

ITF

REPORT 1950-51

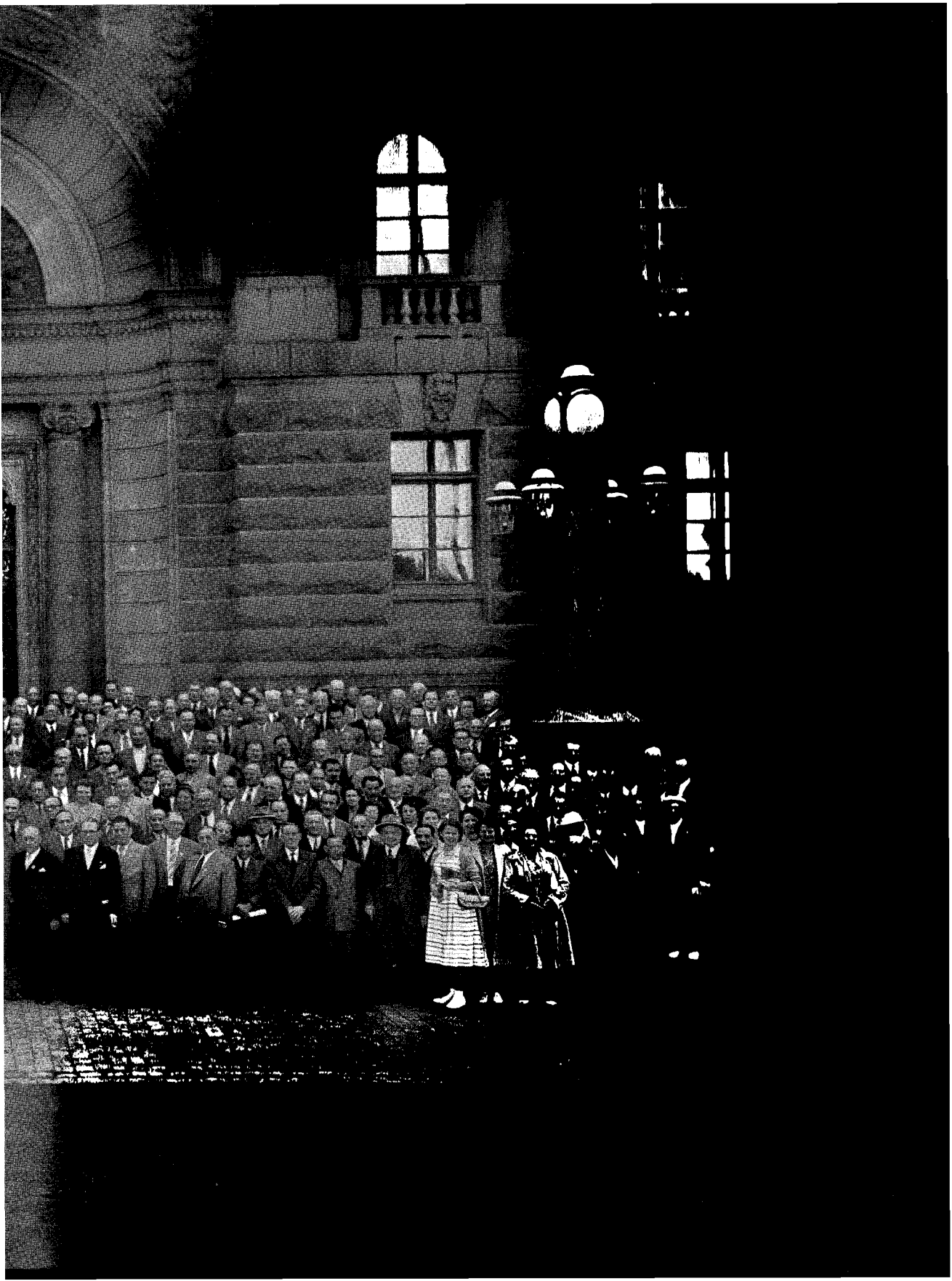
AND

**PROCEEDINGS OF
CONGRESS**

**Held in the Parliament House,
Stockholm from 16 to 23 July 1952**

**INTERNATIONAL TRANSPORT WORKERS' FEDERATION
MARITIME HOUSE · OLD TOWN · CLAPHAM · LONDON, S.W.4**





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Obituary

ERNEST BEVIN; former member of the General Council and Management Committee of the I.T.F., and General Secretary of the British Transport and General Workers' Union; Foreign Secretary of the United Kingdom; on 14 April 1951 at the age of 70.

JOHANNES DOERING; former member of the General Council and Executive Committee of the I.T.F., and President of the German Transport Workers' Union in pre-Hitler days; on 7 May 1951 at the age of 87.

HARRY FRAZER; President of the Order of Railway Conductors of North America and Chairman of the Railway Labor Executives' Association; on 14 May 1950.

MAURICE GELLIBERT; member of the Road Transport Section Committee of the I.T.F. and General Secretary of the French Road Transport Workers' Federation; on 24 August 1951.

STANLEY HIRST; former Financial Secretary of the British Transport and General Workers' Union; on 12 June 1950.

THORLEIF NARVESTAD; President of the Norwegian Locomotivemen's Union; on 12 June 1950.

GEORGE REED; former Assistant General Secretary of the British National Union of Seamen, and until recently I.T.F. Commissioner in Singapore; on 8 October 1951.

CHRISTIAN VEJRE; late member of the General Council of the I.T.F. and General Secretary of the Danish Railwaymen's Union; on 16 February 1951 at the age of 75.

A. VERCRUYCE; President of the Belgian Tramwaymen's Union, on 22 December 1950.

LORD WALKDEN; former member of the General Council of the I.T.F. and General Secretary of the British Railway Clerks' Association; on 25 April 1951, age 78.

MITSUSUKE YONEKUBO; former member of the General Council of the I.T.F. Vice-President of the Japanese Seamen's Union and member of the Governing Body of the I.L.O. and the Joint Maritime Commission before the war; member of the Japanese Diet before and after the war; Japanese Minister of Labour in 1947. Died on 16 January 1951.

Introduction

IT need hardly be said that we have done our utmost, during the two years under review, to increase the membership and extend the influence of our Federation. At our last Congress, at Stuttgart in 1950, we expressed the fear that it would not be possible to maintain the rate of growth, by new affiliations, that we had witnessed since 1945. Not that we had any intention of resting on our laurels—far from it—but the number of transport workers in the world is limited and the scope for further affiliations is getting small. Apart from not inconsiderable, but still limited, prospects in America, and the transport workers behind the Iron Curtain, whom we cannot regard in present circumstances as prospects at all, such transport workers' unions as still remain indifferent to the need of international relations are overwhelmingly in a primitive state of development or so small in size that a very large number of them would be required to make any very significant addition to our total membership. For the rest we are dependent on the natural growth of organizations already affiliated, and many of them are already so well organized that the scope is small.

Our efforts, however, have been by no means unsuccessful. The list of affiliated organizations which we lay before you shows a net increase of thirteen, at the end of 1951, as compared with the end of 1949—this after three expulsions and one amalgamation. This shows that the international idea in the trade union movement is still growing and that the I.T.F. is approaching ever nearer to the fulfilment of the aims set it by its founders.

And what is of the very highest importance, we are becoming steadily more effective in our struggle against totalitarian movements, for the maintenance of the rights of man and in defence of our democratic principles. Communism and the several forms of Fascism are still making powerful efforts to extend their influence. Though the latter, for the time being, at any rate, largely confines its activities to the national and regional spheres, Communism is still expending seemingly inexhaustible funds, and using no little violence, in trying to extend its already large sphere of influence to the whole of the world. Both—as all movements inspired by totalitarian ideas must necessarily be—are a danger to free and independent trade-unionism.

We should do a dishonour to the deeply-rooted democratic and independent spirit of the workers were we to lose our faith in the sound common sense of the overwhelming majority of those of them who have a clear conception of the purposes and tasks of the labour movement. The danger lies with those who lack this clear conception, or who are over-impetuous in pressing demands which are necessarily somewhat slower of realization under a regime which is truly democratic than under one in which the double-edged sword of arbitrariness is the deciding factor.

The greatest danger, however, lies in the Communists' methods—based on the principle that might is right—of bringing whole countries and regions under their yoke by violence, surprise, terrorization or guile, against the wishes of their inhabitants. Whole populations are then kept

in check by persecution and fear for their lives, while thousands of those who have become known for their devotion to democracy are dragged off to slave labour in vast concentration camps in Siberia. Thanks to the resolute action of the democratic powers, however, a stop has now been put to the subjugation by violence of harmless and defenceless countries.

The workers—and the people generally—of the most advanced countries have also checked the progress of Communism in the political field, and that is why the Cominform is concentrating all its efforts on the trade union movement, the capture of which is regarded as an alternative stage on its way to world power. But though during the last few years it has been able to register—thanks to trickery and the sowing of confusion by specious slogans—some successes in this direction, today it is safe to say that its influence is crumbling and threatening to disappear altogether in all democratic and socially progressive countries.

But the Cominform is nothing if not mobile, and it is now concentrating all its forces, and its last hope, in the socially backward countries. For decades now the I.T.F. has been drawing attention to those parts of the world where the workers, living in abject poverty and working under conditions of semi-slavery, were mercilessly exploited by a capitalistic ruling class, and we have urged time and again the serious political danger inherent in such conditions. How often have we not emphasized the need to set up regional trade union machinery. It is chimerical to believe that all trade union problems can be solved at all-inclusive gatherings: they are so numerous and so different in character that many of them need to be examined on a regional basis before they can be successfully tackled internationally. This is more necessary now than ever. The stronger and more privileged among us must help the weaker: we must appeal to the spirit of solidarity which is, after all, the foundation upon which the whole of our trade union movement has been built. We must spare no effort to continue this great task with a sense of the utmost urgency.

The I.T.F. was the first international organization to undertake this work—on the modest scale which its limited resources allowed. Now we have to see how we can extend it. It would be a mistake to underestimate either the importance or the magnitude of the task, but equally a mistake to be intimidated by it. It will need courage and farsightedness, and a rallying of all the forces which the whole international trade union movement has at its disposal. So long, however, as we can count upon the spirit of comradeship and co-operation which have always been characteristic of the organizations affiliated with the I.T.F., and which have made of it the firmly knit and effective international federation it is, there is little doubt that we shall be able to make our proper contribution towards the social advance of our weaker brethren and the building of a better world. We await with confidence the decisions which Stockholm Congress will have to take in this connection.

The two years under review have seen a number of our affiliated organizations involved in important movements and conflicts. In several cases our help has been required and thanks to the disinterested

co-operation of the great majority of the affiliated organizations upon whom a call was made we have been able to demonstrate the usefulness of our International. From the organizations to whom assistance was given we have received testimonies of the appreciation which is felt for these acts of solidarity, which speak volumes for the determination of our affiliated organizations to maintain the spirit of unity for a common aim within the I.T.F. Without that, and the fighting spirit that goes with it, it would be difficult fully to accomplish our manifold tasks.

A glance at the list of matters which have been dealt with by our several industrial sections during the years 1950 and 1951 will suffice to bring a realization of the need for unity of action. For while such unity of action is clearly necessary in connection with matters of general interest, it is also needed when tackling the affairs of the particular categories of transport workers which constitute our different sections. It sometimes happens that the interests of one of these categories can only be effectively defended by calling in the assistance of another. Witness the co-operation between the dockers and the seafarers, who have on some occasions set up joint committees for particular purposes.

Our last Congress, at Stuttgart, expressed a wish that greater attention should be paid to the specific problems of the different sections. Experience has shown us that this wish is based on practical necessities, and that we must indeed try to extend this work in so far as circumstances permit. This is needed particularly in the case of our Civil Aviation Section, in which the urge to international action is becoming increasingly felt. The industry it covers is one of a pronounced international character, which has many intricate problems to solve. In this case practically everything still remains to be done, but we have to reckon with the fact that the personnel concerned have not in all cases a sound conception of trade-unionism, though they feel the need for it. Those organizations affiliated with the I.T.F., at any rate, do not fall short in any way of all that we could ask of them in the way of co-operation.

A very important event which was welcomed by everybody in the free trade union movement, and which occurred just before the period commenced, at the end of 1949, was the foundation of the I.C.F.T.U. The struggle we had against the Communist-dominated W.F.T.U., when it spread its net to catch the I.T.F., will be fresh in everybody's mind. The I.C.F.T.U. has now had two years in which to show its mettle and it must be said that it has come up to the highest expectations. We have always advocated the greatest possible cohesion and unity in the international trade union movement, and we have kept this constantly in mind in our attitude toward the question of the relations between the I.C.F.T.U. and the international trade secretariats. The present links between the two sides of the international trade union movement are based more on a spirit of mutual understanding and good will than upon any organizational basis, and discussions are still going on with a view to still closer and more fruitful co-operation, particularly in dealing with problems which are of general interest.

Their respective roles, tasks and responsibilities must be complementary, and such as to facilitate unity of action. It is abundantly

clear that regional work, and endeavours to build up and expand the trade union movement can only be undertaken with the maximum possibility of success if this is done in close co-operation between the I.C.F.T.U. and the international trade secretariats. Practice will certainly show this. If we keep our democratic principles before our eyes no differences of principle are likely to arise in the combined horizontal and vertical approach to the problems of action by the free trade union movement, and the power inherent in such a combined approach will enable us to overcome many difficulties. We therefore feel that we, and the organized workers, can look to the future with confidence.

Twice during its lifetime the I.T.F. has experienced the calamity of a world war, and the spectre of a third one will loom before us so long as the totalitarian states continue to pursue their imperialist aims and are prepared to use force to achieve them. We cannot and may not cease our struggle against them until we are assured of a real and durable peace that will enable us to maintain our democratic liberties. The transport workers are a key factor in this struggle. Let us make it clear that we abhor armed aggression and will always be on the side of peoples who wish to live in peace, freedom and democracy.

If it will lead to the realization of our ideals no effort can be too great.

OMER L. BECU,
General Secretary.

London, May 1952.

I

Affiliated Organizations and Propaganda

Membership

At the end of 1951 the I.T.F. had on its books a total of 145 affiliated organizations in 49 countries, with a total membership (as far as can be ascertained at the moment at which this report is being written) of 4,948,505. Some of these organizations, however, had additional transport membership which for one reason or another they have not affiliated. This can be conservatively estimated at well over a million, which brings our grand total up to approximately 6,000,000 which the I.T.F. can be fairly said to represent. On the other hand there are a number of organizations with which effective relations have been totally or practically interrupted for political or other reasons, but which have been kept on our books because we believe that a change of circumstances will eventually bring them back into full community; and others which have paid no affiliation fees for some considerable time. They number 29, and their membership on our books is 368,693, which should be deducted from the total to give a fair picture of the real position.

There are one or two of the changes in membership during the two years which call for some comment. The decrease in the membership shown for the German Public Services and Transport Workers' Union is due to that organization having transferred the international affiliation of its municipal passenger transport membership from the I.T.F. to the International Federation of Unions of Employees in Public and Civil Services.

It will be noticed that the membership shown for the Railway Labor Executives' Association shows an increase from 705,882 at the end of 1949 to 928,777 (833,777 in the United States and 95,000 in Canada) at the end of 1951.

After the devaluation of the pound sterling this organization generously continued paying its affiliation fees at the dollar rate. As from the end of 1950 this ceased, but at the same time the affiliated membership was increased.

New Affiliations

The following organizations were admitted to membership during 1950 and 1951:

February 1950

Federazione Gente del Mare (Italian Seamen's Federation).
Jahazi Mazdoor (Coastal Seamen's Union of Bombay).

May 1950

Federazione Nazionale dei Lavoratori Portuali (Italian National Federation of Dockers).
Federazione Italiana Lavoratori Trasporti e Ausiliari del Traffico (Italian Federation of Road Transport Workers, Warehousemen, etc.).
Eesti Meremeeste Union (Estonian Seamen's Union of Stockholm).
Einheitsgewerkschaft des Saarlandes, Industrieverband Eisenbahn (Railway Section of the One Big Union of the Saar Territory).
International Longshoremen's Association of North America.

July 1950

Finlands Bilbranscharbetareförbund (Finnish Motor Drivers' Union).
Federazione Nazionale Lavoratori Autoferrotramvieri ed Internavigatori (Italian Union of Bus, Tramway and Inland Navigation Workers).

December 1950

Civil Aviation Section of International Association of Machinists (U.S.A.).

January 1951

Sindacato Autonomo Unificato Ferrovieri Italiani (Amalgamated Autonomous Union of Italian Railwaymen).
Federated Cooks' and Stewards' Union of New Zealand.
Libero Sindacato Nazionale Gente Dell'Aria (Italian Free National Union of Civil Aviation Personnel).
Federatie Verenigen van K.L.M. Vliegers, Radio-Telegrafisten en Boordwerktuigkundigen (Federation of Unions of Royal Dutch Airlines Pilots, Radio-Telegraphists and Flight Engineers).
Japanese General Federation of Private Railway Workers' Unions.

October 1951

Canadian Section of U.S. Railway Labor Executives' Association.
Algemene Bond van Luchtvaartpersoneel (Dutch General Union of Civil Aviation Personnel).
Sindacato Triestino dei Portuali Democratici (Democratic Dockers' Union of Trieste).
Sindacato Triestino dei Marittimi Democratici (Democratic Seamen's Union of Trieste).
Trinidad and Tobago Transport Workers' Council.
Finlands Arbetarförbund (Dockers' Section of Finnish General Workers' Union).

List of Affiliated Organizations

<i>Country</i>	<i>Organization</i>	31 December		
		1949	1950	1951
Argentina	Confederación General de Gremios Marítimos y Afines (Seafarers)	16,204	†	†
	La Fraternidad (Locomotivemen)	†	†	†
	Unión Ferroviaria (Railwaymen)	†	†	†
	Unión Tranviarios (Tramwaymen)	†	†	†
Australia	Maritime Transport Council (Seafarers)	15,000	15,000	15,000
Austria	Gewerkschaft der Eisenbahner (Railwaymen)	70,025	69,989	70,000
	Gewerkschaft der Bediensteten im Handel, Transport und Verkehr (Transport Workers)	22,033	21,823	20,291
Belgium	Belgische Transportarbeidersbond (Dockers, Seafarers, Transport Workers)	30,350	29,625	27,075
	Secteur Cheminots de la Centrale Générale des Services Publics (Railwaymen)	35,000	35,000	35,000
	Centrale Belge du Personnel des Tramways, Vicinaux et Autobus (Tramwaymen and Bus Staff)	15,000	15,000	15,000
	Secteur Aviation Civile de la Centrale Générale des Services Publics (Civil Aviation)	800	600	500
British Guiana	B.G. & W.I. Federated Seamen's Union	400*	I	I
Canada	Canadian Seamen's Union	S	E	—
	Canadian Brotherhood of Railway Employees and other transport workers	23,000	23,000	23,000
	Railway Labor Executives Association	—	95,000	95,000
	Canadian Airline Dispatchers' Association	—	—	47
Ceylon	All-Ceylon Seamen's Union	300*	I	I

Country	Organization	31 December		
		1949	1950	1951
Chile	Confederación Marítima de Chile (Seamen and Dockers)	10,000	13,800	13,500
	Federación Industrial Ferroviaria (Railwaymen)	44,100	I	I
China	National Chinese Seamen's Union	†	†	†
Cuba	Federación Marítima Nacional (Seamen)	13,597	13,600	17,000
	Federación Nacional Hermandad Ferroviaria (Railwaymen)	18,000	18,000	18,000
	Federación Nacional de los Obreros del Transporte (Transport Workers)	25,000	25,000	25,000
	Federación Aérea Nacional (Civil Aviation)	1,300	1,350	2,000
Denmark	Sømaendenes Forbund i Danmark (Seamen)	4,700	4,723	4,687
	Søfyrbødernes Forbund i Danmark (Ships' Firemen)	1,800*	1,700	1,720
	Dansk Sø - Restaurations Forening (Stewards, etc.)	950	963	975
	Dansk Arbejdsmandsforbund (Dockers, Road Transport Workers)	35,000	35,000	35,000
	Dansk Jernbaneforbund (Railwaymen)	10,751	10,771	10,760
	Dansk Lokomotivmands Forening (Locomotivemen)	1,984	2,000	2,000
	Privatbanefunktionærernes Forbund (Staff Private Railways)	1,175	1,180	1,100
	Dansk Lokomotivmands - Forbund (Private Railways' Locomotivemen)	340	350	350*
	Ecuador	Sindicato de Estibadores Portuarios y Auxilios (Dockers)	220	I	I
Egypt	Cairo General Union of Motor Drivers	3,520	3,500	3,500
	Heliopolis Metro Workers' Union (Underground Railway Employees)	I	I	I

Country	Organization	31 December		
		1949	1950	1951
	Misr Airworks Workers' Union	I	I	I
	Alexandria Autobus Drivers' and Workers' Union	I	I	I
	Port Said Taxi Chauffeurs' Union	I	I	I
	Misr Fluvial Workers' Union —Cairo	I	I	I
	Alexandria Taxi Drivers' Union	I	I	I
	Ismailia Chauffeurs' Union	I	I	I
	Zagazig Motor Drivers' Union	I	I	I
	Port Said Transport Workers' Union	I	I	I
	Alexandria Mercantile Navy Staff Syndicate	550	575	575*
Eire	Irish Seamen and Port Workers' Union	1,000	1,000	1,000*
	Irish Transport and General Workers' Union	5,000	5,000	5,000
Estonia	Eesti Meremeeste Union (Seamen)	—	650	910
Finland	Finlands Sjömans-Union (Seamen)	6,520	6,515	6,516
	Finlands Maskinmästare - Förbund (Ships Engineers)	1,754	1,890	1,890
	Finlands Transportarbetare - Förbund (Dockers and Transport Workers)	S	E	—
	Finska Järnvägsmannaförbundet (Railwaymen)	15,511	15,549	15,500
	Finlands Lokotivmannaförbund (Locomotivemen)	3,880	3,956	3,912
	Finlands Bilbranscharbetare - förbund (Motor Drivers)	—	5,200*	5,147
	Finlands Arbetarförbund (Dockers)	—	—	2,311
France	Fédération Nationale de la Marine Marchande (Seamen)	5,000	5,000	7,000
	Fédération des Officiers de la Marine Marchande (Ships Officers)	2,000	2,000	2,500
	Fédération Nationale des Ports et Docks (Dockers)	2,000	2,000	5,000

Country	Organization	31 December		
		1949	1950	1951
Germany	Fédération Syndicaliste Confédérée des Travailleurs des Chemins de Fer de France et d'Union Française (Railwaymen)	50,000*	33,000	31,500
	Fédération Nationale "F.O." des Transports (Road Transport Workers)	10,638	9,000*	8,800
	Fédération des Travaux Publics et des Transports (Transport Ministry Officials and Civil Aviation Staff)	3,000	3,000	3,500
	Gewerkschaft öffentliche Dienste, Transport und Verkehr (Urban Passenger Transport and Road Transport Workers, Seamen, Dockers and Inland Boatmen)	186,944	183,423	108,878
	Gewerkschaft der Eisenbahner Deutschlands (Railwaymen)	442,638	426,059	428,951
Gt. Britain	National Union of Seamen Navigators and Engineer Officers' Union	60,000	60,000	60,000
	Radio Officers' Union	12,500	12,000	12,000
	Transport and General Workers' Union	5,366	5,300	3,619
	National Union of Railwaymen	250,000	250,000	250,000
	Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen	394,833	418,653	425,863
	Transport Salaried Staffs Association	73,967	68,752	68,768
	Union of Shop, Distributive and Allied Workers	83,644	82,573	85,216
	Scottish Horse and Motor-men's Association	40,000	40,000	40,000
		20,000	20,000	20,000
Greece	Fédération Panhellénique des Gens de Mer (Seafarers)	25,000	25,000	25,000
	Dockers' and Porters' Federation of Greece	†	†	12,000

Country	Organization	31 December		
		1949	1950	1951
	Fédération Panhellénique des Cheminots (Railwaymen)	10,800	10,800	10,800
Hong Kong	Hong Kong Seamen's Union	I	I	I
Iceland	Sailors' and Fishermen's Union	1,500*	1,500*	1,500*
India	Indian Seamen's Union	?	?	?
	Maritime Union of India (Ships' Officers)	1,000	1,054	880
	Bombay Coastal Seamen's Union	5,000	?	?
	All-India Port and Dock Workers' Federation	34,000*	?	?
	All-India Railwaymen's Federation	287,000	300,000*	300,000*
	National Union of Railwaymen of India and Burma	I	I	I
Israel	Jewish Masters', Officers' and Seamen's Union	820	820*	820*
	International Union of Railway, Post and Telegraph Employees in Palestine	I	I	I
Italy	Federazione Gente del Mare (Seamen)	—	10,000	10,000*
	Federazione Nazionale dei Lavoratori Portuali (Dockers)	—	5,000	6,250
	Sindacato Nazionale Ferroviari (Railwaymen)	15,000	12,000	15,768
	Federazione Nazionale Lavoratori Autoferrotramvieri ed Internavigatori (Bus, Tramway and Inland Waterway Workers)	—	10,000	13,000
	Federazione Italiana Lavoratori Trasporti e Ausiliari del Traffico (Transport Workers)	—	5,000	15,173
	Libero Sindacato Nazionale Gente dell'Aria (Civil Aviation)	—	—	600
	Sindacato Autonomo Unificato Ferroviari Italiani (Railwaymen)	—	—	30,043

Country	Organization	31 December		
		1949	1950	1951
Jamaica	Maritime Union of Jamaica	I	I	I
	Jamaican Government Railway Employees' Union	I	I	I
	Tramway, Transport and General Workers' Union	I	I	I
Japan	All-Japan Seamen's Union	145,229	100,000	100,000
	National Railway Workers' Union	450,000	440,800	386,967
	Federation of Municipal Transport Workers' Unions	30,000	30,000	30,000
	General Federation of Taxi Workers' Unions	4,446	4,400	3,700
	Travel Bureau Trade Union	1,912	1,900	1,900
	General Federation of Private Railway Workers	—	—	100,000
Kenya	East African Railway Asian Union	1,698	1,600	1,600*
Lebanon	Syndicat des Chauffeurs des voitures privées	2,500*	2,500	2,500*
Luxembourg	Landesverband Luxemburger Eisenbahner (Railwaymen)	5,500	5,475	5,400
Mexico	Alianza de Tranviarios de Mexico (Tramwaymen)	4,017	4,000	4,100
Netherlands	Centrale Bond van Werknemers in het Transportbedrijf (Seamen, Inland Boatmen, Dockers, Road Transport Workers)	34,253	35,581	35,222
	Centrale van Kapiteins en Officieren ter Koopvaardij (Ships' Officers)	6,695	6,951	6,778
	Nederlandse Vereniging van Vervoerspersoneel (Railwaymen and Tramwaymen)	25,411	25,489	25,444
	Federatie van Verenigingen van Vliegend Personeel (Civil Aviation)	—	—	754
	Algemene Bond van Luchtvaartpersoneel (Ground Staff)	—	—	1,035

Country	Organization	31 December		
		1949	1950	1951
Netherlands West Indies	Surinaamse Haven- en Transportarbeiders Bond (Dockers)	400*	400*	400*
New Zealand	Federated Seamen's Union of New Zealand	2,500	2,500	2,500
	New Zealand Waterside Workers' Union	S	E	—
	New Zealand Locomotive Engineers, Firemen and Cleaners' Association	2,310	2,250	2,127
	Federated Cook and Stewards Union of New Zealand	—	—	850
Norway	Norsk Sjømannsforbund (Seamen)	26,000	30,000	30,000
	Norsk Maskinistforbund (Ships' Engineers)	4,000	4,000	4,900
	Norsk Styrmandsforening (Mates)	3,300	3,340	3,400
	Norsk Transportarbeider- forbund (Dockers, Road Transport Workers)	23,330	23,774	24,233
	Norsk Jernbaneforbund (Railwaymen)	20,777	21,237	21,237
	Norsk Lokomotivmands- forbund (Locomotivemen)	2,220	2,237	2,316
Pakistan	Pakistan Transport Workers' Federation	57,000	60,000*	60,000*
Rhodesia	Rhodesia Railway Workers' Union	3,910	4,020	4,800
Saar	Einheitsgewerkschaft der Eisenbahner (Railwaymen)	—	11,000	8,000
St. Lucia	St. Lucia Seamen's and Waterfront Workers' Trade Union	400*	400*	400*
South Africa	South African Council of Transport Workers	5,700	4,000	4,000
Spain	Sindicato Nacional Ferro- viario (Railwaymen)	12,000	12,000	12,000
	Federación Nacional del Transporte UGT (Trans- port Workers)	13,000	11,000	10,000

Country	Organization	31 December		
		1949	1950	1951
Straits Settlements	National Chinese Seamen's Union	3,000*	I	I
Sweden	Svenska Sjöfolksförbundet (Seamen)	15,000	13,636	12,736
	Svenska Maskinbefälsförbundet (Ships' Engineers)	3,248	3,419	3,817
	Svenska Transportarbetareförbundet (Dockers and Road Transport Workers)	39,819	40,114	41,000
	Svenska Järnvägsmannaförbundet (Railwaymen)	67,237	67,307	67,913
	Handelstjänstemannaförbundet (Salaried Staff in Transport and Civil Aviation)	3,000	3,000	3,000
Switzerland	Verband der Handels-, Transport- und Lebensmittelarbeiter der Schweiz (Inland Boatmen and Dockers, Road Transport Workers)	9,701	9,401	9,579
	Schweizerischer Eisenbahnerverband (Railwaymen)	43,365	43,384	43,506
	Verband des Personals öffentlicher Dienste, Sektion Luftfahrt (Civil Aviation)	608	623	634
Syria	Syndicat des Chauffeurs (Motor Drivers)	I	I	I
Trieste	Sindacato Triestino dei Marittimi Democratici (Seafarers)	—	—	376
	Sindacato Triestino dei Portuali Democratici (Dockers)	—	—	200
Trinidad	Seamen and Waterfront Workers' Trade Union	1,800*	2,000	4,000
	Trinidad and Tobago Transport Workers' Council	—	—	
United States	Seafarers' International Union of North America	51,000	51,000	51,000
	National Organization of Masters, Mates and Pilots	9,000*	9,000	9,000

Country	Organization	31 December		
		1949	1950	1951
	International Longshoremen's Association (AFL)	—	77,500	75,000
	Radio Officers' Union	1,275	1,300*	1,300
	Railway Labor Executives' Association	705,882	833,777	833,777
	Air Line Pilots' Association	5,000	6,100	6,300
	International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Warehousemen and Helpers of America	50,000	50,000	50,000
Uruguay	Federación Ferroviaria y Ramas Anexas del Uruguay (Railwaymen)	7,600	7,800	7,500

* estimate.

† relations interrupted, omitted from total.

I membership ineffective, omitted from total.

S suspended from membership, omitted from total.

E expelled by Congress 1950.

Relations with Affiliated Organizations

UNITED STATES

When in the United States early in 1950, Mr. Becu met representatives of all the seafarers' organizations in the United States, of which two are affiliated with the I.T.F., at a conference held on 20 and 21 March in Washington. The Conference was attended by three organizations belonging to the A.F. of L., three to the C.I.O. and one independent. The first question discussed was that of the boycott of the Panamanian flag. Mr. Becu informed them of the negative result of all discussions and communications with the Panamanian Government and emphasized that the time for action had come. The object of the discussion was to ascertain exactly what part the United States seafarers' organizations could take in an action against Panamanian flag ships.

After a full discussion in which the United States organizations stated what they could and what they could not do, the Conference adopted a resolution of which we quote the last two paragraphs:

"It is the considered opinion of this Conference that the only solution to this serious question is that all American seamen's unions, together with the labor movement generally, must take collective action to put an end to this condition as quickly as possible.

"Further, this Conference recognizes the splendid work done in this question on a world-wide basis by the I.T.F. and hails the meeting to be held in Amsterdam in April, and we will co-operate in every way to have the I.T.F. Conference successfully develop a program to eliminate this union-busting tactic in world maritime circles."

The discussion led also to a decision to send a United States representative to the Seafarers' Conference of the I.T.F. held in Amsterdam on 17 April 1950.

The next point discussed with the United States seafarers' organizations was the Communist campaign against the transport of arms under the Atlantic Pact. Mr. Becu informed them about the situation in Europe and the action taken by the European seafarers' and dockers' organizations, and explained what further action was necessary, particularly in France and the Mediterranean area. The object was to induce the United States affiliates of the I.T.F. to take an active interest in the struggle. The response was good, as will be gathered from the resolution adopted, from which we quote the following last paragraph:

"Further, we shall call upon the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations, and through these channels upon the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, with the view to holding in the United States at the earliest possible and most convenient time a conference of all American transport workers' trade unions, in conjunction with the International Transport Workers' Federation, in order to formulate the necessary measures to be taken to counteract the disruptive and subversive activities of the Communists in Europe and elsewhere in the transport industry."

The United States organizations also promised to consider what financial contribution they could make to the campaign to be waged by the I.T.F. against the Communists, and the Seafarers' International Union later made a contribution of \$5,000.

Advantage was taken of the opportunity to discuss once more with the leaders of the International Longshoremen's Association, whose support in the action against the Panamanian flag was necessary, the question of its relations with the I.T.F. Some time before Mr. Becu went to the United States, this organization had published a manifesto to support it in its action against Communist disruption. It was pointed out to them that such moral support was welcome but was really not enough. The friendly and cordial exchange of views ended with the definite promise that the organization would affiliate forthwith and they applied and were admitted to membership in May 1950.

The Seafarers' International Union of America held its convention in March 1951. It rejected a decision of the Seafarers' Section Conference, held in London on 18 and 19 January 1951, to levy a special contribution of 2d. per member for the Special Seafarers' Section of the I.T.F. for the organization of Panamanian ship crews. The refusal was motivated as follows:

"On this matter our people feel that funds derived from special contributions could be used to finance a more serious problem at this time and that is to help finance the maintenance of Vigilant Committees to fight the Commies on the waterfronts. I am forwarding our cheque in the amount of \$1,000 to Willy Dorchain, along with a copy of this letter. This contribution is more than the equivalent of 2d. per member although recommended for a different purpose."

The Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen and the Order of Railway Conductors have withdrawn from the Railway Labor Executives' Association through which they were affiliated to the I.T.F. The B.L.F.E. stopped its payment of I.T.F. affiliation fees (\$3,085.90 per year) to the R.L.E.A. from 1 July 1950, and the O.R.C. (\$1,542.96 per year) from 31 December 1950.

Endeavours to induce these organizations to maintain their affiliation with the I.T.F. have failed, but the bonds with the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen are not entirely broken. Friendly relations continue to exist and the organization made in April 1951 a "contribution" of \$500 towards the I.T.F. budget.

The Railway Labor Executives' Association for a long time generously continued to pay its affiliation fees at the dollar rate after the devaluation of the pound sterling, but in 1951 they informed us that they could not continue to do so, but as partial compensation they raised their affiliated membership to 928,777 members, of whom 95,000 were to be separately recorded as membership in Canada. Separate calculation of affiliation fees for 833,777 members in the United States and 95,000 in Canada would amount to more than the £6,086 actually paid for 1951, but in view of the special circumstances of the affiliation of this Association, the Executive Committee gladly agreed to the arrangement.

CANADA AND SWITZERLAND

When the pound sterling was devalued the Executive Committee decided to ask of organizations in countries whose currency had either not been devalued or had been devalued to a lesser extent than the pound, the payment of affiliation fees at the pre-devaluation rate. The organizations in Canada and Switzerland generously agreed.

GREEK SEAMEN

In March 1950 the Secretariat of the I.T.F. asked the Pan-Hellenic Seamen's Federation to appeal to the Greek Government not to carry out the death sentences on Communist leaders of the dissolved Federation of Greek Maritime Unions. The Pan-Hellenic Federation reported on 30 May that they had complied with the request and that it had been decided not to carry out the death sentences on Ambatielos and other leaders of the Communist organization.

FRENCH PASSENGER TRANSPORT WORKERS' FEDERATION

In a report to the I.T.F. in 1950 this organization explained that owing to lack of funds it could not undertake the necessary propaganda drive for setting up new branches in a considerable number of major cities. It submitted a plan for a campaign of several months and showed that the expense would amount to over £1,000, a sum which the Federation could not afford out of its own funds. The Management Committee decided to make a grant of £500.

ESTONIAN SEAMEN'S UNION IN SWEDEN AND SWEDISH SEAMEN'S UNION

Difficulties arose in Sweden at the end of 1950 about Estonian-owned ships sailing under the Panamanian flag. In view of the special position of these ships it had been agreed that they should be allowed to apply a differential of 5 per cent over and above N.M.B. conditions, instead of the 20 per cent differential laid down for other ships flying the Panamanian and similar flags. But a considerable number of them operated from Swedish ports in direct competition with Swedish ships; moreover, Estonian owners were adding to the number of these ships and manning them partly with non-Estonian crews—which was calculated to have adverse effects on the standards of the Swedish seafarers. The matter was considered at the conference of the Seafarers' Section of the I.T.F. held in London in January 1951, when it was recalled that the concession to Estonian-owned ships had been made in the interests of the Estonian seamen, not to give the owners a competitive advantage. It was agreed that the arrangement should not be allowed to be exploited. After consultation on the subject the Estonian Seamen's Union and Swedish Seamen's Unions came to an agreement on the basis that Swedish-based Estonian ships should apply N.M.B. conditions plus 20 per cent, and collective agreements subsequently negotiated by the Estonian Union have approximately conformed to that standard.

