport Workers' Union asking the I.T.F. to give the utmost possible attention to the problems of the personnel concerned. There were a number of trade union organizations active in this field, which so far were not affiliated with the I.T.F. These needed to be interested in the work of the I.T.F. and induced to affiliate with it. Affiliated unions would be urged to take a special interest in this increasingly important category of transport workers. Information about their conditions would be collected and an international conference for the industry convened at a later date.

Replying to Becu, the speaker referred to the existence of an International Charter for Fishermen, which would be communicated to all affiliated organizations. The International Labour Organization had also been invited to deal with fishermen's problems and a resolution submitted on the subject was to come up for discussion at the I.L.O. Maritime Conference due to take place in Seattle in June 1946.

Subscribing to Mr. Deakin's remarks about the I.L.O., the speaker underlined that the I.L.O. would be powerless without the trade unions to support its work. But the trade unions, which were duly represented at I.L.O. Conferences as well as on its Governing Body and on its various committees, could only expect results from the Organization if they took

an active part in its work and co-ordinated their efforts on the international plane with those undertaken by the I.L.O. The I.L.O. would become a specialized agency functioning in conjunction with the United Nations Organization on the one hand, and on the other retaining its individuality and continuing its work on the same lines as during the inter-war period. In order to avoid overlapping, there would be close co-operation between the Social and Economic Council and the International Labour Organization, as well as with other specialized agencies. The great experience gained by the I.L.O. should not be wasted. Just as in national affairs there was a need for Departments of Labour, so at the international level there was a need for an analogous organ in the shape of the I.L.O.

The I.T.F. had for a long time past felt the need for activities on a regional scale and it had contemplated the creation of Regional Secretariats ever since 1928. A Secretariat of this kind had actually been set up for the Far East, while during the war a Branch Office had been opened in New York. If more had not been done in this direction, it had been because since 1933 many organizations once affiliated with the I.T.F. had been destroyed or made to break off international relations. He suggested that the Executive Committee and General Council of the I.T.F. should be asked to deal with the proposals made by Kievit and Zein el Din. It had to be borne in mind, however, that to engage in regional activity would require considerable financial means, which for the present it was not possible for the I.T.F. to supply from its own resources. As a rule requests for regional activities came from parts of the world where membership was comparatively slight and where such activities would have to be subsidized from Headquarters. It was scarcely practicable to provide such subsidies at the present moment, and before incurring any commitments under this head the I.T.F. would have to know whether it could rely on the financial support not only to commence but also to continue the regional work which would be involved by the setting up of the Regional Secretariats envisaged. However, they did intend to give special attention to various regions where conditions and conceptions differed from those prevalent in Western Europe.

It had always been their object to bring about uniformity of conditions of labour on an ever-wider scale. This was an object which it would take many years to achieve. Fifty years ago, as the President had observed, they had wanted equal wages in every country. They had not yet achieved this, but a very determined effort had been made to realize it as far as seafarers were concerned. But it was not enough to decide that they desired equality of conditions ; they had to make them possible, and in this respect notable progress had been made.

Although the I.T.F.'s underground work in the war was no longer a secret, it could not be reported in detail. It would, however, be desirable to have something about those great activities on paper, something, for example, about the broadcasting campaign. This had proved an outstanding success ; they had learned after hostilities—and sometimes during hostilities—how appeals and instructions had been carried out by the underground. Perhaps they could accept the proposal for a book to be issued on the I.T.F.'s fifty years of activity, and include in it a biography of Edo Fimmen and an account of the underground movement the I.T.F. had led ever since the Nazis came to power in Germany in 1933.

On the suggestion of the Italian comrade, Borghesi, to publish a report on conditions in Italy, the speaker said they were, of course, prepared to do so if he supplied the information.

They were furthermore prepared to amend the Report as suggested by some speakers. Tenant's proposal on the section dealing with the I.M.M.O.A. could be accepted, and so could Becu's for the insertion of Francois Mas' name.

There had, however, been criticism of an entirely different kind, and, while welcoming criticism, they did think it should be constructive and help to do their work better. The remarks made by comrades Frey and Kolodziej did not seem to fulfil these conditions. They had asked for the deletion of the Executive Committee's resolution on Finland of 1940. Speaker said he had had some doubts when agreeing to its insertion in the Report, but had put it in to forestall possible criticism by Congress for leaving it out ! The resolution had been published in the Journal of the I.T.F. and it was known in every union ; its omission now would have created the impression that they were not prepared to face criticism on it. As it was a public document, its deletion would not alter the situation at all.

Without wanting to discuss the resolution itself, the speaker said he could not agree it was incompatible with the one passed later when Soviet Russia had been attacked by Germany. It should be borne in mind that the I.T.F. had supported the Allied war effort right from the beginning of the war in September 1939, and that it had looked on the war as one against aggression. The Executive Committee of the I.T.F., however, had made it very clear when it met in January 1940, that it did not subscribe to the foreign policy which had been pursued by the Allied countries during the years preceding the war. It would go too far to enter into details, but the speaker felt that the war might have been averted if the big powers had formed a united front against German aggression, if, for example, the United States had played a full part instead of falling into isolationism. On the fundamental significance of the Russian Revolution we had never modified our views, even after the war between Finland and Russia, however much we deplored the events of 1939 and considered them wrong from the working-class point of view. The resolution published in the Report was a statement of fact and there seemed to be little point in continuing the discussion on something that happened in 1940. In any case he did not think the Executive Committee of the I.T.F. would want to apologize for having adopted the resolution and he suggested to the French and Polish delegates that their remarks on the subject should be put on record, but that the deletion of the resolution from the Report would not alter the facts of the situation in any way.

While they had supported the Allied war effort from the beginning, they had at that time been critical of the Allied Governments' attitude. At the same meeting, they had wanted to put on record the Great Powers' failure to establish security and welfare on a sound basis. They did not want to line up with the policy of any country but wanted to remain an independent international organization. They had not changed their minds about Soviet Russia in 1941, but a new situation had arisen, and they had made up their minds to support the Allied war effort, which had become a much larger one, by all the means at their disposal.

Speaker regretted he was unable to agree with Frey's other remarks. With regard to the suggestion that the Report had an anti-Communist bias because Gruenais' name was omitted, he pointed out that not a single name appeared in that part of the report. But the good work done by Gruenais had been mentioned where reference was made to an "experienced French trade union leader" who had helped to organize the French seamen. It was incidentally the I.T.F. which had got him out of the Navy and had made it possible for him to do the work.

He described as a serious accusation Frey's complaint that no I.T.F. funds in North Africa had been distributed through Mr. Garcias and that the latter had subsequently been unable to obtain an accounting, and he wanted to make the matter quite clear to the Congress. It had been only a couple of days after the North Africa landing that the Management Committee had decided to send material support at once to the Transport-workers' Union there. It had ascertained that the representative of the French Trade Union Centre in Great Britain was going to North Africa, and he had distributed the funds among the North African organizations, on which a full report had later been made to the I.T.F. Executive Committee.

Mr. Garcias had not been included because at that time he had been in a concentration camp and was thus unable to take an active part in union work.

The speaker said it was hardly fair to make such a statement as Frey had made without being in full possession of the facts. In the matter of a second I.T.F. remittance, the facts were that the C.G.T. representatives entrusted with the distribution of the funds, judging the money not necessary in North Africa, had sent it to France.

It had to be remembered that conditions were not normal. Anyone who had done clandestine work during the war would realise that it was impossible to have a normal system of properly recorded receipts and audited vouchers. It was not as simple as that ; there had to be confidence in the people asked to check up for a particular area. Comrade Ehlers had been appointed to check on behalf of the I.T.F. and he had been its trustee in France from 1942 onwards.

Dealing then with Frey's complaint about the Report's omission of references to the French transportworkers and seamen affiliated to the I.T.F., the speaker pointed out that they did not report on national unions, except when their activities had something to do with the I.T.F. The Report only referred to national organizations when and where conditions were abnormal. In the Report they made no reference to organizations whose relations with the I.T.F. had been normal from the moment they were able to resume contact ; he would, however, like to take that opportunity of thanking them for the way they had again got into touch and paid their affiliation fees, although this must have been very difficult. This was very much appreciated.

They had been given to understand that support was not required for the French railwaymen and transport workers. Ehlers had come to England on the I.T.F.'s invitation at the beginning of October 1944, when the war was still in progress and Paris had only just been liberated. He had reported that the transport workers and railwaymen had been able to carry on some work and were not in need of any financial assistance. He

had shown them the letter making this statement, and it was consequently rather peculiar for a representative of one of these unions to accuse the I.T.F. now of not giving help. In concluding this point, the speaker said he was absolutely sure of these facts. He thought it would have been much better if the point had not been raised before the conference, but, since it had been, he had regarded it as his duty to go into it in detail.

On Mr. Kolodziej's reference to the Polish Union's membership, he said they had put into the Report the latest information available. He had now noted the membership figure of 25,000, and it would now be stated in the Report that the Transport Workers' organization had been re-established, and that the membership of Seafarers and Dockers was 7,000.

With regard to the charge of the I.T.F.'s having recognized another organization of Polish seamen than that represented by Kolodziej, the speaker referred to the account of the split in the Polish seamen's movement given in the Report. It should be made clear that the other organization had never been affiliated with the I.T.F. As a matter of fact, none of the organizations set up during the war had been affiliated, but only recognized. The decision regarding the Polish seamen had been made in the hope of bringing about amalgamation of the two sectors—a hope which had been in vain. The I.T.F. had accordingly dropped both of them pending the re-establishment of a Polish Transportworkers' Union in Poland and consequent clarification of the situation. He did not see what else they could have done; without wishing there to go into the rights and wrongs of each side, he would repeat that the split could have been avoided if the matter had been left in the I.T.F.'s hands, and that the decision to affiliate or not had been left with the Polish Transportworkers' Union, with whose national problems they had no desire to interfere.

He thought he had dealt with all the remarks on the Report, said the speaker in conclusion, except those concerning the World Federation of Trade Unions which should be more properly dealt with when that item came up on the agenda. The Report had been well received by the Congress. They needed international meetings to provide the suggestions and criticisms necessary for the continuation and improvement in their work, and they were now getting new ideas through the present gathering. They would in future try to satisfy the particular expectation of unions in the different parts of the world. It was a pity that they had not yet got representatives from every part of the world, on account of travelling difficulties, but they had got delegates from Canada, and Egypt and China. This was not sufficient, but they were aware that the organization there were trying to improve conditions for the workers wherever they were living, and they would certainly continue to serve the interests of the members there represented, who should take as great a part as possible in the international work. This would make it easier to formulate the international policies necessary to fulfil the I.T.F.'s programme.

Speaking in German, the speaker then recalled that they again had at that Congress representatives from countries which had for long not been able to belong to the I.T.F. That morning they had been reminded that three Austrian railwaymen, whose names had had to be kept secret, had attended the 1935 Congress, bringing with them their banner which

they wanted the I.T.F. to guard, in order to prevent its falling into the Fascists' hands.

The I.T.F. had undertaken to do so and had kept its promise. At that Congress the same three representatives were present—Comrades Freund, Koenig and Thaler—and he would call on them to come forward and receive the flag again. In 1935, two of them had gone back to Vienna to continue the work among the Austrian railwaymen and the workers as a whole. They had suffered very much, had been in prison and concentration camp, but had known that the day would come when the dictatorship would be overcome and the war past and they could get back their flag. (Oldenbroek here handed back the flag amid rousing cheers.)

The Austrian workers had seen hard times, he said finally, in the first world war, between the wars and in the second ; perhaps harder than workers elsewhere. And he knew he was speaking for all the delegates when he expressed the wish that the workers of Austria would soon have brought themselves up to a level where they would not have to ask for help but would again be maintaining themselves through their own efforts.

MR. KOENIG (Austrian Railwaymen) recalled that, when the railwaymen, like the rest of the Austrian workers, had been defeated in the armed struggle against Dollfuss Fascism in 1934, it was a woman who had saved the flag by hiding it under her clothes and crossing into Czechoslovakia. The speaker had guarded it there, and Thaler and Freund had then in 1935, at great risk to their lives, accompanied him to the Copenhagen Congress and had given the flag into the I.T.F.'s hands. It was their late lamented comrade Fimmen who had taken over the flag with the promise to keep it safe for the time when freedom should come again to the Austrian workers. When the workers had to take their work underground, their slogan had been : We shall come back ! To-day they were there again, and had received their banner back. He wanted to thank them and to assure them that the banner would continue to wave until the workers' final victory, the victory of Socialism !

MR. FREUND (Austrian Railwaymen) could scarcely find words to express their joy at being able to bring back their banner to Austria. He hoped it would again become a symbol of the fight for improvement in the standard of living of the railwaymen and all other workers. There was no point in going through all their difficulties again, but he did wish solemnly to declare that they would do everything in their power to get on their own feet again ; whatever the near future might bring they would do everything to make their trade union movement into a bastion for the protection and security of the workers.

For the time being, they certainly needed help from their comrades in other lands, but only to get them over the worst part of the road and along the way which should lead to full freedom. They would show their gratitude to the I.T.F. by redoubling their efforts to become once more a worthy member of the International. In promising this, they expressed thanks to the I.T.F., not only for care of the flag, but for holding aloft their hopes as well. They would never forget what had been done for them but would continue to keep the banner waving as a symbol of the fight for a better future.

THE PRESIDENT, before taking the vote on the Report, appealed to the French comrades also to accept it.

MR. GARCIAS (French Transportworkers) pointed out that their comments on the Report had been made because they felt they ought to have been made, and he regretted that the General Secretary did not share this view. However, they did not want to vote against the Report, either on the question of the resolution on Russia, or on that of the money sent to Algeria. On this latter point he did want to say that he had still not obtained a list of the persons who had received part of the funds, which he had asked for, not because he had wanted personally to be entrusted with the fund, but simply to know who had been.

They would accordingly vote for the Report with those two reservations, which he wanted to make clear to the Congress in order to avoid all misunderstanding.

THE PRESIDENT having asked if the Report were accepted, the Congress AGREED.

THE PRESIDENT then asked if there were any objections on the Financial Report.

MR. KOLODZIEJ (Polish Transport Workers), reverting to the Report on Activities, said he would abstain since he objected to that part of the Report about Russia and Finland. When it had been put to the vote, the President had not asked for any abstentions.

THE PRESIDENT then again put to the vote the Financial Report, which was unanimously adopted with no votes against nor abstentions. He then called on Mr. Binks to present the Report of the Credentials Committee.

Report of Credentials Committee

Up to Tuesday noon the Records of Attendance at Congress showed the following position :

Countries represented	..	..	..	20
Organizations	..	..	..	39
Aggregate membership	..	..	1,659,928	
Delegates	..	..	..	119
Deputies	..	..	..	32

The arrival is still awaited of delegates from the Railwaymen of Greece, Kenya and Palestine, and of a delegate from the French Transport Workers.

Thirteen organizations of nine countries, six of which distant or very distant, such as Australia, India, Lebanon, New Zealand, Rhodesia and South Africa—have sent apologies and good wishes. These represent an aggregate membership of 325,128.

From fifteen organizations belonging to twelve countries with an aggregate membership of 326,411 no communication had been received by Tuesday noon as to the reason of the absence of delegates.

We have examined the position of every delegation and are happy to recommend to Congress the acceptance of the credentials of all delegates. In some cases a closer scrutiny was required.

Thus a few organizations represented here have not complied altogether with the requirements of the Rules in regard to the payment of affiliation fees and their delegates were interviewed by the Committee.

The delegate of the Norwegian Locomotivemen's Union was surprised to learn that his Union was in arrears. He could only surmise that

the reason was an oversight on the part of the union treasurer or difficulties on the part of the foreign exchange control authorities. He gave the assurance that the matter would be settled immediately on his return.

The two Italian organizations here represented have experienced difficulties rendering them unable to pay the fees due in good time. Both have made payments recently, thus giving evidence of their good faith in the matter of complying with their obligations. In addition, the Italian member of the Credentials Committee speaking on behalf of the Railwaymen, and the leader of the Italian Transport Workers' delegation, gave the Committee the assurance that their organizations would in due course settle their arrears and pay the current fees punctually.

The Polish Transport Workers' Union has appointed a delegate, although since its reconstitution it has not entertained regular relations with the I.T.F. nor tried to settle the question of its financial obligations somehow or other. The absence of normal relations was attributed to material and psychological factors and the non-payment of affiliation fees to the fact that the rebuilding of the organization was still in an early phase and, possibly, to the fact that objections had been raised by the foreign exchange control authority. The Credentials Committee recommends the Congress to accept the delegate's assurance that proper relations between the headquarters of his organization and the I.T.F. will be established shortly and that the organization will likewise try to meet its financial obligations. Accordingly, in this case, too, the Committee considers that the acceptance of the delegate's credentials is justified.

Further we had before us a telegram from the spokesman of a group of Polish seamen in Great Britain reading as follows :

"I was acknowledged Chairman of Central Naval Section of Polish Transport Workers Federation. Though my powers not withdrawn hitherto neither I nor organization represented by me invited to Congress. We represent vast majority of Polish seamen unable return home under present conditions after six years war sacrifices. Greeting your Congress, wish success, hope you take interest in situation of your faithful comrades represented by me, Polish seamen being in difficult circumstances through believing in same ideals as your own.—Jan Fligel."

As this communication does not challenge the credentials of any other delegate, the Committee considered that the matter raised in the telegram was not within its terms of reference.

From comrades specially invited by the I.T.F. but unable to attend, the following messages have been received :

(1) From Ernest Bevin (Foreign Secretary of Great Britain) :

"Dear Oldenbroek,

I was very pleased to receive your letter of February 23rd about the first post-war Congress of the International Transport Workers' Federation to be held in Zürich from the 6th to the 12th May next.

"I would very much like to be present at this meeting but much regret that I do not see how I will be able to get away at that time. Perhaps therefore you would convey my thanks to the Executive Committee and say that I am very sorry that I will not be able to be with them at Zürich.

"Please accept my best wishes for the success of the Congress."

(2) From Pierre and Lily Krier (Luxemburg) :

“ We wish fruitful discussions and most successful work in the old Fimmen spirit. Long live the I.T.F.”

(3) From Jean Jarrigion (France) :

“ Owing referendum unable attend Zürich. Convey profound apologies and regrets to Oldenbroek and best wishes to all.”

The secretary of the former German Transport Workers' Union, comrade Emil Stahl, at present in exile in Sweden, sent a letter of good wishes to the Congress expressing the hope that the I.T.F. will help the German Transport Workers to make their country fit for resuming its place in the family of nations.

We recommend that the Secretariat reply suitably to these communications.

The Report of the Credentials Committee was approved.

REVISION OF CONSTITUTION

Taking the next item, amendments to the Constitution, the PRESIDENT asked delegates to send up in writing any motions, so that they could be translated and distributed.

MR. DEAKIN, speaking on behalf of the Executive Committee, reminded Congress that the Luxemburg Conference of 1938 had asked the General Council to examine the I.T.F.'s rules and report to Congress. The General Council and Executive Committee had submitted this report, and affiliated organizations had been asked to send in any proposals for amendment. Not all had done so and any delegations which had brought their proposals with them should hand them in at once to the Secretariat.

The speaker then moved on behalf of the Executive the appointment of a Committee of six to examine proposed amendments and submit recommendations to Congress. This resolution having been seconded and adopted, CONGRESS then agreed that the six representatives should be appointed by the Austrian, Belgian, British, Dutch, French and Scandinavian delegations.

MR. GARCIAS (French Transportworkers) opposed the discussion at this point of amendments to the rules. While admitting that the Secretariat and General Council had been instructed at Luxemburg in 1938 to prepare draft amendments, he pointed to the establishment since that date of the World Federation of Trade Unions. Later on in the Agenda, they would be considering the proposed incorporation of the I.T.F. into a Trade Department within the W.F.T.U., and he thought it would accordingly be more sensible not to discuss new rules before having considered the I.T.F.'s relations with the World Federation. If, as he hoped, Congress decided they were to become a Trade Department within the World Federation, a Conference of all affiliated and non-affiliated unions would have to be convened, to discuss rules which might not necessarily be the same as those now prepared. He therefore proposed they deal with I.T.F. relations with the World Federation before discussing the new rules.

MR. OLDENBROEK (acting General Secretary), referring to earlier proposals of this nature, explained that the Executive Committee had discussed the question several times and had always, except on one occasion, been unanimous. They had agreed with the World Federation

that, as long as integration had not been fully realized, the I.T.F. would have to continue its work unabated. It was not merely in compliance with the Luxemburg instructions that they were proposing the draft, but because they would need the rules. They would have to elect a General Council, for the composition of which new rules would be required. As long as the I.T.F. remained an independent organization, the work of deciding on new rules would not be in vain. The appointment of a committee to discuss all proposals would save time and give satisfaction to those who feared that too much time devoted to discussing the constitution would not leave Congress enough time to consider other problems.

When the PRESIDENT again asked Congress whether it agreed to the appointment of the Committee of six, Mr. GARCIAS demanded that a vote be taken on his motion first, since it was an opposition motion. After some discussion at the Chair, the PRESIDENT put the Garcias motion, which only obtained a minority of votes, and then the Deakin motion, which was adopted. The meeting then adjourned until the next day.

FIFTH SESSION

Friday, 10th May, 10 a.m.

THE PRESIDENT announced the composition of the Committee to examine amendments as follows :

De Bruijne, Belgium ; Kievit, Netherlands ; Garcias, France (afterwards replaced by Frey) ; Hallworth, Great Britain ; Vejre, Denmark ; Weigl, Austria.

The Committee would start its work at once, and Congress would turn to Item 4 of the Agenda.

WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS

MR. BENSTEAD (British Railwaymen), recalling his Union's long connection with the I.T.F., right back to the time of Richard Bell, followed up later by C. T. Cramp, underlined that his comments on negotiations with the World Federation should be taken as expressing the policy of his union, and, broadly speaking, of the British unions in general.

They felt in the first place it was a pity that the meeting between the I.T.F. and the World Federation had been so long delayed that they had not before them at Congress a report of a conclusive character, which would allow Congress to have made a definite decision then and there.

The whole question to his mind was whether the I.T.F. could retain hundred per cent independence within the World Federation. As far as general policy was concerned, he felt this to be impossible. They could not have two authorities giving decisions which might be diametrically opposed, and it was therefore the question of I.T.F. autonomy on matters of general policy which should receive the concentrated attention of Congress. With respect to technical transport questions, there would not seem to be any great difficulty.

In the matter of finance, they should remember that I.T.F. adhesion to the World Federation would mean a considerable financial backing from the countries attached to the World Federation and therefore to the individual unions. The British trade unions would accordingly have to give this matter very careful consideration.

The speaker repeated that it was questions of general policy which made the position difficult. He recalled that the conference which gave rise to the formation of the World Federation had been convened at the instance of the British Trades Union Congress. They had in Britain accepted in principle the setting up of Trade Departments within the Federation. The position ought to be clarified before the Congress, so that delegates might meet in an atmosphere of reality. Agreement between the I.T.F. and the World Federation would bring to the Trade Secretariats a vastly increased membership, with a consequent bearing on the financial side. It would also increase the areas which the Secretariats would cover. His union, continued the speaker, would do everything in its power to strengthen the I.T.F. There had never been a greater need for the peoples of the world to get together, and, although they were dealing with purely transport questions, it should not be forgotten that the seven years of war had brought in their train problems of such magnitude as made it essential to tackle them from the standpoint of every sector of the working class. The speaker, referring to the widespread destruction of the war, pleaded

for greater understanding between the nations, and also between the various countries there represented, but he did not think the I.T.F. should accept everything put forward by the World Federation. To his mind, paragraph 30 of the Memorandum (see Annex I, page 250), which he quoted, adequately represented the position and their action. His union would support the recommendation contained therein, which would imply postponement of a decision on the question until the results of the negotiations between the I.T.F. and the World Federation could be submitted. However, he wanted to make it clear that the British Trade Union Movement had accepted the World Federation, and he felt they should not be too intransigent in the forthcoming negotiations.

