

Third Part

PROCEEDINGS OF THE STUTTGART CONGRESS

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Mr J. H. Oldenbroek

AN APPRECIATION BY O. BECU

Our general secretary, J. H. Oldenbroek, has been unanimously elected to the general secretaryship of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions which held its constituent congress in London from 28 November to 9 December 1949. He has thus attained to the highest office in the International trade union movement.

Born in 1897 at Amsterdam, he left the schoolroom behind him at the comparatively early age of 14 and began his working life in an office. From the start he was attracted by the trade union movement, in which he was following the footsteps of his father, and in 1915 became a member of the staff of the Dutch Federation of Trade Unions. He did not stay there very long, however. When the late Edo Fimmen became general secretary of the ITF, in 1921, the young Oldenbroek went with him as his secretary, and it was in this organization that he was for twenty-eight consecutive years to devote his best abilities to the service of the working class in general and to furthering the social interests of the transport workers in particular.

Possessed of an acute mind and a determined character, he soon distinguished himself and rose steadily in the esteem and confidence of the leading figures of the trade union movement. Quickly he became one of the closest and most devoted collaborators of his chief, the unforgettable Edo Fimmen. At every important gathering attended by the latter, in every action and undertaking of the ITF, Oldenbroek stood at the side of his chief and assisted him with his many gifts. The sum total of work which Oldenbroek thus performed in the fight against Capitalism, Fascism and Nazism and in the struggle for better social conditions for the transport workers, will only be fully assessed when the history of the ITF, in which he had merged his very being, is written. Those who were fortunate enough to be closely associated with him knew how complete was the devotion and often self-sacrifice with which he performed extremely difficult and sometimes hazardous missions.

In 1939, when the headquarters of the ITF, still under the leadership of Edo Fimmen, were transferred to Great Britain, he joined those who went into exile to carry on the fight for freedom, and in the years which followed was to develop into the responsible leader of our International. This was in 1941 when Edo Fimmen went to Mexico in the hope of restoring his broken health. In effect Oldenbroek then took over the reins and shortly afterwards, with the decease of Edo Fimmen in 1942, was made acting general secretary of the ITF. It was certainly no sinecure to succeed to the leadership, the responsibility and the legacy of a universally esteemed leader who had devoted his entire

List of Delegates

<i>Country and Organization</i>	<i>Member-ship</i>	<i>Delegates</i>	<i>Substitutes</i>
AUSTRIA			
Gewerkschaft der Eisenbahner <i>Railwaymen</i>	70,025	V. Übeleis R. Freund A. Thaler A. Schulz E. Freisinger	
Gewerkschaft der Bediensteten im Handel, Transport und Verkehr <i>Transport Workers</i>	22,033	K. Weigl L. Brosch	
BELGIUM			
Secteur Cheminots de la C G S P <i>Railwaymen</i>	35,000	G. Devaux L. Despontin F. D'Helt A. Charlier	J. Cloes
Centrale Belge du Personnel des Tramways, Vicinaux et Autobus <i>Tramwaymen</i>	15,000	J. Geldof A. Vercruyce Ph. Martens	P. Coché
Belgische Transportarbeidersbond <i>Transport Workers</i>	30,350	A. Degrijse W. Cassiers G. Hendrickx	G. Decrom L. Vander Aa P. Vanden Bergh
Secteur Aviation de la C G S P <i>Civil Aviation</i>	800	G. Collignon	G. Coekelbergh A. Devaux
CANADA			
Canadian Brotherhood of Railway Employees and other Transport Workers	23,000	W. J. P. Webber (proxy)	

<i>Country and Organization</i>	<i>Membership</i>	<i>Delegates</i>	<i>Substitutes</i>
DENMARK			
Dansk Jernbane- forbund	10,751	P. Madsen	J. P. Pedersen
<i>Railwaymen</i>		J. K. F. Jensen	
Dansk Lokomotiv- mands Forening	1,984	N. S. Sørensen	K. T. H. Jacobsen
<i>Locomotivemen</i>		S. Suneson	
Dansk Arbejds- mandsforbund	35,000	E. Winther	
<i>Transport Workers</i>		A. Jensen	
Sømaendenes For- bund i Danmark	4,700	P. Poulsen	A. V. Lundstrøm
<i>Seamen</i>		Th. Laursen	
ESTONIA			
Eesti Meremeeste ühing Rootsis (1)	552	T. Sillaots	
<i>Seamen</i>			
FINLAND			
Finska Järnvägs- mannaförbundet	15,511	W. Backman	
<i>Railwaymen</i>		R. Tuori	
Finlands Lokomo- tivmannaförening	3,830	K. A. Lehtonen	
<i>Locomotivemen</i>			
Bilbranschsarbetare förbundet (2)	5,232	S. Koutio	
<i>Motor drivers</i>			
Finlands Sjömans- Union	6,520	N. Wälläri	
<i>Seamen</i>		A. Ahti	
FRANCE			
Fédération Syndi- caliste Confédérée des Travailleurs des Chemins de fer de France et d'Union Française (3)	50,000	R. Bodeau	
<i>Railwaymen</i>		R. Clerc	
		A. Lafond	

<i>Country and Organization</i>	<i>Member-ship</i>	<i>Delegates</i>	<i>Substitutes</i>
FRANCE			
Fédération Nationale 'FO' des Transports <i>Road Transport Workers</i>	10,638	M. Gellibert P. Felce Bourgoin	
Fédération des Travaux Publics et des Transports <i>Transport Ministry officials and Civil Aviation staff</i>	3,000	R. Lapeyre	J. Do
Fédération Nationale de la Marine Marchande <i>Seamen</i>	5,000	P. Ferri-Pisani	
GERMANY			
Gewerkschaft der Eisenbahner Deutschlands <i>Railwaymen</i>	442,638	H. Jahn J. Hatje M. Herrmann K. Klus O. Gaebe M. Ewerling J. Mirsberger W. Schmidt F. Berger K. Schäfer O. Faller A. Reiser G. Kühn L. Lange H. Völkl K. Molt H. Bracht	F. Braun W. Kunstmann M. Pester P. Pröh F. Schreiber K. Mantel H. Wiechmann
Gewerkschaft öffentliche Dienste, Transport und Verkehr	186,944	A. Kummernuss H. Hildebrand J. Stedinger H. Jipp	

<i>Country and Organization</i>	<i>Member-ship</i>	<i>Delegates</i>	<i>Substitutes</i>
GERMANY <i>Urban Passenger Transport and Road Transport Workers, Seamen, Dockers and Inland Boatmen</i>		A. Röpert M. Kuleisa A. Dienst P. Knaack A. Knorr W. Braun H. Bellinghausen G. Huber H. Behre	
Gesamtverband der öffentlichen Betriebe und Verwaltungen sowie des Transportes Gross-Berlins <i>Berlin Transport Workers</i>	4,892		
GREAT BRITAIN National Union of Railwaymen	394,833	J. B. Figgins W. T. Potter N. Bates A. G. James	
Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen	73,967	S. Auty I. Morris J. G. Baty	
Railway Clerks' Association	83,644	J. Haworth W. J. P. Webber C. Dudson T. Duncan W. Neish P. Stirk	
Transport and General Worker's Union	250,000	A. Deakin G. Elliott J. H. Knight H. C. Young E. E. Fryer L. Forden J. W. T. Jones V. Halley	

<i>Country and Organization</i>	<i>Member-ship</i>	<i>Delegates</i>	<i>Substitutes</i>
GREAT BRITAIN			
Union of Shop, Distributive and Allied Workers	40,000	G. Beardsworth I. Williams	
Scottish Horse and Motormen's Association	20,000	J. Brannigan A. Falconer	
National Union of Seamen	60,000	T. Yates A. Manson H. J. Tanner J. Scott J. Highfield W. Sinclair	
Navigators and Engineer Officers' Union	12,500	Lord Winster D. S. Tennant	
Radio Officers' Union	5,366	H. O'Neill D. H. Lamb	
GREECE			
Fédération Panhellénique des Cheminots <i>Railwaymen</i>	10,800	S. Dimitracopoulos Ch. Charissiades	
Fédération Panhellénique des Gens de Mer <i>Seamen</i>	25,000	P. Kalapothakis	A. Kazakos
ITALY			
Sindacato Nazionale Ferrovieri <i>Railwaymen</i>	15,000	E. Pellegrino E. Bartolini	
Federazione Nazionale Autoferrotrattori ed Internavigatori (2) <i>Road Transport Workers, Tramwaymen & Inland Boatmen</i>	8,777	G. Martelli	

<i>Country and Organization</i>	<i>Membership</i>	<i>Delegates</i>	<i>Substitutes</i>
ITALY			
Federazione Gente del Mare (4) <i>Seamen</i>	10,000	U. Romagnoli P. Giornelli	
JAPAN			
All-Japanese Seamen's Union	145,229	H. Kageyama	
LUXEMBOURG			
Landesverband Luxemburger Eisenbahner <i>Railwaymen</i>	5,500	J. P. Remackel J. B. Schilling	
NETHERLANDS			
Nederlandse Vereniging van Spoor- en Tramwegpersoneel <i>Railwaymen and Tramwaymen</i>	25,411	G. Joustra H. J. Kanne R. v. d. Weerdt J. de Later	F. P. A. Landskroon
Centrale Bond van Transportarbeiders <i>Transport Workers</i>	34,253	H. W. Koppens Th. Smeding A. de Boon H. M. W. Westerkalen F. Heystra	
Centrale van Kapiteins en Officieren ter Koopvaardij <i>Ships Officers</i>	6,695	P. de Vries J. F. van Muijlwijk	D. Harms C. W. van Driel
Vereniging van Radio-Telegrafisten bij de K.L.M. (2) <i>Radio Officers</i>	235	A. J. Lensing	A. C. J. Piccaardt

<i>Country and Organization</i>	<i>Member-ship</i>	<i>Delegates</i>	<i>Substitutes</i>
NORWAY			
Norsk Jernbane- forbund <i>Railwaymen</i>	20,777	M. Trana S. Rounge A. Olsen	
Norsk Lokomotiv- mandsforbund <i>Locomotivemen</i>	2,220	M. Heggstad	
Norsk Transport- arbeidersforbund <i>Transport Workers</i>	23,627	L. S. Olsen E. Aasen J. Karlsen G. Ström	
Norsk Sjømanns- forbund <i>Seamen</i>	26,000	I. Haugen Th. Sønsteby E. Ulvestad	
Norsk Styrmands- forening <i>Mates</i>	3,300	O. Skjervoll	
Norsk Maskinist- forbund <i>Ships engineers</i>	4,000	J. E. Johanson	
PAKISTAN			
Pakistan Transport Workers' Federation	57,000	F. Ahmed	
SAAR			
Einheitsgewerk- schaft der Eisen- bahner (5) <i>Railwaymen</i>	11,000	E. Welter F. Schneider G. Brack	
SPAIN exile			
Sindicato Nacional Ferroviario <i>Railwaymen</i>	12,000	T. Gómez A. Pérez	
Federacion Nacio- nal der Transporte UGT <i>Transport Workers</i>	13,000	T. Gómez A. Pérez	

<i>Country and Organization</i>	<i>Membership</i>	<i>Delegates</i>	<i>Substitutes</i>
SWEDEN			
Svenska Järnvägs- mannaförbundet <i>Railwaymen</i>	67,237	H. Blomgren S. Christiansson E. Eliasson G. Kolare Hj. Neijmer	
Svenska Transport- arbetareförbundet <i>Transport Workers</i>	39,819	R. Helgesson O. Olsson A. Flenström E. Larsson H. Svensson	K. Wrenby G. Lindh
Svenska Sjöfolks- förbundet <i>Seamen</i>	15,000	J. Svensson G. Carlsson	
Svenska Maskinbe- fällsforbundet <i>Ships Engineers</i>	3,248	E. W. Berggren A. Söre	
Handelstjänste- mannaförbundet <i>Salaried Staff in transport & civil aviation</i>	3,000	R. Lindforss	
SWITZERLAND			
Schweizerischer Eisenbahner Ver- band <i>Railwaymen</i>	43,365	W. Hungerbühler R. Bratschi F. Felber H. Düby C. Frey H. Stähli	T. Vogel J. Wagner T. Bühler
Verband der Han- dels-, Transport und Lebensmittel- arbeiter der Schweiz <i>Transport Workers</i>	9,701	W. Brunner	
Verband des Perso- nals öffentlicher Dienste, Sektion Luftfahrt <i>Civil Aviation</i>	608	M. Arnold	H. Müller K. Meyer J. Isler R. Nydegger

<i>Country and Organization</i>	<i>Member-ship</i>	<i>Delegates</i>	<i>Substitutes</i>
UNITED STATES			
Railway Labor Executives' Association (6)	705,882	A. J. Hayes E. Petersen L. B. Snedden A. E. Lyon I. Brown	
Seafarers' International Union of North America	51,000	J. Hawk P. McHugh	
Air Line Pilots' Association	5,000	S. Doepke	
URUGUAY			
Federacion Ferroviaria y Ramas Anexas del Uruguay <i>Railwaymen</i>	7,600	M. Machin	

(1) affiliated April 1950

(2) affiliated July 1950

(3) estimate

(4) affiliated February 1950

(5) affiliated May 1950

(6) 'agreed membership', i.e. an agreement between affiliates of the RLEA on sharing the expenses of the Association

Guests

GERMANY	Friedel Jahn J. Döring H. Kummerowski P. Emmen M. Peschel J. Bolling W. Auerbach
NETHERLANDS	J. Brautigam A. Kievit
SWEDEN	Ch. Lindley
SWITZERLAND	E. Zeli

Fraternal Delegates

J. H. OLDENBROEK	International Confederation of Free Trade Unions
J. CHRISTENSSON	Scandinaviska Transportarbetarefederationen
C. CAPELLETTO	Italian Autonomous Railwaymen's Union
C. BALDASSARE	
G. CANINI	Italian Confederation of Labour Unions
D. FOLLOWS	International Federation of Air
W. L. VICKERSTAFF	Line Pilots' Associations
H. RUTZ	American Federation of Labor
H. KIRSCH	American Federation of Labor
	Free Trade Union Committee
W. A. FOX	New Zealand Federated Cooks' and Stewards' Union

Observers

H. BROWNE	Representative of the U S High Commissioner
MAJ. GEN. C. P. GROSS	US Land Commissioner for Wuerttemberg-Baden
D. J. SAPOSS	Economic Cooperation Administration
J. SCHUIL	International Labour Office
N. S. FRIEDMAN	US High Commission for Germany
DR E. YOUNG	
G. WILLIS	
H. W. BAKER	
R. G. EXLEY	British High Commission for Germany
F. KENNY	
W. KEIL	President of Lantag Wuerttemberg
DR A. KLETT	Mayor of Stuttgart
D. STETTER	Ministerialdirektor

ITF Secretariat

O.BECU Acting General Secretary

P.TOFAHRN Assistant General Secretary

MISS TH.ASSER

L.MARTINEZ

S.BACKLUND

J.L.MERLE

MRS I.BAREA

MISS A.NEBOUT

MRS F.CASTLES

G.REED

G.R.CLUTTERBUCK

R.SANTLEY

W.D.DORCHAIN

A.SPIRIG

MISS I.ELMBERG

F.STRAUSS

K.A.GOLDING

L.VINCENT

MRS L.A.KANT

M.ZWALF

V.KLATIL

Staff of the German Railwaymen's and German Transport Workers' Unions.

Agendas

Congress

- 1 Opening and presidential address
- 2 Report on activities for the years 1948 and 1949
- 3 Financial report for the years 1948 and 1949
- 4 Relations with ICFTU
- 5 Working hours in railway and road transport
- 6 Revision of Constitution
- 7 Proposals submitted by affiliated organizations
- 8 Elections:
 - a General Council, members and substitutes
 - b Executive Committee
 - c Management Committee
 - d General Secretary
 - e Assistant General Secretary
- 9 Domicile of the ITF
- 10 Expulsion of:
 - a Canadian Seamen's Union
 - b New Zealand Waterside Workers' Union
 - c Finnish Transport Workers' Union

Railwaymen's Section

- 1 Election of Chairman
- 2 Report 1948-9 *section report in general report*
- 3 Hours of work *to be discussed jointly with Road Transport Workers' Section*
- 4 Report on matters in hand
- 5 Appointment of Section Committee
- 6 Next Section Conference: agenda, time and place
- 7 Any other business

Road Transport Workers' Section

- 1 Election of Chairman
- 2 Report 1948-9 *section report in general report*
- 3 Hours of work *to be discussed jointly with Railwaymen's Section*
- 4 Hours of work in long distance road transport
- 5 Report on matters in hand
- 6 Appointment of Section Committee
- 7 Next Section Conference: agenda, time and place

N.B. As the general policy of work in railway and road transport must be based on the same principle, the Executive Committee has provided that the two Sections concerned discuss the question in a joint meeting.

Seafarers' Section

- 1 Election of Chairman
- 2 Report on activities 1948-9 *section report in general report*
- 3 Seattle Conventions
- 4 Nominal flag transfers
- 5 Competition in North Sea and Baltic Sea trades
- 6 Asian Regional Maritime Conference
- 7 Ballasting of ships
- 8 Proposed establishment of Planning Board for Maritime Industry
- 9 Vigilance Committee
- 10 Appointment of Section Committee
- 11 Next Section Conference: agenda, date and place
- 12 Any other business

Dockers' Section

- 1 Election of Chairman
- 2 Report on activities 1948-9 *section report in general report*
- 3 Revision of Docks Convention - Programme of demands
- 4 Limitation of loads
- 5 Vigilance Committee
- 6 Appointment of Section Committee
- 7 Next Section Conference: agenda, date and place
- 8 Any other business

Fishermen's Section

- 1 Election of Chairman
- 2 Report on activities and Establishment of Section *section report in general report*
- 3 ILO enquiry and Committee of Experts
- 4 Progress of trade union organization among fishermen, including small owners and inshore fishermen
- 5 Practice regarding gross and net proceeds
- 6 Appointment of Section Committee
- 7 Next Section Conference: agenda, date and place
- 8 Any other business

Inland Boatmen's Section

- 1 Election of Chairman

- 2 Report 1948-9 *section report in general report*
- 3 Activity in the near future and organization of the Section's work
- 4 Appointment of Section Committee
- 5 Next Section Conference: agenda, date and place
- 6 Any other business

Civil Aviation Staff Section

- 1 Election of chairman
- 2 Report 1949 *section report in general report to Congress*
- 3 Holidays with pay
- 4 Composition of flight crew
- 5 Report of Section Committee on matters in hand
- 6 Election of Section Committee
- 7 Next Section Conference: agenda, date and place
- 8 Any other business

Standing Orders as Proposed

1 It is proposed that, in accordance with existing practice, the Executive Committee of the ITF shall act as Standing Orders Committee of the Congress.

2 It is proposed that the Congress meet as follows:

JULY 21ST from 10 a.m. to 12.30 p.m. and from 2.30 p.m. to 5.30 p.m.

JULY 22ND 24TH 25TH 26TH from 9 a.m. to 12.30 p.m.

JULY 28TH from 9 a.m. to 12.30 p.m. and from 2.30 p.m. to 5.30 p.m.

JULY 29TH from 9 a.m. to 12.30 p.m.

Other time being reserved for Section meetings as follows:

JULY 22ND 2 p.m. Civil Aviation Workers

Railwaymen and Road Transport Workers jointly

JULY 23RD 9 a.m. Dockers

Railwaymen and Road Transport Workers jointly

JULY 24TH 2 p.m. Inland Navigation Workers

JULY 25TH 2 p.m. Seafarers

Road Transport Workers

JULY 26TH 2 p.m. Seafarers

Railwaymen

3 There will be four official congress languages, English, French, German and one of the Scandinavian languages, into which all speeches and texts will be translated. But delegates will be allowed to speak in their own language, if they have not a sufficient command of one of the official languages.

4 A time limit for speakers will be fixed, if necessary, by the President according to requirements of the timetable of the Congress.

5 The Report of the Credentials Committee shall be dealt with immediately after it has been handed to the President, so that the Congress can be properly constituted and the voting strength of each delegation determined.

6 In case of voting by a show of hands each delegate shall have one vote.

In case of voting by ballot (i.e. for elections) each delegation shall have a number of votes equal to the number of delegates it is entitled to.

In case of a card vote each delegation shall vote on its affiliated membership, in accordance with rule 8 of the ITF constitution.

7 Delegates are free to move any motion bearing upon subjects on the agenda, but the President may defer the debate on such a motion until it has been put in writing and distributed among the delegates.

The same applies to amendments to proposals submitted by affiliated organizations or the Executive Committee.

8 Emergency resolutions can only be moved with the consent of the Executive Committee or of the Congress, if the Executive Committee should refer the matter to it.

Proposals submitted

AMENDMENTS TO CONSTITUTION

The General Council RULE FIVE: At the end of Paragraph Three, now reading: '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*.' for 'three' substitute 'four'.

Regional Subdivisions RULE ELEVEN: For Paragraph Two, reading: '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.', substitute the following:

'All officials of a Sub-Secretariat shall be appointed by the Executive Committee of the Federation, after consultation with the organizations concerned.'

Industrial Sections RULE TWELVE: For Paragraph Two, first sentence now reading: 'Section conferences shall be convened by the Executive Committee, which shall fix their agenda and the date and place of meeting.', substitute the following:

'Section conferences shall be convened by and meet under the authority of the Executive Committee, which shall fix their agenda and the date and place of meeting.'

In Paragraph Three, now reading: 'Sectional 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.', omit the first sentence, and for the remainder substitute the following:

'A conference of each industrial section shall be held in connection with each ordinary Congress of the Federation, on which occasion the representatives of the Section there present may elect a Section Chairman to conduct all meetings of the Section during the period ending with the commencement of the next following ordinary Congress. Section Chairmen shall be ex officio members of the General Council of the Federation. Should an industrial section not make use of its right to elect a Section Chairman, each meeting of the Section shall elect a chairman to serve for the duration of the meeting.'

Proposed by the ITF Executive Committee

ADMINISTRATIVE MATTERS

Cost of Representation on Section Committees: On various occasions the ITF has asked for members to be elected to special committees and expenses had to

be met by the unions of which those so elected were members. This procedure is unsatisfactory in several ways. On the one hand it is bound to restrict severely freedom of choice, since in each case it is necessary to ascertain that the union to which a likely candidate belongs will be able to bear the cost of his attending meetings. At the same time, expenses prove heavy for certain unions. Finally, it is not always possible to take into account the aptitudes and qualities of the members to be elected.

For these reasons we propose that the 1950 Congress of the ITF should decide that the travelling and other expenses of members of those committees should be payable by the ITF, and that affiliation fees to the ITF should be increased accordingly.

Proposed by the Swedish Transport Workers' Union

Observations and Recommendations by the Executive Committee: The Swedish Transport Workers' proposal deals with the cost of the functioning of the Section Committees.

The Rules of the ITF do not provide for the setting up of section committees as such. They provide solely for section conferences and, on the subject of these, stipulate that the travelling and other expenses of delegates to these conferences should be the responsibility of the organizations which they represent.

As the section committees have no constitutional status as such, their meetings are, when all is said and done, in the nature of small sectional conferences. In this regard each section makes whatever arrangements suit it best. Clearly, the size of the different sections, the number and technical nature of their problems and the strategic character of their activities, differs very much from one section to another and makes it impracticable to adopt a single formula. The seamen, for instance, in view of the fact that their activity requires frequent international co-ordination, need to meet frequently. Moreover, although attendance at these meetings has usually to be rather full, it is not necessary to get the whole of the representatives of the unions which comprise the seamen's section together every time. These small conferences have come to be called committee meetings of the seamen's section and expenses for these have been borne by the unions. The railwaymen's section is the biggest but its problems are of a different character. In the railwaymen's case is a good deal to be gained by having the section conferences prepared by a small committee.

Between the two extremes of the railwaymen and the seamen, you have, for instance, the inland boatmen and deep-sea fishermen. These sections are so small that the setting up of section committees would never be justified and all meetings would almost necessarily take the form of section conferences, expenses in connection with which would, in accordance with the Rules, be a matter for the unions concerned.

Present procedure gives us the following:

'The Seamen's Section has a 'Section Committee' with no fixed membership but its meetings are usually quite large in size. This committee meets at irregular intervals but fairly frequently.

The Railwaymen's Section has a 'Committee of Experts' consisting of five members which met twice in 1949 and which should meet on an average at least twice yearly.

The Road Transport Section has a 'Committee of Experts' consisting of four members which held four meetings in 1949 and which should meet on an average twice yearly.

The Civil Aviation Section has a 'Section Committee' of ten members, divided into two sub-committees, which held its first meeting in April 1950; it is impossible to say at the moment how frequently this Committee should meet.'

The sections of dockers, inland navigation workers and fishermen have no committee.

The difficulties instanced by the Swedish Transport Workers' Union are real, particularly as the Union is interested in the work of several sections. *The Swedish union caters for transport workers, dockers and civil aviation staffs.* The proposal to have the treasury of the ITF finance the functioning of bodies necessary to the organizing and directing our international work, is logical. Were it adopted there would be a tendency for the committees to become larger and to meet more often. Those sections which have no committee would establish one. The logical result of this action would be greater expense, thus throwing the budget of the ITF completely out of gear.

The proposal of the Swedish Transport Workers that affiliation fees shall be increased to meet these additional costs might provoke the counter-suggestion that the contributions of the unions belonging to the different sections should be fixed in proportion to the expenses of the different sections. This might be calculated to impair somewhat the harmony which has always been a feature of relationships inside the ITF.

The Executive Committee therefore recommends that no change be made in the customary procedure and that each section should be left the task of obtaining the necessary assistance to organize and direct the work to be done between two section conferences. It asks the Swedish Transport Workers Union if it will not consider withdrawing its motion.

Establishment of a Dockers' and Road Transport Workers' Section: The work of the ITF is divided up into sections. Each is guided by a Section Committee under the direction of the General Secretary or the Assistant General Secretary. There are Section Committees for the seamen, the railwaymen, and the newly-formed Civil Aviation Section, with a chairman for each section.

For the dockers and the road transport workers, who present the ITF with a large field of activity, there is no section committee and no section chairman. It seems clear to us that the present and future problems confronting these groups of workers are of equal importance to those of the seamen, the railwaymen and the civil aviation staffs, and need to be handled under expert direction like the problems of the other sections. Thus, the number of questions affecting the dockers and the road transport workers make it essential that a special officer be made responsible for them.

For this we propose that

Congress should decide to set up a section for dockers and road transport workers;

Congress should decide to appoint an Assistant General Secretary to be responsible for the work of this section.

Proposed by the Swedish Transport Workers' Union

Observations and Recommendations of the Executive Committee: There is already a Road Transport Workers' Section, including tramwaymen, and a Dockers' Section. It is not practicable to combine the two groups within a single section.

The appointment of section committees and the election of chairmen of sections is optional.

The Road Transport Section held a meeting on the occasion of the Oslo Congress. On that occasion it appointed a Section Committee, called a Committee of Experts. This Committee held a number of meetings during 1949 and prepared the Road Transport Workers' Conference, which took place in Paris in October 1949. At its Oslo meeting the Section did not appoint a Chairman.

The Dockers' Section held a meeting in connection with the Oslo Congress. It did not appoint a section committee or chairman and did not decide to hold any meeting between the 1948 and the 1950 Congresses.

The Road Transport Section is looked after by the Assistant General Secretary, the Dockers' Section by the General Secretary.

The Rules lay down that 'the Secretariat of the ITF shall consist of a general secretary-treasurer an assistant general secretary and secretaries in charge of industrial sections'. To be able to consider the Swedish motion in favour of a second assistant general secretary, it would be necessary to have first an amendment to the Rules. The possibility of appointing section secretaries makes an amendment to Rules on this point superfluous.

The Executive Committee is aware of the desire of the Secretaries to give to the work of all the sections for which they are responsible more regularity and more continuity. The change of general secretary which recently took place has not yet, in the nature of things, had its full effect and, for this reason,

the Executive Committee advises that no decision be taken affecting the composition of the Secretariat. In consequence it recommends the acceptance of the Swedish motion in the following form:

‘Congress instructs the General Secretary and the Management Committee to examine the possibility of helping the Secretaries by the appointment of one or more officials whose main work shall be to look after the different sections’.

Establishment of a Road Transport Workers’ Section: The Dutch Transport Workers’ Union proposes to Congress that a permanent section should be established to look after road transport, within which matters affecting both goods and passenger transport could be dealt with.

Motivation: In the view of our union there cannot, at present, be any talk of a prompt handling of questions connected with road transport the reason for this being the lack of a permanent section.

After discussion of two motions concerning road transport submitted by the organizations concerned in Holland and Sweden, the Oslo Congress decided to set up a Committee whose task it should be to examine the two motions and submit them to a special conference for road transport.

The work of this Committee which met four times in London as well as the discussions at the road transport conference in Paris in 1949, showed clearly that many questions affecting the workers in road transport remain unsolved and urgently require solution by the laying down of guiding principles for the affiliated unions. In view of the constant change that road transport is still undergoing, it would be useful to continue to follow the development state step by step on the international plane. It is also necessary to arrange regular international exchanges of view with other branches of transport.

The method of working of the Oslo Committee, however appreciative we may be of the work it has done, ought not to be continued. The terms of reference of the Committee were too narrow and the Committee itself was not large enough. The result was that it was unable to see clearly enough the links between the task entrusted to it and other problems, since it was only able to inform itself in a theoretical manner as regards important areas which had no representatives on the committee.

The Oslo Committee consisted of four members: Gellibert *France*, Henderson *Great Britain*, Svensson *Scandinavia* and Westerlaken *Benelux*. The enlargement of this Committee by a number of members and its conversion into a permanent section, is, in the light of the foregoing, a matter of urgency.

Proposed by the Dutch Transport Workers’ Union

Observations and Recommendations of the Executive Committee: This motion connects with the previous one.

A ‘permanent’ Section for Road Transport Workers, including Tramway-men, has existed for many years. This part of the motion does not therefore call for any decision on the part of Congress.

The Executive Committee recommends Congress to pass the motion to the Road Transport Section which is competent to amend its previous decision and organize its work along the lines which seem best to it.

Exclusion of the Canadian Seamen's Union: This Congress having considered the refusal of the ITF to show solidarity with the striking Canadian Seamen, and the suspension of the affiliation of the Canadian Seamen's Union by the Executive; Takes into account the following facts:

From April to July 1949, the Canadian Seamen's Union CSU conducted a strike when need for recourse to this final weapon for the defence of the interests of the members, did not exist. To induce members to come out on strike the Communist leaders of this Organization lied to them. Moreover, they gave out strike instructions which conflict with all tradition of maritime trade union action and also with Canadian law, thus laying the members open to legal proceedings and severe penalties.

The leaders of the Canadian Seamen's Union called for the assistance of the ITF but systematically hid the truth about the alleged dispute by deliberately refusing to furnish information which, in accordance with the Rules of the ITF, they were under an obligation to provide. Instead of informing the ITF, and through it the Organizations whose support was desired, the Communist leaders of the Canadian Seamen's Union, with the active assistance of agents of the Communist Parties, conducted a campaign of lies among the workers in the different ports throughout the world and exploited in a shameless fashion the sentiment of solidarity of the latter. They thus did grave injury to the waterside workers whom they led astray and to the economy of the countries affected.

On the other hand, the leaders of the Canadian Seamen's Union conferred secretly with the so-called World Federation of Trade Unions and this instrument of the Cominform supported their campaign against the ITF and the Organizations affiliated to it. The leaders of the Canadian Seamen's Union conducted their campaign by means and according to methods which demanded large financial resources, but they left their members on strike in foreign ports to the charity of the sympathising workers.

The strike was conducted, contrary to all the rules of Trade Union strategy, by methods aiming at dragging uselessly and wickedly, in all parts of the world, the greatest possible number of workers into the dispute.

Whereas everything points to the fact that the strike of the Canadian Seamen's Union was decided by an outside power of which the leaders of the CSU are the lackeys;

THIS CONGRESS approves the decision of the Management Committee, the Executive Committee and the General Council to refuse, for the first time in the history of the ITF assistance to an affiliated Organization engaged in a dispute.

Decides to expel the CSU from the ITF for having harmed the interests of its own members and those of other affiliated Unions;

Notes with satisfaction that the vast majority of the members of the Canadian Seamen's Union have turned their backs on this Organization so unworthy of their confidence and have re-joined the ranks of a free trade union;

Invites Transport Workers throughout the world to ponder this example of shameful exploitation of the noble sentiment of working class solidarity for unavowed political ends.

Proposed by the ITF Executive Committee

Expulsion of the New Zealand Waterside Workers' Union: This Congress deliberating upon the suspension of the affiliation of the New Zealand Waterside Workers' Union by the Executive Committee,

Takes into account the following facts:

In December 1949 The New Zealand Waterside Workers' Union affiliated to the Maritime Department of that agency of the Cominform which parades under the name of the WFTU, whose hostility towards the ITF is a matter of public notoriety. The NZWU thus deliberately disregarded a decision of the competent bodies of the ITF which have laid down that affiliation to the so-called WFTU is incompatible with affiliation to the ITF.

By making, in the spring and summer of 1949, common cause with the Canadian Seamen's Union, the New Zealand Waterside Workers violated a decision of the General Council of the ITF of May 1949.

Whereas the New Zealand Waterside Workers' Union, by affiliating to a Communist body, has ceased to be a free Trade Union;

THIS CONGRESS *Decides* to expel it from the ITF;

Invites all affiliated Organizations which have relations with the New Zealand Waterside Workers' Union to break these off.

Calls upon the non-Communist members of the NZWU to get together and act to eliminate the Soviet agents from their Organization, and make their Union once again an instrument for the defence of their interests and bring about its reintegration in the great brotherhood of workers associated under the banner of the ITF.

Proposed by the ITF Executive Committee

Expulsion of the Finnish Transport Workers' Union: This Congress considering the suspension of the affiliation of the Finnish Transport Workers' Union: Takes into account the following facts:

Contrary to the express recommendation of the Executive Committee the Finnish Union was represented in July 1949 at the inaugural conference of the Seamen's and Dockers' Section of the so-called World Federation of Trade Unions. At that time the Union was affiliated to the Finnish Trade Union Centre, itself affiliated to the WFTU.

In August 1949, the Finnish Union, in contravention of decision of the Fin-

nish Trade Union Centre, conducted a strike in which exclusively Communist-dominated unions took part. For that reason it was expelled from the Finnish Trade Union Centre and, by reason of this fact, ceased to be affiliated indirectly to the WFTU.

Subsequently, the Transport Workers' Union, jointly with the Forestry Workers' Union, – also excluded from the Finnish Trade Union Centre – set up a Unity Committee and 'a request was made to the WFTU to re-establish affiliation on this basis.'

THIS CONGRESS In view of the fact that the request for the re-establishment of affiliation, addressed by the Finnish Transport Workers' Union to the WFTU, and being bound to result in the establishment of direct links between that Union and the Communist organization hostile to the ITF,

concludes that the Finnish Union has ceased to be a free trade union;

Notes that the Scandinavian Transport Workers' Federation has broken off relations with the Finnish Union,

Decides to expel it from the ITF, and

Invites those workers still holding membership cards of the Finnish Transport Union to rally to the cause of free trade unionism and to re-join the ITF by the means open to them.

Proposed by the ITF Executive Committee

INDUSTRIAL MATTERS

Seattle Conventions: The Seattle Conventions of 1946 have an important part to play in protecting seamen all over the world and raising their standard of life. The convention on the international minimum wage is of basic importance in that it is designed to ensure equity and order in international shipping competition.

Although the standards laid down in the convention are still not adequate, we regret that no general realization of even these standards can be hoped for in the near future.

Congress is therefore requested to instruct its Secretariat to take the following measures to secure the application of the provisions of the Seattle Conventions with the least possible delay;

1 To prepare and put into effect a campaign for the ratification of the conventions, assigning to each union a concrete task to carry out;

2 To prepare a plan to assist a campaign to be conducted by the unions of countries which are not members of the ILO, with a view to getting the provisions of these conventions applied in those countries also.

Proposed by the All-Japan Seamen's Union

Recommendation by the Executive Committee: The Executive Committee recommends the Congress to accept the motion in principle and to pass it to the

Seamen's Section which is competent to study it and to put into practice such measures as are likely to produce the results desired by the All-Japan Seamen's Union, aims to which the Executive invites the Congress to subscribe.

Hours of work on Greek railways: Whereas on the railways in Greece, working hours number nine per day in the civil engineering department, nine on the average in the train service and ten for station staff;

Whereas the Washington Convention on the eight-hour day is applicable to all railway personnel, with the sole exception of persons holding positions of supervision or management or persons employed in a confidential capacity; *Whereas* the Government of the Hellenes ratified the said Convention in 1920, and, having never denounced it, is, both morally and contractually, obliged to observe it;

Whereas the effective date for application of the said Convention to the Greek railways was 1 July 1924;

THE CONGRESS Establishes that the Government of the Hellenes, by tolerating infringement of the Convention's stipulations, and by ignoring the protests made by the Pan-Hellenic Federation of Railwaymen, is guilty of breach of covenant; and

Instructs the Secretariat and Executive Committee of the ITF to lend support to the representations made to the Government of the Hellenes by the Pan-Hellenic Federation of Railwaymen, and, should such representations be unsuccessful, to take the necessary steps to ensure application of the procedure provided by articles twenty-four to thirty-four of the Constitution of the International Labour Organization, with a view to having the Government of the Hellenes summoned before the International Court of Justice should this prove necessary.

*Submitted by the Executive Committee at the request
of the Pan-Hellenic Railwaymen's Federation*

POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC MATTERS

Japanese economy and foreign trade: Foreign trade is an important binding element in a world which is on the way towards being organized as a free and peaceful community through the strengthening of interdependence among the nations. Without freedom of trade, sound reconstruction and economic development cannot be hoped for, particularly in the case of carrier nations. *The Japan* of today, however, is barred from foreign trade on its own account and the extent to which its shipping may be used for such trade is greatly limited.

We recommend that Congress recognize that such a situation is a powerful factor in keeping low the living standard of the Japanese, and of the transport workers in particular – in spite of generous aid from the Allied Powers. We

therefore request Congress to suggest to the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers the earliest possible consideration of the removal of this kind of obstacle and the adjustment of working conditions on ships allotted for overseas trade to international levels.

Proposed by the All-Japan Seamen's Union

Japanese economy and sea fisheries: The Transport Workers, joined together within the ITF, are in favour of the common use of the world's natural resources by all Nations, in the interests of world peace and general well-being. *For the Japanese* the marine animal protein from the surrounding seas plays a great part in their economic recovery plan and the raising of their living standards. At the present time the areas in which Japan may fish are severely restricted and the South Seas are barred to their whaling fleet.

We ask Congress to recognize that these restrictions are irrational and are based on political considerations, and to request the Economic Commission for Asia and Far East to make every possible effort to remove these restrictions in the near future.

Proposed by the All-Japan Seamen's Union

Recommendation of the Executive Committee: The Executive Committee recommends Congress to accept these two proposals by the adoption of a resolution on the following lines:

Whereas Japan has nearly 2,800 inhabitants per square mile of arable land, probably the highest density of population in ratio to arableland in the world; *Whereas*, therefore, the agricultural resources of Japan can never be sufficient to guarantee to all its inhabitants a tolerable standard of life;

Whereas, the yield of deep sea fishing is therefore an indispensable complement;

Whereas, Japanese participation in international trade is also essential if Japan is to be able to import agricultural products in exchange for manufactured goods;

Whereas, however, the expansion of production of raw materials, industrial production, foreign trade and maritime activities cannot be considered apart from questions of international security;

THIS CONGRESS Expresses the sympathy of the transport workers of the democratic world with the Japanese transport workers;

Requests the Allied and International Authorities concerned to remove as soon as possible those obstacles to foreign trade, deep sea fishing and shipping as are not absolutely necessary to safeguard the world against the re-birth in Japan of a militaristic and imperialistic State, and to aid, by this means, those forces which are striving to create a new peaceful and democratic Japan.

Evacuated Greek children: *Whereas*, during the course of the civil war in Greece, the rebels evacuated 28,000 children to neighbouring countries, the

Governments of which were in sympathy with their cause;

Whereas the civil war in Greece is long since over;

Whereas at the present time there is no longer any justification – presuming that it were fully justified – for the separation from their families of these children and that the continuance of this enforced exile has become an act of cruelty; THE CONGRESS expresses its sympathy with those families which have been deprived of their children;

Appeals to the humanitarian feelings of the Governments of Greece's neighbours and calls upon them to return the Greek children to their homes;

Invites the Government of the Hellenes to give assurances to both the families concerned and world public opinion that the parents will be allowed both to receive and retain their children in complete freedom and to enjoy all those rights accorded to parents in democratic countries;

Invites those Governments which maintain diplomatic relations with Greece's neighbours to use their influence to ensure that this gesture, dictated by the most elementary humanitarian considerations, be made; and

Invites the United Nations Organization to make all efforts to convince the Governments concerned that the rights of the children and of their parents override all other considerations, and to offer its good offices in organizing the repatriation of the children.

*Submitted by the Executive Committee at the request
of the Pan-Hellenic Railwaymen's Federation*

FULL EMPLOYMENT AND SOCIAL SECURITY

THE CONGRESS reaffirms its stand on the principles of the resolution on full employment and social security adopted by the Zurich Congress in 1946 in the following terms:

Whereas the period between the two wars was a period of repeated economic crises, with the corollary of widespread unemployment and misery for a large part of the population of the world;

Whereas the consequent demoralization has been an important factor in the birth of reactionary movements such as Fascism and National Socialism;

Whereas a durable peace cannot be expected unless the economic needs of the peoples are satisfied, and their freedom guaranteed;

THE CONGRESS of the ITF, meeting at Zurich from 6 to 11 May 1946, believes that it is one of the main duties of the trade union movement of all countries to fight for full employment and social security, and emphasizes that international coordination of efforts and mutual assistance are necessary if these social aims are to be achieved.

In the preparation of the action to be undertaken the following points more particularly should be borne in mind:

- 1 *The advanced* rationalization and technological progress which will make necessary a general reduction of working hours, so that the forty hour week should consequently be the immediate aim in countries in which it is not yet generally in force.
- 2 *As production* increases and a more abundant supply of manpower becomes available the school-leaving age should be raised and that of retirement from industry lowered, and adequate old age pensions should be provided.
- 3 *Preparations* for full employment should not be left to private industry, but should be the object of action by public bodies.
- 4 *The trade unions* should be consulted about everything connected with these questions, and they should be represented on all official and semi-official bodies dealing with them.'

The Congress therefore urges the Economic and Social Council of the UNO and the International Labour Office, each in its particular field of activity, to give the earliest possible attention to these matters, in the light of the considerations quoted above.

Proposed by the Belgian Tramwaymen's Union

Proceedings of the Stuttgart Congress

21 to 29 JULY 1950

FRIDAY 21st JULY 1950 MORNING SESSION

Opening and Presidential Address: *Item 1 of the agenda.* Before the official opening of the Congress the Stuttgart Philharmonic Orchestra played Beethoven's Leonora Overture No 3, which was warmly applauded.

Shortly after 10 a.m. the President, Mr Robert Bratschi, declared the Congress open. He thanked the Stuttgart Philharmonic Orchestra for its musical contribution to the proceedings and bade all delegates and guests welcome. It was a special honour, he said, to welcome the following representatives of the German and Allied authorities:

MAJOR-GENERAL C.P.GROSS, Land Commissioner for Wuerttemberg-Baden.

HERR WILHELM KEIL, Speaker of the Provincial Diet of Wuerttemberg-Baden.

HERR DAVID STETTER, Permanent Secretary to the Government of Baden.

DR A.KLETT, Lord Mayor of Stuttgart.

MR R.G.EXLEY representing the Labour Adviser to the British High Commissioner.

He also welcomed the following guests and fraternal delegates:

MR J.H.OLDENBROEK, in his double capacity of former General Secretary of the ITF and present General Secretary of the ICFTU

MR J.SCHUIL, representing the International Labour Office.

MR DAVID J.SAPOSS, representing the Economic Cooperation Administration, Paris.

MR NEWTON S.FRIEDMAN, Chief of Labor Affairs, US Land Commission for Wuerttemberg-Baden.

MR H.W.BAKER, representing the Manpower Division, US Land Commission for Wuerttemberg-Baden.

MR D.FOLLOWS, General Secretary of the International Federation of Air Line Pilots' Associations.

ADDRESSES OF WELCOME

H.JAHN *President of the German Railwaymen's Union:* I have the honour and the pleasure to welcome the twenty-first Congress of the ITF in Stuttgart on

behalf of the German Railwaymen's Union. I am extremely proud that it is given to me to witness this day here in Germany.

Time passes quickly, events crowd upon one another, and what happened yesterday is today forgotten. Forgotten! How lightly the word is spoken. Let us look back to 1924, when another congress of the ITF was held in Germany. Many of you were present then, many of those who were present then are not with us today. Edo Fimmen presided at that earlier congress and in unforgettable terms traced the principles and policies which were to guide our future work. Under his leadership the ITF became an important instrument in the orchestra of the international trade union movement.

How important it was was evident during the years of National Socialism. Wherever men celebrate the resistance to National Socialism and Fascism, to terror and coercion, the name of the ITF will be honourably mentioned. About this we will be more to say later in the course of this Congress.

I do not want to repeat what has been said already, but venture to draw special attention to two problems.

The defeat of National Socialism in Germany by the strength and power of the United Nations gave the oppressed and humiliated democratic forces in Germany the opportunity to apply themselves to the revival of democracy and the creation of democratic machinery and institutions. Tasks of the greatest importance fell to the re-emerging trade unions. By great perseverance it was possible to overcome the enormous difficulties and, with the aid of the occupying powers, to lay the foundations of a Federal German Republic.

Time, as I have said already, passes quickly. In August last year the people of the Western occupation zones of Germany were offered the opportunity to manifest their desire for democracy. The young German democracy has built up its institutions and all genuine democrats in Germany are striving to give it form and content. The military collapse of 1945 did not end in a revolution.

Not all those who sympathized with the National Socialists during the years 1933 to 1945 have recognized that the system was an abominable one which cost the lives of many innocent people. Small wonder therefore that these forces are taking advantage of democracy to reconsolidate themselves. This is one of the problems to which I think attention must be given. At the same time we, that is to say, the democratic-minded forces of the German people, will not allow cells of a fascist character to take root anywhere in Germany. We will fight every attempt of such tendencies to assert themselves. You can rest assured, comrades, that Fascism or National Socialism will not come to power a second time in Germany. We shall defend democracy wherever it has to be defended. We are resolved to oppose those who would make use of it for the purpose of winning power for themselves.

So much for a problem which is naturally of primary concern to our friends

in other countries. I should now like to touch upon a second problem which concerns us all. The free labour movement of Germany, and with it the Weimar Republic, went under in 1933 in a sea of blood. In its triumphant advance National Socialism plunged half the world into a ruthless war of conquest and destruction. A band of madmen felt themselves called to dominate the world. To realize their dream of power they inflicted a regime of terror both upon the countries they overran and their own people. Only the combined power of the United Nations sufficed break the challenge of National Socialism; and the world breathed again. Victory, it was believed, could only mean the liberation of the oppressed.

This belief, however, was soon dispelled. This is the fifth year after the second world war and still the peoples wait for peace. Five years of cold war have undermined the morale of the peoples. They once set forth on a holy crusade against Fascism, National Socialism, against the disfranchisement and enslavement of the peoples, only to find that a former ally had taken over the role of the fascist aggressors and enemies of peace. Once again the world was horrified to repeat the experience that all dictatorship live according to the same law, be they fascist, national socialist or bolshevik. Common to all of them is the suppression of liberty and justice. They all reduce the countries which they conquer and enslave to police states and gigantic concentration camps.

All dictators aim at world domination. They are essentially all alike. If there is any difference at all between fascism and bolshevism it is at the most that the latter is even more ruthless and unscrupulous in the methods used.

The whole civilized world watches with horror the road which has been taken by the rulers of Soviet Russia. It sees that, if it serves their interest, they will enter into any pact and break it without the least compunction. They will ruthlessly destroy the liberty of other peoples – witness the Baltic countries – and threaten the existence of others – witness Finland, Greece, China, Japan, and recently Korea. And, if we may consider the European situation for a moment, the frontier of Soviet power today runs across Germany, the country in which we meet today.

Study of these events reveals that the advance of Soviet imperialism, made in the name of Socialism, is accompanied by loss of liberty and human dignity. We know today that bolshevism brings not progress but retrogression.

There is no country in the world, except for Spain and the Soviet satellites, including the Russian-occupied zone of Germany, where there are so many restrictions on personal liberties as in Soviet Russia, or where there is a security police which literally has power of life and death over the individual citizen, where there are labour and penal camps, labour and penal colonies for entire sections of the population. Never before under a state system has there been such a primitive worship of the leader as under Stalin. Never has a regime

laid claim, in the way the Soviet regime does, to the credit for every progress in the fields of science, culture, technology, etc.

Soviet imperialism is, in the most terrible sense of the word, total in character and therein lies its frightful threat to humanity. We on the contrary accept democracy as the content of our lives. To us democracy is not a mere phrase, but the very essence of real, indivisible freedom. We are at one with those who met a few weeks ago at the Congress for Cultural Liberty in Berlin, stronghold of democracy and freedom. Representatives of spiritual and cultural life from over twenty nations gathered to restore meaning to the concept of freedom distorted by the terror which Soviet totalitarianism exerts in the intellectual sphere.

This Congress of the ITRF, meeting in Stuttgart in 1950, should, in my opinion, make it one of its tasks to add another stone to the edifice of peace and democracy. May it accomplish that task in the spirit of the late Edo Fimmen, who wrote with visionary power in January 1940:

'Whatever the war may bring, and whatever its result may be, the International Transport Workers' Federation will go on, and will survive it, preaching in the midst of hate and madness the brotherhood of the working class – a brotherhood and community that knows no frontiers, and no distinctions of race or color.'

'Its struggle will go on, in spite of the war, the struggle against terror and violence; the struggle for peace and the rights of man; the struggle a world that is to be, a world in which brown men and white, black and yellow, Frenchmen, Germans and Britons, all the toilers of Africa, America, Europe, Asia and Australasia, shall live together as brothers in freedom and equality.'

Edo Fimmen was writing of the second world war. But his words have a much wider bearing. They are as valid today as they were then. Our struggle must be waged in the name of freedom and human dignity – yesterday, today and tomorrow.

A. KUMMERNUSS *President of the German Public Services and Transport Workers' Union*: 'First of all I have to acquit myself, – in place of Brother Hans Böckler, President of the Federation of Trade Unions of the German Federal Republic, including the Berlin Sector, who cannot be here owing to illness, – of the task of extending to you the cordial greetings of the German Federation of Trade Unions and bidding you a hearty welcome to Germany.

Then I have the honour to greet you and to welcome you on behalf of the organization of which I am the President, the German Public Services and Transport Workers' Union, and to express our joy that the ITRF should behold its congress here in Germany; the first international trade union organization to do so since 1945. We Germans are filled today with feelings of deep

gratitude. Allow me to give expression to this gratitude and to thank you for the magnificent way and the splendid spirit of fellowship in which the whole of the international trade union movement in the years between 1945 and now have rendered active assistance to the German people, particularly to our women and children, and thereby enabled the lives of many of them, to be saved.

We are happy to be able to welcome this congress here, particularly because it is that of the ITF, which has already held an international dockers' conference at Hamburg, in 1947. What has happened during the intervening years has been described in moving words by my friend Hans Jahn. I can therefore conclude my remarks by expressing the hope that the work which you will perform in Stuttgart during the ten days that lie ahead of you will not only redound to the benefit of the unions affiliated with the ITF, but will be a symbol to the whole of humanity, a testimony that the international trade union movement is prepared at all times and in all places to fight beside their German comrades for freedom, peace and democracy.'

MAJOR-GENERAL C.P. GROSS *Land Commissioner for Wuerttemberg-Baden*: 'In my capacity as Land Commissioner for Wuerttemberg-Baden it gives me great pleasure to welcome your Biennial Convention in Western Germany.

This Convention of the ITF brings to my mind two thoughts, one out of the past, and one of the present situation. In the past the military leaders who undertook the task of directing the liberation of Europe had to rely on the devotion of all workers and particularly on the transport workers for the success of their plans. I have come here to greet the representatives of the many millions of transport workers who helped us during and after World War II. The ITF took part in that war from the first hour. When Hitler occupied Norway, Denmark, the Low Countries and France the merchant seamen of these countries were stranded on the seven seas and blocked from their ports. The Federation immediately put an end to their bewilderment. It called upon them in convincing terms to join forces with the soldiers, sailors and airmen to continue to fight against Hitler throughout the world. As a result seamen members remained at their jobs, no matter how many ships went to the bottom, setting example after example of courage and endurance. The railwaymen and transport workers of occupied Europe responded to the call of the ITF. They hampered Hitler's war efforts in many ways and rallied to the liberating forces and assisted them with enthusiasm and devotion.

This brings us to the present situation. Today is particularly significant to me because it marks the realization of one of the common objectives of the German trade unions and the Allied High Commission – the resumption of close international relationships between German trade unions and trade unions of other countries whose ideals, policies, and activities conform with standards of freedom and democracy required of trade unions in Germany. Happily your federation whole-heartedly supports the Atlantic Pact. I under-





stand that you have declared it to be a duty of your members to transport and handle the weapons sent from the United States to strengthen the defence of a free Western Europe.

I congratulate you in your endeavors to maintain and defend liberty. I hope that your efforts to expand the influence of your federation will be successful. May your organization prosper for the benefit of your five million members in giving the world the best transportation service possible in a modern world of rapid advancement.'

W. KEIL *Speaker of the Provincial Diet of Wuerttemberg-Baden*: 'I feel highly honoured to have been invited, as President of the Provincial Diet, to attend this impressive gathering. I thank you cordially for the invitation and greet you in the name of the Provincial Diet of Wuerttemberg-Baden. I may say that I also feel a close personal tie with you as a trade unionist, inasmuch as I became a member of the German trade union movement in the year 1887. Though in the intervening decades my career took me into other spheres of public service, I have always retained a sense of affinity with the trade union movement.

This congress reminds me of another which took place in 1907, also here in Stuttgart, the great International Socialist Congress which was distinguished by the presence of men like August Bebel, Emil Vandervelde, Ramsay MacDonald, Eduard Vinat, Victor Adler and Philippo Turati. Since the holding of that congress much evil has come upon the world, because the defenders of peace and freedom still lacked the power to keep that evil at bay. But in the meantime new forces have arisen, forces which are taking up the struggle for freedom and peace with renewed vigour. One of these forces is the ITF. Though only a section of the great international trade union movement, by its nature and its role it represents a tremendous force which, I confidently hope, will render great service to the cause of peace in times to come.