ITALY

The two free trade union centres in Italy, led by Pastore and Canini, decided at an Amalgamation Congress held in February 1950, to merge and bring into being by 1 May the Italian Confederation of Free Trade Unions.

The seamen's unions affiliated to these two trade union centres have amalgamated and the new Federation of Italian Seafarers is affiliated with the I.T.F. by virtue of a decision reached by the Executive Committee at its meeting from 6 to 8 February 1950.

The dockers' unions affiliated to the two centres have also merged and the new amalgamated organization has joined the I.T.F. Even before the act of affiliation was completed, we gave the organization plenty of moral support through publicity in the I.T.F. Press Reports, which have been extensively quoted in the trade union and general press.

The Italian National Union of Railwaymen, affiliated to the I.T.F. since July 1949, withdrew from the Italian Federation of Labour (one of the amalgamating centres) shortly before the Amalgamation Congress. It held a general delegate meeting which proclaimed the Union's independence of any of the then existing trade union centres, but later it joined a new centre that had come into being, the Italian Union of Labour.

As a result of discussions on the occasion of the Seafarers' Conference in Amsterdam an I.T.F. delegation consisting of Messrs. Becu, Tennant and Ferri-Pisani went to Italy on 1 May 1950, and negotiated agreements with owners of Panamanian flag ships.

PAKISTAN

The Pakistan Transport Workers' Federation, which is affiliated with the I.T.F. wrote on 7 April 1950 that they have a vast field of organization to cover. There are 250,000 railwaymen, 50,000 inland navigation workers, 15,000 dockers, 50,000 seamen and between 100,000 and 150,000 road transport workers. Up to the present about 20 per cent have been organized. Brother Faiz Ahmed, General Secretary of the Federation, accepted an invitation to attend the I.T.F. Stuttgart Congress at the I.T.F.'s expense.

GREEK DOCKERS' FEDERATION

The Greek Dockers' Federation affiliated with the I.T.F. in 1946 but relations were interrupted through the civil war in Greece and the consequent changes in the trade union movement of that country. In reply to a letter sent in March 1951 the organization has resumed relations with the I.T.F. but it is not yet in a position to pay the full affiliation fees. The Management Committee have accepted an affiliation fee of £15 for 1951 and £20 for 1952. In the course of 1952 the affiliation fee will be reviewed.

GREEK RAILWAYMEN'S WORKING HOURS

As a result of a decision of the Utrecht Railwaymen's Conference a new approach was made to the Greek Government, through its Ambassador in London, on 19 October 1951. In our letter a reasoned and documented reply was given to the Government's statement of 29 June.

At the same time we wrote to the I.L.O., enclosing a copy of our letter, and asking for a statement of the obligations assumed by the Greek Government in ratifying the Hours of Rest in Industry Convention of 1921. A full statement was received, dated 6 November, which was passed on to the Pan-Hellenic Railwaymen's Federation on 23 November.

DISAFFILIATION OF EGYPTIAN GENERAL UNION OF MOTOR DRIVERS

On 8 December 1951 we received from Mr. Zein el Din a telegram to say that his union had decided to disaffiliate from the I.T.F. We wrote on 20 December expressing surprise and regret, and asking for an explanation, but no reply had been received up to the end of the year.

TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO TRANSPORT WORKERS' COUNCIL

In response to a request from the Trinidad and Tobago Transport Workers' Council, the Secretariat commented on 24 October 1951 on the draft of a proposed Ordinance relating to the railways of Trinidad, and gave the organization some advice as to improvements that might be secured. In a letter dated 7 December they informed us that a memorandum on the lines of our recommendation had been submitted to the Trinidad Minister of Communications and Works.

GERMAN RAILWAYMEN HELP ITALIAN VICTIMS OF FLOODS

The German Railwaymen's Union wrote on 17 December 1951 announcing that they had decided to grant the sum of DM 5,000 to help Italian railwaymen affected by the recent floods in Italy. This sum was shared equally between the two affiliated Italian railwaymen's unions.

PROPOSED CO-OPERATION OF INDIAN TRANSPORT WORKERS' ORGANIZATIONS

While in Brussels in November 1951 the General Secretary met Brother Mungat, late Secretary of our Bombay office, who is now working for the I.C.F.T.U. in the Far East, and discussed with him a proposal to set up a Co-ordinating and Advisory Committee of Indian transport workers' unions. He discussed the same matter with Brother Guruswami, of the All-Indian Railwaymen's Federation, on the occasion of the I.L.O. Inland Transport Committee meeting at Genoa in December, and our Bombay office was also asked to explore the possibility of setting up such a committee.

JAPAN

In the course of 1951 our affiliated organizations in Japan were able to secure the foreign currency necessary to pay their affiliation fees for the year 1950. They were hoping to secure at an early date what was necessary to cover 1951 also, but this had not materialized at the end of the period.

ZENKOKU RYOKAKU JIDOSHA RODO KUMIAI RENGOKAI (ALL-JAPAN PASSENGER TRANSPORT WORKERS' FEDERATION)

This organization, affiliated to the I.T.F. in 1950, wrote us on 3 March 1951 that its congress had refused to ratify the affiliation. It appeared that the difficulty was less opposition to affiliation with the I.T.F. as such than objection to the officials of the organization having acted without authority. A later letter, dated 15 November 1951, stated that its Executive Committee after giving the matter further consideration, had decided on 1 October to revoke the decision to disaffiliate.

Relations with Unaffiliated Organizations

During the period under review the Secretariat has been in correspondence with a large number of unions, largely in colonial and ex-colonial territories in Africa and the Far East, which may be regarded as prospective members of the I.T.F. In many cases, of course, the relations will take some time to develop. The organizations are mostly small ones and not very wealthy, but the I.T.F. already has within its ranks most of the transport workers in the larger and more highly developed countries—apart, of course, from those behind the Iron Curtain—and it is largely to these smaller organizations that it will have to look in the future for any increase in the number of its affiliates.

For many of the contacts we have to thank the delegations which the I.C.F.T.U. has sent during the period to the Far East and different regions of Africa.

Mr. Roger Dekeyzer, President of our affiliated Belgian Transport Workers' Union, was a member of one of these delegations, which visited the Far East in July and August 1950. He kindly undertook to try to get in touch with transport workers' unions in that region, and on his return provided us with a very useful report, from which we extract the information immediately following.

In *Western Pakistan* Mr. Dekeyzer met representatives of the *Karachi Port Workers' Union*, the *Merchant Navy Seamen's Union* and the *Transport and Carriers' Association*. He found that the conditions under which the Pakistan seamen live and work were very poor. They asked that the I.T.F. should undertake an investigation into these conditions and secure for them the right to work on British vessels on a footing of equality with the Indian seamen.

In *Calcutta* he contacted the *Indian Seamen's Union*, and got the impression that it was fairly well run. Organizing seamen in India, however, is extremely difficult on account of the heavy unemployment. The Maritime Board in Calcutta can sign on only about 25,000 men a year, though there are constantly something like 100,000 seeking employment on board ship. Seamen are also the victims of exploitation and barely disguised robbery. *Dock workers* in Calcutta are organized in two rival unions, one belonging to the *Hind Mazdoor Sabha (H.M.S.)* and the other to the *Indian National Trade Union Congress (I.N.T.U.C.)*.

In *East Pakistan* about 60 per cent. of the 165,000 members of the *All-Pakistan Federation of Labour* are transport workers—railwaymen, inland waterwaymen, rickshawallahs, teamsters, taxi drivers and dockers. Most inland waterwaymen are members of the *Bengal Mariners' Union*. They asked that the I.T.F. should endeavour to secure ratification by Pakistan of I.L.O. conventions applicable to them. It appeared that in East Pakistan the police regard all trade union activities as subversive.

In *Burma* Mr. Dekeyzer contacted the leaders of the *Port Workers' Union* (3,000 members), the *Railway Workers' Union* (with 21,000 members out of a total of 25,000 railwaymen) and the *Inland Water Transport Employees' Union* (600 members). All were urged to affiliate with the I.T.F., and the railwaymen's representatives promised to report to their members on the question.

In the *Philippine Islands* Mr. Dekeyzer addressed meetings of leaders and members of the *Dockers'* and *Railwaymen's* unions. In this country the trade unions appear to suffer from corruption, as do all other institutions, official and private. Conditions do not appear yet to be ripe for regular relations.

And finally in *Malaya* he had a talk with the President of the *All-Malaya Railwaymen's Union* (45,000 members) and secured a promise that the question of affiliation would be submitted for discussion and decision.

The Government Trade Union Adviser in the *Sudan* was kind enough to give us the addresses of five transport workers' unions in that country, the *Sudan Railway Workers' Union, Atbara*, the *Mechanical Transport Department Workers' Union, Khartoum*, the *Taxi Drivers' Union, Khartoum*, the *Sudan Government Motor Vehicle Drivers' Union, Khartoum*, and the *Non-Government Car Drivers' Union, Omdurman*.

The representative of the Dutch Ships' Officers' Union in *Indonesia* visited *Hong Kong* in December 1950 and found that there were several seamen's unions there, all more or less under Communist influence, which is spreading rapidly, though the *Hong Kong Branch* of the *Chinese Seamen's Union* is still relatively free from it. The union has 21,000 members, and Mr. Möller satisfied himself that 16,000 contributions had been paid for the year. It showed interest in the activities of the I.T.F. and in the forthcoming Asiatic Maritime Conference. Conditions are complicated by smuggling and rackets run by boarding house keepers and labour contractors. In his contacts with shipowners' agents on the spot Mr. Möller emphasized that these rackets could best be remedied by orderly registration and recruitment of seamen.

In December 1951 Mr. Joviano Soares, Honorary Secretary of our Bombay Office, visited *Burma* on our behalf to attend the meeting of the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East, and contacted the three organizations mentioned above as having been visited by Mr. Dekeyzer. He reported very favourably on the *Port Workers' Union*, which is organized on solid lines and was keen on establishing relations with the democratic trade union movement of other countries. On the other hand the leader of the *Railway Workers' Union* was not anxious for the moment to tie himself to any particular international organization, and the leader of the *Inland Water Transport Employees' Union* is apparently a prominent member of the Communist Party.

The Commonwealth Council of the *Australian Railways Union* is a Communist-controlled body, but we have been in contact with the *New South Wales Branch*, which is under anti-Communist leadership. Its Secretary wrote in May 1950 that he intended to recommend the next State Conference of the Union, to be held towards the end of 1951, to seek affiliation with the I.T.F. on a State basis.

When in *Mexico* towards the end of 1950, Brother A. E. Lyon contacted the *Mexican Railwaymen's Union*. A Congress of this organization held in 1949 sanctioned affiliation with the I.T.F. but while relations are on a more or less friendly basis no effect has so far been given to the decision.

Serikat Pelajar Seluruh Indonesia (Indonesian Seamen's Union). On 30 November 1951 we received from Mr. J. K. C. Möller, representative of the Dutch Federation of Trade Unions in Djakarta, copy of a letter sent to him on 19 November by the President of this union, in which they say that they have long been considering affiliation with the I.T.F., but that financial difficulties stand in the way. We wrote to Mr. Möller explaining that special financial arrangements could be made. Further correspondence suggests that the difficulty is more political than financial. The union is clearly anxious to have some link with the international trade union movement, but it shares the apprehensions of the Trade Union Centre of Indonesia about affiliating with any particular international organization.

Israeli Dockers. On learning in mid-September that a delegation of Israeli dockers was planning to visit Stockholm, Rotterdam, Antwerp and Genoa in November 1951, we advised our affiliated organizations in Sweden, Holland, Belgium and Italy. As a result the delegation was received hospitably and assisted wherever it went, and advised to affiliate with the I.T.F. A difficulty is that though they belong to Histadruth, the Israeli national trade union centre, they have no special union of their own, but they declared that they would try to found one on their return. On 15 November we wrote to the Secretary of the Tel Aviv Labour Council, who was a member of the delegation, sending information about the I.T.F. and suggesting the establishment of relations. No reply had been received up to the end of 1951.

When the period ended applications for affiliation were still awaiting endorsement by the Executive Committee from:

Sindicato de Trabajadores Avianca, an organization of civil aviation workers in Colombia.

Nyasaland Railway Asian Union.

Indian Quartermasters' Union.

Trade Union of Port and Shipping Workers of East Africa.

We have also been in touch, among many others, with the *Indian National Railway Workers' Federation*, *Indian Dockers' Federation* (in process of formation), *East Pakistan Mariners' Association* ("seriously considering affiliation"), *Pakistan Railwaymen's Federation*, a trade unionist in the Cameroons, *Eastern Motor Transport Workers' Union*, *Nigeria*, *African Railway Workers' Union*, *Northern Rhodesia*, *Istanbul Elektrik ve Motorlu Tasi* (Constantinople Tramwaymen's Union), *Turkish Merchant Navy Electricians*, *Cargo Workers' Union*, *Auckland*, *New Zealand* (which is trying to establish a new Dockers' Union in that country), etc.

II

Administration and Internal Organization

THE CONGRESS

The period under review saw the highly successful Congress of the I.T.F. at Stuttgart from 21 to 29 July 1950. This was the first time it had been held on German soil since the Hamburg Congress of 1924. The increasing number of questions which have to be dealt with by the I.T.F. congresses made it necessary to extend it beyond the five or six days which had been usual in the past.

The Congress was attended by 181 delegates from 63 organizations in 22 countries, representing 3,366,779 members, and they had come from countries as far afield as Japan, Pakistan and North and South America. We were honoured by the presence of fraternal delegates from the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, the International Federation of Air Line Pilots' Associations, the American Federation of Labour, the Free Trade Union Committee of the A.F. of L., the Scandinavian Transport Workers' Federation, the Italian Autonomous Railwaymen's Union, the Italian Confederation of Labour Unions, the New Zealand Federated Cooks' and Stewards' Union and the German Federation of Trade Unions; as well as the President of the Diet of Wuerttemberg-Baden, a Permanent Secretary of the Government of Baden, the Mayor of Stuttgart, a representative of the United States High Commissioner for Germany and representatives of the United States and British High Commissions for Germany, the Economic Co-operation Administration and the International Labour Office.

Following our usual custom we had invited as guests four old I.T.F. veterans, Charles Lindley, former President, J. Brautigam, and A. Kievit, former members of the Management Committee, and J. Döring, a former member of the Executive Committee. Also E. Zeli, of Switzerland, Walter Auerbach, a former member of the I.T.F. staff, and a number of comrades who distinguished themselves in the underground movement in Germany during the war: Friedel Jahn, wife of the President of the German Railwaymen's Union, K. Kummerowski, P. Emmen, M. Peschel, J. Bolling, Max Pester, M. Hertmann, O. Faller and K. Molt.

The following resolutions were adopted by the Congress:

RESOLUTION ON FORTY-HOUR WEEK—congratulating transport workers who have achieved the forty or forty-four-hour week or other improvements on the eight-hour day; inviting all transport workers and

their unions to work for the reduction of hours of work with a view to achieving a forty-hour week as soon as the economic possibilities of their countries permit; and inviting the I.L.O. to undertake an enquiry to ascertain in which countries and for what reasons workers in road and rail transport are still deprived of the benefits of the forty-eight-hour week.

RESOLUTION ON RELATIONS WITH THE I.C.F.T.U.—declaring that the relations between the I.T.F. and I.C.F.T.U. 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; welcoming the steps taken by the I.C.F.T.U. to set up machinery for co-operating with the I.T.S.; approving the maintenance of the Co-ordinating Committee of the I.T.S. for the purpose of collective representation on the governing and executive bodies of the I.C.F.T.U.; and assuring the I.C.F.T.U. of the whole-hearted support of the free transport workers' trade unions.

RESOLUTION ON THE TRANSPORT OF ARMS—expressing confidence in the declarations of the democratic countries; endorsing the Atlantic Pact; approving the action taken by the I.T.F. to ensure the transport of arms sent from the United States to Western Europe; approving the action of the I.T.F. Vigilance Committees; and calling upon members of the I.T.F. to continue carrying all arms and ammunition the purpose of which is to prevent or repel an attack against free peoples.

RESOLUTION ON THE JAPANESE ECONOMY—pointing out that Japan, owing to the high density of its population needs to participate in international trade if it is to be able to import agricultural produce; expressing the sympathy of the transport workers of the democratic world with the Japanese transport workers; asking the Seafarers' and Fishermen's Sections of the I.T.F. to undertake a study of Japanese maritime problems with a view to the adoption of a policy to be laid before the Occupation Authorities in Japan.

RESOLUTION ON HOURS OF WORK ON THE GREEK RAILWAYS—criticizing the Greek Government for failing to apply the Washington Eight-Hour Convention to all railway personnel and instructing the Secretariat and Executive Committee of the I.T.F. to support the representations made to its Government by the Pan-Hellenic Federation of Railwaymen and, should this action be unsuccessful, to take steps to have the Greek Government summoned before the International Court of Justice.

RESOLUTION ON EVACUATED GREEK CHILDREN—expressing sympathy with the families of the 28,000 Greek children deported to neighbouring countries by the Greek rebels; appealing to the Governments of these countries to return these children to their homes, and inviting those Governments which maintain diplomatic relations with Greece's neighbours to use their influence to see that this is done, and the U.N.O. to take similar steps and to organize the repatriation of the children.

RESOLUTION ON E.R.P. AND O.E.E.C.—expressing appreciation of the help given by the people of the United States to further the economic recovery of Europe; demanding that facilities be provided for the trade unions to have direct representation on the O.E.E.C.; calling upon members of the I.T.F. to do their utmost to convince public opinion, parliaments and governments of the need to extend and intensify economic co-operation between the peoples of Western Europe; and calling upon the Western European Governments to take the steps necessary to remove all causes of difference, whether due to private interests or concepts of national sovereignty, so that agreement could be reached on a policy that would ensure the attainment of these objectives.

RESOLUTION ON THE GERMAN FEDERAL RAILWAYS—expressing the view that the proposal to dismiss 80,000 German railwaymen, contained in a report to the Occupation Authorities in Germany, would, if carried out, bring in its train disastrous repercussions and be harmful to the cause of democracy in Germany.

RESOLUTION ON THE WORKERS BEHIND THE IRON CURTAIN—pledging the I.T.F. to do everything possible to make clear to the world the way in which the workers are exploited under Soviet domination; promising to do everything possible to help these workers and to restore a system of free labour and free trade unionism in all countries whose workers have lost their basic rights.

RESOLUTION ON DICTATORSHIPS—proclaiming the hostility of the transport workers to all dictatorial regimes; urging democratic governments to limit their dealings with the dictatorial governments and to refrain from any act calculated to strengthen the ideological or political hold of the dictators over the peoples whom they rule; and warning 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.

RESOLUTION ON THE FREE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT IN FRANCE AND ITALY—welcoming the rise and affiliation to the I.T.F. of free trade unions of transport workers in France and Italy; congratulating these unions on having seized the initiative in the struggle for the improvement of living and working conditions; and calling upon all transport workers in France and Italy to join the new free organizations.

RESOLUTION ON THE BERLIN RAILWAYMEN—protesting against the victimization by the Soviet authorities of the railwaymen who took part in the Berlin strike of 1948; and expressing the hope that the negotiations started by the German Railwaymen's Union with the Berlin Municipal Council, the Bonn Government and Allied High Commissioners should lead as soon as possible to satisfaction of the legitimate demands of these railwaymen.

EXPULSION OF THE CANADIAN SEAMEN'S UNION, THE NEW ZEALAND WATERSIDE WORKERS' UNION AND FINNISH TRANSPORT WORKERS' UNION.—Three resolutions were adopted, deciding on the expulsion of these unions for action harmful to the interests of the I.T.F. and for maintaining relations with the W.F.T.U.

RESOLUTION ON THE WAR IN KOREA—denouncing the North Korean Communist regime for its aggression against South Korea; endorsing the United Nations' decision to resist this aggression; pledging support to the troops fighting for freedom and democracy; calling upon members of the I.T.F. to do everything in their power to ensure the shipment of arms to the fighting front; and declaring its readiness to join in the development of a vigorous offensive against the sham Stockholm Peace offensive of the Cominform and the W.F.T.U.

AMENDMENTS TO THE CONSTITUTION—

The Congress further adopted a number of minor amendments to the Constitution of the I.T.F.; the two most important being those which allow the unions of one country to have four representatives on the General Council, instead of three as formerly, and a single union to have two representatives when its size and composition make it desirable to provide for more adequate representation of the several transport industries of the country concerned.

The discussion on the Constitution revealed a number of anomalies, and the Congress instructed the Executive Committee to undertake its complete revision and to submit a new draft to the next Congress.

Resolutions Submitted by the Sections

The following resolutions, adopted by the Congress, were sponsored by the different sectional conferences:

RESOLUTION ON ASIAN SEAFARERS (Seafarers' Section)—urging Asian seamen to organize themselves more effectively and to affiliate with the I.T.F.; urging the desirability of a joint organization of Indian and Pakistani seamen; asking the Secretariat to formulate a scheme of social security for all Asian seamen and to press for its early adoption; and suggesting to the Indian and Pakistani Governments and to the shipowners concerned the desirability of establishing an Indo-Pakistani Maritime Board to regulate the employment and working conditions of the seamen concerned—offering to all concerned the active support of the I.T.F.

RESOLUTION ON REGIONAL MINIMUM WAGES AND CONDITIONS (Seafarers' Section)—calling upon the unions organizing seafarers engaged in the near-sea and inter-coastal trades of the North and Baltic Seas area 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 effort to raise seafarers' conditions to the regional level.

RESOLUTION ON FIXING OF REGIONAL FREIGHT RATES (Seafarers' Section)—pointing out the danger of the fierce competition in the near-sea and inter-coastal trades of the North and Baltic Seas area; expressing the hope that the International Chamber of Shipping and the ship-owners associated with it would co-operate to establish adequate minimum freight rates; and declaring the willingness of the seamen's unions to co-operate towards ensuring the effectiveness of any steps taken in that direction.

RESOLUTION ON A REGIONAL MARITIME CONFERENCE (Seafarers' Section)—declaring the need to establish regional basic wages and conditions for the seafarers engaged in the near-sea and inter-coastal trades of West and North-West Europe; and asking the I.L.O. 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 the area, and to make for the purpose of such a conference a preparatory survey of seafarers' wages and working conditions in that area.

RESOLUTION ON THE BOYCOTT OF ARGENTINE SHIPPING (Dockers' Section)—endorsing a resolution adopted by the Dockers' Section of the I.T.F. at a meeting held in London on 14 July 1950, which decided to do everything possible to prevent the loading and discharge of Argentine ships, as a measure to support the Argentine seamen in the strike in which they were engaged at the time.

RESOLUTION ON LABOUR REPRESENTATION AT INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCES AND INQUIRIES OF THE FISHING INDUSTRY (Fishermen's Section)—protesting against the reluctance of governments to admit fishermen's representatives to participation in conferences and inquiries connected with the fishing industry and instructing the Secretariat to make representation with a view to rectifying the position.

RESOLUTION ON FISHERMEN'S INTERNATIONAL SOCIAL PROGRAMME (Fishermen's Section)—regretting the slow progress made by the I.L.O. in dealing with questions relating to the fishery industry and instructing the Secretariat of the I.T.F. to take steps to hasten the matter.

RESOLUTION ON FLIGHT CREW COMPLEMENT (Civil Aviation Section)—setting out, for communication to the I.C.A.O., a number of minimum standards for the crews of aircraft engaged in civil aviation.

RESOLUTION ON THE CARRIAGE OF 500 KC/S EQUIPMENT (Civil Aviation Section)—protesting against the tendency of certain air carriers to dispense with the use of 500 kc/s radio equipment; and asking the Secretariat to urge upon I.C.A.O. the need to check this tendency.

GENERAL COUNCIL*

The following were members of the General Council at the beginning of 1950:

<i>Countries or Groups</i>	<i>Members and Substitutes</i>
Austria	V. Uebeleis (R); K. Weigl (T).
Canada	J. McGuire (R).
France	A. Lafond (R); E. Ehlers (S).
Germany	H. Jahn (R); J. Hatje (R). A. Kummernuss (T); H. Davidsen (S).
United Kingdom	J. B. Figgins (R). A. Deakin (T); D. S. Tennant (S). G. Beardsworth (T).
Spain	T. Gómez (R); A. Pérez (R).
Sweden	S. Christiansson (R); R. Helgesson (T).
United States	A. E. Lyon (R). H. Lundeberg (S); M. Weisberger (S). D. J. Tobin (RT); G. M. Harrison (R).
Belgium, Eire, Luxembourg, Holland and Switzerland	O. Becu (T & S), Belgium; G. Devaux (R), Belgium. G. Joustra (R), Holland; T. Smeding (T & S), Holland. R. Bratschi (R), Switzerland; H. Leuenberger (T), Switzerland. M. Leick (R), Luxembourg.
Denmark, Finland, Iceland and Norway	P. Poulsen (T), Denmark; L. Olsen (T), Norway. I. Haugen (S), Norway; Th. Laursen (S), Denmark. G. Widing (R), Finland; J. K. F. Jensen (R), Denmark.
Latin America	None appointed.
Near and Middle East	M. I. Zein el Din (RT), Egypt.
I.T.F. Secretariat	J. H. Oldenbroek and P. Tofahrn.

* The letters in brackets indicate the classes of workers organized by the unions to which they belong: R—Railwaymen; T—Transport Workers generally; RT—Road Transport Workers; S—Seafarers; A—Aviation Workers; D—Dockers. Names starting at edge of column are those of titular members; remainder are substitutes. Where no member or substitute is indicated, the unions in the countries or groups of countries did not make use of their right to nominate one.

The following are the present members of the General Council elected at the Stuttgart Congress. All indications as in the list above.

<i>Countries or Groups</i>	<i>Members and Substitutes</i>
Austria, Switzerland and Saar	K. Weigl (T), Austria; A. Thaler (R), Austria.
	R. Bratschi (R), Switzerland; H. Leuenberger (T), Switzerland.
	E. Welter (R), Saar; V. Uebeleis (R), Austria.
Belgium, Holland and Luxembourg	R. Dekeyzer (T), Belgium; G. Devaux (R), Belgium.
	G. Joustra (R), Holland; P. de Vries (S), Holland.
	M. Leick (R), Luxembourg; J. Remackel (R), Luxembourg.
France	P. Ferri-Pisani (S); A. Lafond (R).
Italy	U. Romagnoli (S); E. Pellegrino (R).
Greece	C. Charissiades (R); P. Kalapothakis (S).
Great Britain	J. B. Figgins (R). A. Deakin (T). T. Yates (S). J. Baty (R).
Germany	A. Kummernuss (T); J. Hatje (R). H. Jahn (R); F. Schreiber (R). K. Klus (R); G. Huber (T). A. Dienst (T); H. Hildebrand (S).
Sweden	H. Blomgren (R); R. Helgesson (T).
Denmark, Eire, Finland, Iceland and Norway	E. Borg (T), Denmark; L. Olsen (T), Norway.
	I. Haugen (S), Norway; Th. Laursen (S), Denmark.
	G. Widing (R), Finland; J. K. F. Jensen (R), Denmark.
Spain	Trifón Gómez (R); A. Pérez (R).
Japan	T. Nishimaki (S); E. Kato (R).
Pakistan, Ceylon, Hong Kong and Singapore	Faiz Ahmed (T).
United States	A. E. Lyon (R). H. Lundeberg (S). J. P. Ryan (D). D. L. Behncke (A).
Near and Middle East	M. I. Zein el Din (RT).
Canada, Latin America, India, Australia and New Zealand	None appointed.
I.T.F. Secretariat	O. Becu and P. Tofahrn.

The General Council met immediately following the Congress, for the sole purpose of electing a President—Mr. Robert Bratschi being chosen—and again at Marseilles on 10 to 12 October 1951.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

At the *beginning* of 1950 the Executive Committee consisted of:

O. Becu, *President*.
R. Bratschi.
S. Christiansson.
T. Gómez.
J. B. Figgins.
G. Joustra.
A. E. Lyon.
J. H. Oldenbroek, *General Secretary*.

The new Executive Committee, elected at the Stuttgart Congress and still in office at the *end* of 1951, consists of:

R. Bratschi, *President*.
G. Joustra.
P. Ferri-Pisani.
A. Deakin.
H. Jahn.
I. Haugen.
T. Gómez.
A. E. Lyon.
O. Becu, *General Secretary*.

During the period under review the Executive Committee met on 6, 7 and 8 February 1950 in London; on 15, 16 and 17 May 1950 at Berne; on 20, 24, 26 and 29 (new Executive) July 1950 at Stuttgart; on 29 and 30 January 1951 in London and on 8 and 9 October 1951 in Marseilles.

MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE

The Management Committee elected by the Stuttgart Congress is composed as follows:

J. G. Baty, Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen.
D. S. Tennant, Navigators and Engineer Officers' Union.
G. B. Thorneycroft, Transport Salaried Staffs' Association.
T. Yates, National Union of Seamen.
Mr. Yates was re-elected chairman of the Management Committee.

During the two years the Management Committee met on 16 occasions.

THE SECRETARIAT

The period under review saw the retirement of Mr. J. H. Oldenbroek from his twenty-eight years' association with the I.T.F., as a result of his appointment as General Secretary of the I.C.F.T.U. He retired on 15 February, and his place as General Secretary was taken the next day, in an acting capacity, by Mr. Omer Becu, who had hitherto been President of the I.T.F. The Stuttgart Congress confirmed the appointment in a permanent capacity.

At the end of 1951 the staff of the Secretariat was composed as follows:

General Secretary

O. L. Becu.

Assistant General Secretary

P. Tofahrn.

Translators, Interpreters, etc.

Miss T. Asser (French and book-keeping).
G. R. Clutterbuck (English).
L. Martinez (Spanish).
J. L. Merle (French).
R. Santley (English).
A. Spirig (German).
L. Vincent (Swedish).

Research and Publication Workers

M. Zwalf (chief research officer).
K. A. Golding.
Miss M. Anderson (since 1 June 1950).

General Administration

V. Klatil (senior clerk).
Mrs. J. Spirig.
Mrs. E. Seurre (telephonist and duplicator operator).
Mrs. G. Eady.
A. Cairns (junior clerk—in the Armed Forces since 23 March, 1951).

Shorthand-typists

Mrs. L. Kant.
Miss I. Elmberg (since 15 April 1950).
Miss A. Fank (since 26 June 1950).
Miss A. Nebout (since 26 March 1950).
Miss T. Osborne (since 5 March 1951).
A. Soto.

AUDITORS

The Stuttgart Congress re-elected Messrs. W. T. Potter and J. Haworth to constitute the Committee of Auditors.

ACCOUNTANTS

Messrs. Hesketh, Hardy and Hirshfield, chartered accountants, of London, continued to audit the books and accounts of the I.T.F. during the two years under review.

PUBLICATIONS

During 1950 the *I.T.F. Journal* appeared every two months in English, German and Swedish; since the beginning of 1951 it has appeared monthly.

Throughout the period the *Press Report* has appeared twice monthly in English, German, French, Swedish and Spanish.

AMSTERDAM OFFICE

The Amsterdam Office is now closed. Early in 1951 the Dutch Railwaymen's and Tramwaymen's Union agreed to buy the building from us for the sum of 43,500 guilders (about £4,000), but the transfer had not been completed by the end of the period, owing to legal difficulties which have arisen.

REPRESENTATIONS

1950.

26 - 30 April	.....	.....	Congress of French Railwaymen's Union, Paris—P. Tofahrn.
11 - 13 May	.....	.....	Congress of Austrian Railwaymen's Union, Vienna—O. Becu.
15 - 19 May	.....	.....	Congress of British Railway Clerks' Association, Scarborough—P. Tofahrn.
21 - 23 June	.....	.....	Congress of Danish Railwaymen's Union, Nyborg—G. B. Thorneycroft.
27 June	.....	.....	Congress of Scandinavian Transport Workers' Federation, Bergen—O. Becu.
26 - 28 June	.....	.....	Congress of Dutch Transport Workers' Union, Amsterdam—P. Tofahrn.
7 July	.....	.....	Congress of British National Union of Railwaymen, Morecambe—P. Tofahrn.
16 July	.....	.....	Congress of Belgian Transport Workers' Union, Antwerp—O. Becu.
13 - 20 August	.....	.....	Congress of Swedish Transport Workers' Union, Stockholm—G. B. Thorneycroft and O. Becu.
10 - 14 September	.....	.....	Congress of Danish Transport Workers' Union, Copenhagen—J. Baty.

10 - 16 September	.....	Congress of German Railwaymen's Union, Gelsenkirchen—P. Tofahrn.
18 - 23 September	.....	Working Party, Economic Commission for Europe, Geneva—M. Zwalf.
23 - 24 September	.....	Congress of French Transport Workers' Union, Paris—T. Gómez.
25 September	.....	Congress of Norwegian Seamen's Union, Oslo—T. Yates.
25 September - 4 October		International Railway Congress, Rome—F. Strauss.
26 - 27 September	.....	Tripartite Conference on manning scales in Rhine navigation, Strasbourg (1st Session)—O. Becu.
18 - 19 October	.....	Meeting of Committee for Professional, etc., Workers of the I.C.F.T.U., Brussels—O. Becu.
6 - 9 November	.....	Tripartite Conference on manning scales in Rhine navigation, Strasbourg (2nd Session)—P. Tofahrn.
14 - 15 December	.....	Conference of International Trade Secretariats, Amsterdam—G. Joustra, R. Laan and O. Becu.
20 - 21 December	.....	Meeting of Committee for Professional, etc., Workers of the I.C.F.T.U., Brussels—O. Becu.

1951.

5 - 10 February	.....	Working Party, Economic Commission for Europe, Geneva—M. Zwalf.
19 February	.....	Meeting of Emergency Committee of the I.C.F.T.U., Brussels—O. Becu.
20 February	.....	Funeral Ch. Vejre, Copenhagen — Th. Laursen.
12 - 13 March	.....	Conference of International Trade Secretariats, Geneva—O. Becu.
9 - 13 April	.....	Congress of International Federation of Air Line Pilots' Associations, Amsterdam—K. Golding.
13 - 14 April	.....	Congress of Austrian Transport Workers' Union, Vienna—O. Becu.
18 - 21 April	.....	I.C.F.T.U. Non-Manual Workers' Congress, Brussels—G. B. Thorneycroft and O. Becu.
18 - 23 April	.....	Meeting of Railway Committee, Economic Council for Europe, Geneva—P. Tofahrn.
8 - 10 May	.....	Congress of Danish Locomotivemen's Union, Aarhus—E. Borg.
12 May	.....	Funeral J. Döring, Hamburg—P. Tofahrn.

22 - 25 May	.....	.....	Meeting of Joint Maritime Commission I.L.O., Geneva—O. Becu.
26 - 28 May	.....	.....	Congress of Swiss Transport Workers' Union, Bern—O. Becu.
28 May - 1 June	.....	.....	Congress of British Railway Clerks' Association, Margate—O. Becu.
2 June	.....	.....	Farewell reception R. Laan Sr., Rotterdam—O. Becu.
21 - 25 June	.....	.....	Congress of Scandinavian Transport Workers' Federation, Aarhus—O. Becu.
2 - 3 July	.....	.....	Meeting of Executive Board of the I.C.F.T.U., Milan—O. Becu.
4 - 16 July	.....	.....	Congress of the I.C.F.T.U., Milan — T. Gómez, I. Haugen and O. Becu.
6 July	.....	.....	Congress of British National Union of Railwaymen, Hastings—P. Tofahrn.
15 - 17 July	.....	.....	Congress of Finnish Seamen's Union, Helsinki—O. Becu.
8 - 9 September	.....	.....	Congress of Belgian Tramwaymen's Union, Namur—P. Tofahrn.
21 September	.....	.....	Congress of Seafarers' International Union of North America, San Francisco—O. Becu and W. Dorchain.
23 - 27 October	.....	.....	Meeting of Inland Transport Committee, Economic Commission for Europe, Geneva—P. Tofahrn.
28 October	.....	.....	Railwaymen's Rally, Saarbrücken — P. Tofahrn.
28 - 29 October	.....	.....	Congress of Italian Seafarers' Federation, Genoa—D. S. Tennant.
14 - 16 November	.....	.....	Congress of Chilean Seamen's Union, Valparaiso—S. Pons.
4 - 15 December	.....	.....	Meeting of Inland Transport Committee I.L.O., Nervi—O. Becu and P. Tofahrn.

III

Regional Organization

LATIN AMERICA

In pursuance of a decision of the Executive Committee Brother Trifón Gómez spent ten days in Havana in March 1950 for conferences with the Management Committee of our Latin-American Sub-secretariat. He found that this Committee had had some difficulties in getting the Secretariat going. Its members had, of course, no experience of international trade union work, though they all held important positions in the Cuban trade union movement.

He agreed with them that the office of the Sub-secretariat should be opened up immediately, with two clerks working under the orders of the Committee; that a budget should be drawn up; that for the time being the whole of the contributions of the four affiliated organizations in Cuba should be applied to the expenses of running the office; and that they should try to send a representative to our Stuttgart Congress. The Cuban Confederation of Workers kindly promised to help and to provide the necessary office accommodation and equipment.