Recapitulating, the speaker said that the British National Union of Railwaymen endorsed the action taken and accepted the implications of paragraph 30 of the Memorandum. It would do everything possible to keep the Secretariat alive, believing in its great future. He hoped the negotiations would produce a successful and reasonable compromise, and that they could have a congress within a reasonable space of time, so that they could face the great problems that confronted them.

MR. VERCRUYCE (Belgian Tramwaymen) admitted he had found it difficult to decide whether Mr. Benstead was or was not in favour of affiliation to the W.F.T.U., since he had made so many reservations. For him the question was whether the demands of the World Federation were compatible with the dignity of the I.T.F., and it seemed to him that the conditions were extremely exacting, from the standpoint both of organization and of finance. The use of the word "absorption" rather than "affiliation" had also shocked him; it seemed to smack of an authoritarian outlook.

Complete centralization within the World Federation would, he felt, run counter to the interests of the I.T.F., which would thus forfeit all its personality and all its own means of action. Prohibiting trade departments from taking decisions would be tantamount to treating them as children, incapable of making their own judgments. And it would be ridiculous to forbid them to take part in any activity concerning matters of general policy. This simply did not make good trade union sense. He feared that such a tendency might go so far as to prohibit National Trade Union Centres from thinking, acting and deciding for themselves—sometimes in contrary directions, such as might occur, for example, in the case of questions concerning Spain.

He felt quite frankly that what was best in the working class was to be found within the Trade Secretariats like their own, which had proved its value; it was unfortunately often the only one which dared still to act.

The leaders of the World Federation were claiming far too much power in wanting to be the only persons to take decisions on matters which could only really be dealt with properly by those who were close to the great mass of the workers. Such a method was the negation of the trade union idea. The working classes were tired of all these academic discussions; they had suffered enough and what they wanted were improved working conditions. They wanted to see created the new order which had been promised for five years and for which they had given their blood. They should take care that the working classes might not perceive in the future that the W.F.T.U. was as impotent as it had been in 1914 and 1939, when it had not known what to do nor been able to take any decision.

They should demand from the W.F.T.U. its acceptance of article 15 (see Annex I, p. 246) in which the I.T.F. Secretariat had set out various points on which the I.T.F. would take its stand. He thought they could give the Secretariat their backing on those items.

They should also defend their autonomy. This did not mean refusal to affiliate, but there was a whole gulf between slavery and a freely consented affiliation.

On the financial side, Vercruyce felt that to allocate one-half of the National Centres' present contribution to the W.F.T.U. would mean such an inadequate share for the Trade Departments that this work would probably be paralysed. Even if the W.F.T.U. kept only a quarter, there would not be enough for Trade Department work. It would be most unfortunate for the I.T.F. if we did not insist unanimously that our key organizations must be assured of a proper income.

Article 6, dealing with the funds to be allocated to trade Departments, was simply arbitrary and ridiculous.

Concluding his speech, Vercruyce complimented the Executive Committee on their plucky stand for the I.T.F.'s proposals, and expressed the hope that Congress would be unanimously in favour of continuing along the lines adhered to up till then.

MR. JENSEN (Norwegian Seamen), speaking in English, transmitted his Union's heartiest greetings to this jubilee congress of the International Transportworkers' Federation, and its deep appreciation of the I.T.F.'s activity during the war. He was convinced it would do as well in the years to come.

The war had brought about radical changes in the mind of men, who were striving to find new practical means of collaboration on a world-wide scale. This was demonstrated by the birth of the United Nations Organization, and, in the sphere of trade unionism, of the World Federation of Trade Unions. He hoped that Congress would see to it that their international organization of transport workers should not be left in the cold outside the mighty main stream of trade union co-operation.

He had been glad, the speaker went on, to hear that there had always been positive unanimity in the Executive Committee on this matter. With regard to Vercruyce's warnings concerning eventual fusion of the I.T.F. and the W.F.T.U., he took it that none of them would want to see their great organization submerged in a bureaucracy-ridden world federation. However, the established World Federation claimed to be an institution of democratic aspirations. This was a subjective claim, but his Union had no misgivings all the same, and hoped that Congress would decide on affiliation.

The I.T.F. would then be transformed into a special Trade Department within the W.F.T.U. While they might strive to ensure the greatest possible autonomy for such a Department, it would be very unwise to let the fear of possible consequences of greater centralization wreck the project.

His own union was part of a greater national unity, the Norwegian Federation of Labour, which latter had resolved to affiliate with the world organization.

The World Federation would obviously maintain that affiliated National Centres should not tolerate their own sections joining rival internationals. They could not say how that difficulty would be solved, but

it was a practical one which they ought not to ignore. The indispensable autonomy of Trade Departments within the W.F.T.U. was ensured.

In any case, the apprehensions that vital trade union interests might be imperilled if Congress decided on immediate affiliation would never be justified so long as national unions themselves did not lower the standard of freedom for the individuals within the unions. They should all aim to-day, the speaker concluded, at the closest collaboration with the rest of the unions in the world, and this could only be achieved within a World Federation. They took it for granted that the experienced staff of the I.T.F. would be transferred to the Trade Department, that the continuity and efficiency of the I.T.F.'s work would be safeguarded and the World Federation strengthened. He urged the Congress to decide on affiliation to the W.F.T.U.

MR. GARCIAS (French Transport Workers), having expressed the view that the transformation of the I.T.F. into a Transport Workers' Trade Department within the W.F.T.U. was the crucial item before Congress, said that, in view of the complete standstill in the work of the International Federation of Trade Unions during the war, the British Unions had convened a first world conference in London in February 1945, which had decided to hold a second conference in Paris in October. This Conference, transformed into a Congress, had created the World Federation of Trade Unions. Article 13 of the statutes, unanimously adopted by representatives of all national Centres, had provided for the establishment, within the W.F.T.U., of International Trade Departments to bring together, for the treatment of technical, economic and social questions, all national organizations in the same industry. The Transport Department would contain all the trades within the field of the I.T.F. This had not aroused any objection. Each Trade Department would be made up of the organizations already affiliated to the old Trade Secretariats, plus organizations affiliated to the W.F.T.U. through their own National Centres. All organizations in the W.F.T.U. would automatically become part of the Trade Department. It should be recalled that, when the W.F.T.U. had been set up, all the former International Trade Secretariats had been inactive and, for all practical purposes, non-existent, except for the Miners', Metalworkers' and their own, whose value and active work had been recognized by all.

The speaker went on to explain that the opposition to Article 13 of the W.F.T.U.'s rules, led by the I.T.F. as being by far the most powerful of the Trade Secretariats, had been justified in his view at the outset, before its amendment, but was to be deplored at the present time, especially as it seemed to be growing. The main reason for this opposition was the absence of complete independence, as regards both policy and finance, for the Trade Departments as they would be set up within the W.F.T.U. ; complete autonomy was demanded, particularly in the determination of general international policy, and he felt this to be a fundamental error, extremely dangerous for the future of the international trade union movement. The movement had in the past suffered from its lack of unity, from the absence of a uniform policy and the consequent absence of uniform action.

The I.F.T.U. had failed just on account of its inability to line up a really world wide trade union policy, and to co-ordinate the powers and the political and economic activity of its affiliated organizations. It was

moreover interesting to recall that it had been the I.T.F. and the late Edo Fimmen who had most strongly criticized this lack of unity of purpose and co-ordination within the I.F.T.U., whereas it was to-day the I.T.F. which was itself opposing what it had rightly demanded in the past. The W.F.T.U.'s universal nature, its aims and the important part it had to play in current affairs all made it the only international trade union organization competent to determine general policy for the world movement as a whole.

It was ridiculous to imagine that there could be as many different policies within the world trade union movement as there were industries—one for the miners, another for the transport workers, and so on, each group being more or less careful to align its policy with that of the W.F.T.U. Anyone backing such an idea must either be incapable of understanding the present political situation, or must be in fundamental disagreement with the W.F.T.U., as was perhaps the case with an earlier speaker. Seeing that the leaders of the I.T.F. were perfectly capable of understanding the exigencies of the present political situation, they apparently fell into the second class—they were not in agreement with the W.F.T.U., which was more serious.

During discussions in the Executive and even in that Congress, doubts had been expressed as to the efficiency of the W.F.T.U. and of its leaders. The expression of such criticism was a sign not of collaboration and co-ordinated action, but of a plan to oppose and weaken the international trade union movement. This did not bear witness to any desire to give the international trade union movement greater force and authority, but, on the contrary, was likely to increase doubts and a feeling of impotence and disaffection, certain to lead to disruption and inefficiency.

It was perhaps true that the W.F.T.U. had not yet proved its ability, but this was no reason to refuse to give it what it needed to work. If the W.F.T.U. were not to be accepted, where could they turn for a competent world organization, the speaker asked. If they were not to take the leftward turn which some people seemed to fear, were they to look to the movement having a religious tinge and supported by the international trusts and the most retrograde of reactions? It was regrettable that this seemed to be the tendency in some countries. This was in any case an attack on international revolutionary trade unionism and would mean support—perhaps involuntary—to the remains of fascism in the world.

Dealing with the criticisms made of the W.F.T.U.'s leaders, the speaker said that those in charge were people who had won a justified reputation in international trade unionism during the past twenty years. Their number would be added to by the best representatives of the Trade Departments, and it was surely impossible to find better leaders. None of these criticisms would stand up to thorough analysis. Congress should ask those who had expressed them to cease from doing so and instead to further trade union relations rather than complicate them.

There was one determining factor: the W.F.T.U. had been set up by the National Trade Union Centres, and they were accordingly all members of it through their own National Centres. It was thus only logical that, when the W.F.T.U.'s rules provided for the formation of a Transport Workers' Trade Department, they should do all they could to hasten its establishment, and certainly not do anything to retard this event. That Congress ought to be the last Congress of the I.T.F. as such

and the forerunner of a World Conference of Transport Workers meeting to constitute the Trade Departments.

Comparison of actual figures would show justification for this step. Their Congress represented about 1,600,000 trade unionists, whereas a World Conference would bring together delegates of five million trade unionists.

Delay in bringing about fusion was leaving outside of the international movement the transport workers, not only of America and Russia, but of numerous other countries which only wanted to work within the framework of the W.F.T.U. This was the case, for example, with the French Railwaymen's Union, whose work in the resistance and in normal trade union activity had won world respect. This Union, with 400,000 members, was unfortunately not represented at that Congress simply because the I.T.F.'s policy with regard to the W.F.T.U. was not the one it wanted to see applied. The 80,000-strong Dockers' Union was also not represented. In Latin America and elsewhere there were other organizations not represented for the same reason.

The speaker again emphasized the dangerous atmosphere being created by disagreement and hesitation in this matter. Any one of their own organizations might soon have to choose between the I.T.F., to which they were deeply attached, and their own National Centre and the W.F.T.U., whose general policy they also supported. His own Union in such a case would have to choose its National Centre, and he thought others would make the same choice.

Referring to various practical objections retarding the constitution of the Trade Departments, the speaker insisted that these had been done away with at the meeting on April 25 with the Executive of the W.F.T.U. The "Draft General Regulations for W.F.T.U. Trade Departments" then distributed had been further amended, and the amendments to Articles 3, 5 and 6 meant that each Trade Department would have complete autonomy to deal with the technical, economic and social problems concerning its own industry. It could bring in organizations which were not members of their own National Centres. It would have financial autonomy, its funds coming from a basic 25 per cent levy on the affiliation fees paid into the W.F.T.U. and from a supplementary grant up to a further 25 per cent. It would even be authorized, in case of need, to draw further affiliation fees from its member organizations, provided such a levy was decided on by a two-thirds majority of the Conference. The Trade Department could freely appoint its President, Secretaries, Executive Committee and General Council, and make its own decisions with regard to the engagement and payment of its staff. It was only the election of its General Secretary which was subject to ratification by the W.F.T.U. Executive.

There was no need to make this latter point into a question either of sentiment or of principle. They would, in effect, be freely electing their General Secretary, as they had always done, and he would then become the head of a large Department within the W.F.T.U. and could utilize its authority. It was therefore justified that his appointment should be subject to W.F.T.U. approval. But the I.T.F. took its work and traditions much too seriously to appoint any but the best man as its General Secretary, and the W.F.T.U., knowing the I.T.F. as a properly run organization, would not object to confirming the candidate chosen.

On the bases agreed to by both parties on April 25th, the Transport Workers' Trade Department could be set up very rapidly, with the I.T.F. as its core, and there should be no further delay. Congress should ask the W.F.T.U. to confirm its amendments and, if possible, its proposals of April 25th, and to convene at the earliest date, in conjunction with the I.T.F.'s Executive Committee, the Conference of the Transportworkers' Trade Department, to which it should give its entire support. This would be in the interests of the world trade union movement and in the interests of the transport workers whom they would be better able to defend.

In conclusion, the speaker felt their Congress had been a demonstration of power and of weakness at one and the same time. Their work in the past—administration, publications, contact with the International Labour Office, help to the resistance—was all on the credit side. But a certain weakness was evident in demands for the future, in the field of international regulations and conventions, and it was just there that they should be strong. They should co-ordinate all their powers. The W.F.T.U. through its National Centres and Trade Departments, should be put in a position to implement a live and energetic line of general policy. In the field of technical, economic and social questions concerning each industry, it should also have within itself all the necessary power to go forward, and this could only be assured through the creation of Trade Departments. They would have to bring all the support of their Trade Departments to the W.F.T.U.'s general policy if they wanted the peace to work out as they so ardently desired, on a democratic basis with proper protection for the workers. This could be done through the W.F.T.U. Such action would be in line with the unanimous decision of all National Centres and with the decision of many organizations there represented ; it would be in the interests of the workers, of democracy and of a better world.

At the end of his speech, the speaker submitted a draft resolution, reading as follows :

This Congress of the I.T.F., meeting in Zürich from 6th to 13th May 1946,

Having regard to the Constitution of the World Federation of Trade Unions composed of the National Trade Union Centres of all the countries of the world and embracing some 70 million organized workers ;

Having regard to the need for the workers to ensure the enforcement and observance of the great democratic principles proclaimed at the meetings of the United Nations, as well as of the legitimate political, economic and social claims of the producers of wealth ;

Having regard to the fact that only an organization like the W.F.T.U. can represent and defend with authority at the economic discussions of U.N.O. and at the peace conferences the broad political aspirations of world labour ;

Having regard to the fact that for the handling of the professional, economic and social problems of the several industries there must exist international machinery within the W.F.T.U. ;

Having regard, in particular, to the case of transport workers, the economic and social role they play in the world, and the consequent

necessity of meeting their needs and of ensuring the satisfaction of their economic and social as well as their political demands ;

Having regard to the fact that, with the exception of a few independent organizations, all the organizations affiliated with the I.T.F. are likewise affiliated with the W.F.T.U. through their respective National Centres, that in the circumstances there cannot be question of distrust or opposition, nor of doubts regarding the efficacy of our activity within the W.F.T.U. ;

Decides that :

(1) Every effort must be made, jointly by the Executives of the W.F.T.U. and the I.T.F., to set up an International Trade Department for Transport within the W.F.T.U. as soon as possible ;

(2) Such Department shall be set up on the basis of the proposals formulated at the discussions of 25th April last, which shall be regarded as the starting point for practical elaboration and amendment ;

(3) The I.T.F. agrees, under these conditions, to become a component part of the I.T.D. for Transport and to co-operate with the Executive of the W.F.T.U. in the constituent conference of the I.T.D. ;

(4) The constituent conference shall take place as soon as possible and within one year from date at the latest.

THE PRESIDENT, speaking himself as a delegate, called his first objection to the rules drafted for the World Federation and the I.T.F.'s incorporation as being the loss of liberty of the I.T.F., which would come under the W.F.T.U.'s administrative control. He would advise Congress to refuse the rules completely, since their acceptance would mean the end of the I.T.F. as an independent organization and the end of its name, since it would officially become a Transportworkers' Section. But the very loss of its name would mean a loss in the power the I.T.F. had won in earlier years.

He had also objected to the loss of the right to discuss political or general questions. In England and elsewhere any union and any branch was fully entitled to discuss anything it liked. It would be a criminal act to refuse this right to the I.T.F. The transport workers were in a different position from, say, the miners, who were isolated and had no convention. The transport of goods and passengers gave rise to all sorts of general questions, which the I.T.F. would be denied the right of discussing. This would be dangerous not only for the transportworkers, but also for the World Federation itself, and might well break it up, because people debarred from discussing what they wanted to would become more and more dissatisfied.

The speaker then referred to a number of small problems which would arise out of the loss of the I.T.F.'s identity, such as the resulting uselessness of banners, badges and buttons marked with the initials " I.T.F."

Edo Fimmen if alive to-day would not have agreed, the speaker continued, referring to a written statement made by Fimmen himself to the effect that joining the general Trade Union International would impede the I.T.F.'s struggle against fascism and nazism. He himself, the speaker went on, could not agree with those who averred that integration would mean added strength in the fight, because every Trade Union Centre was supported by its government and there would be general consent within the World Federation not to discuss questions likely to embarrass the Trade Union Centres.

He believed that the World Federation had accepted the Soviet Russian system, which did not allow trade unions in the individual grade. Certainly all the supporters of that system would quite naturally be warmly in support of hindering the Trade Departments from being independent.

All these things together, concluded the speaker, made him fear that integration might jeopardize not only the International Transport-workers' Federation, but the World Federation also ; he wanted to utter this warning although he did not think his voice carried much weight in that gathering, which he thought would decide on affiliation.

MR. MAJOR (Belgian Transport Workers), speaking in Flemish, took the view that the concessions offered by the World Federation since its original rules had been drafted were very meagre and certainly unacceptable to Congress.

The small countries did not have very much say in the World Federation, which seemed dominated by what had become known as the Big Three. While agreeing with Garcias that there were now organizations all over the world with hundreds of thousands of members where there had been none before, he feared that these bodies would be found to exist only on paper when the time came to pay contributions. In the I.T.F. it had always been otherwise ; they were as one big family, knowing one another and having more or less parallel ideas and methods. To the talk about the fight against fascism, he would reply that the I.T.F. was the only trade union international which had really carried on this fight.

In Belgium they were not opposed to the World Federation, because their own National Centre was affiliated to it, but they did not favour all power being concentrated in its hands. He did not think, as had been suggested, that the W.F.T.U. need wait for the integration of the I.T.F. before starting its work. It could start to move ; all countries were affiliated, and meantime the negotiations could continue.

The World Federation certainly had a great deal of work to do for peace and for the promotion of the workers' social and economic demands. One thing that had worried him a good deal was the care taken in W.F.T.U. conferences to avoid any mention of the International Labour Office. He himself could not accept the position that the seamen in the I.T.F. should be debarred from going to Seattle to continue their work with the I.L.O. merely because this was not in line with the policy of the W.F.T.U.'s leaders. There would have to be guarantees on this point ; and the Executive Committee should raise it in its negotiations.

In the matter of the bar against Trade Departments discussing questions of general policy, the speaker said there was no democratic country in Western Europe where trade unions were not entitled to debate any question they liked and he did not see why this should not hold good internationally.

In the Belgian underground movement, they had been kept going by the spirit of the I.T.F. and of Fimmen, but apparently they were going to some new organization with less power and less scope. Transport workers had international problems to solve which could not be solved unless the organization had its proper degree of authority. On the purely numerical question of members, the speaker reminded Congress that there were over one million railwaymen in America who were prepared to work with the I.T.F., but would not do so if it were transformed into a W.F.T.U. Trade

Department. They furthermore had to remember that the American Federation of Labor did not belong to the World Federation, and American labour was likely to play an important part in world affairs.

His Union, the speaker said in conclusion, could not vote for the disappearance of the I.T.F., although it was prepared to discuss satisfactory conditions to be negotiated. They could not vote for the disappearance of the I.T.F. in the mere hope that the World Federation might be able to do something in the future for seamen. Nor could he underestimate their right to choose their own international secretary, since they could not work with a leader they themselves had not chosen. His Union belonged to the World Federation and was in favour of affiliating, but it had joined in the hope that it would be a democratic body as this was understood in Western Europe, with organizations free to debate and decide as they wished, and with the further hope that it would take into consideration the interests of the smaller countries as well as the bigger ones.

They wanted the Executive Committee to continue negotiations and come back with a full report and reasonable proposals. He wholeheartedly supported the President's plea for retention of the initials "I.T.F." which meant a great deal to transport workers the world over, and were symbolic of the organization's will to win, bound up with the name Edo Fimmen.

SIXTH SESSION

Friday, May 10th, 3 p.m.

MR. DEAKIN (British Transport Workers) explained first of all that he was really speaking in a dual capacity, being one of the British representatives on the General Council, and also one of the British representatives on the Executive of the World Federation of Trade Unions. He was fully conscious of his responsibility towards the W.F.T.U. and was furthermore pledged to support the decisions of the British T.U.C. with regard to the W.F.T.U.

The Executive of the I.T.F. wanted a strong and effective international movement, as had been made plain during the discussion which had taken place since the preliminary conference in October 1945 within the Executive and in the General Council. The whole question was how best to attain this end. In Britain they preferred the idea of "amalgamation"—reaching agreement by common consent—as the approach to the problem of integrating the Trade Secretariats into the Trade Departments.

To clear up what he felt was considerable misunderstanding in Congress, the speaker drew attention to the principle laid down by the Paris Conference in October, as set out on page 245 of Annex I. Quoting the paragraph providing for constitution of the trade departments, he underlined the sentence ensuring that, in the technical field, Trade Departments should enjoy full autonomy within the World Federation. There was no ambiguity about it, and it had been in the spirit of that clearly defined principle that the I.T.F. Executive had met the W.F.T.U. Negotiating Committee a fortnight earlier. Paragraph 15 and onwards, on page 246 of Annex I, described the main points on which agreement had been sought, and had practically been reached. No final decision could be taken at the time, as the President of the W.F.T.U. had made it clear that any arrangement made would be subject to the ratification of their full committee.

Dealing with the financial question, the speaker said that some of the conclusions drawn had been completely wide of the mark. Affiliation fees would be paid by National Centres at £4 per thousand. The original suggestion had been to allocate 25 per cent of revenue to finance the Trade Departments, but their own long experience showed this to be totally inadequate for the kind of work a trade secretariat had to carry on, and they had accordingly proposed a figure of 50 per cent of affiliation fees covering the members of the Trade Department concerned, with the right to make an additional levy if required. The I.T.F. Committee had felt this to be a reasonable and practical proposal, and had got the impression that the W.F.T.U. negotiators were generally in favour of it, though they had been unable at the time, as already explained, to commit themselves to a definite acceptance.

On the question of headquarters, it had been admitted at once that, though in the long run the Trade Departments should logically be housed with the W.F.T.U. itself, this was not a practical proposal for many years to come.

The principle of taking over staff and officials, in order not to lose their knowledge and long experience, had also been more or less accepted and no problem was anticipated on that score.

There should therefore be no difficulty in retaining the I.T.F. within the World Federation as a Trade Department with a full measure of autonomy.