From this congress will go forth into the world once more the message that the idea of the United Nations is already being translated into reality. Your deliberations during the coming week will make their contribution towards deepening and strengthening that idea, and accordingly I extend to you once more a most hearty welcome and wish you every success in your work.'

D.STETTER *Permanent Secretary to the Government of Wuerttemberg-Baden*: 'The welcome which I have the honour to extend to the delegates and guests assembled here from so many countries of the world comes from the Government of the Province of Wuerttemberg-Baden. Unfortunately the Prime Minister is not able to attend your extremely important gathering, owing to the fact that he is ill and compelled to absent himself from his duties. He has requested me, however, to convey to you his cordial greetings and best wishes.

The Government of Wuerttemberg-Baden is very happy that you should have chosen the city of Stuttgart for your extremely important international

Left: IFT officials and hosts to the Congress enjoy a joke on the platform at Stuttgart. From left to right: H. Jahn, President, German Railwaymen's Union; A. Kummernuss, President, German Union of Public Service and Transport Workers; R. Bratschie, President of the ITF; O. Becu, General Secretary of the ITF; and J. Oldenbroek, General Secretary of the ICFTU.

congress. The speaker of the Diet has already recalled that you are meeting in a province and city which 43 years ago witnessed the first International Socialist Congress on German soil. With that event a whole series of international trade union conferences were connected.

Those who, like myself, associated as I have been for close on half a century with the trade union movement, were fortunate enough to be present at that gathering, are in a position to appreciate the significance of the congress for which you are assembled. You are assembled here on a spot where decades ago problems were considered similar to those which confront you today. Today the same dangers threaten the world as then; today peace is in danger as it was then and humanity is faced with the important and crucial question whether barbarism and the horror of another war are to come upon the world again or whether calamity can be averted by way of international understanding and conciliation. That this is only possible on the basis of democratic principles, personal liberty and social justice cannot be over-emphasized. These things cannot be said too clearly and therefore the Government of this province appreciates the importance and significance of your congress.

From all corners of the earth, some of you perhaps for the first time, you are gathered here in this province and city. Here you will be able to see the consequences of the second world war. You will be able to see also how in this city and province the people are striving to build anew on the ruins left by that catastrophe and to give their towns a peaceful appearance. But outward appearance alone is not enough. The task of inspiring the people with a new spirit and a new ideal in their internal attitude and their thoughts and acts is no less important than the external work of rebuilding a town and a country.

Your gathering will be concerned to help to guide large sections of people, of organized labour in particular, towards the objectives which are a prerequisite for a better understanding between the peoples.

The Government of this province, and I personally, hope that the work which you have to perform during your stay here will allow you also opportunity to see some of the beauties of the country. They further hope that you will also be able to make personal contacts with the population and to collect impressions which you will be able to share with your countrymen when you return home.

May the decisions of your congress help to preserve the peace for a humanity which has been so sorely tried in recent years. On this note I wish you a successful congress in the name of the Government of Wuerttemberg-Baden and, when the day's work is done, some pleasant hours in the company of like-minded people.'

DR A.KLETT *Lord Mayor of Stuttgart*: 'I have the honour, and the duty, to

welcome you in several capacities. Firstly on behalf of the Council of the German Conference of Cities, who wish to thank you cordially for having come here to Germany to hold your Congress. I welcome you also as Chairman of the Union of Municipal Employers' Associations, because we are also glad that you have brought your international work to do here, where you have important decisions to come to; and – I do not deny it – I am particularly happy at the honour you have done us in holding your meeting here in Stuttgart, in my capacity as Lord Mayor of this city and on behalf of our Town Council and the other mayors; and I can also say on behalf of the whole of the population of Stuttgart.

It was by means no a matter of course that only five years after the end of the war, following such a catastrophe and the consequent destruction of confidence, you should be prepared to come here again, in response to an old tradition, and make our land happy by doing your work here. We are delighted that you should have picked on our Swabian capital, a city which as you will see has taken up with determination the work of reconstruction, with visible results, and a city which is this summer the scene of the German Horticultural Show. We hope that your work will leave you some time to see something of the beauties of this Show and of our city; beauties which are still to be seen in spite of the ruins that will also be visible for some time to come.

You are the people who endeavour to bring lands and peoples closer together. You represent five and a half million working men whom you wish, through their work, to bring about quicker and better understanding between these lands and peoples, and restore the confidence that can only be restored when people are brought closer together. We are glad to know that these five and a half million men, coming from some forty different countries, are represented here in Stuttgart, and that you are thus able to do a real service to peace, which I hope may be a durable peace for Germany, Europe and the whole world. We are glad that in spite of what is happening in Korea you have not been prevented from coming to us in Germany from your own countries, many of them far distant. I wish you a successful Congress and, as Lord Mayor of this city, sunny and satisfying days to both heart and spirit.'

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

ROBERT BRATSCHI *President*: 'On behalf of the Congress I thank all previous speakers for their kind words and the compliments they have paid to the ITF.

The time has now come to make a start with our agenda.

I ought first to explain how it happens that I have the honour of presiding over this Congress. The founding of the International Confederation of Free

Trade Unions resulted in an important change in the leadership of the ITF. Our friend and colleague, Brother Oldenbroek, who, ever since the death of our unforgettable Edo Fimmen, that is to say since 1942, guided the ITF as its General Secretary, was elected General Secretary of the new free Trade Union International. In his place the Executive Committee appointed the President of the ITF, Brother Omer Becu, as Acting General Secretary. The office of President thus became vacant. As senior member of the Executive I was asked by my colleagues on that body to take over the Presidency until this Congress. In order not to cause any difficulties for the ITF. I acceded to this wish. When Congress has elected a new General Council it will also have to elect a new President. Until then I ask for your indulgence and support in my task as Chairman of this assembly.

I owe you a further explanation regarding the Congress venue. At its meeting of December 1949 the Executive Committee decided that, providing the Austrian affiliates were willing to undertake the organizational work involved, the Congress should be held in Vienna. The decision was intended to show recognition and appreciation of the attitude, loyalty and endeavour of our Austrian friends, Inquiries made by the ITF were met in Vienna not only with readiness to undertake the organization of the Congress, but with enthusiasm on the part of our Austrian comrades. At the time when the decision was taken, it was assumed that by 1950 Vienna would be a free city in a free land, i.e., free from foreign occupation. Unfortunately this condition has not been fulfilled and Austria is still an occupied country. I do not doubt that even under these circumstances the Austrian organizations would have done everything within their power to make the Congress run smoothly and it is quite certain that the well-known Austrian hospitality, enjoyed by the Railwaymen's Section at Innsbruck in 1949, would not have been lacking either. However, the Executive Committee did not consider that the position regarding the free entry of delegates into Austria and the actual organization of the Congress had been sufficiently clarified to justify holding it in Vienna. The Congress of the ITF is a free forum from which anyone can say what he thinks, and such it will remain. The Executive Committee took the view that, at the present time, all the necessary conditions for the conduct of our assembly in that spirit in Vienna were not present. On behalf of the governing bodies of the ITF I thank our Austrian friends for their readiness to receive us and would, at the same time, express the hope that Austria with its proud and beautiful city of Vienna may soon enjoy complete freedom and be able to receive a future Congress of the ITF in the manner which we have become accustomed where our Austrian friends are concerned.

I should like, at the same time, to thank the German organizations for immediately springing into the breach and undertaking the organization of the Congress. Before we could consider London, which even in the very

darkest days of the second world war kept alive the hope, faith and confidence of Europe and of the whole world, the German organizations offered their services. If, only five years after the frightful war criminally and irresponsibly unleashed by Nazism and Fascism, we are holding our Congress in Germany, this is intended as a bold gesture and as a contribution towards the overcoming of the feeling which the war has, inevitably, left behind in millions of hearts, and thus as an important contribution in the fight against the war psychosis and for the maintenance of peace. We are happy to find here in Germany strong trade union organizations ready and able to continue the work for freedom and social justice so violently interrupted by Nazism. We are meeting in the country in which Nazism did greater damage to the trade union and political organizations of the workers than anywhere else. We bow our heads in reverence to those fighters who laid down their lives on the execution block, in prison or in concentration camp, and we thank those who have survived terror and suffering and today put their whole energy into rebuilding the trade union movement.

We are proud to have several of these comrades with us here today. We have FRIEDEL JAHN, whom Edo Fimmen described as the bravest woman in the underground movement. After years of successful but hazardous work she was arrested, languished for two years in solitary confinement followed by four years penal servitude, after which she was sent to a concentration camp. There is HEINZ KUMMEROWSKY of Wuppertal and PAUL EMMEN of Krefeld, who worked as leaders of underground groups, for which they were each sentenced to ten years penal servitude. There is MAX PESCHEL, who spent in exile and in concentration camp the twelve years the Nazis were in power. We have with us also JOHANNES BOLLING, who worked from 1933 onwards in one of the ITF's clandestine groups, and whose work against the Nazi régime was interrupted, but not ended, by eighteen months imprisonment. And there are further MAX PESTER, of Cologne, who suffered six years penal servitude; MATTHIAS HERTMANN, of Nuremberg, who was arrested several times, and who played a considerable role in the attempted revolt of Gördelers and the Generals; OTTO FALLER, of Karlsruhe, and KARL MOLT, of Stuttgart.

Leading the delegations from the two German unions are HANS JAHN, whom Edo Fimmen described as one of the bravest, most successful and most consistent fighters against Hitler; and ADOLF KUMMERNUSS, who founded in 1933, in cooperation with Edo Fimmen, an underground resistance group, resulting in the trial of 'Kummernuss and accomplices' before one of the most notorious 'Peoples' Courts' and the loss of his freedom for more than two years.

Out of the very large number of comrades out of the ranks of the ITF who fell in the struggle I only mention a few, namely:

HERMANN JOCHADE, of Berlin
LORENZ BREUNIG, of Berlin
GUSTAV SAUF, of Königsberg
JONNY BRUGGMANN, of Hamburg
HANS WIECHMANN, of Danzig
WILHELM BODE, of Kottbus
HERMANN BASSE, of Brunswick
HANS FUNGER, of Krefeld
FRANZ STENZNER, of Munich
JACOB RUF, of Mannheim
ERICH STEINFURTH, of Berlin
WERNER LEHMANN, of Wuppertal, and
GEORG OTTEN, of Halle

While our Congress honours the fallen, it also wishes to be an inspiration for the living, and particularly for the younger comrades, to carry on the struggle for freedom, social justice, true democracy and peace.

When we, in the countries outside Germany, observe the trend of events inside that country, we feel that there are some reasons for disquiet. Some of the things which are happening there remind us most unpleasantly of the period following the first world war. In an impressive and sensational indictment made in the Bavarian Parliament recently, a prominent fighter against Nazism declared:

'The incorrigible elements among the former National Socialists are in close contact with each other. They meet secretly, try to form cells within the public and local authorities. It is hard to put ones finger upon these, but their underground influence is noticeable when it is a question of filling posts in the Civil Service and not only then. The fight against the young German democracy has flared up all along the line. The decisive question is: will democracy, as a result of blindness, weakness and disunity, lose this fight as did the Weimar Republic after 1929 . . .'

The man who said that was no less a person than the former Bavarian Prime Minister, Dr Högner. Certain verdicts in political trials seem to point to the fact that the influence of the former National Socialists in the German courts has by no means disappeared. There is no need here to deal at length with the situation of democracy in the Eastern Zone. There can be no doubt that democracy, as we understand it, is non-existent, and that we are dealing with one-party rule which leaves trade unionism no possibility of free development.

If, in spite of this, we are ready to feel confidence in the German people, and if we give expression to this by holding our Congress here, we do so more particularly because of the spirit of and the forces at work in the

German trade unions, as expressed in the May Day manifesto of the German Trade Union Centre for this year, 1950, which demands 'the renunciation of all nationalism and militarism, a new order in German economy and its incorporation in the European community.

It is customary at our ITF Congresses for the President to give a brief survey of the activity of our Organization since the previous Congress. Before I do this, I should like you to dwell in your thoughts a few minutes with those comrades who, since the Oslo Congress, have taken leave from us for ever. They are:

Alex Hammarström,	Treasurer of the Norwegian Railwaymen's Union
James Phillips,	former President of the Order of Railway Conductors of North America and former Chairman of the Railway Labor Executives Association of North America, and his successor in both Offices, who was Harry Frazer
John Owens,	the Secretary of the Maritime Department of the American Federation of Labor
Stanley Hirst,	former Financial Secretary of the British Transport and General Workers' Union

Thorleif Narvestad, President of the Norwegian Locomotivemen's Union

All these comrades had deserved much of the trade union movement and the ITF. This list of those who were our friends and fellow-workers is not complete, for when one of our friends dies under a dictatorship it is only by chance, if at all, that we hear of it. Let us think, also, of the numerous active members of our affiliated organizations whose loyalty and devotion have been the very foundations of the ITF, but who have left us without their names figuring in the annals of our Federation. More particularly let us think of the sacrifice made by those who have fallen in the fight for freedom and against oppression. I ask you to rise for a minute to pay tribute to all our dead.

If now I briefly review the activity of the ITF since the Oslo Congress, I have no intention of curtailing the debate on the full and interesting report submitted by the Secretariat and the Executive Committee.

To begin with, it gives me great pleasure to be able to state that our International has grown still further since our last Congress at Oslo, where Brother Becu was able to tell us that the ITF had 105 affiliated unions in forty-five countries, with a total membership of four and a half million. Today we have affiliated to us 130 unions in forty-seven countries, with a total membership of over five million. Two years ago, the most significant event reported was the affiliation of the big American railwaymen's organizations and the German unions. Today it can be stated that further American unions have affiliated to us, that the Japanese railwaymen and seamen have re-affiliated and that the ITF has now secured a firm foothold in South America, in the

Near East, in Pakistan as well as in other parts of the world. The position of the ITF in France has been consolidated and relations have been re-established with the unions in Italy.

It is true that figures – the number of unions affiliated and their aggregate membership – are not the only criteria. In free trade unions, however, where compulsion of every kind is rejected, these figures do have considerable significance, because they are an expression of confidence in us.

During the past three years, the Railwaymen's Section alone has increased its membership by nearly two million members. The other sections also show a satisfactory increase. In addition, two new sections have been created since the last Congress: a Civil Aviation Section and a Deep-sea Fishermen's Section, and I am sure Congress will welcome this.

The first task of the Civil Aviation Section will be that of clarifying the position of affiliated members in the various countries. It will have to recognise their problems and draw the necessary conclusions on the international plane. I am convinced that our Congress will prove a valuable aid to the new section. Many problems facing civil aviation staffs can only be solved internationally. The ITF has here embarked upon a wide field of important and rewarding work.

Hitherto the most direct and concrete results obtained by the ITF have been the result of its work on behalf of the seafarers and dockers. Shipping is, by its very nature, international, and its important social problems can only be settled at international level. In collaboration with the International Labour Organization at Geneva and working in close contact with the affiliated seamen's and dockers' unions, the Secretariat of the ITF strives to secure a solution to these problems.

The Secretariat and governing bodies of the ITF do, however, also work intensively on behalf of all other sections. During the period under review all sections have held sectional conferences which, thanks to thorough preparation by the Secretariat, have been enabled to perform valuable work. At the sectional conferences which will be held in conjunction with this Congress this work will be continued and it will be the task of Congress to consider the conclusions reached at them.

During the period under review disputes, in the form of strikes, were less frequently necessary than during former periods. This is proof of the growing strength and influence of the unions, for it is only where unions are strong that employers are ready to sign agreements safeguarding the workers' rights.

One task to which the ITF has, ever since its inception, paid particular attention, is that of the preservation of peace. Nor has it flinched from drastic measures when it has believed that conflicts could thereby be prevented and peace ensured. Since 1920 it has taken part, repeatedly and intensively, in the fight against warmongers and aggressors. In view of the nature and im-

portance of the work performed by its affiliated members, it has gone further in this respect than any other organization. I need only recall here the part it played during the second world war. The importance of its contribution was recognized by all who were engaged in the struggle against Nazism and Fascism. Those in charge of the ITF have no intention of slackening their efforts towards the preservation of real peace.

They refuse, however, to be dragged behind movements the purpose of which is less to further peace among the nations than to serve the political aims of any one country or group of countries, as is the case with the so-called Partisans of Peace. The campaign of the 'Partisans', which is being conducted by Communist organizations throughout the world, demands 'the unconditional banning of the atomic bomb' and 'strict international control' of the operation of this ban. It is not the task of your President to deal in detail with the arguments put forward by the 'Partisans' or even with the senseless abuse, by 'Partisans' of greater or lesser academic standing, to which the free trade unions have been subjected. It may be definitely stated, however, that even in the purely formal sense the 'Partisan' campaign does not demand the maintenance of the peace as such but merely strives for the banning of a certain weapon of warfare. Admittedly it is a weapon of peculiar efficacy, but it is not at all certain, however, whether other weapons, such as poison gas, bacteriological warfare, cosmic rays and all the other things that science may yet discover, are less terrible than the atomic bomb. There is also the further question as to whether the methods used in the first and second world war, if used again and on a more extensive scale, are not also likely to destroy the results of centuries of civilization. Does the banning of a single weapon mean that, apart from this, war is, as it has been in the past, still a permissible, indeed, even normal means, of solving differences of opinion and clashes of interests between peoples and nations?

If this is so, the demand made by the 'Partisans' is far behind even what was provided for in the Kellogg-Briand Pact more than twenty years ago. This pact did nothing less than outlaw war. It was signed by all the more important nations of the world. Had it not been trampled under foot by the Fascists and Nazis the outbreak of the second world war would have been impossible. Now the United Nations have made it their main task to preserve peace as a whole and have, to that end, created a mighty Organization with the Security Council at its head.

The banning of a single weapon – even were it the most dangerous and terrible of them – is a danger to the preservation of peace. Just as we fight against the oppression of man by man in all its forms, so must we combat war itself as a means of settling differences between nations. All the weapons of modern warfare are cruel and inhuman. If we reject war as such we cannot possibly ban one weapon and so to speak, justify all the others. The singling

out by the 'Partisans', of one weapon to be banned, emphasizes the one-sidedness of the whole campaign. How well-founded were the doubts which were felt as to the seriousness of the whole campaign is illustrated by the sombre events in the Far East, as to the causes of which there can hardly be any doubt. The further development of these events may confront the governments of the world powers and, above all of the United Nations, with weighty problems and put them to a severe test.

Peace is, without a doubt, one of our most precious possessions. We shall fight to preserve it with the same conviction and the same seriousness of purpose in the future as we did in the past. But important as peace is, justice, freedom and human dignity are even more important. It is this spirit, which distinguishes man from all other creatures. Freedom of the spirit must be preserved if human dignity is not to suffer.

At our Zurich and Oslo Congresses the relations between the ITF and the WFTU occupied an important place on the agenda. In Zurich discussion revealed a determination to achieve an understanding. It was – and still is – clear to us what tremendous significance a single comprehensive organization of the workers of the entire world would have for the maintenance of peace, social justice and human liberty. We know, too, the hopes raised in millions of human hearts by the founding, after the second world war, of the World Federation of Trade Unions. We were ready to do all in our power not to disappoint these hopes.

Developments since 1946 have shown unmistakably that cooperation with the Communist organizations is not possible. Just as you cannot have peace at any price so you cannot have unity at any price. True unity presupposes a minimum of agreement as to aim and method. Where this prerequisite does not exist, there cannot be unity. The organizations of the East which call themselves trade unions, and which in fact form the basis of the present WFTU, have hardly anything in common with us but their name. Just as the term 'trade union' means something different in the East from what it does to us, so do the terms 'democracy', 'freedom', 'social justice', 'peace' and many others.

That such co-operation would not, in the long run, prove possible, emerged clearly from discussions at our Oslo Congress. The parting of the ways, in itself very much to be regretted, but unavoidable if honesty were to prevail, has since become a reality. That the withdrawal of those organizations which could not follow the Communist course of the WFTU was not the end of the story, was clear. In December of last year, a new organization was set up in London, the 'International Confederation of Free Trade Unions'. The new organization embraces the free trade unions of about fifty countries in all parts of the world, with an aggregate membership of about fifty million.

We are linked with the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions

in a common aim: the welfare of all working people irrespective of race and belief. We are united with it, too, in our determination to achieve this goal through collective effort in the spirit of freedom and mutual respect. Between the new organization and the old-established international trade secretariats, with the ITF in the van, a period of collaboration which already promises well has been ushered in. Not the least of the guarantees that this will prove successful is the fact that our friend Oldenbroek – to whose thirty years of work in the ITF we shall pay recognition at a later stage in this Congress – has been appointed General Secretary of this new worldwide organization.

Unhindered by internal dissension and ideological strife, the new organization will be able to apply itself to its great task. It will also support the initiative which has been taken to bring about closer co-operation between the peoples of Europe. Generous American aid, in the initiation and implementation of which United States unions played such decisive rôle, has materially assisted the furtherance of such co-operation. May it prove possible so to organize the latter that it may be participated in by all European nations and recognized and unreservedly supported by the peoples of other continents for what it is – an earnest and genuine contribution to the maintenance of peace and human liberty.

In conclusion, I have the honour of welcoming four veterans who are in our midst, four who have worked for decades in the leadership of the ITF, and who were present at the 1922 Congress in Vienna, where this year's Congress should have taken place. I refer to our comrades

CHARLES LINDLEY of Stockholm,

JOHANN DÖRING of Hamburg,

JOHAN BRAUTIGAM of Rotterdam and

ARIE KIEVIT, also of Rotterdam.

I extend a particularly hearty welcome to these four comrades. I thank them for their work and for their loyalty. May their presence here today serve as a symbol of the continuity of the purposeful effort and the great and proud tradition of the ITF. I also welcome comrade Walter Auerbach, who was for many years a diligent worker in the office of the ITF.

When we celebrated the fiftieth Anniversary of the ITF at the Zurich Congress in 1948, the then President, our friend Charles Lindley, who was one of the founders of the ITF, declared, in somewhat melancholy vein, that he hoped he would not be there when the ITF should haul down its flag and lose its identity in a bureaucratic Department of the World Federation of Trade Unions. Charles Lindley is still here. He is among us, well and full of spirits. Let his old and yet eternally young sailor's heart rejoice: the flag of the ITF has not been hauled down. It has been newly unfurled and flies bravely in the fresh breeze of free trade unionism.

In this spirit the ITF will press on with its work and its struggle. May the work of our Congress, too, be imbued with the same spirit of freedom, true comradeship and brotherhood.'

P. TOFAHRN *Assistant General Secretary*: 'I have to announce the receipt of the following telegrams

'*Sudden illness* prevented me attending Congress. Heartiest wishes for success. Mohammed Zein el Din, General Union of Moter Drivers, Cairo.'

'*Please extend* to the officers and delegates to the twenty-first Congress of the ITF the greetings of the National Organization of the Masters, Mates and Pilots of America (AF of L). Regret it will be impossible for me to attend this Congress but take this opportunity to extend my personal greetings. The ITF through all its long history has been a leader in championing the rights of the transport workers, particularly the seamen, all over the world, helping to gain for them better wages and better and safer workings conditions. That is the cause to which we are dedicated.

It may be delayed by tactics of those who live in the dark ages of social thinking and oppose anything which will benefit their less privileged fellow men, but in the end it will triumph if we continue to stand together and meet the challenge in the best interests of all who stand for free democratic labor and nations. I wish you well in your present deliberations and every success to the officers and members of the ITF in the years which lie ahead. Captain C. F. May, President, National Organization of Masters, Mates and Pilots of America, San Francisco.'

'*International Federation* of Commercial, Clerical and Technical Employees sends sincerest wishes success Congress strongest international trade secretariat. Spiekman, Amsterdam.'

In addition the following Latin-American organizations have sent messages wishing the Congress every success:

DEMOCRATIC RAILWAYMEN'S UNION OF SUCRE, BOLIVIA

RAILWAYMEN'S UNION OF THE PACIFIC, COLOMBIA

LÁZARO CÁRDENAS CHAUFFEURS' CLUB, OF MEXICO

COLLEGE OF AIR PILOTS OF MEXICO

SEAMEN'S UNION OF PANAMA

TRAMWAYMEN'S UNION OF EASTERN AND SOUTHERN BRAZIL

BRAZILIAN NATIONAL SEAMEN'S FEDERATION

BRAZILIAN NATIONAL FEDERATION OF ROAD TRANSPORT WORKERS

I should like to take advantage of the opportunity to inform you that our veteran comrade Johann Döring, who is with us as a guest of honour, is

today celebrating in the best of health his eighty-sixth birthday. On behalf of the ITF, and the Executive Committee in particular, I should like to congratulate him.

On the proposal of the Executive Committee the Congress then proceeded to elect the following three committees:

CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE

Benelux	J. P. Remackel
Germany	H. Bracht
United Kingdom	J. G. Baty
Scandinavia	Th. Laursen
United States	J. Hawk

RULES AND ELECTIONS COMMITTEE

Benelux	P. de Vries
Germany	K. Klus
France	R. Clerc
United Kingdom	A. Deakin
Switzerland	H. Duby
Scandinavia	R. Helgesson
United States	E. Peterson

RESOLUTIONS COMMITTEE

Benelux	W. Cassiers
Germany	H. Hildebrand
France	P. Ferri-Pisani
United Kingdom	W. J. P. Webber
Italy	E. Pellegrino
Austria	K. Weigl
Pakistan	F. Ahmed
Scandinavia	I. Haugen
Spain	A. Pérez
United States	I. Brown

Friday 21 July 1950

AFTERNOON SESSION

THE PRESIDENT called upon Mr J.H. Oldenbroek to speak in his dual capacity as General Secretary of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions and former General Secretary of the ITF.

J.H. OLDENBROEK *General Secretary of the ICFTU* It is a great honour and a great pleasure to me to be at this Congress of the ITF, representing the newly-founded International Confederation of Free Trade Unions. It is my duty to thank you, on behalf of the Executive Board of that organization, for the invitation you have extended to us. This shows that it is your desire – which I have never doubted – to cooperate with this new body which, as your Chairman has already pointed out, represents 50,000,000 workers in fifty three different countries. These figures will make it clear that the organization is really worldwide in character.

It is not without emotion that I find myself attending an ITF Congress for the first time other than on behalf of the ITF itself. Though I am still young – to judge by my looks at any rate – I have attended every ITF Congress since 1922. I have witnessed every change that has taken place since then, and as every new Congress came along I felt that while the organization was progressing, and was leaving behind it certainly a great past, that it still had a lot to do before it built up the necessary strength to fulfil its task properly. It is with pride, therefore, that I can now see this Congress before me in the conviction that we have reached a point where this great International can be expected to deal adequately with the problems it has to solve. And if I can feel that, if I have had the opportunity of making a modest contribution towards that achievement, I am satisfied and happy. I did not leave the ITF because I wanted to run away from this organization, nor because ambition ran away with me, but because I thought it was my duty to undertake the new job. I have had very kind congratulations from a great many of you, perhaps from all of you, and I want to make use of this opportunity to thank you for your kindness. I do not know whether I have deserved it, but at any rate I was very pleased to receive it. It is fine to know that one's efforts on behalf of others are appreciated, and to have the expression of that spirit of friendship that we have built up within the ITF. It is not enough to have an organization and to obey its rules and carry out its resolutions. The strength of the ITF has always been in the good comradeship between those who lead it and those who take part in its meetings and conferences. I hope that may continue: that even though we may have differences of opinion we shall always be honest and friendly with one another, and that having stated our

opinion we shall abide by the decisions that may be come to, because this is the only basis upon which the work of the ITF or any other organization can continue.

The ICFTU is a young organization, but it would take more time than I have at my disposal to tell you of all the work that has been taken in hand during the few months of its existence. Many of you will no doubt read of it when the Report on the organization's activities is published. There are, however, a few points to which I would like to refer. First of all it is the wish of the ICFTU to work as closely as possible with all the international trade secretariats. We accept their status as autonomous organizations and want them to continue as such, because we know that in that way they can best do the work in their own particular fields. Thus only a few weeks after we were established we met the representatives of the international trade secretariats and it did not take us long to reach complete agreement as to the relations that should exist between them and the ICFTU. In these negotiations the ITF has always played a big part, which it is entitled to do, since it is – and I am sure will be for a long time to come – the best organized international trade secretariat in the world. But while we respect your autonomy, we want to avoid as far as possible any overlapping of the work of the two parts of the international trade union movement, and the international trade secretariats have therefore agreed that it is our task to define the general policy of the movement. But when doing so we do not want to keep the international trade secretariats outside: we want to bring them into our councils, and we have decided to give them representation on our Emergency Committee, our Executive Board, our General Council and at all the conferences that are to take place, including our General Congress. This means that they will be able to influence our general policy and that it will not be dictated by one side only. This conception, I submit, is in agreement with the character of the free trade union movement. We do not expect them just to follow. There will be some who will think that it is not wise to give the international trade secretariats so much say, but I want to make it clear that, should the ICFTU ever appear to fail in its duty in any particular respect with regard to general policy, I do not want to deny to any international trade secretariat its right to carry on alone. For the international trade union movement has to be effective, it has to be dynamic, and I am afraid it has not been so in the past.

We have a tremendous programme in front of us. The ICFTU was set up, among other things, to establish a forum for the free trade unions of the world, and to work for social justice and the unions' and workers' right to take part in policy decisions that effect them; to do all that in a democratic fashion, not by dictating anything from above, but by way of negotiation and deliberation.

My new International – your new International – is one that extends to all

the corners of the earth, and we have come to the conclusion that if you want to look properly after the interests of all these different parts of the world it cannot be done from one central point, you need to have regional organization. We have the machinery ready for that regional organization and before the next Congress of the ICFTU, which is to take place one year from now, that regional organization will be in operation in different parts of the world. At this very moment there is a delegation of seven persons travelling through Asia to make contact with the free trade union forces in the countries of the Far East, and of South-East Asia, and to consult them about the desirability of setting up regional machinery for them so that they can deal with their own problems – which we want them to do so long as they do not keep us in the dark about their wishes and work.

At the beginning of October¹⁾ there is to be a conference – the first regional conference of the ICFTU – probably in Mexico, where the question of the setting up of a regional organization for the Americas will be discussed. And the next regional conference will be held in Europe; I hope also in the month of October²⁾.

You will appreciate that before the ICFTU can work it must have a sound regional framework, and we are working very hard to build one up. There is one point I want to make with regard to this regional organization. The first delegation has gone to Asia which, for obvious reasons, is not the easiest territory to deal with. It ought to be said to the organizations in that part of the world – and in some other parts of the world too – that we will support them in achieving their national freedom if they have not got it already, and we will support them in achieving it under democratic conditions. Some countries which were formerly dominated by others have now obtained their freedom and we ought to emphasize the fact that we of the free trade union movement have in the past always supported the peoples of these countries – in opposition to our own governments sometimes – and assisted them to obtain their freedom as well as better working conditions. I should like to take this opportunity of pointing out to them that if they should ever fall for Communist imperialism, they will not find in the Communist countries anybody who will dare to stand up to their governments when they are being hurt and exploited as they have been in the past, or as they are today.

The ICFTU is doing well. You also find figures about the WFTU published from time to time, but the strange thing about them is that the more millions they lose, the more their membership figures seem to grow. I do not know how they do it: I suppose they take a nought off in one place and add on two in another. There is no doubt that we are the largest organization in the field

1) Later postponed to January 1951

2) Held in Brussels from 1st to 4th November 1950

and that we shall continue to chase them from the positions they hold. In Latin America the WFTU is nothing; it has lost nearly all its affiliations to us as the Communists have been removed from the organizations they controlled. But let us be quite frank: there are two countries in our part of the world, France and Italy, where the Communists are still powerful. It is our duty to help to chase them out of their positions in these countries as well, because however much we may be a world organization there is no doubt that the position in Europe is still of particular importance to us. We ought to go all out to strengthen our organization in these countries not only to bring more democracy and more freedom to the workers belonging to them, but also because it is one of the ways to prevent war. I am sure everybody in this hall wants to avoid war, and it is well to be clear about the conditions under which it can be prevented. I think that war can only be prevented by the countries which are democratic; that every dictatorship is a danger to peace, because the people of any country subject to dictatorship have no possibility of resisting any endeavour of their rulers to go to war. In the democratic countries the people and the trade unions can stop their governments from going to war. In the countries behind the Iron Curtain the peoples and the trade-unionists – if you can call them that – cannot stop war. This leads us to the conclusion that, if we want to prevent war, we must make ourselves strong enough to prevent it and to stop any aggressor from resorting to aggression. It is an unfortunate position, but it is the only one we can take. In the meantime it is our duty to help the peoples in the dictatorial countries to strengthen their resistance to dictatorship, and that is what the ICFTU is going to do. We do not intend to leave the initiative to the Communists but to reach and attack them on their own ground.

An important question now under discussion is the Schuman Plan. The ICFTU is in favour of regional economic co-operation, in Europe, as in other parts of the world, and believes that when any plans or proposals for such co-operation are to be discussed by governments, or government representatives, we ought to be there to take part. We have been able to obtain this in connection with the Schuman Plan discussions now taking place in Paris. The countries taking part have trade union representatives in their delegations, and I am sure that the ICFTU will be granted representation at the Conference. What the final outcome of the discussions will be I do not know, but we shall have to lay down clearly, as trade-unionists, what we think the nature of the agreement ought to be, and if things do not go our way at the Conference we shall have to consider withdrawing from the discussions. We do not want a cartel of the coal and steel barons of Europe; we want co-operation between the countries. And if anybody is afraid that we shall not be able to use the steel produced by a so much greater combination, let me remind him that Europe still uses very much less steel than the United States.

Instead of thinking in terms of over-production, let us look at it in another way: let us ask ourselves how we can put that additional steel to useful purposes. That is the way we ought to approach the problem.

I do not want to take up too much time, but I should like to refer again to the one point that is most in our minds: the prevention of war. You are, of course, aware – the Chairman has reminded you of it – that there has been a ‘peace conference’ at Stockholm which expressed itself against the use of a particular weapon in case of war. It is very strange that the people who organized that conference, and got a few innocent outsiders to take part, have friends in North Korea who marched into South Korea. I think we are entitled to ask whether the millions who are being asked and pressed to sign the ‘peace manifesto’ knew that at the very moment when it was adopted the tanks were ready in North Korea to attack South Korea, and that there were Russian weapons all over the place. The ICFTU will now start a peace movement of its own as a counter to the so-called Stockholm Peace Movement and I hope that in the action we shall soon undertake we shall have the support not only of the national trade union centres but also of the international trade secretariats. The fight will be a hard one and we shall have to take the gloves off. We have to make it very clear that because we really want to prevent war the free trade unions, in case of aggression, will be on the side of the United Nations to stop that aggression: that we want to preserve peace, but not by submitting to aggression, or by giving up our freedom.

In the short space of time that it has existed, the ICFTU has already obtained recognition by international official bodies – the ILO, the United Nations and their special committees etc. It will try – and indeed has already begun to do so – to defend the interests of the trade unions and workers in those committees. There are regional conferences all over the world which we shall attend. In the ILO we shall be represented on the Governing Body, at its conferences and on its committees. And perhaps the ILO will not find things so easy as in the past, because we are going to take a very active interest in its work. The ILO is a fine institution, but its spirit depends on the influence which the trade unions can develop within it. And that is what we are after.

I have to convey to you the greetings of the ICFTU and I hope you will have a very successful Congress. I have explained to you some of the things we want to do, and we want you to be critical of our work. And of this I can assure you: when there are problems to be solved we shall not be looking for a hundred excuses for doing nothing, but for every opportunity there is of doing something.

J. SCHUIL *International Labour Office*: It has fallen to my lot – and it is indeed both a pleasure and an honour for me – to convey to you the cordial greetings of the International Labour Office and its Director General and, on their behalf as well as my own, to thank you very heartily for your invitation and

to wish you, most sincerely, well in your deliberations. The ILO is always glad when, within the limits of its own heavily loaded timetable and its rigorously administered budget, it is able to send a representative to a trade union congress. There is a very good reason for that, for the ILO is deeply conscious of the fact that the trade union movement, nationally and internationally, is at the very basis of its strength and that without the continued support of the workers of the world and their organizations it must wither away and die. It is in this spirit that I welcome the statement made by Oldenbroek, that the ICFTU intends to defend the interests of the workers within the ILO.

Do I need to say that there was not a moment's hesitation in accepting, on the part of the Directorate of the ILO, when the invitation to this Congress was received? The ILO is particularly glad to be represented at your Congress today, for I think I may safely say that the International Transport Workers' Federation is not only among its best 'customers' – and Heaven knows we have a good many 'customers' – but that, on the shores of Lake Geneva, everybody knows what the initials ITF stand for. Your organization has built up for itself a well-earned reputation of being strong and active and realistic, soberly confident in its carefully laid short-term and long-term policies and in its far-sighted and firmly established leadership in the shaping of a better life and lot for all those who man and tend the hosts of vehicles that – on sea, on land and in the air – contribute so much to make the world go round, to make it smaller and yet larger, and to provide mankind with the necessities of life.

The ILO has always followed with keen interest what you of the ITF have accomplished under the inspired leadership of such men as Edo Fimmen. Charles Lindley, Jacob Oldenbroek and now Omer Becu and Robert Bratschi, It is grateful, also, for the outstanding and loyal support which, in good times and bad, you have never failed to give to the aspirations and practical work of the International Labour Organization.

Now I do not think that you would really expect me to go here into the manifold and very diverse bonds that exist between the International Transport Workers' Federation and the International Labour Organization. The many aspects of our long, pleasant and I feel sure mutually profitable relations have been described and dealt with in the relevant chapters of the very readable and instructive Report on Activities presented by your Secretariat to this Congress. On the other hand I may refer you to an ILO publication which has just appeared and which I should be glad to send to those who would care to have a copy, in either English or French, namely the Fourth Report of the International Labour Organization to the United Nations. In that publication you will find abundant information about the ILO's activities in the maritime field; about the work of its Inland Transport Committee; about the work of the Special Tripartite Conference concerning Rhine

Boatmen, which will have its sequel in Paris a few days from now; about our activities in relation with the question of Panamanian shipping, the hygiene of seafarers, the wages and working conditions of seafarers, the life and lot of fishermen, etc., etc.

All that has been described is in the Report on Activities now before you, as well as in the ILO publication to which I have just referred. If I single out here one or two particular aspects it is only because there is something further to report since those two documents were prepared.

First of all the question of Panama. You will be interested to hear that the Governing Body, at one of its sittings during the International Labour Conference last June, definitely decided to publish the report of its commission of inquiry. I trust you will agree with me that by making its inquiries and publishing the findings of the commission the ILO has done a useful job which should be of assistance to the International Transport Workers' Federation in its efforts to improve conditions in ships flying the Panamanian flag. And I think I may add that we in the ILO believe that the report has already had a certain influence, since Panama passed in January of this year a new Act which supplements favourably, on a few points, its legislation relating to seafarers.

As regards the hygiene of seafarers, our joint committee with the World Health Organization has so far merely explored the ground, but I was happy to hear from my colleagues of the Maritime Section of the ILO, just before I left Geneva, that both the seafarers' and shipowners' representatives on the Committee seem convinced that it can do very useful work, more particularly in improving the standards of hygiene of seafarers and advocating measures for the promotion of health and the prevention of disease. And I was rather proud to learn also that the representatives of the World Health Organization, who had little or no previous knowledge of the work of the ILO, were very impressed by those ILO Conventions which have a bearing on the health of seafarers, such as those dealing with medical examinations, crew accommodation, etc.

Now I may perhaps take the opportunity to make an appeal to all seafarers' representatives in this meeting. The ILO, as you may know, is at present preparing a survey of the wages and other working conditions of the seafarers in most maritime countries. We intend to produce this as a loose-leaf roneoed document which will be sent to Governments, seafarers' organizations. Whenever new information comes to hand for any countries new pages will be sent out to replace those which are out of date. We hope that this service will prove of value to all concerned, but it is obvious that we must be able to count on receiving regular information from seafarers' organizations about any new collective agreements that may be signed. So please send the ILO a copy of any new agreements you may negotiate, and of any

other document which may have a bearing on the wages and working conditions of the seafarers.

Representatives here of organizations of inland transport workers will be pleased to hear that the fourth session of the Inland Transport Committee of the ILO will in all probability be held in 1951, at some time after the International Labour Conference in June. Its agenda will include consideration of a general report dealing with what has been done in the various countries, and by the ILO itself, since the last session of the Committee, held in Brussels in May 1949; and further a discussion of the labour problems connected with the question of the coordination of transport.

The ILO is also working on a study of different systems of guaranteed wages for dockers, and you will be pleased to hear that at its session of March this year the Governing Body of the ILO approved a recommendation to consider the question of the protection of young workers employed on inland waterways, for possible inclusion in the agenda of one of the forthcoming sessions of the International Labour Conference.

There are also a great many other aspects of ILO work which indirectly concern your International, such as manpower problems, full employment, technical assistance to underdeveloped countries, freedom of association, right to bargain collectively, industrial safety and hygiene. The ILO has already achieved much in these fields, but a lot still remains to be done so far as the questions of social security and equal pay are concerned.

You have already listened to a great many speeches of welcome this morning and earlier this afternoon – speeches of great interest and responsibility – and I do not wish to ask too much of your patience. May I therefore just say again how glad I am to be with you on this occasion, to have an opportunity of listening to your deliberations and to be able to report back to the International Labour Office on what I shall have heard and learned by the end of your Congress – a Congress which I trust will be successful and full of fruit for your future work on behalf of the millions of workers engaged in the colourful and adventurous calling of your great industry.

THE PRESIDENT: 'That finishes with the first item on the Agenda, but I do not want to go on without thanking the two last speakers, J. H. Oldenbroek and Jan Schuil, most heartily for what they have said.'

Two further telegrams to the Congress have come in. One is from Dr Veit, Minister of Economic Affairs of Wuerttemberg-Baden, who says:

'Owing to a session of the National Parliament I am unfortunately unable to carry out my intention of attending your gathering. I welcome you heartily to the Province of Wuerttemberg-Baden, and wish your meeting every success. Dr Veit, Minister of Economic Affairs of the Province of Wuerttemberg-Baden.'

The second telegram is from the Social-Democratic Party of Germany, and reads:

'The German Social-Democratic Party sends heartiest greetings to the delegates to the International Congress of the Transport Workers. It wishes you success in your deliberations. We are convinced that the international solidarity of the workers will be confirmed and strengthened by your Congress. The Executive Committee of the German Social-Democratic Party. Kurt Schuhmacher. Erich Ollenhauer.'

AGENDA AND STANDING ORDERS

The Congress then approved, unanimously and without Discussion, the Agenda and Standing Orders, and also, subject to any changes that might later be found to be necessary, the time table of the Congress.

Report on Activities: Item 2 of the Agenda

A. VERCROYCE *Belgian Tramwaymen's Union*: 'If I rise to speak it is not to criticize either the work or the policy of the Bureau of the ITF, but to express regret at the lack of continuity in pursuing claims made at Congresses. So my criticism is addressed to the member-organizations of the ITF. My regret is the greater since the rank and file are becoming discouraged and our adversaries – I refer to the Communists – have an easy task in attacking and criticizing us. I am thinking now of the forty-hour week, a question which was officially raised at our Zurich Congress in May 1946, at a time, mark you, when there was no lack of employment. As a result a resolution in very definite terms was adopted, of which I quote two very important paragraphs:

'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 . . .

'The Congress consequently urges the Social and Economic Council of the UNO 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.'

This decision was taken up again by the Railwaymen's Section at a Conference held in Brussels in March 1947, and by the Tramway, Bus and Public Services Joint Conference at Utrecht in May 1948. But at Oslo in July 1948 our British friends, to my stupefaction, tried to soft-pedal the decision. Comrade Lau-

wereins reported on the question, and he and I made a vigorous stand for maintenance of the decision and for an endeavour to carry it to realization.

Later there was another dramatic turn which very much upset our members. It would appear that those who considered the demand for the forty-hour week to be 'inopportune' were responsible for the calling of the Conference held in Paris in October 1949, which torpedoed the Zurich resolution – and that at a time when unemployment was raging in all countries and reducing millions of workers throughout the world to misery.

I have no wish to hurt anybody's feelings, nor to preach, but I do want to point out one of the reasons why we seem to be marking time. After the two world wars we have been too much inclined to associate ourselves with the capitalist system. And each time we helped it to save its economic system it found some pretext to do without the help of the socialists, and of the free trade unions, as soon as all its privileges had been restored and it had no further need to be afraid. And each time, unfortunately, after the working class had made its sacrifices, it fell victim to our credulity and lack of foresight.

The danger of such an attitude – which seems to become the regular thing whenever capitalism is hard pressed – is that it destroys the confidence of the workers who follow the proceedings of our congresses. It is true that we have managed to call the Communist bluff, but in many countries the result has tended rather to favour the Christian trade unions.

My intervention in the discussion has had no other purpose than to prevent in the future such paradoxical situations arising as that which has developed in connection with the question of the forty-hour week, about which I must say that I cannot understand the position of some of our people. Is it not enough that the World Federation of Trade Unions has betrayed the hopes of the working class by the policy of default which Moscow has forced upon it?

In conclusion I should like to say that the excuses made in Paris might have had some force in 1946, but not in 1949. I hope that the Congress will bear this in mind, and I hope also to have a word to say when we come to discuss the question of the forty-hour week.

The Congress then adjourned until the following morning.

Saturday 22 July 1950

MORNING SESSION

Report on Activities: Item 2 of the Agenda: continued

A. VERCRUYCE *Belgian Tramwaymen's Union* wished to speak on a point of order. It is quite simple – he said. The question of the forty-hour week has been under discussion by the ITF for a long time, but in view of the Report which has been laid before us I think it is absolutely necessary that it should be dealt with by the Congress before anything else, so that we may know what the general feeling is. It is only after a general discussion that the Sections can meet and, if they wish, draw up a resolution expressing the opinions of the majority of the Congress. That is, I think, the best way of dealing with the matter. If we act otherwise we shall lose a lot of time, because if a Section should produce a resolution without the matter having been considered by the Congress beforehand the Congress might turn it down, and the Sections would have to consider the matter anew and put forward proposals embodying the views of the majority.

I ask, therefore, that we consider the matter first in full session, so that we may know what the general feeling is: the Sections can then take it up.

O. BECU *Acting General Secretary*: 'The proposal made by our Belgian comrade as a point of order would tend to upset our whole plan of work. In the past we have always met in full session until the reports and general matters were dealt with, but practice and experience have shown that this left us too little time to discuss the very important matters affecting particular groups of transport workers belonging to the ITF, which have to be dealt with in the sectional meetings. At our Oslo Congress, therefore, we considered the possibility of completely changing our plan of work, and it was even suggested that we should hold the sectional conferences before any of the plenary sessions, and even before the Congress was officially opened. This far-reaching proposal was given careful consideration by the Executive Committee and the Secretariat of the ITF, but for practical reasons we came to the conclusion that it would not be good policy to hold the sectional conferences first of all. It was decided, however, that we should try to give the Sections as much time as possible to consider their problems during the Congress.

The Congress is to last eight days, as compared with four or five days in the past, and after carefully considering all aspects of the problem the Executive Committee and Secretariat have drawn up the Timetable which lies before you, which seems to us to be fair and practical.

I admit that, as our Belgian comrade has pointed out, we may not have fin-

ished our discussions in full session before the Sections start their work, but I think that is inevitable if we are to manage things better than hitherto. Otherwise we should simply be returning to past practice. I should like to point out, however, that the one method does not exclude the other: discussion in full session does not prevent discussion within the sections, and vice versa. The Railwaymen's and Road Transport Workers' Sections will be meeting jointly to consider the question of the forty-hour week for all the groups they cover, and it must be borne in mind that this meeting will be attended by representatives of nearly four million of the members of the ITF. It will therefore be fully competent to deal with the subject, even though it may not be able to exhaust it in one session. And if anybody has any objections to the conclusions it comes to it will still be possible to raise the matter in the full session of the Congress.

I therefore suggest that the Congress do not accept our Belgian comrade's proposal.

On being put to the Congress the proposal was rejected, with only one dissentient vote.

O. BECU *Acting General Secretary*: 'It was not really my intention to make a speech at this stage. It has not been the custom of my predecessors to make a speech introducing the Report, and in my opinion they were right, as generally it could only mean a repetition of what was already in the Report, which gives a true picture of major events in the life of the ITF during the two preceding years. But there is probably a reason to take the platform this time in view of the hesitation yesterday to start a discussion on this very important document. May be it will be well for Congress to be informed of the importance of the several problems dealt with, and their order of priority in the opinion of the Executive Committee, the Management and the Secretariat.

Before starting I think I owe the Congress an apology – even two apologies. I have heard several complaints about the late distribution of our Report, and I must admit that there are good reasons for them. I must, of course, accept the ultimate responsibility for this, but in my defence I want to say that I was given the assurance that all our documents, including the Report, would be despatched to all delegates and organizations not later than by the end of June. It is rather unfortunate that since I accepted the job of Acting General Secretary of the ITF I have been unavoidably more away from the office than in it, so have not been able to follow up what happened to our reports and other documents. It was only on Saturday last, a few hours before I had to leave for Stuttgart, that I learned that owing to an oversight of our printer's several reports, particularly in Swedish and French, had been despatched extremely late, so that some delegates will not have had an opportunity of studying them properly before arriving here. I tender my sincere apologies, and I will see that it does not happen again.

My second apology relates to the fact that we are asking some of the Sections of the ITF to meet tomorrow, Sunday. We should have been glad to let everybody have an English week-end, but on account of the many problems that have to be discussed in our Sectional Conferences it was unavoidable that some of the Sections should have to meet tomorrow. I hope that delegates will understand the position.

This Congress is a very important one. It may be that this has been said about every previous congress, but I think this one is at least as important as any previous one. It is our third Congress since the war, and it is time we took stock of what we have done during the last four or five years. The world has gone a long way since the war ended. Normally we would only discuss, and criticize, what was done during the two years covered by the Report, but I think it is desirable to consider also the problems which have arisen during the six months which have since elapsed; and also to look into the future and do a little planning. For there is a great deal at stake, and things are happening in the world at this moment which ought to be considered carefully and seriously, for it affects the lives of hundreds of thousands of our people.

As regards the major problems dealt with in the Report, I should like to refer to one which has long been under consideration, and which has already led to some practical steps by the ITF: I mean the question of setting up regional machinery. If we really want to be a world-wide organization we can no longer be satisfied with only one secretariat, wherever it may be, to deal with problems arising all over the world. Do you realize that the ITF has more than doubled the membership it had just before and just after the war? We have more transport workers affiliated than ever before, and they are spread over both of the world's hemispheres. If we want to deal with the questions that interest our Asian friends we must look at them from the position where they are, so that we may tackle them with the fullest possible knowledge of the circumstances.

In accordance with a previous decision we set up some time ago a regional secretariat at Singapore. Unfortunately it has not given all the results we expected, for the man we sent out to do the job fell ill so seriously that he had to be recalled, but during the short time he was there he rendered tremendous services to our Asian friends, to you and to the ITF as a whole. Since his departure from Singapore we have had to exchange our regional secretariat for a regional information office – the best we could do in the circumstances. I hope that as a result of the deliberations here we may again take a step forward, for our Asian friends must expect the ITF to do just as good a job for them as it does for anybody else in the world.

We have also set up a Latin-American regional secretariat in Havana, at a regional conference held in that city in September last year. The Latin-Ameri-

can trade unions are largely still in their infancy, and there is a lot to be done for them. We thought when we set up our regional secretariat that it would start functioning right away, but we were probably over-estimating the capacities and experience of our people there. I do not intend that as a criticism, but as a statement of fact. But we cannot let the secretariat sleep, we must make it work, for there is a lot to be done in Latin America.

Then there are the problems of the seafarers. I have not mentioned them first because since I am a former seaman myself I have to try not to give them undue preponderance, for I want to satisfy all sections of the ITF. But I think everybody will agree that from the international point of view we have more and greater problems in the Seafarers' Section than in any other section of the ITF. The biggest danger the seafarers are faced with is that of losing the wages and other working conditions they have won after a long struggle, largely, perhaps, as a result of the part they played during the last war, and the prestige they gained in consequence. Of all the transport workers they are the ones who have made the greatest headway since the war, for during the war they made up their minds that they were not going back to pre-war conditions, and they drafted the International Seafarers' Charter. But there are forces at work trying to take them back to where they were fifty years ago, by the use, and abuse, of Panamanian and similar flags. We considered this question at our Oslo Congress, and it was decided in principle that we should declare a boycott of ships with sub-standard conditions sailing under such flags. I want to make it quite clear that our action was not directed against any particular flag, but against ships with sub-standard conditions.

The position of the seafarers all over the world is at stake. Let me give you a recent example. I have in my pocket a letter, dated last June, from the crew of a Panamanian ship. They were taken on board as displaced persons from concentration camps. Many of them had never been to sea before. The shipowner, through the captain, obliged them to sail for three months for next to nothing – no wages whatsoever. After that they were given a very low wage, but there was no limitation of working hours, and no observance of the standards of safety and sanitation which we have in other maritime countries.

As you know, at their last conference in Amsterdam the seafarers declared a boycott of Panamanian ships. It is not an easy affair, and it is not a question that will be settled in a few weeks, or even months. It will have to go on for a long time, until the shipowners who are now using and abusing certain flags come to terms with us. Several of them have already done so, and have signed international collective agreements with the ITF. This is something of an innovation in trade unions practice: something which has never existed before. And we are going to organize the seamen in Panamanian ships on an international ticket.

Another question which is exercising the seafarers is that of the Seattle

Conventions. When they were voted in 1946 they gave them a certain amount of satisfaction, but most of them are still a dead letter. A few of them have been ratified in one or two countries, but none of them is really in force yet. To facilitate ratification the seafarers went out of their way, at Geneva last year, to revise the conventions to meet the wishes of some of the governments, but still very little headway has been made. It is time, therefore, that they made up their minds to do something about it: things cannot go on like this for ever. We are grateful to the ILO for what it has done, as it is largely through its machinery that we have achieved what we have, but the results it has produced must be translated into practice.

There are other major problems confronting the seafarers, one or two of a regional character. One of these which has been under consideration for a long time past in the Seafarers' Section is that of the competition in the near sea and coasting trades of the countries bordering on the North Sea, the English Channel and the Baltic Sea – cut-throat competition between the ship-owners of which the seafarers, if they are not careful, may well be the first victims. For the first time in the history of the ITF the seamen are to discuss this matter on a regional basis and see what they can do about it.

Another regional question for seafarers concerns our Asian friends. There are plans for holding a Regional Asian Maritime Conference, with participation of countries employing Asian seamen. I do not know exactly what is in the minds of the Governing Body of the ILO in calling such a conference, but we shall favour it, I hope: we shall not stand in the way of a regional conference for our Asian friends. But I want to warn them that if the conference is to take place it should be a conference to discuss regional matters and problems which would not affect the whole of the international seafarers' community. If the shipowners, or some of the governments, should try to split the seafarers and their international movement I hope, and am sure, that our Asian friends will stand in the way of such a move, just as we will. We have to help each other, and it will always be our endeavour to see to it that our Asian friends are dealt with in the same way and on the same basis as any other race or group in the world.