Matters still hung fire, however, and our hopes that Brother Javier Bolaños, the Secretary of the Sub-secretariat, who attended the International Labour Conference in Geneva in June 1950, would also attend our Congress at Stuttgart the next month, did not materialize.

On 6 April 1950 Brother Bolaños wrote asking the Executive Committee of the I.T.F. to send a representative to help to get the work of the Sub-secretariat started. To this the E.C. agreed at its meeting of 15 - 17 May 1950, but in the meantime the I.C.F.T.U. began to develop its plans to establish its own regional organization in Latin America and it was considered desirable to await the results, since they might have some bearing on our own plans.

In the meantime the already existing Inter-American Confederation of Workers (C.I.T.) became the Latin-American regional organization of the I.C.F.T.U., taking the new name of Inter-American Regional Organization of Workers (O.R.I.T.), and it was decided that Brother Trifón Gómez should proceed to Havana to try to get our own regional Sub-secretariat started. He arrived there on 6 August 1951 and stayed until 3 September. He was joined on 27 August by the General Secretary of the I.T.F., who was on a visit to the United States.

In the meantime, and before the arrival of Brother Gómez, the Sub-secretariat had not been idle, as it had already been in correspondence with transport workers' unions in different parts of Latin America, and had brought out two numbers of a *Journal*.

As a result of the discussions which took place the Sub-secretariat was reorganized, and the following new Committee was chosen: Rafael Otero Borlaff, of the Railwaymen's Union, Secretary; Calixto Sánchez, of the Civil Aviation Workers' Union, Delegate of the Secretariat of the I.T.F.; and Javier H. Bolaños, of the Railwaymen's Union, Ignacio

González Tellechea, of the Maritime Workers' Union, José Gómez García, of the Transport Workers' Union, and Alejandro Estrada, of the Civil Aviation Workers' Union, as members.

It was decided that the Secretary should devote his whole time to the affairs of the Sub-secretariat, his salary being fixed at 350 Cuban dollars a month. For the time being, and as a temporary measure, the Cuban Confederation of Workers and the Inter-American Regional Organization of Workers are kindly bearing such part of the cost of running the office which is not covered by income. Rules have been drawn up for the running of the Sub-secretariat generally, and have been approved by the Executive Committee of the I.T.F.

Since the reconstruction the Sub-secretariat has been very active in keeping up correspondence with the Secretariat of the I.T.F. and in carrying on propaganda in the different Latin-American countries, and results are beginning to come in. Two further numbers of the Sub-secretariat's Journal have also been published. The management is in competent hands, and though the Sub-secretariat will no doubt have many difficulties to overcome, there is every reason to believe that it may look forward to doing a great deal of fruitful work in the future.

I.T.F. REGIONAL INFORMATION OFFICE, BOMBAY, INDIA

For the first eighteen months of its existence Brother D. Mungat, General Secretary of the Maritime Union of India, acted as Honorary Secretary of our Regional Information Office in Bombay. In November 1950 he was appointed Asian Representative of the I.C.F.T.U. and the handling of I.T.F. affairs was entrusted to his successor as General Secretary of the Maritime Union, Brother Joviano Soares. The work of the office entails the employment of an Assistant Secretary, Mrs. Tara Kamdar, a typist and a part-time office boy. Expenditure on the office amounts to 5,500 to 6,000 rupees (£412 to £450) a year, plus some travelling expenses.

The work of the office consists of collecting information about trade union activity and working and social conditions in the transport industries in the Asiatic countries—mainly India and Pakistan—and in disseminating information about the I.T.F. in those countries. The office publishes a fortnightly Press Report based on the information supplied by the London Office and that collected from Asiatic countries. The work is done very well.

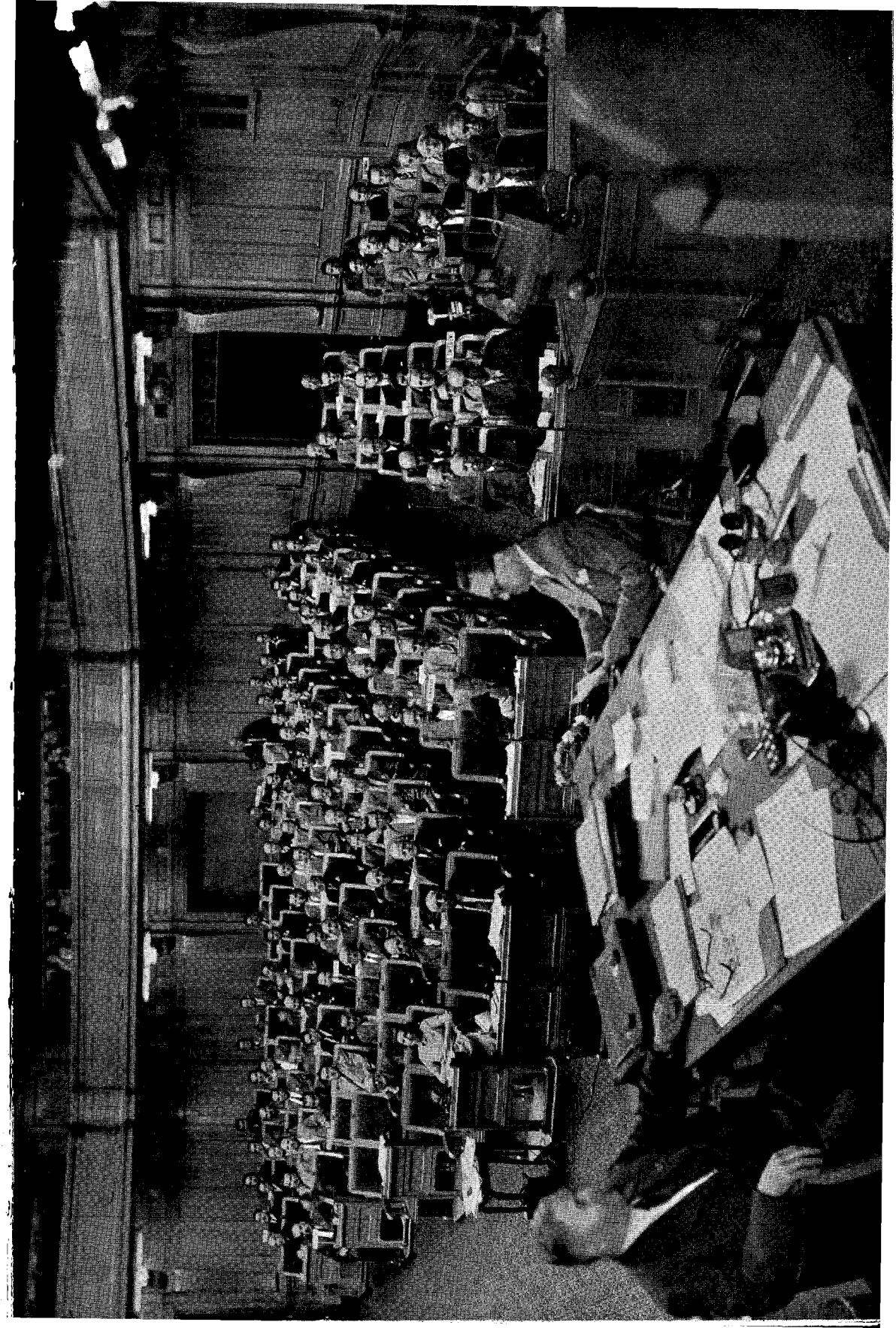
The establishment of a regional office of the I.C.F.T.U. in Asia will raise the question of a working arrangement between the I.T.F. and the I.C.F.T.U. once it gets into its stride.

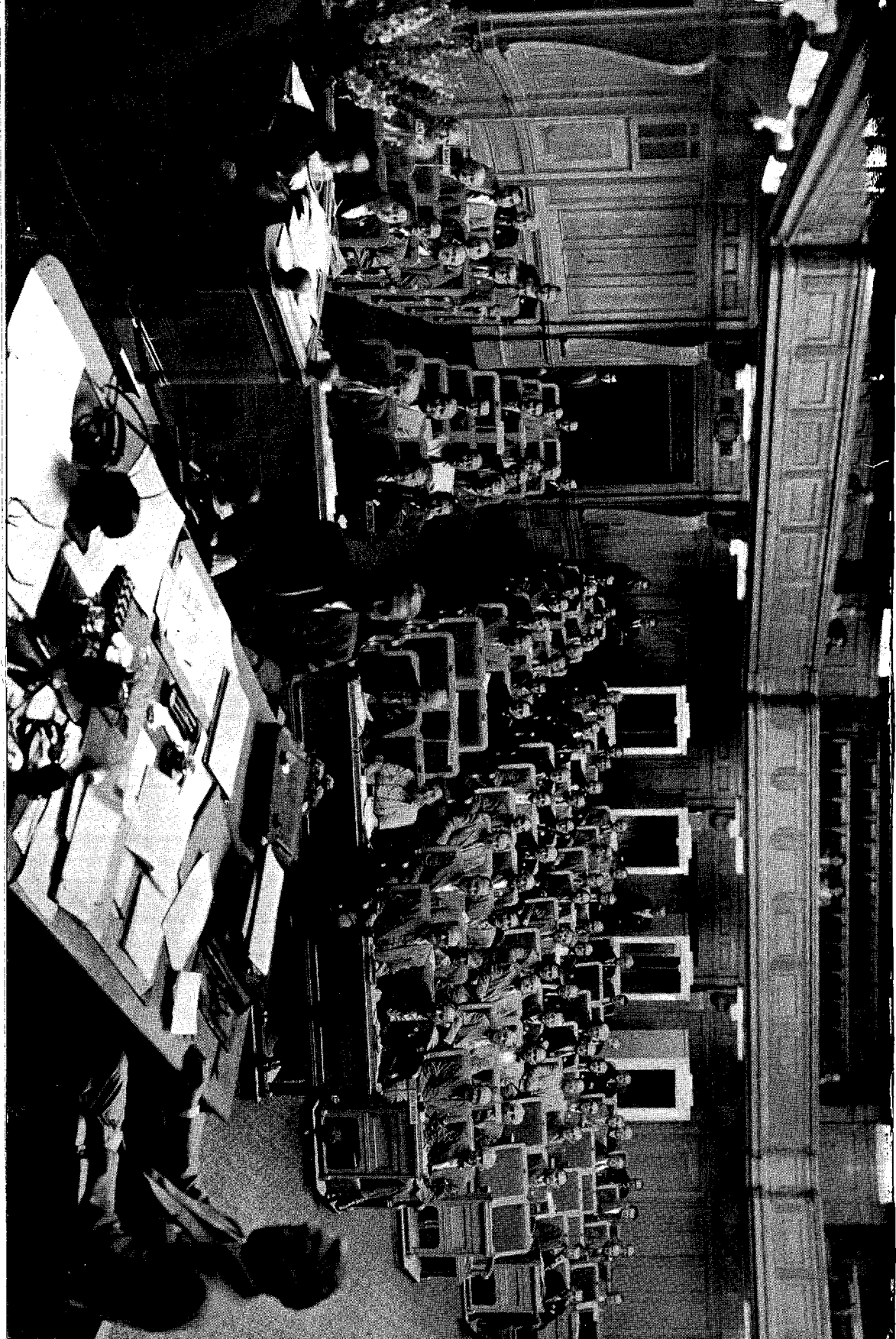
NEW YORK OFFICE

In a letter dated 19 April 1950 the I.C.F.T.U. informed us of its intention to set up a branch office in New York, and proposed that our own New York office should be amalgamated with theirs and operated on a joint basis. The total cost was estimated to be between \$32,000 and \$35,000 a year, one half of which it was proposed should be borne

by the international trade secretariats. Pending this the I.T.F. was asked to contribute \$12,000, which was the cost in 1949 of our own New York office.

Our Executive Committee considered this proposal at its meeting in May 1950, and while favourable in principle, wished to have certain assurances before coming to a decision. The I.C.F.T.U. later assured us that the arrangements would in no way impair the autonomy of the I.T.F., and the Executive Committee thereupon agreed to accept the proposals. As a result we left our old New York office as from 1 July 1950 and joined forces with the I.C.F.T.U. at 20 West 40th Street, 6th Floor, New York 18, N.Y.





IV

Various Interventions and Activities

ARGENTINE SEAMEN'S STRIKE

This was the most important industrial dispute in which the I.T.F. had to intervene during the period under review.

The C.G.G.M.A. (a Confederation of maritime workers in Argentina), the only organization still affiliated to the I.T.F. in the Argentine Republic, was also the only organization of any importance which did not belong to the Government-controlled C.G.T. (General Confederation of Labour). Consequently it had for a long time been a thorn in the flesh of General Peron and his wife, but since it was very powerful and closely-knit and represented, in addition, a key industry, the General was clearly anxious to avoid a clash with it. The leaders of the C.G.G.M.A. had long been aware that such a clash was bound to come sooner or later and had asked the I.T.F. if they could count on its help in case of necessity. A promise had been given that this help would be forthcoming.

While avoiding open conflict, however, the Peron Government and the C.G.T. were constantly bringing pressure to bear on the C.G.G.M.A. to induce it to join the C.G.T.

Matters came to a head in the early part of 1950. There is in Argentina an official committee charged with implementing social legislation and regulating conditions of employment in the maritime industry. The workers' side of this committee consisted exclusively of representatives of the C.G.G.M.A. The Government-controlled C.G.T., which had no following whatsoever in the maritime industry, several times applied for representation on this committee but the representatives of the C.G.G.M.A. resolutely opposed the application. In consequence the Government prevented the committee from working effectively for nearly a year. Urgent claims for improvement of wages and other working conditions were pending and their consideration was intentionally impeded as a means of bringing the C.G.G.M.A. to heel.

In the early part of 1950 the C.G.G.M.A. declared two token strikes, one of 24 hours on March 24 and one of 48 hours on April 4 and 5. In both cases the strike was complete as far as the seafarers were concerned and some of the port workers (who also belonged to the C.G.G.M.A.) took sympathetic action. Since these strikes did not lead to any result a three-day strike was declared from May 3 to 6. In this strike the C.G.G.M.A. were supported by 95 per cent. of all the workers concerned. It led to the victimization of a number of the men. On May 10 the leaders of the several unions affiliated with the C.G.G.M.A. were called to the Ministry of Transport and offered the reinstatement of their dismissed members on condition that they repudiated the C.G.G.M.A. and joined the Government-controlled C.G.T. All unions rejected this condition.

At its meeting in Berne from May 15 to 18, 1950, the Executive Committee considered a report which forecast a decisive clash between the C.G.G.M.A. and the Peron Government. It authorized the General Secretary to take action against Argentine ships in case of need.

The clash came on May 18 when the C.G.G.M.A. embarked on a strike of indefinite duration. All the 12,000 members answered the call and immobilized all ocean-going ships in Argentine ports and 1,500 watercraft in coastal and inland shipping. In one port about 90 strikers, including the local leaders, were arrested. Crews on incoming ships were kept on board by force. Recruitment of strike-breakers was also undertaken, especially among recently-arrived immigrants.

On May 23 the I.T.F. Secretariat appointed the leader of the free Maritime Confederation, Brother J. C. Mason, to attend in an observer capacity the United Nations Economic and Social Conference for Latin America, which was due to open at Montevideo on June 5. The telegram advising Brother Mason of the assignment was not delivered, though the covering letter was. After first meeting with a refusal, Brother Mason was granted a passport. He arrived at Montevideo on June 3.

We appealed on June 5 and 6 to the I.L.O. to take steps against the Argentine Government on the grounds of violation of the right of association. A statement on the Argentine conflict was circulated among the Workers' Delegates to the 1950 International Labour Conference in Geneva.

In a letter of June 6 (received on the 13th), Brother Mason asked for a representative of the I.T.F. to come to Montevideo. As Brother Gómez was not able to go, the Acting General Secretary decided to make the journey. On June 14 he had an interview with the Argentine Ambassador in London which had been applied for on May 22, after the meeting of the Executive Committee at Berne from May 15 to 18, with a view to protesting against slanderous statements made about the I.T.F. by the Argentine Minister of Labour and in the Argentine Government-controlled press. The interview was inconclusive, as the Ambassador professed complete ignorance of the facts and the issues at stake. To a request for a visa to enter Argentina he replied that Brother Becu could obtain this in Montevideo "within ten minutes". He declined to grant a visa himself "because the visa has to be issued by the Argentine consul stationed in the last country where the traveller stays before proceeding to Argentina."

In the meantime we were in contact with the I.C.F.T.U. and in view of the importance of the matter it was agreed that Brother Becu should travel to Montevideo on behalf of the two organizations, and that they should share the costs between them.

He left for Montevideo on June 17 and arrived 36 hours later. He attended the United Nations Economic Conference on June 18, together with Brother Mason. The meeting offered an opportunity to speak with the Argentine Ambassador (who was that country's delegate to the Conference) and ask him to grant an Argentine visa and arrange an interview with the Argentine Minister of Labour. Both requests were received politely and ostensibly with a desire to be helpful.

On June 19 Brother Mason received information from Buenos Aires that the Government seemed willing to seek a compromise. The terms of a possible settlement were agreed upon between Brothers Becu and Mason and instructions sent to the latter's deputy. Mason held himself in readiness to proceed to Buenos Aires if it should transpire that negotiations would materialize.

On June 21 the United Nations Conference ended and on the 22nd information was received that the Government had changed its attitude. Brother Mason returned to Buenos Aires, while Brother Becu waited in Montevideo for a visa to Argentina. On June 24 he informed the Ambassador that he could not wait any longer and then learned that both the visa and the interview with the Minister of Labour had been refused. He left Montevideo on June 24 and telegraphed instructions to London for an appeal to be addressed to all organizations concerned to stop Argentine flag ships. The appeal was issued by telegram on June 25 and 26.

Brother Becu interrupted his return journey at Geneva, where he arrived on June 26. He met Brother Oldenbroek and reported to him that no compromise had been reached and that the conflict had become more acute. As a result of his visit to Montevideo, the Argentine strikers were more determined than ever to fight it out. He also had discussions with I.L.O. officials on the action to be taken by the I.L.O. following our protest against the violation of trade union rights by the Argentine Government. He returned to London on June 28.

On June 29 the Labour Attaché of the Argentine Embassy in London called upon Brother Becu in order to "talk as one trade unionist to another", suggesting that the embargo should be called off. He was informed that unless the C.G.G.M.A. reported to us that the conflict was settled satisfactorily it would be maintained.

On July 3, the 47th day of the strike, the C.G.G.M.A. cabled that the great majority of the strikers were holding out but that the ship masters were a weak link in the chain. Up to that time, the following communications had been addressed to affiliated unions:

- (1) On June 7 affiliated seafarers' unions were informed that the C.G.G.M.A. had made an urgent appeal for all possible assistance in a life-and-death struggle in which it was engaged with the Peron régime. They were asked to instruct their members not to sign on Argentine ships; to give all possible assistance to Argentine crews if they should take action in foreign ports and to prevent the engagement of crews outside Argentina by Argentine shipowners. They were further invited at their own discretion to call on dockers' unions to assist the movement by laying an embargo on Argentine ships.
- (2) On June 14 affiliated seafarers' unions were informed that the strike continued unabated, and of the opinion of the C.G.G.M.A. that "a refusal to handle our ships in foreign ports would have a decisive effect". It was emphasized that the I.T.F. attached the utmost importance to this struggle and that the immediately effective way of coming to the aid of the Argentine strikers was by

means of trade union action and by hampering the normal sailing of Argentine ships as much as possible. The appeal of June 7 was reiterated.

- (3) On June 17 affiliated dockers' unions were informed of the communications addressed to the seafarers' unions and of the likelihood that the I.T.F. would have to make a direct appeal to dockers' unions in order that the sympathetic action might become fully effective. Whether this would be necessary depended on the outcome of the journey to South America which the General Secretary was about to undertake.
- (4) On June 25 and 26 affiliated seafarers' and dockers' unions in Europe were requested by telegram to "take effective action to hold up Argentine ships". The New York office was instructed to inform affiliated unions in the United States, and the Bombay office was instructed to act likewise in Asia.
- (5) On July 1 the appeal was renewed by a circular to affiliated dockers' and seafarers' unions.

The conflict was then discussed on July 5 and 6 at a meeting of the Seafarers' Sectional Committee which thought it advisable that a meeting of the Dockers' Section be held to discuss combined action. A suggestion to that effect had also been made by the Belgian Transport Workers' Union.

A meeting of the Dockers' Section was accordingly held in London on July 14. It was recognized that the issue was a very important one and it was decided to do everything possible to prevent the loading and discharging of Argentine 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 Trades".

The British Transport and General Workers' Union, however, though prepared to do everything in its power, could not see its way to take part in the boycott owing to the very difficult situation prevailing at the time in the British ports.

The matter was again discussed at the Conference of the Dockers' Section held in connection with the Stuttgart Congress, where it was reported that the German Union had already applied the embargo on Argentine ships, some of which had been unable to load or discharge. They were determined to proceed with the action in spite of the difficulties involved and the repercussions on German export trade. Belgian and Dutch representatives also promised to apply the boycott vigorously and representatives of the three Scandinavian countries gave an assurance that Argentine ships would not be handled in the ports of Denmark, Norway and Sweden.

Two Argentine ships were affected by the action. On July 11 the passenger liner *Entre Rios*, bound for Cuxhaven (Germany), was refused the service of a pilot as a result of an instruction issued by the German union to its members. The ship was diverted to the Communist-controlled port of Dunkirk where the passengers disembarked without difficulty. The German union refused to let the ship enter Hamburg to embark 220 passengers waiting to sail to South America. The cargo boat *Rio Gualaguay* entered Hamburg harbour on or about July 9. The

dockers refused to discharge it and it was diverted first to Rotterdam and then to Antwerp, where it was tied up from July 12 to 29, when it had to leave for Argentina without cargo.

On August 6 we received a cable from the C.G.G.M.A. to the effect that as it was impossible to continue the struggle the strike had been ended on August 4, after lasting 78 days. The telegram expressed thanks to the organizations which had applied the embargo and ended with the request that it should be lifted.

A letter of August 5 from the C.G.G.M.A. stated that towards the end there had been a rapid falling off in participation in the strike so that the Confederation had no alternative but to end it. Some of the shipping companies were already forcing their personnel to join the sham unions which had been set up by the C.G.T. but they were determined not to surrender the organization. They stated that a declaration made by the I.T.F. that the raising of the strike would not mean the ending of the boycott had created a very good impression but they asked us nevertheless to raise it.

There is some reason to believe that the result might have been different if a larger number of affiliated organizations had participated. The C.G.G.M.A. state that some of the seamen began to return to work when they learned that the unions of two such important maritime countries as the United States and the United Kingdom were unable to stop Peron's ships. The British, however, were in an exceedingly difficult situation as a result of unofficial strikes under Communist auspices which had taken place earlier, while the Americans were prevented from intervening by the notorious Taft-Hartley Act.

A letter of September 27 from the C.G.G.M.A. described the methods employed by Peron's C.G.T. to capture the several organizations affiliated with the C.G.G.M.A. A start was made with the Marine Engineers' Union. A large number of its members were refused reinstatement unless their organization joined the C.G.T. A few of them agreed to call a meeting of their own with an agenda prepared by the C.G.T., at which it was decided in the course of a very few minutes to throw out the Executive Committee and set up a new provisional committee until the C.G.T. took over. Similar procedures were adopted with the Association of River Captains and Pilots, the Shoremen's and Checkers' Unions and the Radio Telegraphists' Union. In the case of the Merchant Marine Captains' and Officers' Union a different method was employed, the organization being forcibly amalgamated, in violation of all the rules, with a rival union set up by the C.G.T. In the case of the Seamen's Union a number of defeatists called a sham general meeting, without the consent of the Executive Committee or the signed request of a specified number of members required by the rules, and decided to join the C.G.T., which was asked to put somebody in charge of the organization, and so took it over.

All these things were done with the connivance of the authorities as well as the employers, who forced the men they employed to join in mass the unions set up by the C.G.T. or under its control. Many of the leaders of the C.G.G.M.A. and its affiliated unions have, of course, been dismissed.

As already mentioned, early in June we brought the matter to the notice of the Governing Body of the I.L.O. and asked for an official investigation. On June 9 we were informed that our request would be considered in the first place by the officers of the Governing Body. On June 14 we were informed that the officers of the Governing Body "having had knowledge of the fact that negotiations had been started between the I.T.F. and the Argentine Government, had thought it preferable to await the result of these negotiations before deciding to act upon the request". As there was no foundation whatsoever for the statement, we protested at once, but it was too late.

The C.G.G.M.A. has, of course, to all intents and purposes disappeared, and with it the last vestiges of free trade-unionism in Argentina. Totalitarianism has won another victory. A substantial part of the membership and of the old leaders are still maintaining contacts, however, and there is no doubt that when General Peron's reign of terror nears its end they will be ready.

The Argentine seamen are now organized by the Argentine Maritime Association, an organization set up on a luxurious scale by the C.G.T. and the Government, and which seemingly has almost unlimited funds at its disposal, showing the importance which General Peron attributes to the seafarers.

ARGENTINE RAILWAYMEN

The I.T.F. formerly had two Argentine railwaymen's unions affiliated, the Railway Union (Unión Ferroviaria) and the Locomotive-men's Fraternity (La Fraternidad). The former went over to President Peron's General Confederation of Labour at an early stage; the latter held out for much longer, and though finally forced to join the Confederation maintained a considerable degree of aloofness. Relations of both organizations with the I.T.F. have been interrupted for several years.

Towards the end of 1950 a series of disputes occurred on the Argentine railways, culminating on November 17 in a strike which rapidly spread to all the railways except one. It was opposed by the General Confederation of Labour and the Unión Ferroviaria, a fact which, to the surprise of the Peron Government, did not prevent it from becoming general. The Government tried forcible measures to commence with, but as they had no effect changed its tactics and succeeded in convincing the strike committee that if it got the men back to work a secret agreement would be entered into whereby the men's wage demands would be granted—though it was to be kept secret so that the Government should not lose face. Once things were normal again the Unión Ferroviaria repudiated the agreement, as did also the Secretary for Labour, and many of the strikers were dismissed.

This led to another general railway strike on December 14, when the Government was again forced to give way, reinstate the men dismissed and release those arrested, pay wages for the duration of the strike, grant a substantial wage increase, and dismiss some of the leaders of the Unión Ferroviaria.

Again the Government broke its pledges, and a third strike broke out on January 24. This time the Government was better prepared and

managed to break the strike by dismissing several thousand men and calling others to the colours.

The Executive Committee of the I.T.F., which was meeting in London at the time, adopted a resolution expressing its sympathy with the strikers and denouncing the Peron Government.

It must be borne in mind that all the strikes had been completely unofficial, and had been strongly opposed by the Government-controlled railwaymen's union and General Confederation of Labour. La Fraternidad had not intervened in the matter as an organization, but the Government was no doubt biding its time to bring it to heel.

The opportunity came a few months later. At a meeting of the Federal Council of the General Confederation of Labour (C.G.T.) the representatives of La Fraternidad raised strong objection to an article (never officially approved) in the constitution of the C.G.T. which empowered it to intervene in the affairs of affiliated organizations, and even to take them over when thought necessary. The same meeting called upon all organizations affiliated with the C.G.T. to support the campaign for the election of General Peron as President of the Republic for a new term, and to appoint four speakers each for the political platform of the C.G.T.

The Executive Committee of La Fraternidad met and by a majority decided to refuse to obey the order, pointing out that its own rules forbade it to engage in politics.

On May 9, 1951, when its Executive Committee was in session, an armed mob of Peron's supporters raided the offices of the union, forced the whole of the Executive Committee to resign and proceeded to elect a new one, which included the five members of the old one who were supporters of General Peron, and who are actually in his pay, holding well-paid sinecures as "trade union advisers", "inspectors", etc. Although the election was obviously illegal, the C.G.T. and the Department of Justice promptly recognized the new Executive. The Annual Conference of the Union, which would have afforded an opportunity of legally electing a new Executive and of repudiating the old Executive's decision not to support President Peron's candidature, was due to be held only five days later, on the 14th.

Though outmanoeuvred, the old leaders of La Fraternidad did not admit defeat. On August 1, 1951, they declared another strike which brought out no less than 92 per cent. of the locomotive drivers for several days. Though a magnificent gesture it was, of course, doomed to failure. In dealing with it the Government far exceeded the ferocity which had marked its previous efforts. The railwaymen were again called to the colours, thousands were dismissed and hundreds arrested and tortured; so the result was a foregone conclusion. They have given abundant proof, however, that their spirit is not broken, and when the time comes to overthrow General Peron there is little doubt that they will play a prominent part.

Since the events we have described we have again established relations with some of the old leaders of La Fraternidad who are in exile.

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Peron's action against La Fraternidad was considered by the International Railwaymen's Conference held under the auspices of the I.T.F. at Utrecht from August 13 to 17, 1951. The following resolution was adopted as a result:

"The International Conference of Railwaymen, meeting under the auspices of the I.T.F. at Utrecht from August 13 to 17, 1951, and having heard of the latest outrage of General Peron's Government in Argentina, whereby La Fraternidad, the seventy-year old union of the Argentine locomotivemen, has been robbed of the last vestiges of its liberty by methods which, though typical of those employed by totalitarian states, are repugnant to all lovers of freedom and democracy,

"energetically protests against this new proof of the dictatorial tendencies of the Peron *régime*;

"expresses its sympathy and solidarity with the sorely tried leaders and members of La Fraternidad;

"assures them that their old association with the I.T.F. has not been forgotten;

"promises that the I.T.F. will do everything in its power to ensure that the organization shall recover its freedom and the honourable position it formerly held in the Argentine and international labour movement; and

"calls upon the International Labour Office, the Social and Economic Council and the United Nations Commission for Human Rights to lend their support to the I.T.F.'s efforts to restore trade union freedom for all transport workers in Argentina."

At its meeting in Marseilles from October 10 to 12, 1951, the General Council of the I.T.F. had under consideration the facts which are described above, and adopted the following resolution:

"The General Council of the I.T.F., meeting in Marseilles from October 10 to 12, 1951, has heard with great satisfaction of the many evidences that the Argentine transport workers are determined to recover the freedom and democratic rights of which the *régime* of General Peron has deprived them.

"The General Council is particularly impressed by the valiant fight put up by the maritime workers in 1950, and by the railwaymen more recently. It assures them that they are not forgotten, and that in their endeavours they will always be able to count on the sympathy and support of the I.T.F."

BELGIAN DOCKERS' STRIKE

The Belgian dockers went on strike on July 29, 1950, in answer to the call by the Belgian Federation of Labour for a general strike to force King Leopold to abdicate. When this political strike ended on August 2 they continued their strike in an endeavour to secure wage increases.

As soon as the strike took on an industrial character and the Belgian Union applied for help, the Secretariat, in a telegram of August 8, asked the Dutch and German dockers' unions to instruct their members not to handle goods normally shipped through Belgian ports.

The Dutch Union informed us that they had taken the following measures:

- (1) Ships now lying in Antwerp shall not be discharged in Rotterdam unless they are carrying Dutch and/or transit goods. In so far as such ships may also contain cargo destined for Belgium, this shall only be discharged if it is not to be sent on to Belgium.
- (2) Outgoing goods actually in Belgium and which would normally be shipped from a Belgian port shall not be loaded, but transit goods shall be loaded in so far as they have not already been sent to a Belgian port.
- (3) Ships sailing to Europe with cargoes destined for Belgium only shall not be discharged in Rotterdam.
- (4) Ships with cargoes for several destinations shall be discharged in so far as they consist of Dutch and transit (other than for Belgium) goods. In so far as these ships contain cargo destined for Belgium it shall be discharged, but shall not be sent on to Belgium.

By letter dated August 10 (received on the 14th) the German Union replied as follows:

"We are, of course, prepared to support the Antwerp dockers, but we are of opinion that the procedure cannot consist merely of a simple telegram. If the Antwerp dockers are to be supported we are prepared to co-operate in the application of a decision of the Dockers' Section of the I.T.F., on the understanding that we may then also hope that the British dockers will take part in the action. Though we are asked to issue boycott instructions we are for the moment not informed whether Belgian ships are being worked in Dutch, French and British ports. We request you, therefore, to tell us whether it is possible to secure an international decision, in the application of which we will gladly co-operate. As long as we have no communication to that effect we shall not be able to induce our docker members to boycott Belgian ships."

To this letter, the Secretariat replied on August 14 as follows:

" . . . The handling of goods that are normally handled in a strike-bound port has always been considered as strike-breaking. Practically all agreements contain the written or implied clause that the workers cannot be required to do strike-breakers' work, and that the refusal to carry out such work does not represent a breach of agreement.

"Goods destined for Antwerp can be diverted to only a few other ports, namely to Northern France, Holland and Germany. British ports do not come into the picture. As you know, the free trade unions have little influence in the ports of Northern France because there the Communists have the last word. In Holland, immediately after the outbreak of the strike in Belgium, the Transport Workers' Union came to an agreement with the Dutch employers; the contents of this agreement are contained in a letter of which we enclose a translation . . . We should like you to follow this example and hope you will see your way to take immediate steps to support the Belgian Union."

The German Union did not reply to this letter. On August 28, after the official termination of the strike, and the withdrawal on August 26 of our appeal to support the Belgian Union, we wrote again to the German Union, confirming the standpoint explained in our letter of August 14 and pointing out that their attitude conflicted with the principle of abstaining from performing strike-breakers' work and that they in fact questioned the authority of the General Secretary to issue an appeal for support on behalf of an organization involved in a strike.

The German Union replied to this letter, explaining that the unfortunate experience of only partial adherence of the affiliated unions to the decision to support the Argentine seafarers had created a situation which made it impossible for them to issue fresh boycott instructions on August 8 (two days after the lifting of the boycott on Argentine ships) unless they had assurance that this time the boycott was a complete one.

The strike put the Belgian Transport Workers' Union in an extremely difficult and even dangerous position. The General Secretary and Acting President of the Belgian Union (R. Dekeyzer) was absent, touring the Far East as a member of a delegation of the I.C.F.T.U.

In the circumstances, and in view of his ties with the Belgian Union (of which he was at the time President on leave of absence), the General Secretary felt it his duty to go personally to the aid of the Union to save it from an impending disaster. He stayed in Antwerp from August 9 till 24, and negotiated an agreement on the basis of which the Belgian Union called off the strike on August 23. The Communists prevented immediate resumption of work, but it gradually started again and by September 3 Antwerp harbour was working normally again.

TRIPOLITANIAN DOCKERS

On January 9, 1950, a telegram was received from the Tripolybia United Dock Workers protesting against the treatment of the workers by the British Administration and against the low wages paid—3s. 4d. a day. It further said that the dockers had been on strike since the 2nd of the month and appealed for intervention on their behalf.

We replied that we were taking the matter up with the British authorities and asked the union to send further particulars of their wage claims. At the same time we approached the appropriate department of the Foreign Office and were informed by them on January 24 that according to a report received the strike had ended on January 9—the date on which we received the telegram—and that the dockers had been given a 20 per cent. wage increase.

In spite of reminders no further information has been received from Tripoli.

ICELANDIC FISHERMEN

On January 16, 1950, we received a telegram from the Icelandic Labour Federation asking for our support in a strike in which four Iceland fishing vessels were involved at Newfoundland.

Struck by the fact that the request came from the Icelandic Federation of Labour, instead of our affiliated Sailors' and Fishermen's Union at Reykjavik, we addressed an enquiry to the latter. They replied that we should give the help we could.

From a report received subsequently it appeared that the situation was rather complicated. An Icelandic owner had transferred four of his ships to Newfoundland, dismissed 53 members of the crews and repatriated them without paying their arrears of wages. The Icelandic Federation was claiming payment of the arrears of wages and transfer of the vessels back to Iceland.

At our request the Canadian Brotherhood of Railway Employees made investigations in Newfoundland and found that the ships were lying idle in harbour and were the subject of heated political controversies in the Newfoundland Parliament. There was no question of the trawlers being manned by Icelandic fishermen. Thanks to the help of the Canadian Brotherhood, the Icelandic Labour Federation was supplied with ample and correct information which presumably enabled it to settle the matter satisfactorily for its members. However, the ships did not return to Iceland. They had become the property of a Newfoundland company of which the Icelandic owner was a director. This company, which was started with government assistance, passed under the complete control of the Newfoundland Government in November 1950.

IRISH DOCKS DISPUTE

On June 13, 1950, the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union telegraphed to the Dutch Trade Union Federation asking for the boycott by Dutch dockers of a ship (s.s. *Venus*) sailing from Galway to Rotterdam. The telegram stated that the workers of a Galway firm of merchants were on strike for a living wage, that the Galway dockers were boycotting this firm in sympathy, and that they had held up the cargo intended for the firm for nine weeks. The Dutch Federation referred the Irish appeal to the Dutch Transport Workers' Union, which in turn referred the Irish T.G.W.U. to the I.T.F. We then received assurances from the Irish Union that it was a genuine industrial dispute and the I.T.F. was asked to ensure that the action of the Galway dockers was not made ineffective by the dockers of Rotterdam.

When we notified the Dutch Union, asking them to support the Galway dockers, they approached the Dutch stevedoring firm which was to unload the ship. It appeared that the sellers of the merchandise (2,100 tons of phosphate) had cancelled the contract with the Galway buyers and sold the goods to a firm on the Continent. As the goods were no longer destined for Galway and would not go to Eire, the Dutch lifted the embargo.