Turning then to some of the comments made by other speakers, the speaker underlined Mr. Benstead's statement of British policy : both the Trades Union Congress and individual unions were committed to support of the principle of integrating the trade secretariats into W.F.T.U. Trade Departments. Here the speaker recalled the general line of the British movement with regard to international activities. In 1941 the T.U.C. had taken action towards Anglo-Soviet rapprochement, and had set up the Anglo-Soviet Committee. Later efforts to form an Anglo-American Committee, bringing in both the A.F.L. and the C.I.O., had unfortunately failed. Discussion in the Anglo-Russian Committee and the decision of the 1944 Trades Union Congress had led to the calling of the World Trade Union Conference in London in February 1945, which had in its turn led to the Paris Conference that had actually constituted the World Federation.

The British Unions saw no need to apologize for their efforts to establish a really effective world trade union organization. As a new organization, it naturally lacked experience, as this could only come with the years, but a start had to be made somewhere. Their only concern with the past was to draw from it such conclusions as would make future action more effective. There was no reason why the Federation should not become a great instrument of working-class expression.

In the matter of delay in the negotiations, no blame lay with the I.T.F. Executive, which was ready to take part, but had had no invitation to the trade secretariats conference which the W.F.T.U. was to convene. He was not blaming the W.F.T.U., knowing how full its hands were also. The I.T.F. Executive meeting in Zürich on January 12th had wired the W.F.T.U., indicating its readiness to meet at any time, but it had only been on April 25th that an appointment could be made, the delay being due, not to any one in particular, but just to the combination of circumstances.

The speaker expressed agreement with Verduyck's preference for affiliation rather than absorption. With reference to the Norwegian delegate's plea for continuity of policy on the part of the trade secretariats, he felt sure that this could be ensured as an outcome of the negotiations. They had furthermore the right to see that the Trade Departments were effective instruments for the fulfilment of their trade interests.

Disagreeing profoundly with some of the points made by Garcias, the speaker admitted that misunderstandings might arise to some extent through language difficulties, but the negotiation conference had after all been conducted in French and the matters raised there had been very clearly considered.

He was surprised, in the first place, to hear Garcias refer to I.T.F. resistance to the World Federation, and he would most emphatically deny the existence of any such tendency. They had from the outset made it abundantly clear that they accepted the general principle, first set out in 1944 when the I.T.F.'s London Executive meeting had declared that the I.T.F. was prepared to take part in any scheme for closer co-operation and co-ordination, but should not renounce its autonomy. That resolution had been adopted with one vote cast against it. Garcias had been among those voting in favour. It did not make sense to talk of the continuation of an opposition which had never existed.

The same thing applied to Garcias' comment that the opposition was based on finance. This was also incorrect. The I.T.F. had merely stated its right to ensure that the Trade Departments had at their disposal the funds necessary for their work.

Garcias' allegation of opposition to the leaders of the World Federation would also not stand up to analysis. He himself, emphasized the speaker, had never heard a single word of condemnation or criticism of the World Federation's leaders. This was indeed not to be expected, since it was they themselves who had chosen the people for this job. Far from opposing them, they were prepared to back them every inch of the way in performing the difficult tasks that lay ahead.

Nor was it true that the French unions which were not in their International were absent on account of the I.T.F.'s attitude on this point. Taking everything together, there had been some deplorable misunderstandings and misrepresentations. No action which had been taken or was contemplated by the I.T.F. could be regarded as an excuse for French transport workers to be outside the scope of the Federation.

On the negotiations in general, he felt they should negotiate openly and frankly, with all their cards on the table.

With regard to Garcias' complaint that the new constitution had not been distributed, the speaker underlined that the reason for this was well known. They had, in fact, been told in Paris that the revised constitution was not for circulation as it had not been submitted to the W.F.T.U. Executive for ratification. This was the sole reason for its non-circulation.

Criticising Garcias' resolution for its verbosity, the speaker characterized the Executive's resolution as being of a constructive nature. It accepted the principle of integrating the I.T.F. into the World Federation. That was all that was required. Every safeguard, every guarantee of good faith was provided; they knew their commitments and responsibilities and tried to carry them out.

With regard to the Belgian delegate's reference to the position of the small nations, and the domination of the Big Three, and the big battalions, the speaker said they recognized that the small nations had with the bigger nations a contribution to make in solving their problems. They took the stand—just as the British representatives had argued in Paris—that there should be such a balance of power within the world organization, giving freedom and equality of expression to all nations. There should be the same facility for the small nations within the Trade Departments. The million membership of the I.T.F. would be increased with the merger, perhaps in the ratio of 3 to 1, but they were not going to accept an arrangement which would stifle the voice of the small countries. They would have to get a balance which would allow the small nations to have their say, and would establish that essential principle of democracy which would have to remain within the movement if it were to survive and to become an instrument for the re-shaping of the world order which was the aim of the ordinary people of the world.

MR. EHLERS (French Seamen), speaking in French, supported the Garcias motion. He outlined the past history of the French Seamen's Union to demonstrate its faithful support for the I.T.F. and his own. In 1918 he had much regretted to find that the French Seamen's Union had

joined an International Seamen's Federation, which had shown its incompetence at the first International Maritime Conference, held in Genoa in 1920. He had immediately set to work to bring his Union back into the I.T.F. They had moreover seen, at the second International Maritime Conference, in 1926, how the I.T.F. had been able to take the lead in the Workers' Group as a whole. Satisfactory results for the workers had then been obtained.

His point of view to-day was in no wise contradictory to that which he had always held within the I.T.F., but the existence to-day of pressing realities made him prefer Garcias' motion to that of the Executive in that it fixed a definite period for the negotiations. If no definite period were fixed, he feared—while not laying the blame for this on either the I.T.F. Executive or the W.F.T.U.—that they would not get nearer a solution. By fixing a time, they would be urging the people concerned to show their comprehension of the situation and produce a positive result.

A second advantage of fixing a date was that it would help the French unions to avoid the cruel dilemma of being faced with the choice of either their National Centre or the I.T.F. He personally was as devoted to one as to the other and he consequently would not wish to be placed before such an awkward choice. He was therefore in favour of the Garcias resolution.

MR. WALLARI (Finnish Seamen), speaking in English, explained that technical difficulties had prevented the presence of delegates from the Finnish Transport Workers' Federation and the Railwaymen's and Locomotivemen's Federation, who had accordingly asked him to express on their behalf their unconditional acceptance of the World Federation's rules and their agreement to I.T.F. affiliation.

When he had left Finland they had not known anything of the negotiations that had taken place between the I.T.F. and the World Federation, in which so many differences had been settled. The Finnish Seamen's Union had full confidence in the leading organs of the I.T.F., just as in the leaders of the W.F.T.U., and they hoped that the negotiations would eliminate the differences still existing in the way of I.T.F. affiliation. They would like a decision in principle in favour of affiliation, with negotiations to continue in order to remove outstanding obstacles.

MR. OLDENBROEK (Acting General Secretary) asked Congress what its attitude would have been had the Executive taken a final decision on the question of integration and merely presented delegates with an accomplished fact. He thought a vote of censure would in that case have been in order. They in the Executive Committee had all along been guided by the principle of leaving the final decision to Congress.

The I.F.T.U., to which reference had been made, had been dissolved, not because it was unable to continue, but in order to become part of a larger federation. They who had gained some experience in the international movement had helped in drafting the constitution for the new Federation and had thus helped it considerably along the right road. Their resistance—if that were the way to describe it—had been based on the necessity of knowing exactly what position the Trade Departments were going to have. As one who had taken part in the discussions from the outset, he would like to make it clear that at the beginning there had been very little willingness on the part of the World Federation to grant any freedom to the Trade Departments at all.

What the international trade union movement needed in any case was just such a discussion as was now taking place and had not taken place anywhere else. This was their first opportunity to give time to it. They could not accept any blame for not having worked quickly enough. This matter of integration was not something to be fixed up from one day to the next. It had to be very carefully planned, and that was what they had been doing. The Executive had now reached a stage when it knew what it wanted, but he did not think the whole Federation had the same clear ideas. As soon as the whole thing had been thrashed out clearly, it would be time to finish the negotiations and reach agreement, but it was no use just going head on for the obstacles without knowing where things would lead to. They might in that way set up a Trade Department with a substantial membership, but there would be dissatisfaction in a large number of I.T.F. organizations. It was very important to have greater unity, but it was just as important to maintain the unity which had been built up in the I.T.F., not to use it against a body to be set up, but as a guarantee for the spirit of solidarity in which they would continue their work.

It was accordingly not necessary to go any further than the Executive's proposal. This did not contain any flowery language ; it did not report on everything that had been done, as this had already been said in a number of statements. All that needed to be said was that the I.T.F. was prepared to continue negotiations and, if they led to a satisfactory result, to accept it. As soon as the W.F.T.U. knew as clearly as the I.T.F. what it wanted, the time would have come to conclude an agreement.

He felt that even Garcias was really in agreement ; at any rate, there had been unanimity in the Executive whenever an issue had come up for decision. Article 13 had not been accepted as it stood, but had gone to a world conference for amendment ; that in itself showed how necessary it had been to continue negotiations. Otherwise, they would have earned the displeasure of affiliated organizations, if their right to take their own decision after having heard both sides of the argument had not been protected.

In conclusion, the speaker expressed disagreement with Garcias' statement that all the other International Trade Secretariats had been inactive during the war. The other I.T.S. had been in invaded countries, or such as had been cut off from the rest of the world, but it was wrong to say they had been inactive. The International Federation of Food and Drink Trades, for example, had never failed to support the French workers in their underground struggle. If International Trade Secretariats had not worked, it was not because they had not wanted to, but because their men had been sent to prison or concentration camps. In the matter of negotiating with the W.F.T.U. he himself had had to plead for the others, and to demand that consideration should be given also to their views and arguments, with no decision taken before such consultation. This was perhaps only a point of sentiment, but it was important enough that the setting up of a new body should not thrust on one side people who had given many years of honourable service to the international movement.

His proposal, finished the speaker, was that negotiations be continued and another conference be called in order to take a final decision. He thought it should be quite possible to reach a final decision within the

year. If they could not do so, it would certainly not be because the I.T.F. was not ready to continue the negotiations.

THE PRESIDENT, having called on all the speakers on his list, proposed to put the two resolutions to the vote. On a show of hands, there was an overwhelming majority for the Executive's resolution.

MR. GRUENAI (French Seamen) demanded a card vote, but the PRESIDENT stated that a card vote could be taken only if five unions asked for it, and added, furthermore that it would take up considerable time.

GRUENAI replied that the card vote could be taken by each delegate holding up his card and stating which organization he represented.

(The vote having been taken in this way showed 32 votes for the Executive's resolution and 7 against).

The Congress accepts the principle of incorporation of the I.T.F. in the W.F.T.U. and instructs the Executive Committee to continue negotiations with the Executive Bureau of the W.F.T.U. with a view to securing acceptable terms. The terms finally negotiated to be submitted to a further Congress for ratification.

THE PRESIDENT then read a telegram of greeting from Mr. Ernest Bevin, British Foreign Minister, to the Secretary of the I.T.F., and Congress decided, on a proposal of the Norwegian delegate Soensteb, to reply with a telegram expressing thanks and good wishes.

TRADE SECTION REPORTS

Dockers' and Inland Navigation Workers' Section

Speaking as rapporteur for the Dockers' Section, MR. CASSIERS (Belgian Transport Workers) said there was no need to read the report, as it had already been circulated. He did, however, draw attention to page 213 where a slight alteration needed to be made ; in the fourth line, " since " should be inserted instead of " where " in the phrase : " where conditions of employment are at present inferior." This amendment did not affect the Report's content.

The Report itself was quite clear and needed no amplification. It represented the unanimous decision of the Committee which knew the desires and aims of the members represented, and he would accordingly move the adoption of the resolution by Congress, in the hope that the desire expressed therein might be implemented at a very early date.

The Report, thereupon put to the vote, was UNANIMOUSLY ACCEPTED.

REPORT OF DOCKERS' AND INLAND NAVIGATION WORKERS' SECTION CONFERENCE

The Section met on Wednesday morning, 8th May, and the following were present :

Belgium	L. Major, W. Cassiers.
Britain	Stephen Shaw, W. Leahy, H. J. Edwards, J. Donovan.
Denmark	A. Jensen.
Finland	N. Walläri.
France	J. Schottel.

Holland	A. Kievit, J. Buquet, Th. Smeding.
Italy	Martelli.
Norway	Kjoniksen, Ed. Paulsen.
Sweden	N. Martensson (Transport Workers), O. Danielson (Seamen).
Switzerland	H. Leuenberger.
I.T.F.	J. H. Oldenbroek (Secretary of Section).

After the meeting had been opened by OLDENBROEK, the meeting elected EDWARDS of Great Britain to the chair on the nomination of KIEVIT, seconded by MAJOR.

A proposal of DONOVAN that a Scandinavian representative should act as rapporteur for the Section at the plenary session was withdrawn for practical reasons, and CASSIERS was unanimously appointed on the nomination of KIEVIT.

On the proposal of OLDENBROEK, the meeting proceeded to deal with pages 69-72 and 91-92 of the Report on Activities, which covered the affairs affecting the Section.

In the discussion which followed Donovan, Major, Kievit, Leahy and Oldenbroek took part, and the following resolution was adopted :

" This International Dockers' Conference, meeting on 8th May 1946, in conjunction with the Zürich Congress of the I.T.F., after considering the question of conditions of employment in the dock industry,

Realizes the imperative need of eliminating international competition as a factor making for impairment of dockers' standards, and

Considers that the purpose can be most effectively achieved by holding Regional Conferences covering countries affected.

As the question is of particular urgency in the ports of Western Europe, it requests the I.T.F. Congress to convene, as the first of such regional discussions, a Dockers' Conference for Belgium, Holland, France and Great Britain not later than August 1946 in Antwerp, and

Urges dockers' unions in the different countries to supply the I.T.F. Secretariat without delay with concise information covering wages, hours, maintenance schemes and safety legislation in the docks industry, so that a four-country comparative survey of dockers' conditions may be prepared for that Conference."

After a discussion about the question of accident prevention in the docks industry and the position with regard to the International Docks Convention adopted in Geneva in 1932, the meeting unanimously formulated its conclusions in the following resolution :

" This International Dockers' Conference, meeting on 8th May 1946 in conjunction with the Zürich Congress of the I.T.F.,

Whereas the International Docks Convention of 1932 has still not been ratified by a number of countries, while in others though ratified the Convention is not fully enforced,

Whereas port conditions and practices have evolved in certain directions since the adoption of the Convention,

Urges dockers' unions in all countries (1) to ensure that the 1932 Convention is duly ratified and properly enforced in their respective

countries, and (2) to consider whether the Convention is in need of revision under some heads and to inform the I.T.F. Secretariat accordingly in order that the appropriate steps may be taken."

LEAHY then raised the question of the limitation of loads to be carried by dockers, and there ensued a discussion in which DONOVAN, MARTENSSON, PAULSEN and KIEVIT took part. It was considered that dockers should not be required to carry loads in excess of 75 kilogrammes and that it was a question for international regulation. The following resolution was unanimously adopted :

"This International Dockers' Conference, meeting on 8th May 1946 in conjunction with the Zürich Congress of the I.T.F.,

Having considered the question of the weight of loads in dock work,

Considers that 75 kilogrammes is the maximum weight which one man can carry without eventual detriment to health,

Urges dockers' unions to ensure that this maximum is not exceeded in their respective countries, and

Requests the International Labour Office to take steps with a view to the adoption of an International Convention on the subject."

On a proposal put forward by KIEVIT, seconded by L. MAJOR, the meeting unanimously decided to recommend the General Council of the I.T.F. to appoint a member at the Secretariat to be specially entrusted with affairs of interest to dockers.

The next business was the draft International Dockers' Programme which had been prepared by the Secretariat. In the discussion on this question MAJOR, DONOVAN, KIEVIT, SCHOTTEL and SHAW took part. On the proposal of MAJOR it was unanimously decided to appoint a committee to consider in detail the questions enumerated at the end of the Secretariat's draft, viz. :

1. Institution of a Dock Labour Pool.
2. Minimum weekly wage for dockers.
3. Principle of the forty-hour week.
4. Pool pay for standing-by time.
5. Effective industrial machinery with full workers' representation.
6. Fortnight's annual leave with pay.
7. Overhaul of national and international safety legislation.
8. Comprehensive system of social insurances.
9. Adequate welfare arrangements in port industry.

To enable the committee to perform useful work, the meeting recommended that the Secretariat should invite affiliated unions to supply it with full information about the position in the respective countries under the above heads, together with their comments on the suggestions contained thereon in the draft Programme of the Secretariat, so that these could be taken into consideration by the first meeting of the Committee appointed.

Arising out of a question raised by KIEVIT concerning the trade union organization of German dockers and a statement thereon by OLDENBROEK, the meeting unanimously adopted a proposal of MAJOR, seconded

by DONOVAN, that the matter should be referred to the Executive Committee of the I.T.F., and meanwhile expressed the opinion that it would be desirable to invite to the Regional Dockers' Conference a representative of the German ports, where conditions of employment are at present inferior to those obtaining in the ports of the neighbouring countries.

As it was necessary for some of the delegates to consult their Unions before appointing representatives to the committee, it was decided that there should be one member from each affiliated country and that these should name their representative later.

The resolution concerning the Dockers' International Programme was as follows :

"This International Dockers' Conference, meeting on 8th May 1946 in conjunction with the Zürich Congress of the I.T.F.,

Considers that a Programme of International Minimum Demands is a useful instrument for co-ordinating the industrial action of dockers in the different countries, and congratulates the Secretariat on its report.

Decides to appoint a committee including one representative from each affiliated country, which shall draft an International Dockers' Charter.

Requests the Secretariat to collect the necessary material for the purpose from the countries and to call a meeting of the Committee immediately before or after the conference in Antwerp in August 1946."

The meeting then took cognizance of the work done at the Inland Transport Conference of the International Labour Office held in London from 13th to 20th December 1945. In this connection the Section decided to request the I.L.O. to expedite as much as possible the holding of the Regional Tripartite Docks Conference (Governments, Employers, Workers) for Belgium, France, Holland and Great Britain, which is to take action to avoid unfair competition between the ports of Western Europe and in Rhine navigation.

Finally, turning to matters of interest to inland navigation, the meeting considered that at this stage there was no need to engage in a general discussion of working conditions in this industry, but that it was imperative for the unions affected by Rhine navigation to enter into consultations without delay with a view to arriving at uniformity of wages and working conditions, and accordingly the representatives of Belgium, France, Holland and Switzerland decided to meet separately for this purpose.

W. CASSIERS,

Rapporteur to Dockers and Inland
Navigation Workers' Conference.

Railwaymen's Section

MR. TOFAHRN (Acting Assistant General Secretary), rapporteur, speaking in French, said that delegates would probably not have had time to read the Railwaymen's Report, since it had only just been circulated. But it did not contain any problems. The Railwaymen's Section had to study two urgent questions, the first concerning the driving of locomotives by one man alone, and the second dealing with the electrification of the railways. The Section had also agreed to set up a committee on which each railwaymen's union would be represented. Only the Chairman had

been elected by the Section ; each organization was free to appoint its own delegate.

There were several questions for the near future.

In the first place, they had to decide whether to continue the campaign for the international limitation and regulation of hours of work on the railways. It had been proposed in the Committee to resume the campaign interrupted by the war in 1939, and to aim at an International Convention on hours of work and free time on the railways. No decision had been taken as to whether the two matters should be regulated by one single Convention or two. They had felt, moreover, that a matter of principle was involved, on which affiliated organizations and the leading bodies of the I.T.F. should be consulted, in order to avoid having the Railwaymen's Section pursue a different policy from the other Sections.

They were also in favour of a campaign for the introduction of automatic coupling on the European railways. This did not imply the immediate choice and adoption of any specific type of automatic coupling, but merely insistence on any new stock being constructed so that screw coupling could be replaced at any moment by automatic coupling without having to transform the cars. This campaign would be continued through the channels already open in the International Labour Office, where the question had first come up over twenty years earlier, and furthermore in the new organization known as the European Central Inland Transport Organization (E.C.I.T.O.).

Finally, the Railwaymen's Committee had had before it a resolution submitted by the Italian delegation on the reconstruction of means of transport in regions devastated by the war. While being in sympathy with the fundamental idea, the Section had not felt competent to take a decision since a question of general policy was involved. The matter had been referred to the Executive for decision as to whether it could be put on the agenda of the present Congress.

In conclusion, the rapporteur said they would be starting to work on trade questions in a consultative committee, presided over by Comrade SARDELLI. This would make preparations for future meetings of the Section, where its own technical problems would be discussed, always naturally in complete agreement with the Executive Committee on matters of general policy, which the Executive would lay down, so that the policy of the Railwaymen's Section should be entirely in line with that of the others.

The Railwaymen's Section Report was unanimously adopted.

REPORT OF THE RAILWAYMEN'S SECTION

All railwaymen's delegations to the Congress took part in the meeting of the Section, which met under the chairmanship of Comrade ROBERT BRATSCHI.

The Secretary of the Section made a brief oral report, of which the following were the salient points :

Action through the I.L.O. to draft an international convention on working hours on the railways was interrupted by the war, and the preparatory conference held in March 1939 has had hardly any consequences.

During the war the Railwaymen's Section held one Conference, which was attended by representatives of the British railwaymen's unions, railwaymen's leaders in exile, two representatives of the railwaymen from the United States, and one observer from the U.S.S.R. This Conference tried to do a political job, that is to say to encourage the railwaymen in the resistance movement in the occupied countries and urge those in the enemy countries also to join that movement. It also tried to frame measures to be taken during the war to help the railwaymen in the occupied countries to get the railways going again, and rebuild their trade unions, as soon as possible after their liberation. A result of this endeavour was the inclusion of I.T.F. representatives in the Sub-Committee on Personnel of the Technical Advisory Committee for Inland Transport set up by the Allied Governments. These representatives managed to secure the acceptance of a series of recommendations to governments which, had they been carried into effect, would have prevented many difficulties. The Conference also raised the question of the organization of European transport.

The Secretariat of the I.T.F. has also endeavoured, with the authority of pre-war resolutions calling for the introduction of automatic coupling, to induce the European authorities concerned to take preparatory measures to this end.

On the Inland Transport Committee of the I.L.O., which met in London in December 1945, the railwaymen delegates, a great majority of whom belonged to unions affiliated to the I.T.F., successfully pleaded for measures to hasten the reconstruction of the railways.

In conclusion, the Secretary asked the members of the Section to state their immediate and future wishes with regard to the collection of information and preparation for action.

Comrade HAWORTH, of the British Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen, raised the question of the one-man electric locomotive, stating that the British railway companies were making a resolute endeavour to force the introduction of this system, in spite of the grave apprehensions of the trade unions as to the safety of traffic and the health of the railwaymen. This problem awakened lively interest, and information on the matter was given by comrades BRATSCHI, CHRISTIANSSON, RISSONE and DE BRUIJNE. Comrade BENSTEAD mentioned that the Secretariat of the I.T.F. had already tried to furnish recent information, but that it was urgently necessary to carry the enquiry further. In particular there was immediate need of a clear reply to the following three questions :

- (1) Does the one-man locomotive, equipped with the latest improvements, imperil safety ?
- (2) Does it cause any difficulties, and what are they ?
- (3) What lessons can be drawn from accidents which have occurred?

It was agreed that the Secretariat should at an early date send out a questionnaire on the subject to unions with experiences to relate.

Interest was not confined to this particular aspect of railway electrification, however. There is a need of information on the general effects of electrification on the working and living conditions of the railwaymen. It was agreed that this job, which is of a less immediate character, should

be undertaken after termination of the enquiry on the one-man locomotive. In this connection Comrade KANNE, of the Dutch Railwaymen's Union, pointed out that there was a constant need of information on technical innovations, but that this was a specialist's job which called for the appointment at the Secretariat of a technical expert who could assist the Secretary of the Section in his work.