A very important decision has been come to recently by our dockers' and seafarers' sections. We have been watching for several years the subversive activities, in the different ports, particularly the Western European ports, of those people who call themselves Communists, and their endeavours to get hold of the dockers' and seafarers' movements and control them. They have used every weapon they could, including extreme violence. Let me give an example. In the port of Antwerp a few weeks ago seventy or eighty Communists prevented the hiring of dockers by blocking the way to the hiring hall, using the greatest violence. They later declared that they had done this in the interests of peace, and that the dockers who had been prevented from going

to work had struck work in favour of peace. This is certainly a new conception of peace. Latterly we have come to some very important decisions for the purpose of facing this situation and counteracting the activities of the handful of people who are causing trouble in practically every European port. I think we have been successful. We are no longer going to retreat, and this has been made quite clear at the meetings of our dockers' and seafarers' sections. As the strongest body we do not propose to remain on the defensive: we want to be in a position to attack if necessary.

Then there is the Railwaymen's Section. You have just heard Brother Ver-cruyce, and you heard him yesterday too, and you have seen how very much concerned he is about the question of the forty-hour week. This is not the only question which interests the Railwaymen's Section, there are many others - hygiene and comfort in railway offices, workers' participation in management, coordination of road and rail transport and the organization of a European Transport Authority. They have problems enough to keep them busy in the next few days. I hope the decisions they will reach will be unanimous, and that we shall go from Stuttgart determined to achieve what we are aiming at.

Our youngest baby is our Civil Aviation Section. Our people in this industry have not been catered for internationally so far. A lot of time has been lost, and we have to catch it up if we do not want to have the same experience as we had with the seafarers, for instance: if we want to give them right from the beginning the place they can rightly claim in the transport industry.

Our Inland Navigation Section has shown great activity during the last year or so. We have had special conferences for the Rhine boatmen under the auspices of the ILO, and have had agreements concluded which are of the utmost importance to them, and which are to be discussed on Monday next by the governments interested in the problems of the Rhine. We thought at first that they were only coming together to discuss the juridical and technical aspects, but now find that they want to deal also with the social aspect. We have lodged a strong protest, and we are sending a delegate to the conference in the hope that he will be allowed to speak and present the point of view of the ITF.

The Fishermen's Section is the one that has probably had the least attention from the ITF so far, and there is still much to be done. We have already approached the ILO and asked it to take up fishermen's questions, but not much progress has been made yet. We are not giving up, however, and hope that we shall be more successful in the very near future.

I think it would be wise for the Congress to consider the desirability of setting up sectional committees for all of these sections, to deal with their problems between congresses and conferences. This has already been done for the Seafarers' Section, and I should like to see it done for the others. This

would enable very useful work to be done between congresses, not only for each of the sections individually, but also in connection with problems of a more general character, and those affecting two or more sections at once, by holding joint conferences, as the seafarers and dockers have done on several occasions already.

We also want to try to improve the publications of the ITF. I do not think they have given complete satisfaction so far, and I feel sure that something can be done about it. If it has not been done in the past, I should say that it was because of the inadequacy of the ITF's finances. Affiliation fees were increased by our last Congress at Oslo, however, and though I would not like to say that the income of the ITF is sufficient to meet all requirements – far from it – I think you will agree with me that the time has hardly yet come to propose a further increase. But if we want the sections to hold conferences periodically, and the necessary reports to be prepared and other work done for these conferences, we shall have to find some way of increasing our staff.

We also need very urgently to appoint secretaries for the sections, for the work that has to be done for them is now so much that the General Secretary and Assistant General Secretary can no longer be expected to take it on their shoulders in addition to their other activities.

So more help is needed, but the finances of the ITF will probably prove to be too small to get it. I am sure many of the delegates here, and many of our affiliated organizations, must wonder sometimes how it is possible to cope with all the work the ITF does on an income of only about £35,000 a year. I have already said that there will be no proposal – at least from the Executive Committee – for an increase in the affiliation fees, but I do hope that if ever the Secretariat calls upon affiliated organizations to provide the means, in the form of a special contribution, when there is a special job to be done, our affiliated organizations will respond as they have always responded in the past – and maybe even better.

I have mentioned that the Congress will have to deal with some problems which have arisen since the closing of the two-year period, that is to say since the beginning of this year. I was alluding to the two boycotts we have on our hands: one against Panamanian and similar ships and the other, since the beginning of this month, against Argentine ships. During the whole existence of this International we have only had to declare four international boycotts, but two of them have been within the last few months, two boycotts which we have had to tackle simultaneously and which we have had to undertake for very important reasons, reasons which concern the great principles of this organization. If the ITF had done nothing in connection with these two questions – the strike of our Argentine Maritime Confederation for freedom of association, which has been going on since the 18th of May, and the problem of sub-standard ships under the Panamanian flag, which strikes at the

livelihood of the seafarers – it would certainly have failed in its duty, and would not have been in compliance with its Constitution.

While I am touching on the Argentine strike, I should like to express my deep appreciation of what our German friends – both the seamen and the dockers – have done in connection with the boycott. They know better than anybody else what it means to live under a dictatorship, to have their freedom taken from them, and as circumstances would have it, they were the first to boycott two Argentine ships, one of which is now lying at Cuxhaven and the other in Hamburg. As a result they have been under constant pressure during the past few days, not only from the shipowners, but also from official quarters, and the matter has been raised in their Parliament. One of the political parties has dared to propose in Parliament that the Government should bring pressure to bear on the trade unions concerned to stop the boycott of the Argentine ships. Is it to happen once more that a German government will curtail the freedom of the trade unions? I hope that our German friends will have a very good answer to give to the proposal of the Liberal Party. Other governments have been approached in the same way, and I know that they have replied that it is none of their concern – that the matter must be left to the trade unions that have decided to boycott the ships.

Looking into the future, I think the outlook seems rather dark. Peace has again been disturbed. There is a war in the Far East. Thousands of people are being killed and our transport workers, the seamen in particular, are likely to be involved and to have to face death again. If I were in the body of the hall instead of on the platform I would certainly raise this question, and I hope someone will do so, for the ITF should come to some decision, so that our people may know what they ought to do. We have said in the ITF often enough that our people would never take part in a war of aggression, but when they are attacked, when the aggression comes from the other side, they need to know what they ought to do, and I hope this Congress will come to some decision on the matter.'

S. DIMITRACOPOULOS *Greek Railwaymen's Federation*: 'Our delegation brings to you the most sincere and fraternal greetings of the Greek railwaymen. We are very glad to have this opportunity of taking part in the twenty-first Congress of the ITF, after so many years of absence due to the abnormal times through which we have been passing.

We should like to thank the ITF and its Executive Committee for the restoration of normal relations with our Federation, after two years of enquiries, the exchange of a voluminous correspondence, and the personal contact we had in Brussels in 1949. The abnormal conditions existing in Greece during the past few years, and the contradictory reports coming from different sources, many of them irresponsible, made it difficult for the Secretariat of the ITF to find out easily where the truth lay.

We do not want to delve into the past, however, but in view of the declaration made by our good comrade J. H. Oldenbroek about the help which the ITF and the ICFTU should give to the free trade union movement in France and Italy, we think we ought to point out that the trade union movement in Greece needs similar attention from these two bodies, particularly in view of the fact that Communist elements still have considerable influence in the trade unions. It is a Communism disguised under the cloak of democracy, but it receives its instructions from the Cominform through secret channels, and by wireless broadcasts from the countries behind the Iron Curtain; and it exploits the economic difficulties of our country.

Our delegation has no objections to raise to the Report the Secretariat has presented on the work done by the ITF since the Oslo Congress.

A. DEAKIN *British Transport and General Workers' Union*. In the first place I want to congratulate the General Secretary on the very fine introductory speech he made on the Report. I feel that if we had had that speech earlier, by way of leading in the debate, delegates would have been keener to participate in the discussion on the Report. I am sure delegates will have appreciated Brother Becu's contribution, and will not disagree with me when I say that he has shown us that he is well in line in the succession of greater general secretaries of the ITF. I am sure that as the years go by Omer Becu will be as well regarded by the delegates to future Congresses of the ITF as Edo Fimmen and J. H. Oldenbroek have been.

Having said that I want to say something about the Report, which is a factual record of the work done by the ITF since our last Congress, and shows the tremendous service given by this organization to its affiliated unions. I feel, however, that in presenting a Report, whilst it is essential to set down in a factual way what has been accomplished, it is equally necessary to project ideas for the future. Without being critical, I do want to suggest that it was not until Brother Becu took the rostrum this morning that we had any preview of what the members of the General Council and Executive Committee were thinking with regard to future activities.

I listened with interest to the first speech made from this rostrum by Brother Vercruyce. Now I want to say this: whilst we do not come here to admire one another, we do not come to abuse each other either. In discussing work done it is necessary, before we form our opinions, to know the real reasons behind the decisions that may be come to from time to time by the Executive Committee or the Sectional Committees. Now I do appreciate that our good friend Vercruyce, as one of our elder statesmen, is entitled to give us a lot of advice, but I suggest that when he talks of a reactionary approach by the British representatives in connection with the question of the forty-hour week he is completely off the facts. In the Report (on page 70) it says very clearly what considerations must be given to the question of the forty-hour week.

'On the other hand the Conference realizes that the material destruction and economic disturbance caused by the war have created a situation which in many cases precludes any immediate improvement on pre-war conditions, and that for some years to come a special effort will be required of the working class for purposes of reconstruction. If the tramway and bus workers are to make their contributions to this effort, they will have to envisage the achievement of the forty-hour week, and some other of their pre-war claims, by stages.'

Now that sets out precisely the reasons by the British representatives at the Utrecht and Paris conferences said that they could not support the idea of the application of the forty-hour week at that time. When Brother Vercruyce suggests that we are anxious in Britain to preserve a capitalist economy, I can only say that he must be completely unaware of the activities in which the Labour Government has been engaged, in cooperation with the trade unions, during the past six years. We are *not* anxious to preserve a capitalist economy. We are pursuing a very extensive policy of nationalization; particularly the nationalization of the industries with which the ITF is primarily concerned – railways, roads, docks, inland waterways, civil aviation and all forms of transport. We are pursuing a policy of planned economy, a planned economy that will take the place of the old conditions and which will improve the living standards of the people in Britain. In that policy is inherent a determination to establish and maintain a policy of full employment. I am glad to say that up to this time we have been 100 per cent successful in the pursuit of full employment; so successful that it has created for us a new problem. Today we have in Britain the biggest number of people gainfully employed in the history of our country. Twenty-two million are fully employed, and unemployment is down to less than three hundred thousand. As a result we cannot provide, in the transport industry, the labour force necessary to do the nation's job of transport work. We have had to do something that we do not like doing and which our people are opposed to except in the direst necessity, and that is to employ women in our transport industry. We had them during the war and we were able to establish the principle of equal pay for equal work, but now we believe, and some considerable sections of our transport membership hold the same view, that the women ought in some measure to go back to their homes. Although we believe in the principle of equal pay for equal work, we do not believe – as they do in some of the slave states of Europe – in making woman another breadwinner: we believe in the establishment, in so far as it is consistent with economic needs, of a state of affairs that will enable a man to earn enough money to maintain his wife and family at a decent standard.

Well, if you accept that idea – as we do – I suggest to Vercruyce that it is perfectly ridiculous to believe that you can shorten the working week to

forty hours. We have shortened it in Britain since the war – perhaps mistakenly, because we have had to work overtime periods to do the nations' job of work – from forty-eight to forty-four hours, and in large sections of our passenger transport industry the average weekly hours of work are less than forty-two. I suggest that, having accomplished so much, to proceed further to attach yourselves to a policy merely for the sake of doing so is not realistic. In many of the countries of the world where the forty-hour week has been established there is apt to be an extension of that weekly work by eight hours or so at overtime rates. Well, we believe that it ought not to be necessary to try to take care of wages by providing opportunities to work overtime at a higher rate.

I know very well that in Belgium and some other countries on the Continent there is unemployment. It would not become me to make comparisons or to criticize Belgium, but I would suggest with very great respect that the unemployment that has come to Belgium has arisen by reason of the fact that they returned to a free economy and abandoned the principle of planning.

Now I want to say something, if I may, about the future work for the ITF, and particular in regard to the problem of recruitment into the trade unions. I know that in Germany, as well as in some other countries, the trade unions of the transport industry are finding considerable difficulty in recruiting the young people who come into the industry for the first time. There are a lot of people in the world who pay little regard to what trade union organization has done, and what its object is to be in the future. I would ask the ITF to give special consideration to this matter. It is not confined to the Continent of Europe, though our problem in Britain is somewhat different: our difficulty is not in recruiting people but in getting their active and intelligent interest in trade union organization. I have had possibly more experience than most people of what our American friends call 'wild-cat' strikes, and we 'unofficial' strikes. Many people and organizations have sought, by patient investigation, to decide what is the reason for these upheavals. I would say that first of all it is due to the rapidity of change in the world today: the unsettlement in men's minds that arises from the sort of experience we have had twice on our lifetime – the two world wars. But in addition we must remember that in the world today people come to industry – young people – for a very short space of time, and then they are called up for national service. During their early formative years they do not get an opportunity to come into contact with and feel the stabilizing effect of long trade union experience. The result is that after they come back, having completed their national service, they find their minds in such a state of uncertainty and futility that they just don't know where to drop anchor. That, I suggest, is one of the most far-reaching issues with which the trade unions are confronted today. I feel that the more consideration we give to ways and means of getting into the minds of people the purpose

and policy of the trade union movement the better we shall be able to deal with some of the problems with which we are confronted.

The sectional activities of the ITF are very notable: they have done a remarkable job of work for the seafarers and other groups of workers. But I am glad that our friend Becu made the submission, this morning, that it is necessary, within the constitution of the ITF, to regularize procedure and give that authority to the Sections that will enable them to do an effective job of work. There is another aspect of the same problem. Reference has been made to the ILO and its Industrial Committees. The ILO, in providing that new platform for the examination of particular industrial questions, has charted the way by which we shall find many of the answers to the problems with which we are confronted. But having got the means by which we can discuss these matters, it becomes our responsibility to do what we can to speed the work, to prepare the information and to create the opportunities, within the ITF in particular, which will enable us to take a full part in furthering the work of these committees.

We are proud to realize that the standing of the ITF in international affairs, great as it has been over the years, is greater still today. We are making remarkable progress. This Congress is another milestone, and I feel sure that if we respond as affiliated organizations in the spirit of the lead given by Becu today we shall not go very far wrong.

At a later stage of our discussions there will be something to be said about our international relations and the part we played in the establishment of the ICTU. Also something about the action we have got to take to combat the activities of the Communists. For let us be under no illusions: the fight we shall have to carry on there will be a difficult one. I know that two years ago, when I took the rostrum at Oslo, you thought that I was wrong. But I think I can say without boasting that what was going on in my mind then enabled us at the opportune time to take the action that has enabled us to establish what can – and will, I am sure – become the greatest international agency the trade unions of the world have ever had.

A. KUMMERNUSS *German Public Services and Transport Union*: It is not my intention to criticize the Report that lies before it, but I did miss something in it, so I am very glad indeed that Comrade Deakin has drawn attention to it. It is the question of the young people and the trade unions. I realize that this is in the first place a question to be solved nationally, of course, and I have always been pleased, when I have been in Scandinavia, to see the exemplary work that is being done in this connection in Sweden, Norway and Denmark. But when we think, as Comrade Deakin has rightly pointed out, that we have two wars behind our backs, and yet still have people and movements that believe that only war can solve their problems, we must realize how important it is that our international trade union movement should give preferential

attention to an endeavour to bring our young people together. They must learn from experience what duty means. They must be brought, particularly in Germany and other countries where the devastation caused by the recent war has been particularly great, to think less of things and more of people. As soon as we are clear in our minds about the problem we should see what we can do about it. In my opinion it is not enough to organize summer camps for young people in the different countries. We should go earnestly into the matter and see whether it is not possible to make up delegations of young people who could exchange visits for periods of two or three months, so that they could get to know the problems and the people of other countries. I am convinced that as part of our struggle for peace, freedom and democracy we should try to bring the young people together in this new and hitherto untried way, so that we may find them in the front rank of the fight for freedom in case of any future outbreak. I am sure that the ITF can tackle this problem successfully, as it has tackled other problems in the past. The high aims of peace and democracy demand it.

In addition I should like to touch briefly on a problem which Comrade Becu mentioned when speaking on the Report this morning: I mean the question of the Argentine boycott. I think the Congress should be informed how the matter has developed here in Germany, so that the proper conclusions may be drawn in the interests of our comrades who are fighting in Argentina.

After the Executive Committee of the ITF decided to declare the boycott, and had advised us and the other countries of the decision, we instructed our branches in all German ports that no Argentine ships coming in should be worked, though we thought that in view of the small number of Argentine ships that there are Germany might possibly not be concerned to begin with. As it happened Bremen and Hamburg were two of the first ports involved. When we refused to work the ships the German shipowners brought their guns to bear on our comrades in the ports and on our organization, and suggested that as only one or two ships were likely to come into question we should allow them to be worked. We naturally refused. In the rear of the shipowners came the forces of the German commercial interests, particularly those concerned with the metal, motor car and wire industries, etc., who had goods lying in the ports waiting to be exported. They wrote to me here in Stuttgart: I think there must be something like thirty letters that I have received so far, and they tell me that as a German organization we shall be held liable for any damages resulting from failure to export the goods – totalling well over a million marks.

Unfortunately the German shipowners and industrial interests reinforce their arguments with the statement that Argentine ships are being worked in other countries, and that the German dockers are the only ones that are re-

fusing to handle them. We have, of course, paid no attention to these arguments. We have said that there is a decision of the ITF, and that we, as an affiliated organization, have the obligation to carry it into effect.

After the Argentine Government had in its turn tried, through its consuls, to get us to work the ships, the German political parties also came on the scene. Yesterday, as Brother Becu has already mentioned, the Free Democratic Party put a question in the Parliament at Bonn, asking what the Government proposed to do to ban the strike of the German dockers. It is interesting to note that it is this party, the party to which our Federal President Professor Heuss belongs, that raises this matter, showing that it is prepared to destroy again the right of association of the German trade unions. In reply the Minister of Labour made it clear that he was not able to forbid the strike. From a brief telegram I have received this morning it appears that the matter was discussed yesterday in the Bonn Parliament, and that only the Social Democratic Party backed the strikers.

I should like to say a few words about our attitude towards the Argentine seamen's strike in itself. First of all the matter is for us purely a trade union question. If a strike breaks out in any country and the comrades there cannot keep it going by themselves and ask for our help, as a matter of principle they will always get it. In the second place this strike is a political matter. Fascism is now ruling in Argentina, just as it did for twelve years in Germany, and when a movement starts in a country where Fascism rules, then we German trade-unionists regard it as a point of honour that we should be in the front rank in supporting the strikers.

THE PRESIDENT: I should like, as President, to thank the German union and the German dockers most heartily for the attitude they have taken up in this matter.

TH. SMEDING *Dutch Transport Workers' Union*: On behalf of the Dutch Transport Workers' Union I want to thank the Executive Committee and the Secretariat for the work they have done in many fields, the wide scope of which is proof of the great significance of the ITF and the influence it can wield.

We fully endorse the attitude taken up by the international trade secretariats in connection with the setting up of the ICFTU. The considerable influence which they have been able to exert, during the negotiations with that body, in the direction of close cooperation while maintaining the independence of the trade secretariats should, in our opinion, lead to good organizational relations.

We should like to thank the ITF more particularly for the work it has done on behalf of the Rhine boatmen. Arising out of decisions of the Zurich and Oslo Congresses, the ITF and its affiliated organizations have taken the initiative to bring about the conclusion of treaties, between the countries concerned

with navigation on the Rhine, to provide for minimum working conditions, including a manning scale applicable to the whole of Rhine shipping, and the regulation of social security provisions, with a view to securing greater uniformity and the recognition of rights already won in different countries.

The way has not been an easy one. The ILO is the obvious body under whose lead and auspices the matter should be dealt with, but there is in existence another international organization, the Central Commission for Rhine Navigation, set up under the Mannheim Convention – a governmental organization, therefore, which regards itself as supreme in all matters connected with Rhine shipping. In the beginning it tried to elbow out the ILO from this field of activity. It did not succeed, but we are anything but satisfied about its willingness to cooperate. Both whenever there are conferences and between them it tries to keep the ILO and the workers' organizations concerned out of things. It is to be hoped that the ILO will stand firm and refuse to give up its constitutional rights to deal with labour questions. We must insist on the trade unions being admitted on an equal footing, on a tripartite basis, in further discussions of these matters, and the tripartite principle must also apply in the implementation of the agreements. The Central Commission for Rhine Navigation must be made to understand that we insist on equal rights in connection with supervision, arbitration and all other matters. We hope that the governments, as parties to these agreements, will have a proper understanding of their task and recognize the workers' right to full participation.

I want to say a few words, too, about the way things have gone within the ITF in connection with fishermen's questions, about which we are disappointed. At its meeting of May 1949 the Executive Committee officially set up a Fishermen's Section, in accordance with a decision of our Oslo Congress. The intention was that the representatives of this Section should meet on the occasion of an ILO meeting of fishery experts; but it appears from the report that this did not take place, so that the Fishing Section of the ITF did not meet either. We very much regret this, because there are many things to be discussed in connection with difficulties which arise in this industry which will not be covered by the enquiry in which the ILO is now engaged. We should like more attention to be devoted to this group of workers.

Finally we should like to urge that a committee should be appointed for the Dockers' Section, in which matters are constantly arising which call for international consideration. We think that recent events, in connection with which repeated consultation of the dockers has been necessary in dealing with seafarers' problems, make abundantly clear the need of such a committee.

The Congress then adjourned untill Monday morning. The afternoon of Saturday 22 July, and the whole of the Sunday following, was devoted to meetings of the different Sections.

Monday 24 July 1950

MORNING SESSION

THE PRESIDENT commenced by announcing the receipt of the following fraternal telegrams and letters:

'To the delegates to the Congress of the International Transport Workers' Federation I send comradely greetings from myself and the Executive Committee of the German Federation of Trade Unions. I am glad that the Congress has chosen Germany for its meeting and am convinced that it will come to the decisions that are necessary to defend peace and freedom and strengthen international working class solidarity. In the fight to improve the lot of the working people of the world you will find five and a half million German trade-unionists at your side. Besides the responsible work of the Congress I wish the delegates a few happy hours of recreation among their German comrades. In sincere unity, Hans Boeckler, President of the German Federation of Trade Unions.'

'As General Secretary of my International – with which your great organization is cooperating so closely for our common objectives – I would like to convey to your Congress at Stuttgart my very best wishes and those of my International for a happy and successful conference.'

'The International Transport Workers' Federation has for many years been very prominent indeed and has done great work, not only for its own members but also for the international trade union movement as a whole.'

'I feel sure that your present Congress will contribute to the further growth of your organization and will lay the foundation of your future useful and vital activities on behalf of the workers of many countries.'

'I and my International are looking forward to many more years of close and friendly cooperation with your great organization. With fraternal greetings, M. C. Bolle, General Secretary, International Federation of Unions of Employees in Public and Civil Services.'

From Roger Dekeyzer, President of the Belgian Transport Workers' Union; from Rangoon: 'Best wishes from myself and Asian Transport Workers for success ITF Congress. Dekeyzer.'

THE PRESIDENT then wished Comrade Wilhelm Keil, Speaker of the Provincial Diet of Württemberg-Baden, who had delivered an address of welcome to the Congress on the first day, many happy returns of the day on the occasion of his eightieth birthday.

Report on Activities: Item 2 of the Agenda continued

FAIZ AHMED Pakistan Transport Workers' Federation: In the name of the transport workers of Pakistan I take this opportunity to convey to all of you the greetings of the workers of my country. You are aware that Pakistan is a new state. It came into existence only three years ago as a result of the partitioning of the Indian sub-continent into two independent states, Pakistan and India. The division made rifts in the general trade union movement, and also disturbed the economy of the country. Fortunately for us the new consciousness which dawned in the working classes of the country greatly helped us to reorganize the unions again. Today we have trade unions in almost every industry, and those of the transport workers are better organized than the others. I am proud to say that all the unions in Pakistan believe in free and democratic trade-unionism. All are run on democratic lines, and we are also in the happy position that our unions are not interfered with either by the Government or by the political parties. So we are in a better position than the workers of some of the Asian countries, where the trade unions are under the dictates and tutelage of governments or employers.

I offer my hearty congratulations to the Secretariat for the excellent Report it has presented to us. With regard to regional organization, dealt with on page thirty-five of the Report, you should bear in mind that half the population of the world lives in Asia, and if you believe that poverty in one region is a danger to the other regions, then I think that no international organization can overlook the interests of the Asian workers. The ITF is moving in that direction and I offer it my thanks on behalf of the workers not only of Pakistan but of Asia as a whole.

We who are now working in the trade union movement in Pakistan organized the Indian Seamen's Union, which was the oldest and biggest of the seamen's organizations, and the Bengal Mariners' Union, which is still today the only organization for the inland waterway workers and which affiliated with the ITF, I think, about twenty years ago, but lost contact owing to various difficulties.

Fortunately for us the ITF got into touch with our unions in India, Pakistan, Singapore and other places, by sending out Mr George Reed as Special Commissioner for South and South-Eastern Asia, and tried to keep these organizations going when they had nearly broken down after the partition of the sub-continent. But before that we had asked the British National Union of Seamen to send one of their officials to assist us in bringing together the seamen's organizations and to negotiate a collective agreement for us. They were good enough to send Mr Reed out in 1945, and we sat in the same office in Calcutta and worked sixteen months together. He helped us to negotiate nine collective agreements and to get big increases for the workers in the inland navigation industry in both Pakistan and India. At that time the

country was not divided. He sat in the negotiating committee with the employers and we could not have had a better negotiator. So we owe a debt not only to the ITF but also to the National Union of Seamen for helping us in the past.

But as Brother Becu has said, we have not only to consider events and the work done in the past, but also our programme for the future. I think if the ITF is to maintain its international character it will have to expand its activities, not only in Asia but in all regions of the world. Asia is a danger zone. It is not that we are afraid of the Communists, for I can tell you that the Asian workers hate Communism. They do not want them to come to their countries and impose dictatorship. Communism is spreading in Asia only because of the reactionary attitude of the Asian governments and employers, who give them their opportunities. There is much talk of democracy nowadays, but in many Asian countries there is no democracy and actually Fascism is making its way in, and the workers have to make a choice between Fascism or Communist dictatorship. If real democracy were to be established I do not think the Communists would have a chance. In this connection the trade unions are most important as organizations that can establish democracy in the real sense of the term.

The ITF should therefore expand its activities in this field. First of all it should establish a good secretariat for the Asian countries at its headquarters. Maintaining an information office at Bombay for keeping contact will not solve our problems. If the ITF really wants to do business it should expand the Secretariat at headquarters and man it with suitable persons who understand Asian problems and can handle them.

There is another matter in which we have great difficulties. Asian workers are as good as any workers in the world, and they are responsive to the trade union appeal like other workers. But we have very few trade union workers: most of the people go in for politics and they do not come to trade-unionism because the trade unions do not pay them. Work in the trade unions is a thankless job. In most of the Asian countries the governments are opposed to trade-unionism and look upon any workers' organization as communistic, and if you do trade union work diligently you are liable to be arrested and put to death without trial. This attitude of the governments actually encourages Communism. So our difficulty is to find workers really capable of administering a trade union office and building up the organization on sound and healthy lines. I believe the ICFTU as well as the ITF can help us in this respect, because it is not possible to run trade unions on proper lines unless we have trained people to put into them.

I come now to our special problems. We are faced today with a very big problem in connection with the ocean-going seamen of India and Pakistan. I have already told you that with the help of the British National Union of

Seamen and Brother Reed we brought about solidarity between the Indian seamen in undivided India, and we also formed the Calcutta Maritime Board, on the lines of the British Maritime Board, composed of representatives of seafarers and shipowners. Unfortunately for us partition came and undid all the good work done with Brother Reed. The Government of India came in the way and did not allow the Maritime Board to function. One of the joint secretaries of the Maritime Board was even assaulted at the Joint Supply Office. And so the Maritime Board and all the seamen's organizations on India are unable to function, and exist only on paper.

You should understand that the seamen who are now passing as Indian seamen are really Pakistani seamen – seventy-five to eighty per cent of them are nationals of Pakistan. Unfortunately the *old* recruiting system is still being applied in the Indian ports, in Calcutta and Bombay – and occasionally in Chittagong and Karachi also. We want to improve the conditions of the people and free the Indian and Pakistani seamen from bondage and from the present system. But for practical purposes there are no seamen's organizations, and if we want to have help from the ITF we must build up these organizations. I am not one of those who believe that the ITF can give any practical help where there are no organizations: the ITF and the workers of Europe and the United States can only help us if we help ourselves and build up our trade unions on sound and democratic lines. So the first job the ITF can tackle is to assist us in building up some of the organizations at least.

The differences between the two governments cause us very great difficulties. It is not possible for us nationals of Pakistan to work as trade union officials in Calcutta, owing to the opposition of the police and the political parties, and the same thing will happen if Indians come to Pakistan. It is an unfortunate position. The ITF could help us to bring the organizations together and to negotiate collective agreements not for India or Pakistan alone but for the two countries. It would be quite possible to establish joint negotiating machinery. If we could have an Indo-Pakistani Maritime Board, established jointly by the governments of India and Pakistan, we should be able to solve many knotty problems. But to be quite frank I am not setting my hopes in Asian governments, because the workers have no representatives in them. In the communal disturbances it is the poor who have suffered, and not the rich. The Indian and Pakistani capitalists who exploit us are still good friends.

I believe the ITF could help us by entering into correspondence with the governments of India and Pakistan, and with the shipowners, seventy per cent of whom are British, and with the further assistance of the British National Union of Seamen it should be possible to bring a joint maritime board into being.

The ITF should also issue an appeal to all workers explaining what it

wants to do. The appeal should be addressed to other workers as well, but the seamen's problems are the most urgent.

Seamen's conditions are those with which I am most familiar, and I should like to say a few words about them in so far as my country is concerned. First of all we have so far no proper system of recruitment. This was the first matter we took up in the Calcutta Maritime Board, prior to the partition, and it has not been settled yet. There is a great deal of corruption in connection with recruitment. One seaman, coming from home, may be unable to get employment in a ship for years, while another, coming home from a voyage, gets another job overnight, provided he pays a bribe to a middleman. This is a matter that must be tackled. Nor is there any social insurance for seamen. During the first world war as many as 5,000 Indian and Pakistani seamen died, and during the last war I believe about the same number were killed, in giving the Allies the victory over Fascism. Their wives and children get no social insurance benefits, but only some £2 a month as compensation, and they cannot live on such a sum: the children actually starve. At the same time there are many seamen who suffered in health owing to the heavy work they had to do during the war, and the Government of India has just introduced a medical examination as a result of which many of them are being disqualified from working as seamen. What becomes of them? They just join the army of beggars. So social security is another matter that ought to be taken up immediately. The ITF should give its attention to this. I believe that if it will give the unions guidance they will be able to make the governments understand that something must be done. The Seattle Conventions raised great hopes in the minds of the Asian seamen, but they have not yet been ratified by any Asian country. According to information I got from Brother Reed when he was at Singapore the seamen in India and Pakistan are somewhat better off, in so far as wages are concerned, than those who are engaged at Singapore; the Chinese and Malay seamen in particular being employed at a much lower rate.

If it is to do its work the ITF needs information about the situation in the Asiatic countries, and that is why it established its information office in Bombay. But there should be more of these offices, not only should there be one in Bombay, but also in Pakistan and elsewhere in the Far East. It should be possible to get honorary correspondents in some of the organizations, and if they would submit periodical reports to the head office of the ITF a regular journal might be published for Asia and the Asian workers.

I think I have made the position of the Asiatic countries clear. Although I represent the transport workers of Pakistan only, I have actually been describing the difficulties of all the Asian workers. It is no use hiding the truth and saying that all is well. I have come here to do business, to tell you the truth and to get your assistance in so far as you can help. I appeal to you to help us,

not only in Pakistan but in all Asia. This is in your own interests as well as ours. The seamen's calling is essentially an international one, and their conditions can be adversely affected by poverty of their fellows in other countries.

T. YATES *British National Union of Seamen*: In order that we may make more progress I appeal to Congress that further speakers on the Report be limited to ten minutes.

The President put this proposal to the vote and it was adopted unanimously and without discussion.

H. JAHN *German Railwaymen's Union*: I do not want to speak about the Report itself, but I think it necessary to take the opportunity to mention two problems. The first is the problem of Berlin. The Berlin railwaymen, that is to say the railwaymen of Western Berlin, were on strike from 20 May to 28 June 1949, against the Soviet Military Administration, in defence of their right of association. After thirty-eight days they won the battle, showing that Soviet power can also be brought to its knees by a strike organized by a workers' trade union. The Soviet Administration was forced to recognize that the Western Berlin railwaymen had the right to have a trade union of their own, and they were forced to sign an agreement; but as might have been expected, they did not keep it. It was provided in the agreement that there should be no victimization; but there was victimization, and the number of Western Berlin railwaymen that have been thrown on to the streets by the Soviet Administration up to date is over four thousand.

I have had an opportunity of discussing the matter with the French military authorities in Berlin, and they tell me that the Western Commandants are of opinion that it is of no use negotiating any further with the Russian Administration, since any agreement come to would not be honoured. So I take this opportunity to making known to the world that the struggle of the railwaymen of Western Berlin, and its consequences, will have to be borne by us, the German Railwaymen's Union. I do not say this by way of asking for help, but only to point out that my second problem, the problem of the infiltration of agents from the Eastern Zone of Germany into the Western German Republic, has reached a stage that leads me to utter a warning.

It is almost exactly twenty years ago, at the fifteenth Congress of the ITR, in London, that I uttered a warning as to what would happen if Hitler came into power. Oswald Schumann then replied: 'The German trade unions, thank God, are so strong that Adolf Hitler will never have chance of reaching power in Germany.' But what I warned against was most cruelly realized, and the situation today is desperately similar to what it was then. The railways in particular have been singled out as a subject for experiment in the building up of sabotage gangs and militant groups, so that they may be taken over by the Communists when the time comes. The person entrusted with the

formation of these groups in the West German Republic is the former Air Marshal Kurt Henschel, and I already have in my possession a list of twenty-six agents who are to form such sabotage or militant groups at key points on the railways. It is also no secret to us that the Communist underground movement in the West German Republic is already in an advanced state of organization. It is divided into five regions: the Ruhr District, with key points at Essen and Dortmund; South Germany, including Bavaria, with key points at Munich, Rothenburg and Dinkelsbühl; Lower Saxony, with key points at Hanover and Brunswick; then, to shut off the coast, with ramifications towards Oldenburg; and smaller groups along the Iron Curtain from Lübeck to Coburg.

The spiritual centre of this Communist underground organization, in case it should be wished to make another South Korea out of Western Germany, is at Frankfurt; and the organizational centre at Düsseldorf. It is not by accident, and it may be of importance for our Swiss friends, that the line of communications for the couriers going to the East and back runs through Switzerland via Constance, Innsbruck, Zurich and Freiburg. I mention this because our German Railwaymen's Union has during the last few days received information that a fourth Commission, consisting of or appointed by the New York firm of Coverdale & Colpit, has been investigating the situation of the German railways and its report calls for the dismissal of something like 80,000 of the railwaymen working on the Federal Railways in Western Germany. I should like to mention that in the West German Republic our activities as a trade union are at present inspired not so much by economic as by political considerations. Every additional man unemployed in Western Germany means a step nearer an Eastern dictatorship; and because we see this as a political problem we should like to ask the Congress to help us to give public expression to the opinion that this is not the way to put the West German railways on a sound basis. On the contrary, trust in democracy, of which we trade-unionists may be regarded as the bearers in Western Germany, should not be so undermined that one fine day we shall no longer be able to contain the wave of fatalism. It is time it was realized that such reports make our work as trade-unionists so difficult that we run the risk of seeing it undone by lack of confidence.

I should therefore like the Congress to declare that in this struggle against the dictatorial movements from the East we trade-unionists in Germany shall have the full support of the organizations in all parts of the world that belong to the ITF.

P. KALAPOTHAKIS *Pan-Hellenic Seamen's Federation*: I bring the greetings of the Greek seamen, and am happy to be among this international family of transport workers who have at all times fought for freedom and democracy and for a better world. In the Report the Executive Committee mentions the

hesitation which was felt in accepting our Federation as an affiliate of the ITF. We can quite understand that hesitation, which was the result of the crafty propaganda of the Communists who, employing their usual slanderous methods, represented our organization as being a Fascist body. Our Federation was founded in 1919, and has ever since stood for democratic principles. Its record in this respect speaks for itself. At this very moment it is trying to improve the wages and conditions of the seamen engaged in coastwise shipping and, following a forty-eight hour strike, preparations are being made for another strike of indefinite duration in the event of the shipowners not agreeing to our terms.

The Communist-controlled Federation of Seamen, which had no reason to continue in existence after the liberation of our country, since those of our members who were temporarily cut off from us during the war rejoined our Federation after it was over, has maintained itself in being as an instrument of the Communist Party and international Communism generally. Its essential activities were well exemplified during the recent guerrilla war sponsored in Greece by Soviet Russia's satellites. Ambatielos and two other leaders of the Communist seamen's organization were charged and sentenced to death for having conspired against the freedom and integrity of our country, but our Federation made representations to the Greek Government, asking for clemency to be exercised towards these men, and that the death sentence should not be carried out.

I believe our country could find a way out of its difficulties if it were left in peace, but unfortunately the clouds seem to be gathering again. Soviet Communism seems to bring war in its train. The adventure in Korea may at any moment bring about another world conflagration. Where will our country stand? The Greek seamen give the assurance – as they did during the second world war, when thousands of them perished at sea – that this time too they will do their duty for freedom and democracy.

P. DEVRIES *Dutch Merchant Marine Officers' Union*: The Report on the activities of the ITF during the two years which have elapsed since the last Congress gives us some idea of the great importance of the ITF for the international work which has to be done on behalf of the workers in the transport industries. On behalf of our delegation I should like to congratulate the General Secretary and his staff on this Report, and to express our great appreciation of the manner in which the work of the ITF has been done during the period under review.

The significance of the Report lies not only in its factual summary of what the ITF has done during the past two years, however. It also indicates very clearly where we stand, where we are going, and the tasks which still await us. I listened with very great interest to what Brother Becu said about this in his admirable introductory speech, and I fully agree with him that it is our duty

not only to deal with the past, but even more, perhaps, to realize what a tremendous job of work lies before us, and what the ITF will have to do to accomplish this task properly. I should like to emphasize, at the same time, that in doing this work the ITF will have to follow the same road as in the past: the road of democracy which must ultimately lead to peace and freedom, and to prosperity for all the workers throughout the world.

We shall have ample opportunity to deal in particular with these tasks when we hold our Sectional conferences, or under other items of the Agenda, but there are a few points to which I should like to make special reference in connection with our future activities. In the first place I want to stress what has already been said with such emphasis by the General Secretary: that we shall have to make use of such influence as we are able to exercise for the maintenance of trade union liberty on a democratic basis. There are still wide areas in the world where this freedom does not yet exist, and others where it is in danger. That being so, we cannot stand aside without doing anything. We must realize that the future of democratic principles, and of the human rights based on these principles, is at stake, and that we do not deserve to hold these rights if we are not prepared to defend them. I think we should cooperate closely with the ICFTU, especially in areas where there are no trade unions, or where they are not firmly established. When we come to discuss the question of our relations with the ICFTU we can say more about this.

I do not think there is any doubt that dividing our work up on a regional basis is unavoidable. But if we set up regional offices – if possible in conjunction with the ICFTU – we shall have to face the financial consequences of such a move: we must provide the means, if necessary by an increase in affiliation fees. It is the intention of our delegation to go further into this matter when the Congress deals with the Financial Report.

Coming back to the areas of the world where the freedom of the trade unions is in danger, I would submit that the decision of the Executive Committee of the ITF to help our Argentine comrades in their courageous struggle to defend their trade union rights deserves to be warmly applauded. But applause is not enough: the help we give must be effective, and it can only be made effective by cooperation on the part of the organizations affiliated with the ITF. I am well aware that there are difficulties on the national plane, but if we are to acquit ourselves adequately of our international task we must not – certainly in the face of such a wanton assault on trade union rights as we are witnessing in Argentina – allow national difficulties to prevent us from performing our international duty. I hope that on this point especially complete agreement will be reached at this Congress.

As one of the representatives of the international community of seafarers, there are two other matters to which I should like to refer. During the last world war all sorts of promises were made to the workers in general and to

the seafarers in particular – promises which are finely expressed in Article V of the Atlantic Charter. As the General Secretary has already pointed out before me, it was these promises which inspired the International Seafarers' Charter, a document in which we have formulated a programme of minimum social conditions for the seafarers. On the morrow of the last world war, thanks to the prompt reaction of the I.L.O., some of these minimum conditions were embodied in a number of international treaties which are known as the Seattle Conventions. It must be said once more, however, that Seattle is in danger of coming to be regarded as a dead letter in so far as the seafarers are concerned. Some of the responsibility for this must be laid at the door of the governments of the democratic countries. They made the promises but have failed so far to keep them.

If this matter is considered in the light of the recent decision to bring about a coordination of merchant shipping within the framework of the Atlantic Pact, then the failure of the governments acquires added significance. If – which Heaven forbid – an appeal should again have to be addressed to the seafarers to play their part in the defence of human rights, then I am afraid that the governments making the appeal are likely to be reminded that the Seattle Conventions – though they only lay down the international minimum standards to which the seafarers consider themselves to be entitled – are still not implemented.

I do not want to dwell on this subject, as I have not much to add to what Brother Becu has already said, but I want to associate myself completely with his words. I hold it to be one of the tasks of this Congress to state very clearly that the ratification of the Seattle Conventions cannot and must not be delayed any longer. And it must be brought home to the governments that in the proposed organization of merchant shipping within the framework of the Atlantic Pact – the Atlantic Planning Board for Ocean Shipping – adequate provision must be made for representation of the seafarers.

The other matter to which seafarers have devoted serious attention during the past two years has been that of spurious flag transfers. In the Conference of the Seafarers' Section we shall have occasion to go more deeply into this question, and into the measures the seafarers must take in defence of their interests. In doing so they will at the same time make an important contribution to the anti-communist campaign, for we now know for certain that there is Communist influence at work behind this scene, as behind all others where they believe they can carry on their dirty work.

It was in view more particularly of its bearing on the action we have undertaken and must continue to undertake to safeguard the free trade union movement against Communist infiltration in all its forms, that I have touched in this general discussion upon the Seattle Conventions and the question of spurious flag transfers. For it must be abundantly clear to all who have to

face up to these and similar problems that the satisfaction of reasonable social aspirations and the granting of adequate safeguards for the respect and maintenance of democratic rights and liberty is calculated more than anything else to check the threat of Communism.

I hope that the aspects to which I have referred may find due expression in the resolutions to be submitted to this Congress, and that those resolutions may make their contribution towards furthering the aims of humanity.

H. KAGEYAMA *All-Japan Seamen's Union*: I am taking part in the discussion on the Report for the purpose of giving some additional information. The All-Japan Seamen's Union only recently joined the ITF, and we have not yet had an opportunity of acquainting you with our problems.

The most important problem with which we are faced is that of finding work for a very considerable number of our members. Since the Japanese merchant marine has not yet been authorized to take part in deep sea navigation, while Japanese industry has not yet been sufficiently developed to keep our ships busy, many of them have had to be laid up, and unemployment is growing among the seamen.

We are asking for the cooperation of the ITF to secure the readmittance of our ocean fleet to international trade. I hope you will believe me when I say that neither the Japanese seamen nor any other organized Japanese workers are hoping for the re-establishment of the former Japanese imperialism.

Japanese labour is notorious the world over for its cheapness, and I can understand that the prospect of the reappearance of Japanese ships on the ocean might make you fear that unfair competition might undermine the basis of the working conditions of the seamen of other countries. I want to assure you that we are just as anxious as you to keep up the good conditions that have been won elsewhere, and let our members benefit from them. We have no wish to work for low wages. At the end of last year, for instance, when American and Japanese shipowners were thinking of setting up a joint undertaking for which the United States were to provide the ships, Japan the seamen and Panama the flag, we opposed the scheme. On the other hand we can hardly agree to our members being condemned to unemployment to the end of their days. If we are to keep their confidence we need to be able to find them work.

I understand that the ITF has drawn up model draft collective agreements for use on board ships flying the Panamanian flag. There is nothing we should like better than to come to an agreement with you to apply the scheme to our own members, and any assistance given by the ITF for this purpose would be highly appreciated by them.

There is another very important problem with which we are faced. We should like to see lifted as soon as possible the restrictions which have been imposed on Japanese fishermen. Fishery products are an important source of

food for the Japanese population, but since the areas within which our fishermen are allowed to fish freely are very limited, many fishing vessels have had to be laid up, so that many of the men are unemployed. The position is very similar to that of our ocean shipping. If Japan, with her very large population and feeble economic resources, is to maintain the independence of her small territory, it is necessary that she shall be enabled to provide a living for her inhabitants by exploiting the riches of the sea. This would enable her to maintain a sound economic position by exporting her fishery products and importing in return the raw materials she needs for her industries. For all these reasons we also ask for the cooperation of the ITF to secure the lifting of the restrictions on our fishing vessels, so that they may engage in deep-sea fishing.

In Japan we are living in abnormal conditions because no Peace Treaty has yet been signed. We are, however, following with very great interest the great struggle for the maintenance of freedom in different countries. We have neither the freedom nor the wish to engage in the struggle of the different great powers for leadership, but we do want liberty at home and to see the reign of liberty in other countries. We therefore cannot watch disinterestedly the struggle going on at present in the world. During the last ten or fifteen months the question of the transport of arms for the defence of the free peoples has played a great part among the activities of the ITF.

At the present moment a struggle for freedom is going on not very far from my country. With a view to defending peace and freedom the members of the All-Japan Seamen's Union are playing as large a part as possible in the transport of war materials, within the limit of the instructions given by the Allies; so you see that we are with you in the fight against totalitarianism in all its forms.

R. HELGESSON *Swedish Transport Workers' Union*: I should like to say a few words about the Argentine seafarers' and dockers' strike. As you all know, the ITF has decided on a boycott of all Argentine shipping in support of them, but so far only a few unions have taken action to give effect to the ITF appeal, and many others have declared that, for different reasons, they cannot take part in the boycott.

It is very clear that the Argentine Government is feeling the greatest concern at the decision of the ITF, and its consequent appeal to its affiliated unions. In Sweden we have informed our dockers, as well as the employers, that the boycott of Argentine shipping in Swedish ports is an accomplished fact. This has caused the Argentine Government to reply – through diplomatic channels – with a threat to boycott Swedish ships in Argentine ports if the Argentine ships are tied up in Swedish ports. To be consistent, however, they would have to apply this to the shipping of all other nations taking part in the boycott, and it is very doubtful whether the Argentine Government would be prepared to consider such far-reaching action.

If we cannot all of us take action on the ITF appeal, and the boycott consequently fails and leads to nothing, it will be a severe blow, which will lose more prestige than we can possibly afford. Those unions that consider that they cannot at present, for one reason or other, take part in boycott action against Argentine shipping should remember that they in their turn might need similar help some day. Would they then be in a position to count on the help of the organization they themselves now refuse to help? One thing is certain: we must back up our International and do our best to respond to its appeals.

A.LAFOND *French Railwaymen's Federation, F.O.*: I want first of all to express our approval of the Report, on behalf of the French delegation. I also have the mission, on behalf of my own organization, to express our thanks to the ITF and several of its affiliated organizations – the American railwaymen and machinists, our Belgian, Swiss and Luxemburgian friends, and the railwaymen of the Saar – for the help they have given us in the reconstruction of our free trade unions in France.

I think it is necessary, too, that I clear up a few points about the situation in France, not only by way of reporting, but also because we are inclined to think that our situation is already beginning to find its counterpart in other countries, and events with which we are familiar may still be a threat to others.

During the period which has elapsed between Oslo and Stuttgart we have had to face serious troubles started by the Communist Party, particularly in the transport industry. Their policy, whose purposes are all too well known to us, does not aim at action in defence of the legitimate claims of the working class, but above all – since they now reckon that France is ranged among their enemies – to disorganize the country's economic system with the help of the Soviet fifth column, just as they are trying to do in Germany. We have had to face difficult and delicate situations, violence and disruptive activities within the trade unions; and this pressure has unfortunately been facilitated by tolerance, born of fear, on the part of the Government. If the situation in France is no worse than it is, this is due above all to the trade unions, particularly the transport workers' trade unions, which have refused to play the game of Soviet imperialism, and it is no longer possible for the railwaymen's, seamen's, dockers' and road transport workers' unions belonging to the Communist CGT to start a strike without previous agreement with us and without our participation. We are not masters of the situation by any means, but the Communist trade unions have lost their freedom of action, and that is why they are resorting to their old tactics of appealing to the sentiment of unity that is so dear to the heart of the French working class; preaching unity of action to justify their endeavours to conquer political power and enslave the workers. Our movement is still faced with very great difficulties: I have no wish to hide our weakness, still less to deny the influence of the Communists,

which is still very strong in France, Italy and other countries. It continues to be strong because the social problem has not yet been solved.

Our unions are at present engaged in negotiations with the Government with a view to securing wages more in harmony with the cost of living. What we are particularly anxious to secure is an acceptable basic minimum wage. By refusing to agree to measures of social justice the Government is encouraging and feeding Communist propaganda.

Unfortunately there are other trade union organizations that are taking up an equivocal attitude in their dealings with the Communists. The Christian trade unions, in associating with the French Communists, are largely contributing to the success of Communist tactics. The matter ought to be settled on the international plane. In our relations with the Christian trade unions we ought to insist on having cards on the table. In France only a regrouping of the forces of free trade-unionism will suffice to meet totalitarian encroachments and preserve freedom and democracy. We are ready to marry, but we need to know with whom, and what the terms of the contract are to be. It is an absolute necessity, however, if we make top priority the defence of freedom, peace and democracy. The most immediate danger is in France and Italy, as Oldenbroek has pointed out. Becu said that the words 'democracy', 'freedom' and 'peace' have lost their meaning for us, but I do not believe it. We may not have preserved their full implications, and for this we are to blame, but we will fight if necessary to restore them. We must not allow those who would suppress them to appeal to and make use of them for that purpose. Nor shall we listen to the protest of the destroyers of freedom who pretend to be martyrs when measures are taken to defend freedom and democracy. Only thus can we restore to these terms their real meaning. There are organizations which we must have the courage to denounce as false trade unions: the CGT of France is one of them. We must make our comrades understand that the real trade union movement and the CGT have nothing in common: the CGT is nothing but a branch of the Communist Party.

Realities must be faced. Italy and France are threatened by Communist strategy. We need help, and not only material help but help of all kinds: information, propaganda, encouragement and all.

But we must not confine ourselves to what is happening in Italy and France. The peace of the world is threatened and we are being dragged into a new conflict. There is a good deal of apathy towards what is happening in the Far East, on the other side of the world. People are so well aware of what a new world war would mean that they simply refuse to face the possibility. It is our task to make the position clear to the mass of the workers. What has happened in Korea is just a cast of the lead to find out how the peoples would react to aggression, and what resistance they would put up. Aggression must always be resisted, or all is lost; that is something that history has abundantly

proved. Appeasement, born of the will to peace, did not prevent aggression and the second world war, and if a determined and effective resistance is not put up to what is happening in Korea there is no doubt that we shall have other conflicts arising in the same part of the world, and in Europe, tomorrow.

But resistance must not be confined to armed resistance, we must resist in all ways, because we know that Moscow will bring in its Communist fifth column and redouble its activities within the different branches of transport. It is in the merchant navy and in the docks, on the railways and in road transport and civil aviation, that it will put forward its maximum propaganda effort; not only because these are key industries from the economic point of view, but because they are of vital importance in all military operations and are the points where most damage can be done.

We must therefore be ready for this attack, especially in Italy and France. So far the initiative has always been on the side of the Communists, as in the case of the Stockholm appeal, the appeal of the WFTU and the attempts to organize sabotage, both in Germany and France. We must not be satisfied with merely replying, we must take action to make the masses of the workers conscious of the danger. We are convinced that if we react in a manner that attracts public support, if we have the courage to take up a definite position and make it known to the masses, we can form a block that nothing will be able to resist.

It seems to us that with the Schuman Plan there is serious talk of the organization of Europe. This organization is also a positive way of promoting peace. It is a matter in which the ITF is concerned: the problems of the iron, coal and steel industries affect transport above all. Transport is of prime importance in the fixing of prices and for the distribution and utilization of the products of the iron and steel industry. Nobody in Germany or elsewhere can avoid being interested in the matter. It should be one of our prime tasks to secure the setting up of a European transport authority. This is not a new idea for the members of the ITF, but the time has come to carry it into effect. If we work effectively for the setting up of this organization we shall also be working for the peace of Europe, and in addition we shall be making a contribution towards the solution of many other problems with which we are engaged, such as the problem of the forty-hour week.

More than ever the ITF must show boldness, authority and dynamic. True to its past, it cannot disappoint the hopes of the transport workers of the world. Audacity and dynamic must be our inspiration more than ever before.

ADDRESS OF WELCOME

THE PRESIDENT then welcomed another guest who had just arrived, Mr Harvey Brown, Director of the Labour Division of the U.S. High Com-

mission in Germany, and former President of the International Association of Machinists of the U. S. A.

HARVEY BROWN Representative of the U.S. High Commissioner: When I journeyed down here to attend this Congress as a spectator I hoped to sit on the side-lines, especially as I did not believe you wanted a Government official to address you. I am happy to be here for more than one reason. In the first place it is an opportunity to renew acquaintance with some very fine people in the trade union movement. Also it is an honour to be permitted to address a Congress of the International Transport Workers' Federation. I do not believe there is a group of workers in the democratic countries of the world who occupy a more important position in their respective economies than do the transport workers, whether by land or sea, especially in view of the contest which is taking place between the East and the West.

I wish to make one or two observations on my experience in Germany during these past eleven months, the period during which I have been serving as Labour Adviser to High Commissioner McCloy. As Director of Labour Affairs I have experience of various aspects of affairs in Germany, and especially the attitude of the employers. Our principal job there is the job of the occupying forces, and we have been concerned to make the Germans understand and accept our concept of democracy. If we fail it will not be because of extreme Communism; it will be because of too many Nazis occupying important positions in industry: likewise in the Land and Federal Governments.