The Irish Union expressed its satisfaction with the action taken by the I.T.F. and the Dutch Union.

EMBARGO IN UNITED STATES WEST COAST PORTS

In October 1950, the Seafarers' International Union of North America informed us that in its struggle with the Communist-controlled dockers' union on the United States West Coast it had been compelled

to resort to an embargo at several ports. In accordance with its request we appealed to affiliated seafarers' unions to take what action they could to assist our American friends, at the same time suggesting certain possible steps. We cabled to the S.I.U. asking for a full report on the nature of the dispute, but nothing was heard from them further.

WAGES OF JAPANESE RAILWAYMEN

The Japanese Railwaymen's Union wrote on November 29, 1950, informing us of the refusal of the Japanese Government to implement an eight-months-old arbitration award and asking for the I.T.F.'s help. We informed all affiliated railwaymen's unions of the situation and requested them to send a message to the Japanese Railwaymen's Union calculated to impress the Government and to strengthen the morale of the Union. We also wrote to the Japanese Union informing them that we deplored the attitude of the Japanese Government and urging them to endeavour to secure by peaceful means the wages to which their members were entitled. We added, however, that if they were unsuccessful in securing justice for their members in this way, stronger action would be justified.

The dispute was settled without a strike in December 1950. The Government granted as from June 1, 1950, a substantial part of the wage increases awarded by the arbitration board.

REPRESENTATIONS ON BEHALF OF EAST AFRICAN RAILWAY ASIAN UNION

Towards the end of 1950 this union (formerly known as the Kenya and Uganda Railway Asian Union) complained to us that the negotiating machinery set up on East African Government railways was prevented from functioning by an arbitrary decision of the Railway Administration.

We wrote to the Secretary of State for the Colonies urging him to use his authority to remedy the situation.

The result was that on November 25, 1950, for the first time in the history of the Administration, the staff representatives had an opportunity to discuss staff problems jointly with the Administration's representatives. The union obtained a small concession but the total result of the negotiations is held to be unsatisfactory.

REPRESENTATIONS ON BEHALF OF THE SAAR RAILWAYMEN'S UNION

During a visit to the Saar territory in September 1951, the Assistant General Secretary was informed that the Saar Government intended to stop the practice of railwaymen's wages being negotiated between the trade union and the management of the Saar Railway Corporation. Instead the railwaymen were to be subjected to civil service pay regulations, which are decided upon by the Government without genuine negotiations. The Saar Railwaymen's Union objected on principle to proposals which would upset the present wages structure and result in lower earnings for many railwaymen, and it enquired what help the I.T.F. could give. The Secretariat supplied the Union with particulars of current I.L.O. conventions relating to collective agree-

ments, and after further correspondence we wrote on November 20, at the union's request, to the Prime Minister of the Saar Territory, requesting him to ensure that the mode of implementation of recent legislation should be in accordance with the provisions of International Labour Convention No. 98, the complementary Recommendation of 1951, and the Resolution on industrial relations in inland transport adopted by the Inland Transport Committee of the I.L.O. in May 1947. The Saar Government did not reply.

SHIPMENT OF SUGAR IN BULK

The Cuban Maritime Federation wrote us on August 22, 1951, asking for our support for an endeavour to prevent the introduction of bulk shipment of sugar from Cuba. Since the production of sugar is one of the island's main industries, they claimed that shipment in bulk would do away with 95 per cent of the work at present available for their members. They suggested that our affiliated dockers' unions should take the matter up.

The question was considered by our Executive Committee at its meeting in Marseilles in October and in the course of the discussion it came out that the Cubans themselves were not fully agreed on the matter, which is, of course, closely bound up with that of the limitation of the weight of loads to be carried by one man unaided.

The Secretariat of the I.T.F. had in the meantime undertaken a preliminary enquiry into the problem, from which it emerged that opinion was also divided in other countries. It will be brought up at the next meeting of the Committee of the Dockers' Section of the I.T.F.

FINANCIAL SUPPORT FOR FASCIST GOVERNMENTS

In July 1950, the press reported that negotiations were under way for a Belgian loan of 1,400,000,000 francs to Argentina. The Secretariat immediately asked the I.C.F.T.U. to call on the Belgian Federation of Labour to oppose the loan.

On October 10, 1951, our affiliated French Railwaymen's Federation asked for our support for a resolution, adopted by its National Council a few days earlier, asking for the intervention of the I.C.F.T.U. and the American trade unions to prevent the signing of a proposed agreement between the United States and the Spanish Government aiming to help the Franco *régime*. On learning that the I.C.F.T.U. had taken the matter up we thought it better to leave it in their hands.

CLAIMS OF ST. LUCIA SEAMEN'S UNION

Some time ago the St. Lucia Seamen's Union secured, partly as a result of the intervention of the I.T.F., an agreement with Cable & Wireless, Ltd., that men for the Company's ships would be taken on in consultation with the union. The union later complained that the Company's ships' officers were not observing the agreement, and asked that a number of other claims should be taken up. We raised the matter with the Company, which informed us on October 26, 1951, that a substantial number of concessions had been made.

The union was not satisfied, however, and asked us to pursue the matter further. Early in 1952 we obtained the assurance that Cable & Wireless, Ltd., had instructed its agents in St. Lucia to adhere strictly to the agreement on the engagement of labour and to discuss with the union all cases where the services of men must be dispensed with.

COMMUNIST SEIZURES OF JAPANESE FISHING BOATS

In March 1951, the Japanese Seamen's Union wrote to us about the seizure of Japanese fishing boats by Communists in the China Sea, while operating in waters approved by the Occupation Authorities. They asked for our help. We gave the matter publicity, but suggested that it was rather a question for the Japanese Government to take up through the usual channels. In November, however, we received another complaint from the union, as a result of a recrudescence of the trouble following the signing of the Japanese Peace Treaty. In the course of a year no less than 42 Japanese fishing vessels have been so seized, and of 495 members of their crews only 228 have been repatriated, while three are reported to have been killed. A bad feature is that captured boats and crews are used as decoys for others. Usually four or five Communist boats attack one Japanese.

On December 29, on the advice of Brother Deakin, we asked Brother C. W. Gibson, M.P., to raise the matter in the British House of Commons.

ORGANIZATION OF CURACAO DOCKERS

In September 1950, our affiliated Dutch Transport Workers' Union suggested to us the desirability of making an attempt to promote the effective organization of the dockers of Curaçao, Dutch West Indies. The Dutch Ships' Officers' Union has a branch there, but it was doubted whether their intervention would be welcomed, and it was proposed that the I.T.F. should undertake the job.

As the proposal was in line with the I.T.F.'s policy of promoting trade union organization in the smaller and less developed parts of the world, and as there was a small dockers' union in existence already, as well as a trade union centre, the Secretariat considered the possibility of sending Brother Alexander, of our affiliated union in Trinidad, to study the position, but as further enquiries revealed that circumstances in Curaçao were not favourable, the matter was dropped for the time being.

INDIAN RAILWAYMEN'S DISPUTES

In 1947 the Indian Central Pay Commission framed rules to govern the wages policy of the Indian Government towards its employees (including the railwaymen). After considering two definitions of the "poverty line", the first as the point below which an individual would actually be undernourished and the second as a point "where a choice of diet and the chance of some cultural life or recreation will also become possible", it concluded that "at present we can only aspire to rise above the poverty line in the first sense". It then fixed its wage rates, but provided for cost of living allowances on a sliding scale.

Owing to the rise in the cost of living the allowances have more than once been increased—on the last occasion early in 1949—but by far less than was due on the basis of the sliding scale. Further increases which became due in 1949, 1950 and 1951 were not granted, and on July 1, 1951, the cost of living allowance was no less than 20 rupees a month below the Pay Commission standard, i.e., that below which an individual is undernourished. To understand what 20 rupees represents it will suffice to say that a worker on the permanent way earns from 65 to 70 rupees a month.

To all appeals of the All-India Railwaymen's Federation the Railway Board had given a negative answer, not only on the issue of wages, but also on 47 other claims. Finally the Federation appealed to the Government, asking it to make use of its power, under the Industrial Disputes Act of 1947, to refer the dispute to arbitration. This was also refused. The Federation consequently decided, on July 6, 1951, to call upon its affiliated organizations to ballot their members on whether they were prepared to strike on August 27.

This stirred the Government to action. It increased the cost of living allowance by 5 rupees a month, but at the same time it published a decree (Ordinance No. 1) abrogating the Industrial Disputes Act in so far as it applied to transport and taking to itself powers to prohibit strikes in transport unconditionally, without offering the workers any other means to obtain justice. The ordinance was for a period of six months but at the same time the Government put before Parliament a Bill to extend its validity to December 31, 1952.

The increase of pay by 5 rupees a month fell far short of what justice demanded and the prohibition of the strike smacked of dictatorship notwithstanding the Government's contention that this action was inspired by the need to combat the famine prevailing in certain areas of India.

On July 17 we received an urgent appeal for support from the All-Indian Railwaymen's Federation. The same day the Assistant General Secretary had an interview with the High Commissioner for India in London who undertook to convey to his Government a communication from the I.T.F. A letter was handed to him the next day in which we expressed our conviction that the claims of the Indian railwaymen were justified and added:

“The A.I.R.F. has, in recent years, given ample proof that it is as anxious as responsible railway trade unions in other countries to avoid taking strike action. Having regard to the prevailing difficult and dangerous situation in India, we fully appreciate the desire of your Government to avoid the strike which has been set for August 27 next. However, at the same time we are in duty bound to point out that under no circumstances could any trade union be expected to acquiesce in a strike prohibition to which is not coupled an obligatory directive to the parties concerned to submit their dispute to impartial arbitration. The worker's right to withhold his labour is fundamental to democracy and when this right is suspended compensation is due; it can be no other than arbitration.

“We are certain that the Indian railwaymen’s decision to resort to strike action is both a bitter and a desperate one, inspired exclusively by the conviction that they are being denied fair conditions of employment.

“We therefore appeal to the Indian Government and to its Prime Minister—who is held in high esteem by the organizations affiliated with the I.T.F.—to induce or direct the Railway Administration to resume negotiations with the All-India Railwaymen’s Federation and to urge it to negotiate with the firm resolve to reach an agreement which will enable all Indian railwaymen to give their labour, without interruption, on conditions freely accepted by them, thus making redundant the enactment of the recent ordinance.”

A further interview took place on August 2 between the Assistant General Secretary of the I.T.F. and the Secretary of the External Department of the High Commission for India, in the course of which Ordinance No. 1 (the decree empowering the Government to prohibit the strike) was discussed. The view taken by the I.T.F. was also communicated (on August 3) to the A.I.R.F. in a telegram reading as follows:

“The ordinance is incomplete in legislation, inadequate and unsuitable for ensuring social justice and peace in railway industry. All concerned should consider the ordinance as no more than a stop-gap. There is, however, need for an Act of Parliament on industrial relations in transport and communications. Such an act should be based on the resolution of the I.L.O. Inland Transport Committee of May 1947, which received the affirmative vote of all representatives of India. The Government should now order the Railway Board and the Railwaymen’s Federation to resume immediately negotiations on all major claims and make an earnest endeavour to reach an agreement. If that is done, but no agreement reached before August 27, the Government can avoid conflict by wise restraint in use of the powers conferred by the ordinance. Thirty days’ prohibition of strike should suffice and should be accepted by the Federation provided the Government simultaneously orders the Railway Board and the Railwaymen’s Federation to settle their dispute within twenty to twenty-five days either by further direct negotiations or by voluntary arbitration. It would be helpful if the Government declared now its intention to replace the ordinance in the near future by an adequate Act suitable for the double purpose of ensuring continued functioning of the railways and justice to railwaymen.”

By August 10 the Government of India had not yet replied to our representations, so we wrote again, asking for a reply before our International Railwaymen’s Conference on August 13. A reply was received on September 14. The Government of India thanked us for our communications and assured us that every consideration would be given to them by the Government.

Meanwhile the International Railwaymen’s Conference met without a reply having been received. It had before it a report stating that in

response to urgent appeals from the Prime Minister the A.I.R.F. had decided to postpone its strike for two months. In his appeals the Prime Minister had referred to the danger of war between India and Pakistan and the A.I.R.F. had decided to postpone the strike as a matter of patriotic duty. The discussion on the matter at the Railwaymen's Conference was an impressive demonstration of solidarity and the following message was sent to Mr. Nehru, the Indian Prime Minister :

“The International Railwaymen's Conference of the International Transport Workers' Federation appeals to you to assist the All-India Railwaymen's Federation in securing justice for its members. We urge you to order Railway Board and A.I.R.F. to resume immediately negotiations on wages and all other major claims affecting conditions of employment. Failing agreement within two or three weeks all claims should be referred to impartial arbitration. The workers' right to withhold their labour is fundamental to democracy. Trade unions can acquiesce in the suspension of this right in grave circumstances such as prevail in India today only on condition that disputes between employers and workers be settled by arbitration, the awards binding both parties.

“We further urge Government and Parliament to substitute for Ordinance No. 1 a democratic code governing labour relations in transport based on the resolution adopted by the I.L.O. Inland Transport Committee 1947 with the affirmative vote of all Indian representatives.

“We recall the bonds between you and our late leader Edo Fimmen and appeal to you to use your great authority to further social justice and maintain democracy in the relations between the Railway Board and the A.I.R.F.

“Please accept the expression of our high esteem.”

The Conference further decided to send the following telegram to the All-India Railwaymen's Federation :

“The representatives of 23 railway trade unions and federations with 2,783,000 members in Europe, America and Asia thank you for your message. Our Conference endorses the friendly representations made to your Government by I.T.F. Secretariat and reiterates them in message to Prime Minister Nehru. Indian railwaymen are entitled to fair conditions of employment and if need be must fight. Fighting for justice is honourable, meekly submitting to injustice is not.

“The Indian railwaymen's most valuable weapon is their independent A.I.R.F. and if necessary we will help to defend the organization against forces hostile to it.

“Best wishes and fraternal greetings on behalf of the Conference.”

On August 29 fresh negotiations were opened between the A.I.R.F. and the Indian Railway Ministry. The Minister declared his willingness to withdraw the Bill extending the validity of Ordinance No. 1 up to December 31, 1952, on condition that the A.I.R.F. gave an undertaking

not to authorize any strike before March 1952. On this point we advised the A.I.R.F. as follows:

“You can give an undertaking not to resort to strike up to March 1952 on condition that the Government undertakes to have enacted by that time a Railway Labour Relations Act which conforms to the I.L.O. resolution, or to conclude with you an agreement setting up properly constituted negotiating machinery.”

On November 10, 1951, an agreement on negotiating and dispute settling machinery was concluded and Parliament has not been asked to extend the validity of Ordinance No. 1. Agreement was also reached on other disputed matters of lesser importance but not on the main material question, that is to say the claim for an increase in the cost-of-living allowance.

The General Secretary of the A.I.R.F., Brother S. Guruswami, has declared that the I.T.F.'s representations have been instrumental in breaking the deadlock in the relations between the Federation and the Government which occurred in July, 1951.

EGYPTIAN TRANSPORT WORKERS' DISPUTE

Brother M. I. Zein El Din wrote us on January 21, 1951, that the Egyptian transport workers' union had decided, at a conference in Cairo, to cease work as from February 5 until a number of demands they were putting forward were granted. He asked for the support of the I.T.F.

The matter was considered by our Executive Committee at its meeting from January 29 to 31, and it was decided to give the support asked for, a press communiqué being sent out to the usual agencies and to the Arabic press representatives.

On February 4 we received a telegram to say that the Egyptian Government had granted the transport workers' demands, and that the strike had been called off.

COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES IN NEW ZEALAND

By cable of April 3, 1951, the New Zealand Federation of Labour asked for co-operation in a struggle that had been forced upon them by the Communist-controlled New Zealand Waterside Workers' Union (expelled from the I.T.F. at the Stuttgart Congress). The union had called the strike with obvious political purposes and it degenerated into a violent conflict with the New Zealand Government. At the request of the New Zealand Federation of Labour, affiliated dockers' and seafarers' unions were asked to abstain from any action that would benefit the Communist-controlled organization.

CHILEAN DOCKERS' AND SEAMEN'S STRIKE

On August 30, 1951, we received a telegram from our affiliated Chilean Maritime Confederation informing us that a dockers' and seamen's strike had been declared the previous day. They asked for the support of the I.T.F., and that affiliated organizations should enjoin their members sailing on ships calling at Chilean ports to refrain from doing anything calculated to prejudice the movement.

After making the necessary enquiries the Secretariat of the I.T.F. accordingly sent out a circular to affiliated organizations on September 7. On the 26th we were able to send out another, based on reports from the Confederation, announcing that the strike had ended on September 12, after paralyzing shipping and port operations throughout the country for fourteen days. The Chilean Government undertook that early steps would be taken to implement a promise given a long time ago that all port and maritime workers would be included within the scope of the Social Security Fund of the National Mercantile Marine.

URUGUAYAN GENERAL STRIKE

On October 24, 1951, we received a telegram from Arturo Jauregui, an I.C.F.T.U. representative in South America, asking us, on behalf of the Co-ordinating Committee of Uruguayan Independent Trade Unions, to send a telegram to the President of Uruguay urging a fair settlement of a sympathetic general strike in which dockers and other transport workers' unions were involved. After consultation and in agreement with I.C.F.T.U. we sent the telegram the same day.

The immediate cause of the strike was the victimization of some of the employees of A.N.C.A.P., the State Fuel, Alcohol and Cement Monopoly. The Co-ordinating Committee declared a general strike on October 15, and by the 19th the city of Montevideo was without transport services. The telegraphic appeal to the I.T.F. was sent on the 24th, when the Government brought in troops and naval ratings to keep gas and port services going. The strike ended on November 13 with some concessions to the strikers, though they do not seem to have given general satisfaction.

ISRAELI SEAMEN'S STRIKE

On November 21, 1951, we received from "the Secretariat of the Israeli Federation of Seamen" a communication announcing that Israeli seamen had struck work as from November 13, and that all Israeli ships leaving Israeli ports after that date were black. It appeared from the circular that a seamen's congress held on November 4 had accepted the resignation of the entire former Secretariat—which was stated to have been put into office by Histadruth (the General Federation of Jewish Labour in Israel)—and had adopted a new constitution, which Histadruth had refused to recognize; hence the strike.

The same day we received from the London representative of Histadruth a letter putting their side of the case, which was essentially that the Seamen's Federation had arrogated to itself rights which were the prerogative of Histadruth. They said that the ships (most of which are owned by Histadruth) were being manned with volunteers.

Since the dispute was obviously a jurisdictional one involving a national trade union centre, we referred Histadruth's representative to the I.C.F.T.U. The trade union movement in Israel is organized on highly centralized lines and Histadruth has a very considerable degree of authority over its affiliated unions, which seems to have been resented. There was also a political background to the strike, the seamen being mainly supporters of the left wing Mapam Labour Party, as opposed

to the moderate Mapai Labour Party to which most of the leaders of Histadruth belong. The W.F.T.U. and the French Communist C.G.T. backed the strikers.

The strike ended on December 25 on the following terms: (1) Seamen agree to maintain organic unity with Histadruth and to end the strike in response to the call of Histadruth and Knesset (Parliament); (2) Simultaneously Histadruth proclaims the reinstatement of all seamen; (3) Histadruth Organizing Committee will recommend the Executive to convene the Histadruth Council for a discussion of all seamen's problems; (4) No reprisals against strikers or Seamen's Congress delegates; (5) Volunteers' rights to be respected and seamen at present without ships will be reinstated as berths become available.

Campaign against Communist Disruption

In the Report on Activities presented to the Stuttgart Congress in July 1950 we reported the setting up of Vigilance Committees under the auspices of the I.T.F. This had been decided on at a meeting of the Executive Committee in London in October 1949, in pursuance of a recommendation of a Joint Dockers' and Seafarers' Conference held in Rotterdam the previous August.

At that time the maritime and waterfront industries were seriously troubled by Communist-inspired activities, the object of which was to undermine and dislocate the economic life of the free countries. The Transport Department of the Communist W.F.T.U. had recently been established and this threatened to lead to a serious intensification of these subversive activities.

The purpose of the I.T.F. Vigilance Committees was to stimulate and co-ordinate the steps which were being taken by our dockers' and seafarers' unions in the different countries to play their part in meeting the Communist menace. To start with, the I.T.F. set up a Central Vigilance Committee composed of six members—two representing seafarers (I. Haugen of Norway and P. Ferri-Pisani of France), two dockers (A. Bird of Britain and R. Dekeyzer of Belgium) and two inland navigation workers (H. Hildebrand of Germany and T. Smeding of Holland)—and presided over by the Chairman of the I.T.F. Management Committee (T. Yates of Britain).

Later three Regional Vigilance Committees were set up—for the Baltic and Scandinavian area, the North Sea and Atlantic Coast area, and the Mediterranean area—whose task was to organize and co-ordinate anti-Communist activities in accordance with the policy and directives of the Central Vigilance Committee, on the one hand, and according to the possibilities and requirements of the local situation with which they were concerned, on the other.

The Rotterdam Directives

The Rotterdam Conference which took the initiative for the anti-Communist drive formulated a series of recommendations which became the programme of work of the Vigilance Committees. Among other things, they called for (1) establishment of national joint trade union committees for the dock, shipping and allied industries, whose purpose

would be to direct anti-Communist activities on the national plane; (2) establishment in all ports where practicable and desirable of joint trade union committees of dockers and seafarers (and others where necessary), whose purpose would be to watch and report disruptive activities to the national committees and to organize local counter-action in accordance with general and specific directives from the national committees; (3) establishment of regional and local I.T.F. centres in ports where they could serve a useful purpose.

Other recommendations of the Rotterdam Conference dealt with propaganda, educational activities, contact with seamen from Iron Curtain countries, support for weak trade unions, co-ordination of action for the realization of programmes and objectives, and welfare work.

First Meeting of the Central Vigilance Committee

This was held in London on 23 and 24 January 1950. The Secretariat submitted a note which, among other things: (a) drew attention to danger areas, such as France, Italy, North Africa, Australia, New Zealand, U.S. West Coast and the whole of South-East Asia; (b) stressed the need to keep a close watch on the activities of the W.F.T.U. Trade Department, particularly in the major ports, so as to be able to anticipate them at critical times and at critical points; (c) urged that systematic propaganda work should be carried on among dockers and seafarers, by distributing literature in ships and dock areas and holding special meetings for dockers and seafarers, at which they could be warned about Communist schemes; (d) developed the idea of setting up I.T.F. centres at key points through which it would be possible to reach seafarers of various nationalities visiting certain ports.

After hearing reports on the situation in the various ports and the progress made with setting up local and national committees representative of dockers, seafarers and other groups affected, the Committee reaffirmed the need to co-ordinate these efforts on a regional and international scale and to devote special attention to areas where Communist influence was still strong.

It was decided to set up the previously-mentioned three Regional Vigilance Committees. Each was to be headed by a member of the Central Vigilance Committee, so as to ensure international co-ordination: P. Ferri-Pisani of France being appointed for the Mediterranean Committee, R. Dekeyzer for the North Sea and Atlantic Coast Committee, and I. Haugen for the Baltic and Scandinavian Committee. The Regional Committees were to receive appropriate information and guidance from the Central Committee and to organize their activities in accordance with the requirements of the regional situation.

As regards the areas requiring special attention, the possibility was considered of opening I.T.F. centres at key points such as Marseilles, Casablanca and Port Said. It was considered that work of great value could be done by contacting ships of all nationalities at such points, French, Italian and Dutch ships especially, and distributing appropriate literature and generally carrying on propaganda work among the crews. Consideration was also given to the Italian situation and to the possibilities of strengthening it.

Atlantic Pact Shipments

At the time Communist agents were directing their attack on the supplies which America was shipping to Europe under the Atlantic Defence Pact. Ostensibly the Communists were acting from pacifist motives, but this was belied by the fact that simultaneously they were co-operating in the transport of war materials from the Polish port of Gdynia to Albania. In a press *communiqué* the Vigilance Committee exposed the Communist plot, which was to cripple the defence programme of the Western countries, whilst furthering the strategy of Soviet Russia and its satellites.

A resolution on the subject was referred for endorsement to the Executive Committee, which duly identified itself with the statement at its meeting the following February. In view of its exposure of Communist hypocrisy it is of interest to quote the resolution in full:

“The Vigilance Committee of the I.T.F., meeting in London from 23 to 24 January 1950, has received reports from several countries that Communist elements, on the instructions of the Cominform, are out to stir up trouble in the ports of Western Europe, with the object of hampering the carriage of material to these ports under the terms of the Atlantic Pact. It has further been informed that the Communist instructions are to achieve this object by all possible means, and if necessary to use violence and sabotage in order to intimidate the workers.

“As an international trade union organization which has won its spurs in the struggle for peace and against oppression of every kind, and which can claim never to have misinformed the workers, the I.T.F. expresses the view that the Communist activities are based on hypocrisy and misrepresentation, and that the prevention of shipments under the Atlantic Pact will not help to preserve peace but tend on the contrary to produce the opposite effect.

“The Communists, despite their anti-militarist protestations, are not opposed to war and have glorified their own brand of militarism in a way which has never been known before. Whilst shedding crocodile tears about wars and conflicts between peoples, they have used Polish ships to carry from Gdynia to Albania supplies of arms and war material which were originally probably destined for the insurgents in the Greek civil war and which are now obviously being piled up for an attack on Communist Yugoslavia, which will no longer dance to the tune of the Cominform and the Kremlin. The Soviets have, further, invaded and occupied several countries and aided in reducing others to the status of political satellites, depriving the populations concerned of every freedom and of the democratic way of life.

“The Atlantic Charter adjured the nations to refrain from territorial aggrandizement. History will judge which are the countries which have and which have not lived up to that adjuration, and which, therefore, are the real guardians of world peace.

“The I.T.F. is opposed to aggression of every kind. Whilst proclaiming itself against aggression, it recognizes the right of nations to defend themselves. The trade unions affiliated with it

in the free countries will be able and willing to check aggressive actions on the part of the governments of their own countries.

“The same cannot be said of the Communist-dominated countries where the so-called trade unions are not free but take their orders from the powers that be. Communist action is not inspired by a desire for peace, but to ensure the supremacy of Soviet Russia in the world.

“The I.T.F. is an international organization of free unions who decide for themselves, and not at the behest of government or political party, what action to take. Any course of action it decides on in the event of aggression or war depends upon the merits of the situation. It was the I.T.F. which, when such a situation existed in 1920, placed an embargo upon the shipments destined for use in the attack of Poland on Soviet Russia.

“The I.T.F., after careful consideration of all the reasons for the conclusion of the Atlantic Pact, is satisfied that it is an instrument for the defence of countries with a democratic régime. It therefore calls upon its affiliated unions to oppose by all means at their disposal the political campaign which has been launched against Western Europe by the Cominform.”

Second Meeting of the Central Vigilance Committee

The Central Vigilance Committee held its second meeting at Sorrento, Italy, on 2 September 1950. The members present again reported on the progress of the anti-Communist campaign in the port and shipping industries of the different countries. Formal approval was given for the setting up of the Regional Vigilance Committee for the Mediterranean area, which was to play a vital rôle in breaking the Communists' hold upon the countries concerned.

The meeting further formulated rules governing the procedure of the Central Vigilance Committee and its relations with the Regional Vigilance Committees, and adopted recommendations concerning the expulsion of Communists from trade unions, a study of conditions in the Mediterranean area and of the trade union situation in Tunisia and Morocco.

It was agreed that regional leaders should communicate promptly with the I.T.F. Secretariat in case of troubles likely to cause strikes or subversive activities, and to supply three-monthly reports containing information about developments in the regions and recommendations concerning action which needed to be taken.

Third Meeting of the Central Vigilance Committee

The Central Vigilance Committee met for the third time in London on 17 and 18 August 1951 to review the results of the activities carried on during the preceding two years. The information laid before the Committee showed that the Communist threat, which at certain moments and at certain points had been very acute, had been brought to a halt and that the free and democratic trade unions of the port and shipping industries now had the situation well under control.

There were, however, indications that the Communist forces, though repulsed, had not given up their intentions, and in particular that they were planning a fresh attack later in the year. The Committee had

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reliable information about these Communist plans and made preparations for meeting all eventualities. A resolution was adopted recording with satisfaction that thanks to the timely action taken, all attempts to sabotage the Atlantic Defence Pact had been completely unsuccessful. It declared that the dockers' and seafarers' unions would continue to fight Communism by all possible means and warned the democratic forces to be on their guard against a renewal of popular front tactics.

In this connection we may refer to the approach made to the I.T.F. by the W.F.T.U. Trade Department at the middle of 1951. After having for months attacked the I.T.F. and its unions in the most vicious terms imaginable, the Communists suddenly bethought themselves and offered them the hand of friendship. These overtures were treated with the contempt they deserved, and an article exposing this further example of Communist treachery was published in the I.T.F. JOURNAL. Particulars of this incident are given in another chapter.

The Regional Vigilance Committees

The work of the three Regional Vigilance Committees has already been mentioned in connection with the Central Vigilance Committee. The results secured may be summed up by stating that in all three regions there has been a great improvement in the situation since the starting of our counter-offensive in 1949.

In the Baltic and Scandinavian area the Communists at no time secured a strong foothold. The most notable event in this area was their bid to gain control of the Finnish Seamen's Union by the usual method of infiltration and penetration. It came to a showdown at the congress of the Union held at Helsingfors in July 1951. The Communists were completely routed. In Sweden, Norway and Denmark the Communists have been held in check throughout the period under review.

Similarly the reports from the countries constituting the North Sea and Atlantic Coast area show a gratifying consolidation of the position compared with a year or two ago. The real purpose behind the Communist attempts to stir up trouble has been completely exposed and is now well understood by the workers of the port and shipping industries. There are good reasons for asserting that in these countries too the Communists stand little chance of exploiting economic difficulties for subversive ends.

Finally, in the third area, the countries bordering on the Mediterranean, the situation is also very much improved as far as the Communist menace is concerned. These are the countries where in the first post-war years Communism had gained a strong hold. Time has taught the workers that what they have to expect of Communism is not an improvement in their material conditions but subordination of their interests to the realization of Soviet ambitions.

In their disillusionment the workers have turned their back on the Communists: in France, for instance, the Communist C.G.T. unions have lost millions of members. The Force Ouvrière unions stand ready to mobilize them for genuine industrial ends, but it is not easy to overcome the apathy into which the workers have fallen after their betrayal by the Communists. But a fresh campaign is being mounted by the free trade unions of the countries in question, and there are again grounds

for hoping that, with the powerful backing which is being given by the I.C.F.T.U., the I.T.F. and other international trade secretariats, these efforts will be rewarded with success.

Symptomatic of the changed atmosphere in the Mediterranean region is the fact that the I.T.F. was able to hold meetings of its Executive Committee and General Council at Marseilles in October 1951. Comparatively recently this seaport was a Communist stronghold, but thanks especially to the work of the Mediterranean Vigilance Committee the Communists' reign of terror is over and Marseilles is today safe for free trade unionism.

The Rôle of the Regional Vigilance Committees

Some criticism was uttered about the political trend of the Mediterranean Committee as expressed in some of the resolutions adopted at a meeting held at Marseilles in January 1951. The criticism was directed less against the actual terms of the resolutions themselves than the fact that a body representing a comparatively limited number of the organizations affiliated with the I.T.F. should adopt resolutions which might be interpreted as expressing the views of the I.T.F. as a whole.

The Executive Committee of the I.T.F. considered the matter at its meeting in London in January 1951, and decided to emphasize the fact that the Vigilance Committees are action committees and not policy-making bodies.

Following the meeting of the Mediterranean Vigilance Committee held at Salonika from 15 to 21 June 1951, the same matter was brought up again by the French F.O. Railwaymen's Federation, and therefore further consideration was given to it by the Executive Committee meeting in Marseilles in October 1951. The difficulties experienced by the organizers of such meetings in limiting discussions on matters about which participants felt very strongly were fully realized, but the consensus of opinion within the Executive Committee was that it was very desirable that resolutions adopted by Vigilance Committees should be kept strictly within the bounds of decisions previously arrived at by the governing bodies of the I.T.F.

Conclusions

The subject of the activities of the Vigilance Committees is largely confidential, and we have therefore confined ourselves above to a broad survey of what has been done to carry out the programme which was initiated at Rotterdam in 1949. This is not the place to go further into the threat which Communism still constitutes to the peace of the world, but as far as disruptive activity in the port and shipping industries of the free countries is concerned, we think it is correct to say that the trade unions have achieved the object they set themselves.

This does not mean that the danger is past, and no doubt the Communist forces await a more favourable opportunity to renew their attack. The obvious implication is that our Vigilance Committees must remain on the alert and be ready to move into action at the first sign of a revival of Communist trouble-making.

Ships under False Colours

Since 1948 the I.T.F. seafarers' unions have been applying themselves to the serious problem created by the transfer of more and more ships to the flags of countries like Panama, Honduras, Liberia and others, which until recent years played only an insignificant rôle in maritime enterprise. Indeed, whereas in the inter-war years these countries between them accounted for a mere handful of ships, today their combined tonnage has reached an astonishing total. The most spectacular increase has been registered by Panama, whose name has consequently come to be particularly associated with the phenomenon. With a gross tonnage figure now on the way to four millions, it is fourth on the list of maritime nations, after the United States, the United Kingdom and Norway. Latterly the African Republic of Liberia has also come into the picture, with a tonnage figure exceeding one million gross tons.

The I.T.F. seafarers' unions have at all times emphasized that it is not the flag of Panama or any other country which is indicted. It is true that the I.T.F. stands for an international shipping policy and the creation of an international shipping authority, in order that a sound relationship may be ensured between the world supply of and demand for tonnage, but apart from this it recognizes the right of every nation to develop its maritime industry. What the organized seafarers are concerned about is that certain shipping interests should abuse the flags of certain countries and should, whilst continuing their business in the original countries—running the same ships, trading on the same routes, maintaining the same offices—resort to the legal subterfuge of creating dummy companies and registering them in new countries where they think the law cannot reach them. Only a very small percentage of the five millions or so tons of shipping sailing under these flags ever visits the countries of registry. Surely these are grounds enough to suspect an ulterior motive and an attempt to evade the fair standards which have been progressively built up in the traditional maritime countries in the spheres of working and social conditions, safety at sea and protective legislation generally.

As far as the actual number of transfers is concerned, the campaign which the I.T.F. seafarers' unions have been waging against this highly questionable practice since the Oslo Congress of July 1948 has perhaps been somewhat negative in results, inasmuch as the volume of shipping flying false colours is today bigger than ever. But the seafarers realize that the situation is highly dangerous, that if ever the industry falls on hard times again the existence of a massive block of shipping completely free to fix standards at whatever level the operators like would be a terrible menace to fair standards elsewhere, and that it is therefore a problem which they—and indeed also the shipping and national interests concerned—cannot afford to ignore. Accordingly, though the task is enormously difficult, they must continue to grapple with it until they have devised ways and means of overcoming it.

The problem has been periodically discussed at meetings of our Dockers' and Seafarers' Sections, and on the joint body set up by the two sections to deal with its practical aspects—the Boycott Committee.

There the policy which has been pursued was formulated in the light of experience. That policy—after an initial period during which an amicable solution of the problem was sought—consists of three parts: (1) Organization of the crews of Panamanian and suchlike ships in a Special Seafarers' Section of the I.T.F.; (2) Conclusion of collective agreements with owners who are prepared to apply the wage and other standards formulated by the I.T.F.; (3) Compilation of an index of sub-standard ships against which action shall be taken at every possible opportunity.

At joint meetings of seafarers' and dockers' representatives the latter have periodically renewed their pledge to support the campaign against substandard ships and unfair practices. The seafarers, however, realize that this fight is primarily their responsibility; also the limitations imposed upon industrial action by the economic and political state of the world today; so they have exercised as much restraint as possible in calling upon the solidarity of the dockers. Nevertheless, on a number of occasions dockers' unions have rendered assistance and enabled seafarers' unions to register notable successes in actions against substandard ships.

On the whole, as has already been admitted, the campaign has not yet had the effect of deterring certain types of shipowners from abandoning the flags under which they would normally be expected to trade. But this does not mean that it has been a failure. It was not to be expected that a cleaning-up job affecting millions of tons of shipping would be accomplished overnight. It was obvious that a great deal of preparatory work had to be done before the campaign could gather momentum and our efforts bear fruit. That is the light in which the position so far reached has to be seen.

The results secured have been communicated in extensive reports to our seafarers' unions and to those dockers' representatives who have been associated with the campaign. At the time of writing the matter is due to come up for review at a meeting of the Boycott Committee to be held in London in April 1952 and a meeting of the Seafarers' Sectional Committee in Geneva the following month. By the time the Stockholm Congress meets in July the conclusions reached in these further consultations will be known.

The position of the campaign at present is, briefly, that the foundations have been laid for an effective prosecution of the campaign in the future. A systematic effort has been made to collect information about the past and present ownership of Panamanian and similar ships, about the wages and working hours and other conditions of crews, about sanitary and safety conditions on board, and about the size and nationality of crews, etc., and the data available concerning a large number of these ships have been embodied in a 100-page tabular survey to be used for the future propaganda and organizing work. The groundwork has thus been done for a full-scale organizing drive among the crews to build up a substantial membership of the above-mentioned Special Seafarers' Section of the I.T.F. Some fifty Panamanian and suchlike ships are already covered by collective agreements, but the technique of ensuring their observance has still to be perfected.