Together with Comrade BRATSCHI, the Section considered that it was necessary to take up once more the endeavours to secure the adoption of an international convention dealing with working hours on the railways, but also covering the question of paid holidays. Comrade DE BRUIJNE suggested that the endeavours should be directed towards the reduction of working hours to forty a week spread over five days. The Secretary pointed out that the I.L.O. has hitherto always tried to deal with working hours and paid holidays in separate conventions, but that arguments could certainly be advanced in favour of the innovation of combining the two questions and settling them in one convention, and when the time came the Railwaymen's Section and the leaders of the I.T.F. would have to decide whether this should be done. In so far as the forty hour week was concerned, it would be necessary to decide, in due course, firstly whether the railwaymen's unions in the different countries were unanimous on the subject, and whether it was wished to press for the forty hour week on the railways independently of the general campaign in other industries.

Wages and pensions appear to be questions which do not lend themselves to settlement by international convention, though that does not mean that they offer no scope for international action, but to form an opinion on the matter it is necessary to be fully documented. The I.L.O. was asked by the Inland Transport Committee to start an enquiry into the transport industries for the purpose of whether, as was suspected, there were any countries where the workers were not in receipt of a living wage. Another enquiry into social security was to cover the question of pensions.

Comrade BORGHESI, leader of the Italian railwaymen's delegation, submitted a resolution relating to the need to provide credits, raw materials and railway equipment for countries which have suffered the ravages of war. Though sympathizing with the idea underlying the resolution, the Section considered that it was not entitled to present it to the Congress, and asked the Secretariat to submit it to the Executive Committee for communication to the Congress with such recommendation as may be deemed desirable.

As regards future work, the Section decided to set up a Committee to make preparations for meetings of the Section. No members were chosen to form the Committee, but it is proposed that each affiliated railwaymen's union shall be invited to appoint a representative. It was decided, however, to elect a Chairman for the Committee, and Comrade J. BENSTEAD, General Secretary of the British National Union of Railwaymen, was chosen for the purpose. The first meeting of the Committee is to be held, on a date to be agreed between the Chairman and the I.T.F. Secretariat, as soon as the preparatory work is sufficiently advanced.

Comrade G. JOUSTRA, President of the Dutch Railwaymen's Union, pleaded for additions to the personnel of the I.T.F., so that assistants may be trained for secretarial posts, thus making sure that the secretaries have

adequate assistance and can be easily replaced in case of need. He asked that the Executive Committee should give this matter preferential treatment. Comrade BRATSCHI, who is a member of the Executive Committee, replied that the state of the I.T.F.'s finances was a factor to be borne in mind, and that it was hardly probable that the question could be considered apart from that of the future relations between the I.T.F. and the World Federation of Trade Unions.

P. TOFAHRN,
Rapporteur.

Seafarers' Section

THE PRESIDENT then called on MR. JARMAN (British Seamen) to present the report of the Seafarers' Section Conference, which was also unanimously adopted.

REPORT OF THE SEAFARERS' SECTION

So much has already been said during the Congress about seamen and as time is running short, I shall content myself by summing up and saying that we, as seamen, have every reason to be proud of the part played in the war.

From the very start we were in for a bad time, but it is our proud boast that never once was a ship stopped for want of volunteers to man it. The Malta Convoys—Russian Convoys—Dunkirk—North Africa—Pacific train—form an imperishable page in the history of the war. The cost in life and suffering has been heavy. Thousands gone—thousands more with their health shattered—and the job still continues. Seamen still have to play a major part in the rehabilitation of a war-shattered world.

The British Unions are particularly proud of the part they were privileged to play: both Officers' and Men's Organizations gave all they could to the Secretariat of the I.T.F. We never spared ourselves in service, time or cash. Our reward—well, it is this Conference. Without that work which we did I feel we should not have been celebrating our Fiftieth Anniversary, but acting either as undertakers, or, as I would prefer it, midwives, at a rebirth. On behalf of the Seamen's Section, I would like to say thank you to the other Sections for all the help and encouragement we received from them.

We found the general picture of the post-war wage position of seamen, with the wide disparity of rates at present under consideration, looked something like a patchwork quilt. An attempt to get a Joint International Conference with the shipowners failed, but as I see it, we can turn their unwillingness to account if we play our cards right at Seattle. Fortunately, there is a high degree of unanimity amongst both Officers and Men with regard to the amendments suggested to the draft Conventions to be discussed at Seattle. To further crystallize the position, another Conference of Catering Department representatives has been called and will take place in London on the 16th and 17th of this month. A series of meetings has been arranged for when the delegations arrive at Seattle.

We have a big task there, to implement and to bring into everyday practice the hopes and aspirations of the seamen for fifty years, as outlined

in the Charter as the minimum standards, but notwithstanding the opposition we know the owners will put up, and some governments, I think we can win through—we must win, because otherwise, in spite of all help and understanding assistance we have received from and through the I.L.O., if we miss this opportunity of establishing world minimum conditions for seamen, it may be another fifty years before we get the chance again.

We know we shall carry with us the goodwill of this Conference, and you in turn may rest assured we shall do all in our power to establish the provisions of our Charter and Conventions. If we succeed, and we are going there determined to succeed, we shall indeed have seen to it that the debt to seamen, so freely acknowledged, will at least have been paid in part.

Finally, I want to make reference to the text of a resolution which has been laid before Congress, and which was passed at a meeting of the I.M.M.O.A. The Seamen's Group have discussed that resolution, and have reached agreement on a slightly amended text, and on the conditions under which the members of the constituent organizations of the I.M.M.O.A. will come into the I.T.F. I ask you to accept the understanding which has been arrived at. I feel sure it can only help in the realization of acceptable world-wide conditions of service for seafarers of all countries.

The Conference of the Seafarers' Section on which I am reporting was attended by 31 delegates of Officers' and Men's unions from the following countries : Great Britain, France, Norway, Sweden, Holland, Denmark, Belgium, Finland, Poland, America and China.

C. JARMAN,
Chairman of the Section, Rapporteur of the Conference.

Resolution on Spain

MR. GÓMEZ, rapporteur for the Executive on the Spanish resolution, speaking in Spanish, said first of all that the troubles of his country were well enough known to need no further explanation. He felt some embarrassment in moving the Executive's resolution, since it was after all the delegates of the various affiliated organizations which would have to decide on the response to be made and would have to carry out the decision. He offered high praise to the I.T.F. for the magnificent solidarity shown towards his countrymen in 1939, when they had stood in great need of encouragement. The I.T.F. had sent messengers with offers of assistance within a few weeks of the revolt breaking out and again within a few weeks of the defeat, when they had had to cross the frontier into France. At that time, Tofahrn had been very ably seconded by the French Railwaymen's Union.

I.T.F. solidarity such as the clothing, medical supplies and food sent to comrades in French concentration camps, had meant a great deal to them, not so much for the actual money involved as because it showed they were not being merely left to their fate. To him personally, added the speaker, the I.T.F. had been a great help in adversity.

More than any other organisation, the I.T.F. had set the Spanish problem within the international framework where it belonged. Spain had shed its blood to destroy fascism ; a great deal of what had since happened in the world was due to the defeat of the Spanish Republicans

and their destruction by Franco. The main responsibility for the defeat undoubtedly lay with the unhappy "non-intervention" policy, which had given Franco the victory. They did not feel in Spain that other countries should now intervene in her political affairs to impose a régime which the Spanish people should have the right to choose for themselves and which they were not allowed to do by present circumstances. If they wanted the Franco régime swept away, some action would have to be taken from outside. He would repeat what he had said at the Luxemburg Congress, that there was no hope for the restoration of a Republic in Spain if the Republicans were abandoned to their fate. He was not asking that Britain, Russia or any other country should intervene unilaterally, but that joint action be taken in accordance with the principles publicly accepted by the United Nations.

The Executive Committee in its resolution asked the Security Council to break off economic and diplomatic relations with Franco. He was not sure this would be enough to overthrow the Franco regime. If it were not, he was sure the United Nations Organization had the power to do so if it used the right means.

With regard to the suggestion that the Spanish people might not like other countries to intervene, he thought it was true that some Spaniards, those who support Franco, might resent the intervention of some countries, France, for example, but action by the United Nations as an organization would look very different and would be well received by the people. It would surely not induce one Spaniard opposed to the present régime to give his backing to Franco. The patriotic French, Belgians and Dutch, who had had Fascist occupation of their countries, had not objected to the armies of the Allies which had come to free them, but had received them with flags and flowers. It would be the same in Spain. The Executive's resolution, recommending support for the action already taken by the W.F.T.U., was an admirable one.

He felt some further embarrassment, the speaker went on, in dealing with the amendment to the E.C. resolution submitted by the French organizations represented. The amendment ran :

"Substitute for last paragraph the following : The Congress invites all organizations to take immediate steps to prevent products from Spain from entering their countries, and the production, transport or transit of merchandise or raw materials destined for Spain. This so long as the Franco régime—accomplice and continuation of the Hitler régime—exists."

He wanted to assure the French comrades that he understood how they felt ; they probably knew much more of Spain's trials and tribulations than other delegates because they were in closer touch with the Spanish Republicans ; moreover, the Spanish refugees who had been in France before and during the world war had shared their worries, and were now sharing their joys. France felt the direct threat of the Franco armies ; at any moment some misfortune in France might bring Franco's forces into France. France knew that Franco had two divisions on the frontier, and while other countries might feel free to discuss whether Franco was a danger to peace, France knew that Franco was a danger to France and thus a threat to the world. As long as this threat endured, France could not reduce her own frontier forces and thus free the funds so urgently

needed for her own reconstruction. There was no chance of the world entering a period of durable peace while Spain still had a fascist régime. Spain remained an important international factor, certainly in the Mediterranean.

While acknowledging and appreciating the French amendment as a further proof of France's desire to see Spain a free country, he knew that other delegates had the same aim. He doubted whether affiliated organizations were in a position to implement the French resolution, and he would quite frankly prefer a moderate resolution which could be carried into effect, rather than a stronger one which could not. He wanted, finally, to report back to his Spanish friends that the I.T.F. Congress had adopted a resolution on their behalf, and, with that in mind, felt it preferable not to go further than the terms of the resolution submitted by the Executive.

MR. DONOVAN (British Transport Workers), supporting the Executive resolution, said that in Britain there was unanimous hostility to the Franco regime. They felt they had made a great contribution towards ending that regime, not least through the election in July 1945, of a Labour Government, which was fully aware of the feelings of the great mass of the British people on this question. But they would not wish to be forced, through any I.T.F. decision, into taking steps more drastic than those proposed in the resolution.

Quoting the Executive resolution, which expressed support for the decision of the World Federation of Trade Unions to ask National Trade Union Centres to urge their governments to break off diplomatic relations with Spain, the speaker said they should support that policy. Inquiries were at that time being made through Great Britain, and he felt sure that when the facts were properly known, they could rely, at any rate, on the British Foreign Secretary leaving no stone unturned in order to bring about a democratic government in Spain.

Having recalled the external situation at the time of the civil war, the speaker underlined his view that the Executive's resolution, urging a united opposition to Franco and government action to get rid of him, was more likely to bring about effective results than any suggestion of direct action. Speaking as the official representative of the Dockers' Section of the British Transport and General Workers' Union, he explained that many British dockers were at that time without employment, and dependent on the guaranteed payments received under the various dock labour schemes. Their refusal to handle any form of shipping would be regarded as direct action, not against the British employers, but against the British Government. He very much doubted whether action of that sort would be successful. It was not that they were afraid to take action when necessary, as had been demonstrated, for example in 1920, when the London dockers had struck against loading ships for a reactionary government acting against Russia. They had indeed taken action politically when they had had a reactionary government at home acting against the working class in another country.

With regard to the actual trade situation, to which earlier speakers had referred, the speaker pointed out that the amount of British trade with Franco Spain during February and March had been valued at about £625,000, which amounted to not more than four million pounds in a year. This was not a great volume, seeing that one cargo loaded in Great

Britain for Australia, for instance, had been worth three million pounds. Any suggestion that the British Government was developing an extensive trade with Franco was not true, and he would like this to be clear.

MR. NILS MARTENSSON (Swedish Transport Workers), speaking in Swedish, said he was putting the views of the Scandinavian Transportworkers' Federation, which included all the transportworkers and seamen of Denmark, Finland, Norway and Sweden. They were rather disappointed with the Executive resolution, as they had expected different results from the discussions which had taken place on this very important question.

The enquiry into exports and imports, which the resolution proposed, had already been made, and they did not think this would lead to very much. At their joint conference held two months earlier, the Scandinavian unions had agreed that alone they could do little, but that substantial results might be obtained if the whole of the trade union movement, and the transport workers in particular, all went at it together.

They had decided to send an appeal to their respective National Centres and, through them, to their governments, asking for diplomatic relations to be broken off. At the same time, they had asked the I.T.F., in conjunction with the W.F.T.U., to decide on a boycott of Spain. They in Scandinavia felt that this could be done, and would be prepared to fulfil an appeal on those lines. They realized all the difficulties which had been mentioned in the Congress, and they would accept the Executive resolution, but had not wanted to do so without having made clear the decisions taken by the Scandinavian transport workers.

MR. GRUENAI (French Seamen), rising on behalf of both the French Seamen's and Transportworkers' Unions, said that the French delegation had wanted its motion integrated into that submitted by the Executive.

They had perfectly well understood why Gómez had spoken in the way he had. They did feel, however, that they should not forget the declarations made by United Nations governments during the war. Many governments were to-day forgetting the engagements they had entered into. But, as leaders of the organized workers, they also had their part to play, and they should give every possible support to those governments which were really working for peace. They did not deny the necessity of co-operating with the governments. On the contrary, any government working in the interests of peace should have their support. But where a government was pursuing a contrary policy, it was up to them to take action in the interests of peace. In order to be efficacious, action against a country like Spain, where fascism still existed, should be carried on by the workers of all countries, and by the transport workers' organizations in the first place.

Recalling the French seamen's action in the Spanish civil war, when they had refused to supply anything to Franco, but had delivered goods to the Loyalists, the speaker said that their attitude to-day was just the same. In March, the French National Trade Union Centre had appealed to the transport workers to hold up all transport with Spain, and the French Government had subsequently closed the Spanish frontier.

As an organization of the workers, the speaker continued, the I.T.F. had to take its decisions in complete independence, and, to be effective,

the action its proposed should be universally applied. This was not the case ; the trade being carried on with Spain was supplying Franco with the means of existence. They had to apply to this last bastion of fascism in Europe the same measures as those taken during the war to crush Hitlerism and fascism by military might. Trading with Franco was giving new blood to his monstrous régime and fortifying it afresh. If things continued in this way, it would sooner or later be forgotten how Franco had helped Hitler and Mussolini with all the means at his disposal, and that there were even then war criminals who had found refuge in Spain.

All organizations were represented in the Congress and it was up to them to take their decision.

THE PRESIDENT, before taking the vote, pointed out that adoption of a resolution like the one proposed by the French delegation would be against the rules of the World Federation, were the I.T.F. integrated into it. The PRESIDENT proposed to take first the Executive's resolution and then the French motion, but there was some misunderstanding, as French delegates had not understood the President's statement, made in English.

MR. EHLERS (French Seamen) pointed out that the vote should be taken first on the French amendment, and then, if it were rejected, on the Executive's resolution.

This procedure being adopted, there were 29 votes in favour of the amendment and 45 against. The Executive's resolution was then CARRIED UNANIMOUSLY.

RESOLUTION ON SPAIN

This Congress, meeting in Zürich on the fiftieth anniversary of the foundation of the I.T.F., and having heard a report on conditions in Spain, views with pain and indignation the continuation in that country of the Franco regime.

Seven years have passed since General Franco marched to power over the dead bodies of the valiant defenders of democracy, and still the Spanish people is in bondage to a regime of terror which was born of and is a continuation of, those of Mussolini and Hitler, a regime which has been responsible for the imprisonment, torture and murder of millions of victims whose only crime was their love of freedom and democracy.

The Spanish railwaymen's, transport workers' and seamen's trade unions were always staunch and loyal supporters of the I.T.F., and always ready to do their duty and meet their obligations, and the Congress therefore feels a special responsibility towards them, and appreciates the moral and material help afforded by the I.T.F. to the Spanish refugees during their captivity in concentration camps in 1939.

The Congress believes that the persistence of the Franco regime in Spain at present is a threat to world security and a hindrance to the reconstruction of Europe and the restoration of normal peace-time conditions, as well as a danger to democracy and an affront to humanity.

It therefore welcomes the decision of the W.F.T.U. to ask national trade union centres to urge their governments to break off diplomatic relations with Spain, and asks all organizations affiliated to the I.T.F. to assist their national centres in bringing pressure to bear on governments in support of

this initiative, urging them to break off economic as well as diplomatic relations.

The Congress hopes that the Security Council, after hearing the report of the Committee appointed to consider the Spanish problem, will take drastic steps to put an end to the Franco regime, and it assures that Committee of the unqualified co-operation of the transport workers of the world in the implementation of any action they might recommend.

Meanwhile the Congress approves the prompt action of the Management Committee of the I.T.F. in taking steps to ascertain the volume of trade with Spain, and the practical effects likely to flow from a decision to declare an international boycott of that country, and authorizes the Executive Committee to enter into contact with the organizations directly concerned, consider with them the action which might be taken to achieve the desired end, and in agreement with them come to such decisions as the circumstances may require.

SEVENTH SESSION

Saturday, May 11th, 9.30 a.m.

THE PRESIDENT opened the meeting with greetings to MR. BERNASCONI, Secretary of the Swiss National Trade Union Centre.

Road Transport and Tramway Section

MR. GARCIAS, as rapporteur for the Road Transport and Tramway Section, said that delegates had already received the report of the meeting held on Wednesday morning of the road transport workers. He only had one addition to make, concerning the organization of air transport workers. Very little had been done so far to organize these workers. In France, they were glad to note, the organization was more than 90 per cent strong, covering all grades of workers, from cleaning staffs to engineers and pilots. These organizations had been asked to supply a detailed report on their conditions of work and collective agreements, and this report would be sent in to the I.T.F. and distributed to other countries. Air transport had a great future and the I.T.F. would have to play a part among the workers concerned.

The speaker concluded by asking Congress to adopt the report, which he and Tofahrn had drafted and then submitted to the Chairman of the Committee.

THE PRESIDENT suggested that Congress might take together the resolution submitted by the Road Transport and Tramway Section, and a short resolution concerning Mexico.

MR. VERCRUYCE (Belgian Tramwaymen) expressed regret that the employees on the tramways run as public services were not organized within the I.T.F., and said that he was going to draft a report on the results obtained in Belgium with regard to these workers. This report would be sent in to the I.T.F. when ready, with a request that other countries prepare a similar one, so that there might be co-ordination of the efforts made towards nationalization.

THE PRESIDENT pointed out that they all agreed with Vercruyce that the tramwaymen in public services should be in the I.T.F., but they could not force them in ; they could only try to bring them in. He then put to the vote the report regarding the Road Transport and Tramway Section, taken in conjunction with the resolution on behalf of the transport-workers in Mexico, which was ADOPTED.

REPORT OF THE ROAD TRANSPORT AND TRAMWAY SECTION

The Tramway and Road Transport Section met on Wednesday morning under the chairmanship of Comrade HELGESSON. Comrade TOFAHRN, representing the Secretariat, explained, in a short introductory speech, that while the circumstances prevailing during the last few years did not allow of direct contacts and discussions between affiliated organizations, the Secretariat had nevertheless had its eye on the problems affecting the Section. The first contacts had taken place on the occasion of the meeting of the Inland Transport Committee of the I.L.O., in London in December 1945. The Secretariat of the I.T.F. had arranged for a preparatory meeting of workers' delegates belonging to affiliated

organizations. The whole of the workers' group had followed the line laid down by the I.T.F. group, and if the I.L.O. Committee had done useful work, this was to be attributed exclusively to the initiative and push of the workers' group.

Comrade DEAKIN, General Secretary of the British Transport and General Workers' Union, also emphasized the importance of the I.L.O. Committee, both in the light of the work already done at the meeting in London and that which remained to be done in the future. He also drew attention to the report on the organization of European transport, which suggested the setting up of a European Transport Authority. He asked that the study of the question should be continued, for the purpose of amplifying and crystallizing the idea that underlay the report. He went on to explain the road and passenger transport position in the United Kingdom, and the improvements that had been secured by trade union action. He said that the British Government was preparing legislative and administrative measures aiming at further improvements, particularly a system of co-ordination and nationalization of certain branches of transport.

Comrade VERCRUYCE, of the Belgian Tramwaymen's Union, pointed out that the transport situation, like the general situation, was evolving so rapidly that our pre-war programmes of action had already been left behind. He thought it necessary that the trade unions should adapt themselves just as rapidly to the new situation. They should formulate their social demands and take steps to achieve them, bearing always in mind the needs of users of transport and the public in general, and in particular striving energetically for the nationalization of all public transport undertakings.

Comrade GARCIAS, General Secretary of the French Transport Workers' Federation, recalled the suggestions put forward at the I.L.O. Conference, particularly the two most important ones upon which agreement had been reached between the representatives of the Governments, employers and workers, i.e. :

- (1) General application of the Geneva Convention of 1939 on working hours in road transport ;
- (2) Generalization of the system of collective agreements negotiated between the recognized trade unions and the employers' associations.

He considered that the decisions of the Conference were useful instruments of which all unions could make considerable use, either in approaching their governments or in their negotiations with employers.

Garcias went on to give particulars of the situation in his own country, where collective agreements were in force in all districts, and were for the most part respected. His organization had drafted a national agreement for the tramway industry and another for the remaining branches of road transport, and negotiations were already in preparation. As regards nationalization, the problem presented different aspects from one country to another, according to the political and economic situation. In this connection it was also necessary to take into consideration the extent to which the industry was concentrated : where concentration has reached an advanced stage nationalization is easy, but where it is in the hands of small men it becomes a very complex problem. The air transport industry was a growing one, and the I.T.F. should give it close attention. In France it was nationalized, and the personnel, including engineers and

pilots, was organized to the extent of between 95 and 100 per cent in the Transport Workers' Federation, and had a very interesting national agreement.

Comrade LAAN, from Holland, said that in his country two-thirds of the means of transport by road had been destroyed, while of what remains only a part is usable. His organization had succeeded in securing a national agreement covering the multitude of small organizations, which numbered about 15,000 before the war. He suggested the holding of regional conferences for the consideration of certain questions.

Comrade CANINI, of the Italian Railwaymen's Union, supported Comrade Verucryce's proposal to draw up a programme of social demands, and asked that special conferences should be arranged for employees of tramway and local railway undertakings. He drew attention to experience in his country with the running of transport undertakings by the workers on a co-operative basis.

Comrade HELGESSON, President of the Swedish Transport Workers' Union, mentioned that his union had among its members a considerable number of civil aviation workers, and had signed collective agreements regulating their working conditions.

Comrades WINTER, of the Danish Transport Workers, and KLAUSEN, of the Norwegian Transport Workers, described the endeavours made in their countries to avoid that the workers should bear the cost of competition between transport undertakings.

Comrade TOFAHRN, summing up the discussions, drew from them the following conclusions, which were approved by the meeting :

(1) There is a considerable need for information, classified by industry, about machinery for negotiation between trade unions and transport undertakings, as well as about conciliation and arbitration machinery. The information is needed not so much for the purpose of making these institutions more uniform as for allowing comparisons to be made which will suggest possible improvements. The I.L.O. has undertaken an enquiry into industrial relations, as a result of a decision of the Inland Transport Committee, and the I.T.F. will draw its attention to the desire that the work should be hastened, and classified by industry.