We must not fail. The future of Europe, in my opinion, depends upon Germany. If the Germans fail to adjust themselves to the practices and customs of democratic countries, Europe fails. That may sound pessimistic, but I have had some surprising experiences in Germany. Germany is making progress by way of increasing productivity, but what progress Germany is making is very unevenly divided. A most unfair share of the costs of war is on the shoulders of the workers, and too great a share of the profits of industry goes into the pockets of the owners of industry. That too is very surprising: the industrialists and bankers of Germany, who, I suppose, are not very different from their counterparts in other countries, have not learned the lesson of the happenings in the past. Nor do they fully appreciate what may be the outcome in the struggle between East and West.

That is not only true in Europe, it is true in my own country. I do not know how much more handwriting must appear on the wall, or how much has to be sighted on the horizon, to convince industrialists and bankers that they must agree to a more just share of the profits of industry going to the workers, and not merely base wages on the cost of living. It is tremendously disappointing to see what is happening throughout the world: that those benefiting most from so-called free competitive enterprise do not realize that for their own security they should be willing to place more of their gross earnings into the

pay-envelopes of the workers; and at times move over and let the workers occupy at least a small space on the driver's seat.

I do not want to take up too much of your valuable time, but before closing I want to say that High Commissioner McCloy extends his best wishes for a successful Congress. Mr McCloy fully understands, and has often made the statement, that organized labour represents a tremendous force for democracy. He fully appreciates that there is no other section of society that is in a better position to wield influence for the preservation of our social, economic and political systems in the western democracies. His wish is that this Congress may be one of the most successful congresses held by the ITF. I too, in closing, trust that this Congress will help to convince the thinking people of the world that this organization occupies a most important position in these days of uncertainty, and that it will make them recognize that the transport workers must receive the consideration they deserve, and that justice must prevail in any difference that may arise.

I thank you for the honour you have done me in allowing me to make this short address to your Congress, and I wish you God speed.

The President thanked Mr Harvey Brown for his address, and asked him to express to High Commissioner McCloy the best wishes of the Congress.

Report on Activities: Item 2 of the Agenda:

M.MACHIN *Uruguayan Railwaymen's Federation*: This is the first time that the young and relatively unimportant Uruguayan railwaymen's organization which I represent has had an opportunity of taking part in one of these great international transport workers' congresses, and since adverse circumstances have unfortunately limited the representation from Latin America, I feel it my duty to speak on that part of the Report which relates to activities in our Continent.

First of all I want to convey to the delegates to this important Congress, and to the leaders of the ITF, the fraternal greetings of the railwaymen, and of our comrades the transport workers, of Uruguay, whose representation I have the honour to hold, and who in that far distant corner of America are hoping that success shall crown our deliberations.

Secondly I want to comment on the Report, and especially on that part which relates to Latin America, and which describes the efforts which have been made since 1948 to widen the radius of action of the ITF, with particular reference to that continent. A major item has been the holding of a Regional Conference and the setting up of a Regional Secretariat, though the little the Report has to say on the subject suggests that it has not yet done very much. The Report also devotes a few paragraphs to the political dictatorships, a disease which seems to be endemic in Latin America.

As a newcomer to these discussions, I hope I may be excused if in speaking

I should go beyond my book. On this my first visit to Europe I feel that it has never been more necessary than now that the free workers of the several continents, who are working for peace, welfare, freedom and civilization, should be brought closer together.

By tradition, culture and language all the Latin-American peoples are united in spirit. Our political systems are similar, and though some are more and some less developed than others, in all of them the ideas of freedom and human welfare are established as fundamental postulates. This new Continent, with its great chains of mountains, virgin forests, tremendous rivers and grassy plains, and territories in which man has not yet established himself nor exploited their fabulous wealth, has great peoples who know no monarchist classes nor military castes; who accept the principle of equality of the races, who feel no national nor religious rancour, and whom we can safely describe as constituting an ideological and racial unity.

What are our shortcomings? An economic system which is still colonial in character in many of our countries; their lack of industrial development; the concentration of large areas of land in the hands of the few, and uneven distribution of wealth; all of which has made possible the existence of millions of Indians, half-breeds, negroes and white men who enjoy none of the benefits of social progress, who live a life of privation and exploitation. The conservatives in many of our countries have got into a rut and remain stationary and even retrogressive, and the backwardness and lack of political and trade union sense of the enormous mass of proletarian workers leaves the way open for frequent coups d'état and dictatorships and instability in our democratic institutions. But – and this is a point which should be borne in mind – the dictators are not always antagonistic to the workers: very often they favour them, playing for their support as a political force and granting them important improvements and advantages which they could not otherwise have obtained, but setting up at the same time a tutelage which is a menace to their liberties.

We can quite understand the wonder which this state of affairs in Latin America excites among our European comrades; but let them consider that our new Continent is only just beginning to consolidate its institutions, and its peoples, and with them the workers, are struggling eagerly in this direction.

As you will see, circumstances are very different in Europe and America, and for this reason I welcome, as likely to produce practical results, the tact with which the ITF has approached the question of its intercontinental relations.

And here I come to a point which interests all of us, Europeans and Latin Americans, particularly in our capacity as transport workers. If you will consider the matter carefully you will realize that the Americas, with all their

defects and virtues, constitute civilization's greatest material, economic, spiritual and human reserve. Our uninhabited territories with all their undeveloped wealth; our peoples, also undeveloped, backward and without political experience, but free from racial and religious hatreds and by their principles jealous of liberty; all this means enormous reserves which we organized workers must win for our cause, which is the cause of the proletariat, the cause of peace and progress for all nations. These are the reasons, comrades, why we Latin-American delegates are in some ways different from our European brethren: the latter, veterans of long experience and great prestige, act with judgment and understanding, while we, much younger and less experienced in trade union matters, are inspired with the fervour which is characteristic of what is young and new, but also with a keen awareness of our future possibilities, though we may make the mistakes and show the lack of tact which are inseparable from our circumstances. We are, however, two forces which should complement one another.

We transport workers have a great opportunity to do good work in Latin America, because our very work makes us the vehicle of relations between the peoples: the seafarers who form the link between the ports of the seven seas and who, sailing up our broad rivers, reach to the heart of the Continent: the railwaymen, traversing deserts and mountains and losing themselves in intricate forests and cattle plains; and much the same can be said of those of our comrades engaged in motor and air transport. Who is in a better position than we to make a determined and sustained effort to open up consciences and win millions of workers to our cause, thus preventing their becoming an instrument for the exploitation of man or for extending the betrayals and confusions of totalitarianism to the New World?

For all this it is imperative that the ITF should continue and expand the activities of its Latin-American Subsecretariat; that it should facilitate and encourage close and active relations between our organizations, and above all provide a well-thought-out policy and adequate and positive guidance that will help us to consolidate our incipient trade union movements; thus going forth to new and effective conquests, warmed and supported by the feeling of responsible and understanding solidarity which has always been characteristic of the leaders of the ITF. With this I wish to express my approval of the Report, while repeating my hope that the work in Latin America may continue with greater intensity.

N. WÄLLÄRI *Finnish Seamen's Union*: When listening to, and afterwards reading, the speech of our German friend Hans Jahn at the opening of the Congress, the whole Finnish delegation was rather surprised at Finland being included in his list of countries in which freedom has been destroyed, or in which there is no freedom for the trade unions. Perhaps it is not quite in order to make observations on speeches of welcome, but as many of our

friends seem to be labouring under a similar misapprehension as to conditions in Finland, I want to declare on behalf of the Finnish delegation that in Finland we enjoy unrestricted freedom, and that we do not feel that our freedom is threatened any more than it is in any democratic country. Up to the armistice of 1944 our civil liberties were limited, because Fascist forces were very strong in Finland as a consequence of the support they had from Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany. Finland could be destroyed as an independent nation, but we feel sure that none of the big powers have any such intentions. We wish a note to be taken of these facts.

As regards the Argentine question, I want to mention that the Scandinavian Transport Workers' Federation – which is a regional federation of Norwegian, Danish, Swedish and Finnish dockers, seafarers and transport workers – adopted at its annual conference, held in Norway in June 1950, a resolution calling upon the dockers and seafarers to boycott Argentine shipping, and to protest to the Argentine legations in their respective countries against the violation of trade union freedom in Argentina. The Finnish unions responded to this appeal of the Scandinavian Transport Workers' Federation and the Finnish Seamen's Union sent a deputation to the Argentine Legation in Helsingfors to demand the restoration of trade union freedom and the release of the arrested leaders of the Argentine Seafarers' Confederation. The Argentine Chargé d'Affaires was rather uneasy about the boycott and explained that it would disrupt trade relations between the two countries. I hope that the action on behalf of the Argentine seafarers will be extended and made effective in all countries.

First report of Credentials Committee: J.G.BATY *Chairman and Rapporteur, Credentials Committee*: It is my privilege to present the report of your Credentials Committee. I will not read the report itself, as it lies before you, but want to direct your attention to the third paragraph on page one, which reads:

'The Committee have examined all the credentials submitted to them and have to report that sixty-three affiliated organizations are represented at the Congress by 181 delegates (one of them also acting as proxy) and twenty-eight substitutes. The aggregate membership of the organizations represented is 3,366,779, out of a total membership of approximately 5,300,000. The Committee recommend that the credentials of all these delegates be accepted.'

Other bodies represented are also mentioned in the report, and your Committee propose that a heart welcome be conveyed to such of our comrades as are mentioned as fraternal delegates.

I should now like to direct your attention to the penultimate paragraph of page two. There you will see that the Credentials Committee feel that they

ought to call attention to certain difficulties which have confronted them on account of past practice in connection with paragraphs four and five of Rule XIV of the Constitution of the ITF, which make provision for temporary easements on affiliation fees. Those provisions are there for a specific purpose, and the Committee would like to call attention to the fact that the easements are intended to be only temporary in character. In recognizing the practice followed in the past and giving voting rights to the organizations concerned, they feel that there is a constitutional principle involved that ought to be considered by the governing bodies of the ITF, and they deemed it necessary to call attention to the matter with a view to the future.

The last paragraph also deals with a matter to which we felt attention should be directed. It appears that owing to currency difficulties and other factors certain organizations have not been able to pay their affiliation fees up to and including the quarter preceding the Congress. To avoid difficulties we suggest that in the future urgent steps be taken in the quarters concerned to see that paragraph five of Rule 4 is complied with.

If these suggestions are considered and given effect to it will make things easier for the Credentials Committee, who have felt that they are bound by both the Constitution and past practice. The Committee has exercised every care to give satisfaction to everybody. Their remarks were not inspired by any desire to cast reflections on anybody, but the ITF is an important body, and we do appeal to all concerned to see that the rules are fully complied with.

As our President has indicated, this is only a first report, and there are still other matters to be considered. For instance, our good friend Mr Harvey Brown has now arrived: we did not know that he would be present, and he is not mentioned in the report. This will need attention, as will other matters also.

With pleasure I present the report and ask Congress to endorse it.

The following is the Report referred to:

First report of the Credentials Committee

The Congress decided that the representatives of the Benelux Group, Germany, Great Britain, the Scandinavian Group and the United States should choose the members of the Credentials Committee. The following were the members chosen:

J.P. Remackel, *Luxembourg*

H. Bracht, *Germany*

J.G. Baty, *Great Britain*

Th. Laursen, *Denmark*

J. Hawk, *United States*

The Committee met with Mr P. Tofahrn, Assistant General Secretary, under the Chairmanship of Mr J.G. Baty, who was also appointed to report to the Congress on the Committee's findings.

The Committee have examined all the credentials submitted to them and have to report that sixty-three affiliated organizations are represented at the Congress by 181 delegates (one of them also acting as a proxy) and twenty-eight substitutes. The aggregate membership of the organizations represented is 3,366,779, out of a total membership of approximately 5,300,000. The Committee recommend that the credentials of all these delegates be accepted.

The following unaffiliated transport workers' organizations are also represented:

ITALIAN UNION OF ROAD TRANSPORT WORKERS AND INLAND BOATMEN by Giulio Martelli;

ITALIAN AUTONOMOUS RAILWAYMEN'S UNION, by C. Capelletto and C. Baldassare;

NEW ZEALAND FEDERATED COOKS' AND STEWARDS' UNION, by W.A. Fox.

Applications for the affiliation of the two Italian unions are under consideration by the Executive Committee, and we understand that there are good prospects of their affiliation becoming effective in the near future. We propose that the Congress bid these three organizations a hearty welcome, and that their representatives be seated as fraternal delegates.

National and international trade union organizations with which the ITF is in friendly relations are represented by the following fraternal delegates: INTERNATIONAL CONFEDERATION OF FREE TRADE UNIONS, by J.H. Oldenbroek;

INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION OF AIR LINE PILOTS' ASSOCIATIONS, by D. Follows and W.L. Vickerstaff;

SCANDINAVIAN TRANSPORT WORKERS' FEDERATION, by J. Christensson

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOUR, by Henry Rutz;

FREE TRADE UNION COMMITTEE OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOUR, by Henry Kirsch;

ITALIAN CONFEDERATION OF LABOUR UNIONS, by G. Canini;

We record with pleasure the interest shown in the work of the ITF by official bodies, which are represented by the following observers:

The United States High Commission for Germany, by General C. Gross, Land Commissioner for Wurttemberg-Baden and Messrs N.S. Friedman, H. W. Baker, Dr E. Young and G. Willis.

The British High Commission for Germany, by Mr R. G. Exley.

The Parliament of Wurttemberg-Baden, by Speaker Wilhelm Keil.

The Government of Wurttemberg-Baden, by Transport Minister Steinmayer and Permanent Secretary of the Labour Ministry David Stetter.

The Town Council of Stuttgart by Lord Mayor Dr A. Klett.

The International Labour Office, by Mr J. Schuil.

The Economic Cooperation Administration, by Mr D. J. Saposs.

The Committee feel it their duty to point out that they have experienced some difficulty with regard to the voting strength of organizations covered by the provisions of Paragraphs 4 and 5 of Rule fourteen of the Constitution of the I.T.F. They feel that the application of these paragraphs as they now stand might lead to repercussions which they think it is desirable to avoid if possible. They therefore recommend to the bodies responsible for constitutional matters that all aspects of the question be carefully examined with a view to ensuring that voting rights are related in some way or other to the affiliation fees paid to the I.T.F.

They further deem it incumbent upon them to point out that it will be helpful if all affiliated organizations will see to it that affiliation fees are paid for the quarter preceding that in which the Congress is held, in accordance with Paragraph 5 of Rule four.

23 July 1950

The Rapporteur J.G. BATY

The First Report of the Credentials Committee was adopted unanimously and without discussion, and the morning session then ended. The Congress adjourned until the following morning.

The afternoon of Monday 24 July was devoted to Sectional Conferences.

Tuesday 25 July 1950

Report on Activities item 2 of the Agenda

O.BECU *Acting General Secretary*: First of all I should like to thank the Congress warmly for not criticizing the very late distribution of the Report on Activities, and particularly the delegates who only received it at the opening of the proceedings, and who must have made great efforts to read it through.

Altogether there has been very little criticism, though there has been a frank and open discussion. I am sure all the delegates who came to the rostrum came in a constructive spirit, for all the problems raised have been of a constructive character. I could make a speech on every one of the problems raised, but much as I should like to do so I cannot reply to everyone at length as it would take up too much time, and we still have a great deal of business to deal with.

I should like to say a personal word of thanks to Brother Deakin for his very kind words, though I hardly think I deserve all the praise he so kindly uttered, and particularly his coupling my name with those of my predecessors, Edo Fimmen and J.H. Oldenbroek. I should say the *great* Edo Fimmen, followed by the man who deserves the gratitude of the ITF for having pursued so competently the policy pursued by Fimmen during the many years he was General Secretary. I have only been with the ITF, as Acting General Secretary, for a very short time, and I think everybody will agree that I came at a difficult moment. Brother Oldenbroek had to take over a very heavy task, probably the heaviest that anyone has ever had to undertake in the trade union movement, and he has had to give most of his attention to that new task, so I want to thank him for the time which he has given to the Secretariat of the ITF, and to myself, during the short time I have been in office. For it is in no small measure thanks to him that the ITF Secretariat has been able to carry on its work without any interruption.

I said it was a difficult moment for a new secretary to take over, for we have had to come to some very important decisions. We have had to ask the several sections of the ITF to take the strongest action the ITF could take, and we have had to handle two international actions almost at the same time. And on top of it all we have had to make the preparations for this Congress.

As regards the observations that have been made on the Report, I will refer first of all to what Brothers Deakin and Kummernuss said about the problem of the young people, the question of recruitment and education. It is not the first time this problem has been before an ITF Congress: It was before our Oslo Congress in 1948. It is a very important one, that concerns

the whole trade union movement. Thanks to the help of several of our affiliated organizations, among them the German unions, the ITF has already done something about the exchange of young trade-unionists, but when, after our last Congress, we considered in the Executive Committee the question of the training of trade union leaders we found that the task was almost too big for the ITF to tackle, even within the confines of our own particular field of activity. The Executive Committee thought we ought to wait a little longer and see what the ICFTU intends to do in this respect, and then try to find some way of cooperating with them. Certainly it is a most important problem, to which we shall have to give a great deal of attention.

Brothers Deakin and Smeding referred to the Sectional work of the ITF. I quite agree that it is very necessary that the Sections should be placed in a position in which they can function better than in the past. They have very important tasks to perform between congresses, and as soon as this Congress has provided them with sectional committees I should like to see them set to work to promote the interests of every category of transport worker in the ITF.

Brother Deakin referred to this question in connection with the Industrial Committees of the ILO, I fully agree with him. If the Industrial Committees are to perform the tasks for which they were created, it is for us, as one of the Internationals concerned, to see that they are kept at work, and that the different Sections of the ITF take up the questions that will have to be dealt with by these Committees. All those who are in touch with what is happening at the ILO will be well aware that there are forces at work within that body that would like to do away with the Industrial Committees. This is a problem which is being discussed inside the Coordinating Committee of the international trade secretariats, and which will be further discussed between them and the ICFTU.

Brother Smeding referred to our experiences in connection with the conferences on Rhine shipping, and complained rather bitterly that the trade unions were not receiving the hearing they were entitled to in the handling of Rhine shipping questions. I can only say that I fully agree with him on this point. We have already entered a strong protest with the ILO against the fact that the ITF, which took the initiative in raising the question of Rhine shipping at the international level, has not been invited to take part in a conference on the subject which is now being held in Paris. On the other hand the Central Commission for Rhine Navigation is allowed to play quite a prominent part in these discussions. It will be our task to bring home to the governments and to the ILO that we demand similar recognition.

I also share Brother Smeding's disappointment that little or no headway has been made with the handling of the problems with which our fishermen are confronted. Here again we shall have to address ourselves to the ILO, and the decisions which have already been reached at the Conference of the

Fishermen's Section which we have held in connection with this Congress will probably contribute towards progress in the direction desired.

Brother Faiz Ahmed has put the situation in the Far East very clearly before us, and has reminded us that one half of the world's population lives in Asia. This alone shows the tremendous importance of that continent for the ITF, and for the international trade union movement as a whole. Brother Ahmed knows that the ITF has already done something in this direction, and that it is ready to do still more – to do everything in its power to help our comrades in the Far East. We have been tackling this problem almost alone, for the ITF started to give attention to it long before any other section of the international movement. Now that the ICFTU has been set up and is taking a great interest in the Far East, and has already sent delegates there, it should be possible to do much more than hitherto. The matter will come up in connection with the question of regional organization and regional machinery for the international trade union movement. Brother Ahmed and our Asian friends may feel happy that Brother Oldenbroek is the General Secretary of the ICFTU. He has already had considerable experience of the problem while he was still with the ITF, and I feel sure he will put that experience to good use and will join with us and with all the international trade secretariats that may be interested in doing the kind of job that has never before been done for our brothers in Asia.

Brother De Vries spoke of regional offices and regional machinery. As I said yesterday, if the ITF wants to be a really world-wide organization it has to think in terms of regions. The discussions which have taken place between the international trade secretariats and the ICFTU have convinced me that the latter attaches as great an importance to this question as we do. Discussions have already taken place between the two sections of the international trade union movement with a view to every effort being made to set up the most powerful regional machinery we can. In this connection Brother De Vries raised the question of the financial implications. It is true that if we are going to set up several regional offices jointly with the ICFTU it is going to cost money, but if the other international trade secretariats are going to join in I think that the ITF will be able to do its part from the financial point of view.

I agree with Brother De Vries when he says that the Seattle Conventions are in danger, and I hope that the Seafarers' Conference that is to be held in connection with this Congress will find a way to do something about the matter. De Vries said that it is time the democratic governments started to think about the ratification of those Conventions. I think he has laid his finger on the spot there: it is surely time that the democratic governments realized that something ought to be done for the seafarers, that they should no longer be in a less favourable position than other workers in respect of conditions of employment. If the Communists have been kept at bay in seafarers' circles it is thanks

to the activities of the ITF, and to the fact that we have brought it home to the seamen that something should be coming to them as a result of the Seattle Conventions. But we have to be careful not to disappoint the seafarers, for we might easily lose a lot of their confidence. So I hope this Congress will do what is necessary to bring the ratification of these Conventions a step nearer.

Brother De Vries also referred to the recently established Atlantic Shipping Planning Board. I agree with him when he urges representation of the ITF and the seafarers' organizations on that body. He certainly means that the governments should agree to the seafarers being represented when they talk about manpower. If there is some planning to be done in that respect we do not want the seamen and their unions placed in the same position as they were when the last war started.

Brother Kageyama, our Japanese friend, has told us of some of his troubles in Japan, and especially the serious unemployment which exists among the seamen. We must agree with him that it will be a danger to all if the ship-owners again find a source of cheap labour in Japan. I was very glad to hear him say that his union, and the Japanese seamen, will refuse to be tools in the hands of their employers, and that it is not their intention to let the Japanese seamen be used as cheap labour. But if Japan is to be independent it must have the means for its economic reconstruction, and I hope that this Congress, when it deals with the resolution on this question, will support our Japanese friends in demanding for them the means of reconstruction and a rise in their standard of living.

Brother Machin, of Uruguay, regrets, as the leader of a Latin American trade union, that our Havana Subsecretariat has not shown the activity we expected of it. I also regret this, and so does the whole of our Executive Committee. We shall have to do something about it soon after the Congress, and find ways and means of getting the trade unions of Latin America more interested in our international movement. The Latin American trade unions generally are still in their infancy and I cannot emphasize too strongly how necessary it is that the ITF should fulfil its task there by helping them to build up a strong movement.

Brother Lafond referred to the relations between our movement and the Christian trade union movement. I do not think that as far as the ITF is concerned there is any useful purpose in discussing the problem at any length: it is one which primarily concerns the ICFTU, and I know that the ICFTU is watching it very closely. The Christian trade unions were given a chance to affiliate with the ICFTU, but after the decision the International Federation of Christian Trade Unions came to recently at Brussels I am afraid that there can be no unity between their movement and ours. But we had better leave this problem to the ICFTU, as it is a problem of a general character which concerns the trade union movement as a whole.

Our friend Lafond pointed out that Italy and France are in a dangerous position, and that the ITF should show its interest by helping to build up a free trade union movement in those countries. Let me tell Lafond that the ITF has so far done everything in its power to help our French and Italian friends. And we are prepared to continue with that help, for we realize the tremendous importance of these two countries not only from the trade union but also from the political point of view. I can promise Brother Lafond that the Executive Committee will give the closest attention to this question and give the free trade unions of France and Italy every possible support in their struggle.

Lafond also referred to a question we have had under consideration for a long time past: the question of the setting up of a European Transport Authority. If the wishes of the ITF had been considered European transport would not be in the mess it is today. We have been pressing for a European Transport Authority for a long time, and we will continue to do so. If all countries go on taking a purely national point of view, and nothing is done by way of coordination, the reconstruction of Europe as a whole will be seriously hampered.

Lafond raised the question of the war in the Far East, as did also Brothers Kalapothakis of Greece and Kageyama of Japan. I agree with them; particularly with Lafond when he says that Korea is a try-out for another battle to come. I have already said that we must interest ourselves in that trouble in the Far East. Kageyama has said that the Japanese seamen are willing – and our friend from Greece has said that the Greek seamen are again willing – to make the supreme sacrifice, if necessary, in defence of freedom and democracy, and I for one feel sure that this applies to all the seafarers belonging to the ITF.

This brings me to the activities of the Communists, to which several speakers have referred. The most striking example was given by our friend Jahn in connection with the situation in Berlin, when he spoke of the desperate struggle the railwaymen there have been engaged in for a long time past. We have been following that struggle very closely. During the last two years the activities of the ITF have been very largely devoted to countering the disruptive work of the Communists in the different ports. We have countered them by setting up Vigilance Committees in the major ports of Europe, and also by trying to set up regional Vigilance Committees. Not all of you have been able to follow what has been done in this direction, but we have certainly achieved something, and if the Communists are no longer the dominant factor in the major ports of Europe it is thanks to the activities of the ITF in this field. The ITF has almost stood alone in this connection, for the WFTU, of course, could hardly be expected to do anything about it. But now that we have the ICFTU I feel sure it will do something through its affiliated national centres, and that in conjunction with the ICFTU we shall be able to do still

better than we have in the past. I should like to tell Brother Oldenbroek from this rostrum that if the ICFTU wants the support of the ITF, and calls upon us to do more than we have done in the past, there will certainly not be a single organization in the ITF that will withhold its support from any overall action undertaken. It is time something was done, that the national trade union centres take a hand and try to put paid to the whole of the Communist activities. The ITF will do its part, and I hope that the other international trade secretariats will do the same.

We often hear the Communists referred to as left-wingers, but I am by no means sure that name still applies. Would it not be truer to say that the activities of the Communists nowadays are just as reactionary as any of the forces of the right? We still remember the 1917 revolution in Russia and the war which was waged against her, and how the ITF stepped in and declared a boycott in support of Russia. If it had been in the power of the ITF to promote the supplying of arms to Russia at that time we should not have hesitated to do so. But isn't it true that a change has come over that part of the world; that there is no longer question of real communism coming about there; that nothing remains of the movement in which we had such faith, and which we thought was fighting for the interests of the workers? Now we know that at this very moment they are out to destroy our trade unions and disrupt the labour movement as a whole, so that they can get control over all countries which are not strong enough to resist. The ITF has already adopted several resolutions on this issue, and another will be laid before this Congress, for it is necessary that the Congress shall take up a clear and outspoken line.

Let me now refer to what has been said by Kummernuss, Helgesson, Wäl-läri and De Vries with regard to the Argentine strike. Helgesson in particular has voiced his concern about the situation there. The beginnings of the matter go back to 1947, and they were considered by us in 1948, when representatives of the Argentine Maritime Confederation were present at our Congress at Oslo. At that time our Argentine friends were already aware of what was likely to happen if they resisted the Peron régime, and we promised them full support in the event of a struggle. What they then foresaw came to pass in 1950, when Peron, acting through the Government-controlled Argentine CGT (General Confederation of Trade Unions), set out to smash the remnants of free trade-unionism in that country. Our friends of the Maritime Confederation put up a resistance, first through token strikes of twenty-four, forty-eight and seventy-two hours, until the middle of May this year, when it became clear that the CGT, at the behest of the Government, was determined to take into its own hands the organization of the workers in the maritime and allied trades and smash the independent organizations completely. At that point the seafarers and their allies came out on strike again, realizing that it was going to be a fight to a finish. The action taken by the ITF in their

support was by no means precipitate. The question was thoroughly discussed by our Executive Committee, and we had been careful to find out whether our Argentine organization was strong enough to take up the fight with any prospects of success.

Our Argentine friends had asked us, not once but several times, to send a delegation to their country to make an investigation. After they had been on strike for a fortnight they again urged us to come over and see for ourselves what the position was. As you know, I undertook that mission myself. Before doing so I consulted the ICFTU and asked what they thought about my going to Argentina. The ICFTU then promised to back up the ITF in this action against the Peron régime, and in fact the ICFTU gave me a letter authorizing me to speak on their behalf as well as our own. So I made the journey and tried to enter Argentina in order to see the Argentine Minister of Labour and discuss with him and other responsible people in the country the problems with which our Argentine unions were faced; for at that time we still hoped that it would be possible to arrive at some kind of agreement with the Argentine Government. We remembered a statement which had been made by Peron himself not so long ago – as recently as 19 April, in fact –, when he stated publicly that no trade union leader had ever been placed or would ever be placed under any pressure to change his way of thinking about what he thought his union had to do in furtherance of its aims. He also said: ‘Our just régime would never tolerate anyone being deprived of his trade union rights. It does not do so now nor will do so in the future. For if it did it would not only be unprecedented, but also stupid.’ This was a clear statement by the President of the Argentine Republic, to which, after all, some weight could be attached. Unfortunately my request for a visa to enter Argentina was not granted. First I failed to obtain it from the Argentine Ambassador in London, who assured me, however, that I should get it in Montevideo; but after waiting a whole week in Montevideo I gave up hope of getting it there either. As a result there was no opportunity of trying to reach agreement with those concerned.

The struggle which is going on in Argentina is about one of the most fundamental of trade union rights: it is a struggle for freedom of association, for the very principle of free trade-unionism. Helgesson, in expressing his concern, remarked that not everyone in the ITF was doing his duty to the fullest extent, or doing all that could be expected of him. When the Executive Committee decided that Argentine ships would have to be boycotted in the event of an all-out struggle it was appreciated that the action could not be one hundred per cent effective in every case. This was made clear at the meetings of our Dockers’ and Seafarers’ Sections, but it was also agreed that the ITF and its unions would have to do their duty.

That is the position today. All our affiliated organizations of dockers and

seafarers are doing their utmost to bring the conflict to a successful end. I do not know what the result will be: I do not know whether the Argentine organization will succeed in its endeavours or even whether it will survive the struggle as an organization. But I am sure that even if our Argentine comrades are not successful the spirit of free trade-unionism will live on in Argentina thanks to the fight they are putting up.

I have been asked whether the ITF was prepared to negotiate with the Argentine Government, notwithstanding the fact that at the first attempt we were refused admittance to the country. To that question I would reply that we are prepared to negotiate provided the Argentine Government is prepared to recognize our organization in Argentina and its right to exist as an independent body – provided that Government is going to recognize the right of the maritime and allied workers of Argentina to organize in the union of their choice. On those conditions I am sure we would be glad to respond to any move made by the other side to find a peaceful settlement of this important struggle.

I think I have now replied to all the speakers. The ITF has a great – I may say tremendous – task to accomplish. Our friend Lafond has said that it is imperative that our movement and our ITF shall remain audacious and dynamic. I certainly agree that it must pursue a bold policy, but at the same time we have to be careful and to know exactly what we are doing. We are passing through great times and it may well be that we are at a turning-point in history. But no harm can come to the ITF if all its affiliated unions and the five and a half million members they represent continue to form a solid block. The ITF has always been, and in my opinion will always remain, an international organization with a real fighting spirit.

The Report on Activities for the years 1948 and 1949 was then adopted unanimously.

Before passing on to consideration of Item 5 of the Agenda, which with the agreement of the Congress was taken before Items 3 and 4, the President welcomed the arrival of another guest, Mr F. Kenny, representing the British High Commissioner.

Working Hours in Railway and Road Transport item 5 of the Agenda

The following draft resolution, proposed by the Executive Committee, was before the Congress

Draft resolution on the forty-hour week: Whereas the Convention on the Eight Hour Day adopted in Washington in 1919 has had a most beneficial effect on the social policy of the democratic world and has helped to make the eight hour day general for the great majority of railwaymen throughout the world; Whereas the full benefit of this Convention has not yet been achieved for the railwaymen of Greece and India and other countries backward in their social and economical development;

Whereas this Convention has also helped to improve working conditions for many workers in road transport;

Whereas the application of the 1939 Convention on working hours in road transport would mean considerable progress for many workers whose working conditions still leave much to be desired;

Whereas in the United States, Australia and New Zealand the forty hour week is now the norm for the great majority of railwaymen and for a considerable proportion of road transport workers;

Whereas in Britain the forty-four hour week is now the norm in industry as a whole, the railways and road transport included;

Whereas the aim of technical progress ought to be to lessen the burden of man's labour and, in particular, to reduce the working time;

Whereas the economic consequences of the war and the need for the democratic countries to devote a large part of the national income to safeguard themselves against the possibility of aggression, cancel out, over a considerable part of the world, the effects of the increased productivity of labour brought about by technical progress and are an obstacle to the forty-hour week becoming general:

Whereas these obstacles are essentially of a temporary nature:

THIS CONGRESS, congratulates those railwaymen and road transport workers who have achieved the forty or forty-four hour week, or have, in some other form, achieved conditions which are an improvement upon those laid down in the Convention on the Eight Hour Day;

Invites all transport workers and their organizations to work unremittingly for the reduction of hours of work in order to achieve, as soon as the economic possibilities of their countries permit, a forty hour week;

Invites all road transport workers' unions to make use of the 1939 Convention to improve the working conditions of those of their members who do not yet enjoy the minimum of protection laid down by this Convention;

Invites the ILO to conduct an enquiry in order to ascertain in which countries and for what reasons workers in road and rail transport are still deprived of the benefits which the Washington Convention ought to have brought them;

Assigns to the Trade Union Movement of the democratic world and to the ILO the task of benefiting the new generation by a new and powerful drive towards social progress, in particular by achieving for it the advantages of the forty-hour week.

P. TOFAHRN *Assistant General Secretary*: The Executive Committee has asked me to submit to you a resolution by which we propose to put an end – not for very long, we hope – to our consideration of the question of the forty-hour week. You will understand that we are not happy about it.

Consideration of the matter started at a Conference of the Railwaymen's

Section held in March 1947; was continued at a Busmen's and Tramwaymen's Conference held under the joint auspices of the ITF and the International Federation of Unions of Employees in the Public and Civil Services in May 1948; and was again taken up by the Railwaymen in August 1949 and the Road Transport Section in October of the same year. The day before yesterday the two Sections again discussed the question in joint session. The conclusion of these long-drawn-out discussions is that while maintaining the forty-hour week as one of our aims, we appreciate that in pursuing it we must be guided by realities.

In action to reduce working hours the power of the trade unions is the main factor, but it is not the only one. The degree of technological development, economic resources and labour productivity in the country in which the action is to be carried out are also of great importance. In many countries the power of the trade unions has not been sufficient to secure everywhere the forty-eight hour week provided for in the Washington Convention of 1919. Switzerland, France and Holland are certainly not backward countries, but their working hours legislation presents anomalies which deny many workers, particularly in road transport, the benefits of the forty-eight hour week. Our organizations in these countries have been struggling for years to improve this legislation, but are only making slow progress towards the effective limitation of working hours to forty-eight a week. When the Committee of Experts of the Railwaymen's Section gave their consideration to the French Forty-hour Week Act they came to the conclusion that while the text pays its respects to the principle of the forty-hour week, in practice, by only counting one half of certain periods during which workers are required to be on the job, it laid down limits substantially greater than forty hours, while the post-war Act which allows of eight regular weekly hours of so-called overtime, reduced the forty-hour week to the category of fiction. In effect it lays down a forty-eight hour week, and in transport this means for many workers an even longer one.

And if this happens in advanced countries, what will it be in the backward ones? Information we have in our possession makes it clear that the forty-eight hour week is not enforced in India, and it is probable that an enquiry in other Asiatic countries, or in Africa, and no doubt other countries as well, would reveal conditions very similar or even worse.

At the other extreme we have the United States, New Zealand and Australia, where the forty-hour week is provided for by collective agreements, and is actually enforced, while in the United Kingdom the forty-four hour week is general in all transport by land.

It is clear that in every respect – power of the trade unions, technological development, economic resources and labour output – the United States heads the list of the countries of the world. What country tails it off it is

probably impossible to determine. Europe probably follows close behind the United States. You will often find in European countries that certain industries rival the United States in so far as technological development is concerned, though unfortunately the same can be said of only very few European transport undertakings. Taking them as a whole, Europe's economic resources are inferior to those of the United States, and the same can be said in many cases of the output of labour. A fall in labour output is to be seen everywhere, and it would seem to be the effect of the war on the human factor. In Europe the advantages of technological development are offset by the physical effects of the war on the machinery and equipment of production and transport – the destruction caused by war operations. So in spite of technological development, material conditions are still an obstacle to the generalization of the forty-hour week in Europe, and even if the power of the trade unions were greater than it is, this obstacle could not yet be surmounted. And on top of this there is the fact that the political consequences of the war have led to the interruption of trade relations between European countries that cannot be so easily replaced by equally advantageous new trade relations.

Comrade Christiansson has proposed that we should try to get the ILO to adopt a new international convention fixing working hours at forty a week, and providing that it shall be carried into effect within a period to be determined, which he suggests should be five years. The Committee of Experts of our Railwaymen's Section has had under consideration a similar idea – the introduction of the forty-hour week by stages; but it was forced to the conclusion that it is visionary to think of laying down a timetable for the realization of the forty-hour week throughout the world – unless it were to be spread over something like a century. I hope, therefore, that Brother Christiansson will drop his proposal. We should not find anybody at Geneva prepared to take it up seriously.

Introduction by stages being out of the question, we considered what might be done with what we have called the 'French principle', under which working hours in excess of forty are regarded and paid for as overtime. In theory this makes it the employer's interest to bring working hours down to forty a week as soon as possible, as the extra hours cost him too much. It has not yet been proved that this theory works out in practice, but in *has* been proved that the practice makes the workers regard it as their interest to keep weekly working hours above forty. In other words, in practice the 'French principle' leads to a wages structure which is an obstacle to the reduction of working hours. Should it be adopted in spite of this, the effect would be an increase of wages, and in general our affiliated organizations are not prepared to consider increases of wages in disguise.

As far as the French principle is concerned, therefore, it is not possible to reach agreement between the trade unions, and still less to secure the acqui-

escence of a sufficiently large number of governments and employers for an international convention based on that principle.

But if there is no possibility of action through the ILO, what are we to do? To secure the forty-hour week we shall have to do what we have done to secure other social improvements which have been consolidated by international labour conventions: gradually secure it on such a wide scale that it can be regarded as normal in the civilized part of the world. This implies that it is not enough to have it in the USA, Australia and New Zealand: a more or less considerable number of countries must follow their example. Once the forty-hour week has been implanted in a sufficiently large number of countries, then it can be made the subject of an international convention with a view to its being generalized throughout the world.

Progress by stages is possible in each country individually. The goal can be approached by several different ways: in Norway, for example, six hours of work by night count as eight, and there are many other methods by which the forty-hour week can be approximated to and finally reached.

The resolution that lies before you suggests this line of approach. It enables you to adapt your action to economic possibilities, but still lays on the workers the duty to see that the strength of their trade unions is always sufficient to enable them to take advantage of any opportunities that may offer themselves. And while in the industrial countries we will make every effort to attain our goal, we must also think of the transport workers in the more backward countries, and try to help them to secure the benefits of the forty-eight-hour week.

With these thoughts before you, I ask you to adopt the resolution.

Point of order: A. DEAKIN *British Transport and General Workers' Union:* I should like the Chairman's ruling whether it is in order that we discuss the resolution on hours of work before the Congress has received a written report on the discussions that took place in the meeting of the Railwaymen's and Road Transport Workers' Sections on the same question. There has further been distributed a resolution, standing in the name of Mr Vercruyce, which conflicts with the decisions come to by the sectional conferences concerned. This resolution should, in my opinion, be referred to the Resolutions Committee.

THE PRESIDENT: I am well aware that the written report on the joint meeting of the Railwaymen's and Road Transport Workers' Sections has not yet been distributed. Technical difficulties have prevented it. The matter has been discussed by these two Sections, however, and Brother Tofahrn has just reported orally on the result. In my opinion there is no reason why we should not discuss the draft resolution that has been submitted by the Executive Committee.

The draft resolution put forward by Brother Vercruyce is simply the resolution adopted in 1946 by our Zurich Congress. Nobody wishes to annul it.

It is a fundamental declaration by the ITF about the forty-hour week, in a form that was adapted to the situation as it then existed. Now it is a question of securing the forty-hour week by stages, and the draft resolution put forward by the Executive Committee makes proposals as to how this is to be done.

A. DEAKIN *British Transport and General Workers' Union*: I think the Chairman's ruling in connection with the resolution put forward by Tofahrn is acceptable. Nobody would want to offer any objection to the procedure proposed in view of the difficulties of bringing out the report. But the resolution put forward by Vercruyce should be submitted to the Resolutions Committee, which should consider it and report.

THE PRESIDENT: There is no proposal to refer to the Resolutions Committee the new draft resolution proposed by the Executive Committee. Deakin, however, proposes that the Zurich resolution should be referred to the Resolutions Committee. This is in order, always provided that the Congress wants to go back on this resolution, which it adopted in 1946.

A. VERCRUYCE *Belgian Tramwaymen's Union*: I hope that the Zurich resolution, which I have just put forward again, will not be referred to the Resolutions Committee. It was adopted unanimously by a Congress held four years ago, and nothing has happened since to make us change our views – on the contrary, the directors of capitalist economy have shown their inability to remedy unemployment where it exists. They cannot prevent it spreading when the laws of profit-making lead to a new economic crisis. I ask that the resolution be submitted to the vote of Congress, and I have not the slightest doubt that it will be confirmed by an immense majority, so that the resolution of the Executive Committee, or the Tofahrn resolution as it is now being called, shall suffer the fate that I hope for it.

THE PRESIDENT: I propose that you vote whether the Zurich resolution shall be taken once more into consideration. Should the vote be against, it will mean that the Zurich resolution remains in force in its original form. If it is in favour it will mean that it is referred to the Resolutions Committee to make proposals.

The Congress agreed to this procedure, and then decided by a large majority not to go reconsider the Zurich resolution.

Working Hours in Railway and Road Transport (continued) J. GELDOF *Belgian Tramwaymen's Union*: It is quite probable that we shall not be unanimous in this discussion on Item 5 of the Agenda. Among the Belgian delegation one union is inclined to vote for the resolution, but two others have reservations to make and questions to put.

Our Zurich Congress adopted a resolution calling for the introduction of the forty-hour week. Now, while we remain faithful to this resolution, the Executive Committee submits to us a report and a new resolution which do

not pay regard to what was decided upon at Zurich. It is true that the forty-hour week duly appears in the title to the report, but the body of the report is consecrated rather to the Washington Convention, into the application of which it is now proposed that we should have an enquiry made. In view of the discrepancy between the resolution adopted at Zurich and that which has been proposed today, you will not be surprised to hear me say that we are not satisfied, and that we regard the Executive Committee's resolution in the light of a first class burial.

I hardly think that we are the only ones to feel this way about the joint meeting of the two Sections. Our Scandinavian comrades seemed to be inclined to call for immediate action, though the Executive has opposed the idea through the voice of the Assistant General Secretary. After the Scandinavians we also heard the Germans, who for different reasons but with even more vigour also called for action in favour of the forty-hour week. Our French comrades, except for one discordant voice, are also in favour of action. We Belgians, who are burdened with ten to twelve per cent of unemployed, have similar reasons as the Germans to call for action. We quite understand that our Austrian comrades, who are faced with great difficulties owing to their special situation, are unable to commit themselves.

The front formed by those who have reason not to be in agreement with the Executive is therefore a fairly substantial one. It is true that the Executive has the support of the Dutch comrades, but they have only recently secured the forty-eight-hour week. Before that up to fifty-six hours a week were worked in transport in Holland.

I am surprised at the silence in certain quarters. Our British comrades, who have already secured the forty-four hour week, can hardly be in favour of a resolution which calls for the ratification of the forty-eight-hour week convention. Our American comrades already have the forty-hour week, so it is difficult to explain how they can declare in favour of the Executive's resolution and not demand the carrying out of the Zurich resolution.

This is not the first time that we have spoken of the forty-hour week, and it is time we stopped talking and started doing if we want to keep the confidence of our members, towards whom we have serious obligations. We would rather propose that the Executive Committee of the ITF should be instructed to draw up a plan of action, get into immediate touch with those unions which are prepared to join battle right away, and see what can be done to bring the others in too. The Congress should also declare that the unions that enter into the struggle should have the support of the ITF. The ITF should further enter into contact with the other international trade secretariats, which have also a part to play, and the ICFTU should be mobilized and a plan of action agreed with it.

It has been said that the situation differs from one country to another, that

for this reason a general action is not possible, and that it should be left to the trade unions in each country to act on their own according to the opportunities they have. But if these are the tactics to be adopted, it is absolutely necessary that the trade unions concerned shall be able to count on the support of the I.T.F. If we in Belgium must act alone we shall have to face very great difficulties, owing to the struggle we have to carry on to defend Belgian democracy against a king who is thirsty for power and the clique who surround him. Heavy demands have been made upon our funds and our financial situation is a very difficult one. There may be difficulties in other countries for other reasons, and the situation should be studied in each of them which is prepared to join battle immediately for the forty-hour week.

An argument has been used against us which in my opinion has no force. We are told that the need to rearm is an obstacle to the introduction of the forty-hour week. Arms are needed, of course, to carry on and win a war, but morale is also needed, and how can you expect the working class to have the morale necessary to carry on a war if it has not the wherewithal to live decently, if it has a working week that is too heavy a burden, and if owing to the length of the working week it is not possible to avoid unemployment? It was among the unemployed that Hitler found his support. Until such time as the democratic countries have solved their social and economic problems to the satisfaction of the working class they will hardly be able to count on the trust of the workers, particularly those who are unemployed.

Tofahrn tells us that the decline in labour output is an obstacle to the introduction of the forty-hour week, and seems to think that the human element is not as productive today as it was prior to 1940. There may be some truth in this statement, but it is certainly not the whole truth. The machines and tools are also inferior in quality and quantity to what they were before 1940, and herein lies also one of the causes of the decline in output.

I hope, therefore, that the Congress will support our view that the resolution should be referred to the Resolutions Committee for revision, and I should like the Resolutions Committee to be given also the amendments submitted to the Secretariat by the two Belgian organizations before the Congress. These amendments are the result of a discussion held on 7 July between representatives of the Belgian road transport workers and tramwaymen, when they considered the report and the Executive Committee's draft resolution. I find it difficult to understand why nobody has mentioned these amendments in the course of the discussion which took place at the joint meeting of the two Sections, or here in the Congress in the introductory speech to the report. There is also another matter about which I feel there are grounds for criticism. Several Sectional conferences have considered the question of the forty-hour week, and at each of these conferences there have been rapporteurs who have had to go deeply into the question. Why have these rapporteurs not been

invited to this Congress to take part in the discussion and give the Congress the benefit of the information they have secured?

I hope that our remarks, particularly those relating to the fundamentals of the question, will have convinced you that the resolution does not meet the requirements of the times nor reflect the state of mind and aspirations of our members, and that it should be revised before it is put to the vote. I ask for the support of the Congress for reference of the draft resolution to the Resolutions Committee.

P. TOFAHRN *Assistant General Secretary*: I regret to have to tell my fellow-countryman Geldof that I must oppose his thesis, as he has not convinced me. He complains that the rapporteurs on this question to the Sectional conferences have not been invited to the Congress to take part in the discussions. But who were they? At the Road Transport Workers' Conference of October 1949 Geldof himself was rapporteur. He is here. At the Railwaymen's Conference of August 1949 Figgins was rapporteur. He is here. Comrade Lauwe-reins was rapporteur at the Tramway and Motor Bus Workers' Conference in May 1947. He is absent. And finally I was myself rapporteur on working hours at the Railwaymen's Conference of March 1947. So three out of the four rapporteurs are present, and Geldof's complaint does not seem to be very well founded, since the Congress is in a position to be fully informed on all aspects of the question that have been considered since the war.

Geldof then complains that the amendments he sent to the Secretariat before the Congress have not been discussed. To commence with I have to say that when this subject was discussed on Sunday at the joint meeting of the Road Transport Workers' and Railwaymen's Sections the authors of these amendments, the delegates of the Belgian Tramwaymen's Union, did not refer to them at all. If they had raised the matter then, and had insisted, we would have distributed them to the delegates to the Congress. It is the duty of the Secretariat to distribute all documents regularly communicated for that purpose, but since the delegates concerned did not mention them the Secretariat was justified in concluding that in view of their probable rejection they were dropping them.

As far as their contents are concerned, what can we do with these amendments? Their purpose was to convert the resolution which is before you in to a resolution completely out of harmony with the arguments developed in the report. They aimed at a decision by the Congress that the Executive Committee should enter immediately into action to start a movement for the forty-hour week, in spite of the fact that the report submitted on behalf of the Executive Committee demonstrates that such action would not be realistic. The amendments aimed also at a decision by Congress that the ILO should be formally requested to put forward a draft convention providing for a forty-hour week, though the report is essentially a demonstration – convincing or

otherwise – of the impossibility of having the question considered at Geneva. You may, it is true, say that the argument has no validity. If that is your conviction – and it may be just as well-founded as ours – then you cannot accept the report, but if you accept the report, and make it the basis for your reasoning, you cannot logically link to it a resolution in the terms called for by the Belgian amendments. The question whether these amendments shall still be considered can therefore be decided by your reply to the question whether you do or do not find the report convincing.

Included in the action which Geldof proposes is ITF support for organizations struggling to introduce the forty-hour week. We always assume that when our affiliated organizations join battle they are doing so for a reasonable, justifiable and realizable claim. If any of them, therefore, should commence a struggle for the forty-hour week – whether in the United States or elsewhere – we shall assume that it is possible to secure it in their country or industry, as the case may be. Since support for affiliated organizations engaged in a struggle is the very reason for the ITF's existence, as any delegate can see if he will read our Constitution, no special decision is required for what Geldof proposes – it is a permanent constitutional obligation.

Geldof further wants us to interest all the international trade secretariats and the ICFTU in the forty-hour week. The last paragraph of the draft resolution should satisfy the Belgian tramwaymen's delegation on this score, since it calls for a drive by all trade union forces for that purpose.

Finally, Comrade Geldof tells us that the workers must take advantage of a war to secure large-scale reforms. I agree to that. But a reduction of working hours is not the only way to improve the lot of the working class: there are others. It is therefore necessary to determine what ranks highest among the wishes of the workers. The Washington Forty-eight-hour Convention was the result of a wave of enthusiasm and militancy in the industrial world as a whole. The eight-hour day was the idea which gave the movement its inspiration: it represented the happy issue of thirty years of working class struggle. But what was the main idea which took possession of the workers during the years following 1945? Was it the forty-hour week? It was not. Read the resolutions adopted at that time; read the resolution of our own 1946 Congress, to which Vercruyce has drawn the attention of the delegates to this Congress. What was occupying the minds of the workers during and on the morrow of the second world war was full employment, stability of employment and social security. It must be admitted that the organized workers have made excellent use of the opportunities the second world war afforded them; they have pushed forward social security legislation in all countries of the world to an extent they would not have dreamed of ten years ago.

Finally I have to say that the Executive Committee sticks to its guns. The arguments put forward against the draft resolution, and the reasoning on

which they are based, have not weakened its conviction that it rightly points to the path that ought to be followed in the foreseeable future. We therefore repeat our invitation to the Congress to adopt it.

A. VERCRUYCE *Belgian Tramwaymen's Union*: 'It was my intention to speak on this subject before Comrade Tofahrn's reply, but unfortunately the President made a mistake and thought I wanted to speak on another subject. I wanted to reply to certain comrades whose remarks have very much surprised me. I wanted to make it clear to Comrade Deakin that he had misinterpreted what I said. He thought that I had made insulting remarks about the British delegation and had qualified their attitude as reactionary. That is not so – the interpreters will tell you otherwise. I am a great upholder of the Labour Party's policy of socialization, and I very much regret the incident. If my friend Deakin could read French I would prove to him, from articles I have written for the trade union press, that I defend British Labour not only against the attacks of the capitalists, but above all against the malevolent attacks which come from Moscow.

I have asked to speak to show once more that the Executive Committee's draft resolution on working hours is in conflict with the resolution we adopted at Zurich in 1946. To vote for it is in effect to repudiate the Zurich decision. The Zurich resolution covered the whole problem of unemployment, and therefore also the question of full employment. Nothing is more natural than that the problem should be solved by stages, so there is no purpose to be gained by adopting another resolution that – whether that is the intention or not – would cancel out that of Zurich. That would be nonsense, and would be discouraging to our members – a backward step.

I urge you, comrades, do not trample upon the feeble flame of hope you have lighted in the hearts of men, causing them to believe in the coming of a better world. To go back now that unemployment is everywhere spreading misery and desolation would be to make a gesture of weakness and impotence. I ask the Executive Committee to withdraw its resolution, for the I.T.F. must not retreat.

The draft resolution put forward by the Executive Committee was then adopted, there being only twelve dissentient votes. The Congress then adjourned until the following morning. The afternoon of Tuesday 25 July was devoted to Sectional conferences.

Wednesday 26 July 1950

MORNING SESSION

Financial Report item 3 of the Agenda

J.F.VAN MUIJLWIJK *Dutch Merchant Marine Officer's Union*: On behalf of the Dutch Merchant Navy Masters' and Officers' Union I should like to make a few observations on the Financial Report, more particularly with reference to what is stated on page 137 paragraph three of that document, where three methods are suggested whereby the income of the ITF might be increased.

That an increase in the income of the ITF is needed probably no-one here will deny. It is needed not only to build up the financial reserves, but also to provide the ITF with the means to acquit itself of the tasks assigned to it. Since 1945 there has been a substantial growth in the volume of work, and to cope with it a well-equipped secretariat is required. For such a secretariat the necessary finance must be available. In this connection it may be remarked that costs have risen considerably as a result of the decline in the purchasing power of money.

The Financial Report shows that the income of the ITF from affiliation fees amounted in 1949 to £35,000, which may be said to be a modest sum for an international trade secretariat like the ITF, and even a very small sum compared with the means at the disposal of national trade union organizations. That the income is not enough to do all the work satisfactorily has more than once been apparent when the ITF was obliged to appeal to affiliated unions for a special contribution for a special object. Such appeals were issued, for instance, in connection with the work in Eastern Asia and for the publication of special propaganda material.

For this reason our delegation suggests that the Executive Committee consider what can be done to increase the income of the ITF, in addition to the three methods which are mentioned in the Financial Report. In our opinion the possibility might be considered of modifying the sliding scale which is at present applied to unions with large memberships. On the membership figures given in the Report on Activities this would mean an increase in affiliation fees for fourteen unions. The question is whether the unions concerned would be agreeable to such an increase, and further whether it would yield a worthwhile increase in income.

Our delegation wonders whether it is not necessary to resort to an increase of the whole scale of affiliation fees. We know that such a suggestion is calculated to meet with a certain amount of automatic resistance, but we feel that this should not deter us from putting forward the idea. We do not know

what the position is in other countries, but as far as our Union is concerned we should have no objection to the affiliation fees being doubled. In relation to our budget the sum involved would not be of great consequence, and as we see it the same should apply to other unions with a membership of less than 50,000. And when we consider the sums we have to contribute to our national trade union centre the comparative smallness of the sum involved is even more apparent. In our case the ratio is thirty-five to one, and looking at it from this angle our delegation feels it can properly draw the attention of the Executive Committee and Congress delegates to the possibility of an increase in affiliation fees.