We conclude this summary with a recapitulation of the principal phases of our campaign from the time of its inception. At first, in response to overtures of the Panamanian Government, we endeavoured to reach an amicable solution of the problem, but the stalling tactics of the Panamanian authorities, to say nothing of the non-co-operation of the owner element, doomed our efforts to failure. In the intervening period an official investigation conducted by the I.L.O., at the request of the Panamanian Government, had established the justification of the I.T.F.'s complaints about conditions in many Panamanian ships.

In the circumstances there was no alternative but to take the hard road. That is the road we have followed during the period that lies behind us. The meetings of the Boycott Committee and the Seafarers' Section to be held shortly before the Stockholm Congress will be considering what must be done about the matter in the coming period. The prospects are that they will decide that the seafarers' unions must continue to devote all possible resources to the solution of the problem. For, we repeat, the issue is almost of life-and-death importance to the seafarers and the shipping industry as a whole.

Chronology of I.T.F. Campaign

JULY 1948: Oslo Congress proclaims campaign against spurious flag transfers.

NOVEMBER 1948: Geneva Seafarers' Conference reaffirms Oslo decision and agrees to invitation of Panamanian Consul to a meeting in London.

FEBRUARY 1949: Joint Dockers' and Seafarers' Conference in London sets up Boycott Committee to conduct the campaign.

APRIL 1949: First meeting of Boycott Committee in London. Action postponed pending consultations with Panamanian authorities.

JUNE 1949: Seafarers' representatives meet Panamanian Chargé d'Affaires in Geneva and receive invitation to meeting with Panamanian shipowners in Washington under auspices of Panamanian Government.

JULY 1949: Second meeting of Boycott Committee in London prepares for meeting in Washington. I.T.F. representatives travel to Washington, but meeting is abortive owing to absence of accredited representatives of Panamanian owners.

AUGUST 1949: Joint Dockers' and Seafarers' Conference at Rotterdam decides, at request of Panamanian authorities, to make another attempt to reach amicable solution.

FEBRUARY 1950: Vigilance Committee of I.T.F. considers use made of Panamanian and suchlike ships for Communist subversive activities. Third meeting of Boycott Committee recommends discontinuation of negotiations with Panamanian Government.

APRIL 1950: Amsterdam Seafarers' Conference decides to break off talks with Panamanian Government and to organize campaign against substandard ships.

JUNE 1950: I.L.O. report on inquiry into conditions in Panamanian ships upholds allegations of I.T.F.

JULY 1950: Stuttgart Congress approves preparations made for setting up Special Seafarers' Section of I.T.F., securing collective agreements with Panamanian and similar ships on basis of standards formulated by I.T.F. and placing of embargo on selected sub-standard ships.

JANUARY 1951: Fourth meeting of Boycott Committee in London reviews progress made with organizing crews and concluding agreements. Plans made for tracking down and blacklisting substandard ships.

JANUARY - DECEMBER 1951: Continuation of activities in accordance with plan of campaign decided upon.

Organization of European Transport

European Transport Authority

The idea of the setting up of a European Transport Authority is one which has exercised the I.T.F. for some years past. A resolution on the subject adopted by the Innsbruck Railwaymen's Conference was communicated to all European governments, including those behind the Iron Curtain, and to a number of official international bodies, in November 1949. We give below the reactions of those governments and bodies which had replied up to the end of 1951.

In the case of Great Britain the British affiliated unions approached the T.U.C. which undertook to seek information about the British Government's action and intentions. On 30 June 1950 Sir Vincent Tewson, General Secretary of the T.U.C., wrote to say that the T.U.C. representatives had met Mr. Kenneth Younger, Minister of State, who said that he held the view very strongly that ultimately there would have to be some form of international transport body, and the Government were thinking in cautious terms of the character such a body should have. As with the Schuman proposals, however, they did not think they could now proceed to set up an independent international body which could be trusted to act impartially. E.C.I.T.O., for instance, had turned out to be an organization not of experts as had been desired but one expressing the views of the governments of the countries of its members. For the moment the British Government was not able to say anything more definite.

The Belgian Minister of Communications wrote: "Rest assured that the document has had my best attention and that the suggestions it contains will be carefully considered."

The Chief of the Swiss Department of Posts and Railways wrote on 22 February 1950 that in his view the I.T.F. proposal would constitute a measure of economic integration but that it should not precede such integration. Before it could be achieved, it would be necessary to do away with exchange control and other barriers which most States had raised against one another. The Swiss Authorities would not refuse to co-operate in an enquiry which might be made within the framework of economic measures of a more general character, on the proposal of one or other of the countries chiefly concerned, but they were not prepared to raise the matter themselves with any official international bodies.

The Turkish Minister of Communications wrote on 10 January 1950: "I have the honour to inform you that I consider it desirable that the support of all transport organizations dependent on my Ministry should be given to the Authority the setting up of which was envisaged at the International Railwaymen's Conference at Innsbruck."

The Hungarian Minister of Communications wrote on 19 January 1950 that as he had not been represented at the Innsbruck Conference he could not consider it as binding upon him. He did not consider that the obstacles to development lay in national sovereignty, since his country was founded on national sovereignty and he was opposed to the setting up of any kind of European Transport Authority "which would be solely at the service of the Imperialists". He went on to complain that the I.T.F. was directed by right-wing social-democrats whose leaders were anti-Soviet and anti-democratic and were opposing the W.F.T.U. and the progressive trade unions. As a federation of the Right the I.T.F. was not qualified to make proposals of any kind on behalf of the railway workers and such proposals could only be considered if they were represented by the International Union of Transport Workers belonging to the W.F.T.U.

The O.E.E.C. wrote on 28 December 1950 that should it have cause to consider the problem it would not fail to take into account the views expressed by the I.T.F.

The Secretary-General of the Council of Europe replied on 24 July 1950 that the Sub-committee on Public Works and Transport and also the Economic Committee of the Council of Europe had studied the I.T.F. document with the greatest interest, since it corresponded with pre-occupations already expressed by several members of these bodies. The Committee had adopted a resolution recognizing the desirability of maintaining close relations with the various international bodies at present working in the fields of transport, and resolved that the resolution should be referred to the Inland Transport Committee of the E.C.E.

The Inland Transport Division of the Economic Commission for Europe officially distributed the text of the resolution, but no member-government of the E.C.E. took the matter up for discussion in the Inland Transport Committee.

At its session of August 1950 the Consultative Assembly adopted a resolution in favour of closer co-operation of European communications, approving the broad outlines of the proposal to invite the Council of Europe to take the initiative in establishing a European Transport Organization; instructing the Secretary-General to consider, in consultation with the appropriate international organizations, the possibility of setting up a European Transport Authority, or taking some other measures likely to ensure the necessary co-ordination; and to report on the result of its work. It further recommended that the Committee of Ministers should put at the disposal of the Economic Committee government experts to consider the problem in conjunction with the Sub-committee on Communications and Public Works, and instructed the committee on economic questions to follow the development of the work and to report on it at its next sitting.

On 28 November 1949 the late Sir Harold Butler, Chairman of the Economic and Social Section of the European Movement, wrote

to say that Mr. Winston Churchill, who is one of the Presidents of Honour of the European Movement, had forwarded our letter to him. He had read it with interest and was circulating it to the Executive Bureau of the European Movement for discussion at their meeting in January 1950. On 28 January 1950 he wrote to say that he had had an opportunity of consulting members of the Economic and Social Section of the European Movement and they had shown a good deal of interest in our proposals and he hoped to have an opportunity of discussing them with us.

Later, our Assistant General Secretary and Research Officer had an interview with Sir Harold Butler and they promised to apply for authority to take part in the work of the Committee of Experts should such a committee be set up by the European Movement. No further communication has been received.

It will be seen that our proposals are on whole considered sound but there is obviously opposition on the part of the Eastern European Governments. This is likely to be an effective bar against consideration of the plan by the Economic Commission for Europe.

Whether a European Transport Authority is thought of as an all-European or a Western European body the obstacles to its creation are primarily political. While an all-European Authority is in the circumstances obviously out of the question for the time being, an obstacle to the setting up of a Western European Transport Authority lies in the clinging to national sovereignty in matters of transport.

Discussions on the organization of European transport are also going on in other quarters. The Council of Europe has set up a Committee instructed to draft the Constitution of a European Transport Authority. The draft was submitted to the Consultative Assembly in 1951 but referred back to the Strasbourg Committee on Economic Questions. The I.T.F. Secretariat had contact with one member of the Committee drawing up the Constitution and has been able to influence the work in some measure. However, the draft as a whole is considered to be unsatisfactory because it is too much modelled on the Schuman Plan and does not take sufficiently into account the special aspects of transport. The drafting committee consisted exclusively of political representatives and no experts in international transport were called upon to co-operate. It would seem that the draft Constitution will be abandoned.

Other Aspects

In other quarters, particularly the Chambers of Commerce of North Sea ports (Germany, Holland and Belgium), plans are being mooted for a working agreement between these ports. A first conference was fixed for 26 to 28 June 1951 in Rotterdam and the I.T.F. had planned to hold a conference of its own on the subject on 4 June, but the Conference of the Chambers of Commerce did not take place and the I.T.F. postponed its own Conference.

The Inland Transport Committee of the Economic Commission for Europe is continuing its study of basic questions on the organization of European transport, particularly that of co-ordination. A special session of the Committee is due to be held in January 1952.

V

Section Reports

Civil Aviation Section

SECTION COMMITTEE MEETING, ANTWERP, APRIL 1950

The Committee of the Civil Aviation Section of the I.T.F. met at Antwerp on 21 and 22 April 1950 to consider two comprehensive reports on (a) Flight Crew Complement and (b) Holidays with Pay, which had been prepared by the Secretariat. On the former question there was some cleavage of opinion between the pilots, on the one hand, and the navigators and radio officers, on the other, especially in Great Britain, so the Committee decided to set up a sub-committee of seven members to draft a policy to be submitted to the Stuttgart Congress.

On the question of Holidays with Pay, the Secretariat of the I.T.F. was asked to prepare, for submission to the Conference of the Section at Stuttgart, suggestions for minimum standards.

The Sub-Committee duly met in London on 8 and 9 June 1950, and drafted two resolutions, one laying down standards for flight crew complement and the other insisting on the need for aeroplanes flying on overseas routes to carry 500 kc/s wireless equipment.

STUTTGART CONGRESS

With some slight modifications both these resolutions were approved by the Conference of the Section held in connection with the I.T.F. Congress at Stuttgart in July 1950, and finally by the Congress itself. Conference and Congress also approved, subject to amendments, a draft International Convention on Holidays with Pay for Aircrew which had been prepared by the Secretariat. This draft convention was eventually submitted to the I.L.O.

FLYING STAFF COMMITTEE, LONDON, JANUARY 1951

The Flying Staff Committee (the Section Committee is divided into two groups of eight persons, for flying and ground staff respectively) met in London on 23 January 1951 to consider a model collective agreement for air line steward personnel, which had been drawn up by the Secretariat, and two progress reports on the enquiries undertaken by the Secretariat into Hours of Duty of Flight Crew and the Deleterious Effects of Flying.

After some amendment the draft collective agreement was approved for submission to the next full Conference of the Section. Two important points emerged in the course of the discussion. One was that the meeting considered that the I.T.F. should subscribe to the principle of a fixed salary for flight personnel—based on an agreed maximum number of flying hours—and that the practice of payment according to actual flight duty time should be abolished. The second was that the meeting also felt that the I.T.F. should support the principle of equal pay for equal work. On the latter point it was decided that in the section of the draft agreement dealing with pay no differentiation should be made between steward and stewardess personnel.

The report on the question of the Deleterious Effects of Flying was left for consideration by a later meeting, but as regards that on Hours of Duty of Flight Crew it was decided to set up a small Sub-Committee to go more fully into it and formulate guiding principles. Up to the end of the period under review this Sub-Committee had met three times, on 20 March, 20 June and 14 November 1951.

Sub-Committee Meetings

When the Sub-Committee met for the first time, on 20 March 1951, the General Secretary was able to report that the I.L.O. had announced that our draft International Convention on Holidays with Pay for Air Crews was to be brought to the notice of the I.L.O. Inland Transport Committee at its Fourth Session in December 1951, and that the I.L.O. had asked whether there were any additional questions relating to conditions of employment in the civil aviation industry that could be usefully considered at the same time. The Sub-Committee unanimously agreed that the I.L.O. should be asked to undertake investigations into (a) the problem of flight and total duty hours performed by air crew personnel and (b) social security provisions for those employed in the civil aviation industry; the former being regarded as the more urgent, though not necessarily the more important.

As regards the question of Hours of Duty of Flight Crew the Sub-Committee confined itself at this meeting to drafting recommendations on flight time limitation to be circulated to affiliated civil aviation unions for their observations. These recommendations were further considered—together with the question of total duty hours, in the light of consultations members of the Sub-Committee had had in the meantime with rank-and-file members of their organizations—at subsequent meetings, held on 20 June and 14 November 1951, and finally it was agreed to put forward for consideration by the next full Conference of the Section the proposal that the Section should aim to impose maxima for flight time of 32 hours a week and 90 a month on short hauls and 60 a week and 100 a month on long hauls, and of 255 a quarter and 900 a year in both cases; and that total duty time should be limited to 40 hours a week for short hauls and 80 a week for long; the maximum per month being 150 in both cases. It is suggested that the number of consecutive hours of duty, and the rest periods, should be left for national negotiation.

I.L.O. INLAND TRANSPORT COMMITTEE

The draft International Convention on Holidays with Pay for Air Crew and other matters which we had submitted to the I.L.O., following our Stuttgart Congress in July 1950 and the Sub-Committee meeting of 20 March 1951, duly came up for discussion at the Fourth Session of the Inland Transport Committee of the I.L.O. held at Nervi, near Genoa, from 4 to 15 December 1951. The General Secretary and Assistant General Secretary represented the I.T.F. directly but the meeting was also attended by 44 delegates and advisers from organizations affiliated with the I.T.F., and thanks to their assistance we were able to secure the setting up of a Working Party to deal with civil aviation questions. It prepared a memorandum for submission to the Governing Body of the I.L.O. which was adopted in the plenary session by 76 votes to 3, with 12 abstentions.

This document, while expressing the view that there are certain technical aspects of employment in civil aviation which fall properly within the scope of the International Civil Aviation Organization (I.C.A.O.), declares that the social aspects of such employment are the responsibility of the I.L.O., and asks the Governing Body to study and prepare reports, for submission to the next session of the Inland Transport Committee, on (a) Holidays with Pay; (b) Social Security Measures; and (c) Hours of Work as affecting all categories of personnel employed in civil aviation. It further expresses the view that it is desirable to convene a special session of the Inland Transport Committee to deal with civil aviation problems, and invites the Governing Body to give the proposal favourable consideration, and also to set up a Special Section of the I.L.O. to undertake the study proposed "and to deal on a continuing basis with the problems already existing and which will arise in the future in civil aviation".

SERVICES TO AFFILIATED ORGANIZATIONS

During the period under review the Section has been kept busy furnishing affiliated civil aviation organizations and other bodies interested with copies and translations of collective agreements entered into for civil aviation personnel in different parts of the world, legislation applicable to the industry and other useful and interesting information.

In September 1950 a detailed study was made, at the request of the Swiss Public Services Union, of certain problems of Swissair Flying Staff. A full report was prepared on the subject and discussed with the management of Swissair, which agreed to the proposals and suggestions it contained. Assistance was also given to the Union in preparing its new collective agreement, and the Union has written to the Secretariat expressing its appreciation of the many services rendered. Enquiries were also made into certain aspects of employment of civil aviation workers in Belgium and France. Copies of all these reports were sent to affiliated civil aviation organizations. At the request of the American Air Line Pilots' Association, too, investigations have been made into the relative merits of various existing light approach systems.

I.C.A.O.

We regret to have to report that following long-drawn-out correspondence with the International Civil Aviation Organization that body informed us, in November 1951, that its Council had decided that "it would not be appropriate to include the I.T.F. in the standing list of international organizations to which invitations are regularly issued to attend relevant I.C.A.O. meetings". This decision, however, will "not prevent consideration of requests from the I.T.F. for representation at meetings of the Organization of particular interest to it, or the consideration of I.T.F. proposals which could be transmitted . . . to I.C.A.O. meetings to whose work they would be relevant".

I.F.A.L.P.A.

Mr. K. A. Golding, who has been assisting the Secretary in the work of the Section since the departure of Mr. Strauss, attended as an observer the Sixth Conference of the International Federation of Air Line Pilots' Associations held at Amsterdam in April 1951.

Inland Navigation Section

MEETINGS HELD

During the period under review, the I.T.F. Inland Navigation Section held three meetings, one on 22 July 1950, on the occasion of the Stuttgart Congress, and the second and third in Strasbourg from 22 to 24 September and on 5 November 1950, respectively. The two latter meetings were mainly in preparation for the tripartite conference on manning (two sessions, 25 and 26 September and 7 to 9 November 1950), which had been convened by the Central Rhine Commission at the request of the I.L.O. At the end of the period a further meeting of the Section had been planned for February 1952.

SECTION COMMITTEE AND CHAIRMAN

At the Stuttgart meeting, the following Section Committee was appointed to deal with the affairs of the Section until the following Congress: A. Brosch (Austria), W. Cassiers (Belgium), A. Dienst (Germany), T. Smeding (Holland), F. Ahmed (Pakistan), and A. Manson (United Kingdom). A further seat was held open for France. Brother T. Smeding was also elected Chairman of the Section.

REGIONAL AGREEMENTS ON SOCIAL SECURITY AND WORKING CONDITIONS

At a conference convened by the I.L.O. in October and December 1949, at Geneva, governmental, employers' and workers' representatives of the five countries interested in navigation on the Rhine (Belgium, France, Germany—including the occupying authorities—Holland and Switzerland) drafted two agreements dealing with the social security and conditions of employment of Rhine boatmen. The diplomatic and legal clauses of the agreements were referred to a further conference. The Governing Body of the I.L.O. convened this latter conference for 24 to 29 July 1950, in Paris, but decided to make it an exclusively inter-governmental conference. We protested against the exclusion of the I.T.F. and the workers' representatives from this conference, and as a result we received a belated invitation to send an observer. Brother Smeding represented the I.T.F. at this conference, where the two agreements were given their final form and made ready for signature and ratification.

The agreement on social security was duly signed by all the Rhine States and Belgium, and by the end of 1951 Switzerland and Germany had already ratified it, whilst ratifications by Holland, France and Belgium were pending. Switzerland, however, did not sign the agreement on working conditions, as the owners had insisted that it was first necessary to clarify the position with regard to the interpretation of Article 7 regulating night rest. They maintain that Article 7 does not exclude navigation by night, an interpretation which all the I.T.F. unions concerned reject on the grounds that, quite apart from considerations of safety, this Article expressly stipulates that the night rest—12 hours in Winter and 10 hours in Summer—must be given between 6 p.m. and 8 a.m. The fact that Switzerland has not yet signed the agreement

has induced other governments to adopt an attitude of wait-and-see, and up to the end of 1951 only one ratification, by Germany, had been registered.

MANNING

During the discussions on the working conditions agreement in October and December 1949 it was felt that the question of manning scales should be regulated in such a way as to ensure not only safety of navigation but also the implementation of the agreement. The Central Rhine Commission, as the body responsible for supervising the application of Rhine shipping regulations, was requested to convene a tripartite Conference to work out recommendations on manning. This Conference duly took place on 25 and 26 September and from 7 to 9 November 1950. The I.T.F. was represented at the first session by Brother O. Becu, at the second by Brother P. Tofahrn. Agreement was reached on a number of recommendations to the Central Rhine Commission, which in November 1951 embodied them in new manning regulations which will come into force on 1 April 1952. There were no really major issues at stake at this Conference, but it served a useful purpose in setting a precedent for tripartite discussions on questions affecting the interests of workers engaged in Rhine shipping.

ORGANIZATIONAL QUESTIONS

The organization of Rhine navigation personnel has long been one of the major problems of the Section. Efforts were repeatedly made to put the organizational set-up in this industry on a sound footing. The situation was very much complicated by the fact that five nations are engaged in Rhine navigation and that the crews often sail under a foreign flag. The I.T.F. unions early established the principle that the crews of such vessels should not be organized according to their nationality, but according to the flag under which they are working. For a transitional period, however, it was agreed at Strasbourg in November 1950 that the crews of French and Swiss vessels should as far as possible be organized by the other unions, because neither the French nor the Swiss were at first in a position to undertake the necessary work.

OTHER MATTERS

Other matters which received attention during the period under review were schooling and vocational training, the employment of women, and conditions on Pakistani and Indian waterways. As regards the latter, the I.L.O. was requested by its Inland Transport Commission, meeting in Nervi, near Genoa, from 4 to 15 December 1951, to undertake an enquiry into working conditions on inland craft in Asia and the Far East.

Railwaymen's Section

The Railwaymen's Section has met twice during the period under review. The first meeting was a formal one (at the Stuttgart Congress) for the purpose of electing the following Section Committee, charged with the fixing of the Section's programme of work for the next two years: R. Freund (Austria), G. Devaux (Benelux), R. Degris (France), H. Jahn (Germany), J. B. Figgins (United Kingdom), H. Blomgren (Scandinavia) and H. Düby (Switzerland). It met in London from 3 to 5 April 1951, to decide on the agenda for the International Railwaymen's Conference at Utrecht.

INTERNATIONAL RAILWAYMEN'S CONFERENCE

This Conference met at Utrecht, in Holland, from 13 to 17 August 1951. It was attended by 70 delegates representing 23 organizations with a total of 2,783,000 members in Europe, North America and Japan. The following official bodies sent observers: Inland Transport Committee of the Economic Commission for Europe (M. Charguéraud, Director of the Transport Division); International Railway Congress Association (M. Dubus); and the Economic Co-operation Administration Mission in Holland (Messrs. Lee Smith and Hornsby).

The Conference approved the report submitted by the Secretariat, and noted with satisfaction that the introduction of automatic coupling on the European railways had been brought a step nearer by the decision of the railway administrations to standardize railway wagons and build all new wagons with a frame capable of being fitted with an automatic coupling whenever it is decided to do away with the screw coupling.

European Transport Authority

A chapter of the Secretariat's report dealt with the I.T.F. proposal to create a European Transport Authority. Several speakers severely criticized the Council of Europe because it had discussed the question without the participation of representatives of the I.T.F. and without the assistance of other experts. The debate was concluded by the adoption of the following two resolutions:—

- (a) "The International Railwaymen's Conference, meeting at Utrecht from 13 to 17 August 1951, under the auspices of the I.T.F.,

"Finds that the idea of a European Transport Authority is gaining ground and is leading to exchanges of views within official international organizations;

"Notes with approval that the Inland Transport Committee of the E.C.E. is working for the rational organization of European Transport, and that the I.T.F. is sharing in this work in an advisory capacity; and

"Claims for the I.T.F. the same democratic right of representation in the other international bodies which are dealing with the organization of European Transport."

- (b) "The International Railwaymen's Conference, held at Utrecht from 13 to 17 August 1951, under the auspices of the I.T.F.,

"Having taken cognizance of the Report of the Secretariat on a European Transport Authority,

"Considers that the problems connected with the setting up of such a body, long ago proposed by the governing bodies of the

I.T.F., call for additional studies, particularly since the governmental authorities concerned have had the matter under consideration for some time past; and

“Requests the Executive Committee of the I.T.F. to entrust a committee of experts with an enquiry into the question and to call at an early date a special conference of European member organizations to deal with it.”

Application of Eight-hour Convention

The Secretary reported that so far the I.L.O. had not accepted a proposal made by the I.T.F. for an enquiry in order to ascertain for what reasons workers in the road and rail transport industries of a number of countries, particularly in Asia and Africa, were still being deprived of the benefits which the Eight-hour Convention of 1919 ought to have brought them. The Conference instructed the Secretary to continue to urge the I.L.O. to undertake this enquiry.

Vigilance Committee

A further chapter of the Secretariat's report dealt with the Communists' unsuccessful attempts to impede the transport of arms in Western Europe. In conclusion of the discussion on that subject, the Conference adopted the following resolution:—

“The Conference

“Affirms the will of the railwaymen affiliated with the I.T.F. to defend freedom and democracy and to ensure, in conformity with the resolutions of the Stuttgart Congress, the regular and safe transport of arms the purpose of which is to prevent or repel an attack on the free nations;

“Invites the Executive Committee of the I.T.F. to enlarge the Central Vigilance Committee to provide for the representation of the railwaymen.”

In the voting, the delegates of Japan, France, Luxembourg, Spain, Belgium, Italy (*Sindacato Nazionale Ferrovieri*) and Finland abstained.

Economy in Railway Operation

Finally, on a question of economies in railway operation, the Conference adopted, without discussion, the following resolution:—

“Whereas on many international lines of communication in Europe air travel has attracted nearly all the passengers formerly using first-class railway carriages; and

“Whereas receipts from first-class passenger carriages do not, as a rule, cover the cost of maintaining, running and replacing these vehicles;

“The International Railwaymen's Conference

“Recommends that the number of classes of passenger cars in international rail traffic be reduced to two and that the comfort and service offered to passengers using the present third-class carriages should be improved.”

Settlement of Labour Disputes

Mr. Baty, the General Secretary of the British Locomotivemen's Association submitted, on behalf of the Section Committee, a report on the settlement of labour disputes on railways, based on a review of

the situation in ten European countries. There was a supplementary report on the situation in Japan. Mr. Baty advocated settlement of disputes in the first place by fully developed negotiating machinery and, when that fails, by a procedure of public investigation. He categorically rejected compulsory arbitration. The Conference fully endorsed the principles underlying the trade union policy proposed by Mr. Baty, but the representatives of some countries had misgivings about the method of public investigations. They feared that their governments would misuse this instrument in order to mislead public opinion and whip it up against the railwaymen. However, the whole Conference endorsed Mr. Baty's contention that the ultimate goal must be the prevention of disputes and that this can be achieved only by eliminating capitalist influences in the management of railways and, in addition, political influences not generally concerned with the public good.

Co-ordination of Transport

The Conference debated the question of co-ordination of transport on the basis of a report submitted by Mr. Bodeau, Secretary of the French Railwaymen's Federation. Mr. Bodeau had discussed more particularly the problems arising out of the closing down of uneconomic railway lines. During the discussion, several delegates pointed out that the problem of co-ordination increasingly transcends national boundaries and therefore calls for solution through the organization of European transport as a whole. Consequently they emphasized the need for national co-ordination policies to follow similar general principles in order to facilitate better organization of European transport. The Conference concluded the discussion by the adoption of the following resolution:—

“Whereas the co-ordination of transport on similar general principles in each of the countries of the European Continent would facilitate better organization of European transport;

“Whereas the legislators of most European and extra-European countries have omitted to set up institutions capable of co-ordinating transport and eliminating uneconomic competition between the different means of transport; and particularly between rail and road;

“Whereas such competition not only leads to waste of transport capacity, to the detriment of national economies, but is also harmful to the transport workers by making it difficult to secure and maintain fair working conditions;

“Whereas the deficits shown by the railways are the result of mistaken transport policies of governments and parliaments (including excessive financial provisions for compensating former owners of nationalized railways), and no proof whatsoever of technical inferiority of the railways;

“Whereas any transport policy, if it is to be rational, should provide for close co-operation between road and rail and aim at perfect ordering of transport by the two methods;

“Whereas the replacement of railway services can be considered if by such replacement, taking into account all relevant factors and in particular the interests of the users, substantial advantages can be secured;

“Whereas in countries where there is no institution administering public transport as a whole it is advantageous for the public that the railway should accept responsibility for the organization of road services replacing railway services;

“The International Railwaymen’s Conference, meeting at Utrecht, under the auspices of the I.T.F., from 13 to 17 August 1951,

“Points out the advantage European nations would gain by adopting a common policy in respect of the co-ordination of transport and making, for this purpose, the fullest use of appropriate international organizations, and particularly of the Inland Transport Committee of the Economic Commission for Europe;

“Expresses the opinion that the co-ordination of transport in any territory calls for the setting up of a transport monopoly, or at the very least an authority endowed with the powers necessary to demarcate the field of activity of each means of transport and prevent any uneconomic competition; and

“Recommends railwaymen’s organizations to co-operate in the substitution of road transport services for railway services when circumstances justify it; to insist, where there is no public transport monopoly, that the railway undertaking should be responsible for the organization of such services; and

“Recommends further that appropriate steps be taken to safeguard the interests of transport staff directly involved in schemes for the co-ordination of services.”

Co-management

A further subject discussed by the Conference was that of the participation of railwaymen in the management of railways. Mr. Jahn, the President of the German Railwaymen’s Union, had submitted a report advocating that representatives of the railwaymen should be given a large share of authority and responsibility in the management of railways and illustrated his report with developments in Germany. The Conference expressed its agreement with the principle advocated by Mr. Jahn by approving his report. The discussion revealed, however, a divergence of opinion as to the measure of authority and responsibility to be assumed by representatives of the railwaymen. Opinions also differed on the implications which such participation would have on the freedom of the trade unions to oppose decisions by railway management. A number of delegates advocated that the trade unions should seek only advisory powers, while the majority insisted on voting powers on the highest administrative bodies. The resolution, adopted by 33 votes to 20, reads as follows:—

“This International Railwaymen’s Conference of the I.T.F., meeting at Utrecht from 13 to 17 August 1951, has given consideration to the question of staff participation in the management of the railways in the light of the following situation:—

“In certain countries the trade unions generally lay claim to a voice in the management of industrial undertakings and of industries as a whole and in the control of the national economy. Through

the voice of its Congress of July 1951 the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions congratulated the trade unions of these countries on the results so far achieved and pledged its support to workers who are striving for the realisation of this claim.

“In some countries where the railways are publicly owned the railwaymen have won the right to take part, through accredited representatives, in deliberations or decisions on important matters affecting the industry. In some cases the railway trade unions are pressing for an extension of this right. In Germany, the Railwaymen’s Union is claiming that representatives of the railwaymen shall share the responsibility for the management of the railways on a footing of equality with the State-appointed administrators.

“The trade union claim that railwaymen shall participate in the management of railways is based on the following considerations:—

“The public interest requires that the work of railwaymen should be so ordered as to serve the public good in the most effective way.

“It is in the interests of railwaymen that the economic, social and political tasks assigned to the railways should be such as to serve the public good and that the best possible conditions should be provided for their performance.

“It is further in the interests of railwaymen that the industry, on the prosperity of which fair conditions of employment depend, should be efficiently managed.

“Railwaymen generally are convinced that because of their experience in the industry they can participate successfully in the tasks which the managers of railways, together with those of other transport undertaking, have to perform, and that consequently their participation in the management of the railways will serve the public interest.

“The railwaymen of most countries hold that, as their lot is bound up with that of the railway industry, they are entitled to be heard or to take part in decisions on all matters affecting the prosperity and the tasks of the industry.

“This Railwaymen’s Conference endorses these considerations and conclusions and therefore recommends the railwaymen’s trade unions affiliated with the I.T.F. to strive, in so far as it is compatible with the situation existing in their respective countries, for the following objectives:—

- “(a) Representation with voting powers before or on the bodies which determine the general transport policy of the country;
- “(b) Representation with voting powers on the highest administrative bodies of the railways;
- “(c) Setting up of local or national machinery—where such does not already exist—through which railwaymen may, in direct discussions with responsible heads of railway undertakings or services, exert influence in the fixing of working and operating methods.”

Railwaymen's Pensions

The Conference discussed the pensions of railwaymen on the basis of a report submitted by Mr. Devaux, the General Secretary of the Belgian Railwaymen's Union. Divergencies of opinion occurred only on the question of methods of financing pension schemes. Mr. Devaux maintained that the method of capitalization was impracticable in view of the instability of currencies and the diminishing purchasing power of even stable currencies. He therefore advised exclusive use of the method of distribution, i.e., the payment of pensions out of the product of current contributions to pension funds, or the inclusion of pensions in the operating costs of railways. Some delegates were of the opinion that the purchasing power of pensions could be maintained by a combination of capitalization and distribution methods. The Conference took no decision on this point and confined itself to a statement of the policy of railway trade unions in pension matters, as embodied in the following resolution:—

“Having considered the report on the problem of railwaymen's pensions, the International Railwaymen's Conference, meeting at Utrecht from 13 to 17 August 1951, under the auspices of the I.T.F., notes with satisfaction that favourable pension schemes exist in some countries; and

“Whereas it is in the public interest that the personnel of the railways should form a stable body, since the development of the high professional qualifications and the team spirit necessary for the safety of railway traffic and the general satisfactory running of the railways depends on stability;

“Whereas it is also in the public interest that the personnel of the railways should always be composed wholly of persons in the possession of faculties which have not suffered any noticeable diminution; and

“Whereas these two desiderata can be attained through an adequate pension scheme for the railwaymen and guarantees for the future of their families;

“The Conference

“Emphasizes the desirability of maintaining and, if necessary, improving the special schemes applicable to railwaymen where such exist, and of establishing pension funds open to all railwaymen where there are none;

“Declares that the impairment of existing schemes would be harmful to the general interest, and would be on top of this an act of social retrogression which it would be the duty of the trade unions to oppose with every means at their disposal;

“Asks railwaymen's trade union organizations to be guided in their action by the following principles:—

- “(1) That the age limit for compulsory retirement should in no case be higher than 65 years;
- “(2) That for those grades of railwaymen whose occupation uses up their physical forces at an accelerated rate, or calls for very rapid reflexes, and for all railwaymen following their calling

in regions with non-temperate climates, the age for compulsory retirement should be considerably below 65 years and the period of service required to qualify for the full pension should be correspondingly shorter;

- “(3) That provision should be made for retirement before reaching the age limit, at the option both of railwaymen and their employers;
- “(4) That railwaymen becoming incapacitated for all work on the railways in consequence of premature infirmity should be entitled to pensions sufficient to meet their needs;
- “(5) That railwaymen becoming incapacitated for all work on the railways in consequence of an industrial accident should be entitled to the pensions they would receive were they to proceed normally to the end of their career; such pensions to be borne by the industry or by an accident insurance scheme;
- “(6) That the widow of a railwayman should, as a general rule, be entitled to a life annuity from the date of the decease of her husband, while orphans should be entitled to a temporary pension, payable normally up to the age of 21 years;
- “(7) That the total amounts payable as retirement pension to a railwayman who finishes his career at the normal retirement age should not be less than three quarters of his pay at the end of his service;
- “(8) That the amounts paid as pension to the widow of a railwayman should not be less than half of those to which the deceased railwayman was or would have been entitled to as pension, and that the pension of each orphan should represent a substantial proportion of the father's pension; and
- “(9) That all pensions should maintain their full purchasing power throughout their currency, and should therefore be subject to the same changes as the wages and salaries of railwaymen still in the service.”

Other Decisions

The Conference expressed its dissatisfaction with the fact that the railwaymen in **Greece** were being denied the benefits of the Eight-hour Convention of 1919. It noted that the Greek Government had made some promises on the matter to the 1951 International Labour Conference, and instructed the Secretariat of the I.T.F. to make further representations to that Government.

The Conference further considered the seizure of the **Argentine Locomotivemen's Union** (La Fraternidad) by the Government-sponsored C.G.T., and adopted a resolution (printed in full under another chapter-heading) protesting against this new proof of the dictatorial tendencies of the Peron *régime*, expressing sympathy with the union and calling upon the I.L.O., ECOSOC and the United Nations Commission for Human Rights to lend their support to the I.T.F.'s efforts to restore trade union freedom for transport workers in Argentina.

The attention of the Conference was drawn to the exceedingly harsh treatment of the railwaymen in **India** by the Railway Board and the undemocratic action of the Indian Government in depriving the railwaymen by decree of the benefits of the Industrial Disputes Act of 1947, for the express purpose of preventing them from striking in support of their very reasonable demands. The Conference sent messages (printed in full under another chapter-heading) to the All-India Railwaymen's Federation and Mr. Nehru, the Indian Prime Minister—the first expressing sympathy and encouragement to the organization, and the second urging repeal of the decree and appealing for justice for the railwaymen.

Sectional Committee

The Conference re-elected the same Sectional Committee as had been chosen on the occasion of the Stuttgart Congress.

Dockers' Section

INTERNATIONAL DOCKS CONVENTION

This Convention, which deals with the protection of dock workers against accidents, was adopted by an International Labour Conference in 1929, and revised in 1932. It was the subject of a ten-yearly report prepared by the International Labour Office for the meeting of the Governing Body held in March 1951.

The report showed that three countries had ratified the original Convention (No. 28) and fifteen the revised one (No. 32). A fourth country, Spain, ratified Convention 28, but subsequently cancelled its ratification and ratified Convention 32. From a report submitted to the 1951 International Labour Conference it appeared that several countries (including France, Holland and Norway) intended to modify their legislation in order to adapt it to the Convention, and that several (among them again France and Norway) intended to ratify the Convention.

Though much has been done to adapt national regulations to the Convention, certain governments which originally believed that they would adapt their legislation were confronted with practical difficulties which prevented them from doing so. These difficulties, it is stated in the I.L.O. report, are recognized also by workers' organizations in the countries concerned, where despite non-ratification, safety standards are on the whole up to the Convention standard, but do not conform in certain, for the most part secondary, respects.