(2) There is also considerable interest for information about the details of the nationalization undertaken in certain countries, particularly the United Kingdom and France, and also Czechoslovakia.

(3) The Section considers that it is desirable to start a campaign for the ratification of the 1939 Convention on hours of work in road transport. This instrument is not a perfect one, but its application would improve conditions for many workers in most countries.

(4) In many countries working conditions differ between private transport undertakings and those which are publicly owned. A study should be made of means which have been employed, with greater or lesser success, to get rid of these pernicious differences arising out of the thirst for private profit. The solution of the problem is probably to be found in many different directions. The generalization of collective agreements is one : a system of licences and control such as is planned in Norway another. International conventions regulating things other than working hours might also be an aid in reaching the goal.

(5) The question of the co-ordination of transport should also be studied once more, as experience has shown that the most visible results

of the measures in this direction which have been adopted in some countries has been the promotion of private rather than public interests.

(6) As regards Comrade Deakin's proposal that the problem of European transport should be given further consideration, it is necessary that unions interested in this problem should study it in the light of the setting up of the European Central Inland Transport Organization by some of the United Nations. They should communicate their views on the subject to the Secretariat of the I.T.F., so that it may consider whether it is desirable to arrange for further discussions.

* * *

Discussions were not confined to these essentially trade questions. Comrade DE JAGER, representative of the Mexican Tramwaymen's Union, appealed on behalf of that organization, which is struggling against a very considerable capitalist force, SOFINA, a Belgian trust, which exploits both workers and public in a series of countries: Argentina, Egypt, Turkey, China, Tunis, France and Belgium. Our Mexican comrades need moral support, and in particular would like the Congress to back publicly their struggle to prevent the repeal of the decree nationalizing the tramways in Mexico City. The Section is wholeheartedly behind these comrades, and asks the Congress to adopt a resolution to this effect, to be communicated to the Union and the President of the United States of Mexico.

Our Mexican comrades complain that diplomatic representatives of certain foreign countries have made representations to the Mexican Government in support of SOFINA. The Section asks the Executive Committee to enquire into the matter and, should the results confirm the accusations made by our Mexican comrades, take suitable steps to stop the support given to the trust.

The strikes which led to the decree nationalizing the Mexico trams exhausted the Union's funds, and it has indicated that it needs financial help. The Section would be glad if the Executive would give benevolent consideration to this appeal. As the Union is a small one, the amount involved would probably not be large.

Comrade ZEIN-EL-DIN, the Egyptian delegate, stated that his Government had recently nationalized the trams in Alexandria, and he asked that the I.T.F. should urge that the power thus obtained should be used by the Government to improve working conditions and show itself a better employer than the former capitalist owner. The Section gladly endorses this request, and hopes that the Congress will instruct the Secretariat to act accordingly.

The same delegate mentioned that a recent Egyptian Act relating to the co-ordination of road and rail transport had led to a reduction in opportunities of employment for motor drivers. He asked that the I.T.F. should urge the Egyptian Government not to suppress freedom of competition. The Section replied that for reasons of principle the I.T.F. could not accede to the request, but that it would be prepared to support a movement for improving the working conditions of drivers of motor cars and lorries, who are very much worse off than the railwaymen.

* * *

The Section also discussed I.T.F. machinery. The tramwaymen asked for a special conference for their group in the near future. The Secretary

replied that organizations had only to raise the questions which interested them, and help the Secretariat to collect the necessary information, and authority would be sought from the Executive Committee to call the conference desired.

The Dutch Transport Workers' Union asked that arrangements should be made for holding regional conferences of the unions in neighbouring countries. The Secretariat replied that if the organizations concerned would inform the Secretariat of their wishes, every assistance would be given in the organization of such conferences, and everything done to make them a success.

The French and Swedish organizations, which mentioned that they had managed to organize a considerable number of civil aviation workers, urged, with the support of others, that the problems of this group, and particularly their national and international organization, should receive proper attention. The Section expressed the hope that the Secretariat and Executive would be asked by the Congress to intensify their efforts in this direction.

All who attended the meeting were happy to renew the links that had united them in the past, and also for the opportunity to get at first hand much interesting information about the development of social conditions in their industry in other countries. They now cherish the hope that the Secretariat will be able to undertake without delay the work of preparing for further meetings in the not too far distant future, and of distributing the information necessary to go more deeply into the peculiar problems of the tramwaymen and road transport workers.

The Rapporteur,

CH. GARCIAS.

RESOLUTION ON MEXICAN TRAMWAYS

The International Transport Workers' Congress meeting in Zürich from 6th to 11th May, having heard a report from Comrade DE JAGER, delegate of the Mexican Tramwaymen's Union, assures the Mexican tramwaymen, and all other transport workers in that country, of its warmest feelings of brotherhood and solidarity.

Together with the Mexican tramwaymen, it denounces the international tramway trust "SOFINA" which, in all parts of the world, exploits the tramway workers, the travelling public, and the workers engaged in the building of rolling stock and the production of electric power.

To such governments and communities as have already reduced the power of "SOFINA" by taking over the undertakings it operated, the Congress offers its congratulations, and urges them to keep to and advance further along this path, and to resist all pressure that may be brought to bear on them in favour of this trust.

The Congress also urges the governments to show themselves to be better employers than the trust, by improving the conditions of employment of the workers transferred to their service.

REPORT OF MEETING OF RHINE NAVIGATION REPRESENTATIVES, HELD IN CONJUNCTION WITH ZÜRICH CONGRESS

At the meeting of representatives of personnel engaged in the Rhine navigation of Belgium, Holland, France and Switzerland, held on May 8th, it was noted with regret that the Conference which was to have been held in Basle in April to discuss the interests of this personnel, had not materialized. The contacts between the I.T.F. Secretariat and some of the unions concerned had proved to be insufficient, so that it was not possible to obtain the data upon which a common policy for Rhine shipping would have to be based.

The meeting decided to request the Secretariat of the I.T.F. to take the following steps with a view to bringing about a uniform regulation of conditions for the whole of Rhine navigation and averting the dangers which in some of the countries concerned threaten the standards already secured :

(1) To collect at the earliest possible date the necessary social and economic data concerning the wages and working conditions of Rhine navigation personnel.

(2) To make as early as possible further preparations with a view to a conference of representatives of organizations catering for Rhine navigation personnel, including representatives of personnel domiciled in Germany, which conference shall frame uniform provisions concerning the wages and conditions of this personnel regardless of nationality.

REHABILITATION OF TRANSPORT

MR. BORGHESI (Italian Railwaymen), speaking in Italian, explained that the resolution on the rehabilitation of the transport industry was intended to apply not only to Italy, but to all countries that had suffered war devastation and did not have at their disposal the material and means necessary for reconstruction. Italy had suffered so much from war devastation that it was quite impossible for her to restore previous conditions without help from other countries. That was why they were submitting the resolution, asking that the promises made by the United Nations for rehabilitation should be kept. The restoration of transport facilities was a primary condition for the restoration of economy as a whole.

THE PRESIDENT then took the vote on the resolution, which was unanimously ADOPTED.

RESOLUTION ON REHABILITATION OF TRANSPORT INDUSTRY

The Congress of the I.T.F., having considered the problem of the rehabilitation of the transport industry :

(1) *Whereas the industry must function and evolve in step with the economic and social requirements of each country, as essential factor in the production and distribution of wealth and as instrument of co-operation between peoples.*

(2) *Whereas the transport industries of a number of countries have suffered serious damage which it is imperative to repair with the least possible delay.*

(3) *Whereas the resources of raw materials, equipment and goods exchangeable for raw materials and equipment are in almost all these countries insufficient for an adequate and speedy rehabilitation of their transport industries.*

(4) *Whereas the transport workers of all these countries are consequently deprived of the necessary means of reconstructing an essential industry.*

Declares :

(a) *That there is an urgent need to establish a reconstruction plan for the whole of the ravaged countries in accordance with the recommendations of the Committee of Industrial Rehabilitation Experts of U.N.R.R.A. and the Inland Transport Committee of the International Labour Organization.*

(b) *That there is an imperative need for all organizations affiliated with the I.T.F. to undertake concerted action to convince all governments of the United Nations of the need of framing and executing a plan allocating raw materials and equipment according to the requirements of ravaged countries and of granting all these countries long and even very long-term credits for reconstruction purposes.*

Invites the organizations concerned to inform the I.T.F. within two months as to the extent and the nature of these requirements, and

Instructs the Secretariat of the I.T.F. to make forthwith urgent representations to U.N.O. with a view to the framing and execution of a reconstruction plan for all the war-ravaged countries.

* * *

While waiting for the report on the Rules, The President called on MR. FLADEBY, of Norway.

Norwegian Presentation Address

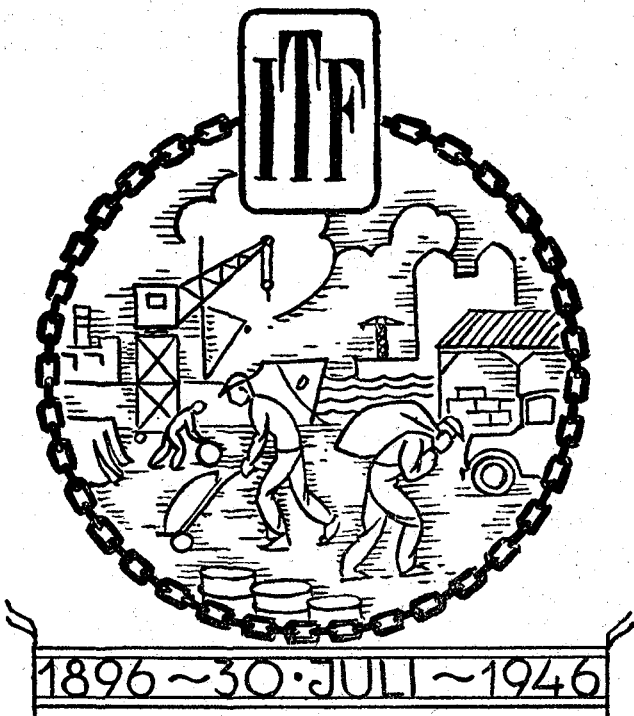
Speaking in Norwegian, MR. FLADEBY (Norwegian Transport Workers) recalled that the Norwegian Transport Workers' Union had belonged to the I.T.F. for forty-seven years, and wanted to show its deep gratitude for the excellent collaboration they had enjoyed over this whole period. He therefore transmitted to the Congress a special address of thanks, which he read, and which had the support also of the Norwegian Unions of Seamen, Railwaymen and Drivers. This address, reproduced on pages 231-232, was received with applause.

Here is an English translation of the Norwegian text of the splendid leather-bound illuminated address presented by the Norwegian Transport Workers' Union :

On behalf of the Norwegian Transport Workers' Union, we present our greetings and homage to the International Transport Workers' Federation on the occasion of its fiftieth anniversary.

Transport workers occupy a key position in society and are destined always to be in the forefront of the struggle of the international labour movement throughout the world. The work of the I.T.F. has consequently been of decisive importance to the progress of the workers in all countries.

We express the hope and conviction that the fundamental and important work accomplished under the leadership of the I.T.F. will be



1896 **ITR** 1946

INTERNASJONAL
TRANSPORTARBEIDER
FEDERASJON

• • •

DÅ VEGNE AV NORSK TRANSPORT-
ARBEIDERFORBUND • FREMBARER
VI VÅR HILSEN OG HYLLEST TIL INTER-
NASJONAL TRANSPORTARBEIDER-
FEDERASJON • ANLEDNING • ORGANI-
SASJONENS • 50 ÅRS • JURILEUM •
TRANSPORTARBEIDERNE • INNTAR • EN
NØKKESTILLING • I SAMFUNNSMA-
SKINERET • OG TRANSPORTARBEIDERNE
OVER HELE VERDEN • VI • ALLTID • MATTE
STA • FORRESTE • LINJE • I • DEN • INTER-
NASJONALE • ARBEIDERBEVEGELSE
KAMP • I • T • F • S • VIRKSOMHET • HAR
DERFOR VÆRT AV AVGJØRENDE • BE-
TJENDNING • FOR • ARBEIDERNES • FREM-
MARSJ • VERDEN • OVER •

DUTTALER VÅRT HÅP • OG VÅR
FORVISSNING • OM • AT • DEI • GRUNN-
LEGGENDE • OG • BETYDNINGSFULLE
ARBEIDE • SOM • I • T • F • HAR • STÅTT • I •
SPISSEN • FOR • GJENNOMDISSE • ÅR • MA-
KØRES • VIDERE • OG SÅ • I • FREMTIDEN •
TIL • GAVN • FOR • TRANSPORTARBEIDERNE
SEIV • OG • FOR • HELE • DEN • INTERNASJONAL-
LE • ARBEIDERBEVEGELSE •
I • DET • VI • TAKKER • FOR • DET • GODE
I • SAMARBEIDE • GJENNOM • ALLE • ÅR •
BER • VI • I • T • F • OVERBRINGE • VÅR • HILSEN
TIL • VÅRE • KAMERATER • OG • KAMPELLER
OVER • HELE • VERDEN • MED • ØNSKE • OM
FORTSATT • FREMGANG • OG • HELL • I •
KAMPEN • FOR • FELLES • SAK •

FOR NORSK TRANSPORTARBEIDERFORBUND



H. Huseby
Ors. Rhemann
Ed. P. ...
L. ...
...

continued in the future for the benefit of the transport workers in particular and the international labour movement as a whole.

In thanking the I.T.F. for the splendid co-operation of all these years, we request it to convey our greetings to our comrades and fellow fighters all over the world and our wishes for their continued prosperity and success in the struggle for the common cause.

For the Norwegian Transport Workers' Union

H. FLADEBY

M. G. KJONIKSEN

LEIF S. OLSEN

OLAF ASKELAND

EDV. PAULSEN

HARRY KLAUSEN

MR. OLDENBROEK (Acting General Secretary) returned hearty thanks for the beautiful address which the Norwegian comrades had prepared, in celebration of the I.T.F.'s jubilee, and even more for the thought which had inspired it, of showing in this way their allegiance to the international organization. It had been quite unexpected, but they knew that their Scandinavian friends had in general ways of saying things not by words but by deeds. Such appreciation could hardly be better expressed than by the Scandinavian workers, who had played such a great part in the I.T.F., and he would ask them, on behalf of the Congress and of the Executive, to accept their warmest thanks for this very kind gesture.

THE PRESIDENT, while waiting for the French text of the next resolution, then took the opportunity of thanking the Swiss comrades for the beautiful trip to the South of Switzerland, which they had all enjoyed so much, including the very good dinner. He offered thanks at the same time to those responsible for the dinner and entertainment offered to delegates on Tuesday evening, and to thank the Swiss comrades again for all they had done to make the Congress a success.

Full Employment and Social Security

MR. VERCRUYCE (Belgian Tramwaymen), as rapporteur on Full Employment and Social Security, emphasized how timely the report was, since they were unfortunately already up against the consequences of the war—poverty and threatening unemployment. Full employment was the basic problem for the working class, and its assurance would mean the disappearance of the spectres of poverty and hunger.

The present economic system was bound to lead to competition, and with it the exploitation of labour. After 1914 they had had over-production ; even Churchill, in his last speech, had implicitly admitted that over-production had produced misery between 1914 and 1940, this was the first time that fact had been admitted by a protagonist of the capitalist regime.

In the present post-war period the menace of over-production was even greater, totalitarian war having so much augmented the industrial potential that reconversion to peace-time economy would produce an immense quantity of goods. If the workers did not take care, therefore, they would have no chance of enjoying prosperity, but would be plunged at once into suffering and hunger.

To those who wanted to capitalize on mass misery for revolutionary aims, he would point out that mass misery had given the best backing to Hitlerism and fascism. After the liberation, they had hoped that the common suffering which had been endured would have strengthened

trade unionism, but these hopes had been disappointed. Individuals and groups had turned against each other, and there were again splits and weakness in the labour movement; there was the same tendency to forget the fundamental truth that the unity which should be created within the trade union movement should have the sole aim of safeguarding the workers from pauperization and exploitation.

They had been disappointed in their hopes, but it was still not too late to put up a united front to world capitalism so that the workers might not be made to bear the burdensome results of competition. They should aim at establishing a Labour Charter, of which the basic principle should be full employment, with measures to remove the possibility of unemployment—the forty hour week, long holidays, retirement on pension at the earliest possible age. The problem could be solved, but to do this would call first of all for harmony among the workers themselves, so that the forces of trade unionism could be lined up against the powers of capitalism. They would have to unite all their efforts if they wanted to attain peace for the world and well-being for the workers.

THE PRESIDENT, having put to the vote the resolution on Full Employment and Social Security, which was ADOPTED UNANIMOUSLY, proceedings were interrupted for a brief meeting of the Executive Committee.

RESOLUTION ON FULL EMPLOYMENT AND SOCIAL SECURITY

Whereas the period between the two world wars was one of recurring economic crises, attended by mass unemployment and misery for large sections of the world's population ;

Whereas the demoralization resulting therefrom was a major factor in the rise of reactionary movements such as fascism and national socialism ; and

Whereas a lasting peace cannot be expected unless the economic needs of the peoples are satisfied and their freedoms guaranteed ;

The Congress of the I.T.F., meeting in Zürich from 6th to 11th May 1946, considers that it is a paramount duty of the trade union movement everywhere to fight for full employment and social security, and emphasizes the need for international co-ordination of efforts and mutual assistance if these objects are to be realized.

In planning the action to be undertaken the following points, in particular, should be given due weight :

(1) *That the increase of rationalization and technical progress will necessitate a general shortening of working hours, and that the forty-hour week is therefore an immediate aim to be pursued in countries in which it has not yet been generalized.*

(2) *That as production increases and more man-power becomes available, the school-leaving age should be raised, and that of retirement from industry lowered, with provision for an adequate pension.*

(3) *That the planning of full employment, cannot be left to private enterprise, but must be a subject of public action and control.*

(4) *That the workers' trade unions should be consulted in all that relates to these matters, and given representation on all official and semi-official bodies concerned with them.*

The Congress pledges its full support to the trade unions in countries which are in an early stage of trade union and industrial development, and promises them its assistance to enable them to achieve far-reaching improvements in the working conditions of their members, for the double purpose of giving them a decent standard of living and preventing their being used as a lever to reduce the standards of the workers in the more industrially developed countries.

Finally the Congress emphasizes the need for constant co-operation between all countries in the world, pointing out that trade relations can no longer be regarded as fundamentally a means of making private profits, but also, and primarily, as a means for satisfying the growing needs of the population and achieving full employment.

The Congress consequently urges the Social and Economic Council of the U.N.O. and the International Labour Office, each in their several spheres, to give the earliest possible attention to these matters in the light of the above considerations.

Constitutional Committee

MR. HALLWORTH (British Locomotivemen), as rapporteur of the Constitutional Committee, expressed the hope that Congress would find in the report submitted a fair summary of the discussion which had taken place in the Committee. Wide divergence of views had made the work of the Committee rather difficult, and it had not been possible to incorporate everything that everyone had wanted. They had arrived at certain recommendations, trying to lessen the gap between different points of view. But it was the Committee's unanimous feeling that certain rules could not be altered without impairing the I.T.F.'s efficiency.

Having offered thanks to Tofahrn for his assistance to the Committee, he expressed confidence that Congress would adopt the report unanimously.

The Report of the Constitutional Committee being then put to the Congress by the PRESIDENT, it was UNANIMOUSLY ADOPTED.

REPORT OF CONSTITUTIONAL COMMITTEE.

The countries invited to appoint a member to the Constitutional Committee appointed the following :

De Bruyne (Belgium), Frey (France), Hallworth (Great Britain), Vejre (Denmark), Weigl (Austria), Kievit (Holland).

The Committee agreed that it had powers only to examine amendments considered and submitted by affiliated unions and to make recommendations with regard to such amendments. It was further agreed that the Committee had the right to suggest amendments of style on its own responsibility.

No amendments were proposed by affiliated unions nor were any alterations suggested by members of the Committee to the Rules 1, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14 or 15.

The amendment proposed by the Finnish Railwaymen's Union to the effect that only organizations affiliated to the recognized trade union centre of their country were eligible for affiliation with the I.T.F. was considered at length. Most members of the Committee agreed with the

principle, because as a rule it would have the effect of making eligible for affiliation only organizations that were national in scope, and it did not seem desirable to make the I.T.F. consist of a host of smaller organizations. It would further close the door of international affiliation to organizations which fail to make their contribution to the unity of the trade union movement in their own country. It was further considered that no two organizations in the same industry which are fundamentally opposed to each other should be eligible for affiliation to the I.T.F., and the Finnish amendment would have that effect too.

However, in countries where industry and trade unionism are still in the early phase of their development, and in certain other countries where there exists more than one national trade union centre, conditions are such that the amendment would preclude from affiliation with the I.T.F. a number of transport workers' organizations whose co-operation in international trade union work must be desired for their own benefit and that of the I.T.F. itself. Therefore, the Committee came unanimously to the conclusion that the amendment was impracticable and that the desired object should be achieved by other means, viz., the experience and diplomacy of the Executive Committee. It was decided to recommend Congress to reject the amendment to Rule II, but to amend Rule XVI which deals with the procedure for admission of organizations applying for membership.

The Committee thought that it should be the rule that the Executive Committee, when examining applications for membership, should consult the affiliated organizations in the country concerned and that in those cases where the Executive Committee decision or recommendation to the General Council is at variance with the desires of the affiliated organizations so consulted, the latter should have the right to state their position to the General Council. Consequently, the Committee propose that Paragraph 1 of Rule XVI should read as follows :

“ Applications for membership of the Federation shall be submitted in writing to the Executive Committee which shall have power to accept or reject them after consultation and advice of the organizations of the same country affiliated with the I.T.F. When the Executive Committee thinks fit, the decision shall be taken by the General Council before whom the consulted organizations may, in case of disagreement, state their position. An organization whose application has been rejected may re-submit its application in writing to the Congress.”

Paragraph (h) of Rule III was slightly redrafted in order to clarify an absurdity which seemed to exist in the French text. The Committee recommends that this paragraph read as follows :

“ (h) To accept without payment of entrance fees all individual members of another organization affiliated to the Federation who, by reason of their transfer from one industry to another or from one country to another, must change their trade union affiliation.”

Attention is drawn to the erratum to Paragraph 6 of Rule V, which was circulated together with the text of the Draft Rules.

The Committee had before it an amendment to Paragraph 2 of Rule XVII, submitted by the Dutch Transport Workers' Union. This paragraph provides that the decision to dissolve the I.T.F. requires a majority

of three-quarters of the affiliated membership. The Dutch organization wished the introduction of the additional safeguard "and at least two-thirds of the number of affiliated organizations."

The purpose of the amendment was to prevent a few big organizations from dissolving the I.T.F. against the will of the larger number of small organizations. The possible effect of the amendment could be the reverse: namely that a number of small organizations with a relatively small total membership could prevent dissolution if such a course was deemed necessary by the bulk of the larger and medium-sized organizations. The discussion showed that this was a question that could not be settled by a form of words in the Rules. If the organizations decide, at a given moment, to dissolve the I.T.F., or if they cannot secure a majority for that decision, to withdraw from it, the power and efficiency of the I.T.F. cannot be safeguarded by the provision suggested by the Dutch Union. The Committee, therefore, suggests to Congress rejection of the amendment.

A. HALLWORTH,
Rapporteur.

It was furthermore AGREED that the new rules should go into effect forthwith (see Annex IV).