Experience over the years has shown that the strong trade unions are those which have fixed their rates of contribution at a reasonably high level. In the light of the foregoing our delegation hopes that the suggestion of an increase in affiliation fees will awaken an echo among the delegates to this Congress, and we therefore make the request, without proposing a resolution, that the Executive Committee be instructed to study the question and report back to the next Congress.

A. PÉREZ *Spanish National Union of Railwaymen*: I want to take advantage of the opportunity afforded by the consideration of the Financial Report to utter a few words of thanks for the magnificent solidarity that the ITF is showing towards the Spanish National Union of Railwaymen and National Transport Workers' Federation. My words will at the same time serve as the explanation the Congress is entitled to of the items which figure under the heading of 'Spanish Trade Union Fund'.

As delegates will see from the statement of income and expenditure of this Fund, the sum of £1,569 was spent during the years 1948 and 1949 in financial help for the two organizations I have mentioned, and owing to careful administration there are still £2,654 available, which will enable us to continue the help for some time yet.

The £4,223 which the ITF has collected for this Fund is a small amount, even a very small amount, compared with the many needs of our two Spanish affiliated organizations, but the £1,569 spent have produced excellent results. They have served to mitigate to some extent the physical and mental sufferings of our comrades who are in prison, and as a comfort to their families. They have facilitated the difficult and dangerous clandestine work which is still continued in Spain. They have reminded our comrades that they are not alone or abandoned to the unequal struggle; that the word 'solidarity' still has a meaning in the ITF.

The Spanish National Railwaymen's Federation, which later became the Spanish National Union of Railwaymen, joined the ITF at the end of 1912, and in the course of the years which followed the Spanish railwaymen and transport workers learned to know the ITF by its works, and came to love it,

to the point that for many of them the initials ITF are as well known as the initials UGT, which are those of our national trade union centre.

I am sure I interpret the thoughts and feelings of the Spanish railwaymen and transport workers when I express to Congress our deep appreciation of the solidarity of the organizations belonging to the ITF towards their Spanish comrades, and when I ask them to continue that solidarity to the extent that other calls upon them permit.

O.BECU Acting General Secretary: There is necessarily a certain relation between the activities of an organization and the financial resources at its disposal, and if the ITF is to meet the increasing demands that are made upon it there is no doubt that it should have increased revenue. In the past we have frequently been faced with similar difficulties, and have had to appeal to affiliated organizations for a special contribution to finance specific activities. For the near future we shall also have to make use of this method, for in the opinion of the Executive Committee the moment is not opportune to propose an increase of the regular contribution. As you will remember, the Oslo Congress considered this question and changed the rate of contribution, adopting an entirely new scale; and the Executive Committee considered that it was hardly possible to make a new change so short a time after having made a so radical one.

We are, nevertheless, grateful to our comrade Van Muijlwijk for the proposals he made, and we very much appreciate the generous attitude of his union. Van Muijlwijk envisaged two alternatives. The first was a modification of the scale at present in force, in such a manner that fourteen large organizations would pay at a higher rate. But I hardly think that we can at this time call for such a sacrifice by the larger organizations, that are already paying large sums to the ITF. His second suggestion was a general increase in the contribution rate. I must admit that I am glad Van Muijlwijk did not make it as a formal proposal to the Congress, but I very willingly support his request that the Executive Committee should be asked to consider the financial situation and the need of an increase in the ITF's income, and report to the next Congress. I should like to ask the Congress to accept this proposal and to instruct the Executive Committee accordingly.

As regards what our friend Pérez said, I am sure that the Executive Committee and General Council, like all those who are present at the Congress, are happy to have been able to help to some extent the valiant Spanish workers who are struggling against the Fascist régime which is in power in their country. Comrade Pérez pointed out that this help has been small in relation to the large amount of work to be done. He is right about this, but I think I can say that the ITF has at no time failed to do what it could to help our Spanish comrades in their struggle. I am sure, also, that it will continue to act in the same way in the future, thus proving that we constantly have in

mind the sufferings of our Spanish comrades, who will always have a place in our hearts. I should like to assure them of the interest we take in their struggle, and of the sympathy we feel for them, and express the hope that the freedom for which they are fighting with so much courage will soon be restored to them.

The Financial Report and the Reports of the Committee of Auditors were then unanimously approved.

Second Report of Credentials Committee

J.G.BATY *British Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen* then submitted the following Second Report of the Credentials Committee. The Credentials Committee reports receipt of further credentials:

THE JAPANESE RAILWAYMEN'S UNION 450,000 members authorizes Brother Kageyama to vote on its behalf.

Since our first report was issued A.J.Lensing and A.J.G.Piccaardt have arrived as substitute delegates of the DUTCH AIR RADIO OFFICERS' UNION.

The Committee recommends the acceptance of these credentials.

The Committee also has great pleasure in recording that the Congress gave a hearty welcome to Brother Harvey Brown, representative of the US High Commissioner in Germany. As many delegates will know, Brother Harvey Brown in the former President of the International Association of Machinists of the USA, a member-organization of the ITF.

The Second Report of the Credentials Committee was unanimously approved without discussion.

Relations with the ICFTU item 4 of the Agenda

O.BECU *Acting General Secretary*: The problem of the relations between the ITF and the ICFTU is a very important one. Those who have experience of the discussions which took place in the past on the relations between the WFTU and the international trade secretariats will recall that though the problem was discussed at great length, it was never solved satisfactorily. Before the war it was the IFTU with which attempts were made to reach agreement: after the war it was with the WFTU. Happily it is now possible to say that the situation has changed and we have arrived at a much more stable position since the trade unions in the free and democratic countries have realized the need to start an international trade union movement entirely free and independent of all political parties or Government interference. The realization of the need immediately raised the question of cooperation between the international trade secretariats and the new free trade union international, which was finally established as the ICFTU.

It will be remembered that the preliminary discussions on the setting up of a new trade union international took place at Geneva in July 1949, and even at this early stage the question of relations with the international trade secretariats was raised. A conference of the latter was held later in Paris, on 8 and

9 November 1949, and a resolution was adopted authorizing the Coordinating Committee of the International Trade Secretariats to enter into relations with the governing bodies of the new International, on the express understanding that the international trade secretariats should preserve their autonomy, so that they could continue to function independently. At the Constituent Congress of the ICFTU, held in London in December 1949, the same attitude found renewed expression, and it is reflected in the Constitution of the ICFTU, which says, in Article nine that: 'Arrangements shall be made for the most effective cooperation between the Confederation and the international trade secretariats in the performance of their functions.' Articles two and five further lay it down that representatives of the international trade secretariats shall attend, under certain conditions, meetings of the Congress and General Council of the ICFTU.

The Constituent Congress of the ICFTU also adopted a resolution authorizing the Executive Board to enter into consultation with the international trade secretariats with a view to concluding arrangements for effective cooperation and reciprocal representation on a consultative basis. It seems to me, therefore, that the foundations have been laid of fruitful and effective cooperation.

The first subsequent contact between the ICFTU and the representatives of the international trade secretariats was made in Brussels in March last, on the occasion of a meeting of the Emergency Sub-Committee of the Executive Board of the ICFTU, where different lines on which cooperation would be possible were considered. A Conference of the international trade secretariats which was held in The Hague in April considered the results of this first contact and laid down certain clear principles for future relations. Representatives of the Coordinating Committee of the international trade secretariats later discussed the matter with the Executive Board of the ICFTU, and all the proposals the put forward were accepted by the latter. You will find in the report which lies before you the decisions arrived at.

Recognition of a community of views and interests between the international trade secretariats and the ICFTU, and of the fact that they are part of the same international trade union movement, implies acceptance by the former of a general line of policy drawn up by the latter. In order that the international trade secretariats may be kept informed of this general policy, and that they may have an opportunity of voicing their opinions about it, it is envisaged that they shall be represented in an advisory capacity by one delegate at meetings of the Emergency Committee of the ICFTU, by two delegates at meetings of the Executive Board, and by five representatives of the Coordinating Committee at meetings of the General Council. This, however, does not exclude the possibility of individual trade secretariats being invited to send representatives when discussions are to take place on certain ques-

tions in which they are interested. As regards representation at the Congress of the ICFTU, it is provided that international trade secretariats with a membership of up to one million shall be represented by one delegate, those with between one and three millions by two delegates, and those with more than three millions by three. On the other hand it has also been agreed that the ICFTU will be invited to send delegates in an advisory capacity to congresses and conferences of the international trade secretariats, and also to meetings of the Coordinating Committee of the ITS. All these decisions provide a basis for close cooperations between the several parts of the international trade union movement.

But there is still another aspect of cooperation between the ICFTU and the international trade secretariats – the question of regional secretariats in different parts of the world. The two parties have agreed in principle about the setting up of joint regional secretariats, though the details are to be considered later, particularly whether the ICFTU and the international trade secretariats would jointly employ the personnel of the secretariats, or whether they would each have separate personnel which would cooperate for joint action when necessary. No decision has been come to on this point, but the matter will probably be considered at the next meeting of the Executive Board of the ICFTU, which is due to be held in November next. In this connection I may mention that the ICFTU has already decided to set up two regional secretariats – one in New York and the other in Geneva. The idea is to deal in New York with all questions connected with the UNO – especially its Economic and Social Council and the committees subsidiary to that body.

As you know, the ITF already has an office in New York and our Executive Committee, after considering the matter, decided that it would be in the interests of the work to have a joint office there. After several exchanges of views about the work and management, the joint office commenced operations as from 1 July last. It has been clearly understood that the ITF will preserve its full autonomy, and that neither party will interfere with the activities of the other. It still has to be seen whether a similar arrangement can be made at Geneva, for it would certainly be in our interests to have a regular representative in that city, so that the international trade secretariats can keep in close touch with the manifold activities of the ILO.

With these explanations I submit to Congress the report prepared by the Secretariat of the ITF in this important question. I draw your attention to the fact that the report includes a draft resolution on relations with the ICFTU which outlines the several principles upon which we have reached agreement. I recommend this resolution for your adoption.

CH. LINDLEY Former President of the ITF and guest of the Congress: I have, during the whole of my long life, always been stubborn, I have never wanted to give up because of difficulties in my way. At the Congress of the ITF held

in Zurich in 1946, when I resigned from the presidency because of my age and when the principle of incorporation in the WFTU was agreed to, I felt very pessimistic. My last words were to express regret at having to give up active work in the ITF, but I said that I felt happy that it would not fall to me to haul down the flag of the ITF. The situation seemed hopeless: we were being asked to sacrifice our liberty and even our name in joining the WFTU. The Trades Union Congress in Great Britain and the Congress of Industrial Organizations in the United States had supported the programme, dictated by the Communists in Russia, under which the international trade secretariats were to be incorporated in the WFTU as 'departments'. I felt heart-broken to think that this organization, of which I was one of the founders, should be wiped out. You can imagine my joy when the new International Confederation of Free Trade Unions was established. The name that had been adopted away back in 1898 – on my proposal that the name of International Federation of Ship, Dock and River Workers should be changed into International Transport Workers' Federation – should not be wiped out. If I were still an active member of the trade union movement I should propose that the name of the new International should be shortened back again to the old name of IFTU. This may not have been practicable at the start, when it was necessary to distinguish the new organization clearly from the WFTU, but eventually it may be easy to go back to the old name again. The United States had the word 'Confederated' in its name at one time, but no one speaks of the Confederated States any longer: when speaking of America they say USA.

But there is another question I want to bring up here, a very important question which I want to impress upon Congress, that of the writing of a history of the ITF. I don't suppose that I have a great many more years to live, but if a true history has to be written you will have to come to me, because I have knowledge of the ITF from the very first start. I have all the documents relating to the ITF from the beginning, and when I die these documents will be left, but there is a lot of unwritten information which it will be necessary to have, and that information can be obtained from me. I hope that the Executive Committee will take this matter into consideration as soon as possible, and begin to write the history of the ITF.

A. DEAKIN *British Transport and General Workers' Union*: We have given our General Secretary to the ICFTU, which is in itself a very substantial contribution and a good link with the work of that body. It has taken us a very long time to achieve the purpose we have advocated for so long: to coordinate the work of the international trade secretariats with that of the organization that deals with the big broad principles of the international trade union movement. I am sure my friend Charlie Lindley will remember the efforts made during the last thirty years to bring about an arrangement of this character. From 1919 onwards we sought to relate the activities of the trade secretariats with

those of the ICFTU, but without much success. We all know how futile were the efforts made between 1945 and 1949 to develop that understanding within the WFTU that would make it possible for the trade secretariats to have complete autonomy within that organization. In point of fact it can be truly said that that was the rock upon which we split. It had become perfectly clear that the WFTU could not and would not deal with those questions which vitally concerned us as trade-unionists, and that its only function was to spread the influence of Communism throughout the world. It did not take us so long within the ICFTU, once that organization was formed, to lay down guiding principles based upon the full and complete autonomy for the trade secretariats which they desired.

Now I want to make this point. Over a long period of work the international trade secretariats have done a remarkable job of work. By their experience they are well fitted to do many things which affect the day to day lives of the people we represent, expressing their policy through the International Labour Office and the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations. I feel sure that with the tie-up we have now arranged with the ICFTU the trade secretariats will have gained great strength which will serve us well in the days that lie ahead. Not only that: we are not now confined to the consideration only of those problems which are ordinarily the affair of the trade secretariats. By the arrangements we have made with the ICFTU the ITS have secured representation on its Emergency Committee, on its Executive Board and on its General Council, and a fair measure of representation at its Congress. This gives us a platform from which to discuss and help to devise those general policies which are necessary in the interests of international trade union cooperation.

There are two other points which I think merit the consideration of this Congress. In 1948 the international trade secretariats came together and set up a Coordinating Committee to express their common point of view. There is an implied suggestion that we should continue the activities of the Coordinating Committee. I should like to suggest that there is now no reason why we should do so in view of the most effective organization and relationship we have within the ICFTU. Therefore I want to ask Congress to remit for further consideration by the Executive Committee the question whether we shall continue in association with the Coordinating Committee.

Then our good friend Becu made reference to the decision to set up regional organizations within the ICFTU. That is a very necessary and essential development, and the international trade secretariats are asked to cooperate in that work. They are also asked to contribute something toward the cost and coordination of that work. I suggest that that is a matter that should receive the favourable consideration of the Executive Committee. That type of organization, properly developed, would enable the regional work of the ITF to

be related to that of the ICFTU in a way that would save overlapping and duplication of effort, and at the same time save us money.

With Lindley, I am glad that we have not had to haul down the flag. But it was never intended that we should: I think you have misread the position prevailing at the time. There were many of us who knew precisely where we wanted to go, but it was a question of time. We have proven our ability to carry on the work and maintain the freedom and democratic principles we believe in. I think we have now reached a stage in international trade union organization which can be regarded as epoch-making.

J. DÖRING *One of the veterans of the ITF and guest of the Congress:* The ITF was founded in 1896 at the time of the big dockers' strike at Hamburg. Comrade Tom Mann came over from England to discuss the matter with us. The ITF was based on the German organization in Hamburg and on that in Holland, for the Dutch were the first to help us to make progress with the ITF. At the beginning the ITF was nothing like so big and strong as it is now, but very weak indeed, but we made every effort to help it forward. When the time comes to write the history of the ITF I hope it will be emphasized that the Hamburg dockers and seamen did not stand aside.

At the request of the British dockers we later agreed that the management of the ITF should be transferred to England, simply because British shipping was more important than the German, but after a comparatively short time our comrades in Holland said that they had lost touch with England. We had in England a Secretary by name of Chambers. Since we were no longer receiving replies to our letters, I went over to England with my friend Nathans, since deceased, to find out what had become of the ITF. From Comrade Chambers' mother we learned that he had entered the service of the British National Sailors' and Firemen's Union, and the President of that organization, Havelock Wilson, told us that Chambers had given up the work for the ITF. We could not find Chambers himself, but there was a large table covered with papers and printed matter belonging to the ITF. If we did not want the ITF to go out of existence there was nothing to be done but take it in hand ourselves again. When the British saw that we were in earnest, they pleaded that the management should be left in England, to which we agreed. We were quite satisfied to keep the comrades in England to their duties and obligations.

Later, when we had built up a stronger organization in Germany, we once more tried to take over the management. We went to Holland and installed there our late Comrade Edo Fimmen, who was at that time employed by the Dutch Transport Workers' Union. From the beginning he put all his energies into the work of the ITF, in the leadership of which he remained until he died.

The German comrades who cooperated in the ITF in the old days are now all dead, as a result either of the war or the activities of the Gestapo. For the

rest I can refer you to what Comrade Lindley has said. On my way here I was wondering what had become of Lindley. I thought that we should be meeting together in the ITF for the last time: from the reports of the foundation of the ICFTU I had drawn the conclusion that we should be coming here to bury the ITF, but now it seems that I was wrong. From what has been said here it appears that the ITF is to take a new lease of life, and that its importance is to be increased. I am not in a position to express an opinion, but of one thing I am certain, and that is that the German unions will always do their best to uphold the ITF and help it forward.

P.DE VRIES *Dutch Mercantile Marine Officers' Union*: Our delegation fully agrees with what has been said in the report on the relations between the ITF and the ICFTU. After what has been said by Brother Deakin I can cut my words rather short. We are of the opinion that there should be close cooperation between the ICFTU and the international trade secretariats, especially the ITF, with the understanding, however, that the trade secretariats remain independent both as regards their work and the field in which they work. In this connection I should like to draw the attention of Congress to a speech of Brother Oldenbroek's, in which he said, according to the report, 'that the ITS should remain independent for perhaps a very long time.' After what the General Secretary has said in his introductory speech, this may give rise to some misunderstanding. We are all aware, I think, that it is the very firm intention of the ITF to remain an independent body, and if Brother Oldenbroek really used the words I have mentioned, I do not believe that he meant to say that the trade secretariats should remain independent only for the time being, which might prove to be a very long time. As he is here today, I should appreciate it if Brother Oldenbroek would give us an assurance that that is not what he meant, so that in the Proceedings of this Congress it may be on record that it is the intention that the ITS should remain independent, with a full stop after that word.

Our Dutch Union of Masters and Mercantile Marine Officers is particularly interested in the work in undeveloped countries, and I can inform this Congress that we rent an office in Djakarta, in Indonesia, so that we have had ample opportunity of studying what is going on there in so far as the trade union movement of the Indonesian people is concerned. As a result I want to underline how necessary it is that the ITF should have a regional office in the Far East, and that it should be provided with the means of doing so. Our experience has shown that this is not difficult, especially in so far as the financial implications are concerned. If Brother Deakin, in his reference to this point, thought that he could save us some money, I should like to draw his attention to the fact that to run the ITF's Far Eastern Office we had a special contribution by the seafarers' unions. If we want to maintain that office in conjunction with the ICFTU there will still be financial consequences for the ITF, so

that we can only do it if we are willing to provide the ITF with the necessary financial means.

My organization can agree also with the draft resolution appended to the report. We hope it will be adopted unanimously, because we feel that, as Comrade Deakin has clearly pointed out, this will further the aims of the international trade union movement.

J.H.OLDENBROEK *General Secretary of ICFTU*: I have been asked a very specific question and it would be impolite on my part not to reply. Mr De Vries asked me whether the statement in the minutes of the meeting of the Executive Committee of the ITF is correct, that I had said that the question of the incorporation or integration of the international trade secretariats with the ICFTU – I am using my own interpretation of his words – was a question that had to come up for discussion some time or other.

Let me make it perfectly clear that these minutes – which I have never seen before – give a wrong impression. The remark that I made on that occasion was that this was not the time to discuss anything of the kind. It was not raised by the ICFTU itself, but by some of the international trade secretariats which are not in the same favourable position as the ITF, and which asked whether there was no possibility of linking up their work with that of the ICFTU, not only by providing for joint representation, but by the ICFTU actually assisting them in their activities. As that would create a wrong situation, I said that for a long time to come we felt that the question could not be discussed; firstly because we did not want to let people think that we had any such intention – and we have not –, and secondly because the ICFTU has other things to do than to take over the work of the international trade secretariats.

But there is in this connection one point that I want to make. The statement that came from the joint meeting at Brussels said that stress would be laid on practical achievement, meaning that we would work together in order to achieve specific aims. In order to achieve these aims, organizations taking part in that work ought to be efficient. If the international trade secretariats desire to play their full part in the international trade union movement, they can only do so if they are up to their task; they can only do so if they can really serve the interests of their members; they can only do so if they not only talk about working conditions, but also have a very good idea of the industry they represent.

It is perhaps not too early to say this with emphasis, because we have to admit that quite a number of international trade secretariats are today not sufficiently developed to carry out their work actively and efficiently on behalf of the workers of the industries which they represent. If it is possible, the ICFTU and the ITS should in the future work together within the international trade union movement. The ICFTU, representing in the first place the national

centres, does not claim that it is an all-powerful organization that has to rule the destinies of the international trade union movement: it realizes, recognizes and admits that the ITS, in their own industries and spheres, have the same rights as the national trade union centres. That being at the basis of our cooperation, I do not think that there is going to be any trouble between us. We will not try to do somebody else's work, but we hope fervently that all the ITS will be able, as the ITF certainly will be, to do their work in an efficient manner.

O. BECU *Acting General Secretary*: I am sure that the Congress will appreciate it that our two old pioneers, Brothers Lindley and Döring, have taken the rostrum. The attention with which you have listened to their speeches shows how interested you are in the history of the ITF, and I do not think there is anybody alive who could do better than they at writing that history. They have had a great opportunity to give you an idea of what the ITF has gone through since its constitution in 1896, and I feel sure that both of them are proud at the way it has grown and developed during these more than fifty years.

I want, and I am sure you will agree with me, to pay them a special tribute, for they have been among those who have helped to build up this great organization right from the beginning. I hope indeed that they will live long enough to help us to write the history of the ITF. It is not the first time this proposal has been made: I had the honour of putting it forward myself at our first post-war Congress at Zurich; but though it was taken very favourably into consideration by our General Secretary and Executive Committee, it has not materialized. But we still have it under consideration, and if practicable we will act on it at the earliest possible opportunity.

I think the Congress will subscribe to what Deakin has said about the historical moment when the two sides of the international finally laid a basis for fruitful cooperation in the interests of the workers. But he has his own views about the Coordinating Committee of the International Trade Secretariats, and questions the need for its continued existence. As he said, the Coordinating Committee was set up in 1948 – to be precise, since the exact date is probably of importance, it was at Bournemouth in March 1948, at a time when the WFTU was still in existence. I mean, of course, in existence as embodying the free part of the trade union movement, as it had been set up in 1945, in pursuance of the attempt of the Communists to divide and rule, and to absorb all the international trade secretariats and turn them into trade departments of the WFTU. At the crucial moment, when a few of the international trade secretariats were not quite sure what to do, and the weakest were inclined to be impressed by the arguments of the WFTU, I think you will agree with me that it was wise to call a meeting of all the international trade secretariats in order to see whether it was not possible to agree on a common point of view with regard to the WFTU.

This did not mean that we had no confidence in those people who were still within the WFTU, though representing free and democratic trade unions, but we did not feel sure that they might not at a given moment find themselves in a minority, and that a decision to absorb the international trade secretariats might not be come to in spite of them. That was the reason for setting up the Coordinating Committee and agreeing on a common policy for the trade secretariats on this matter. I hardly think I am mistaken when I say that that decision helped to break up the WFTU as it was then constituted.

Since then, since the setting up of the ICFTU, the trade secretariats thought that the Coordinating Committee could still serve another and very useful purpose. The matter was discussed by our own Executive Committee, which came to the conclusion that the ITF should continue to play a role in the Coordinating Committee, and that it should be kept in existence, at least for the time being. The reasons were very simple, and were explained in a statement, made by Brother Oldenbroek at the meeting of the Executive Committee held in February 1950, which puts them very clearly and succinctly. It reads: 'The ITS have been seeking a form of cooperation among themselves and it was highly desirable that their Coordinating Committee should maintain and develop its activities. The ICFTU would find it difficult to deal with each of the eighteen or nineteen ITS individually. The Coordinating Committee was a good instrument for cooperation.'

I do not need to add anything to that for that is exactly the opinion at which our Executive Committee arrived, and I would suggest that that continues, for I do not think that the ICFTU has changed its mind in this respect. Brother Deakin suggests that the Executive Committee should reconsider our position between now and next Congress. I do not think the Executive Committee will be opposed to that. Another discussion on the subject could do no harm to anybody, and I feel sure that the Executive Committee will take the suggestion into favourable consideration and report back to Congress when it meets again.

With regard to the regional machinery referred to by Brothers Deakin and De Vries, I would say that if joint regional machinery could be set up between the ICFTU and the ITS it would certainly save some money for both, and would serve a very useful purpose by bringing greater strength to both sections of the trade union movement. But that does not mean – and I think that is what Brother De Vries was referring too – that the ITF will not have to spend some money. If we are going to set up regional machinery it will not only be in Asia, but also in different parts of the world where the ITF has so far had no such machinery. If that development takes place it will certainly mean greater expense for the ITF, and we shall have to consider how we are going to face the greater expenditure involved.

Brother De Vries referred also to a statement made by Brother Oldenbroek.

Although Brother Oldenbroek has already replied, I should like to say that the minutes of the Executive Committees to which Brother De Vries has referred were not submitted to Brother Oldenbroek, as he had already left the ITF when the minutes were written and sent out; but we must certainly give Brother Oldenbroek the opportunity of correcting any statement made in the minutes if he has been misquoted. But I should like to add a few words myself. Brother Oldenbroek said that the ITS would have to be kept in existence at any rate for a long time. I would put it this way: you cannot come to a decision at this Congress to maintain the ITF, or any other of the international trade secretariats, in existence eternally, but for the time being it is necessary to keep them as they are, with full autonomy. But we do not know what is in store for us in the future. It may be, perhaps at a considerable time from now, that we shall come to another conclusion. We may find out that a better system of cooperation or a better structure for the international trade union movement is possible, and if that would mean the merging of all our forces into one body, and if it were possible, I am sure that every one of you would agree that it would be in the best interests of the workers concerned. But we shall have to be careful not to make a false step that would hamper the further activities of the international trade secretariats and the ICFTU. We are all out to serve the working classes of the world, and we want to find the best way of doing so.

The resolution on relations with the ICFTU was adopted nem. con.

Report of the Rules and Elections Committee: P. DE VRIES *Dutch Mercantile Marine Officers' Union, and Chairman and Rapporteur of the Rules and Elections Committee:* As you all have a copy of the Report of the Rules and Elections Committee before you, I do not propose to read it, but there are a few of its features to which I should like to draw special attention, and a few explanatory remarks may spare you the necessity of asking questions.

The Committee had a double task to perform. In the first place it had to consider certain amendments to the rules proposed by the Executive Committee; in the second place to make proposals as to the grouping of countries for representation on the General Council and the number of seats to be allotted to each country or group of countries. The reason for this rather unusual combination of tasks was the fact that two of the Executive Committee's proposals for amending the Constitution had a bearing on the set-up of the General Council.

The Committee decided to recommend acceptance of the Executive Committee's first three proposals, and also that part of the fourth which related to the election of Section Chairmen, but thought that the provision already in the Constitution that Section Chairmen should be ex officio full members of the General Council was calculated in certain circumstances to give undue preponderance, in the Council, of a single country. Great Britain, for in-

stance, has already four members in the General Council, and might easily have two or three or more Section Chairmen in addition. We therefore decided to recommend that Section Chairmen should only have an advisory voice in the General Council – except, of course, when they are regularly elected members of the Council in their own right.

Another recommendation of your Committee that calls for special mention is one which will enable Congress to depart in certain cases from the rule that the expenses of members attending General Council meetings are borne by the ITF. The ITF was at one time overwhelmingly European in make-up. Today over two million of its members are in other continents, and some of them in parts of the world far distant from Europe. It is highly desirable that the trade unions in these distant countries should be brought into personal contact with those in Europe and other parts of the world, but if they were all given full representation on the General Council the travelling costs might be an intolerable burden on the funds of the ITF, particularly since in present circumstances the affiliation fees which many – and indeed most – of these trade unions pay are insufficient to cover the cost of sending a representative to the General Council once a year, let alone the costs of the services the ITF renders to them in other ways. In due course this situation will no doubt change for the better, but in the meantime practical reasons make it necessary to impose certain limits on the number of members they have on the General Council. A very strong case can be made out for relating representation on the General Council in some way to the contributions made to its funds.

The basis of representation on the Council is, indeed, full of anomalies. A trade union with a large membership in several transport trades, for example, is only entitled at present to one representative, but if it splits into three unions they will each get a representative. That is why Germany, for instance, with 636,000 members in the ITF, is only entitled to two seats on the Council, while the United States, with 877,000 members, has four. It is for this reason that the Committee recommend that Congress be empowered to allow a large organization to have more than one member when its size and composition make it desirable to provide for more adequate representation of its several transport industries. This may help to some slight extent to restore the balance in the General Council.

The amendments to the rules that are suggested should help temporarily to lessen the effects of some of the anomalies to which I have referred, but your Committee was of opinion that the changes in the structure and geographical coverage of the ITF make it imperative, if difficulties are to be avoided in the future, that the Constitution should be fundamentally revised, and they consequently recommend that the Congress appoint a special committee to go into the matter and make suitable proposals to the next Congress.

Finally I should like to remind Congress that if the proposals of the report

are accepted special decisions will be required to enable a seat each to be given to France, Italy, Spain, Greece, Canada, Australasia and the Near and Middle East, and two additional seats to Germany.

I move the report.

The following is the Report of the Rules and Elections Committee:

The Congress considered that since one of the amendments to the Constitution of the ITF proposed by the Executive Committee referred to the composition of the General Council it would not be desirable to tackle the grouping of countries for representation on the General Council until that amendment had been dealt with. It therefore decided that these two matters should be considered in the first instance by a single Rules and Elections Committee. It further decided that this Committee should be composed of one representative each of France, Germany, Great Britain, Switzerland, the United States, the Benelux group of countries and the Scandinavian group. It recommended that the representatives chosen should be persons well grounded in the organization and rules of the ITF. The members chosen by the groups concerned were:

P. de Vries *Benelux*

K. Klus *Germany*

René Clerc *France*

Arthur Deakin *Great Britain*

Hans Duby *Switzerland*

R. Helgesson *Scandinavia*

Eric Peterson *U S A*

P. Tofahrn acted on behalf of the Secretariat of the ITF and the Committee chose P. de Vries as Chairman and Rapporteur.

The Committee first dealt with the proposals of the Executive Committee.

The Executive Committee had proposed that in Paragraph three of Rule five, relating to the composition of the General Council, and now reading: '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*'; the word 'four' should be substituted for 'three' in the last sentence. The Committee agreed to this amendment.

In accordance with a decision of the Latin-American Regional Conference the Committee agreed to recommend adoption of the proposal, that Paragraph two of Rule nine, relating to Regional Subdivisions, should be altered to read: 'All officials of a Sub-Secretariat shall be appointed by the Executive Committee of the Federation, after consultation with the organizations concerned.'

The Committee also agreed to recommend adoption of the proposal to amend Paragraph two of Rule seven, relating to Industrial Sections, to read:

'Section conferences shall be convened by *and meet under the authority of the Executive Committee*, which shall fix their agenda and the date and place of meeting.' (the words in italics being added), and to omit from Paragraph three the sentence: 'Sectional conferences shall meet under the authority of the Executive Committee'. These alterations make no change whatsoever in the effect of the rules, but are merely intended to tidy them up.

The final proposal of the Executive Committee was to substitute for the second sentence in Paragraph three of the same Rule twelve, reading 'Industrial sections may elect a chairman who shall be an ex-officio member of the General Council, if not already an elected member', the following:

'A conference of each industrial section shall be held in connection with each ordinary Congress of the Federation, on which occasion the representatives of the Section there present may elect a Section Chairman to conduct all meetings of the Section during the period ending with the commencement of the next following ordinary Congress. *Section Chairman shall be ex-officio members of the General Council of the Federation.*

'Should an industrial section not make use of its right to elect a Section Chairman, each meeting of the Section shall elect a chairman to serve for the duration of the meeting.'

The Committee decided to recommend acceptance of this proposal, *less* the words in Italics. They realized that the provision they contain is already in the existing rules, but they felt that in practice it was likely to upset the balance of representation between the different countries as provided for in Rule V, 3. They recognized, however, the necessity of ensuring that all the sections have a voice in the General Council, but thought that it should be on an advisory basis only. They therefore recommend that in Rule five, Paragraph two, now reading: '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*', the words in italics should be deleted and the following clause substituted: 'The Chairmen of the Industrial Sections may attend meetings of the General Council in an advisory capacity only.'

In accordance with its terms of reference, the Committee has considered the question of the composition of the General Council and recommends that it be made up as follows:

	Members	Seats
EUROPE		
Belgium	81,150	
Holland	66,359	
Luxemburg	5,500 153,009	3

	Members		Seats	
France <i>Special decision</i>	72,638		1	
Italy <i>Special decision</i>	29,000		1	
Greece <i>Special decision</i>	35,800		1	
Austria	92,058			
Switzerland	53,674			
Saar	11,000	156,732	3	
Great Britain		940,310	4	
Germany <i>Special decision for two</i>		636,474	4	
Sweden		128,304	1	
Denmark	56,700			
Eire	6,000			
Finland	27,615			
Iceland	1,500			
Norway	79,627	171,442	3	
Spain <i>Special decision</i>		25,000	1	22
NORTH AMERICA				
U S A	877,157		4	
Canada <i>Special decision</i>		23,000	1	5
LATIN AMERICA <i>Special arrangement as to cost</i>				
Argentina	16,204			
Chile	54,100			
Cuba	57,897			
Ecuador	220			
Mexico	4,017			
Uruguay	7,600	140,038	2	
ASIA <i>Payment of part cost in each case</i>				
India	327,000		1	
Japan	631,587		1	
Pakistan	57,000			
Ceylon	300			
Hongkong	?			
Singapore	3,000	60,300	1	3
AUSTRALASIA <i>Special decision and payment of whole cost</i>				
Australia	15,000			
New Zealand	4,810	19,810	1	

	Members	Seats
NEAR AND MIDDLE EAST <i>Special decision</i>		
Egypt	4,070	
Israel	820	
Lebanon	?	
Syria	?	1

In accordance with Paragraph 6 of Rule 5, special decisions of Congress will be required in the case of France, Italy, Greece, Germany (for two seats if proposals made on a later page of this report are adopted), Spain, Canada, Australasia and the Near and Middle East.

It will be noted that in a few cases it is suggested that the appointment shall be conditional on certain special financial arrangements. This is in accordance with a practice that has been followed on several occasions in the past, but on going into the matter the Committee came to the conclusion that the practice was not compatible with a strict reading of the present Constitution of the ITF, which was framed at a time when the structure of the ITF differed considerably from what it is at present. It was considered, however, that continuance of the practice was necessary if the composition of the General Council was to be a satisfactory one, and the Committee therefore decided to recommend to Congress that certain changes be made in the Constitution to bring them into line with practice.

Assuming that Congress agrees to these changes, the countries and groups concerned will be Latin America, India, Japan, Australasia and the group consisting of Pakistan, Ceylon, Hongkong and Singapore.

There was a general feeling also – with particular reference to Germany – that the limitation of representation to one member per organization worked unfairly in the case of large organizations catering for many different sections of transport workers, and the Committee therefore decided to recommend provision for additional members in certain cases.

The following are the consequential changes in the Constitution which the Committee proposed:

That Rule 5, Para. three, reading as follows (*after the substitution of 'four' for 'three' mentioned above*): '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 four.' should be amended to read: '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 four, *except that by special decision of Congress more than*

one member of the General Council may be elected from one organization if its size and composition make it desirable to provide for more adequate representation of the several transport industries of the country concerned.' The words in italics have been added.

'That Rule five, Paragraph ten, reading: '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', be altered to read as follows:

'The travelling expenses of members of the General Council, of deputy members deputizing for them, *and of Section Chairmen in attendance*, shall be borne by the Federation, *unless the Executive Committee in special cases, otherwise decides*. Other deputy members may attend meetings of the General Council in an advisory capacity, but their travelling expenses Rapporteur shall not be borne by the Federation.' The words in italics have been added. The words 'and of section chairmen in attendance' have been inserted in order to make this paragraph harmonize with the new text proposed for paragraph 2 of Rule 5.

The special cases mentioned are such, for instance, as those of organizations or groups of organizations at a great distance from the headquarters of the ITF or which do not contribute to the funds of the ITF enough to justify the heavy expense involved in sending a representative.

Finally the Committee considered that the present Constitution, particularly those parts relating to the Executive Committee and General Council, needs fundamental revision, and they recommend that Congress appoint a Committee to study it and recommend to the next following Congress such amendments as they may deem desirable.

THE PRESIDENT: All delegates have a copy of the Report of the Rules and Elections Committee before them. They will see that there are certain special decisions to be come to, in connection with the composition of the General Council, in the case of France, Italy, Greece, Germany, Spain, Canada, Australia and the Near and Middle East. I suggest that we do not vote separately on each case. If the Congress will accept the report as a whole it will at the same time be agreeing to the allocation of seats on the Council. In so far as the proposals of the Rules and Elections Committee differ from those of the Executive Committee, the latter accepts them, so we have only to vote on the proposals of the former.

The Report of the Rules and Elections Committee, including the proposals contained therein, was then unanimously accepted without discussion.

THE PRESIDENT thanked the Rules and Elections Committee for the thorough job of work they had done. He further reported that the members of the Belgian delegation, who had been forced to return to their country owing

to political events there, wished to thank the Congress, and especially the German comrades, for the splendid reception they had had.

The Congress then adjourned until Friday morning. The afternoon of Wednesday 26 July was devoted to Sectional Conferences. The following day, Thursday 27 July, delegates went on an excursion to Lake Constance.

Friday 28 July 1950

MORNING SESSION

Report of the Rules and Elections Committee continued.

THE PRESIDENT: By adopting the Report of the Rules and Elections Committee the day before yesterday, the Congress decided that a special Committee should be appointed to revise the Constitution. We have already effected a minor revision, but it is now intended to undertake a more thorough-going one. I can inform you that on Wednesday evening the Executive Committee went further into this matter, and is now of the opinion that it is the task of the Executive Committee and the Secretariat to make the initial preparations for the revision, and pass the results on to the special Committee. The Rules and Elections Committee, which has dealt with the matter at this Congress, is in agreement with this procedure. It would seem desirable that the special Committee that will have to examine the proposals of the Secretariat and the Executive Committee, should be chosen at this Congress, so that the next Congress may have before it a report which has been carefully thought out. I therefore propose that the special Committee shall be of the same composition as the Rules and Elections Committee, which dealt with the matter at this Congress, with Comrade De Vries as Chairman. The Secretariat and Executive Committee will then draft the proposed revised rules and submit them to the special Committee for further consideration in good time before the next Congress. Does the Congress agree?

The Congress indicated its agreement.

I see that it does. Then we will now take the Report of the Resolutions Committee. It includes a draft resolution on Korea, another on the Transport of Arms, and the proposals put forward by affiliated organizations.

First Report of the Resolutions Committee: I. HAUGEN *Norwegian Seamen's Union*, Chairman and Rapporteur of the Resolutions, then submitted the following written Report: The Committee was composed of the following:

Haugen <i>Norway</i>	Pellegrino <i>Italy</i>
Webber <i>England</i>	Irving Brown <i>U S A</i>
Weigl <i>Austria</i>	Faiz Ahmed <i>Pakistan</i>
Hildebrand <i>Germany</i>	Cassiers <i>Belgium</i>
Ferri-Pisani <i>France</i>	Perez <i>Spain</i>

Mr Haugen was elected Chairman and Rapporteur. The Committee first had a general discussion in order to determine on which matters a resolution of the Congress was required and the order of priority. It decided to deal with a first batch of problems in the following order:

- 1) The war in Korea
- 2) The transport of arms under the Atlantic Pact
- 3) The resolutions submitted by affiliated organizations

It was also felt that the fight against dictatorships should be the subject of a resolution.

Up to the present *Wednesday morning* the Committee is in a position to submit emergency resolutions on the war in Korea and the transport of arms.

Further, it has studied the resolutions submitted by affiliated organizations and on which the Executive Committee has made recommendations. The result of its discussions is embodied in a separate document.

The Committee did not find it necessary to deal with resolutions attached to the reports on Hours of Work in Railways and Road Transport and on the relations with the ICFTU.

The Committee have appointed Mr Ferri-Pisani as mover of the resolution on the war in Korea and Mr Hildebrand of that in the transport of arms.

Draft Resolution on the War in Korea: World peace hangs in the balance as the aggression of the North Korean communists continues against the peaceful peoples of South Korea.

Behind the front of its puppet regime the USSR and its instruments, the Cominform and the WFTU, are engaging in an aggressive move to subdue yet another nation as a prelude to possible further aggression on other fronts such as Indo-China, Berlin, Yugoslavia, Iran, and others.

The United Nations has denounced this flagrant act of aggression, has called upon the puppet regime of North Korea to cease fire and withdraw its armed forces to the line of the thirty-eighth Parallel, and has requested the free nations of the world to send troops to Korea in order to stop aggression by force of arms and to restore the conditions of peace.

In compliance with the United Nations' decisions, ratified by fifty-two member states, the allied forces of several nations are now engaged in military action on land, in the air and at sea as the front line defenders of the world's freedom and peace. Flouting these decisions the Communists of the world, through the Cominform and the WFTU, are attempting with every means at their disposal to carry out the foreign and military policies of the Soviet Union. At the same time the Cominform is organizing, on a military basis, its fifth column in the democratic world in order to sabotage the forces of peace and of resistance to aggression.

In view of these developments the twenty-first Congress of the ITF, meeting in Stuttgart from twenty-one to twenty-nine July 1950.

Denounces the North Korean Communist regime and its Kremlin masters as aggressors against the people of South Korea and against the peoples of the whole world;

Endorses the United Nations' decision to resist the aggression in Korea and appeals to all the free and democratic nations of the world to comply with the request of the UN's General Secretary to dispatch military aid as quickly as possible to the fighting front;

Pledges aid and support to the troops now fighting against immense difficulties and calls upon the members of the ITF to do everything in their power to ensure the shipment and delivery of arms to the fighting front;

Condemns the discreditable efforts of the Cominform and WFTU to sabotage the production or transportation of all materials necessary for the fighting troops of the United Nations and pledges itself to expose and counteract these machinations; and

Declares its readiness to join in the development of a vigorous offensive against the fake Stockholm peace slogans of the Cominform and the WFTU, which under the camouflage of anti-atom bomb propaganda cover up and defend the present armed aggression by the North Koreans and their Kremlin dictators.

P.FERRI-PISANI *French Seamen's Federation*: I have the task of submitting to you, on behalf of the Resolutions Committee, the Draft Resolution on the War in Korea that lies before you. The war in Korea is an event about which the Resolutions Committee considers the ITF should make its views known in a clearly drafted resolution. The ITF must not evade its responsibilities, but proclaim before the world its repudiation of aggression.

R.FREUND *Austrian Railwaymen's Union*: The Austrian delegation will abstain from voting on both the Resolution on Korea and that on the Transport of Arms, though I do not think it necessary that we should explain our reasons here.

H.BLOMGREN *Swedish Railwaymen's Union*: I am not speaking for the purpose of expressing any sympathy for the Soviet Union. It may be generally assumed that that country is supporting North Korea's aggression against South Korea in every permissible way. Everybody in this gathering, also, will be agreed that the ITF should express its condemnation of this crime against Humanity. But we cannot support in its present form the draft proposed by the Resolutions Committee. An international organization of the importance of the ITF cannot allow itself to be guided by its feelings when it comes to adopting resolutions that will be read throughout the world. We feel that in this draft the Resolutions Committee expresses itself in terms that are too strong.

I therefore propose that the draft should be referred back to the Resolutions Committee for reconsideration, and in particular to delete in the second paragraph the words 'the USSR and its instruments' and all mention of specific geographical areas – Indo-China, Berlin, Yugoslavia and Iran. On

the second page of the resolution the expressions 'Kremlin masters' and 'Kremlin dictators' should also be left out.

N. WÄLLÄRI *Finnish Seamen's Union*: The representatives of the Finnish Seamen's Union regret that at this Congress the ITF is entering ever more into the sphere of politics, and is getting entangled even in power politics. We in Finland have had bitter experience of the results of fighting on political issue, within the trade union movement. In 1930 it led to the splitting up of our trade union movement, resulting in the advent of a semi-Fascist régime and many restrictions on the freedom of the trade unions.

The ITF has a lot of work to do in the social and industrial fields, and our energies and activities should be concentrated in these problems. The draft resolutions on the Transport of Arms and the War in Korea, submitted by the Resolutions Committee, deal with political issues only, and can be regarded as one-sided participation in power politics. The formulation of these resolutions is such that, in Finland at least, they would be regarded as a hostile demonstration against the Soviet Union, a country with which Finland has friendly relations. I should like to point out, too, that so far the United Nations have not taken any action against the Soviet Union, but only against North Korea.

On these grounds we cannot vote for these two resolutions and shall feel it our duty to vote against them. At the same time we wish to declare that, true to the glorious traditions of the ITF, we are definitely against the suppression of human rights and freedoms, and against Fascism in any form.

J.B. FIGGINS *British National Union of Railwaymen*: On behalf of the NUR I have to say that we regret that the Resolutions Committee should have put such a resolution in front of this conference. It does not seem to have come from any single delegation to the Congress, and indeed we cannot think that it could have done so, since there cannot be any union that, before the Congress assembled, could have to a decision on this vital issue with full knowledge of all that it involved and all the repercussions that may come from a decision on the matter. In our judgment it transcends by far every other issue that is before this Congress, and history will abundantly prove it.

We had our Annual Conference just before coming to this Congress, but we came to no decision on this matter of Korea and consequently cannot under any circumstances support this resolution. We think that the wisest course for Congress would be to follow the lead given by Austria – with which, without having had any consultation, we are in complete agreement –, namely, to abstain from voting, on the grounds that we have no mandate from the members we are privileged to represent.

The representatives of the NUR will abstain from voting, and they ask that there should be a record of the abstentions.

R. BODEAU *French Railwaymen's Federation*: The presentation of this draft

resolution seems to have led to great differences of opinion, and the delegation of the French railwaymen wants to make its position clear. It cannot support the resolution in its present form, and so will, like the Austrian delegates and those of the British National Union of Railwaymen, abstain from voting.

It is not that we wish to evade our responsibilities in connection with the struggle in Korea, which is a struggle for freedom, but we take the same point of view as our Finnish comrades, that it is not a task of the ITF, as a trade union organization, to be drawn into power politics. If the trade union movement wants to defend democracy it should do so in the social and economic fields. The best way to fight Communism is to raise living standards in the backward countries. In the countries which the United Nations have called upon for help we can urge our members to do their best to facilitate the transport of war material and troops required for Korea, but it is no good stigmatizing the Soviet Union and the Cominform in the resolution, even though we may be aware who is pulling the strings behind the North Korean Government. If these remarks cannot be taken into consideration in the draft of the resolution my delegation will have to abstain from voting.

A. DEAKIN *British Transport & General Workers' Union*: I want at the outset to make it clear that there are no people in the world more desirous of peace than the people of Great Britain. Having said that, I want to make it equally clear that we stand behind the United Nations Organization. We are firmly determined to see that that organization does not fall by the way like the League of Nations organization before it did. Unless we are prepared to face this question of peace in such a way that we continue to fight aggression from whatever quarter it comes, I suggest to you that we shall fail most signally in our duty towards the masses throughout the world.

Mr Figgins said that he spoke for the British National Union of Railwaymen. He is entitled to do so. But as a member of the General Council of the Trades Union Congress, which has given consideration to this issue, I think I can speak on behalf of the British trade union movement collectively. Mr Figgins said that no trade union could have raised this question with the Resolutions Committee. Well, that is completely at variance with the facts: the matter was raised by two organizations from France and Italy. Mr Figgins goes on to suggest that in so far as no union has reached on this matter we must remain silent. Well, Mr Figgins may be able to reason that one out, but frankly I cannot. Is it suggested that when tremendous issues vitally and extensively affecting the peoples of the world arise, as in Korea, that we must have no point of view to put? Suppose that it had been the other way round. Suppose there had been an attack on Great Britain, would Mr Figgins still say that the ITF must stand passively by and say we must not come to any decision? I am perfectly sure the members of the National Union of Railway-

men would not accept such a position. There are a lot of people who still stand by in Britain, but I suggest that it is completely unreal to say that when there is no decision by individual unions the ITF cannot have a point of view.

We have in Great Britain a National Council of Labour, a joint body which represents the trade unions, the Labour Party and the cooperative movement, and in June of this year it declared in unmistakable fashion that we must stand foursquare by the decision of UNO and render such support as will make it possible to deal effectively with the aggression that has taken place in Korea. So I can say at any rate that with the exception of the National Union of Railwaymen the whole British delegation stands behind the principle enunciated in this resolution.

We have had some experience of appeasement in the past, and we say that when aggression comes in any form we just have to stand up to it. Let us be under no illusion. The trend of events during the last four years has made the position quite clear: following the establishment of the Cominform in Belgrade in 1947 there has been no doubt at all about it, international Communism has been seeking to enslave the free peoples of the world. They have established everywhere they could a fifth column, and we have had some experience of it at work. We have seen action taken from time to time, particularly in international transport, to prevent that free flow of goods and services between nation and nation that would make for the recovery of the devastated areas of Europe. If that lifeline could be cut, if the fifth column were to succeed in its aims, its battle would be half won. I submit to this Congress that you cannot stand aside and see these things happen: you must face up to the responsibility. When our French friends talk about moral issues and suggest that you can combat activities of this kind while withholding the military assistance which is necessary to deal an effective blow against it I suggest that they are living in a fool's paradise. Our duty is perfectly clear.

You know it is no use talking about democracy unless you are prepared to do something to keep it. I would say to our friends from Sweden: for thirty years you have enjoyed freedom to keep out of the maelstrom of war, but the time comes when you must make up your minds to do something about it. It is easy to go the comfortable way, to pay lip service to the principle, but that does not find the answer to the issue with which you are faced at this time. It is no use being weak in the back; you have got to put your shoulder to the wheel; to make up your minds to resist aggression from whatever source it may come.

I do not think it would be right for this Congress to sidestep the issue, merely to refer the matter back to the Resolutions Committee to see what form of words can be used to satisfy those who have made speeches: I think the Congress should stand on its feet and say without any hesitation at all that it accepts the principle, contained in this resolution, of giving the fullest

support to the United Nations decision. But since I am a peaceful sort of a chap I will suggest in addition that, while accepting the general principle, the Congress might ask the Resolutions Committee to consider whether it is not possible to make some small textual alterations that would meet some of the minor suggestions that have been made. But I do beg Congress to take its courage into its hands and make up its mind that it is going to do something to arrest the activities that are continually disturbing the peace of the world. I do feel this above all things: that we have got once and for all to show that wherever the threat of slavery and dictatorship arises we believe it is our prime duty and responsibility to face it resolutely, with confidence and with courage, determined to create those conditions among the nations of the world that will enable us, in the years that lie ahead, to live in peace and cooperation with the free peoples everywhere.'

THE PRESIDENT: Brother Deakin asks that the proposals for amendment be taken into consideration, and that the resolution be referred back to the Resolutions Committee for that purpose. In that case we should have to pass on to another item of the agenda until such as time as the new text of the resolution is available.

A. DEAKIN *British Transport and General Workers' Union*: I must respectfully suggest that the point of view put now by the Chairman is not in accordance with the point of view I expressed. The suggestion I made was that the Congress accept the general principle of the resolution, while at the same time asking the Resolutions Committee to make slight textual alterations to meet the view of several of the people who have spoken from this rostrum. I want to press the point that a vote be taken on the general principle of the resolution without delay.

This proposal was then put to the vote and the Congress approved, eighteen delegates abstaining, the general principle of the resolution, which was then referred to the Resolutions Committee for textual revision.

Draft Resolution on the Transport of Arms: Whereas it is the duty of every human community to defend itself at all cost against the danger of enslavement by tyrants, whether native or foreign, and whatever the ideals with which they may mask their plans for conquest;

Whereas the international tension which has existed since the end of the second world war, and which is becoming increasingly dangerous, has given birth to the Atlantic Pact, described by its authors as a defensive alliance of the peoples of Western Europe and North America, and concluded solely for the purpose of preventing or repelling possible aggression;

Whereas the aims declared by the leaders of the democratic countries are the very expression of the beliefs and the will of the peoples;

THE CONGRESS *Expresses its confidence* in the declarations of the democratic governments and endorses the Atlantic Pact;

Approves the action which is being carried on by the ITF to ensure the transport of arms sent by the United States of America to Western Europe;
Approves further the action of the Vigilance Committees set up by the ITF, who frustrate Communist endeavours to sabotage the fulfilment of the Pact; and
Calls upon the members of the ITF to continue the carrying and handling of all arms and ammunition, the purpose of which is to prevent or repel an attack against free peoples.

H. HILDEBRAND *German Public Services and Transport Union*: The Resolutions Committee has asked me to submit to you the draft resolution on the Transport of Arms. This resolution lays down clearly what is the duty of organizations affiliated with the ITF in this matter. The events in Korea are an indication of the dangers which threaten us, and it is necessary that our members should know what position they must take up. It is desirable, therefore, that the Congress should make a pronouncement as to the attitude of the ITF towards these shipments of arms. This resolution is a contribution to the peace and freedom of all peoples, and I recommend it for your adoption. *On being put to the vote the resolution was adopted, there being two contrary votes and four abstentions.*

Proposals submitted by affiliated Organizations item 7 of the Agenda

The Resolutions Committee has examined all the resolutions submitted by the affiliated organizations, together with the recommendations of the Executive Committee.

It recommends Congress to follow the advice of the Executive Committee as regards resolutions nos one, two, three, six, seven and eight.

On resolutions nos four and five the Committee recommends the substitution of the following:

Whereas Japan has nearly 2,800 inhabitants per square mile of arable land, probably the highest density of population in ratio to arable land in the world;
Whereas, therefore, the agricultural and maritime resources of Japan can never be sufficient to guarantee to all its inhabitants a tolerable standard of life;

Whereas Japanese participation in international trade is also essential if Japan is to be able to import agricultural products in exchange for manufactured goods;

Whereas, however, the expansion of production of raw materials, industrial production, foreign trade and maritime activities cannot be considered apart from questions of international security and from the present occupation of Japan by the Allied Authorities;

THIS CONGRESS, Expresses the sympathy of the transport workers of the democratic world with the Japanese transport workers;

Recommends to the Seafarers' Section and the Fishermen's Section to undertake a study of the maritime problems of Japan to establish facts in the light of which it will be possible for the ITF to adopt a programme and a policy to be laid before the Occupation Authorities in Japan.