When the matter was considered at the meeting of the I.T.F. Dockers' Sectional Committee (London, January 1951) it was decided that dockers' unions should once more be urged to press for ratification, where necessary, as this strengthens the international position and increases the moral pressure upon governments in countries where safety standards are comparatively backward.

One difficulty which has been urged by governments against ratification is the difficulty of dealing with inland shipping under the Convention. It is stated that compliance with the Convention would require the complete rebuilding of the inland navigation fleets of certain

countries. The I.L.O. report points out that Article 15 of the Convention allows for complete or partial exemptions and exceptions. This could be applied to inland navigation, and it is stated that some ratifying countries have in fact done so.

Another obstacle has been the difficulty of giving effect to the principle of reciprocity which is embodied in the Convention. Two Conferences were held under the auspices of the British Government (London, July 1932 and July 1935) with a view to establishing uniform standards for testing, examining and annealing, as well as corresponding certificates and records, but no definite agreement was come to. This is a very important aspect, as there are countries whose own standards are satisfactory but who are reluctant to conclude agreements with countries where the supervision of certificates is inadequate. Though no reciprocal agreements have been come to, there is apparent a general desire to standardize regulations, and dockers' unions should urge their governments to continue to give attention to the matter.

It has also been stated, as an objection to the Convention, that owing to advances in mechanization some of its provisions are obsolete and even stand in the way of technical progress. The answer would seem to be that such points must be looked after by revision of the Convention at suitable intervals, and not by refraining from ratifying it. As will be noted in the next section of this report, the question of revision of the Convention or some similar procedure has been under active consideration for several years past.

PROGRAMME OF SAFETY DEMANDS

The question dealt with in the preceding section is related to the programme of safety demands which was adopted by the I.T.F. Dockers' Section, and endorsed by the I.T.F. Biennial Congress, in Oslo in July 1948.

As these proposals were designed to bring the 1929/32 Docks Conventions more into line with recent developments in the industry, they were taken up with the I.L.O. in September 1948, as a suggestion for revising the earlier conventions on the safety of dock work. After the matter had been the subject of correspondence and personal discussions over a considerable period of months, we were given to understand that for various reasons the procedure of revising conventions, though provided for, was not considered a desirable one, and that the adoption of a supplementary convention or recommendation might be a more satisfactory method of achieving our object.

The matter was reconsidered in the light of this suggestion when the Dockers' Sectional Committee of the I.T.F. met in London in January 1951. Whilst regretting the delay the Committee agreed that a supplementary convention, embodying the principles formulated by the I.T.F., would be a satisfactory way of achieving them. At the same time, mindful of the difficulties which had delayed wider implementation of the earlier convention, the Committee agreed that the proposals should go to a body of technical experts, so that they might be put into an appropriate form for international implementation. These views were duly conveyed to the I.L.O. soon after the meeting of the Committee.

After the lapse of a further period the I.L.O. informed us (October 1951) that the matter had been considered by the Governing Body the previous June. Owing to the nature of our proposals it had been felt necessary to do some preparatory technical work on them, and this, coupled with the heavy pressure on the machinery of the I.L.O., had prevented earlier attention being given to the matter.

Meanwhile Conventions 28 and 32 were due to come up for review under the ten-yearly rule, and the I.L.O. suggested that this was a favourable opportunity for considering whether a revised or a supplementary convention, or some other instrument, should be adopted on the question of dock safety regulations. Recalling that the I.L.O. had previously given us to understand that revision was not a satisfactory procedure, so that we had suggested a supplementary convention, we emphasized our wish that the question should be put down for discussion at the earliest possible opportunity.

We had hoped that it would be decided to place the question on the agenda for the 1953 International Labour Conference, which we understand is to be fixed by the Governing Body at a meeting in March 1952. In this connection it may be recalled that reports on questions to be discussed at International Labour Conferences must reach governments twelve months before the opening of the Conference, which, allowing the time needed for preparatory work, means that the agenda has to be fixed at least 18 months in advance. But from the correspondence exchanged we gathered that the intention was first to submit the I.T.F. proposals, together with various technical matters raised by governments in reports on the application of Conventions 28 and 32, to a panel of experts drawn from the "Correspondence Committee on Accident Prevention and Industrial Health", so that the Governing Body might "decide with full knowledge of the situation what effect it might be desirable to give to your (I.T.F.'s) proposals and whether it should place on the agenda of the International Labour Conference the revision of Convention No. 32 or deal with the question in some other way, such as by means of a supplementary convention or a recommendation". In the circumstances it would seem doubtful whether the safety of dock work will be discussed again by an International Labour Conference before 1954. There would seem to be little we can do except to maintain our pressure upon the I.L.O. to deal with the matter as quickly as possible.

LIMITATION OF ONE-MAN LOADS

The demand of the I.T.F. on this question, that the weight of loads carried by one man should be limited to 75 kilogrammes (165 lb.), was formulated at I.T.F. international dockers' meetings held during 1946 and 1947 and endorsed by our Oslo Congress of 1948.

Originally the demand was presented in conjunction with proposals for revising the 1932 International Docks Convention. Though the mechanization of dock work has to some extent mitigated the problem, an investigation made by the I.T.F. Secretariat revealed that dockers still have to lift and carry loads considerably in excess of the limit mentioned.

Owing to the slow progress made with the attempts to secure a revision of the 1932 Convention, or the adoption of a supplementary convention, the question of one-man loads was submitted to a meeting of the Dockers' Sectional Committee held in London in January 1951. Having regard to the nature of the problem, the meeting reaffirmed that it was a difficult question to handle nationally, and accordingly urged the need for an international approach. In the light of previous experience, it was decided to press the question henceforth as a separate issue, and the Secretariat of the I.T.F. was instructed to ask for a discussion on the question at the next meeting of the Inland Transport Committee of the I.L.O. (Genoa, December 1951). Concurrently it was to be discussed with the Co-ordinating Committee of the International Trade Secretariats, in order to enlist the support of other categories of workers interested in the problem.

During the discussion on the Dockers' Sectional Committee attention was drawn to certain other aspects of the question. In Sweden, for instance, dockers are required to handle bales of cotton, woodpulp, etc., weighing at times 200 to 500 kilogrammes. These have to be rolled and stacked to a considerable height, and the men are exposed to serious risks of strain and injury. Information from India showed that in countries where mechanization has made little progress loads still have to be carried over considerable distances. In view of this and the poor physical standards of the workers concerned, the proposed limit of 165 lb. was felt to be too high in such cases. These points were appreciated, but the meeting agreed that it was undesirable to enter into excessive detail. If practical results are to be achieved international legislation must be confined to basic principles and it must be left to national legislatures to apply them, always provided that there are safeguards that the principles will be applied in the spirit in which they are adopted.

Following the London meeting, the matter was taken up with I.L.O. anew on the lines set out. It transpired, however, that the agenda for the Inland Transport Committee was already heavily loaded, and that the only possibility of raising the question of one-man loads there was during the discussion on the I.L.O. Director's Report, in which this question was, at our request, touched upon, together with one or two other questions of interest to dockers. The advantage of this procedure was, of course, that it avoided the loss of another two years before the question could be dealt with at the Inland Transport Committee (from the previous section it will be gathered that the prospects of its being discussed at an International Labour Conference were more remote still). The drawback was that, owing to the absence of dockers' questions on the agenda proper of the meeting, it was difficult to give great prominence to our particular problem during the discussion.

The two dockers' representatives present at the Genoa meeting of the Inland Transport Committee submitted a resolution which specifically asked that an International Working Party be appointed by the I.L.O. to draft an international convention on the question of the limitation of loads, that this draft convention be submitted to the next session of the Inland Transport Committee to deal with by way of a

first discussion, and that the question should then be placed on the agenda of an International Labour Conference with a view to the adoption of a convention by a single-discussion procedure.

The resolution had to pass through a preliminary procedure where strong opposition was encountered from both employers' and government representatives. The objections they raised were not new: it is not practicable to fix a single maximum load for all commodities, the shape and nature of the load and the climate and the physical condition of the workers have to be taken into account, provision must be made for the carrying as well as the lifting of loads, etc. Though our proposal was only, as it were, that the question should be put down for discussion, it was evident that the necessary support would not be obtained. In the circumstances the dockers' representatives felt that a compromise resolution proposed by the Dutch Government delegation was preferable to a complete deadlock.

This resolution, which was adopted by the Inland Transport Committee, asked the Governing Body (a) to recommend governments and employers' and workers' organizations to take measures for reducing, wherever possible, the carrying of heavy loads without mechanical appliances—for instance by adopting an appropriate organization of the work and by promoting the use of various appliances for lifting and carrying, and of containers; (b) to recommend governments to consult the employers' and workers' organizations on these matters; (c) to request the I.L.O. to undertake and publish a study on methods of carrying loads and on simple appliances for lifting and carrying; and (d) to recommend governments, in cases where the use of such appliances is impracticable, to study in consultation with employers' and workers' organizations concerned the possibility of determining the maximum limits of loads which may be carried or lifted by one man without the aid of mechanical appliances.

It was hoped that this resolution, especially point (d), would assist dockers' unions in pressing the matter at the national level. It does not seem to prejudice the possibility of placing the question on the agenda of an International Labour Conference, either as a separate issue or, as may now prove to be the better course, once more in conjunction with our demand for a revised or a supplementary convention on the safety of dock work. As is apparent from what we have said about the latter question, the demands on the I.L.O. machinery, to say nothing of other factors, are so heavy that it is difficult to see how more rapid progress can be made without some overhauling of the existing methods and procedures. A strong plea on this aspect was entered by the General Secretary of the I.T.F. at the meeting in Genoa.

DECASUALIZATION SCHEMES

At the meeting of the Dockers' Sectional Committee held in London in January 1951 an exploratory discussion took place on the question of decasualization schemes from an international point of view. The Secretariat was instructed to review the experience gained in this field in recent years, with particular reference to the principles which were formulated and recommended by the Third Session of the Inland Transport Committee of the I.L.O. (Brussels, May 1949), so

that if desirable the matter could be further considered at a full conference of the Dockers' Section with a view to an international policy on the subject.

The Secretariat duly issued a circular with the object of collecting information about the question, drawing special attention to the charges occasionally made, more particularly in employers' circles, that dock decasualization schemes, or at least certain aspects of them, slow down the turnround of ships and generally lessen the efficiency of the industry. Union circles not only repudiate this view but, on the contrary, maintain that stabilization schemes of this kind greatly promote efficiency as well as answering the social demands of modern society. Where the speed of handling ships and ships' cargoes is not so high as it could be, proper analysis shows, in the view of dockers' trade unions, that this must be attributed to the inadequacy of port equipment, working methods or other factors not inherent in the decasualization schemes themselves, and they have declared their willingness to co-operate in the removal of such defects.

Meanwhile the I.L.O. has prepared and published a comprehensive survey of the decasualization schemes in operation in a number of countries and of the extent to which the Brussels principles have found application. This survey was reproduced in full in successive numbers of the I.T.F. Journal. It confirmed the point of view which has been expressed above.

CO-ORDINATION OF PORTS

During the period under review voices were raised in semi-official quarters, such as chambers of commerce, in favour of measures to co-ordinate the Dutch, Belgian and German ports bordering the North Sea, with a view to arriving at a rational distribution of trade passing through these ports. Dockers' interests would naturally be affected by any scheme of this kind and the unions concerned have accordingly been watching developments. So far the question has not emerged from the exploratory stage, but it is being kept under observation with a view to ensuring appropriate participation by dockers' representatives in any discussions that take place.

The question of competition between Continental North Sea and Channel ports also arose during the meeting of the I.L.O. Inland Transport Committee in Genoa, and a resolution was adopted asking the I.L.O. to undertake an enquiry into working conditions in these ports.

Articles on the question, as well as on co-operation between Mediterranean and Adriatic ports, were published in the I.T.F. Journal and Press Report.

DOCKERS' QUESTIONS AT THE INLAND TRANSPORT COMMITTEE MEETING

Reference has already been made to the discussion of the question of one-man loads at the Fourth Session of the I.L.O. Inland Transport Committee (Genoa, December 1951) and to the resolution relating to competition between North Sea and Channel ports. Here we report two more dockers' questions which were discussed on that occasion.

Protection of Dockers Against Dust Associated with the Handling of Grain

This question was raised in Genoa in connection with a request from the International Conference on Pneumoconiosis held at Sydney in February and March 1950. The representatives of I.T.F. dockers' unions in Genoa subscribed to the request, especially since it was in line with the following two points of the I.T.F. programme of demands relating to the safety and hygiene of dock work to which we have referred above:

“HEALTH PROTECTION: Workers engaged in handling cargoes which expose them to harmful affections of the respiratory organs, the skin or other parts of the body, should be provided with adequate protection, e.g., respirators, tight-fitting clothing, etc.

“COMPENSATION FOR INDUSTRIAL DISEASES: Provision should be made in favour of dock workers who are the victims of diseases arising from their employment, by stipulating that certain diseases should rank as equivalent to industrial accidents for compensation purposes. Regard should be had to the fact that, owing to the nature of their work, dockers are more exposed to certain diseases than workers in industries where more effective precautions can be taken.”

The Inland Transport Committee asked the Governing Body of the I.L.O. to draw the attention of governments to the problem and to invite them to make studies based on the medical examination of groups of dockers particularly exposed to dust, with the view of designing practical measures for eliminating dust in the handling of grain and similar cargoes, instituting medical examinations for dockers regularly handling such cargoes and taking all measures to protect dockers. Further the Governing Body was asked to have the question studied by the I.L.O. in order that information about the results of the first steps taken might be placed before the next session of the Inland Transport Committee.

As stated, this question of protection against dust and the like is already in the I.T.F. programme for dockers and will receive attention in our future work.

Training of Dock Workers

On the initiative of the Dutch Government delegation, the Inland Transport Committee adopted a resolution which asked the Governing Body of the I.L.O. to draw the attention of governments, and of the employers' and workers' organizations concerned, to the importance of adequate training of dock workers for the handling of mixed cargo in modern ports, and to instruct the Office to collect and publish information on the training of dockers.

An article on the dockers' training scheme in operation at the port of Rotterdam was published in the I.T.F. Journal and Press Report.

WELFARE AND AMENITIES FOR DOCKERS

During the period under review the Secretariat has watched developments in the dock industry in the field of medical centres and services, amenities for dockers, and port welfare in general. Information on the position in various countries was published in the I.T.F. Journal and supplied to organizations asking for it. On the international level the dockers' demands in this respect are included in the programme which the I.T.F. is pressing through the I.L.O.

Fishermen's Section

(Including the Whaling Industry)

During the period under review no meeting took place of the Fishermen's Section or its Sectional Committee—apart from the Sectional Conference held in connection with the Stuttgart Congress in July 1950. Fishermen's representatives, however, attended other meetings of the I.T.F., more particularly those of the Seafarers' Section, which presented opportunities for dealing with fishermen's questions of a more urgent character.

Developments in connection with fishermen's affairs have been regularly reported by means of circulars and also through the I.T.F. Journal and Press Report.

INTERNATIONAL FISHERMEN'S CHARTER

Progress with the realization of this Charter, which was adopted at the Oslo Congress of July 1948, is linked up with the efforts which the I.T.F. have been making for a long time past to secure more sustained treatment of fishermen's questions in the I.L.O. The matter was last discussed at the Sixteenth Session of the Joint Maritime Commission of the I.L.O. (May 1951). As a result the I.L.O. was asked to continue its work on behalf of fishermen, with a view to setting up a committee of experts for the industry and holding a conference to deal with its problems. The Organization is now undertaking a consultation of Governments in order to ascertain, among other things, which aspects of fishermen's questions are ripe for international regulation.

We hope that by the time the next session of the J.M.C. takes place, in May 1952, the stage will have been reached when the I.L.O. can set up the committee of fishery experts and envisage the holding of an international conference for the fishing industry. Through this channel we will then work for the adoption of international conventions embodying the proposals of our Fishermen's Charter.

REPRESENTATION AT INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCES OF THE FISHING AND WHALING INDUSTRIES

On the occasion of the Stuttgart Congress (July 1950) the Fishermen's Section adopted a resolution expressing concern at the tendency to exclude workers' representatives from international conferences which deal with important questions affecting the fishing and whaling industries, and urging steps to rectify the position.

Unions have been invited to pay special attention to the matter and to keep the Secretariat of the I.T.F. regularly informed of developments. They were informed of two international conferences—A North Pacific Fishery Treaty Conference to be held in the United States in January 1952, and a Whaling Commission Annual Conference in London in June 1952—in order that they might approach governments with a view to the inclusion of trade union representatives in the national delegations.

According to the reports received by the Secretariat, Norway and the United States would appear to be the only countries where tangible progress has been made in this direction.

ORGANIZATION OF FISHERMEN

Arising out of previous discussions of the question, the Secretariat has commenced an inquiry into the extent of trade union organization in the fishing industry. Detailed information has been received from Belgium, Germany, Japan and the British Radio Officers. It is the intention to prepare an international survey of the question when information is available from other countries.

One of the questions being investigated is the best form of organization for self-employed fishermen. From the replies so far received it appears that fishermen's unions consider that self-employed persons should not be organized in the same unions as wage-earning fishermen. They favour their organization in separate associations or co-operatives, or perhaps in separate sections of fishermen's unions, but agree as to the need for the closest possible co-operation between self-employed and wage-earning fishermen in defence of their mutual interests.

CONDITIONS OF EMPLOYMENT

At the middle of 1951 the I.L.O. published a 200-page international survey of conditions of work in the fishing industry. It dealt extensively with questions such as fishermen's earnings and hours of work, as well as social security questions, and also contained a great deal of information about types of fishing, the structure of the industry and many other matters.

Copies of the document were distributed to the unions interested, with a request that they examine the sections relating to their own countries and supply the Secretariat of the I.T.F. with additional information likely to be of interest in connection with the Fishermen's Section's future studies of these matters.

JAPANESE PARTICIPATION IN DEEP-SEA FISHING

At the Stuttgart Congress the All Japan Seamen's Union put forward a resolution asking that Japan should be allowed to take part in deep-sea fishing and shipping on the same terms as other countries. The Congress felt, however, that the question needed further study, and adopted a resolution expressing sympathy with the Japanese transport workers and asking the Seafarers' and Fishermen's Sections of the I.T.F. to formulate a policy which would take account of all the interests concerned.

The question came up again at the meeting of the General Council of the I.T.F. held at Marseilles in October 1951, when the Japanese member put forward a draft resolution concerning Japan's economic plight. Owing to the over-population of Japan, it said, the country's agricultural resources were completely inadequate to supply its food requirements. It was therefore essential that Japan should import food for her people, as well as raw materials for her industries, in exchange for the goods and services she could supply. To this end, concluded the draft resolution, Japan should be allowed to take part in trade, shipping and fishing and to have access to raw materials on the same terms as other countries.

The American representative present, expressing the views of organized American maritime labour, agreed that the principle was sound, but pointed out that Japanese fishery products were already being dumped on the American market at prices which were ruining the American fishing industry. These prices were based on the exploitation of Japanese labour and the resulting position was harmful to the workers of both countries.

After a sub-committee had considered the matter, a formula was found which reconciled the different points of view. It upheld the Japanese claim for participation in international trade and commerce, and in deep-sea fishing and shipping, but made participation conditional upon the observance of fair standards and practices in the countries concerned. The following resolution was unanimously adopted by the General Council:

"The General Council of the I.T.F., meeting at Marseilles from 10 to 12 October 1951, expresses its satisfaction at the signing of the Peace Treaty of San Francisco, which opens the way to the reinstatement of Japan in the community of free nations.

"The Council recalls in this connection that the Constitution of the I.T.F. requires it to co-operate in the establishment of a world order based on the association of all peoples in freedom and equality for the promotion of their common welfare by the joint use of the world's resources.

"The Council recognizes the praiseworthy efforts which have been made by the Japanese trade unions to promote and develop democracy in their country, and endorses their claim that for the development and consolidation of that democracy it is imperative that the country's inhabitants should be enabled to attain reasonable living standards, since the persistence of poverty is calculated to play into the hands of totalitarian forces.

"The General Council feels that since Japan's agricultural resources can never suffice to maintain a tolerable standard of living for her population, it is necessary that she should be able to participate on an equitable basis in international trade, shipping and deep-sea fishing and to import agricultural produce and raw materials in exchange for her manufactured goods, fishery products and maritime services.

"Subject, therefore, to the necessary safeguards, including all-round observance of recognized commercial practices and fair labour and social conditions, the Council supports the claim of the

Japanese trade unions affiliated with the I.T.F. to the right of the Japanese people to participation in world trade, shipping and deep-sea fishing and to access to raw materials on terms of equity with other countries."

The All Japanese Seamen's Union subsequently informed us, in a letter expressing warm appreciation, that the adoption and publication of this resolution by the I.T.F. had been of great value to them.

Seafarers' Section

CONFERENCES AND MEETINGS

During the period under review there were three conferences of the Seafarers' Section, the first at Amsterdam from 17 to 20 April 1950, the second in connection with the Stuttgart Congress, in July 1950, and the third in London on 18 and 19 January 1951.

In addition the Seafarers' Sectional Committee met in London on 5 and 6 July 1950, while at the time this report is being prepared it is due to meet again on 10 and 11 May 1952, just before the 17th Session of the Joint Maritime Commission. There was also a meeting of the Boycott Committee in London on 17 January 1951; two partial meetings of the same body, in London on 26 April and 29 June 1951; and a meeting of the Sub-committee on Regional Competition in the North and Baltic Sea Trades in London on 3 and 4 July 1950.

JOINT MARITIME COMMISSION

The 16th Session of the J.M.C. took place at Geneva from 22 to 24 May 1951. It was preceded by a conference of representatives of I.T.F. seafarers' unions which dealt with the items down for discussion at the J.M.C. and confirmed the policy and tactics which had been agreed on at the Seafarers' Section Conference of the previous January. At the J.M.C. Session the Seafarers' Group, both delegates and advisers, was entirely composed of representatives of I.T.F. unions. The decisions reached mainly concerned questions mentioned elsewhere in this report and we deal with them under the respective headings.

SWEDISH-BASED PANAMANIAN, ETC., SHIPS

At a meeting of the Seafarers' side of the Boycott Committee with representatives of the Estonian and Swedish seafarers, held in London on 29 June 1951, the position of Estonian-owned ships trading from Swedish ports was considered. A new policy was agreed on to the effect that Swedish conditions were to be negotiated for the ships concerned, but collective agreements subsequently actually negotiated for these ships by the Estonian Seamen's Union provided for maximum British National Maritime Board rates of pay plus a differential of £4 or £5 according to rank or rating.

WAR RISK BONUSES

At the conference of the Seafarers' Section held in connection with the Stuttgart Congress (July 1950) consideration was given to the implications for merchant seafarers of the war operations which were in progress in certain parts of the world, with special reference to the question of war risk bonuses.

The recommendation adopted on the question by the conference was communicated by circular to all affiliated seafarers' unions. Details of agreements on war risk payments concluded in Belgium, Greece, Holland, Italy, Japan, Norway, the United Kingdom and the United States were published in the I.T.F. Press Report. They show that the agreements provide for bonuses ranging from 100 to 200 per cent of wages, according to country and zone.

SEATTLE CONVENTIONS

The activities of the Section in connection with this question have centred largely around what is now Convention 93 (Wages, Hours and Manning on board ship). Regarding the other eight Seattle Conventions the position is either that they are well on the way towards implementation or that for one reason or other the seafarers' unions are not insisting upon implementation; but in the case of Convention 93 we have tried first one way and then another of inducing governments to carry out the undertakings given at Seattle.

It will be remembered that in a first attempt to facilitate ratification, Convention 93 was revised at the International Labour Conference of 1949. When this proved of no avail—Australia remained the only country to ratify—the seafarers once more took the matter to the Joint Maritime Commission. They proposed that the three parts of which the Convention consisted should be ratifiable separately. In effect this meant the separation of the question of working hours on board ship from that of seafarers' wages. As the chief objection of the governments to ratification was the principle of relating seafarers' wages to an international standard, it was hoped that this policy would increase the prospects of realizing the section of the Convention dealing with working hours. The shipowners on the J.M.C. blocked our path, however, by insisting that wages and hours were inseparable and consequently a deadlock was reached.

The Governing Body of the I.L.O. referred the matter to the Committee on the Application of Conventions. Though we enlisted the support of the workers' members of this Committee, its recommendation to the Governing Body was that another revision of Convention 93 so soon would be bad for the prestige of the I.L.O., and that the matter should therefore be deferred for 18 months or so. Upon learning this, a strongly-worded letter signed by the Chairman of the Seafarers' Section as well as the General Secretary of the I.T.F. was addressed to the Director-General of the I.L.O. This letter makes the points that it is not the seafarers' fault that such a vital convention remains unimplemented six years after its adoption; that if the seafarers are content with a downward revision the other parties can also be; that indefinite postponement of implementation will damage the prestige of the I.L.O. far more than a serious attempt to keep the Seattle promises; and that failure on this important question might alienate sympathy for the I.L.O. in seafarers' circles for a long time to come.

Brother Roberts, leader of the Workers' Group on the Governing Body of the I.L.O., whom we approached on the matter, has promised the strongest possible support when the question comes up for discussion on the Governing Body.

THE SHORT SEA AND COASTING TRADES OF N. AND N.W. EUROPE

The policy of the I.T.F. in regard to this question was formulated in three resolutions adopted by the Stuttgart Congress. The first resolution declared the rates of pay and conditions of service obtaining in United Kingdom ships to be a fair average for the region and asked seafarers' unions in the countries concerned to make every effort to raise their standards to that level. The second resolution, recognizing the reciprocal relationship between freight and wage levels, urged the need for fixing adequate minimum freight rates for the different trades and services within the region and voiced the willingness of the organized seafarers to co-operate in ensuring the effectiveness of any steps taken in that direction. The third urged the need to establish regional basic wages and conditions of service for the seafarers of the region and invited the I.L.O. to submit the question to an early session of the J.M.C. with a view to the convening of a regional maritime conference for North and North-West Europe.

During the period under review seafarers' wages have been adjusted in all the countries of the region, in an attempt to keep up with the rising cost of living. To evaluate the trend of real wages is, under existing circumstances, more difficult than ever, and we will not attempt to do so here.

With regard to the question of freight rates, the terms of the second Stuttgart Congress resolution were communicated to the International Chamber of Shipping and the International Shipping Federation, but apart from acknowledgements of receipt no response was forthcoming from either body. As far as one can gather there is no intention in shipowners' circles to do anything about the matter themselves and they do not want any assistance from the seafarers anyway.

With the third resolution, aiming at a tripartite regional maritime conference under the auspices of the I.L.O., some progress can be reported. The question was placed on the agenda of the J.M.C. when it held its 16th Session in Geneva in May 1950. Here the shipowners' members asked that it be referred back to a sub-committee of the J.M.C., which should make a recommendation on the proposal to hold a regional maritime conference. At the time of writing this sub-committee has held one meeting. It is to hold a second meeting on the eve of the 17th Session of the J.M.C., which is expected to take place in May 1952, but present indications are that the shipowners will not hear of any joint discussions with the seafarers on the question of freight rates. As already explained, a satisfactory solution of the problem—that of the fierce competition which once again troubles the shipping trades of the North and Baltic Seas and the implied threat not only to the seafarers but also to the shipping interests and national economies concerned—is only possible by an overall approach.

ASIAN REGIONAL MARITIME CONFERENCE

The suggestion for a conference of this kind emanated from the First Asian Regional Conference of the I.L.O., held in Ceylon in January 1950. The Seafarers' side of the Joint Maritime Commission,

on being consulted, favoured the holding of such a conference, provided that it did not imply any segregation of Asian seamen; that it did not deal independently with questions which also concern other regions; and that the J.M.C. could previously take cognizance of the agenda of the conference and could be represented at the conference by an observer delegation.

When the matter was considered at the 16th Session of the J.M.C. the Shipowners' side showed themselves conscious of the problems calling for solution, but suggested that the time was not ripe for action and that more preparatory work was needed before the conference could be held with any prospects of success. The Seafarers' side, stressing the reservations already mentioned, urged that there were a number of acute problems, such as the highly questionable practices in the recruitment of Asian seamen, about which enough information was available to justify the holding of the proposed regional conference without delay.

The decision of the J.M.C. was that the I.L.O. should be asked to make further inquiries on the spot into Asian seafarers' conditions, after which a further session of the J.M.C., to be held as early as possible in 1952, would decide whether a regional conference should be convened. In this further investigation attention was to be concentrated on methods of recruiting and engaging seafarers, welfare facilities in Asian ports and conditions of employment in the coasting trades of Asian countries.

Since the J.M.C. took this decision, in May 1951, a representative of the I.L.O. has been sent to the countries of the Asian region to carry out the investigation.

BALLASTING OF SHIPS

Following the conference of the Seafarers' Section held in conjunction with the Stuttgart Congress of July 1950, the Secretariat sent out a circular reminding affiliated unions of the decision adopted on the above question at Oslo in July 1948.

Two replies were received to the circular, one from the British Navigators' and Engineer Officers' Union and one from the Joint Committee of the Dutch Seafarers' Unions.

From the British reply it appeared that in Britain, where an official investigation has been made into the loss of a ship whilst in ballast, the setting up of an expert committee to deal with the problem was under active consideration in September 1950. The United Kingdom Minister of Transport had consulted the seafarers' organizations, which had expressed themselves in favour, and it was expected that the seafarers would be given substantial representation on the committee.

The Dutch unions reported that the regulations in force in Holland on the subject of the ballasting of ships were superficial, and in fact say no more than that the stowing of cargo shall satisfy the requirements of seaworthiness and safety. The matter has been taken up with the Inspector-General of Shipping, who has promised sympathetic consideration.

DISRUPTIVE ACTIVITIES ON BOARD SHIP

This question was put on the agenda of the Seafarers' Sectional Conference held in London on 18 and 19 January 1951. After considering reports of disruptive activities by Communist elements trying to cause unrest in the merchant fleets of the free countries and hearing evidence indicating that these activities were being organized and co-ordinated according to a world plan, the conference unanimously adopted the following resolution on the subject:

"This Conference of the Seafarers' Section of the I.T.F., held in London on 18 and 19 January 1951, having noted the designs of the Communists upon the seafarers' trade union movement, learns with satisfaction that all attempts made by Communist-dominated organizations, through the W.F.T.U., to disrupt the *bona fide* democratic seafarers' trade unions have been a complete failure, and are viewed with the contempt they deserve among all seafarers supporting the cause for peace, and that the seafarers' unions affiliated with the I.T.F. are fully determined to fight all further Communist plans to misuse the seafarers for political ends.

"Having learned that the Cominform, after its defeat in the trade union field, now intends to resort to other means and will not hesitate even to use violence and sabotage and to threaten the safety of ships, the Conference warns all members of I.T.F.-affiliated seafarers' unions against these subversive activities, and urges them to constant watchfulness and to keep their unions informed of their observations, and thus to help to take effective counter-action against fifth column machinations."

NORTH ATLANTIC SHIPPING PLANNING BOARD

The plans which exist for pooling the ocean-going shipping of North Atlantic Treaty countries, and allocating it on a worldwide basis in time of war or emergency, have been considered at various seafarers' conferences of the I.T.F. The Conference in Stuttgart in July 1950 agreed that it was imperative for the seafarers to be adequately represented on national and international machinery created to consider the role of merchant shipping in connection with defence measures.

Information supplied to the Secretariat showed that Norway was the only country where seafarers' representatives have been drawn into the discussions held under the North Atlantic Shipping Planning Board, though in several others seafarers' unions expected to obtain representation on national committees to be set up in connection with it.

When the Seafarers' Section dealt with the question in London in January 1951, it urged that seafarers should be represented in an advisory capacity on the Executive Committee of the Planning Board which was to be set up and was to consist of representatives of America, Britain, France, Holland and Norway.

It also stressed that the seafarers' unions should co-operate through the I.T.F. in their efforts to protect their members' interests in connection with the pooling scheme.

At a meeting of the I.C.F.T.U. Executive Board, held in Brussels from 26 to 30 November 1951, it was agreed that the I.T.S. interested in the problems involved in rearmament should be invited to send observers to a conference to be called to work out a programme of demands of the free trade movement in connection with the work of N.A.T.O.

JAPANESE PARTICIPATION IN INTERNATIONAL SHIPPING

This question is dealt with in connection with Japanese participation in deep-sea fishing, under the heading of "Fishermen's Section".

INVITATIONS FROM FASCIST UNIONS

At the Seafarers' Conference of January 1951, in London, it was reported that Finnish trade unions, including the seamen's, had received invitations to send delegations to Argentina at the expense of the Argentine trade union movement. The Finnish T.U.C. was being asked to warn unions against such overtures from Fascist-controlled organizations. The Conference took note of the matter and requested the Secretariat of the I.T.F. to watch any further developments.

SEAFARERS' WELFARE IN PORT

On the occasion of the Seafarers' Conference of January 1951, the Dutch seafarers' unions proposed that active interest should be taken in the question of seafarers' welfare in port, and it was decided that the matter should be referred for early consideration by the Seafarers' Sectional Committee.

The question was raised at an International Labour Conference as long ago as 1920, and after the I.L.O. had made an investigation, the 1936 Conference adopted a Recommendation formulating a number of principles and methods for consideration by national authorities in connection with the promotion of the welfare of both national and foreign seamen. The Joint Maritime Commission has also dealt with the question, the last occasion being in December 1947, when a resolution was adopted asking the I.L.O. to continue its studies.

The Dutch unions, which have recently made new representations to the authorities in Holland, have proposed a review of the progress which has been made in this field and co-ordination of the activities in the different countries.

16th SESSION OF THE J.M.C.

The business transacted at this meeting has already been dealt with under various heads. The following matters still have to be mentioned:

International Shipping Policy

In the discussion on the Report of the Director-General of the I.L.O. the Seafarers' Group referred to the growth of the world merchant tonnage and urged the need for an international shipping policy, so as to preserve a proper balance between tonnage supply and demand, a problem on which the Seafarers' Section of the I.T.F. formulated proposals as early as 1944.

Stateless Seamen

The J.M.C. also adopted unanimously a resolution concerning stateless seamen. In view of the discontinuation of the International Refugee Organization, the Governing Body of the I.L.O. was invited to draw the attention of governments to the problem and to ask them to take all possible measures to alleviate the situation of these refugees. The I.T.F. was also asked to co-operate in relieving their plight. The resolution was duly circulated among affiliated seafarers' unions, with the request that they should take such action in the matter as they could and keep the Secretariat of the I.T.F. informed of developments.

Restriction of Liberty in Argentina

Finally the J.M.C. adopted a resolution which expressed concern at the fact that the Argentine Government had denied facilities for a seafarers' representative to attend the session of the J.M.C. and asked the Governing Body to take appropriate action in the matter.

I.L.O./W.H.O. JOINT COMMITTEE

Two seafarers' members (Messrs. T. Yates and O. Becu; substitutes: A. Soere and P. de Vries) of the J.M.C., as well as two shipowners' members of the same body, sit on this Joint Committee of the I.L.O. and World Health Organization, instituted in 1949. At its first meeting (December 1949), which was exploratory in character, the joint committee selected for early study: (a) examination of seafarers to detect tuberculosis, (b) certain aspects of the prevention and treatment of venereal disease; (c) permanent medical records for seafarers, (d) medical chests on board ship, and (e) radio appeals from ships for medical aid.

In June 1951 it was learned that it was not proposed to hold the second meeting of the Joint Committee until 1953. Whilst appreciating the explanation given for the slow rate of progress, we wrote to the Maritime Division of the I.L.O., on behalf of the seafarers' members of the Joint Committee, expressing regret that it had not proved possible to follow up more effectively the work of the first meeting of the Joint Committee.

DUAL CAPACITY WORKING IN THE RADIO DEPARTMENT OF SHIPS

The Seafarers' Section of the I.T.F. adopted in November 1948 a resolution deprecating the practice which existed in some countries of employing navigating officers on duties in the radio department. The resolution called for the cessation of the practice by 31 December 1950. An inquiry made at the beginning of 1951 showed that the practice was rapidly declining and a memorandum containing the information at the disposal of the Secretariat was sent to the unions interested at the beginning of August 1951.

CONFERENCES IN THE UNITED STATES

When in the United States in March, 1950, the General Secretary had conferences with Messrs. William C. Foster, Deputy Administrator of the E.C.A., A. Syran, Director of the Transport Division of the

E.C.A. and Bert Jewell, Labour Adviser to the E.C.A. The questions discussed were: the contribution of E.C.A. to the reconstruction of transport in Europe and the use of Panamanian flag ships for the transport of E.R.P. supplies. We were assured that the policy would be to avoid Panamanian flag ships whenever possible.

Mr. Becu had also a conference with Mr. K. D. Rogers, Vice-President of the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey. This Company owns a considerable fleet of tankers under the Panamanian flag. He was not successful in convincing the Company representative to urge the different subsidiaries of the Standard Oil Company to conclude collective agreements with seafarers' unions affiliated to the I.T.F. The Company representative maintained that the subsidiaries were absolutely free and that the parent company could not issue orders of the kind suggested.