Election of General Council

MR. OLDENBROEK (Acting General Secretary) then explained that the election of the General Council would have to take place in accordance with the new Rules. Congress was, of course, at liberty to make proposals regarding the composition of the groups of countries as recommended by the Executive, although they hoped the recommendation would be accepted.

As set out under the rules, any country with a membership of more than 100,000 formed a national group. Countries having a lower membership were combined into sections, where possible, for the purpose of electing one or more members of the General Council. The speaker then read out the Executive's proposal, as follows, with the number of substitutes always equal to the number of members:

- | | |
|--|-----------|
| 1. Austria and Switzerland | 2 members |
| 2. Belgium, Holland and Luxemburg.. | 2 members |
| 3. Denmark, Finland, Iceland and
Norway | 2 members |
| 4. Sweden | 1 member |
| 5. France | 2 members |
| 6. Great Britain | 3 members |
| 7. Italy | 2 members |
| 8. Canada | 1 member |
| 9. Near and Middle East | 1 member |
| 10. Spain | 1 member |

There would appear to be no difficulty about electing these members at once, the speaker went on, but there was some difficulty with regard to

countries which were either not represented or which, though represented, would have to consult other bodies in their countries or in their area. These were :

Czechoslovakia	.. .. .	1 member
Latin America	.. .. .	1 member
United States	.. .. .	1 or 2 members*

* Depending on the final decision of the American Railwaymen ; if they decided to join the I.T.F., the U.S.A. would be given 2 seats.

There were three other groups :

Australia and New Zealand	.. .. .	1 member
India and Kenya	.. .. .	1 member
South Africa and Rhodesia	.. .. .	1 member

The Executive wanted to give representation to these far-off countries, but this would be extremely difficult for financial reasons. They therefore wanted instructions from Congress that appointment on the part of these countries could only take place if suitable arrangements could be made with them with regard to the payment of expenses for attendance.

THE PRESIDENT thereupon put the Executive's proposal, as submitted by the Acting General Secretary, to Congress, which AGREED. After names of persons proposed for election had been sent up to the Chair, MR. OLDENBROEK read them out, as follows :

Austria and Switzerland	.. .. .	R. Bratschi V. Uebeleis
Belgium, Holland, Luxemburg	.. .. .	O. Becu G. Joustra
Denmark, Finland, Norway, Iceland	.. .. .	I. Haugen P. Paulsen
Sweden	.. .. .	S. Christiansson
France	.. .. .	C. Garcias E. Ehlers
Great Britain	.. .. .	J. Benstead A. Deakin C. Jarman
Italy	.. .. .	E. Gnudi G. Canini
Canada	.. .. .	A. S. Simpson
Near and Middle East	.. .. .	M. J. Zein el Din

The nomination for Spain was still outstanding.

MR. JARMAN proposed, on behalf of the British organizations, Comrade Gómez, amidst applause.

MR. GÓMEZ, speaking in Spanish, said he had intended to thank the Congress for the honour done to his country by giving it a place on the General Council, and to suggest that the seat be filled by the transport-workers' organizations which were fighting underground in Spain and had wanted to send a delegate to the Congress. That delegate had already reached Paris, but visa difficulties had prevented his attendance in Zürich. MR. JARMAN's proposal had forestalled his intentions ; he did not feel entitled to refuse the nomination, but, if it were accepted, he would try to get it ratified by the organizations in Spain, as otherwise he would not have sufficient authority to represent them.

Proposals of Affiliated Organizations

While waiting for the list of delegates to be typed out for voting, MR. OLDENBROEK (Acting General Secretary) ran through the proposals submitted by affiliated organizations (see page 148). Two dealing with the Constitution had already been dealt with, as well as the resolution concerning the composition of the General Council, since the new Constitution met the wishes of the Swedish Railwaymen. The adoption of the resolution on full employment and social security meant the withdrawal of the statement made by the Belgian Tramwaymen.

The Swedish Seamen's Union and the Scandinavian Federation asked that all I.T.F. publications be issued in a Scandinavian language. The Executive agreed, in view of the importance of the organizations concerned, and the necessary steps would be taken to make this possible. It might not be possible for all publications in the near future, but they would do their utmost to satisfy the wishes of the Scandinavian friends, which they considered would be in the interests of the I.T.F. also.

A proposal from the Australian Maritime Conference for a regional conference in the Pacific area had also met with favourable consideration by the Executive, which would go into the possibilities, in conjunction with the organizations in the area concerned. Two members of the Executive had been instructed to get into touch with the authors of the proposal, whom they hoped to meet at the Seattle International Maritime Conference.

Election of Secretaries

THE PRESIDENT then asked for nominations for the General Secretary and Assistant General Secretary. OLDENBROEK and TOFAHRN were proposed and unanimously accepted for these two functions respectively. LONDON was proposed and ADOPTED as headquarters. THE PRESIDENT proposed that the Auditors be elected by the British organizations and this was AGREED.

Date and Place of Next Congress

THE PRESIDENT mentioned Venice, Paris, Stockholm and also Madrid, should Spain be free by the date, as places which had been proposed. As it was rather difficult for that Congress to decide where the next one should be held, he suggested the matter might be left over to the Executive for decision. This was AGREED TO.

THE PRESIDENT then announced that the British delegation intended to set up a Management Committee consisting of BENSTEAD, DEAKIN, JARMAN and GALLIE.

Affiliation Fees

CONGRESS AGREED that the rate of affiliation fees should remain as it was pending the final settlement of the I.T.F.'s relations with the W.F.T.U.

Election of Executive Committee

With a view to the election of seven members, MR. OLDENBROEK (General Secretary elect) read out the list of nominations and asked if there were any withdrawals. Mr. Deakin and Mr. Jarman withdrew in favour of Mr. Benstead. Messrs. Paulsen, Ehlers and Canini also withdrew, leaving the list of nominations as follows : Bratschi, Benstead, Gómez, Christiansson, Joustra, Garcias, Becu, Zein el Din, Haugen and Gnudi. These names would be typed out on a voting paper and each union would receive as many voting papers as it had votes.

Congress adjourned for half an hour while the lists were prepared, having appointed Messrs. Binks, Soenstebly and Canini as scrutineers.

Reporting on the results of the election, when Congress again resumed, the General Secretary stated that 179 votes could have been cast, but only actually 175 had come in, of which two had to be declared null and void as they were spoiled. They would not in any case have affected the final vote, in which the figures were :

Bratschi	..	..	..	..	..	..	172
Gómez	..	..	..	..	..	..	167
Benstead	..	..	..	..	..	..	152
Christiansson	..	..	..	..	..	..	130
Joustra	..	..	..	..	..	..	122
Garcias	..	..	..	..	..	..	96
Becu	..	..	..	..	..	..	89

Election of any delegate required 86 votes, that being 50 per cent of the valid votes cast. The three who had failed to obtain enough votes were Haugen (66), Zein el Din (55) and Gnudi (52).

The speaker assured the General Council and the Executive that the Secretariat would assist them with all the power at its command. He pointed out that changes were rarely made in I.T.F. committees, largely because members enjoyed so much confidence that they were re-elected time and time again. He then paid a great tribute to Charles Lindley, who was retiring from the Executive and from the General Council. Lindley had rendered tremendous service in his more than fifty years membership of the international transport workers' movement. He had been one of the founders of the British National Union of Seamen ; he had helped in the establishment of organizations in many countries and had been the recognised leader of the Swedish transport workers for a great many years. He had wanted to resign prior to the Congress, and they were very grateful that he had not done so but had given further service. During the war, he had never been afraid of making dangerous journeys in order to represent the I.T.F., he had never been afraid to challenge the authorities in his own country when he thought them wrong. He had wanted to carry out the Federation's policy even in war-time and under extreme pressure.

Charles Lindley had seen incalculable changes come about. He had seen several revolutions in the field of transport since he had started to work in it in 1886. At that time, he could scarcely have anticipated that it would be possible to build up such an organization, since it must have

been difficult to visualize such a body, with representatives from all over the world. But the job had been done, and it would be hard for him to leave.

Turning to Comrade Lindley, the speaker expressed to him their deep appreciation and admiration for his work. They did not propose to leave it at that. The General Council would be meeting and would no doubt find an appropriate way of expressing their gratitude and of making it possible for him to continue his relations, though not in an executive capacity, with the I.T.F.

The speaker then expressed thanks for the confidence placed in him and assured Congress that he would do his best to prove worthy of it. Affiliated organizations might rest assured that they would be treated on an equal footing, with no distinctions made between large and small countries, or large and small organizations. Wherever comradeship was offered, it would receive a wholehearted response.

He then thanked the Swiss Reception Committee for the wonderful job they had done for the Congress, mentioning the names of Bratschi, Willfratt, Meyer and Schneider. Amid applause, he also offered thanks to the staff, which had worked both in the conference itself and behind the scenes.

The Congress had been a demonstration of good comradeship; they had always met one another with the desire to reach agreement and a common standpoint, and he felt that the I.T.F.'s first post-war congress had been an outstanding success.

THE PRESIDENT finally returned thanks for the appreciation shown to him, and said he would have many varied memories of the work done within the I.T.F. during the past fifty years, including hard struggles and much good comradeship. He felt relieved that he would not have the sorrowful duty of hauling down the I.T.F. flag when the I.T.F. should become a section of the World Federation.

With further thanks to delegates for their co-operation, he then declared the Congress closed.

ANNEX I

Item 4 on the Agenda

W.F.T.U. DECISIONS AFFECTING THE I.T.F.*

1. The question of the co-ordination of international trade union activities has been under discussion for a considerable number of years. The desire for co-ordination sprang from two motives : first, to promote the closest possible co-operation among the different organs of the International Trade Union Movement (at the time the I.F.T.U. and the I.T.S.—international trade secretariats) with a view to bringing about a common policy in all matters of a general nature, and second, to promote efficiency by the elimination of duplication and overlapping. The efforts made both before and during the war did not lead to any final result, although considerable progress was made during the war. With the foundation of the World Federation of Trade Unions the consultations between the I.F.T.U. and the I.T.S. ceased, in consequence whereof proposals which the I.T.F. had under consideration were never put forward.

2. When the Executive Committee of the I.T.F. met in London in November 1944, at a session attended also by a number of members and deputy members of the General Council, it was agreed, unanimously, but for the vote of one deputy General Council member, that the I.T.F., whilst prepared to take part in any scheme for closer co-operation and co-ordination, should not renounce its autonomy.

3. It is necessary to observe that in many quarters the desire for co-ordination was inspired not in the last instance by considerations of finance. Broadly speaking, the various organs of the International Trade Union Movement were not provided with the necessary financial means for carrying on large-scale activities. Of the larger International Trade Secretariats, the I.T.F. was the only one whose income, though still inadequate, allowed of international trade union work on anything like a full scale in the spheres of organization, framing of international programmes, participation in official international bodies, publication and research service, active support of unions involved in labour disputes, helping of victims of political persecution, and holding of periodical meetings. Not only were the unions affiliated with the I.T.F. prepared to pay an affiliation fee much higher than that operative in any of the other major I.T.S., but in addition they made on numerous occasions voluntary contributions for specific purposes. The income of the I.T.F. was consequently equal to that of the I.F.T.U. and at times even greater. It is natural that in these circumstances the I.T.F. saw the problem of co-ordination in a different light from several other I.T.S. : as it was once put, whereas other I.T.S. had nothing to lose, the I.T.F. had little if anything to gain. Nevertheless, ever conscious that the transport workers are a battalion of Labour's army, the I.T.F. did not stand aloof. It did, however, adopt the position that whatever structural changes should take place, the I.T.F. would require a full measure of autonomy and the possibility of performing its functions at least on the same scale as in the

*See also Memorandum of 31st July, 1945, which follows as Annex II.

past. Nor was it felt that a pooling of services (publication, research and translation) would in the case of the I.T.F. be beneficial either to the I.T.F. itself or to the Movement as a whole.

(4) In all the discussions on this question between the I.T.F. and the rest of the Movement, the Management Committee of the I.T.F., and later the Executive Committee and General Council, never lost sight of the fact that they lacked the power to enter into any building arrangements, and that the power of decision rested solely and alone with the Congress of the I.T.F. The I.T.F. is an independent organization which will not suffer a course of action to be prescribed to it from without, just as it has no desire to impose its own will on any outside organization. It must be clearly understood that the Congress of the I.T.F. is entirely free to come to its own decision, that it has not been committed in any way by its governing bodies.

5. It is perhaps not redundant to remind affiliated unions and delegates to the Zürich Congress that the I.T.F. has always tended to be an all-inclusive organization open to all bona fide trade unions of transport workers regardless of political or ideological tendencies and of race, creed or nationality, on condition that they are prepared to abide by the I.T.F.'s Constitution and to honour their obligations towards it. To this tolerance and desire to unite the transport workers of all countries in one International Federation may be attributed the outstanding results achieved in the sphere of organization : the I.T.F. had affiliated unions not only in Europe, but in all parts of the world, and if it had no such relations in a number of countries, it was not because these countries were barred from the I.T.F. by the terms of its Rules or its decisions, but because the organizations concerned either did not wish to seek or to continue affiliation with the I.T.F., or were forbidden to do so by reactionary legislation or by the injunctions of their governments.

6. At the World Trade Union Conference held in London in February 1945, both the I.F.T.U. and the I.T.S. were represented. This conference, primarily a gathering of National Trade Union Centres, was of an exploratory character and was designed to examine the possibility of creating an all-embracing world-wide Trade Union International. The question of creating Trade Departments within its structure was not discussed at this stage, but was broached on a committee which was set up by the conference. The preliminary discussions on the committee led to the inclusion of one representative of all the I.T.S. who was to act as their spokesman on the Administrative Committee. To this Administrative Committee had been assigned the task of preparing a further World Trade Union Conference as a prelude to a World Trade Union Congress. At the same time it was entrusted with the drafting of a Constitution for a new World Federation of Trade Unions. The Acting General Secretary of the I.T.F. was chosen as the representative of the combined I.T.S. on the said Administrative Committee.

7. In this connection it may be noted that owing to the war a considerable number of I.T.S. had discontinued their activities when the countries in which their headquarters were situated were overrun by German armies. In several cases their secretaries were arrested and deported to Germany on account of anti-Nazi activities ; others managed to escape but had to go into hiding. But the I.T.S. in less unfortunate

circumstances also found it extremely difficult to carry on, owing to the severance of normal communications and the fact that their normal field of activities was closed. In these circumstances it was hardly possible to ascertain the views of these other Secretariats with regard to the problem of international trade union structure and organization, and in consequence the position of the I.T.S. representative on the said Administrative Committee was not an easy one.

8. The Administrative Committee developed a plan of organization which aimed at the creation of a World Federation composed of National Trade Union Centres and would allow also of the affiliation of individual trade union organizations in special cases. The World Federation was further to constitute within its structure Trade Departments according to trades and industries. The national unions affiliated through their respective Trade Union Centres or individually were to be divided up among these Trade Departments. The creation of these Trade Departments was covered by Article 13 of the Constitution of the World Federation, the text of which as originally adopted by the Administrative Committee ran as follows :

(i) The General Council shall establish trade departments within the World Federation of Trade Unions for such trades or industries as it may determine. It shall be the function of the trade departments to deal with technical matters concerning their trades. In this sphere they shall enjoy full autonomy within the World Federation of Trade Unions but they shall have no power to make decisions or carry on activities in connection with matters of general policy, jurisdiction over such matters being confined to the Congress, General Council, Executive Committee and the Bureau of Management. The trade departments shall be accountable to the General Council and the Executive Committee for their activities.

(ii) Each trade department shall call a trade conference, with notice thereof to the Executive Committee, as often as necessary, for the purpose of exchanging opinions and information and taking decisions within the framework of the general policies established in the fields of wages, hours, working conditions, social legislation and other matters of concern to the workers in such trades. Each national union which is a member of a trade union centre affiliated to the World Federation of Trade Unions, or which is directly affiliated to it, shall be entitled to be represented at the trade conference of its trade or industry. Each trade department, upon its establishment, shall adopt rules and regulations, which shall be submitted to the Executive Committee for approval.

(iii) Each trade department shall be represented in the Congress and in the General Council by one delegate and one substitute, who shall have one vote in the event of a show of hands, but who shall have no vote in the event of a card roll call vote. Whenever the Executive Committee is engaged in consideration of a question relating to a particular trade or industry for which a trade department has been established the director of the trade department in question shall sit with the Executive Committee in a consultative capacity.

9. The I.T.S. spokesman on the Administrative Committee opposed this text. He contended that the setting up of Trade Departments within

the World Federation was a matter for consultations and negotiations with the existing International Trade Secretariats, and added that as far as the I.T.F. was concerned, it was the considered opinion of its governing bodies that the decision on it could only be made by the I.T.F. Congress—when it was able to meet again after the war. On the question of the date of that Congress, he gave an assurance that it would be convened as soon as it was reasonably certain that the unions of the occupied countries were again in a position to appoint properly accredited representatives. Assuming that the war in Europe would be over by the end of 1944, the Executive Committee planned to hold the Congress in September 1945. This proved to be impracticable, however, and also various unions, though they could have appointed delegates, intimated that they wished the I.T.F. Congress to meet after the second World Trade Union Conference.

10. At the second World Trade Union Conference, held in Paris in October 1945, the I.T.F. was again represented by its acting General Secretary, who again was elected to sit as the representative of the I.T.S., this time on the Constitution Committee set up by the Conference. The participation of International Trade Secretariats was on this occasion greater, as some of them had in the meantime recommenced to function. With but one exception, the I.T.S. declared Article 13 as it read to be unacceptable. Their view—which was shared also by a number of National Centres, including the British and the Scandinavian—was that any decision on the setting up of a Trade Department should be preceded by negotiations with the International Trade Secretariats concerned.

11. On the insistence of the I.T.S. representatives and others, Article 13 was amended and the form in which it emerged from the Conference was as follows :

(i) The General Council shall establish Trade Departments within the World Federation of Trade Unions for such trades or industries as it may determine. It shall be the function of the Trade Departments to deal with technical matters concerning their trades. In this sphere they shall enjoy full autonomy within the World Federation of Trade Unions, but they shall have no power to make decisions or carry on activities in connection with matters of general policy, jurisdiction over such matters being confined to the Congress, General Council, Executive Committee and the Executive Bureau. The Trade Departments shall be finally accountable to the General Council and the Executive Committee for their activities.

(ii) Subject to the provisions of paragraph (i), the aims, methods of work, duties, rights and finances of the Trade Departments shall be governed by a special regulation to be adopted by the Executive Committee and approved by the General Council.

(iii) Each Trade Department shall be represented in the Congress and in the General Council by one delegate and one substitute who shall have one vote in the event of a vote by a show of hands, but who shall have no vote in the event of a card roll call vote. Whenever the Executive Committee is engaged in consideration of a question relating to a particular trade or industry for which a Trade Department has been established, the director of the Trade Department in question shall sit with the Executive Committee in a consultative capacity.

12. Besides the adoption of the above text, an undertaking was given that negotiations could be arranged with the existing Trade Secretariats. This was in line with the decision reached at a meeting of the I.T.F. General Council held concurrently in Paris and attended also by some of the representatives of I.T.F. unions (all were invited) who were attending the World Trade Union Conference on behalf of their National Centre. The decision in question, which was adopted unanimously except for two votes (one of them of an Executive Committee member), welcomed the efforts to secure closer unity of the World Trade Union Movement and empowered the Executive Committee, without prejudice to the decision to be reached by the I.T.F. Congress, to enter into negotiations with the World Federation with a view to securing the amendment of Article 13 as well as transitional arrangements which would make incorporation possible and ensure continuity in our work.

13. At its meeting in Zürich on 14th and 15th January 1946, the Executive Committee of the I.T.F. re-affirmed its willingness to enter into negotiations with the W.F.T.U. The latter had meanwhile appointed a Negotiating Committee for these negotiations. On the side of the I.T.F. the whole of the Executive Committee was now appointed for the purpose, on the clear understanding that the final decision as far as the I.T.F. was concerned would rest with its Congress, which body would in no wise be committed by the outcome of the negotiations.

14. The first meeting between the W.F.T.U. Negotiating Committee and the I.T.F. Executive took place on 25th April 1946 in Paris (hence this last-minute report). The I.T.F. delegation was at full strength except for Mr. Bratschi, but that of the W.F.T.U. was unfortunately far from complete, as several of its members were unable to attend. Consequently, and also because the W.F.T.U. delegation had to report back to its Executive Bureau, the Paris discussions could only bear a provisional character, and this is the light in which the following survey of these proceedings should be viewed.

15. The position which the I.T.F. delegation had to defend in Paris was as follows :

(a) *Headquarters.*—That there is no necessity for the domicile of the Trade Departments to be in the same place as that of the World Federation.

(b) *Name.*—That the name International Transport Workers' Federation should be retained.

(c) *Unions not automatically affiliated.*—That such unions, viz., those not belonging to a National Centre affiliated with the World Federation, should be enabled to become members through affiliation with a Trade Department.

(d) *Finance.*—That the Trade Department should possess financial autonomy and the right to impose additional levies—collectable directly from the unions concerned—if (as would undoubtedly be the case with the I.T.F.) the allocation from W.F.T.U. revenue should be insufficient for Trade Department activity.

(e) *Staffing.*—That the officials and staff of the Trade Department should be elected or appointed, as the case may be, by the Department itself without interference from the W.F.T.U., and that the present

officials and staff of the I.T.F. should be transferred to the Trade Department in their present capacities if they so desire.

(f) *Research, publication and translation services.*—That the Trade Department for Transport should continue to have its own services under this head as in the past.

(g) *General policy.*—That a Trade Department should have the right to discuss general policy and to table proposals within the W.F.T.U. on the same basis as an affiliated National Centre.

(h) *Relations with affiliated and unaffiliated unions.* That the Trade Department should maintain direct relations with affiliated and unaffiliated unions and attend to the convening and organization of congresses and conferences for its constituents.

(i) *Trade Department Rules.*—That a special set of Rules should be established applicable to the Trade Departments on the lines envisaged in paragraph (ii) of the amended Article 13 of the W.F.T.U. Constitution, and that Article 13 as a whole should be brought into line with those Rules.

16. As stated above, these W.F.T.U.-I.T.F. negotiations are not yet in the final phase. Only three members of the W.F.T.U. Negotiating Committee could attend the Paris talks on 25th April, so that their colleagues still had to be consulted on the points of consequence. Then the matter has to be referred to the W.F.T.U. Executive Bureau, while the final decision on the Trade Department question as far as the W.F.T.U. is concerned must be made, under its Constitution, by the W.F.T.U. General Council.

17. The position of the W.F.T.U. in the negotiations had been formulated in a draft document entitled “General Regulations for the International Trade Departments of the W.F.T.U.”* It provided for the creation of 13 International Trade Departments. That for Transport was to embrace all workers engaged in maritime, railway, road, fluvial and air transport, i.e., the same groups as the I.T.F. caters for at present. During the discussions the W.F.T.U. put forward some amendments to their own draft, which modifications were the outcome of discussions they had had with several Trade Secretariats. Thus Article 3 of the draft, originally reading as follows :

“In accordance with Article 13, paragraph I, an I.T.D. shall only concern itself with purely trade and technical problems of the industries, trades and professions within its scope, as defined in Article 11 of the present general regulations.”

was changed to read :

“In accordance with Article 13, paragraph I, an I.T.D. shall concern itself with the technical and social problems of the industries and trades within its scope as defined in Article 11 of the General Regulations. In this sphere it shall enjoy full autonomy within the W.F.T.U. but it shall have no power to take decisions or to carry on activities in connection with matters of general policy.”

Which text was after discussion further amended by the addition of the word “industrial” after “technical” in the second line.