I. HAUGEN *Chairman and Rapporteur of Resolutions Committee*: You will see from this report that the Resolutions Committee recommend that in the case of resolutions numbers one, two, three, six, seven and eight submitted by affiliated organizations Congress should accept the Executive Committee's recommendations. As regards numbers four and five, submitted by the Japanese Seamen's Union, we are informed that the meeting of the Fishermen's Section could not agree to the Executive Committee's recommendation with regard to them. We have therefore tried to meet the objections by amending the combined resolution suggested by the Executive Committee.

I move the resolution.

CH. CARISSIADES *Greek Railwaymen's Federation*: The joint conference of the Railwaymen's and Road Transport Workers' Section prepared a resolution on Working Hours that was adopted by the Congress. In this it is pointed out that in Greece, among other countries, the forty-eight-hour week is not yet in force. Greece passed as far back as 1920 a law providing for the application of the Washington Convention, but actually the forty-eight hour week was not applied until 1926, and then only for a few groups of railwaymen: a day of from nine to twelve hours is the regular thing. We Greek railwaymen demand the application of the eight-hour day and forty-eight-hour week to all railwaymen without exception. Negotiations with the Greek Government have led to nothing. We expect more from the adoption of this resolution than from any diplomatic steps taken by the ILO or any other body.

The recommendations of the Executive Committee with regard to resolutions on administrative matters in the transport industry and the amended resolution relating to Japan proposed by the Resolutions Committee, were then adopted.

Second and Final Report of the resolutions Committee: The Resolutions Committee felt it incumbent upon it to take the initiative of drafting resolutions on two subjects which were more or less outstanding features of the Report on Activities, and which also received attention during the debate on that Report:

- 1) The ERP and the OEEC.
- 2) The rebirth of free trade-unionism in France and Italy.

In view of the methods employed by those who would undermine the efforts of the trade-union movement to defend freedom and democracy, and of the endeavours of Communist trouble-makers to sow confusion in the minds of the workers, the Committee further thought it desirable to lay before Congress a resolution stating clearly the views of the ITF as to the consequences dictatorship brings for the workers.

It was felt, however, that in addition to the resolution on dictatorships a message should be addressed to our fellow transport workers behind the Iron Curtain.

The Committee also received two draft resolutions from the German Railwaymen's Union, one dealing with the situation of the Berlin railwaymen and the other with the threat of increased unemployment in Western Germany as a result of mass dismissals of railway personnel.

Although the Committee was aware that the Executive Committee had already adopted a resolution on the situation of the Berlin railwaymen which was quoted in the Report on Activities, it shared the opinion of the German Railwaymen's Union that a further resolution by the Congress would be helpful in making it clear to the Berlin railwaymen, and other workers in that city, that we are deeply concerned about their fate. It therefore recommends to Congress the resolution submitted.

The Committee also shared to the full the anxiety of the German Railwaymen's Union about the unemployment in Western Germany, and therefore recommends for adoption the other resolution submitted.

Before the Committee finished its work one of its members, Brother Casiers, was recalled to Belgium, together with a number of other Belgian delegates, on account of the tense political situation in that country. He was therefore unable to take part in the final stages of our deliberations. Though the political controversy in Belgium, in its present stage at least, lies somewhat beyond the purview of the Congress, the Committee feels sure that delegates will view with sympathy the endeavours of the organized workers in Belgium to defend their democratic régime against a possible onslaught.

Finally the Resolutions Committee wishes to place on record its appreciation of the devoted assistance received from the Secretariat and the staff of the ITF.

Resolution on ERP and OEEC: THE CONGRESS Expresses to the people of the United States, and particularly to its workers, its appreciation of the help given to further the economic recovery of Europe;

Recognizes the endeavours made by the European governments to organize European self-help, but declares that since American aid is to end in 1952 further action is urgently necessary if independence of that aid is to be achieved by that time;

Emphasizes that for this purpose it is necessary to restore the equilibrium of trade with the rest of the world if Western Europe is to be capable of resisting ideological penetration and possible military aggression by the USSR;

Regrets that no common plan has yet been evolved which will achieve this purpose and at the same time ensure social justice;

Demands that facilities be provided for the trade unions to have direct representation on the OEEC for the furtherance of these aims;

Calls upon the members of the ITF to work untiringly to convince public opinion, parliaments and governments of the necessity of extending and intensifying economic cooperation between the peoples of Western Europe, so that they may be able to maintain themselves as free and democratic communities; and

Calls upon the Western European governments associated with the OEEC to take the steps necessary to remove all causes of difference, whether due to private interests or concepts of national sovereignty, so that agreement can be reached on a policy that will ensure the attainment of these objectives.

Draft Resolution on the Free Trade Union Movement in France and Italy:

THE CONGRESS Welcomes the rise and the affiliation to the ITF of free trade unions of transport workers in France and Italy which continue the tradition of a free trade union movement free from all external influences;

Notes with satisfaction the material and moral support rendered to those unions by the ITF;

Observes that thanks to the existence and the activity of these unions the totalitarian forces can no longer impose their policy upon the organized workers and subordinate them to the interests of the Dictators and the Cominform;

Congratulates the new free trade union organizations of France and Italy on seizing the initiative in the struggle for the improvement of the living and working conditions of their members;

Calls upon all transport workers in France and Italy to join the ranks of the new free organizations and thus take up the fight for their own interests and those of the transport workers of all countries.

Draft Resolution on Dictatorships: Whereas the safeguarding of human rights and the maintenance of peace are indispensable conditions for all social progress and must consequently be a main preoccupation of all workers and their national and international trade-union organizations;

Whereas all dictatorial and totalitarian régimes resort of inherent necessity to violence of the worst kind to control and subjugate the people's minds;

Whereas dictatorial régimes are incompatible with all freedom of thought, expression, movement, communication and action;

Whereas the violence used by dictatorial régimes against presumed opponents takes every imaginable form: intimidation, imprisonment for longer or shorter terms, separation from the family, slavery in forced labour camps, executions after parodies of legal procedure, beating up and slow death in torture chambers and lethal establishments;

Whereas the subjection of a people to any kind of dictatorship always leads to the suppression of or total perversion of the trade unions, which are the upholders of social progress and social justice, and to the more or less disguised enslavement of the workers;

Whereas, further, the maintenance of peace depends on the successful operation of world-wide organizations established for the purpose of achieving social justice, and the danger of war will persist so long as the relations between human communities are not governed by laws and institutions based on such justice;

Whereas the danger of war is linked with the existence of dictatorial régimes because, not being responsible to the will of the peoples they govern, they are all based on injustice, obeying none of the precepts of right but relying solely on force and violence, threatening all free peoples with subjugation by ideological penetration, internal subversion and aggression;

THE CONGRESS *Proclaims* the unshakable hostility of the transport workers to all dictatorial régimes and holds them up to the execration of all the workers of the world;

Reminds the democratic governments of their moral duty to limit their dealings with all dictatorial governments to what is strictly unavoidable, and to refrain from any other act calculated to strengthen the ideological or political hold of the dictators over the peoples whom they rule; and

Warns them that if they wish for permanent peace they must aim sincerely and efficaciously at social progress in all parts of the world subject to their authority.

Draft Resolution on the Workers behind the Iron Curtain: The twenty-first Congress of the International Transport Workers' Federation, meeting in Stuttgart from 21 to 29 July 1950, denounces the Soviet domination of Central and Eastern Europe, which has led to the destruction of the free trade union movement in that part of the world.

The workers in these countries have been ruthlessly deprived of their basic right to freedom of association and collective bargaining, and of their right to strike. The trade unions have been integrated in the state machine and have thus become nothing but the government equivalent of company unions. *The workers* have become mere units in a totalitarian economic system based upon forced labour and police control, dedicated to the militarization of the entire population.

Exploitation has been carried to inhuman lengths under a system of highly accelerated production, known as Stakhanovism, which the Soviet masters have imposed upon the peoples of their satellite nations.

In view of these tragic developments, and so that the workers behind the Iron Curtain may know that they are not alone and not forgotten, the Congress, true to its traditions of humanitarianism and devotion to the ideals of freedom, which were proved in the late war against Nazism, raises its voice on their behalf, since they are no longer able to speak for themselves;

Pledges itself to carry on an unceasing struggle to expose before the conscience of the world what happens under Soviet domination;

Promises to do everything possible to help its enslaved brother trade-unionists, so that the flame of freedom may be kept alive until such time as the democratic forces can become strong enough to liberate these lands from their present dictatorships; and

Rededicates itself to the task, in cooperation with all other democratic forces, of restoring a system of free labour and free trade-unionism in all countries whose workers have lost their basic rights.

Draft Resolution on the Berlin Railwaymen: The twenty-first Congress of the ITF notes with anxiety that notwithstanding the agreements signed and assurance given by the Soviet Military Administration in the Soviet zone of Germany and the Railway Administration in Berlin according to which there should be no victimization of the railwaymen who took part in the Berlin strike of 1948, more than 4,000 railwaymen in Western Berlin have been dismissed and further dismissals are threatened.

The Congress demands that the negotiations started by the German Railwaymen's Union with the Municipal Council of Berlin, the Federal Government at Bonn and the High Commissioners shall lead as soon as possible to satisfaction of the legitimate demands of the railwaymen of Western Berlin.

Resolution on the German Federal Railways: The Congress of the ITF believes that the reconstruction of Europe can only be effected by employing manpower on a large scale and consequently resolutely opposes any measure calculated to lead to an increase of unemployment.

The Congress welcomes the steps taken by the German Railwaymen's Union in favour of the reconstruction of the German Federal Railways.

Having heard, however, that the Occupation Authorities have at present under consideration a report on the German railways that makes recommendations the adoption of which would involve the dismissal of 80,000 railwaymen,

The Congress considers that such a measure would bring in its train disastrous political repercussions and would be harmful to the cause of democracy in Germany.

I. HAUGEN *Chairman and Rapporteur of the Resolutions Committee:* In presenting the second and final report of the Resolutions Committee I have one remark to make, and that is that the Committee ought to have been in session from the very beginning of the Congress. As a result of its having been appointed so late it has had to work very hard, in long and tiring sessions.

As Chairman of the Committee I take this opportunity of thanking my colleagues for the excellent and untiring cooperation they have shown all the time.

I move the Second Report of the Resolutions Committee, and with it I formally move the resolutions mentioned in it.

The Second Report of the Resolutions Committee, together with the resolutions attached, was then adopted.

Elections - Election of General Council item 8 of the Agenda

THE PRESIDENT: I propose that we now break off consideration of the resolutions and proceed to the election of the General Council, so that we may still be able to choose our new Executive Committee today. In addition a meeting of the General Council is on the Agenda for this afternoon. Does the Congress agree?

The Congress signified its agreement.

P.TOFAHRN *Assistant General Secretary* 'The electoral groups have put forward the following proposals

<i>Countries and Groups</i>	<i>Members</i>	<i>Sections</i>
BELGIUM, HOLLAND AND LUXEMBURG	R. Dekeyzer	Transport Workers
	G. Joustra	Railwaymen
	F. Leick	Railwaymen
	<i>Substitutes</i>	
	G. Devaux	Railwaymen
DENMARK, IRELAND, ICELAND, FINLAND AND NORWAY	P. de Vries	Seafarers
	J. Remackel	Railwaymen
	E. Borg	Transport Workers
	I. Haugen	Seafarers
	G. Widing	Locomotivemen
GERMANY	<i>Substitutes</i>	
	L. Olsen	Transport Workers
	Th. Laursen	Seafarers
	J. K. F. Jensen	Railwaymen
	A. Kummernuss	Transport Workers
	H. Jahn	Railwaymen
	K. Klus	Railwaymen
	A. Dienst	Transport Workers
	<i>Substitutes</i>	
	J. Hatje	Railwaymen
GREAT BRITAIN	F. Schreiber	Railwaymen
	G. Huber	Transport Workers
	H. Hildebrand	Seafarers and Dockers
	J. G. Baty	Railwaymen
	A. Deakin	Transport Workers
	J. B. Figgins	Railwaymen
	T. Yates	Seafarers
	<i>Substitutes</i>	

<i>Countries and Groups</i>	<i>Members</i>	<i>Sections</i>
JAPAN	Not yet nominated T. Nishimaki <i>Substitute</i> E. Kato	Seafarers Railwaymen
AUSTRIA, SWITZERLAND AND SAAR	K. Weigl R. Bratschi E. Welter <i>Substitutes</i> A. Thaler H. Leuenberger F. Uebeleis Faiz Ahmed	Transport Workers Railwaymen Railwaymen Railwaymen Transport Workers Railwaymen Transport Workers
PAKISTAN, CEYLON HONGKONG, SINGAPORE	<i>Substitute</i> Not yet nominated	
SWEDEN	H. Blomgren <i>Substitute</i> R. Helgesson T. Gómez	Railwaymen Transport Workers Railwaymen and Transport Workers
SPAIN	<i>Substitute</i> A. Pérez	Railwaymen and Transport Workers Railwaymen
USA	A. E. Lyon H. Lundeberg J. P. Ryan D. L. Behncke <i>Substitutes</i> Not yet nominated	Seafarers Dockers Air Pilots

These nominations agree exactly with the number of representatives allocated to each electoral group. The following electoral groups are not represented in the Congress, and will have to be asked to make their nominations in writing: *Australia and New Zealand, Canada, Latin America, and Near and Middle East.*

The following electoral groups have not reached agreement: *France*: The Seamen propose P. Ferri-Pisani, the Railwaymen A. Lafond. *Greece*: The Seamen propose P. Kalapothakis, the Railwaymen C. Carissiades. *Italy*: The Seamen propose U. Romagnoli as member and G. Martelli as substitute. The Railwaymen's delegation protest that they were not consulted, and propose E. Pellegrino as member and E. Bartolini as substitute.

If these groups cannot agree on candidates and substitutes the Congress will have to decide by a vote.

THE PRESIDENT: I can now inform you that a vote will not be necessary for Greece, as the Greek delegates have agreed to nominate C. Carissiades as member and P. Kalapothakis as substitute. I should like to recommend the example to the other two groups.

I am informed that the French and Italian delegations cannot agree, so the Congress will have to decide. Does the Congress agree that we vote by a show of hands? If so we can settle the matter right away, otherwise we shall have to leave the matter until this afternoon. Does the Congress agree to vote by show of hands?

The Congress signified its assent. On the matter being then put to the vote P. Ferri-Pisani, with seventy-four votes, was declared as elected member for France, with A. Lafond, with sixty votes, as substitute; and U. Romagnoli, with sixty-six votes, member for Italy, with E. Pellegrino, with sixty-one votes, as substitute.

THE PRESIDENT: That ends the election of the General Council in so far as we can carry it today. Those groups which are not represented at the Congress will nominate their members in writing.

Friday 28 July 1950

AFTERNOON SESSION

Third Report of Credentials Committee

J.G.BATY Chairman and Rapporteur of Credentials Committee: The Credentials Committee has a third report to submit to you, but as it has been quite impossible to get it ready in time to submit it to you in writing, I hope the Congress will be satisfied with an oral report.

On Wednesday last the Executive Committee decided to admit to membership two further Italian organizations, the Federazione Nazionale Autoferrotranvieri ed Internavigatori and the Federazione Italiana Lavoratori Trasporti ed Ausiliari del Traffico. The former organizes tramwaymen, busmen and inland waterway workers, and the latter taxi-drivers and forwarding personnel. The first of these two organizations is represented at the Congress by Comrade G. Martelli, and in view of the Executive Committee's decision we propose that he be admitted to the Congress as a delegate with voice and vote.

In addition we have with us Mr R. G. Exeley, representing together with Mr F. Kenny, the British High Commissioner. We thank him for coming and for the interest he is showing in the work of our Congress.

The Congress adopted this report.

Election of the Executive Committee: THE PRESIDENT: We come now to the election of the Executive Committee.

I will ask Comrade Tofahrn to read the nominations.

P. TOFAHRN Assistant General Secretary: The following have been nominated for membership of the Executive Committee:

R. Bratschi *Switzerland*

P. Ferri-Pisani *France*

I. Haugen *Norway*

A. E. Lyon *USA*

A. Deakin *Great Britain*

Trifón Gómez *Spain*

H. Jahn *Germany*

A. Kummernuss *Germany*

G. Joustra *Holland*

That is nine nominations for eight seats. Our Constitution provides that no country may have more than one seat in the Executive Committee. Since there are two German candidates, either one of them must withdraw or the Congress will have to vote on them.

THE PRESIDENT: Since neither of the nominations has been withdrawn, we shall have to vote, and according to the Constitution it must be by secret ballot. Each delegation will receive a number of voting cards corresponding to the number of delegates the organization they represent is entitled to have. Comrade Tofahrn will act as returning officer, and we will ask the British and Scandinavian delegations to elect a scrutineer each. I will suspend the session for twenty minutes for purposes of the election.

After a short suspension the President reopened the session.

Resolution on the War in Korea continued: **THE PRESIDENT:** The counting of the votes is not yet finished, but I propose that in the meantime we resume consideration of the Resolution on Korea. The Resolutions Committee has met again and Comrade Haugen will report on its work.

I. HAUGEN Chairman and Rapporteur of the Resolutions Committee: Our Committee has considered the proposals for amending the resolution and has agreed on the following new text:

Second draft Resolution on the War in Korea: World peace hangs in the balance as the aggression of the North Korean Communists continues against the peaceful peoples of South Korea.

Behind the front of a puppet régime, the Cominform and the WFTU are engaging in an aggressive move to subdue yet another nation as a prelude to possible further aggression on other fronts.

The United Nations has denounced this flagrant act of aggression and has called upon the puppet regime of North Korea to cease fire and withdraw its armed forces to the line of the thirty-eighth parallel and has requested the free nations of the world to send troops to Korea in order to stop aggression by force of arms and to restore peace.

In compliance with the United Nations' decisions, ratified by fifty-two member states, the allied forces of several nations are now engaged in military action on land, in the air and at sea as the front line defenders of the world's freedom and peace.

Flouting these decisions the Communists of the world, through the Cominform and the WFTU, are attempting with every means at their disposal to carry out the foreign and military policies of the Soviet Union. At the same time the Cominform is organizing, on a military basis, its fifth column in order to sabotage the forces of peace and of resistance to aggression.

In view of these developments the twenty-first Congress of the ITF, meeting in Stuttgart from 21 to 29 July 1950,

Denounces the North Korean Communist regime and its dictatorial masters as aggressors against the people of South Korea and against the peoples of the whole world;

Endorses the United Nations' decision to resist the aggression in Korea;

Pledges aid and support to the troops now fighting for freedom and demo-

cracy against immense difficulties and calls upon the members of the ITF to do everything in their power to ensure the shipment and delivery of arms to the fighting front;

Condemns the discreditable efforts of the Cominform and WFTU to sabotage the production or transportation of all materials necessary for the fighting troops of the United Nations and pledges itself to expose and counteract these machinations; and

Declares its readiness to join in the development of a vigorous offensive against the fake Stockholm peace slogans of the Cominform and the WFTU which under the camouflage of anti-atom bomb propaganda cover up and defend the present armed aggression.

R. CLERC *French Railwaymen's Federation*: Our delegation is largely satisfied with the amended resolution on the war in Korea, and will therefore vote for it.

In the circumstances, I am sure I may be permitted to return to the statement made by Comrade Deakin this morning, when he said that we were living in a fool's paradise. I have been active in the trade union for thirty years, and have constantly stood up against the Communists, who have been trying to dominate the trade union movement. In 1947 we broke away from the Communists and set up our trade union. We are well aware what Communism is, and how to fight it.

THE PRESIDENT: The Austrian delegation informs me that they will also abstain from voting on the resolution in its new form.

The Resolution on the War in Korea was then put to the vote and adopted, there being two contrary votes and twenty-two abstentions.

Expulsions *item 10 of the Agenda*

The following three draft resolutions were before the Congress:

Draft Resolution Justifying the Expulsion of the Canadian Seamen's Union
THIS CONGRESS, Having considered the refusal of the ITF to show solidarity with the striking Canadian Seamen, and the suspension of the affiliation of the Canadian Seamen's Union by the Executive; Takes into account the following facts:

From April to July 1949, the Canadian Seamen's Union CSU conducted a strike when need for recourse to this final weapon for the defence of the interests of the members, did not exist. To induce members to come out on strike the Communist leaders of this Organization lied to them. Moreover, they gave out strike instructions which conflict with all tradition of maritime trade union action and also with Canadian law, thus laying the members open to legal proceedings and severe penalties.

The leaders of the Canadian Seamen's Union called for the assistance of the

ITF but systematically hid the truth about the alleged dispute by deliberately refusing to furnish information which, in accordance with the Rules of the ITF, they were under an obligation to provide. Instead of informing the ITF, and through it the Organizations whose support was desired, the Communist leaders of the Canadian Seamen's Union, with the active assistance of agents of the Communist Parties, conducted a campaign of lies among the workers in the different ports throughout the world and exploited in a shameless fashion the sentiment of solidarity of the latter. They thus did grave injury to the waterside workers whom they led astray and to the economy of the countries affected.

On the other hand, the leaders of the Canadian Seamen's Union conferred secretly with the so-called World Federation of Trade Unions and this instrument of the Cominform supported their campaign against the ITF and the Organizations affiliated to it. The leaders of the Canadian Seamen's Union conducted their campaign by means and according to methods which demanded large financial resources, but they left their members on strike in foreign ports to the charity of the sympathising workers.

The strike was conducted, contrary to all the rules of Trade Union strategy, by methods aiming at dragging uselessly and wickedly, in all parts of the world, the greatest possible number of workers into the dispute.

Whereas everything points to the fact that the strike of the Canadian Seamen's Union was decided by an outside power of which the leaders of the CSU are the lackeys;

THIS CONGRESS Approves the decision of the Management Committee, the Executive Committee and the General Council to refuse, for the first time in the history of the ITF assistance to an affiliated Organization engaged in a dispute.

Decides to expel the CSU from the ITF for having harmed the interests of it's own members and those of other affiliated Unions;

Notes with satisfaction that the vast majority of the members of the Canadian Seamen's Union have turned their backs on this Organization so unworthy of their confidence and have re-joined the ranks of a free trade union;

Invites Transport Workers throughout the world to ponder this example of shameful exploitation of the noble sentiment of working class solidarity for unavowed political ends.

Draft Resolution Justifying the Expulsion of the New Zealand Waterside Workers' Union: THIS CONGRESS, deliberating upon the suspension of the affiliation of the New Zealand Waterside Workers' Union by the Executive Committee, Takes into account the following facts:

In December 1949 The New Zealand Waterside Workers' Union affiliated to the Maritime Department of that agency of the Cominform which parades

under the name of the WFTU, whose hostility towards the ITF is a matter of public notoriety. The NZWU thus deliberately disregarded a decision of the competent bodies of the ITF which have laid down that affiliation to the so-called WFTU is incompatible with affiliation to the ITF.

By making, in the spring and summer of 1949, common cause with the Canadian Seamen's Union, the New Zealand Waterside Workers violated a decision of the General Council of the ITF of May 1949.

Whereas the New Zealand Waterside Workers' Union, by affiliating to a Communist body, has ceased to be a free Trade Union;

THIS CONGRESS Decides to expel it from the ITF;

Invites all affiliated Organizations which have relations with the New Zealand Waterside Workers' Union to break these off.

Calls upon the non-Communist members of the NZWU to get together and act to eliminate the Soviet agents from their Organization, and make their Union once again an instrument for the defence of their interests and bring about its re-integration in the great brotherhood of workers associated under the banner of the ITF.

Draft Resolution Justifying the Expulsion of the Finnish Transport Workers' Union: THIS CONGRESS, considering the suspension of the affiliation of the Finnish Transport Workers' Union: Takes into account the following facts:

Contrary to the express recommendation of the Executive Committee the Finnish Union was represented in July 1949 at the inaugural conference of the Seamen's and Dockers' Section of the so-called World Federation of Trade Unions. At that time the Union was affiliated to the Finnish Trade Union Centre, itself affiliated to the WFTU.

In August 1949, the Finnish Union, in contravention of decision of the Finnish Trade Union Centre, conducted a strike in which exclusively Communist-dominated unions took part. For that reason it was expelled from the Finnish Trade Union Centre and, by reason of this fact, ceased to be affiliated indirectly to the WFTU.

Subsequently, the Transport Workers' Union, jointly with the Forestry Workers' Union, – also excluded from the Finnish Trade Union Centre – set up a Unity Committee and 'a request was made to the WFTU to re-establish affiliation on this basis.'

THIS CONGRESS, in view of the fact that the request for the re-establishment of affiliation, addressed by the Finnish Transport Workers' Union to the WFTU, and being bound to result in the establishment of direct links between that Union and the Communist organization hostile to the ITF, concludes that the Finnish Union has ceased to be a free trade union;

Notes that the Scandinavian Transport Workers' Federation has broken off relations with the Finnish Union,

Decides to expel it from the ITF, and

Invites those workers still holding membership cards of the Finnish Transport Union to rally to the cause of free trade unionism and to re-join the ITF by the means open to them.

P.TOFAHRN Assistant General Secretary: The three resolutions which lie before you contain justifications for the expulsion from membership of the ITF of the Canadian Seamen's Union, the New Zealand Waterside Workers' Union and the Finnish Transport Workers' Union. In the opinion of the Executive Committee all three unions should be expelled, because they have acted contrary to ITF decisions and joined the Communist World Federation of Trade Unions. Membership of the WFTU is incompatible with membership of the ITF.

The only objection to the expulsions has been raised by the Danish Firemen's Union, and that organization is not represented at this Congress. I ask you to vote for the three resolutions put forward by the Executive Committee. *The three resolutions were put separately to the Congress, and all were carried nem con.*

Elections - Election of the Management Committee item 8 of the Agenda

The British unions had nominated:

J.G.BATY Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen

T.YATES National Union of Seamen

G.B.THORNEYCROFT Railway Clerk's Association

D.S.TENNANT Navigators' and Engineer Officers' Union

Except for Comrade Tennant, who took the place of Comrade Deakin, this was the same composition as before.

All four were unanimously elected by the Congress.

Election of Executive Committee continued

THE PRESIDENT: The votes have now been counted, and I will ask Comrade Tofahrn to announce the result.

P.TOFAHRN Assistant General Secretary: We distributed 250 voting papers, and 245 were returned. Comrade H.Jahn received 200 votes, Comrade A.Kummernuss forty-five.

THE PRESIDENT: You have heard the result, and I declare Comrade H. Jahn duly elected.

We now come to the election of the General Secretary and his Assistant. **G.JOUSTRA Dutch Railwaymen's and Tramwaymen's Union; Member of the Executive Committee of the ITF:** According to Rule eight, Paragraph two, of the Constitution of the ITF, the General Secretary and the Assistant General Secretary have to be elected by Congress. In the days when we had teams like Edo Fimmen and Nathans, and Oldenbroek and Tofahrn, occupying these very important posts there was everything to be said for ensuring, by common consent, continuity in the leadership at the Secretariat of our International.

But during the past year our General Secretary-Treasurer has had the honour, on account of his qualities and abilities, to be elected to the General Secretaryship of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, and as a result our ITF is faced with the necessity of deciding who shall succeed our friend Oldénbroek as General Secretary-Treasurer of the ITF.

In view of the fact that Brother Oldenbroek had to be replaced immediately, it was the duty of the Executive Committee to make a provisional appointment, pending the definitive election of the General Secretary-Treasurer by Congress. After careful consideration, and in agreement with our friend Tofahrn, a solution was found by requesting our able President, Brother Omer Becu, to accept the office of General Secretary-Treasurer in a temporary capacity. This request of the Executive Committee was, also after careful consideration, acceded to by Brother Becu.

The Executive Committee feels it to be its duty, on the occasion of this Congress, to declare that Brother Becu has performed his new tasks entirely in accordance with its expectations, in spite of the fact that our Acting General Secretary-Treasurer was from the outset called upon to face very special and difficult tasks in addition to his normal duties.

Accordingly I have the pleasant duty of proposing, on behalf of the Executive Committee, that Brother Omer Becu be elected General Secretary-Treasurer of the ITF.

THE PRESIDENT: I propose that Comrade Becu be chosen by acclamation as General Secretary of the ITF.

Amid a burst of applause Omer Becu, Acting General Secretary and former President of the ITF, was elected General Secretary.

O. BECU *General Secretary*: It is not without emotion that I rise to thank you warmly for electing me General Secretary of this great organization, and for the confidence you thus place in me. I have been connected with the work of the ITF for something like twenty years, directly and indirectly, without ever thinking that this great office of General Secretary might be placed on my shoulders. Up to now I have only rendered small services to the ITF, though I have rendered them to the best of my ability, but now, as a result of your decision, I shall have to undertake greater tasks and responsibilities. These I will also perform as well as I possibly can, and I hereby pledge myself to place myself entirely at the disposal of the ITF, whilst recognizing that I shall only be able to fulfil this great task if I can rely on the support of all of you. I do not regard myself as taking the place of your former general secretaries Edo Fimmen and J. H. Oldenbroek, but rather as one who has been appointed by you to continue the policy which has been laid down by them. It will be a great fight, and certainly difficult days lie in front of us. It will be a fight for the betterment of the lot of all workers, the transport workers in particular – a fight for freedom and democracy.

I want you to know that as General Secretary I expect the strong unions affiliated with the ITF to help the weak ones. That is what the ITF has always done, and will continue to do. And there is one other principle we have always accepted in the ITF, and which personally I have always admired: the principle that the small unions in the ITF have just as much to say as the big ones, and that there is no question of applying vetoes. As I have said, I want to continue that policy of my predecessors, and I thank the Congress and all affiliated organizations for the help and support they are going to give me.

Finally let me express my thanks for the gift of flowers from Mrs Oldenbroek. It is a gift and a gesture which I appreciate very deeply.

THE PRESIDENT: I thank Comrade Becu for the words he has addressed to us and I congratulate him on his election to the General Secretaryship of the ITF. I also thank him for his willingness to accept this great task, and I hope, on behalf of all those who are here today, that he will succeed in accomplishing it.

We will now go on to elect the Assistant General Secretary. I propose that Comrade Paul Tofahrn be confirmed, amid applause, in his office.

Amid applause Paul Tofahrn was reelected as Assistant General Secretary of the ITF.

P. TOFAHRN *Assistant General Secretary*: I thank my comrades for the confidence which they have shown in me by reelecting me. As in the past, I will devote all my energies to the ITF and hope thus to justify your confidence.

THE PRESIDENT: I congratulate Comrade Tofahrn on his reelection. We are happy in the good relations which exist, in the Secretariat, between General Secretary Becu and his assistant Paul Tofahrn.

We have now elected all the governing bodies and officers of the ITF, and before I bring today's session to a close it only remains for me to thank all the members of the late General Council, Executive Committee and Management Committee for their services during the last two years, and to congratulate those who have today been elected to these bodies.

The Congress then adjourned until the following morning.

Immediately following this session of the Congress a meeting was held of the newly elected General Council for the purpose of choosing the President of the ITF. Robert Bratschi, who had acted as President since Omer Becu was appointed Acting General Secretary, was unanimously chosen amid applause.

On the evening of 28 July the two German organizations affiliated with the ITF offered to delegates to the Congress a dinner in honour of the former General Secretary of the ITF, who laid down his office in February 1950 on his election as General Secretary of the newly founded International Confederation of Free Trade Unions.

Saturday 29 July 1950

MORNING SESSION

Resolution on the War in Korea THE PRESIDENT announced that one of the Finnish delegates wished to make a statement in connection with the Resolution on the War in Korea which had been adopted the precious day.

R. TUORI *Finnish Railwaymen's Union*: Being in full agreement with the point of view with regard to the Resolution on the War in Korea that has been expressed by Wälläri and other comrades, I should like to have it placed on record that the Finnish Railwaymen's Union, the Finnish Chauffeurs' Union and the Finnish Locomotivemen's Union abstained from voting on this resolution. The Finnish trade union movement wishes to have nothing to do with power politics, but to devote itself exclusively to work for the improvement of the social and economic position of the workers. We do not only talk of democracy but have done a great deal to preserve democracy, in the Western sense of the word, in the Finnish trade union movement. We further adduce, in justification of our position, that Finland belongs neither to the group of countries that has signed the Atlantic Pact nor to that comprised in the Marshall Plan. This fact also is an indication of our independence and neutrality in matters connected with high politics.

Election of Committee of Auditors: Comrades W. T. Potter and J. Haworth were reelected to the Committee of Auditors.

Domicile of the ITF item 9 of the Agenda

It was unanimously decided that London should continue to be the domicile of the ITF.

Reports of Sectional Conferences: P. TOFAHRN *Assistant General Secretary* submitted, in his capacity as Rapporteur, the following three reports, of the Conferences of the Railwaymen's and Road Transport Workers' Sections and the Joint Conference held by the same two Sections. All three Reports were approved without discussion.

Report of the Conference of the Railwaymen's Section: The conference of the railwaymen's section took place on 26 July. Representatives from affiliated organizations of the following countries were present:

Austria	Luxemburg
Belgium	Netherlands
Canada <i>by proxy</i>	Norway
Denmark	Saar
Finland	Spain
France	Sweden
Germany	Switzerland

Great Britain
Greece
Italy

United States
Uruguay

1) **Election of Chairman:** MR R. BRATSCHI *Switzerland* was elected to the Chair for this Conference only. Mr P. Tofahrn was in attendance as Secretary of the section.

2) **Report on Activities of the Section:** The report on activities of the section up to 31 December was approved without discussion.

3) **Hours of Work:** Since this item had been discussed in the plenary session and a decision reached on it, no discussion took place at the Section Conference.

4) **Report on Matters in Hand:** The Secretary reported that resulting from the International Railwaymen's Conference, which had been held at Innsbruck in August 1949, the following items figured on the programme of work:

1) Hours of work in the railway industry. This item had now been settled by the decision of this Congress;

2) Investigation into hygiene and comfort in railway premises;

3) The structure of railway administrations and the means it afforded to railway workers to participate in railway management;

4) Survey of the present position and trends of railway *motive power in the world. The general part of this survey had already been supplied in English only to certain affiliated organizations;*

5) Investigation into the national regulations for the protection of staff working on the line.

THE CHAIRMAN invited the delegates to discuss the work in hand of the section so that a programme of work could be fixed for the next two years. MR JOUSTRA *Netherlands* suggested that the Secretariat should make a detailed investigation of the development of railway signalling and telecommunications as this development was of great importance to the categories of staff affected.

THE CHAIRMAN suggested that it should be left to the Secretariat to fix the programme of work for the next two years. This was agreed to.

5) **Appointment of Section Committee:** The Secretary reported that at the 1948 Oslo Congress an Experts' Committee of five members had been set up who had given valuable assistance to the Secretariat. The composition of that Experts' Committee was as follows:

<i>Country</i>	<i>Name of Delegate</i>
Benelux	G. Devaux
France	R. Degris
Germany	H. Jahn
Great Britain	J. B. Figgins
Scandinavia	H. Blomgren

After a discussion whether five members were sufficient or whether this number should be enlarged it was agreed to enlarge the committee by two members, one from Austria and one from Switzerland; the names of these two delegates to be submitted to the Secretary by 28 July.

6) **Next Section Conference: Place, Time and Agenda:** MR LANDSKROON *Netherlands* extended an invitation, on behalf of the Netherlands Railwaymen's and Tramwaymen's Union, to hold the 1951 railwaymen's conference at Utrecht, Holland. This invitation was accepted with thanks. The Conference decided to leave both the date and agenda of the 1951 conference to the Secretariat; the latter to be fixed in conjunction with the Section Committee.

Report of the Conference of the Road Transport Workers' Section: The Conference of the Road Transport Workers' Section took place on 25 July. Representatives from the following affiliated organizations were present: Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, Great Britain, Holland, Italy, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland.

1) **Election of Chairman of Session:** Mr J. Christensson *Sweden* was elected to the Chair. Mr P. Tofahrn was in attendance as Secretary of the Section.

2) **Report on Activity of the Section:** The report on the activities of the Section up to 31 December 1949 was approved after some discussion.

3) **Hours of Work:** Since this item had been discussed in the plenary session, and a decision reached on it, no discussion took place at the Section Conference.

4) **Hours of Work in Long Distance Road Passenger and Freight Services:** The Secretary reported that work on this question had come to a standstill after the Paris Section Conference, because it was undecided whether a convention on this question should be based on forty or forty-eight hours work per week.

The Belgian representatives drew attention to the various problems, especially in road passenger transport caused by the use of vehicles with larger seating capacity and a general speed-up in the services resulting in higher productivity of the drivers.

The representative of Great Britain gave a brief resumé of the measures taken by his organization to obtain consideration for the men operating such services, i.e., by way of higher pay, extra payment for Saturday afternoon and Sunday, the payment for meal-breaks, and paid holidays. Where a speed-up in the services took place, this fact had been used in support of claims for increased wages and shortening of spreadover.

The Swedish delegate explained the present regulations in force with regard to hours of work in long distance road passenger and freight transport in Scandinavia. While the Swedish regulations were adequate, he made the point that due to the rapid development of international road transport on the Continent of Europe it was of utmost importance for the ITF to make an

urgent and thorough investigation of the whole problem of hours of work, manning of vehicles and safety on the road.

A proposal by the British delegation to examine separately the problems in passenger and commercial transport was accepted and the Section Conference agreed unanimously to instruct the Section Committee to give urgent consideration to the question of hours of work in long distance road transport.

5) Report on Matters in Hand: The Secretary reported that resulting from the Paris *October 1949* Conference the following items figure on the programme of work:

- a Transport of dangerous loads;
- b Safety on the road;
- c Method of issuing tickets;
- d Employment of two drivers with rest periods taken on the vehicle.

The Belgian representative stressed the importance of the provision of concise reports on working conditions being made available by the Secretariat to affiliated organizations. He suggested that affiliated organizations should supply the Secretariat with the broad outlines of their collective agreements and that the Secretariat should summarize and issue them. Replying, the Secretary drew attention to the volume and difficulty of the task and appealed to affiliated organizations for their co-operation in this work. He added that to deal properly with all items on the programme, the Secretariat needed the assistance of a technical committee.

After a full discussion the Conference decided to leave the order of priority of the subjects to be dealt with to the Section Committee.

6) Appointment of Section Committee: After a comprehensive discussion on the size of the Section Committee the British delegation proposed that in view of the complexity of the problems involved, organizations willing and able to give help should appoint a delegate and a substitute, one drawn from passenger transport and the other from commercial transport, so providing an opportunity to have expert information in relation to both Sections.

Delegates and substitutes were subsequently appointed from the following countries:

Belgium, Denmark, France, Finland, Germany, Great Britain, Holland, Italy, Norway.

The Swedish representative requested to be permitted to consult his delegation, while the representatives from Austria and Switzerland declined to nominate.

The Conference decided to leave the election of a chairman of the Section to the Section Committee.

7) Next Section Conference: Agenda, Time and Place: The Conference decided to leave it to the Secretariat and Section Committee to fix the date, place and agenda of the next Section Conference.

Report of the Joint Conference of the Railwaymen's and Road Transport Workers' Sections: The Joint Conference of the Railwaymen's and Road Transport Workers' Sections was held during the afternoon of Saturday, 22 July 1950. Brother R. Bratschi (Swiss Railwaymen) was unanimously elected to preside over the Conference.

The purpose of the Conference was to consider Item five of the Congress Agenda, Hours of Work in Railways and Road Transport, particularly in relation to the question of the reduction of working hours, a question which had been discussed both at Congress and Sectional Conferences of the ITF. As there was a close relationship between the railways and road transport in so far as working hours were concerned, the Executive Committee had decided to devote a joint conference of these two sections of the ITF to the question.

After the Secretary of the Railwaymen's and Road Transport Workers' Sections, Brother P. Tofahrn, had briefly recalled the history of the previous discussions on this question, as set out in Congress Document No. XXI.C-5, ten speakers took part in the discussion which ensued.

BROTHER J. CHRISTENSSON *Scandinavian Transport Workers' Federation* reported on the attitude of the road transport workers of the different Scandinavian countries towards the question. That attitude was summed up by the resolution which had been adopted by the Conference of Tramway and Bus Workers, held at Utrecht in May 1948, which called for the adoption of a new International Convention on hours of work and rest periods in road transport. The Scandinavian road transport workers appreciated the great difficulties in the way of further reductions in working hours, but considered a shortening of the working week essential as a compensation for the speeding up of work and heavier demands made on those employed in the industry. The experience gained in connection with the forty-eight-hour week – a demand which had not yet been realized in all countries – had shown that the strength of the trade union movement and the economic position of the countries were two factors which played a very important role. They would also greatly affect the chances of realizing the further demand for a forty-hour week for road transport workers.

BROTHER H. JAHN *German Railwaymen* said that since the International Railwaymen's Conference held in Innsbruck the previous year the German railwaymen had revised their attitude towards the question. Then they had still considered that introduction of a forty-hour week would hardly be practicable or even desirable. Meanwhile a serious unemployment position had arisen in Germany, reaching the figure of one and a half million unemployed. The railways were also affected and 45,000 redundant men had already been dismissed. Such a situation also created a serious political problem. Six million unemployed in Germany had assisted Hitler's rise to power, and it was imperative to prevent unemployment from playing once

again into the hands of political demagogues. When the railway administration proposed to lay off a further 20,000 workers in addition to the 45,000 dismissed already, the non-salaried railwaymen as a whole, 330,000 in number, agreed to accept a reduction of the working week to forty-five hours, with the loss of three hours wages, rather than condemn 20,000 to unemployment. At the time of the previous dismissals there were still prospects of re-absorption by other industries, but this was no longer the case. In view of the seriousness of the unemployment position and its industrial and political implications the German Railwaymen were very strongly in favour of a gradual reduction of working hours from forty-eight to forty, and they hoped that a recommendation to that effect would go forward from the Conference to the plenary Congress.

BROTHER A. VERCROYCE *Belgian Tramwaymen* expressed his surprise that the Executive Committee of the ITF should have put forward a draft resolution which stated the forty-hour week to be impossible of attainment in the present circumstances. In 1946 the Zurich Congress had adopted a resolution which demanded the introduction of a forty-hour week at a time when there was no question of economic depression, and now, with a serious unemployment problem taking shape in one European country after another, there was a change of mind. In his opinion it would be fatal for the trade unions to take up a weak attitude in face of this problem and thus to give the Communists a powerful weapon in their attack on the democratic forces. He urged that the original decision be maintained, and that the ICFTU be asked to take up the demand for a forty-hour week as a question of vital importance to the workers' movement as a whole.

BROTHER R. CLERC *French Railwaymen* recalled that the French railwaymen had secured the forty-hour week in 1937, but had lost it again because the reactionary forces were able to take advantage of the competition which was carried on by transport undertakings which did not apply the forty hours. Following the liberation, there had been a return to the forty-hour week, but on the condition that 8 hours should be worked weekly at overtime rates. This compromise had been agreed to in order to preserve the principle of the forty-hour week and to be able to arrive more easily at a strict application of the principle as soon as the manpower position permitted. The present compromise was also made necessary by the reduction of thirty to forty per cent in the purchasing power of wages. He hoped that the ITF would maintain the principle of the forty hours, as to abandon it would weaken the French unions in their struggle against the Communists. On the other hand, it was necessary to maintain sufficient flexibility. As long as anything up to fifty-six hours were worked in competitive industries, the railways could not dispense with the eight additional hours. The question of hours was one with many implications which affected not only all categories of transport workers but

the workers as a whole, and he therefore supported the suggestion that the ICFTU should be requested to take up the question with a view to the best possible solution.

BROTHER S. CHRISTIANSSON *Swedish Railwaymen* said that the Scandinavian railwaymen subscribed wholeheartedly to the demand for a forty-hour week, but fully appreciated the difficulties of realizing it. He was impressed by the generosity of the German railwaymen, who had agreed to accept a reduction in weekly earnings in order to save their fellow workers from unemployment. But he nevertheless considered the policy a dangerous one. If there were to be any sacrifices, they should be shouldered by the community as a whole, and not by one section alone. Moreover the reduction in the wages level which was the consequence of such a policy was calculated to have repercussions of a serious kind in the shape of accentuated international competition. The Scandinavians were also dubious about the French system of eight additional hours at overtime rates, as such a practice was calculated to convert the forty-hour week into a means of increasing wages rather than reducing hours. In Scandinavia the forty-hour week was desired strictly as a means of protecting workers against the excessive speeding up of work. The Scandinavians were prepared to support the draft resolution which had been put forward by the Executive Committee of the ITR, but desired the addition of a clause which requested the ILO to make an inquiry into the question of working hours with a view to the introduction of a forty-hour week over a period, say, of five years.

BROTHER V. ÜBELEIS *Austrian Railwaymen* said that Austria too was experiencing an unemployment problem. With the exception of the United Kingdom, the same apparently applied to other countries. Unless there was a war, he was afraid that eventually the unemployment problem might become very acute again, and it was known what that meant in political terms. The method adopted in Germany, of a reduction of hours without a corresponding adjustment in wages, was in his opinion nothing less than part-time working, and in its worst form at that. Nor did he favour the French system, which meant that the shorter working week only existed on paper. The Austrian railwaymen considered that the only real solution lay in the direction of a gradual reduction of working hours to forty a week. It was clear that this could only be achieved if accompanied by a corresponding rise in productivity, in order that the aggregate volume of production should not decline. In this connection we had to view with concern the fact that since the war there had been a decline in productivity in practically all the countries of Europe since the war.

BROTHER E. WELTER *Saar Railwaymen* subscribing to the arguments in favour of a forty-hour week which had been advanced from the economic point of view, laid special emphasis on the political implications. Brother

Jahn had already mentioned that there were something like 1,500,000 unemployed workers in Western Germany alone, and apparently the same problem was affecting other countries, both in the transport and other industries. He reminded delegates that the 6,000,000 unemployed of the Weimar Republic had supplied many recruits to Hitler's movement and urged it was imperative to prevent recurrence of unemployment from giving an impetus to Communist tendencies. He supported the Swedish proposal for amending the draft resolution with a clause asking for an international convention based on the forty-hour week, but would prefer it to ask for a rapid introduction of the shorter week instead of a gradual introduction spread over five years. He drew special attention to the distinction still made between hours of work and hours of duty, which resulted in railway workers being required to work spreadovers of up to ten, twelve and more hours a day. It was the duty of the ITF to press for a reduction of these periods. The position was even more serious in road transport, where sixty hours and more were still worked, and at low rates of wages at that. It was imperative to make efforts to stop the unfair competition which this involved for other industries.

BROTHER R.V.D. WEERDT *Dutch Railwaymen* said that the Dutch delegation supported the draft resolution before the conference. At Innsbruck they had already declared that they could not subscribe to a demand for a speedy introduction of a forty-hour week – not because they were opposed to the principle, far from it, but because of the practical difficulties. It was not possible to reduce hours further on the railways, while it was still permissible to work up to fifty-five hours on the roads. It was true that road transport did not always avail itself of the possibility of the longer hours permitted by law, but the final solution would have to wait until the same yardstick was applied to the two transport industries. He was surprised that Brother Vercruyce was so insistent about the principle of forty hours, as at a Benelux Conference held earlier in the year agreement had been reached, with the assent of the Belgians, on a resolution on the same lines as the one before the conference in Stuttgart. The Dutch delegation agreed that the ITF must work in the direction of a forty-hour week, and in their opinion this was expressed by the draft resolution. There must be an integral application of any reduction of hours decided on, and the progress made would naturally depend upon the possibilities of the economic and social position.

BROTHER J.G. BATY *British Locomotivemen* stressed that the question of the working week could not be considered in isolation from other questions. It was bound up with the whole question of the social structure of society. Hours of duty and other conditions of service involved also financial questions of a far-reaching nature. He could not agree with those who thought that a reduction of working hours would in itself provide a solution of the problems of unemployment and redundancy. To overcome the difficulties it was ne-

cessary to attack the causes which underlay them. He submitted that in order to do that it was in the first place necessary to undertake a drive towards social progress, and how to bring this about was the question to be solved. The object would not be solved merely by passing a resolution, but it was necessary to apply ourselves to bringing about a social state of affairs which assured people of satisfactory social conditions. Only if there was a new conception of social justice, related to the needs of the people, could the democratic order prevail. The railwaymen of Great Britain were as much in favour of a shorter working week as anybody, but they felt that there were more urgent problems to be solved before real progress could be made with such an object. With this slight reservation he subscribed to the draft resolution recommended by the Executive Committee of the ITF.

BROTHER P. FELCE *French Road Transport Workers* said his organization subscribed to the draft resolution. The object of the shorter working week was twofold: to increase the workers' leisure and to combat unemployment, both of which belonged to the primary functions of trade unions. For the time being, however, there was no unemployment problem in France, even if full employment could not be said to have been completely realized. Also they could not press the demand for increased leisure too far at a time when the purchasing power of workers' wages was still far short of an adequate level. In these circumstances it was hardly possible to get the workers' support for a demand for shorter working week; or if the unions succeeded in doing so, the workers would be disappointed in their hopes and would in all probability lose confidence in the trade unions who went too far with such a policy. Consequently the French Road Transport Workers' Union considered that the draft resolution before the Conference offered the best solution that could be found for the time being.

BROTHER G. DEVAUX *Belgian Railwaymen* said the Belgian Railwaymen's Union supported the draft resolution, but proposed a few minor amendments which he thought would bring out its intentions more clearly. Further he subscribed to the Swedish amendment which requested the ILO to make an inquiry into the hours question with a view to the ultimate adoption of a convention based on the forty-hour week. Referring to the Benelux resolution to which Belgium had subscribed, he observed that in the intervening eighteen months there had been a considerable evolution of the economic situation, and this explained the great emphasis which the previous Belgian spokesman had laid upon the forty-hour week. He hoped that it would be possible to do something in Holland about the legal position which still allowed fifty-five hours to be worked in road transport. What at one time was only a theoretical possibility was at others apt to become a hard reality.

BROTHER P. TOFAHRN *Secretary*, summing up, said that various arguments for and against the forty-hour week had been put forward, but thought that

the delegates could subscribe to the draft resolution before the conference. The minor amendments proposed by Devaux could be agreed to and he suggested that their final form be left to be agreed between Devaux and himself. As the resolution was already asking the ILO to make an inquiry into the forty-eight-hour week, we could hardly ask it at the same time to inquire into the forty-hour week. He suggested that Brother Christiansson should withdraw his amendment, and asked the Conference to approve the draft resolution for reference to the plenary session.

BROTHER A. VERCROYCE *Belgian Tramwaymen* said that the draft resolution was a reversal of the decision taken on the subject at Zurich and that Congress would therefore have to revoke that decision before taking the new one. THE CHAIRMAN said that Congress always had the power to take a new decision and that Brother Vercroyce would have the right to oppose the resolution on the floor of the Congress.

After Brother S. Christiansson had withdrawn his amendment the draft resolution was put to the vote and approved, by all votes in favour except seven against, for reference to Congress.

Report of the Conference of the Seafarers' Section: T. YATES *Chairman and Rapporteur* then submitted the following Report of the Conference of the Seafarers' Section which, together with the resolutions it contained, was unanimously approved by the Congress.

The Seafarers' Section held two sessions, one on Tuesday afternoon, 25 July, and the other on Wednesday afternoon, 26 July.

The following unions were represented:

BELGIUM	Belgian Transport Workers' Union, Seafarers' Section
DENMARK	Danish Seamen's Union
FINLAND	Finnish Seamen's Union
FRANCE	French F. O. Seamen's Federation
GERMANY	German Transport and Public Service Workers' Union, Seamen's Section
GREAT BRITAIN	National Union of Seamen Navigators' and Engineer Officers' Union Radio Officers' Union Transport and General Workers' Union
GREECE	Pan-Hellenic Seamen's Federation
ITALY	Italian Seamen's Union
JAPAN	All Japan Seamen's Union
NETHERLANDS	Dutch Transport Workers' Union, Seamen's Section
NORWAY	Norwegian Seamen's Union Norwegian Ships' Engineers' Union Norwegian Navigators' Union
PAKISTAN	Pakistan Transport Workers' Federation

SWEDEN

Swedish Seamen's Union
Swedish Ship Engineers' Union

UNITED STATES Seafarers' International Union of North America

In accordance with the agreed procedure that an officers' representative and a ratings' representative should alternate in the chair, Brother T. Yates (British National Union of Seamen) was chosen to preside over the Conference and to report on the proceedings to the plenary session. Brother D.S. Tennant (British Navigators' and Engineer Officers' Union) was chosen as Vice-Chairman of the Conference.

Brother O. Becu was in attendance as Secretary of the Section and Brother G. Reed as representative of the Asian Secretariat of the ITF. Mr J. Schuil attended as an observer on behalf of the International Labour Office.

War risk bonuses: Before the Conference started on its agenda, reference was made to the war operations which were in progress in certain parts of the world and calculated to involve hazardous service for seafarers. The Seafarers' International Union of North America had recently concluded a new war bonus agreement on the basis of 100% over and above basic pay for service within a defined Korean war zone. An exchange of views took place regarding the stand to be taken in the matter by seafarers' unions in the different countries.

Report on Activities: The Report on the activities of the Seafarers' Section during the years 1948 and 1949, the period under review at the Conference, was unanimously approved.

Seattle Conventions: The unsatisfactory position with regard to ratification of the Seattle Conventions had been a subject of discussion at the Seafarers' Conference held at Amsterdam in April last. The conclusion had been reached that since in the case of certain of the more important conventions there was no prospect of their being ratified in their existing form, it would be more realistic to give certain aspects of these conventions second thoughts, without, however, compromising on the principles, which were essential from the seafarers' point of view. Meanwhile the Seafarers' Section Committee had studied the question further in the light of the views expressed at Amsterdam, and had presented a detailed report on the subject. The report showed that several of the nine Seattle Conventions were now well on the road towards implementation. With certain of the conventions this was not the case, but the obstacles were of such a character that no purpose would be served by attempting to find a solution by way of a revision. In respect of the remaining conventions, including the most important one dealing with wages, hours and manning, it was considered worth while to try to reach a compromise. It was decided to request the ILO to arrange for an early session of the Joint Maritime Commission to deal with the new proposals to be submitted by the seafarers with a view particularly to a revision of the last-mentioned convention.

The report of the Sectional Committee was unanimously approved, except for the abstention of the American representatives, who desired to remain consistent with their previous attitude on the conventions.

Nominal flag transfers: The Sectional Committee also reported on the action taken by the Secretariat on the decision reached at Amsterdam in April last with regard to the prosecution of the boycott against the practice of nominal flag transfers. That decision had been twofold: first, to seek collective negotiations with owners of the ships in question on the basis of defined minimum conditions and to organize boycott action against such owners as refused to apply the minimum conditions; and second, to undertake an organizing campaign among the crews of the ships, under the auspices of the ITF in so far as they were not eligible for direct membership of seafarers' unions belonging to the ITF. It was reported that the preparatory work both for the boycott action and for the organizing work was completed and that the campaign against sub-standard ships could now be started in earnest. After note had been taken of the views expressed by the Estonian, Norwegian, Danish and Italian representatives, the report of the Sectional Committee on the question was unanimously approved.