Mr. Becu had a further conference with State Department officials dealing with maritime transport questions. He used the opportunity, of course, to insist that Panamanian flag ships should not be used. He drew also special attention to the situation in Italy and pointed out that for the purpose of breaking the Communist hold over the dockers and seafarers in Italy, it would be helpful to divert traffic from Genoa to the southern ports. The suggestion aroused considerable interest.

The Co-ordinating Committee of European Seamen's Organizations in the United States held on 27 March a meeting in New York, which was attended by Mr. Becu. The meeting served in the main to inform the members of the Committee of the position with regard to the Panamanian flag question, and studying with them means of action.

Road Transport Workers' Section

The Conference of the Road Transport Workers' Section held in connection with the Stuttgart Congress of the I.T.F. (there were two conferences, and one jointly with the Railwaymen's Section to discuss the question of the forty-hour week), appointed the following Committee for the Section:

			<i>Member</i>		<i>Substitute</i>
Belgium	.....	.....	G. Hendrickx	.....	J. Geldof
Denmark	.....	.....	E. Borg	.....	E. Winter
Finland	.....	.....	S. Koutio	.....	H. Palmén
France	.....	.....	M. Gellibert	.....	P. Felce
Germany	.....	.....	J. Steldinger	.....	H. Jipp
Great Britain	.....	.....	F. Cousins	.....	F. Coyle
Holland	.....	.....	H. W. Koppens	.....	J. de Later
Italy	.....	.....	G. Martelli		
Norway	.....	.....	O. Askeland	.....	E. Aasen
Sweden	.....	.....	H. Svensson	.....	S. Klinga

The Stuttgart Conference entrusted to this Committee the choice of a Chairman for the Section, and Brother Hjalmar Svensson, of the Swedish Transport Workers' Union, was chosen at the Committee's first meeting.

The Committee was instructed to prepare for a conference of the Section (this is to be held from 21 to 24 April 1952 in Zurich) and to give special consideration to the question of hours of work in long-distance road transport.

The Committee has met twice during the period under review: the first time from 7 to 9 August 1951 and the second from 8 to 10 November of the same year, in both cases in London.

Matters which have had the attention of the Section Committee during the period under review have included the I.L.O. Hours of Work in Road Transport Convention of 1939; the question of participation by road transport workers' unions in the I.T.F. Vigilance Committees; that of the most appropriate international organization for urban passenger transport workers; hours of work in long-distance road transport and working conditions in international road transport generally; co-ordination of transport in the light of road transport workers' interests and experience; and preparations for the meeting of the Inland Transport Committee of the I.L.O. that was held in December 1951 at Genoa.

HOURS OF WORK IN ROAD TRANSPORT CONVENTION OF 1939

Although over twelve years old, this Convention has not yet been ratified by a single state. At the meetings of the Inland Transport Committee of the I.L.O. held in 1947 and 1949 the I.T.F. pressed through resolutions asking for enquiries to be made into the reasons. The I.L.O. published its final report on the subject in the autumn of 1951, and it appeared that practically all governments disagree with one or other stipulation of the Convention.

The Committee of the I.T.F. Road Transport Workers' Section does not consider that there is much ground for any of the objections put forward, but conventions that are not ratified are of little use, so the Committee decided that the spokesmen for the I.T.F. at the 1951 meeting of the Inland Transport Committee of the I.L.O. should work for the revision of the Convention. They were successful, and the Inland Transport Committee decided to ask the I.L.O. to set the revision procedure in motion.

I.T.F. VIGILANCE COMMITTEES

At the request of the Executive Committee of the I.T.F., the Section Committee considered the question of representation of the road transport workers on the Central and Regional Vigilance Committees. It found that in the case of the Scandinavian countries, Germany, Belgium and Holland these workers belonged to the same unions as the seamen and dockers, so that there was no need for special representation. In the case of France and Italy trade union structure is different, but there was no evidence of any desire on the part of the road transport workers for such representation. The matter will, however, be laid before the Conference of the Section to be held in April 1952.

CO-ORDINATION OF TRANSPORT

The question of labour problems connected with the co-ordination of the means of transport has engaged the attention of the Road Transport Workers' Section of the I.T.F. ever since our Oslo Congress of 1948, and since the Section's Conference in Paris in October 1949 it has followed the line that competition between different means of transport should be based on equivalent obligations towards the community, the users of transport, third parties and the transport workers, and that consequently conditions of employment should be equal.

The facts as related in the report published by the I.L.O. in the autumn of 1951 fully vindicate this policy, and the Section Committee decided that at the Genoa meeting of the Inland Transport Committee of the I.L.O. the I.T.F. representatives should pursue as the main point that employers should be required to hold a licence to engage in road transport, and that its issue should be conditional on the observance of fair labour standards. The resolution actually adopted by the Inland Transport Committee concedes that the observance of fair labour standards should be a condition "of the grant or retention of the permit, licence or concession", but not our claim that all transport business should be subject to the holding of a licence.

WORKING CONDITIONS IN INTERNATIONAL ROAD TRANSPORT

Our approach to the question of hours of work in long-distance road transport, specifically referred to the Section Committee by our Stuttgart Congress, has been greatly facilitated by the fact that the Inland Transport Committee of the Economic Commission for Europe (not to be confused with the I.L.O. committee bearing the same name) has been engaged in drawing up a standard set of rules to govern international transport on the roads of Europe. On hearing of this we approached the E.C.E. and secured its agreement that the rules should contain clauses relating to the workers. The E.C.E. invited the I.L.O. to draft such a clause, and the matter was referred to the Genoa meeting of the Inland Transport Committee of the I.L.O. held in December 1951.

Our representatives attended this meeting with definite proposals drafted by the Section Committee, and while the regulations worked out do not meet our claims on every point, it can be said that they may be regarded as a fair compromise. That we achieved it we must largely attribute to the help of the Government delegates.

VI

International Trade Union Affairs

Relations with the I.C.F.T.U.

The period under review saw a settlement of the relations between the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions and the International Trade Secretariats, including the I.T.F. It will be recalled that the Congress of the I.C.F.T.U. held in London in December 1949 adopted a constitution which laid it down that arrangements should be made for the most effective co-operation between the Confederation and the International Trade Secretariats in the performance of their functions, and also provided for arrangements to be made for representation of the International Trade Secretariats at the Congress and meetings of the General Council of the I.C.F.T.U.

NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE EMERGENCY COMMITTEE OF THE I.C.F.T.U.

Following this decision, the International Trade Secretariats appointed five negotiators: Messrs. Mark Hewitson, M.P., Chairman of the Co-ordinating Committee of the I.T.S. (later replaced by Sir William Lawther); M. C. Bolle, Secretary of the Co-ordinating Committee; Richard Coppock; W. Spiekman and O. Becu. These negotiators met the Emergency Committee of the I.C.F.T.U. on 17 March 1950, and there was general agreement that the I.T.F. should be represented on the Emergency Committee, Executive Board, and General Council of the I.C.F.T.U. and at its Congress. It was understood that on the first three bodies the I.T.S. should be represented collectively by the Co-ordinating Committee, but that all I.T.S. should have the right to direct representation at the Congress of the I.C.F.T.U. Representatives of the I.T.S. were to take part in discussions in an advisory capacity. The I.C.F.T.U. was to have the right to be represented, also in an advisory capacity, at meetings of the Co-ordinating Committee and at the Congresses of the I.T.S.

It was further agreed that in the case of questions affecting one or several I.T.S. individually but not the whole of them collectively the I.C.F.T.U. would deal directly with the I.T.S. concerned and not through the Co-ordinating Committee.

It was generally agreed that the I.C.F.T.U. and the International Trade Secretariats should work together as one international trade union movement.

I.T.S. Conference at The Hague, 27-28 April 1950

On 27 and 28 April 1950 there was a full conference of the International Trade Secretariats at The Hague, where the outcome of the negotiations in Brussels on 17 March was considered. The I.T.F. was

represented by Messrs. G. Joustra, a member of the Executive Committee: P. de Vries, General Secretary of the Dutch Mercantile Marine Officers' Union; R. Laan, Sr., Chairman of the Dutch Transport Workers' Union; and O. Becu, then Acting General Secretary. Mr. J. H. Oldenbroek, General Secretary of the I.C.F.T.U., also attended the Conference and took part in the discussions.

It was agreed to suggest to the I.C.F.T.U. that all the I.T.S. should be represented individually at the biennial congresses of that body and collectively, through the Co-ordinating Committee, at all meetings of the I.C.F.T.U.'s governing bodies, i.e., by five representatives at meetings of the General Council, by two at meetings of the Executive Board, and by one of the two latter at meetings of the Emergency Committee. Representation was to be in a consultative capacity in all cases.

The Co-ordinating Committee subsequently chose its own Chairman and Secretary, Messrs. O. Becu and M. C. Bolle, as its representatives at meetings of the I.C.F.T.U.'s Executive Board, and the same two, together with Messrs. R. Coppock (International Federation of Building and Wood Workers), Sir Will Lawther (Miners' International Federation) and E. J. Poulsen (Food and Drink Trades International), as its representatives at meetings of the General Council. It decided that either the Chairman or the Secretary of the Co-ordinating Committee should attend meetings of the Emergency Committee.

The I.T.S. proposals were accepted by the Executive Board of the I.C.F.T.U. at a meeting held on 26 and 27 May 1950, which also decided, however, that in addition to the five representatives of the Co-ordinating Committee the I.C.F.T.U. would also invite each I.T.S. individually to meetings of its General Council. It was understood, further, that there would be reciprocity in the matter of representation, in that the I.C.F.T.U. would be invited to the congresses of the different I.T.S., and to such other of their conferences as might deal with questions of interest to it.

As far as the I.T.F. is concerned, these arrangements were ratified by our Stuttgart Congress in July 1950.

I.C.F.T.U. Congress of Non-manual Workers,

Brussels, 18 - 21 April 1951

In September 1950 the I.C.F.T.U. set up an International Consultative Committee for Professional, Administrative, Commercial and Supervisory Employees, one of whose tasks was to help in the creation of international trade secretariats for professional employees not represented at the international level. Mr. O. Becu represented the I.T.F. at two meetings of this Committee, in October and December, 1950. It organized in Brussels from 18 to 21 April 1951 a Congress of Non-Manual Workers at which the I.T.F. was represented by Messrs. Thorneycroft and Becu. Among the resolutions adopted at the Congress was one which in effect lays it down that the Committee shall abstain from dealing with matters falling within the province of an existing I.T.S.

Admittance of Individual Trade Unions to I.C.F.T.U.

Among organizations admitted to membership of the I.C.F.T.U. at the meeting of its Executive Board held in Brussels from 26 to 30 November 1951 were a number of individual trade unions in different parts of the Caribbean. Mr. M. C. Bolle and the General Secretary of the I.T.F., who attended as representatives of the I.T.S., had doubts as to the propriety of this and expressed the view that trade unions not belonging to a national trade union centre should join the international trade union movement through the appropriate I.T.S., and that if they were allowed to join the I.C.F.T.U. directly they might refrain, for financial or other reasons, from joining the I.T.S. The Executive Board was not prepared to give a ruling on the matter at the moment, but agreed that it should be the subject of further discussions between the I.C.F.T.U., its regional organizations and the I.T.S.

Future relations with the I.T.S.

The same meeting agreed to the proposal of the Rotterdam Conference of the I.T.S., in October 1951, that the I.C.F.T.U. should convene a meeting of all I.T.S. to discuss future relations. The date will probably be at the end of June or beginning of July 1952, immediately before or after the meeting of the General Council of the I.C.F.T.U. that is to be held at that time.

I.T.S. Participation in the Regional Machinery of the I.C.F.T.U.

When the I.C.F.T.U. was founded in London in December 1949 it was laid down that it would establish regional machinery to deal with the problems of different parts of the world, and it was an understood thing that this machinery would be at the service of the I.T.S.

In pursuance of this policy the I.C.F.T.U. has during the two years under review sent trade union delegations to Asia, Africa and Latin America and a number of special missions to individual countries, and regional secretariats have been established for Europe, the Inter-American region and for Asia and the Far East. Others are in prospect.

The I.C.F.T.U. invited the I.T.F. to nominate one of the members of the delegation which visited West and Central Africa, and the British Navigators and Engineer Officers' Association kindly loaned us the services of their organizer, Mr. Lawrence Wright, for the purpose, while Mr. Roger Dekeyzer, President of our affiliated Belgian Transport Workers' Union, was a member of the delegation to Asia and the Far East. As a result of the visits of these and other delegations the I.T.F. has been furnished with useful lists of transport workers' trade unions with which we had not previously been in touch.

I.T.S. FINANCIAL CONTRIBUTION TO I.C.F.T.U.

After hearing the report of the delegations which visited the Far East in July and August 1950 the Emergency Committee of the I.C.F.T.U. decided to initiate discussions with the I.T.S. most vitally

concerned with a view to working out means by which the I.T.S. can contribute to the strengthening of free trade-unionism in Asia.

As a result a joint conference of representatives of the I.C.F.T.U. and the I.T.S. was held in London on 10 October 1950. The General Secretary of the former pointed out that the delegation had come to the conclusion that a very strong organization could be built up in Asia, but that no money for the purpose would be forthcoming from that part of the world for a number of years. Money would have to be put into it, and he thought it was the duty and task of the I.T.S. to help in the work. His plans were for a provisional office in Singapore, costing some £10,000 a year; three branch offices in Japan, the Philippines and India, costing together £15,000 a year; and trade union training centres, estimated to cost £23,000 the first year and £10,000 in the second and following years. He suggested that the I.T.S. should contribute to this work one third of the £50,000 required; that is to say some £15,000 to £17,000 a year.

The matter was considered anew by a general conference of the I.T.S. held in Amsterdam on 14 and 15 December 1950, which the General Secretary of the I.C.F.T.U. also attended. The I.T.F. was represented by Messrs. G. Joustra, R. Laan, P. de Vries and the General Secretary. On this occasion the total cost for the first year was placed at £60,000 and the contribution of the I.T.S., assuming that it should be the one third originally proposed, £20,000.

As a result of the discussion a resolution was adopted whereby the Conference recommended the individual I.T.S. to join in the regional activity by making an annual contribution of £1 per thousand members, or if that were not possible one commensurate with their circumstances and resources. The Co-ordinating Committee was to act as a liaison committee with the I.C.F.T.U. for the purpose of implementing the recommendation. A number of I.T.S. made it clear that while they were supporting the resolution the matter would require ratification by their governing bodies. The Building and Wood Workers' International voted against the proposals, considering that the national trade union centres should finance the whole scheme.

The proposal was given full consideration at the meeting of the Executive Committee of the I.T.F. held in London in January 1951. The Committee was generally favourable to the principle involved, recognizing the importance of the work the I.C.F.T.U. proposed to do and the advantage the I.T.S. would derive from it, but thought it better to refer the matter for final decision to the General Council. The Committee could not see any prospect of making such a contribution out of the ordinary budget of the I.T.F., and if affiliated organizations were to be asked for a special contribution it would be necessary to take into consideration their financial capacity. National trade union centres were also asking their affiliated organizations (many of them also belonging to the I.T.F.) for special contributions, and it was felt that there was some risk of the source drying up if calls upon their funds were too frequent.

Several of the other I.T.S., however—the International Union of Food and Drink Workers' Associations, the International Federation of Commercial, Clerical and Technical Employees, the International Federation of Textile Workers' Associations, the Miners' International Federation and the International Landworkers' Federation—declared their willingness to contribute the proposed £1 per thousand members annually towards the regional activities of the I.C.F.T.U. (At the end of October 1951 it was reported that the number contributing had since risen to eleven.)

In the meantime the I.C.F.T.U. recognized that full implementation of the recommendations of their several trade union delegations to different regions would call for considerably more than the amount provided by their normal affiliation fees, and in February 1951 their Emergency Committee decided to launch a special appeal to affiliated organizations for a special contribution of £250,000 to finance regional activities.

Several national trade union centres have responded to this appeal. The General Council of the British Trades Union Congress decided in April 1951 to contribute £60,000 and at the same time appealed to its affiliated organizations to provide at least an equal amount. (It must be remembered that some of these affiliated organizations also belong to the I.T.F.) The Canadian Congress of Labour, the Swiss Federation of Trade Unions and the Netherlands Federation of Trade Unions have also pledged generous amounts.

Apart from this, the Second World Congress of the I.C.F.T.U., held in Milan in July 1951, decided to organize a campaign to obtain voluntary individual contributions from workers throughout the world. It further decided that the funds should be used to build up and strengthen free trade-unionism in the countries under totalitarian dictatorships as well as those which are less developed.

In the report submitted to this Congress by its Regional Organization Committee, and subsequently adopted by the Congress, it was stated that the European and Inter-American regional sub-secretariats would to a certain extent be self-supporting, at least as far as the funds required for administrative purposes were concerned.

A General Conference of the I.T.S. held at Rotterdam on 25 and 26 October 1951 gave further consideration to the question of participation of the I.T.S. in the regional activities of the I.C.F.T.U., in the light of the progress made up to that time, and as a result adopted a resolution which:

“Reaffirms the determination of the I.T.S. to participate in the efforts of the I.C.F.T.U. directed at trade union development and education in the areas concerned;

“Recognizes the important role which the I.T.S. themselves have to play in this field, and the great possibilities offered by the co-operation between the I.C.F.T.U. and the I.T.S.; and

“Reiterates its firm belief in the policy resolved at the general conference of the I.T.S. at Amsterdam on 14 and 15 December 1950.”

DECISION OF I.T.F. GENERAL COUNCIL

The whole matter was considered by the General Council of the I.T.F. at its meeting in Marseilles from 10 to 12 October 1951. The Council agreed that it was not possible to make a contribution out of the general funds of the I.T.F., but in view of the importance of the regional work decided to ask affiliated organizations to pay an additional sum of £1 per year per thousand members, one half of which should be handed over to the I.C.F.T.U. as the I.T.F.'s contribution to the cost of the Confederation's regional work, and the other half retained for the I.T.F.'s own very considerable work in this field.

Affiliated organizations were advised of this decision in a circular of 23 November 1951, and we are pleased to say that the response has been very satisfactory. No organization has so far refused to pay the additional fee.

It remains to be said that throughout the period covered by this report the relations of the I.T.F. with the I.C.F.T.U. have been of a most cordial character. Since 1 July 1950 we have had a joint office in New York, to the cost of running which we have been contributing \$12,000 a year, while our Latin-American Sub-secretariat in Havana has been working in close co-operation with, and from the same address as, the Inter-American Regional Organization (O.R.I.T.), which has become, since the beginning of 1951, the Regional Secretariat of the I.C.F.T.U.

Our General Secretary has represented the I.T.F.—jointly with the other I.T.S.—at all meetings of the governing bodies of the I.C.F.T.U., and directly, together with Messrs. T. Gómez and I. Haugen, at its Congress at Milan from 4 to 12 July 1951.

Proposal for Joint Action with the W.F.T.U. Transport Workers' Trade Department

In a letter dated 21 July 1951, the "Trade Union International of Land and Air Transport Workers (Trade Department of the W.F.T.U.)", to give it its full title, made proposals for "a reunion where we could jointly examine the means toward meeting the essential claims of the transport workers". In the usual Communist fashion copies of the letter were sent to and published in all parts of the world.

In his report to a conference of this body held only a few months earlier, in September 1950, its General Secretary, Mr. Stelian Moraru, one of the signatories of the letter, declared that the leaders of "the Yellow International Transport Workers' Federation in London" (that's us!) were "bending all their efforts to hinder the struggle of the transport workers" and organizing "gangs of murderers with the aim of terrorizing the partisans of peace in the transport industry"; and described them as "the infamous traitors of the working class", "the venal lackeys of the warmongers" and "nothing more than fascist beasts".

The Russian delegate to the meeting, Mr. A. I. Sevchenko, was somewhat more restrained in his speech, but he informed his listeners that the I.T.F. had "called upon the transport workers to convey

American arms for the extermination of colonial peoples" and was "helping the Anglo-American rulers to carry out their aggressive policy and to brutally murder innocent women, children and old people". In a mood of self-criticism he informed the Administrative Committee of his International that "a serious shortcoming of its work" was that it "did not take the necessary measures to intensify the struggle against the leaders" of the "breakaway" International Transport Workers' Federation. He ended with an impassioned appeal to his fellow-haters to "Tear the mask off the foul hirelings of the warmongers, the leaders of the yellow I.T.F."

There was a lot more in the same key, and the I.T.F. qualified for dishonourable mention in two resolutions and one appeal, the latter of which called upon the transport workers to "denounce the bestial, fascist aims of the instigators of war and their lackeys, the provocateurs and despicable splitters of the Yellow Transport Federation".

So much by way of introduction. A few months later the Administrative Committee of the selfsame Trade Union International of Land and Air Transport Workers (Trade Department of the W.F.T.U.), comes forward with proposals for a meeting to discuss co-operation, adding by way of encouragement: "It seems still possible to find a common ground enabling us to act in full agreement."

Our Executive Committee ventured to doubt it, and decided, when meeting at Marseilles in October 1951, that no reply should be sent.

VII

Relations with International Official Bodies

I.L.O. JOINT MARITIME COMMISSION

The 16th session of the Joint Maritime Commission was held in Geneva on 22 to 24 May 1951. Particulars will be found under several headings in the report of the Seafarers' Section.

I.L.O. INLAND TRANSPORT COMMITTEE

The Inland Transport Committee of the I.L.O. held its fourth biennial session from 4 to 15 December 1951 in Genoa, Italy. The meeting was attended by delegates and technical advisers representing the Governments, employers and workers of twenty-eight countries. In addition, both governmental and non-governmental international organizations were represented by observers. Among the latter were the General Secretary and Assistant General Secretary of the I.T.F. as well as a representative of the W.F.T.U. While the Workers' Group elected the I.T.F. officials as its secretaries, it declined to let the W.F.T.U. representative take part in its deliberations.

The Committee discussed a wide range of questions pertaining to the organization of its own work and to all the transport industries. The I.T.F. representatives asked for an improvement of the Committee's structure and method of work, in order that it may deal, in a reasonable time, with social problems in all industries concerned. They further asked that a link be established between the Inland Transport Committee of the I.L.O. and inland transport committees of the Economic Commissions for Europe and Asia. Recommendations adopted by the session go a long way towards meeting these claims.

The discussions on social problems in the road transport industry resulted in a recommendation to set in motion the procedure for a revision of the 1939 Convention on Hours of Work and Rest Periods in Road Transport. That Convention has not yet been ratified by a single government and there is no likelihood of obtaining a substantial number of ratifications in the foreseeable future. Both government and employer delegates maintained that the Convention was too rigid and too detailed but the I.T.F. representatives warned against the danger of framing a new Convention so elastic as to afford little or no protection to workers in those countries where the trade union movement is weak. No attempt was made at the meeting to frame the outline of a new Convention as this must be based on new statements by the governments concerned.

The Economic Commission for Europe is at present engaged in drawing up a code of fair competition for international road transport in Europe. It had asked the I.L.O. to draft a clause relating to drivers engaged in such transport—a few thousand in number. The stipulations on hours of work and rest periods gave rise to long and difficult discus-

sions between the workers' and employers' representatives, with the governments acting as arbiters. Although both the workers and employers were induced to make concessions, the final draft was not approved by the latter. The set of rules adopted fixes the following standards for all international road transport in Europe. The normal working week is to be forty-eight hours. Hours of work may be calculated on an average over periods in excess of one week and overtime may be worked as required and allowed by national regulation. On vehicles carrying one driver only, the working day shall not exceed ten hours, with a maximum working week of fifty-eight hours. On two-man vehicles the working day may not exceed thirteen hours, whilst the maximum working week is fixed at seventy-three hours. The daily rest period granted must be of twelve hours' duration for drivers of one-man vehicles and of ten hours for drivers of two-man vehicles; once a week the rest period may be reduced to eight hours. There must be fifty-two rest days during the year and, in addition, a number of rest days corresponding to the number of legal holidays. For these the normal wage is due.

The Committee also considered labour problems arising out of endeavours aimed at co-ordination of the means of transport. The claims of the Workers' Group had been formulated in a document prepared by the I.T.F. and which served as a basis for discussion. The resolution adopted by the Committee advocates action for progressively diminishing the differences in the conditions of employment as between the various inland transport industries in order that competition may no longer be based on poor or depressed conditions of employment. Provision is also made for cases in which co-ordination measures lead to redundancy of labour. Those workers who are displaced as a consequence of such measures are entitled to assistance in changing their place of employment, their trade or industry. Should their dismissal be unavoidable the resolution states that they are entitled to material assistance and to help in finding new employment.

Delegates and advisers having an interest in civil aviation formed a working party which discussed labour problems in that industry. They acknowledged that the United Nations Civil Aviation Organization has to deal with flying hours as a subject related to safety but, at the same time, they insisted that, as a specialized agency for social problems, the I.L.O. must be associated with deliberations and decisions on the question. They further urged that the I.L.O. take an active interest in the labour problems of the civil aviation industry and to that end drew up a programme of work which includes the draft of an international convention on paid holidays submitted by the I.T.F.

Specialists on dockers' problems also formed a small working party which submitted resolutions calling for an enquiry into conditions of employment in Continental North Sea and Channel ports, studies on the problems of protection for dockers against dust resulting from the handling of grain; and the dissemination of information on the training of dock workers in modern ports. The limitation of loads to be carried by one man was discussed once more. However, it again appeared that the adoption of a Convention fixing a single maximum limit for the entire world was probably impossible. Technical development has lessened

the need for such a Convention in those ports situated in the industrial part of the world. The Committee therefore recommended a wider use of mechanical appliances for the lifting and carrying of loads, and the dissemination of information on the subject in those sea and inland ports where human portage is still used to a substantial extent.

A great deal of consideration was also given to the problems of the under-developed countries. Attention had been focused on inland navigation in the Asian region by a report prepared by an expert appointed by the United Nations Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East. Two Asian workers' delegates, Mr. Khatib from Pakistan and Mr. Guruswami from India, secured the adoption of a resolution calling for an I.L.O. enquiry into working conditions on inland watercraft in Asia and the submission of a report on this subject to the next session of the Inland Transport Committee. The I.T.F. representative secured the adoption of a resolution calling for an enquiry by field missions in Asia and Africa into the main aspects of conditions of work in inland transport. Attention was drawn to the fact that the I.L.O. has at its disposal technical assistance funds which are not used as much as they could be for devising means of improving industrial relations in the inland transport industries of under-developed countries. The I.T.F. representatives quoted the case of the Asian Governments which had dropped from the working programme of the Asian Inland Transport Committee an enquiry by the I.L.O. into labour relations with a view to increasing productivity. The Inland Transport Committee adopted a resolution calling upon the Governing Body of the I.L.O. to place its services at the disposal of governments of under-developed countries once more, in order to help in the solution of labour problems.

Politics also entered into the discussions. The few Communist delegates in the three groups attending the session accused all and sundry of using the I.L.O. and its Inland Transport Committee to prepare war against the Soviet Union. The I.T.F. was singled out for a special attack on account of its campaign for the creation of a European Transport Authority. The Polish delegation submitted a resolution "concerning peace" which bristled with false statements such as: "the directing of transport towards war objectively results in the dismissal of large masses of transport workers".

The I.T.F. organizations were represented at Genoa by forty-four delegates and advisers. The I.T.F. played a leading role in the work of the Committee and was the mainspring of the conference. The results of this fourth session of the I.L.O. Inland Transport Committee are such that it can now be said that the new institution has got into its stride.

UNITED NATIONS ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL (ECOSOC)

The Conference of the International Trade Secretariats held at Rotterdam on 25 and 26 October 1951 came unanimously to the conclusion that no useful purpose would be served by the international trade secretariats seeking "Consultative Status B" with the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) of the United Nations, since the I.C.F.T.U., which enjoys "Consultative Status A", was prepared to represent their

interests. Collective representation of the I.T.S. through the Co-ordinating Committee was not practicable because not all I.T.S. were associated with that Committee. It was stated that individual I.T.S. would continue to receive from the ECOSOC Secretariat such documents as they might wish to have on particular subjects.

Meeting in Brussels from 26 to 30 November 1951, the Executive Board of the I.C.F.T.U. agreed that that body should act for the I.T.S. on ECOSOC. It was emphasized that the I.T.S. would have to deal with the technical problems of the industries they represented, but it was stated that the I.C.F.T.U. would always be prepared to include representatives of the appropriate I.T.S. in its delegations to meetings of ECOSOC.

INTERNATIONAL CIVIL AVIATION ORGANIZATION (I.C.A.O.)

In reply to an application made as far back as 1 December 1950 for consultative status with the International Civil Aviation Organization, we received on 16 November 1951 a communication dated the 9th of the same month to the effect that the Council of I.C.A.O. had decided "that it would not be appropriate to include the I.T.F. in the standing list of international organizations to which invitations are regularly issued to attend relevant I.C.A.O. meetings". We were informed, however, that this decision "would not prevent consideration of requests from the I.T.F. for representation at meetings of the Organization of particular interest to it, or the consideration of I.T.F. proposals which could be transmitted by the Secretariat to I.C.A.O. meetings to whose work they would be relevant".

ECONOMIC COMMISSION FOR EUROPE (E.C.E.)

The Inland Transport Commission of the Economic Commission for Europe works through a number of sub-committees. By virtue of our consultative status Category B representatives of the I.T.F. can take part in the work.

The Secretariat delegated Mr. Zwalf to attend a meeting of the working party of experts dealing with co-ordination of inland transport which took place from 5 to 10 February 1951 in Geneva. This body is for the time being engaged in the study of the basic problems connected with co-ordination of transport. On the proposal of the I.T.F. it has been decided to include conditions of employment in the inland transport industries in the field of investigation. The Committee is tackling the study work in a manner that promises to make its conclusions the starting point of an important movement to unify European ideas on co-ordination of transport. One idea likely to prevail in the Committee is that the problem of co-ordination can no longer be solved within the boundaries of the national state and that co-ordination has become part and parcel of a wider problem, namely, the organization of European transport as a whole. The Secretariat is following up the work of the Committee and proposes to attend its meetings when it appears useful or necessary.

The Railway Sub-committee of the Economic Commission for Europe held a meeting from 19 to 21 April 1951. In response to earlier resolutions adopted by that body at the initiative of the I.T.F. the International Railway Union reported that the European railways were on the point of deciding to adopt a European standard wagon, so built as to be suitable for automatic coupling. As the decisions of the International Railway Union are not binding upon its members, the Sub-committee adopted a resolution requesting European governments to impress upon railway administrations the importance of building their wagons to the standard models to be adopted by the International Railway Union.

The I.L.O. communicated this resolution to its own Sub-committee on Automatic Couplings, and as a result was able to inform us, on 19 December 1951, that its Governing Body had decided to undertake an enquiry, in selected European countries, into the chief causes of railway coupling accidents; after which a conference of experts, including trade union representatives, may be arranged to advise on steps to be taken.

The Inland Transport Division of the E.C.E. Secretariat in Geneva takes an interest in the work of the I.T.F., particularly that part of it that relates to the co-ordination of transport and the setting up of a European transport authority. The Director of the Division, M. Charguéraud, accepted an invitation to attend, as observer, the I.T.F. International Railwaymen's Conference held at Utrecht in August 1951, and made a contribution to the discussion on both questions.

ECONOMIC COMMISSION FOR ASIA AND THE FAR EAST

The Inland Transport Division of the E.C.A.F.E. keeps us informed about the work done by the Inland Transport Committee for Asia. Through this contact we have been able to influence the work by pointing out social factors calculated to impair productivity. As a result, the Secretariat of E.C.A.F.E. proposes now to include among the matters for investigation on productivity in Railways the following two points:

- “(a) Relationship between the management and labour, including provision of social amenities, incentive bonus, etc.
- (b) Provision of facilities for training of technical personnel, including refresher courses in the improved techniques developed in the more advanced countries.”

The Inland Transport Committee for Asia contemplates asking for the help of the I.L.O. in the investigation on the social aspects of productivity problems. The Chief of the Transport Division of the E.C.A.F.E.'s Secretariat suggests that the I.T.F. offers to E.C.A.F.E. and the I.L.O. its “good services to assist in that part of the work dealing with social conditions in railway shops”. The Secretariat has not yet acted upon this suggestion because it is not certain that we could provide the men and the money required if a call upon our assistance were made.

APPENDIX I

Report on Relations with the I.C.F.T.U.,

Present relations between the I.T.F. and the I.C.F.T.U. are governed by a resolution adopted *nem. con.* at our Stuttgart Congress in July 1950. This resolution, after a few other introductory whereases, said:

“Whereas the I.C.F.T.U. desires to conclude with the international trade secretariats 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 I.T.F. shares the desire of the I.C.F.T.U. and that, unless a further Congress decides otherwise, the basis of the relations between the I.T.F. and the I.C.F.T.U. must be association and cooperation 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 I.C.F.T.U. with a view to establishing machinery for cooperation between itself and the international trade secretariats, and expresses its satisfaction that the I.C.F.T.U. is acting with speed, goodwill, and in a constructive spirit;

“Approves the maintenance of the Coordinating Committee of the International Trade Secretariats for the purpose of their collective representation on the governing and executive bodies of the I.C.F.T.U.;

“Approves the attitude of the representatives of the I.T.F. in the discussions among the international trade secretariats and in the negotiations with the I.C.F.T.U. . . . ”

At the time of our Stuttgart Congress the arrangements referred to in the first quoted paragraph of the resolution had already been agreed to, except for one minor detail settled later (the number of individual representatives of the international trade secretariats that should be entitled to attend congresses of the I.C.F.T.U.). They were reported to Congress, which approved them in the last paragraph of the resolution quoted above. They are still in operation, and may be briefly summarized as follows:

1. International Trade Secretariats have the right to be represented *individually* at the biennial congresses of the I.C.F.T.U. on the following scale:

Membership of under 1 million	.....	1 delegate
Membership of 1 to 3 million	.....	2 delegates
Membership of over 3 million	.....	3 delegates

2. They will further be invited *individually* to send delegates to meetings of the General Council of the I.C.F.T.U. at which questions of interest to them will be discussed.
3. They have the right to be represented *collectively*, through the *Coordinating Committee of the International Trade Secretariats*, at meetings of the General Council, Executive Board and Emergency Committee of the I.C.F.T.U., on the following scale:

General Council meetings	.....	5 representatives
Executive Board meetings	.....	2 representatives
Emergency Committee meetings		1 representative
4. In return the I.C.F.T.U. is entitled to be invited to send representatives to all congresses of the International Trade Secretariats and to such other meetings as deal with questions of interest to it.
5. All representations, on both sides, are on a consultative basis, that is to say with voice but without vote.

These arrangements were approved by the international trade secretariats at a Joint Conference held at The Hague on 27 and 28 April 1950 and by a meeting of the Executive Board of the I.C.F.T.U. in Brussels on 26 and 27 May 1950, and, as mentioned above, they were ratified by our Stuttgart Congress on 26 July 1950.

From the foregoing account it will be seen that representation of the international trade secretariats on the two inner councils of the I.C.F.T.U.—the Executive Board and the Emergency Committee—is on a collective basis, through the Coordinating Committee, a body which emerged from various joint discussions and joint activities in which at one time or other practically all the international trade secretariats participated. At present, however, four of the I.T.S.—namely those of the Miners, Metal Workers, Garment Workers, and Graphical Trades Workers—are not associated with the Coordinating Committee, and are consequently not represented on the Executive Board and Emergency Committee of the I.C.F.T.U.; a fact which raises the question whether the existing arrangements for collective representation through the Coordinating Committee are as satisfactory as they might be.

A second criticism of the present set-up, from the point of view of the I.T.S., is that their representatives on the governing bodies of the I.C.F.T.U., besides being very few in number, have only consultative voice at meetings of these bodies. This disadvantage was very evident, for instance, when the Executive Board of the I.C.F.T.U. considered, in November 1951, some applications for affiliation from individual trade unions. The I.T.S. representatives present expressed doubts as to the desirability of individual trade unions being admitted to direct membership of the I.C.F.T.U., as they thought this was calculated to discourage such unions, for financial or other reasons, from joining the I.T.S. They considered that the proper procedure for trade unions not belonging to a national trade union centre was to join the international trade union movement through the appropriate international trade secretariat. But the point of view of the representatives of the I.T.S. was disregarded and the unions in question were accepted into the I.C.F.T.U.

It is only fair to point out, however, that the Constitution of the I.C.F.T.U. lays it down that—

“Individual bona fide trade union organizations which accept the aims and Constitution of the Confederation may be admitted into affiliation provided that the Executive Board, following consultation and agreement with the affiliated national centre or national centres of the country concerned, is satisfied that such affiliation is desirable.”

Constitutionally, therefore, the Executive Board of the I.C.F.T.U. was within its rights, though we cannot help feeling that any considerable extension of the practice would be calculated to hamper the expansion of the international trade secretariats in certain regions and to result in a good deal of confusion in the international trade union movement.

I.C.F.T.U./I.T.S. relationships were last considered by the I.T.S. at a general conference held at Rotterdam on 25 and 26 October 1951 and attended by representatives of the I.C.F.T.U. One of the matters discussed at this conference was the fact that four of the international trade secretariats neither cooperated with the Coordinating Committee nor attended general meetings of the I.T.S., though invited. The question was therefore asked whether the Coordinating Committee was still the most suitable instrument for joint representation of the I.T.S. in their relations with the I.C.F.T.U. Opinions were divided on the subject, but no conclusion was reached. It was decided, however, to ask the I.C.F.T.U. to arrange for a conference with all the I.T.S. for the purpose of re-examining the whole position, with particular reference to relations between the I.C.F.T.U. and the Coordinating Committee.