*See Annex III.

18. There was a long discussion on the Trade Department's jurisdiction in regard to general problems. It was pointed out that the technical, industrial and social problems of an industry are often inseparable from general problems, and in any case it was not considered appropriate that the Trade Department should be unqualified to deal with matters not strictly within its occupational sphere, always provided that it observed proper consultation with the competent organs of the W.F.T.U. when action of a wider kind was required. Incidentally, it was pointed out that as the new text read it was not permissible for the Trade Department to take any action in connection with a matter of general policy even at the request of the W.F.T.U. itself. This was one of the points on which no final conclusion was arrived at and on which further discussion will be required when the W.F.T.U. has redefined its position.

19. With regard to the location of headquarters, we were informed by the W.F.T.U. that for a long time to come it would be physically impossible to transfer them to Paris, and the I.T.F. delegation expressed doubt as to the wisdom of concentrating all Trade Department headquarters in the same place as those of the W.F.T.U. The conclusion reached under this head was that Trade Departments should as a general rule be domiciled at the headquarters of the World Federation, subject to special cases where, at the discretion of the W.F.T.U. Executive Bureau, in consultation with the Trade Department concerned, it was considered more expedient to have such Trade Department headquarters elsewhere.

20. The W.F.T.U. also had an amendment to Article 5 of their draft. The final wording has still to be found, but it is to provide that individual unions not belonging to the W.F.T.U. through a National Centre or through direct affiliation, may become members of an International Trade Department, on condition that they do not disturb the harmony of the Trade Department or the general policy of the W.F.T.U. or hinder its activities. Within the I.T.D. such members are to receive the same service and enjoy the same rights as other members, and their affiliation fees also are to be not less than those paid to the Department in respect of other members.

21. As regards the financing of Trade Departments, the W.F.T.U. proposal was that it would allocate 25 per cent of the revenue received in respect of the membership of a Trade Department plus the whole of the contributions from organizations not affiliated with the W.F.T.U. itself.

22. The I.T.F. delegation agreed with the 25 per cent as a minimum allocation, sufficient in the case of some Trade Departments, but suggested that the allocation should be graded according to the financial needs of the Trade Departments, up to a maximum of 50 per cent. The I.T.F. delegation was informed on this point that an application for a 50 per cent allocation for the Transport Department would be favourably considered.

23. Gratifying though the concession certainly is, it is nevertheless clear that even a 50 per cent allocation from W.F.T.U. revenue would be inadequate for the needs of I.T.F. work. The £2 per thousand members per year, which one half of the National Centre contribution would represent, still falls far short of the I.T.F.'s present rate of affiliation fees of £10.13.4 per thousand members and per year. In addition it must be reckoned with that a considerable number of National Centres will not

be able to pay the full affiliation fee of £4 to the W.F.T.U., which would also have its effects on the income of the Trade Department.

24. The implication is that it would be necessary to impose a special levy on constituent unions if work were to be continued in the same scale as in the I.T.F. Though we do not know what the exact position will be, it may be estimated that with a membership of six millions the income required would be £30,000 and with 10 millions an income of £40,000, and it is the difference between these sums and the W.F.T.U. allocation which would have to be raised by special levy.

25. The W.F.T.U. proposal under this head was that a special levy should require a two-thirds majority vote of a general conference of a Trade Department. To this the I.T.F. delegation did not object, but the paragraph went on to say :

“ However, if organizations belonging to the I.T.D. concerned wish to oppose for valid reasons the imposition of such a supplementary levy, they have the right to apply to the Executive Bureau or Executive Committee of the W.F.T.U. In such cases the supplementary levy can only be collected if the W.F.T.U. has given its consent.”

26. To this latter reservation the I.T.F. delegation seriously objected. It felt that under its terms any organization was in a position to contract out of its proper share in the financial burden, and that the two thirds majority requirement already gave all the safeguard needed. Our delegation was able to establish its point in the sense that it was agreed that the only reason which would be accepted as valid for contracting out would be that of financial necessity, and that in such cases an application for exemption from the supplementary levy should be made through and with the consent of the National Centre concerned.

27. The amended draft of the W.F.T.U. does not infringe on the financial autonomy of the Trade Departments, except where these require additional assistance from the W.F.T.U. This again is a matter on which no final conclusion was reached, and we feel that the whole paragraph may need further redrafting once the actual needs of the various Trade Departments and the size of the W.F.T.U. allocation are known.

28. Concerning the election or appointment of governing bodies, permanent officials and staff, the I.T.F. delegation insisted that this was entirely a matter for the Trade Departments themselves. The W.F.T.U. representatives were inclined to concur, but preferred to report back on the matter to their Executive Bureau. As regards wages and salaries, we had no objection to conforming to the scales applied by the W.F.T.U. As a matter of fact we have grounds to believe that these are on much the same lines as those we apply at present, and any adjustments needed can without difficulty be made by special decisions.

29. The foregoing, then, is a summary of the discussions which have so far taken place with the World Federation on the question of the incorporation of the I.T.F. as a Trade Department. As has been emphasized, the negotiations are still in an initial phase, but we think that this summary gives a fair view of the position as the Executive Committee of the I.T.F. has seen it, and it will provide a basis for discussion at the Zürich Congress, which has to adopt the decision on the principle of

incorporation and on the terms to be posed if the principle is considered acceptable. If the decision of the Congress is in the affirmative, further negotiations with the W.F.T.U. will have to be undertaken by the representatives of the I.T.F. in accordance with the instructions they receive from the Congress.

30. The Executive Committee, after considering the above report, and after reviewing the trend of the negotiations as outlined, decided to recommend the Congress to accept the principle of incorporation and to instruct the Executive Committee to continue negotiations with the Executive Bureau of the W.F.T.U. with a view to securing acceptable terms ; the terms finally negotiated to be submitted to a further Congress for ratification.

Zürich, 5th May 1946.

ANNEX II

THE FUTURE STRUCTURE OF THE INTERNATIONAL TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

POSITION OF I.T.F. EXECUTIVE

The question of the structure of the International Trade Union Movement has more than once been the subject of discussion in the course of the years. It is natural that it should be to the fore again at the present time when the Movement, at both the national and the international level, is reshaping and renewing itself.

FIRST PROPOSALS FOR A NEW STRUCTURE

First step was the creation, under the auspices of the I.F.T.U. Emergency Trade Union Council, of a special committee with the task of studying the question of what should be the shape of the International Trade Union Movement when the time came for it to resume its role in world affairs.

The proposals which the I.T.F.U. Emergency Council eventually sponsored as a result of this work aimed at the creation of a World Federation of National Trade Union Centres, with provision for the affiliation of more than one Trade Union Centre from one country and also of individual unions. The World Federation thus formed to supersede the existing I.F.T.U. was to consist horizontally of National Trade Union Centres and vertically of International Trade Departments, the latter taking the place of the existing International Trade Secretariats. At the same time the World Federation was to be divided into Regional Secretariats corresponding to certain parts of the world. There was to be one affiliation fee to the World Federation, payable by the National Centres. This fee, it was proposed, should amount to £4 per thousand members and per year, of which £1 was to be allocated for general activities, £1 for regional activities, while £2 was to be allocated to the Trade Departments. Trade Departments needing more than £2 were to be entitled to fix supplementary fees, also to be collected through the National Centres. National Centres and Trade Departments were to be equally represented on the several governing bodies of the World Federation and both were to send delegations to conferences and congresses in accordance with their memberships.

An important feature of these proposals was that the Trade Departments were to enjoy autonomy as far as their own affairs were concerned and to have a voice in matters of a general character on a footing of equality with the National Centres.

LATER DEVELOPMENTS

Before any finality was reached with those proposals sponsored by the I.F.T.U., a new development took place. The greater unity which had come about between the free peoples had led also to the forging of closer links between the workers of the world.

On the initiative of the British Trades Union Congress, a World Trade Union Conference was convened to which all bona fide trade union movements were invited and which after an initial postponement took place in London in February 1945.

At this conference the future structure of the International Trade Union Movement was naturally one of the questions to be considered. The proposals which have emerged from this later discussion are in important respects different from the earlier ones. This was perhaps only to be expected. The earlier proposals had been worked out by the I.F.T.U. with a number of representatives of the International Trade Secretariats attending the discussions. The new proposals are the result of discussions in which, on the one hand, the participation of the I.T.S. was negligible, while on the other hand there was strong participation of large sections in part antagonistic towards the I.F.T.U. and everything reminiscent of it, and in part almost completely ignorant of what happened in the past in the field of International Trade Unionism.

This circumstance is reflected in the outcome of the later discussions. The Administrative Committee which was appointed by the World Trade Union Conference, after meeting in Washington and San Francisco, drafted a Constitution for the proposed new World Federation which places the Trade Departments in an absolutely subordinate position, without any real autonomy, and completely ignores the existence of the International Trade Secretariats or their views in the matter. Here is what the draft Constitution proposes with regard to the Trade Departments :

“(i) The General Council shall establish trade departments within the World Federation of Trade Unions for such trades or industries as it may determine. It shall be the function of the trade departments to deal with technical matters concerning their trades. In this sphere, they shall enjoy full autonomy within the World Federation of Trade Unions, but they shall have no power to make decisions or carry on activities in connection with matters of general policy, jurisdiction over such matters being confined to the Congress, General Council, Executive Committee and the Bureau of Management. The trade departments shall be accountable to the General Council and the Executive Committee for their activities.

“(ii) Each trade department shall call a trade conference, with notice thereof to the Executive Committee, as often as necessary, for the purpose of exchanging opinions and information and taking decisions, within the framework of the general policies established by the Congress, the General Council or the Executive Committee, in the fields of wages, hours, working conditions, social legislation and other matters of concern to the workers in such trade. Each national union which is a member of a trade union centre affiliated to the World Federation of Trade Unions, or which is directly affiliated to it, shall be entitled to be represented at the trade conference of its trade or industry. Each trade conference shall nominate the director of its trade department, for ratification by the Executive Committee. Each trade department, upon its establishment, shall adopt rules and

regulations, which shall be submitted to the Executive Committee for approval.

“(iii) Each trade department shall be represented in the Congress and in the General Council by one delegate and one substitute, who shall have one vote in the event of a show of hands, but who shall have no vote in the event of a card roll call vote. Whenever the Executive Committee is engaged in consideration of a question relating to a particular trade or industry for which a trade department has been established, the Director of the trade department in question shall sit with the Executive Committee in a consultative capacity.”

COMMENT

The I.T.F., as an International Trade Secretariat of many years standing, is naturally interested in the above developments. It appreciates to the full the need for a closer integration of the World Trade Union Movement than has existed in the past. It appreciates that there is a great task to be performed by the International Movement in the reconstruction of a war-ravaged world and that this task can only be successfully undertaken if it develops the structure and machinery necessary to that end.

It is precisely on this point, the efficacy of the form of organization proposed, that I.T.F. circles feel that the proposals made are open to objections—objections as to the contents of the proposals and objections as to the manner in which they have come about.

The principle of centralization without doubt offers certain advantages, but the disadvantages are also great: over-concentration of power at the centre and an apparatus too cumbersome to function with sufficient speed and efficiency. In national terms the scheme would be tantamount to making a National Trade Union Centre one big union with a dozen or so Trade Sections subordinate in all matters to the central authority. The question is whether such a concentration of power would commend itself to the individual unions and whether it would be conducive to wholesome trade union life. To ask the question is to answer it. Such a structure would stifle trade union life as we know it. It is hard to see that this proposition, true at the national level, is less so at the international.

Apart from these general observations, there is the practical objection that the organization proposed would, as far as trade group activities are concerned, be a new start, not a continuation of the old. At a time when great and urgent tasks must be undertaken a new tool would be tried out. It is but logical that this course should not commend itself to those satisfied with and attached to the machinery already created and that they should consider that the new proposals do not take sufficient account of the realities of the situation.

The convening of a World Trade Union Conference at the earliest possible date was an excellent initiative. Nevertheless, though very important trade union movements were represented—the British, American C.I.O., Soviet and French, to mention the most important—there were others who could only send token delegations or could not take part at all. Very regrettable also is the incompleteness of the consultations with those directly concerned with the proposals about the Trade Departments. It is true that in the original discussions representatives of the I.T.S. took

some part. But when the stage had been reached when the Constitution of the World Federation was being drafted, on the Administrative Committee in Washington, only one of their spokesmen was left, who had little chance of prevailing upon those hostile or indifferent to the fate of the International Trade Secretariats. For the rest most of the I.T.S. had been unable to function during the war, while even the more fortunate ones, such as the I.T.F., were cut off from the main part of their constituents, so that such spokesmen as were able to follow the discussion had no mandate virtually to vote their organizations out of existence or to join in placing them before a *fait accompli* when they should recommence to function.

POSITION OF I.T.F. EXECUTIVE

The whole question was carefully considered at two meetings of the Executive Committee of the I.T.F. held in London since it became possible again for all its members to assemble, the first in November 1944, when the I.F.T.U. scheme was still under consideration, and the second in July 1945 when the W.T.U.C. proposals had been tabled.

The almost unanimous view at these two meetings was that the I.T.F. cannot dissolve itself at the present stage for the following reasons :

(a) There is no assurance that the World Federation still to be set up will be able to take over immediately and effectively the functions of the I.T.F. and the other Trade Secretariats and to create the necessary machinery for handling, smoothly and expeditiously, the urgent and vital problems which confront the trade unions at the international level in many industries.

(b) Since unions would belong to the respective Trade Departments through their National Centres and since it is not certain that all the latter would join the World Federation, it might mean the exclusion from the International Movement of unions belonging to it through an International Secretariat only.

(c) The question of Trade Department activities is one directly concerning the International Trade Secretariats which it is aimed to supersede, and the proposals on the subject should therefore have been worked out in full consultation with them.

(d) Urgent and important work has to be done for transport labour in the international field. It would be unwise to undertake it through an organization still in its experimental stage.

And the conclusion of the Executive Committee of the I.T.F. was that as far as the Trade Departments were concerned, all decisions should be postponed until such time when those concerned had been able to consider the problem in proper circumstances, i.e., assembled in International Conferences under the auspices of their International Trade Secretariats.

There was one member of the I.T.F. Executive who took a different view. While sharing the appreciation of the I.T.F., he perceived important prospects for the International Trade Union Movement in the proposed new structure. He feared that if the I.T.F. should seem to cling to the old structure, this might result in a duality harmful to the Movement as a whole and with unfavourable repercussions on affiliations with the I.T.F.

He therefore held that the Executive Committee should pronounce itself in favour of the proposals under consideration, subject to amendments to meet the I.T.F.

A brief reference to the positive contribution the I.T.F. has to make to the solution of the problem under consideration will complete this brief survey of the position. It is that International Trade Secretariats should affiliate as separate bodies with a World Federation of Trade Unions. Given representation throughout the machinery in accordance with their numbers and importance, and complying, of course, with the financial and other obligations in the same way as National Centres, they would be able to co-ordinate their activities with the movement as a whole in the same way as the independent National Centres. At a later date, when the World Federation has established itself as a functioning organization, the question of the structure of the International Movement could be considered anew if the constituent parts—National Centres and International Secretariats—thought fit.

London, 31st July 1945.

J. H. OLDENBROEK,
Acting General Secretary.

ANNEX III

DRAFT GENERAL REGULATIONS FOR THE INTERNATIONAL TRADE DEPARTMENTS OF THE W.F.T.U.

Notice.—The following proposals will be used as the basis for the final drafting of the General Regulations. They have been provisorily adopted (in February 1946) by the W.F.T.U. Executive Bureau in order to facilitate the negotiations with the Trade Internationals, with a view of their integration into the W.F.T.U. Since they have been approved by the W.F.T.U. Executive Bureau, they represent broadly speaking the official point of view of the W.F.T.U., although they cannot be considered as final until they will have been adopted by the Executive Committee itself (presumably in its session of the 24th to 25th June, 1946). Moreover, the final decision concerning article 1) will have to be taken by the General Council.

Article 1.—In accordance with Article 13, paragraph I, of the Constitution of the World Federation of Trade Unions, the General Council authorizes the Executive Bureau to set up within the W.F.T.U., as and when considered opportune, International Trade Departments (I.T.D.) for the following trades and industries :

- I Transport Workers, including all Maritime Workers, Railway Men, Road Transport, Fluvial Navigation and Air Transport.
- II Metal Workers, including Heavy Industry, Ship Building, Mechanical and Electrical Engineering.
- III Building and Wood Workers, including Stone Workers and Painters.
- IV Miners, including all Mining Production.
- V Textile.
- VI Clothing, Hatters, Boots and Shoes and Leather.
- VII Food and Drink, including Hotels, Restaurants and Tobacco Workers.
- VIII Printing, including Typographers, Lithographers and Bookbinders.
- IX Factory Workers, including Glass Workers, Pottery, Paper, Chemical Workers and miscellaneous industries.
- X Employees, Technicians and Scientific Workers.
- XI Public Services and Teachers.
- XII P.T.T.
- XIII Agricultural Workers.

The official name of these I.T.D. will be "International Trade Department" followed by the name of the appropriate industry, such as it will be agreed upon between the Executive Bureau of the W.F.T.U. and the I.T.D. concerned, for instance "International Trade Department of Textile Workers of the World Federation of Trade Unions" or abbreviated "I.T.D. of Textile Workers of the W.F.T.U."

Article 2.—In accordance with Article 13, Paragraph II, of the Constitution of the World Federation of Trade Unions, the Executive Committee of the W.F.T.U. determines as follows, in the form of general regulations, the aims, methods of work, duties and rights of the I.T.D.

Article 3.—In accordance with Article 13, paragraph I, an I.T.D. shall only concern itself with purely trade and technical problems of the industries, trades and professions within its scope, as defined in Article 11 of the present general regulations.

Article 4.—All the I.T.D. will be established at the Headquarters of the W.F.T.U.

Article 5.—Organizations unable or unwilling to affiliate with the W.F.T.U. may adhere to the I.T.D. of their industries or trades, if they so desire, provided they accept the discipline of their I.T.D. and their participation does not have the effect of disturbing the general policy and the decisions of the W.F.T.U.

Their special affiliation fees shall not be inferior to that paid to the I.T.D. concerned by the organizations regularly affiliated with the W.F.T.U.

Article 6.—The financial resources of each I.T.D. shall be determined in the following manner :

After examination of the draft estimates of yearly expenditure of each I.T.D., the Executive Bureau of the W.F.T.U. will determine each year the share which shall be allotted to the I.T.D. concerned out of the total resources of the W.F.T.U.*

In case the resources placed at the disposal of an I.T.D. by the W.F.T.U. would not suffice to cover its expenses, the General Trade Conference of the I.T.D. concerned may decide by a two-third majority to impose upon its member organizations a supplementary levy. The principle and rate of this supplementary fee must be approved by the Executive Bureau of the W.F.T.U.

The manner in which the supplementary fees shall be collected will be determined by common agreement by the competent bodies of the W.F.T.U. and the I.T.D. concerned, and shall be inserted in the internal regulations of that I.T.D.

Article 7.—The election of the President and of the Trade Executive Committee of each I.T.D. is entirely in the hands of the General Trade Conference.

The permanent Secretary is also appointed by this same General Conference. But this appointment shall only become effective after it has been ratified by the Executive Bureau of the W.F.T.U. Should this ratification be refused, the Executive Committee of the trade concerned can appeal to the higher authorities of the W.F.T.U. (Executive Committee, General Council, Congress). If no agreement were reached, the General Trade Conference, or the Executive Trade Committee, will have to make a new appointment which will be subjected to the same procedure.

* The alternative to this method of apportionment of the W.F.T.U. funds available to the I.T.D. would be to set a uniform rate for all the I.T.D. After due consideration the W.F.T.U. Executive Bureau rejected this alternative method because it would make it impossible to take into account the differences in the financial obligations of the various I.T.D. in the pursuit of similar or comparable activities.

With regard to the appointment of the staff of the I.T.D., the General Trade Conference will have to determine in its regulations, or by special decision, the competent bodies for these appointments. Nevertheless, these appointments will have to be ratified by the General Secretary of the W.F.T.U.

The wages and salaries will have to be set in accordance with the scale of salaries applied to the Secretaries and the staff of the W.F.T.U. In exceptional cases such as that of a highly qualified technician, the I.T.D. concerned will be allowed to depart from this general rule, with the approval of the W.F.T.U. Executive Bureau.

Article 8.—The first General Trade Conference which will officially establish the I.T.D. will be convened jointly by the Executive Bureau of the W.F.T.U. and by the International Trade Secretariat concerned.

In the course of this first Constituent Conference, the I.T.D. shall determine in its international regulations, the provisions concerning the delegations, votes, procedure, etc., applicable to all further General Trade Conferences and Technical Conferences.

The convening of these General Trade Conferences, and of all technical conferences, shall be decided by the Executive Trade Committee of the I.T.D. concerned. Nevertheless, the W.F.T.U. will have to be informed at the proper time of the date, place and agenda of these meetings, so as to proceed with the consultations which might be considered necessary, and to allow the W.F.T.U. to appoint its delegation to such trade conferences as might be useful or deemed desirable by both parties.

Article 9.—The W.F.T.U. has the right, if it so desires, to be represented at all meetings of the Executive Trade Committee of each I.T.D. To this end the General Secretariat of the W.F.T.U. shall be informed in due time by the Secretary of each I.T.D. of the date and place of these meetings.

Article 10.—Each I.T.D. will be able to publish its own bulletin and trade journals.

Article 11.—The industries and trades included in the framework of an I.T.D. shall be determined by the Executive Bureau of the W.F.T.U., after consultation with the organizations concerned.

All future disputes arising between the I.T.D. with regard to trade boundaries will be submitted to a mediation committee composed of a representative for each of the I.T.D. involved, and of a representative of the W.F.T.U. who will act as chairman. If no agreement is reached, the final decision shall be taken by the Executive Bureau of the W.F.T.U.

TRANSITIONAL MEASURES

As stated in Article 8, the convenor's notice for the first General Trade Conference will be signed jointly by the W.F.T.U. and the International Trade Secretariat concerned, i.e. by the President and the General Secretary of the W.F.T.U. and by the Secretary of the I.T.S. The convenor's notice will be sent to all the organizations belonging to the industries involved, whether they are or not, affiliated to the I.T.S. or the W.F.T.U.

For the first International Trade Conference the number of delegates and votes to which each participation organization shall be entitled is provisionally determined as follows :

Up to 5,000 members	..	..	..	1 delegate and 1 vote
From 5,000 to 10,000	..	..	..	2 delegates and 2 votes
From 10,000 up to 20,000	..	..	..	3 delegates and 3 votes
From 20,000 up to 50,000	..	..	..	4 delegates and 4 votes

Beyond 50,000 members, for every 50,000 or majority fraction thereof, one additional delegate and one vote.

As far as possible, and after consultation between the W.F.T.U. and the I.T.S. concerned, the date and place of the first General Conference will be chosen in such manner that it follows immediately the Congress of the I.T.S. which will have to decide upon the integration into the W.F.T.U.

As soon as a sufficient number of I.T.D. will function within the W.F.T.U. a conference where each I.T.D. shall be represented by a titular delegate and a substitute appointed in accordance with Article 6, IIb, of the W.F.T.U. Constitution and of the provisions of the standing orders of the I.T.D., shall be convened to appoint the three delegates of the I.T.D. to the W.F.T.U. Executive Committee.

The Executive Bureau of the W.F.T.U. will decide later on, and according to the circumstances, the number of the I.T.D. required to justify the convening of such conference.

ANNEX IV

CONSTITUTION OF THE INTERNATIONAL TRANSPORT WORKERS' FEDERATION (I.T.F.)