BROTHER P. DE VRIES *Dutch M.N. Officers' Union* observed that the administrative work in connection with this action was putting a heavy strain on the Secretariat, and at his suggestion it was decided to request the Management Committee of the ITF to consider the possibility of engaging an additional assistant for the work. Brother George Reed, who had rendered invaluable service at the Asian Secretariat of the ITF, was warmly recommended for the position.

BROTHER J. HAWK *Seafarers' International Union of North America* on behalf of the Canadian District of the SIU made an inquiry about the recent transfer of some seventy to eighty Canadian ships to British registry. It was agreed that the matter should be discussed further between him and the British representatives.

Competition in the North Sea and Baltic Sea trades: The Conference considered a report which had been presented by a sub-committee appointed at Amsterdam to study the problem of the serious competition which was operative in the near sea and inter-coastal trades of the countries of N. Western Europe.

Note was taken of comments by two members of the Sub-Committee, one by Brother J. SVENSSON *Swedish Seamen*, that it would be desirable for representatives of the ITF to be invited to take part in negotiations between shipowners' and seafarers' representatives in Germany, and the other by Brother P. DE VRIES *Dutch M.N. Officers*, concerning the bearing of the official Dutch policy of wage restraint on their possibilities of action.

The Conference then endorsed the report of the Sub-Committee and adopted the following three resolutions:

1) Resolution on regional minimum wages and conditions: Having regard to the interdependence of the shipping industry as between one country and another and to the threat which low wages and conditions of service in one country constitutes to seafarers' conditions in other countries:

Having regard in particular to the wide differences in seafarers' wages and conditions between countries participating in the near sea and inter-coastal trades of the North and Baltic seas area;

This Conference of the Seafarer's Section of the ITF, meeting at Stuttgart on 25 and 26 July on the occasion of the Biennial Congress of the ITF,

Recognizes the need for minimizing the existing differences; and

Calls upon the seafarer's organizations concerned to accept the wages and conditions obtaining in United Kingdom ships as a fair average standard for the area, without prejudice to better standards already prevailing, and to make every possible effort in their respective countries to raise seafarer's wages and conditions to that regional level.

2) Resolution on fixing of regional freight rates: Having regard to the fierce competition which is operating in the near sea and inter-coastal trades of the North and Baltic seas area and to the danger of freight rates in these trades falling to a level inconsistent with economic operation;

Having regard, further, to the danger of such a situation both to the existence of a healthy near sea and inter-coastal industry and to the maintenance of a decent standard of living for the seafarers who are employed in it;

This Conference of the Seafarers' Section of the ITF, held at Stuttgart on 25 and 26 July 1950 on the occasion of the Biennial of the ITF,

Draws attention to the importance of the near sea and inter-coastal trades for the national economies of the several countries;

Expresses the view that adequate minimum freight rates should be established for the different trades and services within the area in question;

Hopes that such a policy will be adopted by the International Chamber of Shipping and the shipowners associated with it; and

Declares the willingness of the organized seafarers concerned to cooperate towards ensuring the effectiveness of any steps taken in that direction.

3) Resolution on a Regional Maritime Conference: Having regard to the differences in seafarers' wages and conditions of service as between the countries participating in the near sea and inter-coastal trades of West and North Western Europe – France, United Kingdom and Eire, Belgium, Holland, Germany, Denmark, Norway, Sweden and Finland – and to the detrimental effect of these differences upon seafarer's standards;

Having regard, further, to the fierce competition which is making itself felt and to the threat which it constitutes to the very existence of these trades;

This Conference of the Seafarers' Section of the ITF, held at Stuttgart on 25 and 26 July 1950 on the occasion of the Biennial Congress of the ITF,

Urges the need of establishing regional basic wages and conditions of service for the seafarers of the region defined;

Invites the International Labour Office to submit the question to an early session of the Joint Maritime Commission with a view to the convening of a Regional Maritime Conference for North and North Western Europe; and Requests the International Labour Office to make for the purpose of such a Conference a preparatory survey of seafarers' wages and conditions of employment and of all other matters pertaining to the near sea and inter-coastal trades of the area in question.

Asian Regional Maritime Conference: The seafarers' side of the Joint Maritime Commission had been consulted as to the desirability of holding a Tripartite Maritime Conference of Asian countries and other countries employing Asian seamen, the suggestion for which emanated from the First Asian Regional Conference of the ILO held in Ceylon in January this year.

After consultations, the ILO had been advised that the seafarers' side were in favour of the proposed conference, provided that the JMC were given an opportunity of previously considering the agenda of such conference and the report to be submitted to it by the ILO. The action of the Secretariat in the matter was approved by the Section Conference.

BROTHER F. AHMED *Pakistan Transport Workers' Federation* said that he was in favour of the proposed Asian regional conference, and had indeed sponsored the original proposal, though he would prefer Asian seafarers' questions to be dealt with at a general or a maritime session of the International Labour Conference. Asian seafarers desired above all to co-operate with those in other parts of the world and ultimately aimed at raising their standards to the level of other seafarers.

He took the opportunity to pay tribute to the great services rendered to Asian seafarers by Bro. Reed and expressed the hope that he would be able to continue to render such services at the Secretariat of the ITF.

He also put forward a resolution pointing to the difficulties experienced in the seamen's movement following the partition of the Indian sub-continent, and containing proposals for meeting the situation, viz., establishment of an Indo-Pakistan Maritime Board on a tripartite basis; formulation of a scheme of social security for Indian and Pakistani seamen; and an appeal to Indian and Pakistani seamen and their organizations to place their movement on a sound basis.

The Section Conference subscribed to the sentiments of the resolution, but considered that its terms should be extended to comprise all seafarers of the Asian Region. It was decided that a further session of the Section should be held which would agree the terms of a wider resolution and try to secure its submission to the plenary session of Congress.

BROTHER H. KAGEYAMA *All Japan Seamen's Union* also urged the importance of raising seamen's standards in the Asian region and stated that he would supply the Secretariat in writing with specific suggestions concerning the course to be pursued.

Ballasting of ships: Referring to the decision taken at the Oslo Congress, Brother D.S. Tennant reported that the British unions had made successful representations to the appropriate Ministry, and that a special committee had been appointed which was to deal with the ballasting of ships and on which the British seafarers' organizations were strongly represented. He promised to supply the Secretariat with a written report on the subject.

Vigilance Committee: With reference to the Vigilance Committee, set up jointly by the Seafarers', Dockers' and Inland Navigation Workers' Sections of the ITF for the purpose of organizing a counter-campaign against subversive Communist activity in the maritime and waterfront industries, it was proposed that the next meeting of the Committee should be held from 27 to 30 August in the Mediterranean area, preferably in Naples. The Conference endorsed the Secretariat's activities in this field.

North Atlantic Shipping Board: The Section Conference considered the position of the seafarers towards the North Atlantic Shipping Board, recently established by the North Atlantic Council for the purpose of dealing with shipping policy in relation to commitments under the Atlantic Defence Pact.

The British representatives reported that they had already approached the British authorities on the subject and were satisfied that British seafarers would be fully consulted at the appropriate stages in the development.

The Conference agreed that it was imperative for the seafarers to be adequately represented in national and international machinery created to consider the role of merchant shipping in connection with defence policy. The Secretariat was instructed to conduct an inquiry and to take up the question of seafarers' representation on the North Atlantic Shipping Board.

Sectional Committee: It was agreed that in the coming period the Seafarers' Sectional Committee should be composed as follows:

ARGENTINA	Seat left open
BELGIUM	W. Cassiers <i>Officers and Seamen</i>
DENMARK	Th. Laursen <i>Seamen</i>
ESTONIA	Seat left open
FINLAND	N. Wälläri <i>Seamen</i>
FRANCE	A. Français <i>Officers</i> P. Ferri-Pisani <i>Seamen</i>
GERMANY	H. Hildebrand <i>Seamen</i>
GREECE	P. Kalapothakis <i>Seamen</i>
HOLLAND	A. de Boon <i>Seamen</i> and P. de Vries <i>Officers</i>
INDIA	Seat left open
ITALY	U. Romagnoli <i>Seamen</i>

JAPAN	Seat left open
NORWAY	I. Haugen <i>Seamen</i> ; seat for officers left open
PAKISTAN	F. Ahmed <i>Seamen</i>
SWEDEN	A. Söre <i>Officers</i> and J. Svensson <i>Seamen</i>
UNITED KINGDOM	D. S. Tennant <i>Officers</i> and T. Yates <i>Seamen</i>
UNITED STATES	H. Lundeborg <i>Seamen</i> and F. C. May <i>Officers</i>

It was agreed that countries with separate officers' and seamen's organizations should be allowed two members, but that in the event of a vote there would be one vote per country. It was further agreed that members would be entitled to appoint substitutes.

BROTHER T. YATES *British National Union of Seamen* was unanimously elected Chairman of the Seafarers' Section for the coming period, and BROTHER D. S. TENNANT *British Navigators' and Engineer Officers' Union* Vice Chairman. **Next Section Conference:** The agenda as well as the date and place of the next Conference of the Section were left to the Secretariat to decide.

Argentine maritime conflict: Full information was before the Conference concerning the conflict in the Argentine maritime industry. The Conference reaffirmed solidarity with the striking Argentine seafarers and allied workers and associated itself with the resolution adopted on the same subject by the Dockers' Section of the ITF.

Addendum to the Report on the Conference of the Seafarers' Section: The Seafarers' Section held a further meeting on Friday morning, 29 July, to deal with the following two points:

1) a resolution on Asian seafarers and 2) the seat for the Norwegian officers' organizations on the Seafarers' Sectional Committee.

Resolution on Asian Seafarers: The following resolution was unanimously adopted by the meeting:

The International Transport Workers' Federation, assembled in its twenty-first Congress at Stuttgart, Germany, from 21 to 29 July, 1950, having heard and noted the present difficulties of Asian seamen, particularly those of India and Pakistan, having regard to the virtual breakdown of the joint negotiating machinery set up in Calcutta, namely the Calcutta Maritime Board, after India was divided into two independent states, hereby requests the Secretariat:

- To issue* a general appeal to Asian seamen and to their organizations urging the immediate necessity of organizing and re-organizing themselves more effectively, also urging those unions which have not yet affiliated to the ITF to make immediate application for affiliation;
- Also to urge* in particular the desirability of having a joint organization of Indian and Pakistani seamen to promote collectively and safeguard the interests of the seamen of both countries and to render such help and assistance as may be required in the formation of the same;

c) *To formulate a scheme of social security for the benefit of all Asian seamen and to press for its early adoption by all concerned;*

d) *To suggest to the Governments of India and Pakistan and to the ship-owners concerned the desirability of establishing an Indo-Pakistan Maritime Board to regulate employment and other conditions of service for Indian and Pakistani seamen, having regard to the problems arising out of and created by the division of India, and also to offer to all concerned the active support and help of the ITF.*

Norwegian Officers: In reply to an inquiry whether the Norwegian officers' unions had agreed yet on a nomination for a seat on the Sectional Committee, BROTHER I. HAUGEN *Norwegian Seamen* said it was clear that the two officers' unions concerned could not come to an agreement and he therefore nominated BROTHER JOH. E. JOHANSSON *Norwegian Engineer Officers*.

BROTHER O. SKJERVOLL *Norwegian Navigators* said that at Oslo the two Norwegian officers' unions had entered into an agreement that they should alternately appoint a member to the Sectional Committee. It was on that understanding that the Norwegian Navigators had supported the nomination of a representative of the Norwegian Engineer Officers as a member of the Sectional Committee, so that according to the agreement it was now the turn of the Norwegian Navigators to sit on the committee.

BROTHER JOH. E. JOHANSSON remarked that the agreement had been made on the understanding that the Norwegian Navigators' Union would endeavour to bring about the affiliation of other Scandinavian navigators' unions with the ITF and the Scandinavian Transport Workers' Federation. Nothing had been done in this direction and therefore the agreement no longer applied. BROTHER N. WÄLLÄRI *Finnish Seamen* as a point of information said that he understood from the Finnish Navigators' Union that Brother Skjervoll had tried hard to induce them to join the ITF, but nothing had come of it owing to the strong opposition of the Swedish Navigators' Union.

BROTHER T. H. SÖNSTEBY said that the Norwegian Navigators' Union did not belong to the Norwegian TUC and he therefore seconded the nomination of Brother Johansson.

BROTHER O. SKJERVOLL pointed out that his union had applied for admission to the Norwegian TUC but had been turned down.

BROTHER I. HAUGEN said that at one time the Norwegian TUC had aimed at a unified structure and wanted the Navigators' Union to affiliate through the Seamen's Union. This policy had been twice revised, however, in 1938 and 1946, and there was now nothing to prevent the Navigators from seeking affiliation with the TUC. There seemed to be no chance of the officers' unions coming to an agreement, and he nominated Brother Johansson because otherwise the Norwegian Officers would not be represented on the Sectional Committee during the coming period.

BROTHER O.BECU pointed out that since the agreement had been made between the two Norwegian unions and not with the ITF the Conference could not pronounce itself on the matter. He also remarked that membership of a national trade union centre was not a condition of membership of the ITF, so that this point had no direct bearing on the question. He suggested that the matter should be referred to the first meeting of the Sectional Committee, and appealed to the Norwegian unions to come to an understanding in order not to place the ITF in an awkward position.

After BROTHER O.SJKEVOLL had asked that the matter be placed on record, it was agreed to hold the matter over until the first meeting of the Sectional Committee.

The Report on the Conference of the Seafarers' Section, together with the Addendum, was approved by the Congress without discussion.

Report of the Conference of the Dockers' Section: The Dockers' Section met on Monday afternoon, 24 July. Representatives attended from ten countries, viz., Austria one, Belgium three, Denmark one, France one, Germany seven, Holland four, Italy one, Norway one, Sweden one, and United Kingdom two.

Officers BROTHER A.DEAKIN *British Transport and General Workers' Union* was chosen to preside over the Conference and to report on the proceedings to the plenary session of Congress. Brother O.Becu was in attendance as Secretary of the Section.

Report on Activities and Vigilance Committee: These two items on the Agenda, two and five, were taken together. Reports were received, from all the countries represented, on the subversive activities, sometimes accompanied by violence, carried on by Communist elements, in accordance with an international pattern, with a view to hampering economic recovery and progress in the Western European countries. These activities had been largely concentrated on the maritime and waterfront industries and particularly directed at the arms shipments under the Atlantic Pact.

The ITF, through joint conferences of its Dockers' and Seafarers' Sections, had set up a special Vigilance Committee, under the auspices of which affiliated unions intensified and co-ordinated their counteractions. In some countries joint vigilance committees representative of dockers, seafarers and inland navigation workers had been set up in the different ports and these functioned under a national vigilance committee and kept a close watch on Communist activity. The ITF had set up Regional Vigilance Committees – one for the Western European region, one for the Mediterranean region, and one for the Scandinavian and Baltic region – which were acting under the directives of the Central Vigilance Committee and organizing the anti-Communist campaign according to the requirements in the different regions.

The reports from the different countries showed that though the Communists had been able to create ugly incidents, the situation was well under

control. In particular their attempts to slow down arms shipments and Marshal aid cargoes from the United States had been almost completely unsuccessful. There were countries, such as France and Italy, where the Communists were still strongly entrenched in the docks, but the free unions were digging in their heels and with the assistance of the ITF and the unions in other countries hoped to prevail over these enemies.

It was agreed that all the countries should keep the Secretariat of the ITF regularly supplied with information about Communist activities, and particularly with the names of ringleaders behind them, for circulation among all the unions.

The Dockers' Conference then approved the Report on the activities of the Section, particularly the decisions of the Rotterdam Conference of August 1949 setting up the International Vigilance Committee and declaring membership of the Maritime Trades Department of the WFTU to be incompatible with membership of the ITF.

Revision of International Docks Convention: The Secretary reported that the International Dockers' Programme which had been endorsed by the Dockers' Section on the occasion of the Oslo Congress in July 1948 had been taken up with the ILO with a view to a revision of the International Docks Convention. Little progress had been made with the matter, however. The International Docks Convention was not yet in operation, because the necessary ratifications had not been secured, and the experts of the ILO questioned whether a proposal to revise it would improve the prospects of its implementation.

The Conference agreed that the matter could not be allowed to rest and that it become a remit to the next conference of the Section with a view to effective action to secure both implementation of the existing Docks Convention and satisfaction of the further proposals on dockers' questions formulated since the adoption of the Convention.

Limitation of loads: The demand formulated by the Dockers' Section on this question had also been submitted to the ILO. It was closely connected with the previous question and was therefore also referred to the next conference of the Section for appropriate action.

Appointment of Section Committee: In accordance with a recommendation of the Executive Committee of the ITF, the Dockers' Conference decided to set up a Section Committee which would deal with the affairs of the Section between Congresses. The following were chosen to constitute the Committee: BELGIUM: R. Dekeyzer; DENMARK: A. Jensen; FRANCE: F. Ferri-Pisani; GERMANY: H. Hildebrand; HOLLAND: A. de Boon; ITALY: A. Maffei; NORWAY: L. S. Olsen; SWEDEN: Flenström; GREAT BRITAIN: A. Bird; UNITED STATES: O. Ryan.

It was agreed that the Chairman of the Section should be chosen at the first meeting of the Section Committee, the date and place of which should be decided by the Secretariat.

Argentine maritime conflict: This question had been dealt with at a meeting of the Dockers' Section held in London on 14 July, and the representatives from the different countries once more took up position towards the appeal of the affiliated Argentine Maritime Workers' Federation for international sympathetic action in their struggle to preserve the right of free organization in Argentina. It was recognized that the issue was very important and one in which the ITF could not stand aside.

The British representative said that they were extremely anxious to help the Argentine comrades, but that owing to the difficult situation in the British waterside industry it was at the present stage not possible for them to take direct action against Argentine ships.

The German representatives reported that upon receipt of the appeal of the ITF they had immediately placed an embargo on Argentine ships. It was a very difficult thing to do, particularly because of the repercussions on the German export trade and the possible loss of trade relations, but they were still determined to proceed with the action. They drew attention to the difficulties because they were apprehensive of the effect on the standing of the ITF if the action misfired.

The Belgian and Dutch representatives also pointed to the great difficulties of the action, not only because of the danger of Communist exploitation of the situation but because of employers' insistence on the observance of collective agreements. From the reports it was clear, however, that in these countries the boycott of Argentine ships would be carried out with the utmost vigour. A special tribute was paid by the Dutch spokesman to the German union for the splendid solidarity it was showing with the Argentine workers.

Representatives of the three Scandinavian countries gave the assurance that Argentine ships would not be handled in the ports of Denmark, Norway or Sweden.

Subject to the abstention of the British representatives, who gave the assurance, however, that they would do everything in their power to support the boycott, short of strike action against Argentine ships, by trying to prevent the diversion of ships to UK ports and by representations to their own Government, the Conference then endorsed the resolution which had been adopted at the London Conference of the Dockers' Section, reading as follows: '*After a full discussion of the question of the carrying out of the action in support of the Argentine seafarers and dockers who have been on strike since 18 May 1950 for the right to belong to a democratic trade union of their own choice; and taking into consideration the fact that a number of ships have been manned by blacklegs and have thus been able to sail from Argentine ports; the representatives of the dockers present at the meeting of the Dockers' Section of the ITF held in London on 14 July 1950 decide to do everything possible to prevent the loading and discharging of these ships in*

foreign ports, until such time as the Argentine Government respects the right of free association and once more recognizes the General Confederation of Maritime and Allied Trades.'

A. DEAKIN *Chairman and Rapporteur*: 'I submit the Report of the Conference of the Dockers' Section. You can all read it, so I do not propose to say very much about it, except to draw attention to three matters. One is the report on the activities of the Vigilance Committee. You will note that it is intended to continue these activities, directed at controlling and dealing with the activities of the Communists in the ports of the various countries.

The second point has reference to the revision of the International Docks Convention. We regard that as vitally important and ask for urgent action to secure the amendment of the Convention.

The third point to which I want to refer is the Argentine maritime conflict. You will find a resolution about the matter on the last page of the report of the Conference. In connection with the ban, I want to point out that the British representatives entered a reservation as to the type of activity in which we could engage, and the action we could take, in Great Britain. We cannot undertake strike action, for reasons which have been fully explained to the Dockers' Section, but short of that we shall use every means at our disposal to make clear our attitude in relation to the action of the Argentine Government. We have no reason to be grateful to Argentine, which in its trade relationships with Great Britain has over a long time been guilty of what I would describe as blackmail.

As far as we are concerned it is not a question of getting Argentine meat, it is that at the moment there are very practical difficulties associated with British ports which make strike action impossible.

With that explanation I ask the Congress to accept the Report of the Conference of the Dockers' Section.

H. HILDEBRAND *German Public Services and Transport Union*: It is my duty to give the Congress a piece of information. This morning it came to our knowledge that yesterday afternoon the Public Prosecutor in Hamburg initiated penal proceedings against our Union and its responsible President, Comrade Kummernuss, on the grounds that the Union is liable for any damages caused by the boycott. In a declaration entered it is stated that our Union and its President must be aware that commercial relations are above all necessary for the economic recovery and further development of the German Federal Republic, and that these relations are hindered by the attitude taken up by the Union and its President.

I also have to inform you that it also became known in Hamburg yesterday afternoon that the s.s. Cordoba, an Argentine ship carrying 600 tons of sisal, will arrive on 5 August. The vessel carries in addition 1,200 tons of transit

goods, and since yesterday all the interests concerned – Chambers of Commerce, employers' associations and shipowners' associations – have been bringing pressure to bear on the Hamburg authorities to ensure that Argentine ships are loaded and discharged.

I give you this information so that you may have an idea of the difficulties under which we are carrying on the struggle, and how strong the opposition is, but after consulting with Comrade Kummernuss I can say that in spite of these threats the German dockers are holding to the position they took up when the ITF declared its boycott.

The Report of the Conference of the Dockers' Section was then approved, and the Section's resolution on the boycott of Argentine ships confirmed.

O.BECU General Secretary: Now that with the adoption of the reports of the Dockers' and Seafarers' Conferences our action in placing a ban on Argentine ships has been confirmed by Congress, I should like to inform you that the latest information received from Argentina is that on the sixty-first day of the strike it is still going as strongly as on the first day.

Furthermore, I received the day before yesterday a telegram from our Dockers' Union in Antwerp. I did not want to communicate it to you until the two reports of the Dockers' and Seafarers' Sections had been endorsed. It reads:

'Argentine steamer Rio Guleguay arrived Antwerp from Hamburg. Antwerp dockers refused handle ship. Will keep you informed.'

You will probably recall that this ship was in Hamburg, where it tried to load, but the Hamburg dockers refused to touch it. It tried to get away by its own means, and eventually succeeded in reaching Antwerp, and now the dockers have refused to handle it there.

Report of the Conference of the Fishermen's Section: The Conference of the Fishermen's Section took place on Sunday afternoon, 24 July. Representatives from seven affiliated countries were present as follows: Belgium one, Germany three, Holland one, Japan one, Norway four, U.K. two and US two.

BROTHER W.SINCLAIR *British Transport and General Workers' Union* was elected to the chair, Brother J.Hawk was appointed to report on the proceedings of the conference to the plenary Congress, Brother O.Becu was in attendance as Secretary of the Section.

Report on Activities: This item on the agenda was taken in conjunction with the next item:

ILO enquiry and Committee of Experts: The American representatives referred to the international conference which was held at Washington in January 1949 and resulted in the adoption of a treaty for the conservation of the North-West Atlantic fisheries. After overcoming strong opposition from the

State Department, the SIU had succeeded in having a representative, Brother Pat McHugh, appointed a member of the US delegation to the conference. Conferences of this kind were important to the workers of the fishing industry, and the Americans hoped that on future occasions labour representatives from more countries would be able to take part.

The Norwegian representatives reported a similar position in connection with the International Whaling Commission, which was in session at the time in Oslo. Norway was the only country to have appointed labour representatives to this conference whereas the owners were represented from various countries.

The Fishermen's Conference decided to register a strong protest against the tendency to exclude labour representatives from international discussions dealing with questions which affected the workers' side as much as it did the owners'. It was agreed that the Secretariat should be kept regularly informed of developments of this character, so that the necessary action could be taken to ensure the widest possible representation of labour.

The German representative asked the ITF to support a claim for the readmission of Germany to whaling operations. A German factory ship was being placed under the American flag and was to be manned with a German crew. He felt that if German wages and conditions were to apply it should operate under the German flag, or if it sailed under the American flag that American conditions should apply. Otherwise there was a danger of lower German conditions being used to lower those of other countries. The question did not figure on the agenda and it was decided to postpone discussion until a later occasion.

THE SECRETARY reported that the international programme of demands formulated for the Fishermen's Section had been taken up with the ILO, but so far little progress had been made. It had been hoped to press the matter energetically through a Committee of Fishery Experts which the ILO had been asked to set up. Owing to opposition from the US and UK Governments, however, the Governing Body of the ILO had not been able to appoint the Committee of Experts, with the result that it had not been possible to make headway in this direction.

It was decided to submit two resolutions for adoption by the plenary Congress, one inviting the ILO to give renewed consideration to the question of a Committee on Fishery Questions, and the other calling for representation of fishermen's organization in international discussions dealing with questions of interest to their industry.

Progress of Trade Union Organization among Fishermen, including Small Owners and Inshore Fishermen: From the discussion, in which reports were given for all the countries represented, it appeared that the organizational position differed from country to country. In some the unions considered it

desirable to organize only wage-earning fishermen, whereas others extended their field to the ancillary trades.

It was agreed that the Secretariat of the ITF should make a detailed investigation into this question and report to the next conference of the Section, which would decide which categories of fishermen should come within its scope and, if others besides wage-earning fishermen were to be admitted, whether all should be in one section or whether subsections should be created. To start with the section would be confined to wage-earning fishermen.

Practice Regarding Gross and Net Proceeds: Reports from the different countries again showed considerable differences in the practice of the various countries. It was decided that the Secretariat should also make a detailed investigation into the wage structure of the fishing industries of the different countries, and that the matter should come up for further discussion at the next conference of the Section.

Election of Section Committee: In accordance with a recommendation of the Executive Committee, a Sectional Committee was appointed for the purpose of attending to the business of the Section during the periods between congresses. It was decided that there should be one representative from each country associated with the Section, and the following were chosen: BELGIUM: R. Dekeyzer; FRANCE: seat left open; GERMANY: to be appointed by the Union; HOLLAND: R. Loan Sr; JAPAN: to be appointed; NORWAY: to be agreed between the Norwegian unions concerned; UNITED KINGDOM: T. Birkett for fisheries and S. James for whaling; UNITED STATES: P. McHugh.

It was understood that members of the Sectional Committee could be accompanied by advisers and appoint substitutes. The Section Committee would choose its Chairman at its first meeting, and he would also act as Chairman of the Section until the next Congress.

Agenda, Date and Place of Next Section Conference: It was decided that the following questions should be placed on the agenda of the next Section Conference; 1 Fishermen's International Charter; 2 Organization of fishermen; 3 Wages structure; 4 Hours and manning; 5 Safety; 6 Accommodation; 7 Social Insurance.

The Secretariat would do all in its power to collect information on these questions, so that the fishermen's representatives might be adequately equipped when they could be taken up through the machinery of the ILO.

It was left to the Secretariat to fix the date and place of the next Section Conference.

Resolution submitted by the Japanese Seamen's Union: The Japanese Seamen's Union had submitted a resolution asking for the lifting of the restrictions on Japan's participation in fisheries. The Japanese representative explained that the purpose of the resolution was to increase the supply of fish to Japan's home market, *and to help to build up the Japanese economy.*

The American representatives said that Japanese fish supplies were already being dumped on the American market at prices which threatened to break up the American fishing industry.

They could not subscribe to the resolution at this time and felt that a full investigation of this matter should be pursued and a report submitted to the Fishermen's Section at their next meeting.

The Japanese representative repeated that the Union's purpose in proposing the resolution was to raise the Japanese workers' food supplies, and thus also to counteract the spread of undesirable political tendencies. He was unaware that Japanese fish was being sold at low prices in the American market and said he would inquire into the matter.

It was agreed that the Norwegian representative, who was a member of the Resolutions Committee, should bring the sentiments of the Fishermen's Conference to the notice of that committee.

Resolution on Labour representation at International Conferences and Inquiries of the Fisheries Industry: THIS CONGRESS of the International Transport Workers' Federation, meeting at Stuttgart from 21 to 29 July 1950, *Notes* with deep concern that international Fishery Treaty conferences and inquiries for the purpose of dealing with important problems of the fisheries industry are held by governments without adequate participation of fishermen's representatives;

Considers that the fishermen's interest in these discussions is as great as that of any other section of the industry;

Registers a strong protest against the reluctance of governments to admit fishermen's representatives to international discussions affecting their industry and

Instructs the Secretariat to make appropriate representations with a view to rectifying the position.

Resolution on Fishermen's International Social Programme: THIS CONGRESS of the International Transport Workers' Federation, meeting at Stuttgart from 21 to 29 July 1950,

Notes that so far little progress has been made by the International Labour Organization in dealing with social questions of the fisheries industry, and in particular that the establishment of a Committee of Experts on Fishery Experts has been opposed by some governments.

It deplors the slowness of the realization of an international social programme for fishermen through the International Labour Organization and *Instructs* the Secretariat of the ITF to take appropriate steps to hasten progress in this direction.

P. MCHUGH Rapporteur: You have the report of the Conference of the Fishermen's Section before you, so it will not be necessary for me to read it, but I want to take the opportunity to thank our General Secretary, Brother Becu,

for the splendid service he has rendered to the Section Conference. The discussion on the item 'Report on Activities' revealed that information regarding scheduled treaty conferences is not readily available, and that there is very great reluctance among the governments to allow trade union representatives to take part in the drafting of treaties, and a desire to bar them from the discussions.

I move the adoption of the report.

H. KAGEYAMA *All-Japanese Seamen's Union*: In the report of the Sectional Conference it mentions that I said that the purpose of the resolution put forward by my Union was to increase the supply of fish to Japan's home market. I added further that Japan needed to export fish in order to be able to import the raw materials needed for reconstruction. I should like that also to be included in the report.

P. MCHUGH *Seafarers' International Union*: We agree that Japan must be allowed to reconstruct her economy. On this matter, however, we have almost no information, and we do not think it would be proper to take action on it without all the information being available. It should not be hard to obtain and I hope it will be obtained as soon as possible. We certainly want them to have fish enough to feed their population, but when it comes to export trade what happens? Thousands of workers in other countries might be affected, and they ought not to be threatened by anything like dumping. Our suggestion was, and is still, that we have no information on the matter. I believe it can be got very quickly. It is certainly on file in Washington, and we can get it in a matter of days. But in order to be fair to everybody I do not think we should try to get any action on the matter until we have it ... There has apparently been some misunderstanding. I understand from Mr Becu and the interpreter that the Japanese delegate just wants the inclusion in the report of something he said. I have no objection to that, but I do not want any change in the decision we have come to.

H. KAGEYAMA *All-Japanese Seamen's Union*: I know nothing about the dumping the American delegate has mentioned, but I will make enquiries. We are against dumping, and if there is any we will do all we can to prevent it. All I wanted was mention in the report of my statement that Japan needs to export fishery products in order to be able to import the raw materials she needs.

The Report of the Conference of the Fisheries Section was then adopted, with the addition of the words for which Comrade Kageyama asked.

Report of the Conference of the Inland Waterway Workers' Section: The Inland Waterway Workers' Section met on Sunday morning 22 July 1950, representatives from the following six countries being in attendance: Austria two, Belgium one, Germany two, Holland one, Japan one, Pakistan one and the United Kingdom three.

Brother W. CASSIERS *Belgian Transport Workers Union* was elected Chairman and Rapporteur of the Conference. Brother O. BECU was in attendance as Secretary of the Section. Brother J. H. Oldenbroek ICFTU was present in an observer capacity.

Report 1948-49: After the Conference had approved the section of the General Report on Activities dealing with inland waterway workers' affairs, special consideration was given to the efforts which had been made by the ITF to secure a regional regulation of conditions of employment and related social questions for the Rhine navigation system.

As a result of the initiative of the ITF, several tripartite regional conferences had been held under the auspices of the ILO, with participation of the five countries riparian to the Rhine, viz., Holland, Belgium, France, Germany and Switzerland, and of the UK and US Occupation Authorities of Germany, which conferences had drafted two regional agreements for Rhine shipping, one dealing with conditions of employment and one with social security. The ITF, as the international organization representing the trade unions of the workers concerned, and the Central Rhine Commission, as an inter-governmental body interested in matters pertaining to Rhine shipping, had at the invitation of the ILO taken part in the tripartite discussions.

On the occasion of the last of the tripartite conferences, held in Geneva in October and December last, work was completed on the technical clauses of the two regional agreements, and it was decided that the drafting of the general clauses of these instruments, in view of the lack of time and their juridical nature, should be referred to a conference of the governments concerned.

This inter-governmental conference was convened by the ILO to meet in Paris from 24 to 29 July 1950. Though the conference, for reasons of expediency, was to bear a diplomatic character, it was expected that the governments would, in line with the previous practice of the ILO, invite workers' representatives to attend the final discussions.

When it transpired that this was not the case and that the Paris conference proposed to deal with various questions of more than a formal character, such as arbitration procedure, composition of the administrative organs, location and staffing of the administrative headquarters, and furthermore, that the Central Rhine Commission, though not directly concerned with the social questions under discussion, had not only been invited to the Paris Conference and asked to submit replies to two further ILO questionnaires, but had used the opportunity to reopen various questions which had been settled at the tripartite discussions, the ITF had, on behalf of the workers' organizations concerned, registered a strong protest with the ILO at the procedure followed and had further addressed a memorandum to the Paris Conference reiterating this protest and conveying the views of the workers' representatives on the matters which were to be dealt with on that occasion.

Since the dispatch of the memorandum a letter had been received from the ILO saying that if the ITF wished to send a representative to Paris the ILO would do everything to enable him to follow the work of the conference.

In response to this rather belated invitation, the ITF had decided to appoint Brother Th. Smeding (Dutch Transport Workers' Union) to attend the Paris Conference in an observer capacity.

During the discussions on this subject in the Conference of the Inland Waterway Workers' Section, concern was expressed, despite the assurances of the ILO, at the fact that the Paris Conference apparently intended to exceed its terms of reference, and at the role played by the Central Rhine Commission. The latter body had throughout shown anything but a progressive spirit. It was due to the attitude of the latter that a special conference which was to deal with the question of the manning scales of inland craft, originally fixed for February this year, had only been convened for September next in Strasbourg.

A warning was given by Brother J. H. Oldenbroek, who attended the Conference as an observer and as one who had initiated the ITF's activity in connection with Rhine shipping, that attempts to set up international authorities over which not even governments, to say nothing of workers' representatives, had any control was a tendency which had to be watched. He was satisfied that in the case of the Central Rhine Commission we were dealing with an attempt to restrict the workers' role in international social affairs.

The action of the Secretariat in registering a protest with the ILO was unanimously approved by the Conference of the Inland Waterway Workers' Section.

Future activity of the Section: In connection with this item on the agenda it was pointed out that it was the intention of the Inland Waterway Workers' Section of the ITF to deal with other inland waterway systems besides that of the Rhine. The work of the Section could only be effectively carried out on regional lines. The Section could not do too much at a time, but it was hoped that once a tangible result had been secured for the Rhine system, work could be undertaken on analogous lines for other waterway systems, such as the Danube basin, the remaining waterways of Belgium, Holland, France and Germany, the river systems of the U S A, Eastern Pakistan and India, and others. In connection with the Rhine question attention was drawn to the need for formulating precisely the demands of the workers under the heading of manning. It was decided that a further meeting of the Section, or otherwise of a committee, would be held in Rotterdam to deal with the manning question before it came before the ILO meeting at Strasbourg in September.

It was particularly important to establish an agreed workers' programme on this point, because there were considerable differences in the strength of the trade union position from one country to another, with a consequent

danger that the inability to observe in one country the standards secured in others might lead to international competition and make the implementation of regional agreements impracticable. It was hoped that it would be possible to formulate the workers' policy on manning scales for inland craft before the holding of the conference in September. At the same time the hope was expressed that in countries where inland waterway workers were still weakly organized, as in Switzerland and France, a special effort would be made to strengthen the position.

Brother F. Ahmed, of Pakistan, drew attention to the importance of inland shipping in his area, handling as it did 50% of the country's transport and providing employment for 50,000 workers. At his request it was decided that the ITF should as soon as possible make an investigation into the conditions obtaining in this industry. Brother F. Ahmed reported that the Bengal Mariners' Union, which organized the workers concerned, occupied a strong position, but nevertheless would appreciate any assistance it could receive from the ITF and its unions. There were many difficulties to be overcome, particularly since the partition of the sub-continent of India, difficulties which at present came not so much from the side of the employers as the Governments. He paid a special tribute to Brother George Reed for the help he had rendered to the unions of India and Pakistan during his stay in the Far East as representative first of the British National Union of Seamen and later of the ITF.

Other questions mentioned in connection with the future of the Section were the schooling and vocational training of inland waterway workers' children and the employment of women on inland waterway craft. These were questions which interested the Section as a whole, and after representatives had reported on the position in their respective countries in regard to both these questions, it was decided that the Secretariat should as far as its means permitted undertake a study of them with a view to encouraging the provision of school facilities for boatmen's children and discouraging the employment of women in the industry.

A German representative reported that his union had secured the re-introduction of a discharge book for boatmen, which had proved useful in promoting an orderly state of affairs in the industry. It was agreed that this question should be further considered at a future meeting of the Section.

Appointment of Section Committee: In accordance with the recommendation made at the last meeting of the Executive Committee of the ITF, the following Section Committee was appointed to deal with the affairs of the Section between Congresses: AUSTRIA: A. Brosch; BELGIUM: W. Cassiers; FRANCE: still to be appointed; GERMANY: A. Dienst; HOLLAND: Th. Smeding; PAKISTAN: F. Ahmed; UK: A. Manson.

It was agreed that members of the Section Committee would be entitled to be

accompanied by advisers and to appoint substitutes. At a meeting of the Section Committee held at the close of the Conference of the Section, Brother Th. Smeding Holland was elected Chairman of the Inland Navigation Section. **Agenda, date and place of next meeting of Section:** The decision on these matters was referred to the Section Committee.

A. DIENST Rapporteur: Since the report lies before you, and is very full, I hardly think I need add anything. But I do want to take this opportunity to thank the ITF for the work it has done for the inland waterway workers during the last two years. We are particularly grateful to Comrade Oldenbroek, who brought us Germans in in 1945, when we were not yet members of the ITF, helping us with advice and in other ways. His help and backing enabled us to get, through the ILO, the agreement between the Rhine States on inland navigation. In Rhine shipping in particular we have had great success.

But there is still a lot to be done. Our next task will be to regulate matters in the Danube Basin, in which, as in that of the Rhine, several countries are concerned. We hope and believe that under the new leadership of our Comrade Becu our future work will make just as much progress as the work which Comrade Oldenbroek directed.

The Report of the Conference of the Inland Waterway Workers' Section was approved.

D. S. TENNANT Rapporteur then submitted and moved the adoption of the **Report of the Conference of the Civil Aviation Section:** Under the chairmanship of Mr R. Lapeyre (France) the Civil Aviation Section met on 22-23 July 1950. The following organizations were represented:

<i>Country</i>	<i>Organization</i>
Belgium	Union of Public Service Employees
France	Civil Aviation Staff Cartel
Germany	Union of Employees in Public Services, Transport and Traffic
Holland	KLM Radio Officers Association, Transport Workers' Union
Sweden	Union of Commercial Employees, Transport Workers' Union
Switzerland	Union of Public Service Employees
UK	Navigators and Engineer Officers Union, Radio Officers Union, Transport and General Workers' Union
USA	Airline Pilots' Association, International Association of Machinists

CAPTAIN W. L. VICKERSTAFF *President* and **MR D. FOLLOWS** *Secretary*, of the Intern. Federation of Airline Pilots' Associations and **MR W. A. FOX**, of the New Zealand Federated Cooks' and Stewards' Union, attended as observers. The following decisions were reached:

Election of Chairman of Section: In view of the fact that Mr R. Lapeyre had

only been elected Chairman of the Section at the Inaugural Conference of the Section (Paris, October 1949) the Secretariat proposed to postpone the election of a new chairman until the next Section Conference. The Conference agreed and Mr R. Lapeyre therefore presided over the whole meeting.

Report on activity of the Section: The report on activity of the Section up to 31 December 1949 was approved.

Holidays with pay for aircrew: The Conference considered the draft of an international convention on vacation holidays with pay for aircrew, which had been prepared by the Secretariat in consultation with affiliated British organizations catering for aircrew. After a lengthy and detailed discussion the Conference approved the draft convention with certain amendments and instructed the Secretariat to submit it to the International Labour Organization requesting urgent consideration of and action on the matter.

Composition of flight crew: The Conference noted the report of the sub-committee which met in London on 8/9 June 1950 to consider the complex problem of flight crew complement and 500 kc/s equipment. After a full discussion of the matter the Conference agreed to submit to congress two resolutions:

- 1) on flight crew complement and
- 2) on 500 kc/s equipment.

The texts of these resolutions are attached.

Matters in hand: After a full discussion of the many problems requiring investigation on the international level the Conference agreed that the Secretariat should investigate the following matters in the order of priority as listed below:

- 1) Hours of duty of flight crew;
- 2) Deleterious effects of flying with special regard to the effects of pressurization on air crew;
- 3) Working conditions of ground staff with particular reference to aircraft maintenance staff;
- 4) Pension schemes for flying and ground staff.

Election of Section Committee: In order to make the Section Committee as representative as possible of the two main groups of personnel employed in civil air transport, the Conference decided to enlarge the number of seats on the Section Committee from eight to sixteen. The new Section Committee will be composed of eight representatives each for flying and ground staff respectively. The seats on the Section Committee have been allocated as follows:

FLYING STAFF		GROUND STAFF	
Country	No. of seats	Country	No. of seats
North America	2	North America	2
U K	2	U K	2
Belgium	1	France	1
Holland	1	Holland	1
Sweden	1	Sweden	1
Switzerland	1	Switzerland	1

Date and place of next Section Conference: The Conference decided to leave it to the Secretariat to fix the date and place of the next section conference.

Resolution on Flight Crew Complement: THIS CONGRESS of the International Transportworkers' Federation, held at Stuttgart, Germany, from 21 to 29 July 1950;

Having regard (1) to the need for maintaining at all times the highest possible safety standards in civil aviation, (2) to the necessity of an adequate supply of qualified specialist personnel being available in case of national emergencies, and (3) to the technical development which is rapidly taking place and the constant adoption of new types of aircraft for commercial operation;

Having regard further to the fact that the national regulations of various countries are in many respects based on the recommendations of ICAO and that these recommendations are in some cases subject to undue influence by employers' representatives;

Decides to bring the views of the Civil Aviation Section of the ITF, as set out below, to the knowledge of ICAO with a view to securing that future recommendations of ICAO, particularly on the subject of crew complement, be based as much on the experience of specialist flight crew members as they are at present on the commercial considerations of the employers.

Pilots: That the number of pilots required to operate any aircraft in air transportation shall be sufficient to provide for adequate safety. The type and weight of aircraft, the type of operation involved and the duration of flights between points where flight crews are changed shall be the basis for making this determination. The minimum pilot complement which may be employed shall be as follows:

- a) A minimum of two properly qualified and certificated pilots shall be required on all flights of aircraft certificated for a maximum take-off gross weight of 10,000 pounds or more;
- b) A minimum of two properly qualified and certificated pilots shall be required on all flights of aircraft under instruments conditions in scheduled air transportation;
- c) On all flights requiring two or more pilots, these pilots shall perform pilot's

duty only. Specialist members of the aircrew qualified also as pilots shall not be required to perform duty as pilots on the flights, or any multiple duties. **Navigators:** That a flight crew member holding the appropriate flight navigator's licence should be carried, in addition to the other flight crew members required, and should act in the sole capacity of flight navigator on all trans-oceanic routes as well as on certain other routes where all interested bona fide organizations representing staff consider radio aids inadequate.

That, subject to consultation with such bona fide staff organizations as are affected, an aircraft may proceed without a flight navigator provided that it is found that radio aids are such that the position of the aircraft can be accurately determined at least every 200 nautical miles.

Flight engineers: That a flight crew member holding the appropriate flight engineer's licence for the aircraft concerned should be carried and should act in the sole capacity of flight engineer on all aircraft (a) having four or more power plants, (b) certificated for more than 80,000 lbs. maximum take-off weight, (c) where the appropriate authority finds the design of the aircraft used or the type of operation is such as to require engineer personnel.

That where a flight engineer is carried as a member of the flight crew he should be provided with a separate station and suitable instruments and control apparatus.

Radio Officers: That a flight crew member holding a flight radio officer's licence and acting in the sole capacity of radio officer should be carried on all flights, except where the Government authority and the bona fide organizations representing staff concerned jointly agree that having regard to the circumstances of each case the carriage of a specialist radio officer is not necessary.

That the varying practices of dual capacity working, which derive from the permissive nature of the national radio regulations of the various countries, and which reduce the safety factor, are viewed with concern and should in principle be opposed.

That the national organizations concerned should take the necessary steps within their respective countries to bring pressure to bear on their parliaments or other appropriate authorities, with a view to ensuring that radio regulations be more closely defined and that the present tendency be reversed or checked.

Resolution on the Carriage of 500 KC/S Equipment: This Congress of the International Transportworkers' Federation, held at Stuttgart, Germany, from 21 to 29 July 1950;

Having given careful consideration to the available evidence on the use of 500 kc/s equipment;

Having taken note of the fact that certain air carriers have dispensed with this equipment and of the tendency of others to do likewise;

Expresses its grave concern at this development which, in its view, represents a far-reaching lowering of the safety standards;

Considers that the carriage on all overseas routes of 500 kc/s equipment immediately usable for the transmission and reception of messages on 500 kc/s is essential and that in order to obtain the maximum benefits from the telecommunication service this equipment shall be operated by a specialist radio officer; and

Calls upon the Secretariat to impress these views on ICAO and to take such other consequential action, national and/or international, as may be necessary to ensure that national legislatures shall require the carriage of 500 kc/s equipment in accordance with the terms of this decision.

The Report of the Conference of the Civil Aviation Section, together with the resolutions attached, was adopted without discussion.

Close of Congress

O. BECU *General Secretary*: I have to report that we have received a telegram from the Belgian Transport Workers' Union which is of a very serious nature. It says that the Union has declared a general strike as from today. From a telephone conversation I had this morning I understand that the strike is fully effective. The situation in Belgium is known to the Congress and has, in fact already been dealt with in the Resolutions Committee. In discussing the problem that Committee took the view that the question was of a political nature and went beyond the competence of our Congress, but in its report it expressed Congress's concern and sympathy with our Belgian comrades in their efforts to maintain freedom and democracy in their country. I should like to suggest that we send them a telegram voicing that sympathy.

The Congress expressed its agreement, and the drafting of the telegram was left to the Executive Committee.

A. E. LYON *Railway Labor Executives' Association, USA*: Before Congress adjourns I want to say a few words of appreciation to the German affiliated unions, and particularly to Brothers Kummernuss and Jahn, for the very fine arrangements made for this Congress, and for the hospitality which the German unions have shown to all delegates. The arrangements made for the Congress and for the entertainment of delegates have been most excellent in every particular. I warmly propose you extend a rousing vote of thanks to the German affiliated unions for our fine treatment in Stuttgart.

J. BRAUTIGAM *Holland, guest of the Congress*: I have been here with my old friends, Lindley, Kievit and Döring, for ten days, watching you at work. We are the old-timers, and we think you have done very good work at this Congress. We are proud of the ITF, and we are proud that you stand today for the things for which we stood in the past.

We have had a very nice time, and we are grateful for the opportunity we have had of spending a week in your midst as your guests. We are grateful also for all that the German organizations have done for us. We hope that the ITF will live on and will become stronger than ever.

R. BRATSCHI President: We have now reached the end of our Congress, but I hope you will allow me to say still a few words. This year we have given more time to our Congress than on former occasions, but as you have seen, it was not too much – today's session shows that. Nevertheless we have managed to get through all our business in an orderly manner. It has been a very busy time – nine full sessions and very many meetings of the Sections and separate delegations, and of the Executive Committee. I hope delegates will excuse us for allowing them so little free time: I am well aware that the surroundings of the Congress also have something to do with the Congress itself.

It only remains for me, and through me the Bureau and the Secretariat, to thank everybody most heartily. I thank the two German unions – the Railwaymen and the Transport Workers – who invited our Congress to Stuttgart. In particular I thank Comrade Kummernuss and his organization, whose whole machinery has been for ten days at our disposal, literally day and night. I thank them all for the tremendous work they have taken on their shoulders, for the fine hall in which we have met, and for the way in which everything has been done to make our stay in Stuttgart a pleasant one. I thank them for the excursion to Lake Constance, and for the festive evening we had yesterday in honour of our friend Oldenbroek. And I thank them finally for the kind-hearted way in which, through the intermediacy of Mrs Tönnesen, they have looked after the ladies, who have, indeed, had a chance of seeing more of the beautiful surroundings of Stuttgart than the delegates themselves.

I must also thank the authorities for the interest they have shown in the Congress. I thank the High Commissioners and their collaborators. I thank the Government and Diet of Württemberg-Baden; and especially I thank the City of Stuttgart for the interest and kindness with which it has welcomed the Congress, and for the splendid banquet offered us on Sunday evening in the beautiful framework of the German Horticultural Show in Stuttgart.

I hardly think anybody will regret having come to Stuttgart. I may mention here that our Austrian friends have already offered to receive our next Congress in two years time, after circumstances prevented our going to their country this time. That, however, is a matter about which the Executive Committee will have to decide.

I want to thank the press, too, for the interest it has shown in the Congress and the importance it has attributed to it.

Special thanks are due also to our Secretariat for the way in which it has performed the tremendous job of work which preparations for the Congress involved. I know very well that an international congress on this scale cannot be carried through smoothly unless the machinery behind the scenes has been running well and I think we can say that this time the machinery, under the direction of Comrade Tofahrn, has worked well. I thank Comrades Becu and Tofahrn for all the arrangements made. And special thanks are due to the in-

terpretation service. I am acquainted with the difficulties connected with interpretation, and I thank the comrades who have had to overcome them.

Nor must I forget to thank the several committees for the work they have done, and the rapporteurs and participants in the discussions for their contributions. And last, but not least, the delegates and guests whose conduct has made it so easy for me to carry out my duties as President.

Should I have forgotten anybody, I beg them to excuse me. My aim was to include in my expressions of gratitude all those who have helped to make this Congress a success.

Our Congress has chosen its authorities for the next two years. Two comrades retire from the Executive Committee: Comrades Christiansson and Figgins, who did not offer themselves for re-election. I should like to thank them, on behalf of the Congress, for the work they have done for us. In so far as the Secretariat is concerned, I am sure that in choosing Comrade Becu as General Secretary and Comrade Tofahrn as his Assistant the Congress has been fortunate in its selection and has done a great service to the ITF.

The Congress has established relations with the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions on a basis which I am convinced is one of equality, and cooperation between us should make it possible to solve many of the great problems of the international trade union movement.

The Congress has further come to a number of other decisions which will serve as pointers for the leaders of the ITF during the next two years. Such a Congress as ours is a kind of power station from which the energy goes out for new work and for the continuance of our struggle. May this Congress also give us renewed power and confidence for the fulfilment of the tasks which have been set for us nationally and internationally. May it be, like previous congresses, a milestone to guide our work for social justice and our struggle against the oppressor and the breaker of the peace, wherever they may appear, and for the defence of democracy, freedom and human dignity as the highest aims of trade union activity.

A. DEAKIN *British Transport & General Workers' Union*: I think it would be very wrong if we parted company without expressing our sincere thanks to our Chairman for the wonderful job of work during this week. Robert Bratschi has done very well, and we have shown our appreciation of his services by re-electing him to the Presidency. But I ask you now to give him a warm handclap as an indication of our appreciation and regard for him.

THE PRESIDENT: I thank you, and I should like to take advantage of the opportunity to repair an omission. I am informed that we also owe thanks to the personnel of the German Railwaymen's Union for the help it has given in the Congress Secretariat.

That brings us to the end of our meeting. I wish you all a pleasant journey home. I declare the twenty-first Congress of the ITF closed.

Annex 1

Relations with the ICFTU: item 4 of the Agenda

General considerations: The ICFTU is in essence the international mouthpiece of the national trade union centres. By reason of its numerical importance and the role played by its affiliated organizations, it is the most authoritative international trade union body. There can be no doubt that, provided it performs its functions efficiently, its influence with the ILO, the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations, as well as in world affairs generally is likely to become very great. It is, therefore, of considerable importance for the ITF to be able to count upon the support of the ICFTU at all times and to see the best possible co-operation come about between the ICFTU and the ITS.

The Co-ordinating Committee of the ITS (International Trade Secretariats) is exactly what its name implies: a meeting ground for the ITS, where they seek to hammer out agreement among themselves on how best to further their common interests. Given the existence and influence of the ICFTU, the ITS must, of necessity, rely to a large extent on the support of the ICFTU in their dealings with the ILO and, where applicable, with the Economic and Social Council. In addition, the ITS also need support for propaganda activities among those trade unions in far-off countries, organizing crafts and industries for which they cater. In order to ensure that such requests for assistance from the ICFTU be co-ordinated, it is essential that the ITS agree among themselves on such points.

As for general trade union policy, the ITS obviously have an interest in the harmonization of ICFTU policy with their own and, consequently, in possessing the means of influencing it. The ICFTU, on the other hand, cannot be indifferent to the policies and activities of the ITS or to being afforded such means of exerting influence as will guide the action of the ITS towards its own aims. Both sides therefore have an interest in a strong moral and effective alliance.

The attitude of the ITS: The following ITS are at present associated in the Co-ordinating Committee:

TEXTILE WORKERS

CLOTHING WORKERS

TRANSPORT WORKERS

DIAMOND WORKERS

METAL WORKERS

BOOT AND SHOE OPERATIVES AND LEATHER WORKERS

BUILDING AND WOOD WORKERS

COMMERCIAL, TECHNICAL AND CLERICAL EMPLOYEES

LAND WORKERS

GENERAL AND FACTORY WORKERS

TOBACCO WORKERS

POST, TELEPHONE AND TELEGRAPH EMPLOYEES

MINERS

EMPLOYEES IN PUBLIC AND CIVIL SERVICES

FOOD AND DRINK TRADE WORKERS

The International Federation of Workers in Graphical Trades and the International Union of Hotel, Restaurant and Bar Workers are not taking part in the consultations within the Co-ordinating Committee of the ITS.