PREAMBLE

NAME AND OBJECTS

The International Transport Workers' Federation (I.T.F.), founded in 1896 by organizations of the workers of the transport industries of several countries declares through its Congress, meeting in Zürich from 6th to 11th May 1946, that it aims to establish, promote and maintain trade unions of transport workers in all countries and to unite them in a strong and unbreakable international federation, in order :

(1) to protect and further the economic and social interests of all transport workers ;

(2) to support such national and international action as the circumstances may warrant in the struggle against economic exploitation and political oppression of the workers, and thus to make international working class solidarity effective ;

(3) to co-operate in the establishment of a world order based on the association of all peoples in freedom and equality for the promotion of their common welfare by the joint use of the world's resources.

The Federation's activities shall be governed by the following Constitution.

RULE I

The Federation shall work for its objects by :

(a) establishing and maintaining friendly relations among the trade union organizations of transport workers of all countries ;

(b) helping to organize the transport workers in countries where they are unorganized or only partly organized and extending all possible assistance to weak organizations worthy of it, in particular by endeavouring to enlist the support of world public opinion through appropriate publicity about the social conditions prevailing in the countries concerned ;

(c) advocating, promoting, establishing and operating schemes of mutual assistance among transport workers' trade unions of different countries and, in particular, supporting transport workers' trade unions engaged in disputes by :

(i) obtaining and extending financial assistance when the duration of disputes causes exhaustion of the funds of the unions concerned ;

(ii) taking sympathetic action and such other steps as may be calculated to contribute to the successful conclusion of such disputes ;

(iii) enlisting the support of the world Labour Movement and world public opinion by appropriate publicity about such disputes ;

(d) holding international congresses and conferences ;

(e) collecting and disseminating data and information concerning working and living conditions of transport workers in the various countries, and matters affecting these conditions, such as national and international legislation and regulations dealing with matters related to work in the transport industries, technical developments affecting the life and work of transport workers, and mode of organization, ownership and management of transport industries ;

(f) publishing one or more journals in various languages ;

(g) entering into and regularly maintaining relations with international trade union and other bodies.

RULE II

COMPOSITION

All trade unions and associations of trade unions catering for persons engaged, in any capacity, in any transport industry, whether publicly or privately owned or operated, are eligible for affiliation to the Federation provided that :

(i) they subscribe to the objects of the Federation as defined in the present rules ;

(ii) their constitution and practice ensures democratic administration and conduct of the affairs of the union or other body concerned ;

(iii) they undertake to acquit themselves of the obligations deriving from affiliation.

RULE III

OBLIGATIONS OF AFFILIATED ORGANIZATIONS

Membership of the Federation shall not involve any sacrifice of the autonomy of the organizations, but by joining they assume the following obligations :

(a) to pay affiliation fees for all members engaged in the transport industries, in whatever capacity, at the general rate and under the conditions determined by the Congress and the rules of the Federation or at any special rate or under any special conditions as may be determined by the Executive Committee or the Management Committee (see Rule XIV) ;

(b) to inform the Secretariat of the Federation of the dates of meetings of their supreme governing bodies, the decisions arrived at by such bodies, the composition of the elected central executive bodies and the names of the leading officials ;

(c) to furnish the Secretariat with at least three copies of the periodic reports submitted to their supreme governing bodies ;

(d) to furnish the Secretariat with exact particulars of membership every year ;

(e) to furnish the Secretariat regularly with three copies of all their publications and other information which may be requested for reporting and publishing purposes ;

(f) to co-operate in the carrying out of the decisions of the governing and executive bodies of the Federation, and to report to the Secretariat on the action taken and its result or on the reasons why no action is taken ;

(g) to propagate among their members the principles, policy and decisions of the Federation and to report to their governing bodies on the activities of the Federation ;

(h) to accept without payment of entrance fees all individual members of another organization affiliated to the Federation who, by reason of their transfer from one transport industry to another or from one country to another, must change their trade union affiliation.

RULE IV

THE CONGRESS

1. The International Transport Workers' Congress is the supreme authority controlling the Federation.

2. The Congress shall meet in ordinary session every two years on dates to be determined by the Executive Committee.

3. The Executive Committee shall convene the Congress in extraordinary session on such occasions as circumstances may, in its judgment, require, or at the request of affiliated organizations belonging to at least three countries and representing at least one-fourth of the total membership of the Federation.

4. Affiliated organizations shall be entitled to representation at the Congress in the following proportion :

					delegate
under 5,000 members	..	..	..	..	1
5,001 to 10,000	..	..	..	..	2
10,001 to 20,000	..	..	..	..	3
20,001 to 30,000	..	..	..	..	4
30,001 to 40,000	..	..	..	..	5
40,001 to 50,000	..	..	..	..	6
50,001 to 75,000	..	..	..	..	7
75,001 to 100,000	..	..	..	..	8
100,001 to 125,000	..	..	..	..	9
125,001 to 150,000	..	..	..	..	10
150,001 to 175,000	..	..	..	..	11
175,001 to 200,000	..	..	..	..	12
200,001 to 250,000	..	..	..	..	13
250,001 to 300,000	..	..	..	..	14
300,001 to 350,000	..	..	..	..	15
350,001 to 400,000	..	..	..	..	16
400,001 to 450,000	..	..	..	..	17
450,001 to 500,000	..	..	..	..	18
500,001 to 600,000	..	..	..	..	19
600,001 to 700,000	..	..	..	..	20
700,001 to 800,000	..	..	..	..	21
800,001 to 900,000	..	..	..	..	22
900,001 or more ..	..	..	..	..	23

5. Except in cases in which Article XIV subsection 5 is applied, it shall be a condition of representation with the right to vote that affiliation fees are paid up to and including the quarter preceding the date of the Congress.

6. Affiliated organizations may appoint a reasonable number of observers in addition to delegates.

7. At its first session the Congress shall elect a committee to verify the credentials of the delegates. This committee shall also have power to investigate whether any affiliated organization is in compliance with the conditions and obligations of membership set out in Rules II and III. It shall have power to call upon the Secretaries and the members of the governing and executive bodies of the Federation, and upon any delegate to the Congress, to give evidence. It shall submit a report, with any pertinent recommendations, to the Congress. No further vote or election may take place until the Congress has disposed of the credentials committee's report and recommendations.

8. Each delegate shall have one vote. Voting shall be by show of hands and decision by simple majority. When requested by delegates of at least five organizations, a card vote on affiliated membership shall be taken, but no organization shall vote on more than one million members. Decisions so taken shall require a majority of at least two-thirds of the affiliated paid-up membership represented at the Congress.

9. Affiliated organizations unable to be represented at the Congress may nominate the delegation of another organization as proxy. No delegation may represent more than one organization in addition to its own.

10. The expenses of delegations to the Congress shall be borne by the organizations they represent.

11. The agenda for each ordinary session of the Congress shall contain the following items :

- (a) the report on activities ;
- (b) financial report, accountant's report, auditors' report and fixing of contributions ;
- (c) election of General Council, Executive Committee, General Secretary-Treasurer and Assistant General Secretary ;
- (d) domicile of the I.T.F. ;
- (e) resolutions submitted by affiliated organizations ;
- (f) such other matters as the Executive Committee or General Council may decide to include.

12. The agenda of an extraordinary session of the Congress shall be fixed by the Executive Committee. If such session is convened at the request of affiliated organizations, the Executive Committee shall circulate the documents submitted by these organizations and determine what other documents, if any, are to be laid before the Congress.

13. All resolutions to appear on the agenda shall be submitted to the Secretariat at least four months prior to the date of the Congress and the final agenda shall be issued not less than two months before the date of the Congress.

RULE V

THE GENERAL COUNCIL

1. Between sessions of the Congress the supreme authority, subject to the general policy laid down by the Congress, shall be vested in the General Council.

2. The General Council shall be composed of representatives elected by the delegates to the Congress, and shall further include, ex-officio, the general secretary and assistant general secretary of the Federation and, in so far as they are not already elected members, the chairmen of the Industrial Sections.

3. The number of elected representatives may vary according to the number of members of the Federation, but shall not be less than twenty. No organization shall have more than one representative nor the organizations of one country more than three.

4. For the purpose of electing the General Council the organizations shall be divided into national and regional groups in such a manner as to provide in the most effective manner for representation of the affiliated countries, and these groups shall endeavour to secure the best possible representation of the several transport industries.

5. The organizations of any single country whose aggregate membership is 100,000 or more shall form a national group. Within the limits laid down in subsection 3 above, each national group shall have one representative for each 100,000 members.

6. The organizations whose membership is less than 100,000 per country shall be divided into regional groups whose composition shall be determined by the Congress. No country in a regional group shall have more than one representative on the General Council, but subject to this limitation the group shall have one representative for every 50,000 members. Each component country whose organizations have an aggregate membership of 40,000 or more shall be entitled to a seat. Regional groups with less than 50,000 members, with the right to elect one member of the General Council, may only be formed as a result of a special decision, subject to renewal at each meeting of the Congress.

7. For each member of the General Council thus elected, the groups shall also elect a deputy, to serve when the regular member is unable to attend meetings.

8. The General Council shall meet once a year. The date of the meeting shall be announced, whenever possible, two months in advance.

9. The Executive Committee shall be empowered to call emergency meetings of the General Council when they deem it desirable.

10. The travelling expenses of members of the General Council and of deputy-members deputizing for them, shall be borne by the Federation. Other deputy members may attend meetings of the General Council in an advisory capacity, but their travelling expenses shall not be borne by the Federation.

RULE VI

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

1. There shall be an Executive Committee responsible for the general management and superintendence of the Federation's affairs, the carrying out of the decisions of the Congress and General Council, and the control of the Secretariat.

2. The Executive Committee shall consist of members elected by the Congress from among the elected members of the General Council, and shall include the General Secretary-Treasurer *ex-officio*.

3. The elected members of the E.C. shall number one-fourth of the elected members of the General Council (fractions being neglected) but shall not be less than seven. They shall be chosen by secret ballot, every delegate to the Congress having one vote.

4. If two persons or more belonging to the affiliated organizations of one country shall be candidates for election to the Executive Committee, only the one obtaining the largest number of votes shall be declared to be elected.

5. Should one or more seats on the Executive Committee become vacant between two sessions of the Congress, the General Council shall have power to elect some person or persons to fill the vacancies. If any person so elected should not be already a member of the General Council, he shall become one *ex-officio*.

6. The Executive Committee shall be convened by the Secretariat at least once between successive meetings of the General Council, or of the General Council and the Congress. Further meetings shall be held as required.

7. The Secretariat shall convene an emergency meeting of the E.C. when so decided by the Management Committee or requested by three members of the Executive Committee.

8. The travelling expenses of members of the E.C. shall be borne by the Federation.

RULE VII

THE MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE

1. There shall be a Management Committee of four representatives of the affiliated organizations in the country in which the Federation is domiciled. Its members shall be nominated by the delegations of the organizations concerned attending the Congress, and their names shall be submitted to the Congress for its approval.

2. Should any vacancy occur on the Management Committee between two sessions of the Congress, it shall be filled by the organizations concerned, which shall submit the name of the person chosen for the approval of the Executive Committee or General Council.

3. The Management Committee shall meet every two months, or at shorter intervals should the General Secretary-Treasurer deem it necessary.

4. The Management Committee shall be kept informed of all matters coming within the purview of the Executive Committee, to which its recommendations shall be submitted.

5. The Management Committee shall supervise the day-to-day work of the Secretariat in respect of administrative, financial and staff matters.

6. It shall be the duty of the Management Committee to see that the Secretariat take in due time all appropriate steps for carrying out the decisions of the Congress, the General Council and the Executive Committee, for preparing the meetings of these bodies, for publishing the Federation's periodicals, and to ensure the proper functioning of the Federation's offices.

7. All expenditure shall be subject to the approval by the Management Committee. At each meeting of the Management Committee the General Secretary-Treasurer shall present statements showing all receipts and expenditure since the previous meeting, the amount paid into the bank, the amount drawn from the bank, the balance at the bank and at the office, and a list of all claims awaiting payment. The members of the Committee present at the meeting shall check such statements and ratify such expenditure.

8. The Management Committee is empowered to call for submission of all books and documents relating to the administration of the Funds of the Federation.

9. The travelling and personal expenses of the members of the Management Committee shall be borne by the Federation.

RULE VIII

THE SECRETARIAT

1. The Secretariat of the Federation shall consist of a general secretary-treasurer, an assistant general secretary and secretaries in charge of industrial sections.

2. The general secretary-treasurer and assistant general secretary shall be elected by the Congress. The secretaries in charge of sections shall be appointed by the General Council at the proposal of the Conference of the Section concerned or at the proposal of the Executive Committee.

3. The salaries of all secretaries shall be fixed by General Council.

4. The General Secretary-Treasurer shall attend all Congresses and meetings of the General Council, Executive Committee and Management Committee and act generally under the orders of the Executive Committee. He shall have the right to speak on any business at the meetings of all governing and executive bodies of the Federation and at meetings of industrial sections and he shall have the right to vote at meetings of the General Council and Executive Committee. He shall be responsible for the issue of all documents and publications required to be issued by the Federation.

5. The Assistant General Secretary shall attend all Congresses and meetings of the General Council, Executive Committee and Management

Committee and act generally under the orders of the Executive Committee and of the General Secretary-Treasurer. He shall assist the General Secretary-Treasurer as required. He shall have the right to speak on any business of the Federation at meetings of the General Council, Executive Committee and Management Committee. He shall have the right to speak at the Congress by authority or instruction of the General Secretary-Treasurer or Executive Committee or at the request of the chairman. He shall have the right to vote at meetings of the General Council and, in the absence of the General Secretary-Treasurer, at meetings of the Executive Committee. During the absence of the General Secretary-Treasurer from headquarters, he shall be in charge of the affairs of the Federation.

6. Section Secretaries shall attend and be entitled to speak at all meetings of the sections in their charge. They shall be responsible for the preparation and distribution of all documents required for the proper discharge of the business of such sections. They shall attend at all sessions of the Congress, with the right to speak on all matters connected with their sections ; and on any other matter with the permission or at the request of the General Secretary-Treasurer. They shall attend at meetings of the General Council and Executive Committee when their presence is required for the consideration of matters relating to their sections.

7. To assist the General Secretary-Treasurer and other secretaries the Management Committee shall appoint such employees as it may consider necessary and shall decide their rates of pay and conditions of employment in agreement with the trade union to which the members of the Federation staff belong. It shall have power to suspend members of the staff and propose their dismissal to the Executive Committee. Members of the staff may appeal to the Executive Committee against decisions of the Management Committee. The decisions of the Executive Committee in staff matters are final.

RULE IX

PUBLICATIONS

1. The Secretariat shall publish a journal devoted to :

- (a) the propagation of the principles and policy of the Federation ;
- (b) the discussion of important questions, events and reports touching upon the interests of transport workers and the working class in general.

2. The journal shall appear in every language spoken by one-fifth or more of the members. The journal may also appear in other languages provided that the organizations applying for such publication undertake to bear a part of the costs of translation, printing and postage to be determined by agreement with the Management Committee. The Management Committee shall from time to time determine the numbers of copies to be supplied free of charge to affiliated organizations.

3. The Secretariat shall issue such other periodical and occasional publications (reports, circulars, booklets, etc.), as may be required ; the conditions of supply to be fixed by the Management Committee.

4. For propagating its principles and publishing information about its policy and activities the Federation may make use of any suitable means of publicity, such as posters, wireless, the cinema, etc.

RULE X

HEADQUARTERS

The place where the headquarters of the Federation are to be established shall be determined by the Congress. Headquarters may not be established in a country of which no organization is affiliated to the Federation, nor in a country the affiliated organizations of which vote against the establishment of headquarters in their country.

RULE XI

REGIONAL SUBDIVISIONS

1. The affiliated organizations of several countries suitably located to be grouped together on the basis of common interests or bonds such as language, culture, communications, economic and social conditions and interdependence (e.g. Africa, America or Latin America and North America, Europe or parts of Europe, etc.) may have the assistance of a regional sub-secretariat of the Federation, exercising functions similar and complementary to those of the General Secretariat of the Federation.

2. The secretary in charge of a Sub-Secretariat and his assistant, if any, shall be appointed by the Executive Committee of the Federation, after consultation with the organizations concerned.

3. Sub-Secretariats shall act generally under the orders of and by delegation of power from the General Secretariat, and shall be responsible for carrying out the principles and policy of the Federation. They shall interpret for the organizations in their area the decisions and actions of the Federation, advise them as to steps to be taken to carry out such decisions and endeavour to co-ordinate their action in connection with such matters.

4. They shall inform the General Secretariat and the governing and executive bodies of the Federation of the conditions prevailing in the region concerned, of the problems and requirements peculiar to it and of the action desired by the affiliated organizations.

RULE XII

INDUSTRIAL SECTIONS

1. Matters affecting the workers of particular branches of transport shall be dealt with in the first instance by the industrial sections. These sections are: 1—Seafarers; 2—Sea fishermen; 3—Inland navigation workers; 4—Waterside workers (sea and inland ports); 5—Railwaymen; 6—Road transport workers (including tramwaymen); 7—Civil aviation personnel. The General Council shall have power to modify the number of sections and the scope of each.

2. Section conferences shall be convened by the Executive Committee, which shall fix their agenda and the date and place of meeting. Affiliated organizations may apply for the convening of section conferences, but the decisions as to the calling of such meetings shall rest with the Executive Committee.

3. Section conferences shall meet under the authority of the Executive Committee. Industrial sections may elect a chairman who shall be an *ex-officio* member of the General Council, if not already an elected member.

4. Each affiliated organization which has members working in the transport industry concerned shall be invited to send representatives to section conferences. The number of delegates to such conferences shall be left to the discretion of each organization. If votes are required to be taken, they shall be taken by roll call and recorded and the result shall be reported to the Executive Committee.

5. The travelling and personal expenses of delegates to section conferences shall be borne by the organization they represent. All other expenses connected with such conferences shall be borne by the Federation.

RULE XIII

MAJOR DISPUTES

1. Affiliated organizations shall call for the help of the Federation only in the event of struggles of considerable importance and extent. If possible, they shall consult with the Federation before the outbreak of conflicts likely to make necessary the intervention of the Federation.

2. Organizations applying for help before or after the outbreak of major conflicts shall give full information about the origin, substance and immediate cause of conflict ; the demands of the workers ; the number of organized and unorganized workers involved, and, in general, the fullest information bearing upon the dispute.

3. When an application for consultation prior to, or for help after, the outbreak of a conflict implies a request for support by means of sympathetic action to be taken by members of one or several affiliated organizations, the Management Committee or Executive Committee shall communicate with the organizations likely to be involved or summon them to a meeting and ask for their advice and suggestions.

4. When such application implies a request for financial help the Management Committee or the Executive Committee shall decide whether the circumstances are such as to render such assistance desirable and, if in the affirmative, make suitable recommendations to the affiliated organizations.

5. A complete account of all matters and actions relating to assistance to organizations engaged in major disputes shall be given to the Congress.

RULE XIV

AFFILIATION FEES

1. The Congress shall fix the standard rate of affiliation fee payable by affiliated organizations.

2. Affiliation fees shall be payable quarterly in advance for all members affiliated on 31st December of the preceding year.

3. No affiliated organization shall pay affiliation fees for more than one million members.

4. In the case of organizations in underdeveloped countries, the Management Committee shall have power to come to an agreement providing for the payment of a lesser affiliation fee commensurate with the standard of living and the rates of wages prevailing in the country concerned. Agreements to this effect shall be concluded before applications for membership from such organizations shall be definitely accepted.

5. Organizations which through extraordinary circumstances, such as exhaustion of funds as a result of major conflicts or chaotic economic conditions in their countries, are unable to meet to the full their financial obligations shall inform the Management Committee, which shall have power to investigate the financial capacity of such organizations and agree on deferment of payment or temporary reduction of affiliation fees or, in extreme cases, temporary exoneration from payment of the same.

6. The General Council shall have power to impose supplementary levies to meet any possible deficiency for administrative purposes.

RULE XV

FINANCES AND AUDITING OF ACCOUNTS

1. The General Secretary-Treasurer shall receive all funds destined to the Federation and shall be legally responsible to the Federation for all moneys passing through his hands.

2. The expenditure of the Federation shall be estimated by means of an annual budget drawn up by the Management Committee on proposals of the General Secretary-Treasurer, and approved by the Executive Committee.

3. The General Secretary-Treasurer shall be responsible for keeping the accounts of the Federation and shall make such payments as the Management Committee may order or authorize. He shall keep and produce such books and documents as may be required by the Management Committee. He shall submit to the governing and executive bodies of the Federation, at each of their ordinary meetings, proper accounts of income and expenditure, supplementing them with such reports and comments as he may judge necessary or as may be asked for.

4. The accounts of the financial department of the Federation shall be audited by a qualified accountant appointed by the Executive Committee at the proposal of the Management Committee. The accountant shall present his ordinary report at the close of each financial year but shall present extraordinary reports when requested by the Management Committee, Executive Committee, General Council or Congress. All his reports shall be communicated to the Management Committee and Executive Committee, and reproduced in full in the Report to the Congress.

5. The transactions of the financial department of the Federation shall be supervised and checked by three auditors to be elected by the Congress

from among responsible officials of affiliated organizations residing reasonably near the headquarters of the Federation.

6. The auditors, acting singly or jointly, shall at all times have access to the books and accounts of the Federation and to all deeds and documents of title of securities for money. They shall verify that all receipts have been duly entered, that all claims to payment are pursued and that all expenditure is reasonable and related only to the purposes provided for in the Constitution and in accordance with the decisions of the Management Committee or under its authority and responsibility.

7. The auditors shall report every year on their findings. The Secretariat shall circulate these reports to the members of the Management Committee and Executive Committee and include them *in extenso* in the report to the Congress.

RULE XVI

ADMISSION, RESIGNATION, LAPSE OF MEMBERSHIP AND EXPULSION

1. Applications for membership of the Federation shall be submitted in writing to the Executive Committee which shall have power to accept or reject them after consultation and advice of the organizations of the same country affiliated with the Federation. When the Executive Committee thinks fit, the decision shall be taken by the General Council before whom the consulted organizations may, in case of disagreement, state their position. An organization whose application has been rejected may re-submit its application in writing to the Congress.

2. An organization wishing to resign from the Federation shall give notice of such resignation one year in advance. Financial obligations cease at the expiration of such notice.

3. An organization failing to comply, after repeated reminders, with the obligations assumed by becoming affiliated shall be reported to the General Council. The report to the General Council shall contain a recommendation of the Executive Committee to consider membership as having lapsed and to strike the organization concerned off the register of affiliated organizations. Copy of the report shall be posted to the organization concerned at the same time as to the members of the General Council.

4. The Executive Committee shall have power to suspend relations with an affiliated organization when, in its judgment, the organization acts against the interests of the Federation, or ceases to come within the terms of eligibility mentioned in Rule II. The organization concerned shall be informed of such a decision and the reasons underlying it and shall have the right to appeal to the next meeting of the General Council. The General Council shall have power to expel an organization either at the proposal of the Executive Committee or on its own initiative. An appeal against expulsion may be made to the next session of the Congress.

RULE XVII

GENERAL PROVISIONS

1. The dissolution of the Federation shall be decided upon by the Congress only, after a proposal to that effect has been put on the agenda in conformity with Rule IV, paragraph 13.

2. The decision to dissolve the Federation shall become effective only if supported by a majority of three-quarters of the affiliated membership. It shall stipulate how the commitments of the Federation towards its staff and responsible officers are to be disposed of.

3. These revised rules shall come into force on 1st June 1946, and shall be subject to revision by the Congress of the Federation only.

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