The ITS held, on 8 and 9 November 1949, a full conference in Paris at which the ITF was represented by J.H. Oldenbroek, O. Becu and T. Gómez. The question of relations with the future Trade Union International was discussed at length and the unanimous views of the ITS were laid down in a resolution of which we quote the following paragraphs:

The Representatives of the International Trade Secretariats, meeting in General Conference at Paris on the 8 and 9 November, 1949,

Wholeheartedly welcome that initiative of the free trade union centres to set up a new world-embracing organization, uniting the workers organized in the free and democratic trade unions of the world;

Place on record their desire to support this new International and to enter into close and friendly relations with it;

Authorize the ITS Co-ordinating Committee to engage in consultation with the Governing Bodies of the new International on behalf of the International Trade Secretariats with the object of:

1) *Establishing permanent relations with the new International on the understanding that the individual Trade Secretariats retain their autonomy and their independent functioning as expressed in their existing constitutions and activities,*

2) *Creating a Consultative Committee, representing the Executive Board of the new International and the ITS Co-ordinating Committee, to discuss the common activities and interests of the International and the International Trade Secretariats;*

Hold the view that the arrangements referred to in the draft Constitution of the new International should provide for adequate representation of the ITS Co-ordinating Committee, in a consultative capacity, on the Governing Bodies of the new International, and for representation of each individual International Trade Secretariat at its biennial Congresses, it being understood that such representation ought to be on a reciprocal basis.

The attitude of the ICFTU: The question had pre-occupied the minds of the

authors of the constitution of the ICFTU before that organization was set up. The ICFTU was founded in London on 6 December 1949 and its Constitution contains the following references to the ITS:

ARTICLE NINE: Arrangements shall be made for the most effective co-operation between the Confederation and the International Trade Secretariats in the performance of their functions.

ARTICLE TWO relating to the Congress, Section d Representatives of international trade union organizations shall attend, subject to arrangements made under Article nine and to such other arrangements as the Congress may authorize.

ARTICLE FIVE relating to meetings of the General Council Section b Representatives of international trade union organizations shall attend, subject to arrangements made under Article nine and to such other arrangements as the Congress may authorize.

In addition the Constituent Congress of the ICFTU adopted the following resolution:

THIS CONGRESS, believing that the full success of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions can only be achieved by the closest possible relationship between all free trade union organizations whose aims are directed towards achieving for their members freedom, social and economic justice and universal peace;

Reaffirms the desire expressed by the Preparatory International Trade Union Conference in Geneva for the closest possible consultation and collaboration between the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions and the International Trade Secretariats and welcomes the sentiments expressed to this end by the International Trade Secretariats at their Conference in Paris on 8 and 9 November; and

Authorizes the Executive Board to enter into early consultation with the International Trade Secretariats with a view to concluding such arrangements as will ensure the most effective collaboration and reciprocal representation on a consultative basis between the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions and the International Trade Secretariats and the conclusion of arrangements for mutual assistance in the field of international trade union organization.

Except for suggesting reciprocal representation and laying down that it shall be on a consultative basis, both the Constitution of the ICFTU, and the resolution, leave the question as to what form and content the collaboration between the ICFTU and the ITS is to take entirely open.

It should be noted that the ITS representatives taking part in the constitutive Congress of the ICFTU supported the relevant articles in the Constitution and the Resolution.

The ITS reacted immediately to the adoption of the resolution. On 8 December 1949, they held a meeting and appointed five negotiators: M. Hewitson, M P, Chairman of the Co-ordinating Committee (later replaced by Sir William Lawther); M. C. Bolle, Secretary to the Co-ordinating Committee; R. Coppock, W. Spiekman and O. Becu.

The policy of the ITF Executive Committee: Developments from November 1949 onwards were studied by the Executive Committee of the ITF at its meeting of 6 to 8 February 1950. On that occasion, Mr J. H. Oldenbroek made a speech recorded in the minutes as follows:

'Mr Oldenbroek said that on this item he could speak in the double capacity of General Secretary of the ITF; and General Secretary of the ICFTU. He submitted that it was the desire of the members of the Executive Committee, as well as his own, that the ITS should remain independent for perhaps a very long time. Between the ITS and the ICFTU there should be association on a footing of equality for the purpose of furthering each others aims. Co-operation between international trade union organizations was possible and desirable. They could co-operate in establishing regional organizations, which would have to be, in the main, agencies to help the trade unions in under-developed countries. They could co-operate in general propaganda, and he felt certain that by working together in any given area they could obtain results. These were ideas which the ITF had fostered in the international trade union movement for a long time.

'The ITS had been seeking a form of co-operation among themselves, and it was highly desirable that their Co-ordinating Committee should be maintained and develop its activities. The ICFTU would find it difficult to deal with each of the eighteen or nineteen ITS individually. The Co-ordinating Committee was a good instrument for co-operation. The intention of the ITS was not to interfere with the administration of the ICFTU nor to deal with any problem regarding that body. But the same must also be true the other way round. The solution would probably be reciprocal representation on boards and committees. That was a matter for consultation, which doubtless could be easily solved. Co-operation should be limited, at any rate at the beginning, to problems of mutual interest, such as propaganda, establishment of regional machinery and representation with inter-governmental agencies. The ICFTU intended to convene a meeting with the ITS towards the end of February or beginning of March, and the speaker had good hopes that the proposals would be accepted by all. There was a further field of co-operation, namely, that of research. So far, no system had yet made possible comparisons between standards of life. At first it would be necessary to conduct a general investigation and then go into conditions of employment and life in different world-wide industries. In this task the ITS could make a very important con-

tribution. In conclusion, Mr Oldenbroek said that the policy could be laid down in a few words, namely maintaining independence and establishing co-operation where it was in the interest of all.'

The Executive Committee agreed with the policy so outlined and expressed the hope that this would become the common policy of all the ITS.

First negotiations, March 1950: The negotiators appointed by the ITS on 8 December 1949 took part in discussions with the Emergency Committee of the ICFTU on 17 March 1950. There was general agreement that the ITS should be represented on the Emergency Committee of the ICFTU, on its Executive Board, on its General Council and at its Congress. It was understood that in the Emergency Committee, Executive Board and General Council the ITS should be represented collectively by their Co-ordinating Committee; all ITS should have the right to direct representation at the Congress of the ICFTU. One or two participants in the negotiations proposed that the ITS be given the right to individual representation on the General Council but the point was not pursued. It was agreed that in all cases representatives of the ITS would participate in the discussions in an advisory capacity. In return, the ICFTU would be given the right to representation, in an advisory capacity, at the meetings of the Co-ordinating Committee and at the full conferences of the ITS.

It was also agreed that for the settlement of questions interesting one or several ITS individually but not the ITS collectively, the ICFTU would deal directly with those ITS concerned without approaching the Co-ordinating Committee of the ITS. A case in point is that of the transport of arms, a question of general interest in which only one ITS, that of the transport workers, is concerned.

Finally, it was considered that representation in a consultative capacity would not suffice in all cases and that occasions might arise where an agreement between the ICFTU and the whole body of ITS would have to be hammered out. To meet such a contingency the convening of a joint consultative committee was suggested.

The result of the negotiations of 17 March 1950 was summed up as follows by the President of the ICFTU, BROTHER P. FINET:

- 1) All delegates were desirous of bringing about an effective form of co-operation between the ICFTU and the ITS.
- 2) Such co-operation would recognize the autonomy of the International Trade Secretariats and also the prerogatives of the ICFTU in the field of general trade union policy.
- 3) The arrangements of co-operation to be made would provide for reciprocal representation in the Governing Bodies of the ICFTU on a consultative basis

and for the ITS representatives to these Bodies to be the spokesmen of the ITS collectively; the ICFTU will be represented at the meetings of the ITS Co-ordinating Committee and the General Conferences of the ITS; also the possibility of contact between the ICFTU and individual International Trade Secretariats should be left open.

4) No definite suggestion with regard to the number of delegates should be made now; the ITS could consult one another on this point.

5) The joint consultative committee that had been suggested should not be a permanent organ, meeting regularly, but should only be called whenever it was necessary for the discussion of particular problems or interests.

In a press communiqué issued jointly by the ITS and the ICFTU the position was characterized as follows:

A meeting was held on the morning of 17 March between the Emergency Committee of the ICFTU and a delegation from the International Trade Secretariats, at which agreement was reached on a basis of mutual co-operation for a common end, and at which both sides pledged themselves to work together as one international trade union movement.

The agreement will still have to be ratified by the General Council of the ICFTU and the governing bodies of the several International Trade Secretariats, but the atmosphere at the meeting was such that confirmation can be regarded as a foregone conclusion.

There was agreement on the acceptance of a general policy in respect of trade union matters, while recognizing the autonomy of the several parties, and provision has been made for reciprocal representation on the governing bodies of the organizations concerned. It is anticipated that in the co-operation that will result from this agreement the emphasis will be laid on practical achievement.

Definite proposals of the ITS: On 27 and 28 April 1950, the ITS held a full conference at The Hague at which the outcome of the negotiations conducted in Brussels on 17 March was considered.

The ITF was represented by Messrs G. Joustra, member of the Executive Committee; P. de Vries, President of the Dutch Mercantile Marine Officers' Union; Laan Sr, President of the Dutch Transport Workers' Union, and O. Becu, Acting General Secretary.

The General Secretary of the ICFTU, Mr J.H. Oldenbroek, attended the conference and took part in the discussions.

The ITS were unanimous in proposing that they be collectively represented by their Co-ordinating Committee on the various bodies of the ICFTU, with the exception of the Congress, to which they wished to be invited individually.

In a letter to the ICFTU, dated 2 May 1950, the Secretary of the Co-ordinating Committee formulated the proposals as follows:

- 1) for two ITS representatives to attend, in a consultative capacity, the meetings of your Executive Board;
- 2) for five ITS representatives to attend, in a consultative capacity, the meetings of your General Council;
- 3) for the International Trade Secretariats to be individually invited, in a consultative capacity, to your Biennial Congresses;
- 4) for one of the two ITS representatives to your Executive Board to attend, in a consultative capacity, the meetings of your Emergency Committee.

The proposal under 2) did not meet with ready acceptance from the General Secretary of the ICFTU. He was thinking of inviting all the ITS to the General Council of the ICFTU, and not merely a delegation appointed by the Co-ordinating Committee. It was pointed out to him that this procedure would appreciably diminish the role and significance of the Co-ordinating Committee of the ITS and expand the General Council of the ICFTU to a size which might be found inconvenient by the ICFTU itself.

The proposals adopted by The Hague Conference of the ITS were elucidated and complemented in the following manner (*letter of Secretary of Co-ordinating Committee*);

The Conference held the view that, as a general rule, the attendance of the ITS representatives at your meetings would only be necessary during the discussion of those subjects in which the International Trade Secretariats are directly or indirectly interested.

It was understood by the Conference that our collective representation would not, of course, preclude the ICFTU from having direct relations with and extending invitations to its meetings to individual International Trade Secretariats whenever subjects are being discussed by the ICFTU which have a bearing upon one or a few industries in which only those individual ITS are interested. The ITS Co-ordinating Committee, meeting subsequent to the General Conference, decided to inform you of the following decisions:

- 1) to appoint the Chairman and the Secretary of the Co-ordinating Committee, O. Becu and M. C. Bolle, as representatives at the meetings of your Executive Board;
- 2) to appoint the following five ITS delegates to the meetings of your General Council: the Chairman and the Secretary of the ITS Co-ordinating Committee and three of its members, viz. R. Coppock *International Federation of Building and Wood Workers*, Sir Will. Lawther *Miners' International Federation* and E. J. Poulsen *International Union of Federation of Workers in the Food and Drink Trades*;
- 3) for either the Chairman or the Secretary of the ITS Co-ordinating Committee to attend the meetings of your Emergency Committee.

The Conference welcomed the presence of your General Secretary, Mr J. H. Oldenbroek, and was interested to hear and to discuss his views, expressed on your behalf, as to the relations between the ICFTU and the ITS and the possibilities of the work that the two sections of the trade union movement can do together. It was decided to give serious consideration to his suggestions at an early date in order to be ready to discuss with you at the proper time any proposals which you may wish to put before us, concerning any work which, in your opinion, we may have to carry out jointly.

I would like to express in conclusion the satisfaction which the Conference felt as to the close and cordial relations which are thus being established between the ICFTU and the International Trade Secretariats. There is a unanimous desire among the International Trade Secretariats to work with you in a spirit of understanding and friendship for our common objectives, as representatives of the one free international trade union movement in the world.

The decisions of the ICFTU: These proposals were considered by the Executive Board of the ICFTU at its meeting of 26 and 27 May 1950, with the Chairman and the Secretary of the Co-ordinating Committee of the ITS in attendance.

The proposals of the ITS were all accepted. The question of the representation of the ITS at meetings of the General Council of the ICFTU was settled by both parties agreeing that the Co-ordinating Committee may be represented by five members but that the ICFTU would invite each ITS separately. The ICFTU will fix the scale of representation of the ITS at the ICFTU Congress; the Co-ordinating Committee suggests a minimum of one delegate for ITS with up to one million members, two delegates for those with over one and up to three million members, and three delegates for those with more than three million members.

Co-operation in the establishment of regional machinery: The ICFTU has decided to set up regional secretariats, which are to take care of the interests of both the ICFTU and the ITS in the different parts of the world. Precise regulations are needed to define the obligations of these secretariats towards the ICFTU and towards each ITS, and to define also what services the ITS can expect and how the costs are to be shared between the ICFTU and the ITS concerned in each secretariat.

Discussions on these matters have already started. Representatives of the ICFTU and the ITS are studying a set of the draft rules which shall govern the activities of the regional secretariats and shall determine how the ICFTU and the ITS are to exercise jointly their authority over the regional secretariats.

The first regional secretariat is to be established in New York. Chief among its tasks will be the maintenance of relations with the Economic and Social Council and its different Commissions.

Conclusions: There is general agreement on the following points:

- 1) Their community of aims and interests demands that the ITS and the ICFTU act together and form, not a single organization, but a single movement and so endeavour to achieve their common aims.
- 2) To that end they should create machinery for continuous contact and consultation. This should take the form of reciprocal representation on their respective governing and executive bodies.
- 3) The Co-ordinating Committee should represent the ITS collectively on the Emergency Committee, Executive Board and, at the option of the ITS, also on the General Council of the ICFTU whilst the latter should be represented on the Co-ordinating Committee of the ITS and the general conferences of the ITS; it being understood that in each case the representatives of the ITS and the ICFTU respectively act in an advisory capacity.
- 4) The ITS should be represented at the Congress of the ICFTU and each ITS should exercise this right individually, i.e. appoint its own delegates, while the ICFTU would be invited to the Congresses of the different ITS and to such other conferences convened by the ITS as deal with questions of interest to the ICFTU.
- 5) The ICFTU should deal directly with one or more ITS on matters of general interest which do not affect the interests of the ITS collectively but concern only one or several of the ITS.
- 6) In cases where, on matters of general interest, agreement between the ICFTU and the ITS is desirable and cannot be achieved through the machinery of reciprocal representation; exchanges of views and, if need be, negotiations would take place through the medium of a joint consultative committee composed of representatives of the ICFTU and the Co-ordinating Committee of the ITS.
- 7) The ICFTU and the ITS should jointly run regional secretariats which will strengthen their relations with affiliated organizations, stimulate the interest of organizations not affiliated to the ITS, and maintain relations with official international bodies with which the ICFTU and/or the ITS have dealings.

Given the pledge of the ICFTU to respect the independence of the ITS in their internal government and administration and in their field of action, Given the will of the ITS to respect in a similar manner the independence of the ICFTU, the Executive Committee of the ITF concludes that the situation is as it should be. The Executive Committee recommends the Congress to state its views on the relations with the ICFTU explicitly and to that end submit for consideration the following draft of a resolution defining the standpoint of the ITF.

Preliminary draft of a resolution on Relations with the ICFTU to be submitted to the ITF Congress on behalf of the EC.

Whereas the trade unions of transport workers affiliated to the ITF co-operate in their respective countries with the free trade unions of workers of other industries for achieving common aims;

Whereas the member-organizations of the ITF desire to extend this co-operation to the international field;

Whereas the national centres of free trade unions in nearly all democratic countries are associated in the ICFTU, which adopts the same methods and pursues in its own field the same ends as the ITF;

Whereas it is desirable that the ITF works hand in hand with the ICFTU for the furtherance of its own interests and those of the free trade union movement in general;

Whereas the ICFTU desires to conclude with the ITS such arrangements as will ensure the most effective collaboration and reciprocal representation on a consultative basis and arrangements for mutual assistance in the field of trade union organization;

THIS CONGRESS Declares that the ITF shares the desire of the ICFTU and that, unless a further Congress decides otherwise, the basis of the relations between the ITF and the ICFTU must be association and co-operation on a footing of equality, in reciprocal respect of each other's autonomy, and mutual assistance in defending and furthering common interests;

Welcomes gladly the initiative taken by the ICFTU with a view to establishing machinery for co-operation between itself and the ITS, and expresses its satisfaction that the ICFTU is acting with speed, goodwill and in a constructive spirit;

Approves the maintenance of the Co-ordinating Committee of the ITS for the purpose of their collective representation on the governing and executive bodies of the ICFTU;

Approves the attitude of the representatives of the ITF in the discussions among the ITS and in the negotiations with the ICFTU;

Expresses the hope that the machinery for consultation which has been established will ensure smooth and effective co-operation between the ICFTU and the ITS collectively and, as far as necessary, between the ICFTU and the ITF separately;

Assures the ICFTU of the wholehearted support of the free transport workers' trade unions in the defence of the free trade union movement, in its efforts to improve the conditions of life and work of all workers who have so far not obtained their due share of the benefits of technical and social progress, and in its action aimed at the overthrow of all régimes hostile to freedom and social justice.

London 7 June 1950

O.BECU, *Rapporteur*

Annex 2

Hours of work in Railways and Road Transport item 5 of the Agenda The question before us: Hours of work in the railways are governed by the International Convention on the Eight Hour Day, adopted in 1919 at the First International Labour Conference at Washington. Working hours in Road Transport are governed by the International Convention of 1939 on Hours of Work and Rest Periods in Road Transport. This convention is based on the principle of the forty-eight-hour week.

In 1935 the International Labour Conference adopted a general Convention on the Forty Hour Week. The method of applying this Convention was to be arranged for each industry or group of industries by complementary Conventions. The general Convention was never ratified and no complementary Conventions were adopted.

During the pre-war years the ITF also put forward the demand for a forty-hour week, but no progress was made. The question came up again, in semi-academic fashion, after the war. The time has now come to decide whether action for the reduction of working hours in railways and road transport should be taken. In other words: *Do we regard the two Conventions already mentioned (i.e. those of 1919 and 1939) as outmoded?*

The situation as regards the Railways: In industrial or semi-industrial countries the 1919 Convention is generally applied whether it has been ratified or not by the Governments concerned. In some countries such as the United States, New Zealand, Australia and Great Britain, the position is considerably more favourable than the 1919 Convention. In the United States, Australian and New Zealand railroads the working week is now in general one of forty hours; in Britain there is a forty-two hour working week, or under, for railway clerks and some supervisory grades, and of forty-four hours for the bulk of railway staff. In Greece the 1919 Convention is not fully applied. The same is true for India and probably for a number of Asian countries and for Africa.

The position in Road Transport: As regards Road Transport a distinction has to be made between goods and passenger transport.

As regards passenger transport (trams, buses) the regulations or collective agreements of the industrial or semi-industrial countries approximate largely to the conditions laid down in the 1939 Convention. In a number of cases actual conditions are an improvement on this, in others they are slightly worse.

As regards goods transport, the situation is very uneven within any country, and even more so as between one country and another. In a few cases the actual conditions established by regulation or collective agreements are a decided advance, but for a very large number of road transport

workers the application of the 1939 Convention would mean real progress. **The Demand for the Forty-Hour Week since the War:** The Railwaymen's Section of the ITF discussed the forty-hour week during its Conference at Brussels in March 1947. It terminated its discussions with the following resolution:

Technological progress during the past quarter of a century, having led to a considerable increase in the efficiency of labour, makes possible the reduction of working hours to a maximum of forty a week while maintaining a volume of production adequate for modern civilized life.

The railwaymen's unions affiliated to the ITF included the forty-hour week in their programme before the war, and nothing can alter their determination to achieve this improvement in conditions, which they consider to be necessary for the cultural and social progress of the working class.

The economic consequences of the war having led to a substantial, and in many cases even a serious, lowering of the standards of living of the working class in a great many countries, the Conference decides to postpone to its next meeting further considerations of an international convention limiting working hours on the railways to a maximum of forty a week.

At the meeting of the Railwaymen's Section in connection with the Oslo Congress (July 1948) it was felt that matters were as they had been. There was a long discussion on the matter at the Railwaymen's Conference at Innsbruck in August 1949 which finished, however, without any final conclusion being reached.

The Road Transport Workers' Section discussed the question in two stages. In May 1948 a Conference of tramway and bus personnel belonging to two Trade Union Internationals: The International Federation of Unions of Employees in the Public and Civil Services and the ITF was held at Utrecht. This Conference carried the following resolution:

This Conference of tramway and bus workers affiliated to the international Federation of Public and Civil Servants and the International Transport-workers Federation, co-operating for the first time in a joint meeting under the auspices of the two Internationals, at Utrecht, from May 3 to 7, 1948, Having given full consideration to the question of working hours in passenger transport in the light of the conditions temporarily prevailing as a consequence of the Second World War,

Is of the opinion that the arguments both social and technical which have been advanced in the past in favour of the reduction of the working week to forty hours have lost none of their force, but have rather been strengthened by the greater strain which later technical development has imposed on the tramway and bus workers.

It further considers that the special character of the work of tramway and bus workers, with its irregular hours and ever-increasing demands on their nervous energy, justifies preferential treatment in the matter of working hours. *On the other hand*, the Conference realises that the material destruction and economic disturbance caused by the war have created a situation which in many cases precludes any immediate improvement on pre-war conditions, and that for some years to come a special effort will be required of the working class for purposes of reconstruction. If the tramway and busworkers are to make their contributions to this effort, they will have to envisage the achievement of the forty-hour week, and some other of their prewar claims, by stages.

The Conference sees no reason why the old claims should be forgotten, however, or why new claims that have every social and technical justification should not be already formulated, so that they may be realized as and when circumstances permit.

It therefore requests the Executive Committees of the two Internationals to initiate steps to secure the adoption of a new International Convention on hours of work and rest periods in road transport, which shall permit of its flexible application during the period of reconstruction and which shall embody the following claims:

- 1) A standard working week of forty hours, applicable to all workers on vehicles engaged in road transport, including those who ordinarily do a considerable amount of subsidiary work, or whose work is frequently interrupted by periods of mere attendance.
- 2) A full Conference of the Road Transport Workers' Section of the ITF, held in Paris in October 1949, also discussed the question at length but no agreement could be reached. All present at the Conference were in favour of the forty-hour week but there were differences as to the possible means of bringing it about which could not be reconciled.

The 'French Principle': In the discussions aforementioned the 'French principle' played a considerable part. In France there are two concepts in the legislation on working hours: the 'legal' working week and the 'normal' working week. The Act of 1936 lays down that the 'legal' working week shall be a forty hour one. The 'normal' working week, as the result of the passing of supplementary measures during the post-war period, is a forty-eight hour one. An additional eight hours regular overtime is permitted to meet the requirements of reconstruction, while the Forty Hour Act remains on the Statute Book.

The Utrecht resolution envisages the realization of the forty-hour week by stages. The Committee of experts of the ITF, assisted by the experts of the Public Services International, sought to find a formula for the realization of the forty-hour week by stages. They were forced to realise that it would be

- 4) That in the immense majority of countries the full enforcement of the 1939 Convention would bring a more or less considerable improvement in conditions.
- 5) That except for the limitation of the working week to forty hours the draft convention is inferior to existing legislation.
- 6) That the forty-hour week cannot be introduced in transport independently of other industries.

The following are the replies to these objections:

1) **Economic conditions:** In theory the requirements of reconstruction may make it necessary to maintain the forty-eight-hour week for years to come, but in practice there is a distinct danger, not to say certainty, that the world will get into the old rut, with its trade cycles of alternating periods of boom and slump. It is already returning to the system of international competition in which each country must be constantly on the watch for opportunities of winning or maintaining an adequate share of the world markets. By abstaining from demanding a forty-hour week out of considerations of international competition disguised as 'needs of reconstruction' the workers in the several countries are mutually preventing each other from securing it.

This does not mean that the needs of reconstruction are not real, but they are playing an ever-diminishing part in the determination of economic policy. Governments are increasingly forcing one another to base their economic policies on international competition. If this competition is not to lead to a general stoppage of social progress, and perhaps even to a general decline in working and living conditions, it is imperative that the workers should carry on a general campaign for the improvement of these conditions.

The first world war, like the second, made the world poorer, but its economic consequences did not prevent the introduction of the eight-hour day, and it would be difficult to maintain that the reduction of working hours then retarded progress. There is no doubt that this was the result of the technological advances made under the pressure of the first war. But the second endowed the world with technological advances much greater than those of the first, and it is probable – not to say certain – that these advances will more than counterbalance the adverse effects – if any – which the forty hour week might have on the volume of production.

2) **Wage increase:** Time and a quarter overtime rate from the forty-first hour onwards would mean a two per cent increase of the weekly wage in countries, like the United Kingdom, where there is now a forty-four-hour week, and one of 4.16 per cent where there is now a forty-eight-hour week. Are these figures so dreadful? It is quite likely that the trade union wage claims that will be put forward during the period between the adoption and application of the

convention will equal and in many cases even exceed them. And after all, is it not worth it in any case? Is it not in itself a good thing to secure the general adoption of the 'French principle' even if for once, we say 'forty-hour week' instead of 'wage increase (of two or four per cent)'?

3) Maintenance of total weekly pay in case of a reduction of working hours: If and when we are faced with a wave of unemployment we shall be forced to consider the sharing out of the available work, whether or not the convention is adopted. Should we not then call for a reduction of the working week to forty hours – or perhaps even less – with or without maintenance of the total weekly or monthly pay? That is a question to which it is not possible to reply in advance: we must await the occasion so that we may know all the facts of the case before we decide what is possible and what is not. We may have it in our minds to demand payment of the full wage now paid for forty-four or forty-eight hours when the working week is reduced to forty hours or any other figure, but it would be unreal to try to lay it down today in a draft convention, or even in a resolution.

It is not out of place to recall that during the depression of the thirties there were many workers and trade union leaders prepared to agree to a forty-hour week *with* a proportional reduction of the weekly pay. If they had had the option many of them would have favoured a solution that would have enabled everybody to keep his job, even if it meant a smaller pay packet, rather than throw some of the workers on to the street to keep body and soul together on unemployment allowances that always fell far short of forty hours' pay.

4) Full application of the 1939 Convention would be an advance on present realities: Of all objections this is the most cogent. The ILO enquiry into the legislation applicable to road transport reveals that there are at any rate some excellent principles laid down in the 1939 Convention which have not yet been implemented in the legislation and collective agreements relating to working hours in many countries. Several organizations affiliated with the ITF agree that the full application of this Convention would mean an improvement of conditions in their countries.

Is this any reason for not getting a better one? The answer to this question depends on the answer to another: is it or is it not our intention to claim the forty-hour week? If it is the 1939 Convention is out of date: if not it will be necessary to start a world-wide campaign to secure the ratification of that Convention, either in its present form or after its revision on certain points.

5) Our present legislation is superior to the proposals: One often hears this argument used against international labour conventions. But international labour conventions lay down minimum standards below which countries with any pretence to be civilized may not go. If in certain countries existing standards are higher they are not affected by the convention, because every con-

vention contains a clause safeguarding better conditions already existing. And ratification by a State where better standards exist is of considerable moral value. It amounts to a declaration to the effect that 'We consider these standards as the minimum to which the workers concerned are entitled throughout the world, and we call upon all other States to give their workers at least these standards.' And if the ratifying State has any propaganda sense it will not fail to let the world know that it has already gone well beyond the requirements laid down in the convention.

It is true that employers may try to make use, for their own ends, of the arguments that an international convention has laid down standards inferior to those which they are applying. But if they want to debase working conditions they will do so, if they feel strong enough, whether or not an international convention exists. Their own power, or the weakness of the trade unions, will be pretext enough for them. But if they are weak and the trade unions are strong this argument will go the way of all capitalist arguments.

Trade union action for the ratification of an international convention laying down standards inferior to those existing already in a country is an act of solidarity towards workers not enjoying those standards; and the same remark applies to action to secure the adoption of a convention that will benefit the workers in countries that are less advanced than one's own.

6) The forty-hour week cannot be applied to transport independently of other industries: This argument has some force, but it is not a real objection. We maintain that the forty-hour week is necessary as a new step on the path of social progress. All workers are entitled to it. We must therefore try to carry the whole of the trade union movement with us. The draft convention to provide for the forty-hour week in transport should be regarded as the first shot in a general campaign for the reduction of working hours to forty a week.

Objections not refuted: Whatever the value of the refutations given above, the fact remains that two objections were put forward during the course of the discussions which were not met, not even in the slightest. The first objection was that the 'French principle' is not a genuine stage between the forty-eight-hour week and the forty-hour week. It allows the retention of the forty-eight hours where it exists and makes the reduction of hours contingent on possible unemployment in the future. At the same time it creates a wage structure which would make difficult the reduction of hours, in a time of economic crisis in particular.

The second objection which was not refuted came from a number of Railwaymen's and Road Transport Workers' Unions which are opposed to overtime in principle. In their view overtime is an evil to be avoided and eliminated as far as possible. For this reason they have had included in the regulations or agreements with which they have had dealings a limitation on the total number of hours of overtime permissible within a year. Where such limitations do

exist the total amount of overtime may not exceed 200 hours a year and is generally less. Those organizations which take this attitude point out that the 'French principle' would result in more than 400 hours additional overtime in a year. They are not inclined to accept up to 600 hours overtime a year, of which more than 400 would be regular, for all workers in the establishments concerned. The acceptance of the 'French principle' would completely destroy the basis of their policy as regards hours of work.

The 'French principle' is not suitable as the basis for International Conventions: So far the discussions on the incorporation of the 'French principle' in International Labour Conventions has taken place between a limited number of trade union organizations only, and there has been no agreement except inside the Public Service Employees' International. In a communication dated March 23rd 1950 their Secretary writes us as follows:

I would like to refer to your letter of 11th July, 1949, informing us that the question of working hours in road transport will be discussed at your 1950 Congress, with especial reference to the Utrecht Resolution concerning a forty-hour week.

I would like to inform you that this question was fully discussed at the meeting of our Executive Committee which was held in Oslo on 20th February 1950. It was decided unanimously to inform you that our Executive Committee holds the view that the proposal for a forty-hour week should be included in the Draft Convention to be submitted to the ILO as suggested in the Utrecht Resolution.

We hope, therefore that further examination of this point by your Executive Committee and by your Congress will lead to a decision to co-operate further with us for the realization of this claim.

Inside the ITF the situation is different. In each of the two Sections concerned there are supporters of the 'French principle' but also firm opponents. There is also what one might call a 'floating vote', that is, Unions whom the idea of the 'French principle' both attracts and repels. At all events it seems certain that the possibility of agreement would be infinitely less if the whole of the trade unions, not to speak of the Governments and the employers' organizations of more than fifty countries, were called upon to take part in the discussion and give their view.

The possibility of finding oneself in a minority is not a reason for abandoning a demand, but in the light of the discussion that have taken place, it now appears that the use of the 'French principle' may be a clumsy method of putting forward the claim for the forty-hour week. The basic failure of this 'principle' is that one would realise, from the start, only a fictitious forty-hour week and would depend upon unemployment to make this fiction a reality.

The change from the twelve or ten-hour day to the eight-hour day was not realized under pressure of unemployment. The transition from the forty-eight hour week to that of the forty-hour week in the United States, Australia and New Zealand, and the reduction of hours of work from forty-eight to forty-four in Great Britain were not preceded by widespread unemployment but by a strong forward movement of the Unions.

It is extremely unlikely that Conference strategists could secure the adoption of an International Convention based on the 'French principle'. Even if matters got so far, it is unlikely that any ratifications would ensue. No Government would undertake in advance to reduce hours of work in the event of unemployment – a reduction ranging from one to eight hours a week according to the extent of unemployment – without the least possibility of knowing in advance the other social, economic and political factors which might accompany such unemployment should it occur.

No other conclusion is possible than that the 'French principle' is unusable as a basis for an international convention on hours of work.

Conclusion: The abandonment of the 'French principle' again raises the question: Ought we to undertake a campaign for the adoption of new International Conventions governing hours of work in railways and road transport? If the answer is in the affirmative: what should the working week be? Forty hours per week or some other number below forty-eight?

Experience teaches that to translate a trade union demand into an international labour convention, it is essential that it should already have been realized to a large extent in most of the industrial and semi-industrial countries. The extent to which the forty-hour week is being applied in rail and road transport today, considerable as it is, is not yet sufficient to justify the hope that the International Labour Conference would be likely to declare, by the adoption of a Convention, that it is desirable to make general, without further delay the forty-hour week in road and rail transport throughout the world. It is unlikely, moreover, that the Conference would declare in favour of the general introduction of the forty-four-hour week, in the event of our demanding conventions limiting working hours to forty-four per week.

As far as the railwaymen in the industrialized and semi-industrial countries of the world are concerned, the Washington Convention on the eight-hour day has served its purpose. The Railwaymen's Section of the ITF has said that the next stage must be a Convention on the forty-hour week. Before this stage can be reached it is necessary that in that considerable proportion of the world where the forty-eight-hour week is still the norm, the railwaymen's unions should work for obtaining reductions, on the one hand for the railwaymen as a whole, on the other for those categories whose work is most exacting; and a considerable measure of success will be needed.

There remain those countries in which the Washington Convention is still

of great importance to the railwaymen. We could quote Greece and India but it is probable that an enquiry would show that in certain other countries, too, the provisions of the Washington Convention are not fully applied. The trade unions in those countries have considerable leeway to make up and they can count on the assistance of the ITR if they request its aid.

For the road transport workers the first essential is to secure the application of the 1939 Convention. Those who have already achieved or gone beyond this aim must help those who are behind. As in the case of the railwaymen, the effort made must be international in character in that it must be made simultaneously in all countries and must seek unremittingly to lighten the burden of work by reducing hours of work to a figure as close to forty as possible.

The speed of the advance to be made in road and rail transport will vary because it will be determined by a number of factors varying from one country to another. The most important of these are: the strength and fighting quality of the trade union movement in general in the countries concerned; the strength and fighting qualities of the railway and transport workers' unions, the economic possibilities in that country and the state of prosperity of the transport undertakings.

If it is true that the railwaymen and other transport workers are often in the van of social progress and sometimes well in advance of the workers as a whole, it is also true that there is a limit to this possibility of being in advance. A certain point once reached, one category of workers can only go ahead if all the other categories reduce the gap between the head and the rest of the procession.

As to the economic possibilities, these vary from one country to another and, in the same country, from time to time. War, it seems, has accentuated these inequalities. One factor which considerably reduces the economic possibilities of the democratic countries is the fact that they must devote a considerable part of the product of the nation's work to defence against possible aggression. This factor, perhaps, even more than the economic consequences of the destruction caused by the war, means that the very considerable technical progress achieved during the last quarter of a century cannot, at the moment, find expression in such a great measure of social progress as the forty-hour week.

Action to secure the forty-hour week through the ILO will have to be postponed until better times. We propose to Congress that it should express this conclusion as follows:

Draft Resolution: Whereas the Convention on the Eight-Hour Day adopted in Washington in 1919 has had a most beneficial effect on the social policy of the democratic world and has helped to make the eight-hour day general for the great majority of railwaymen throughout the world;

Whereas the full benefit of this Convention has not yet been achieved for the railwaymen of Greece and India and other countries backward in their social and economical development;

Whereas this Convention has also helped to improve working conditions for many workers in road transport;

Whereas the application of the 1939 Convention on working hours in road transport would mean considerable progress for many workers whose working conditions still leave much to be desired;

Whereas in the United States, Australia and New Zealand the forty-hour week is now the norm for the great majority of railwaymen and for a considerable proportion of road transport workers;

Whereas in Britain the forty-four-hour week is now the norm in industry as a whole, the railways and road transport included;

Whereas the aim of technical progress ought to be to lessen the burden of man's labour and, in particular, to reduce the working time,

Whereas the economic consequences of the war and the need for the democratic countries to devote a large part of the national income to safeguard themselves against the possibility of aggression, cancel out, over a considerable part of the world, the effects of the increased productivity of labour brought about by technical progress and are an obstacle to the forty-hour week becoming general;

Whereas these obstacles are essentially of a temporary nature:

THIS CONGRESS Congratulates those railwaymen and road transport workers who have achieved the forty or forty-four-hour week, or have, in some other form, achieved conditions which are an improvement upon those laid down in the Convention on the Eight-Hour Day;

Invites all transport workers and their organizations to work unremittingly for the reduction of hours of work in order to achieve, as soon as the economic possibilities of their countries permit, a forty-hour week;

Invites all road transport workers' unions to make use of the 1939 Convention to improve the working conditions of those of their members who do not yet enjoy the minimum of protection laid down by this Convention;

Invites the ILO to conduct an enquiry in order to ascertain in which countries and for what reasons workers in road and rail transport are still deprived of the benefits which the Washington Convention ought to have brought them; *Assigns* to the Trade Union Movement of the democratic world and to the ILO the task of benefiting the new generation by a new and powerful drive towards social progress, in particular by achieving for it the advantages of the forty-hour week.

On behalf of the Executive Committee of the ITF,
PAUL TOFAHRN *Rapporteur*

Annex 3

UNDELIVERED SPEECHES

K.A. LEHTONEN, T. Sillaots and U. Romagnoli refrained from taking part in the discussion on certain points, and as they had their speeches prepared in writing, the President promised that they should be included in the proceedings. They therefore follow below:

Railwaymen's Working Hours

K.A. LEHTONEN *Finnish Locomotivemen's Union*: To save the time of the Congress I should like to ask the Secretariat to distribute to affiliated unions a report on 'Social Legislation and Social Activities in Finland' which has been published by the Finnish Minister for Social Affairs. This publication shows the development of Finnish social legislation up to now, and it makes it clear that we railwaymen are in a somewhat different position from other workers in so far as social legislation is concerned. Among other things the law provides that we shall work 141 hours in a period of three weeks but it says nothing whatsoever about the length of the individual working day. Now 141 hours every three weeks means for railway employees a total of 2,450 hours' service a year.

To get a picture of what this means, I should like to make a few comparisons. A study of the figures for the current year shows that ordinary industrial workers work 2,336 hours, salaried and supervisory personnel outside the railways 1,760, and locomotivemen 2,452 hours. This means that an ordinary industrial worker works during the year 116 hours less than an engine driver or fireman; and a salaried or supervisory worker outside the railways as many as 692 hours less.

Apart from this, we have to do our work under very much more difficult conditions. When an office employee finds that he cannot finish his work during the day, he can leave it over until the next day without doing much harm, and when a job cannot be finished in one day in the factories this can be done the next day. If a train is delayed, however, the position is quite a different one. Our work also makes great demands upon us but nobody ever thinks of this. The salaried and supervisory workers, who work close on 700 hours less than we do during the year regard it as one of their chief tasks to see how they can squeeze more work out of those workers who are paid less than they are, and they do not mind very much how this is done, nor do they enquire too closely whether the instructions given are always within the requirements of the law or the safety regulations.

We hear much talk of industrial responsibility and perhaps I may be al-

lowed to say a few words about the subject. We are often required to put forward, through the Union, claims for changes in the regulations, either because they are in conflict with the law or because they cannot be applied in practice, and we are often compelled to pay our representatives their daily allowances when they are negotiating about safety measures, such as for instance the provision of a turntable which may be necessary, to say nothing of our claims for social improvements. These things should not be the task of the employee but of the employer.

When an office employee makes a mistake, or when a foreman orders the wrong spare part, the mistake can generally be corrected, but when an engine driver, train dispatcher or guard makes a mistake then he is fined or must pay for it in some other way, and in some cases may even be imprisoned. Yet an engine driver, who certainly has a responsible job, must work 700 hours more in the year than a salaried employee, and it is the general impression that there is no limit to the work that can be imposed upon him. If things go on developing in this way, we shall soon find ourselves in an unpleasant position.

It is true, of course, that the question has very far-reaching implications and that there are many great difficulties in the way of a solution. The introduction of a forty-hour week calls for continuous preparatory work over a long period of years and the united efforts of all of us will be required if we are to achieve this aim. The trade union movement has for a long time been looking for a suitable basis for the introduction of the forty-hour week, and at its last Congress the Finnish Federation of Trade Unions instructed its Executive Committee to work, as far as possible, for a reduction of working hours. The matter is also still on the programme of the ITF, and we have discussed it on many occasions in my own organization, at our Congress in Åbo in 1945, for instance. The essence of the matter is to find the time most appropriate from both a practical and psychological point of view.

As regards the claim for reduced working hours for locomotivemen for other than the reasons which have been put forward here, I can say that last autumn we proposed to the Minister of Transport that the working hours of engine drivers and firemen should be based on the speed of the trains they drive. We are still awaiting a decision on this proposal as well as on a number of other claims connected with the application of certain provisions of the Working Hours Act. Our Executive Committee has come to the conclusion that it is very difficult to deal simultaneously with wages and working conditions without this having unfavourable consequences, in spite of the fact that these two problems are clearly very closely connected. It is therefore of the opinion that these two very important problems should always be considered separately. At the present moment, the wages question is of the greater importance for us and it must, therefore, be solved first. Once a satisfactory solution has been found we can then take up the question of working hours.

My union therefore proposes that this Congress shall once more take up its former demand for the forty-hour week for locomotivemen, with due consideration for the arguments which have been put forward. Another question which the Congress should take into consideration is that of payment for overtime: we might ask, for instance, that there should be a special rate for working hours in excess of ten per day.

Estonian seamen in exile

T. SILLAOTS *Estonian Seamen's Union*: I consider myself fortunate to be present at this Congress among friends and delegates from the free democratic countries. I hope you are aware of the terror which has reigned in my country since it has been under the domination of Soviet Russia. The occupation has now lasted ten years, and it has meant much sorrow for the Estonian seamen whom I represent here. Some of them have succeeded in escaping from their country into Sweden, and by fleeing from the dictatorship have in some cases saved their lives. I know a few, also, who managed in 1943 and 1944 to escape from the ships of the occupying power by jumping into the sea and swimming ashore. I have seen some of them who had been horribly ill-treated by the Nazis and had no teeth left, and who were, in addition, tormented by the fate of their families, murdered by the Bolsheviks or sent to Siberia to die in concentration camps. Hundreds of Estonian seamen have been killed while escaping, and something like six hundred of them gave their lives in the fight against dictatorship, while serving on British and American ships.

I tell you these things not to awaken your compassion, but merely as facts which will show how great can be the sacrifices of a small nation which loves its freedom. I hope that you understand this, and that you realize our difficulties.

In order to be able to earn a living in a foreign country we have built up a merchant fleet: Estonians in exile have managed, by putting their savings together, to buy a few ships. We are unable to sail under our own Estonian flag, and therefore we have been compelled to put the ships under the Panamanian flag, thus providing work for our seamen and at the same time reducing the costs.

I am not here to defend the interests of these shipowners; I am only explaining the position as representative of the Estonian seafarers. It is important that they should get the same wages and working conditions as the British seafarers belonging to the ITF. The Estonian Seamen's Union has only recently been admitted to the ITF and I am hoping that with its help we shall be able to secure a number of improvements for our members. We have already managed to get wages and working conditions which correspond to British standards.

I should like to remind you that our ships have in many cases been bought with the savings of the seamen themselves, only some of whom live in Sweden

in exile. I also represent those who have only a provisional permit to join ships in particular ports in certain countries.

So far we have no collective agreements for our ships, but there have already been negotiations between the ITF and the Estonian shipowners. The question of the five per cent for pensions is a great difficulty which we have not yet succeeded in overcoming.

The circumstance that these Estonian ships sail under the Panamanian flag places them in a much more difficult position than the ships of the free countries. Owing to their peculiar legal relation to the Soviet Union, Estonian ships are unable to touch at certain ports – in Poland, for instance, or any other country under Soviet control.

The Estonian seafarers want to have the help of the ITF in concluding a collective agreement with the Estonian shipowners. It should provide for British wages and working conditions retrospectively to 1 July 1950, and the five per cent contribution for pensions should be reckoned as from 1 January 1950. If the Estonian shipowners should not agree to enter into such an agreement, the Estonian seamen will ask for the help of the ITF in the form of a boycott of their ships.

U. ROMAGNOLI *Italian Seafarers' Federation*: I have the honour to bring you the fraternal greetings of the Italian seamen, who regard the ITF as a great family to which they belong, as the highest expression of social justice, the guardian of their fundamental liberties and a guarantee of the preservation of world democracy.

The seamen, who were seriously unsettled by the last world war, had every reason to see in the Seattle Conventions, if not the complete realization of their trade union claims, then at least the beginnings of a more equitable valuation of their contribution to social life, a guarantee of fairer treatment on board and an assurance of more reasonable rates of pay. Several years have now passed, but for lack of ratification by the participating States, who constantly delay redeeming the promises they gave at the moment of danger, the Seattle Conventions have not yet been made a reality. And yet these Conventions represented, and still represent, the surest guarantee of the resumption of world trade, the essential basis of closer and calmer cooperation of capital with labour, a powerful contribution to the restoration of prosperity and unity among the peoples of the world.

The very regrettable delay in ratifying the Seattle Conventions has induced in the seafarers a state of mind which considerably affects their output of work and sometimes puts them into opposition to their trade union representatives, whom they accuse of being unable to protect their interests. For it must be remembered that the seamen are simple-minded men who cannot always appreciate the difficulties to be encountered, and judge action taken

solely by the results secured. The I.T.F. should take the initiative in a movement to hasten the ratifications, taking advantage of the relations it has established, and even resorting to the joint action of its members. The present state of uncertainty is very dangerous, and harmful both to the seamen and the regularity of traffic by sea. The less scrupulous shipowners are taking great advantage of this, at the expense of the seamen.

Fear of the operation of the Seattle Conventions may be the chief reason for the present tendency to transfer ships to the flags of countries with no maritime tradition, to escape the control of States to which seafaring is second nature and which have rigid laws to protect it. You have only to look at the figures of the growth of the Panamanian merchant fleet, which from a position of insignificance has reached in a very short time the fourth place among the maritime nations; while Honduras, with no great amount of shipping at present, is setting up as a competitor to its sister Latin-American country. And now it is the turn of Liberia.

It does not require much thought to find out the reasons for these changes of flag; we have already reviewed them at our Conference in Amsterdam in April. The aims are to evade as far as possible control by the country of origin and all regulations governing the wages and working conditions of the seamen, accommodation on board and safety at sea, all the obligations imposed by social legislation; and finally and above all to avoid signing collective agreements with and coming under the effective control of the seafarers' trade unions. The proof lies in the irregularity in the methods of fixing wages and the neglect of maintenance of the vessels, the object being to make as much profit as possible without any consideration for the men who have to work on board these ships.

Taking them as a whole it may be said that the companies with headquarters in Italy which operate under the Panamanian flag are not ill-disposed towards their personnel, and that they generally apply the Italian collective agreement, which is a good one. However, they still want to cut something down, so they haggle over social insurances, welfare, the food scale, the treatment of sick persons, overtime and holidays. The companies which excel at such manoeuvres are above all the family concerns, and in general all those of Greek origin or under Greek administration. On some of their vessels wages are fixed by the owner in the presence of the Panamanian consul, but are then paid quite arbitrarily at the place most favourable to shipowner.

On the Greek-owned ships wages oscillate between a minimum of £12 and a maximum of £22, and the men are required to work long hours without any extra payment. No care is taken of the sick, and they are put ashore - without any help or payment - at the vessel's first port of call. In the case of Greek companies, after the men have been discharged they always have difficulty in getting such part of their wages as they have been unable to draw on board

because of shortage of money, even when the master has given them an acknowledgement of the debt. In such cases the Panamanian Consul at Genoa has declared that he is quite powerless to oblige the companies to meet their obligations, and the number of seamen who have been swindled in this way is growing. One owner of cargo steamers sailing under the Panamanian flag resorts to the most diabolical schemes to defraud the seamen. Recently he got a crew to sign articles in blank, telling them that owing to the need to sail in a hurry there was no time to fill them in, but promising them that they would get Italian national agreement terms. When some of the men were later discharged the Consul at Genoa was told that the terms agreed upon were fifty per cent of the Italian agreement, as the articles showed. But the Consul saw through the trick, and ordered that payment should be made in full.

But in spite of all these difficulties with which the *Fegemare*, the Italian Seafarers' Federation, is faced, particularly on account of the Greeks, we are, on Italian vessels sailing under the Panamanian flag, gradually securing application of the Italian agreement terms plus premiums of fifteen to twenty-five per cent to compensate for the absence of social insurances and cover the extra payments to which Italian seamen are entitled. And it may be expected that within a short time these private activities will become regularized as a result of agreements entered into under the auspices of the ITF. Apart from the two agreements signed with the Cosulich Home Line and the Sitmar company, with the authoritative help of Brothers Becu, Tennant and Ferri-Pisani, who came to Genoa for the purpose, the time is drawing near when we shall be able to negotiate similar agreements with the Scerni firm and the Genaviter, Gen and Cicoma companies. The only thing that stands in the way of immediate signature is the determination of the percentage increase over the rates of wages laid down in the Italian national agreement. In all cases the basic rate of £29 for an able seamen is agreed to and even exceeded. The signature of these agreements is very important for the *Fegemare*, for the ship-owners have given notice to terminate the national agreement on 15 September 1950, and we shall soon have to start the battle for a new agreement. The present agreements are the springboard for fresh conquests.

It should be pointed out, however, that the agreements signed by Cosulich and the Sitmar Company, though they have smoothed the way for agreements with other Panamanian companies rest on insecure foundations unless the ITF shows its power and engages in energetic action. There is no doubt that when Mr Cosulich signed the agreements immediately after the adoption of the Amsterdam resolutions it was for the purpose of regularizing his position in view of the boycott which he feared would start immediately. Has the fact that nothing has happened yet changed his feeling about the matter? The Sitmar Company is about to retransfer its vessels to the Italian flag, so that its agreements become null and void, and the Cosulich Home Line is trying

to interpret the agreement unilaterally so that it may suit its own purposes.

The Home Line likes to forget that behind this agreement, apart from its economic aspects, there was the intention to purge the crews and gradually eliminate undesirable elements belonging to extremist parties. The *Fegemare* was to help in this social activity by putting forward or approving substitute members of the crews. Three months have passed since the signature of the agreement, and the purge has not yet begun, but we do find on the vessels of the Home Line representatives of Giulietti's FILM, who seem to be welcome, and the Communists are free to carry on propaganda at will. We have also found – and this is even more serious – that the officer whose duty it is to pay wages makes union deductions and hands them over to the FILM.

These facts, in the face of an agreement freely entered into, give the measure of the serious situation on vessels sailing under the flag of the Republic of Panama, under whose laws Communism, and organizations connected with it – and as such one must regard the FILM, which belongs to the Communist CGIL – are supposed to be prosecuted.

When I first visited the new Panamanian Consul General in Genoa, I pointed out to him the desirability that the *Fegemare* should always be called into consultation whenever new articles were being prepared, so that undesirables could be pointed out and eliminated; but he objected that under the laws of his country the choice of members of the crew was an attribute of the shipowner, and that in any case the sworn declaration made by the master of the vessel was a guarantee that there were no Communists on board.

The deduction of trade union contributions – not always with the agreement of the man concerned – for the FILM, the presence of Communist agitators on board, and the vexations to which the representatives of the *Fegemare* are exposed – are these not so many breaches of the laws of the Panamanian Republic? As I think that such practices may be repeated, and even become general, in other countries, it would not be a bad idea if the ITF, with the authority its prestige gives it, would tell the Panamanian Republic that in its own interest it should instruct its diplomatic and consular representatives that they should enlist the help of organizations affiliated with the ITF to sift the seamen, and so ensure compliance with their own laws for the safety of the State. These instructions could also fix penalties for non-observance.

We think that the boycott unanimously agreed upon at Amsterdam, after being postponed for two years, should be strictly applied against shipowners who refuse to treat their crews with humanity, and against those who show in practice that they are unable to adapt themselves to changes in social customs and therefore defy ITF resolutions. The application of the boycott to certain vessels belonging to the more stubborn shipowners might not only hasten the enforcement of the national agreement by those owners who are at present indifferent, but even lead the stubborn to change their minds as a

result of the losses they would suffer; while it would also serve to make evident the power of the ITF and the seriousness with it is necessary to take its decisions. And finally it would be useful to strengthen the faith of our members, bring in new ones, and make a good basis for propaganda. Of course boycotts, like strikes, must be used with caution and only in extreme cases, but at the present moment there is no lack of justification for such action.

If the boycott were applied at the right moment it would be approved by those shipowners who have agreed to cooperate with us and to concede our demands, and it would be a stimulus to those who are holding back to follow the example, while the remainder, to whom the boycott would be applied, would be universally blamed. We have both social justice and trade union opportunity on our side.

In Italy the *Fegemare* is fighting with enthusiasm. Every day our family is being enlarged by the coming of good comrades to share our efforts to win the final victory. We are sure that we shall win, though the struggle may be hard and unequal. Communist methods, based on violence and falsehood, make it difficult for us, accustomed as we are act loyally and in the open. Nor have we Captain Giulietti's reserves: he has plenty of money which the Italian seamen confided to him for the purpose of defending their interests against the assaults of the shipowners. *All* the seamen in Italy gave a percentage of their wages to found the Garibaldi Shipping Cooperative, which was to be the basis upon which to justify their claims for increased wages. And *all* the seamen in Italy sacrificed a part of their wages to set up the Ente Assistenza (benevolent fund) to help the unemployed and the families of the seamen in certain cases of sickness or need. When Captain Giulietti came back in 1946 he got hold of all the money and he is using it arbitrarily, not to help the seamen but to maintain himself in his position and in the struggle against his many adversaries who, as he puts it, are trying to 'dethrone' him! And now the Garibaldi co-operative is on the point of being dissolved, owing to its mad and chaotic administration, while the Ente Assistenza has lost its funds, used to help Giulietti's followers, while the families who were entitled to help are living in misery. Giulietti also pays the press well.

We have explained the situation in Rome accurately, but so far without result. It is necessary that we be helped if we are not to be beaten. We have courage enough, good arguments and a record of action that proves our devotion to the cause of the seafarers, but we have not the weapons with which to fight Giulietti. We have explained our situation to the ITF in the same way as a combatant explains it to his general, and we can give the assurance that we shall never desert our post, but we need the help of the ITF, in the form that you deem best. Italy is to be put to the test: we can already see the threat and the preparations and are able to appreciate the danger. But if the ITF is going to help us it should be soon: the Chinese have given warning enough.

Annex 4

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