The I.C.F.T.U. agreed. A meeting of its General Council was due to be held in Berlin from 1 to 5 July of this year, and it decided to hold a joint conference with the I.T.S. in connection with it, on 28 June (there is to be another joint conference with the I.T.S. on the 30th on the question of I.T.S. participation in the regional work of the I.C.F.T.U., about which there is another report before Congress). An oral report will be made to Congress on the conclusions arrived at. At the time the present report was being prepared (12 June 1952) the agenda and documents for this conference had not been received from the I.C.F.T.U., and it was not known what proposals, if any, that International would be putting forward.

Our Executive Committee considered the matter at its meeting in Amsterdam on 17 and 18 April 1952, and decided to await the results of the Berlin meeting with the I.C.F.T.U. before deciding what proposals, if any, should be laid before our Stockholm Congress.

Summing up:

1. The I.T.F. and its governing bodies are at present bound by a decision of our Stuttgart Congress to cooperate with the I.C.F.T.U. “on a footing of equality, in reciprocal respect of each other’s autonomy”, and through the Coordinating Committee.

2. Arrangements with the I.C.F.T.U. provide for collective representation of the international trade secretariats on the Executive Board, Emergency Committee and General Council (with provision, in the case of the latter, for individual invitations) of the I.C.F.T.U.

3. All but four of the seventeen international trade secretariats have entrusted arrangements for this collective representation to a Coordinating Committee of the I.T.S. The I.C.F.T.U. has recognized the Coordinating Committee as an appropriate body for this purpose, but the fact that four of the I.T.S. are not associated with it is unsatisfactory, and some other arrangements would appear to be necessary.

That other arrangements will no doubt emerge from the coming meeting in Berlin between the I.C.F.T.U. and representatives of (it is to be hoped) all the I.T.S. As the I.C.F.T.U. has not yet submitted its promised report we are unable to say definitely what its views are. The last pronouncement we have from that side was contained in a statement by its General Secretary, Mr. J. H. Oldenbroek, at the Conference of the international trade secretariats held in Rotterdam on 25 and 26 October 1951.

We quote from the report of that meeting:

“J. H. OLDENBROEK (I.C.F.T.U.), recognizing the autonomy of the I.T.S., stated that he could not interfere with their decision, but promised his full cooperation. Integration of the I.T.S. into the I.C.F.T.U. was out of the question. The International Trade Secretariats had to do their own work, and a body must be set up representing all the I.T.S., including the four who were not then cooperating.”

APPENDIX II

Report on Regional Organization

Since its foundation in London in 1949, the I.C.F.T.U. has been actively engaged in developing regional machinery in different parts of the world, and at a joint conference with the I.T.S. held in London on 10 October 1950 its General Secretary came forward with a proposal that the I.T.S. should contribute one-third of the cost of this work. A general conference of the I.T.S. held at Amsterdam on 14 and 15 December 1950 considered the matter anew and decided to recommend that each individual I.T.S. should make a contribution of £1 per thousand members per year to the I.C.F.T.U. for this purpose, or failing that amount one commensurate with its circumstances and resources.

The General Council of the I.T.F. gave its consideration to this proposal at its meeting in Marseilles from 10 to 12 October 1951, and concluded that it was not possible for the I.T.F. to make a contribution out of its general funds, but that in view of the importance of the regional work affiliated unions should be asked to pay an additional sum of £1 per year per thousand members, one half of which should be handed over to the I.C.F.T.U. as the I.T.F.'s contribution to the cost of the Confederation's regional work and the other retained for the I.T.F.'s own very considerable work in this field.

Affiliated unions were advised of the General Council's decision by circular and we are pleased to report that the response has been not unsatisfactory, as will appear from the following statement of the sums received (or promised):

		£	s.	d.
Austria:	Transport Workers	42	0	0
	Railwaymen	70	0	0
Belgium:	Railwaymen	35	0	0
Canada:	Brotherhood Railwaymen and Transport Workers	32	8	1
Denmark:	Private Railwaymen	1	2	0
Finland:	Engineers	2	0	0
	Seamen	6	10	0
Germany:	Railwaymen	426	0	0
	Transport Workers	183	10	0
Great Britain:	Seamen	60	0	0
	Navigating and Engineer Officers	12	0	0
	Transport and General Workers	250	0	0
	Distributive and Allied Workers	40	0	0
Greece:	Dockers	10	0	0
Netherlands:	Railwaymen	25	9	0
	Transport Workers	35	0	0
	Navigating and Engineer Officers	6	0	0
New Zealand:	Stewards	17	0	0

		£	s.	d.
Norway:	Seamen	30	0	0
	Mates	4	0	0
	Locomotivemen	2	6	6
Sweden:	Railwaymen	67	0	0
	Seamen	16	0	0
	Estonian Seamen	1	0	0
Switzerland:	Railwaymen	60	16	0
	Transport Workers	13	12	5
	Public Services (Civil Aviation)	1	0	0
U.S.A.	Seamen's International Union	51	0	0
	Railway Labor Executives' Association	1,071	8	7
Total		£2,555	19	7

The question is to be considered once more at a special meeting of the I.C.F.T.U. with the I.T.S. which is to be held in Berlin on 30 June next, just before the meeting of the General Council of the I.C.F.T.U. It will be attended by the members of the I.C.F.T.U. Regional Activities Committee; up to three representatives each of its Asian, European, and Inter-American Regional Organizations; one representative from each International Trade Secretariat; and a further one observer each from North Africa, West Africa, and East Africa, and two from the Near and Middle East.

The Emergency Committee of the I.C.F.T.U. was of the opinion that it would be impossible, in the course of a one-day meeting, to examine in detail all the aspects of the regional work, so it was decided that the main emphasis at the conference should be on the organizational and procedural aspects of the relations between the I.C.F.T.U., its regional organizations and the I.T.S.

As far as we know the I.T.F. is the only I.T.S. which is actively engaged in regional work of its own. We have a Regional Secretariat at Havana, covering the Latin-American area, and a Regional Information Office at Bombay for Asia and the Far East. In addition we have our office in New York, run at present on a joint basis with the New York Office of the I.C.F.T.U.

It is necessary, however, to make some qualifications. It is true that our New York Office has done to a certain extent and is still doing a useful job, but that job is rather to maintain relations with our American unions than to function as a regional secretariat in the full sense of the term. Likewise our Regional Information Office at Bombay is doing very good work, but again, as the name itself implies, the function is a very limited one. Finally, our Latin-American Secretariat was hardly beginning to get into its stride when a *coup d'état* by General Batista introduced an element of precariousness into its position at Havana, and the local Committee decided to put the Secretary, Rafael Otero Borlaff, on a part-time basis. He has now returned to his job with the railways, but is doing the Sub-secretariat work in his spare time, assisted by a full-time clerk.

On the whole, therefore, it has to be said that in the sphere of regional activities we are still far from reaching the objectives which are set us in our Constitution. For this there is a very adequate explanation: the resources which have been used are quite small in relation to the tasks to be undertaken.

A question which arises now that the question of regional activities is to be once more jointly examined by the I.T.S. and the I.C.F.T.U., is to what extent the I.T.F. should continue to develop the independent activities in which it has been engaged, and to what extent it would be desirable to pool resources with the I.C.F.T.U. and the other I.T.S.

Certainly as far as most of the I.T.S. are concerned it can be said that they will never be in a position to develop regional machinery of their own on any appreciable scale. The regional machinery of the I.C.F.T.U., therefore, could render them great assistance, so that it would be very much to the advantage of these I.T.S. to support the development of such machinery as much as they can. In so far as there is to be any further development towards I.T.S.-supported regional machinery of the I.C.F.T.U. it must therefore be made very clear that the burdens involved should be fairly shared between all the I.T.S. and not be left to the I.T.F., and perhaps one or two other I.T.S., to share with the I.C.F.T.U.

Even in so far as agreement is reached regarding the establishment of joint regional machinery, to be at the service of the I.T.S. collectively, it would be necessary to bear one or two factors in mind. The regional machinery set up by the I.C.F.T.U. could hardly be competent to deal with all spheres of activity, or capable of dealing with all the problems arising in the many different industries. It would therefore need the assistance of the I.T.S. This again points to the desirability of the I.T.S. taking some direct part in the regional work, according to the extent and the nature of the interests which they have at stake.

The whole question is still in a state of flux, but some efforts might be made, on a limited scale to start with, to create joint regional machinery specially designed to serve the purposes of the participating I.T.S. One of the questions which arises whenever anything is done on these lines, is the kind of relationship there should be between the I.T.S. and the individual unions in the respective regions. Various possibilities suggest themselves: there could be the direct kind of relations with regional affiliates to which we have been accustomed in the past; or relations, still essentially direct, could be maintained through I.T.S.-appointed regional representatives; or relations of an indirect character could be maintained through the machinery of the I.C.F.T.U.

The difficulties in connection with the question are as numerous as they are great, but they will have to be faced sooner or later, as the need to deal with regional problems becomes more and more urgent. They will be discussed at the meeting on 30 June between the representatives of the I.C.F.T.U. and the I.T.S., and it is hoped that as a result it may be possible to give a supplementary oral report of a more positive character when our Congress meets at Stockholm a fortnight later.

APPENDIX III

Report on Support for Free Trade Unions

At its meeting in Marseilles in October 1951 the Executive Committee considered what could be done to assist some of its weaker affiliated unions, particularly those which have special difficulties to contend with which are largely beyond their control—for example, the railwaymen's unions in France and Italy, which are greatly hampered in their activities by the existence of rival organisations under Communist direction. It decided to issue a special appeal to the stronger railwaymen's unions for contributions to assist the railwaymen's unions in question. As a result the following contributions had been received up to the time of writing (June 1952):

	£	s.	d.
Belgian Railwaymen's Union	35	0	0
Danish Railwaymen's Union	21	10	0
German Railwaymen's Union	255	2	0
Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen (Great Britain)	50	0	0
Transport Salaried Staffs' Association (Great Britain)	50	0	0
Dutch Railwaymen's Union	28	4	0
Swedish Railwaymen's Union	25	0	0
Swiss Railwaymen's Union	40	16	4
Railway Labor Executives' Association (U.S.A.)	2,678	11	5
Canadian Brotherhood of Railway Employees and other Transport Workers	355	11	1
Total	£3,539	14	10

Since then the I.C.F.T.U. has also discussed the problem of financial support for the free trade union movement in France and Italy, at a meeting of its Executive Board held in Brussels in November last. Here the need for such support was also appreciated and it was decided to undertake an urgent and far-reaching enquiry into possibilities and the amount required.

To begin with the I.C.F.T.U. has devoted its attention primarily to the position in France, and a number of meetings have been held under its auspices in Paris. Apart from the I.C.F.T.U. and the Force Ouvrière C.G.T. these meetings were attended by representatives of the former's European Regional Organization and a number of the international trade secretariats, among them the I.T.F.

It was generally felt that the establishment of the Force Ouvrière C.G.T. had materially helped to preserve democratic institutions in the country, but it was agreed that a great deal more could be done if that organization's finances were on a sounder basis. The Communist C.G.T. has, of course, lost literally millions of members, but it is still numerically the strongest trade union centre in France. It was believed, however, that the balance could be restored by a campaign to organize the unorganized and induce some of the independent organizations and

scattered free trade union groups to line up with Force Ouvrière. Accordingly, it was decided to discuss with the latter the possibility of launching an internationally-supported campaign in France.

A Joint Committee of eight international representatives (four from the I.T.S. of Clerical Employees, Metal Workers, Miners and Transport Workers and four from the I.C.F.T.U. and its European Regional Organization) and a number from the Confederal Bureau of the Force Ouvrière C.G.T. was set up to plan the campaign. It heard representatives of three of the French national federations (of the Metal Trades, Mines and Railways) and as a result drafted a report which particularly stressed the need for financial assistance.

The Joint Committee considered that it would be more effective to concentrate activities on two or three industries, plus such measures on a general national basis as should prove to be desirable. It was decided that the industries to be given attention to begin with should be mining, metal working, and transport, and the international trade secretariats of these industries were asked to co-operate.

The I.C.F.T.U. is arranging to raise the money required for general purposes, and the Miners' and Metal Workers' Internationals have promised considerable sums to finance the activities to be undertaken in connection with their industries. The Postal Workers' International has also decided to set aside an annual sum for its affiliated union in France, and the example will no doubt be followed by other international trade secretariats.

As regards Transport—which covers four or five separate and distinct industries—no definite estimates have been made, but the sum of £24,000 has been tentatively mentioned as required for France alone. The French Railwaymen's Federation, however, needed £1,500 immediately for a campaign which it was desirable to undertake in connection with elections to the National Social Security Board which were to take place in June. They were of particular importance as a test of strength for the different railwaymen's organizations. Our Management Committee therefore considered that the matter was urgent and decided to grant the necessary amount from the funds of the I.T.F.

That is the position as far as the French trade union movement is concerned. Apart from that, and following a decision of our Executive Committee at Marseilles, Brother A. Lyon and the General Secretary met the leaders of the two Italian railwaymen's unions affiliated with the I.T.F. to consider the possibility of strengthening those organizations in their efforts to combat the Communist-dominated unions, to organize the unorganized and, last but not least, to improve the social conditions of the Italian railwaymen. While they had neither the time nor the opportunity to go into all aspects of the question, they came to the conclusion that a well-defined programme with positive objectives should be drawn up before any financial aid was granted. At the time of writing Brother E. Zeli, formerly one of the Secretaries of the Swiss Railwaymen's Federation, was in Rome for that purpose.

The job to be done in Italy is certainly no less important than that in France, and it will call for a serious effort if a strong and efficient national movement is to make a contribution to the strength of our

international movement. The same remark applies to many other undeveloped and under-developed countries and regions—the Near and Middle East, the Far East and South America, for example. It frequently happens that appeals are made to the I.T.F. for help in most interesting and deserving cases, but the scantiness of the means available for the purpose only too often means that inadequate help is given, and sometimes none at all.

It must be borne in mind that so long as the trade unions in these countries and regions remain as weak as they are they will be a constant source of danger not only to themselves but to the whole of the larger trade union movement. To help the weaker, to try to build up strong free and independent unions in all parts of the world, to prevent the development of dictatorial Government domination over these unions, are some of the most important tasks to which those who are able to help should give their attention.

These tasks can only be tackled with any great prospect of success if the two sections of our international trade union movement, the I.C.F.T.U. and the international trade secretariats, are fully conscious of their importance and are prepared to give immediate and generous help where it is required. It is true to say that all contributions made by one or other of the two sections necessarily come out of the same pockets, but each of them has its own particular and distinct task—the I.C.F.T.U. on the horizontal plane and the international trade secretariats on the vertical. As has been made abundantly clear in the discussions on the French situation, the one without the other would probably involve a considerable waste of time and money.

If the argument developed above is sound there is no doubt that a heavy responsibility rests upon our International Federation. But it is equally beyond doubt that the efforts we would need to make to shoulder that responsibility cannot be financed out of the funds we have at present at our disposal for the purpose. In round figures these funds amount to something over £4,000.

This is far from sufficient to make possible any substantial and effective help, and it must be borne in mind that it is already being drawn upon to meet the expenses of our Far Eastern Regional Information Office and will soon be exhausted if the activities of that Office are to be continued.

If the I.T.F. is to play its part, therefore, it is clear that we shall have to appeal once more to the generosity of affiliated organizations. This has been done on many occasions in the past—quite recently for special contributions for regional activities and for assisting the weaker railwaymen's unions in Europe—and generally speaking the response has not been unsatisfactory. In this case, however, the amount required is a large one, but the need is urgent, and we have sufficient faith in our affiliated organizations to believe that the Congress will give serious consideration to the problem of providing it. Certainly the benefits to be derived, and the dangers to be averted, are more than commensurate with the sacrifice required.

APPENDIX IV

Report on The Integration of European Transport

and

The Establishment of a European Transport Authority

The less you discuss things as countries and the more you can face them as problems affecting all countries, the more likely you are to find the correct solution If you can remove the sheer fear arising from national barriers and create confidence in the world of industry and primary production, and if the objective you want to reach is clear, namely the raising of the standard of living of the people, then everyone gains in the ultimate solution and human relationship is enhanced in the process of finding it.

ERNEST BEVIN.

I. PRINCIPLES

Among the instruments used by the holders of power for achieving economic, social, and political ends, transport is of outstanding importance. Therefore, the control of transport is always one of the foremost preoccupations of the holders of power and of all those who endeavour to obtain power or to influence the holders of power. The I.T.F. advocates the creation of a new high authority for transport in Europe in order to make possible the attainment of ends other than those presently pursued by the national governments and parliaments.

The goal: economic integration of Europe

These other aims have been defined in several I.T.F. documents, the first of which was the "Report on Organization of European Transport" of 19 September 1944, drawn up by the I.T.F. European Transport Committee*. We quote from its statement of "Principles for a peace-time European Transport Authority":

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

A further definition is contained in the resolution on the economic integration of Europe adopted by the I.T.F. conference on the Marshall Plan held in April 1948 in Luxembourg. The relevant paragraphs read as follows:

"This Conference . . .

"Considers that the most important factor contributing to the present economic plight of Europe, apart from the late war, is the persistence with which European governments and peoples cling to the

* Approved by the Executive Committee on 26 November 1944 and submitted to the Zurich Congress in May 1946.

traditional and worn-out idea that economic affairs can best be planned on a purely national basis, with little or no consideration for the interests of their neighbours;

“Believes that the economic future lies increasingly with organization on the basis of large and coherent areas capable of making rational and effective use of their own resources and lending themselves to further integration in a world economy;

“Believes further that the late war and its consequences for Europe has made the economic integration of Europe a necessity if that continent is to continue to play its part in promoting the welfare of mankind;

“Welcomes the aid offered by the United States of America under the European Recovery Programme as an opportunity and a starting point from which to rebuild Europe’s piecemeal economies into a viable economic whole conforming to present scientific standards and the demands of the large-scale planning they imply; and

“Welcomes further the terms of the original Marshall offer which point to the American recognition of Europe’s dire need of economic integration”

A third document to be quoted is a resolution on the creation of a European Transport Authority adopted by the Railwaymen’s Section Conference held in Innsbruck in August 1949, approved by the Executive Committee on 26 October 1949. The relevant paragraph reads as follows:

“Existing international transport agencies are prevented, by the persistence of national absolute sovereignties, from effectively promoting the germination and growth of a new European economic régime in which the general interest of the Continent would predominate over the special interests of its several nations, and in which the idea of community of interests would take the place of conflict of interests and competition.”

The paramount importance of European countries being aware of their community of interests was emphasized by the Stuttgart Congress of the I.T.F. in 1950. In a resolution which made direct reference to the need for “resisting ideological penetration and possible military aggression by the U.S.S.R.”, the Congress underlined “the necessity of extending and intensifying economic co-operation between the peoples of Western Europe, so that they may be able to maintain themselves as free and democratic communities”.

Transport is a community builder and those in control of European transport can therefore favour or impede the building up of the European Community. On this theme, the International Railwaymen’s Conference held in Innsbruck had the following to say:

“The peoples of Europe are increasingly realizing, in the light of the consequences of two world wars, the need to unite and establish institutions for co-operation with a view to common prosperity. This aim cannot be achieved without integrating the economic system of Europe. Transport, according as it is organized,

can be a help or a hindrance to the economic integration of a continent, and the *unification of European transport is, therefore, a condition of the integration of the European economic system.*"

Economic integration before World War II

The idea that Europe should be converted into a single economic unit was born long before the end of World War II. When the worldwide economic crisis began in the autumn of 1929 in Wall Street, and plunged the whole of Europe into a slump from which there seemed to be no escape, M. Aristide Briand, the well-known French statesman, submitted to the League of Nations a memorandum on the organization of the United States of Europe. The League instituted a Commission of Inquiry for European Union, complete with specialized committees and sub-committees. In September 1931, the Coordination Sub-Committee on Economic Questions put forward a report advocating the economic integration of Europe in the following terms:

"The report by the Sub-Committee of Economic experts is distinguished by one special feature from the numerous reports previously published by the League on similar subjects, and in particular from the conclusions of the World Economic Conference of 1927. This feature is the assertion, by a group of men who are daily at grips with the difficulties of economic life, that even when Europe has emerged from the present crisis she cannot hope for a real economic revival unless she is prepared gradually to adapt the traditional conception of separate national economic units and to approximate it—with every necessary precaution, and possibly in forms yet unknown—to the conception of one vast market accessible on equal terms to all or most of the producers of Europe. 'The ultimate goal must be the widest possible collaboration of the nations of Europe in the sense of making Europe a single market for the products of any and every country in it.' The experts are convinced that a mere return to the traditional pre-war state of affairs would not suffice to achieve the two-fold object which it is our business to pursue: to contribute to the establishment of a lasting peace and to provide the necessary conditions for such a development as Europe is entitled to expect, since for generations she has freely given intellect, manpower and capital to all the other continents and is still, despite her misfortunes, equipped with the most powerful and varied means of production. It is this consideration that has led our experts to contemplate the possibility for the European countries of *rapprochements* capable of developing into an economic and Customs union of the whole of Europe."

Between 1931 and 1939 the European Governments did not act upon the advice given by the League of Nations experts. With an even increased intensity they clung to "the traditional concept of separate national economic units". The result was World War II.

Economic integration after World War II

During World War II the idea of the economic integration of Europe gained new impetus. We find this reflected in the terms of reference of the new official international bodies set up after the war.

The Economic and Social Council of the United Nations, for instance, has set up the Economic Commission for Europe (E.C.E., Geneva) and instructed it to "initiate and participate in measures for facilitating concerted action for the economic reconstruction of Europe, for raising the level of European economic activity, and for maintaining and strengthening the economic relations of the European countries both among themselves and with other countries of the world".

In the preamble to the convention (treaty) creating the Organization for European Economic Co-operation (O.E.E.C., Paris) there occur the following paragraphs:

"Recognizing that their economic systems are inter-related and that the prosperity of each of them depends on the prosperity of them all;

"Believing that only by close and lasting co-operation between the contracting parties can the prosperity of Europe be restored and maintained, and the ravages of war made good; . . .

"Resolved to create the conditions and establish the institutions necessary for the success of European co-operation and for the effective use of American aid"

Finally, the Statute of the Council of Europe (Strasbourg) contains the following sentence:

"The aim of the Council of Europe is to achieve a greater unity between its Members for the purpose of safeguarding and realizing the ideals and principles which are their common heritage and facilitating their economic and social progress."

Economic integration and transport

The European governments have thus affirmed the need for economic integration and at the same time they have singled out transport for special treatment. The U.N. Economic and Social Council, when it decided to set up the Economic Commission for Europe (E.C.E.), recommended further the creation of a "European Transport Organization". In pursuance of that recommendation the E.C.E. set up the Inland Transport Committee, instructing it to "stimulate international co-operation in the field of inland transport in Europe" and "promote agreement between governments on long-term inland transport policy in Europe". The O.E.E.C. also set up an Inland Transport Committee of its own.

The Council of Europe was quick to give consideration to the I.T.F. resolutions on European transport organization. As early as August 1950, when the Council had existed for only a year, the Consultative Assembly instructed the Secretary General "to consider . . . the possibility of setting up, under an appropriate democratic control, a European high authority for transport"

The Council of Europe has now under consideration a proposal for the establishment of a European Transport Authority, worked out by a special transport committee (the Bonnefous Plan), and an alternative proposal to establish a European Transport Office, presented by the Committee on Economic Questions. Both Committees declare:

“Transport represents one of the essential means of achieving the progressive unification of the European economy as a whole, and of ensuring the proper economic, social, political, and cultural development of Europe. The degree of unification achieved in the field of transport may be considered as a reliable indication of the progress made in implementing the declared object of the Council of Europe, namely that of serving the interests of the countries of Europe by promoting closer unity among them.”

The O.E.E.C. has published a report by a team of European railway experts who visited the United States of America in order to draw lessons from American experience. These experts state:

“Towards the creation of a single European market, within the frame of the transportation policy for all forms of transport combined, no better means could be employed than to set up a rate policy which consciously serves this purpose . . . Major benefits would result from the formation, in Europe, of an interstate body to study and co-ordinate the general transport, tariff and economic problems in all the affected countries, with a view to arriving at a policy for the most efficient and economic utilization and development of all the transport resources of these countries, both individually and collectively.”

Facilitating and speeding up the economic integration of Europe would be a reason weighty enough in itself for creating a new authority controlling transport. But there are other advantages which could be achieved by integrating the European transport systems. In the I.T.F. resolution adopted at Luxembourg these other factors are referred to as follows:

“Only the fullest co-operation in the field of transport is capable of solving the hitherto intractable problems of the co-ordination of the various forms of transport, of a balanced layout of the transport system in accordance with economic and social requirements, including the development of backward or neglected regions; of production, standardization and repair of transport equipment and installations; of the planned acquisition and distribution of the power needed by the transport industries; and of the voluntary movement of labour to overcome temporary or permanent shortage of manpower in certain regions.”

Co-ordination of the various means of transport is notoriously the most important problem of transport economics which needs to be solved. The integration of the European transport systems would offer a chance to solve it, as is demonstrated by the work of the E.C.E. In theory this body can take action only in respect of international transport. It finds that there is an urgent need to co-ordinate international transport by rail, inland waterways, and road. As international traffic is carried by national transport systems, it appears impossible to co-ordinate international transport without at the same time co-ordinating, at any rate to some extent, national transport. On the other hand, co-ordination of national transport solves the problem in respect of international transport only if all national transport systems on the European continent are co-

ordinated in much the same fashion, i.e., on the basis of identical principles and a European transport plan. Co-ordination of the various means of transport in Europe, therefore, amounts not to as many problems as there are countries but to a single European problem, soluble only by action on the European plane. Such action postulates the existence of a European Authority. Without integration of the transport systems, this most important problem of transport economics remains insoluble in Europe.

Integration of the European transport systems would speed up technical progress. The authors of the Strasbourg plans state the following:

“The present situation in European transport prevents the full utilization and application of up-to-date technical knowledge, and the introduction of rational organization, of methods of efficient operation, and of measures necessary for achieving a free flow of traffic and free intercourse between the citizens of the nations which constitute the European community. A general improvement of the transport system of Europe would assist in raising the standard of living of the workers engaged in the transport industry, and a greater degree of co-ordination would lead to an increase in their professional skill, at both the executive and operative levels, in addition to making a contribution to the solution of full employment in Europe.”

Three general managers of European railways have recently, in speeches and writing, confirmed this statement. Mr. den Hollander (Dutch Railways) points out that the production of railway equipment ought to be organized on much the same pattern as the production of road vehicles and aeroplanes, i.e., by specialized manufacturing undertakings. M. Louis Armand (French Railways) points out that between 1914 and 1950 production costs in France have fallen by 25 per cent for locomotives and 95 per cent for motor cars. Mr. Busch (German Railways) advocates collective purchasing of railway equipment by the European railway undertakings in order to obtain from manufacturers the most favourable terms. All three managers emphasize that a condition for reducing prices, and at the same time obtaining higher quality, is mass production, and that mass production requires wholesale standardization of railway equipment throughout Europe.

M. Louis Armand points to a further advantage that could be gained from standardization, namely rapid modernization. He quotes the example of the U.S.A., where the change from steam to diesel traction is taking place at breath-taking speed. The mass production of standardized diesel locomotives has as its corollary high quality and low prices, and in addition favourable terms of purchase. European railways could make comparable rapid progress in the modernization of their equipment and operational methods if Europe were converted into a single market for standardized railway equipment.

Integration would allow of a better use of transport equipment. On this point, Mr. J. J. Oyevaar, until recently the representative of the Dutch Government in the E.C.E. Inland Transport Committee, makes the following observation:

"The transport potential must be sufficient to deal with traffic peaks, which implies that there must be a margin in times of slow traffic. This is a potent argument for European integration because this uneconomic reserve can be reduced considerably by European pooling."

II. ACTION

The identification of all the interests and activities of a country with its political sovereignty and the political authority which controls its armed forces, is the greatest of all ultimate dangers.

SIR ARTHUR SALTER.

The work of the I.T.F.

The editor of the I.T.F. Journal started the ball rolling by advocating, in an article published in January 1943, the setting up, "during the war, of a transport council for Europe, a body of economists and transport experts (including representatives of the workers) to prepare a plan of transport organization based on Europe as an economic unit".

On 28 and 29 September 1943 the Railwaymen's Section of the I.T.F. held a conference in London and discussed a memorandum on the post-war organization of European inland transport, prepared by the I.T.F. Research Office, in which it was proposed that the I.T.F. pursue, while the war was still on, "unification of European transport with a view to creating a starting point for the organization of the economic life of Europe on a new and higher plane".

At the request of the Railwaymen's Section there then came into being the European Transport Committee of the I.T.F. This began its work on 30 November 1943 under the chairmanship of the late John Marchbank, who at the outset stated the following four principles:

1. That in several respects, and particularly in respect of transport, Europe must be treated as a unit;
2. That the European transport system must provide for complete co-ordination of all forms of transport by land, coastal and inland waters, and air;
3. That relief operations must be made the starting point of a new transport policy;
4. That we must use transport as a lever to secure a better European order.

The Committee held eight meetings, the last on 30 September 1944, and scrutinized a weighty sheaf of documents on pre-war transport affairs before adopting its report, which contains a statement of "Principles for a peace-time European Transport Authority". The report was published in December 1944.

On 25 November 1947 the General Council of the I.T.F. decided to convene a special conference to discuss the European Recovery Programme, better known as the Marshall Plan, in relation to European transport. That conference took place in Luxembourg from 6 to 9 April 1948. An impressive series of documents on European post-war

transport affairs were laid before the delegates, culminating in the demonstration that Europe needed a transport plan and should take advantage of E.R.P. to achieve it. Referring to the 1944 report, the Secretariat's report to the Conference stated:

"The experience gained since the end of the war has shown that this report represented a real contribution towards the solution of European transport problems. If it has so far not found the necessary support among the powers that be, the reason has been partly the lack of the desire to promote co-operation between the European peoples, partly the failure to recognize that Europe must be regarded as a unit."

The proposal to create a European Transport Authority was debated in a joint session of the Railwaymen's and Road Transport Workers' Sections as well as in the plenary meeting. The Railwaymen and Road Transport Workers considered the functions to be assumed by such an authority and, in the light of the circumstances then prevailing, named at once three: 1. Co-ordination of rail, road, and waterway transport at the international level; 2. Distribution of the new transport equipment to be made available under the E.R.P., according to rules and principles to be laid down; 3. Fixing of rates for international transport. But the rapporteur to the plenary meeting added: "We have so far pointed to three functions for the international authority, arising out of three problems we have examined. But there are others and the I.T.F. would have to consider the whole problem of functions in order to draw up a complete list."

The Conference adopted two resolutions, one in favour of the economic integration of Europe and one calling for the setting up of a European Transport Authority (both partially quoted in Chapter I).

The 1948 Congress, held in Oslo, requested the Railwaymen's Section to study the question of the functions of a European Transport Authority in the light of railway experience. This was done by the International Railwaymen's Conference held at Innsbruck in August 1949. The report submitted to the Conference contained a review of the functions and activity of all existing international railway organizations, both governmental and non-governmental, none of which is designed to contribute to the economic integration of Europe. The Conference came to the conclusion that the European Continent was in need of an authority charged with a mission similar to the mandate given in 1947 to the British Transport Commission, namely, "to provide an efficient, adequate, economical, and properly integrated system of public inland transport and port facilities for passengers and goods, and to take the necessary steps for extending and improving the transport and port facilities in such manner as to provide most efficiently and conveniently for the needs of the public, agriculture, commerce and industry".

Expressed in somewhat less general terms, the mandate would make the authority responsible for providing all areas of Europe with means of transport adequate in quantity and quality; controlling extension investments; controlling investments for increase of efficiency; fixing rates and charges; routing international traffic in a rational manner; unifying and rationalizing methods of operation and administration; standardizing transport installations and equipment;

planning the production, distribution, and repair of transport equipment and installations; planning the fuel and power supply. Last, but not least, it would be the duty of the authority "to establish throughout Europe a large measure of equivalence in the conditions of employment and living standards of the workers engaged in transport, to favour the improvement of the administrative, managerial and operational skill of all transport workers, and to establish such relationships with their national and international trade union organizations as will ensure the smooth working of all transport industries".

Finally, at a conference held in Zurich in April 1952, the road transport workers in the I.T.F. considered how the setting up of a European Transport Authority would affect their industry. The report submitted to the conference contains a survey of the legislation and institutions governing inter-state road transport in the United States of America, and shows what lessons can be learned from American experience. The development of international road transport has made the European road transport workers' trade unions acutely aware of the necessity of establishing some European regulation governing hours of work and rest and, as far as possible, also other aspects of conditions of employment. But they are also aware that the unregulated development of international road transport, under the drive of the blind force of the carriers' profit motive, is calculated to create a situation fraught with economic dangers and social evils of which the road transport workers may have to bear the costs. In their resolution they state that "the problem of a rational organization of road transport is soluble only within the framework of an organization of European transport as a whole", and that "post-war developments in the field of transport confirm the soundness of the I.T.F.'s proposal for the creation of a European Transport Authority".

The I.T.F. in official international bodies

The I.T.F. has secured right of representation on several official international bodies dealing with European transport. Here is a brief account of its action for integration in these quarters. During the war, there functioned in London a Technical Advisory Committee on Inland Transport (T.A.C.I.T.), set up by the Allied Governments and charged with preparing for the rehabilitation of transport on the European Continent immediately after liberation. Thanks to the initiative of Mr. Ernest Bevin the I.T.F. secured representation on that Committee. In respect of long-term transport policy we did, on that body, the only thing it proved possible to do: we pressed for the designing of a European standard wagon capable of being fitted with automatic couplings at any future time, the standard wagon to be put into production immediately after the liberation of the Continent. The technicians were in agreement with us, but the controlling politicians ignored both our proposals and the technicians' advice.

T.A.C.I.T. was transformed, in 1945, into the European Central Inland Transport Organization (E.C.I.T.O.). On that body, too, we continued to urge that the many thousands of destroyed railway wagons be replaced by standard wagons capable of being fitted at any future time with automatic couplings. Again the controlling politicians ignored our plea.

E.C.I.T.O. was followed, in 1947, by the Inland Transport Committee of the Economic Commission for Europe (E.C.E.). That new body needed a year to get into its stride. Then we took up again the problem of the standardization of railway wagons and, after three years, we achieved success. Since then the problem of a wider standardization of railway equipment has been placed on the agenda of the E.C.E. Discussions on the re-establishment of pre-war regulations for the exchange of rolling stock between European railway undertakings afforded an opportunity to plead for a rationalization of the work of the too numerous international railway bodies, and to state the case for the integration of European transport. Discussions on co-ordination of transport, have been used to emphasize the need for a European transport plan, without which co-ordination cannot be achieved. Advantage has been taken of discussions on the regulation of international road transport in Europe in order to demonstrate the need for a European equivalent of the U.S. Interstate Commerce Act, which would provide means of fixing economic, technical and commercial standards, particularly standards of working conditions, valid for all international road transport on the European Continent.

The Inland Transport Committee of the I.L.O. met in December 1945 in London. In the railway sub-committee the spokesmen of the I.T.F. secured the adoption of a resolution on the re-establishment of rail transport in war-devastated countries which embodied the idea of a European Transport Authority. The resolution stated:

“It is of prime importance that Governments grant sufficient executive power to the international organizations concerned with the organization of transport in Europe to ensure the maximum of co-ordination and the minimum of delay. In the opinion of the sub-committee it is highly desirable that there should be drawn up a general plan for the repair of damage in Europe which would provide for the best possible use of material, repair shops and skilled labour”

In December 1951, the meeting of the I.L.O. Inland Transport Committee afforded an opportunity to work for the regulation of conditions of employment in international road transport in Europe, and to advocate, incidentally, a European equivalent of the U.S. Interstate Commerce Commission.

There are two other official international bodies dealing with European transport on which the I.T.F. is not represented, namely the Inland Transport Committee of the O.E.E.C. and the Council of Europe. Although the O.E.E.C. constitution allows of participation by the I.T.F. in its work, and although the I.T.F. made known its desire to be associated with that work, nothing came of it. The Council of Europe could, if it desired, associate experts with the work of its technical committees, in this case the Committee on Economic Questions and the Special Committee on Transport. However, these committees have discussed transport and have produced plans for a European Transport Authority or, alternatively, a European Transport Office, without taking the I.T.F. into their confidence.

European Governments opposed to integration of transport

At no time have the European Governments shown any desire to depart, in the field of transport, from the "traditional conceptions of separate national economic units". When they set up T.A.C.I.T. in November 1942 they soon saw to it that the emergency transport organization operating on the continent in the liberation period should not overstep certain bounds. When the preliminary studies of transport problems were completed they announced through T.A.C.I.T. that "responsibility for the operation of transport facilities within each country will devolve upon the national authorities concerned". At its conference at Atlantic City the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration adopted a resolution which expressly laid down that "each national administration (is) to keep its sovereign power over transportation questions in its own country".

In May 1945, E.C.I.T.O. came into being. Its object was to ensure "the best possible movement of supplies both for the military forces and the civil population and the speedy repatriation of displaced persons, and also to . . . create conditions in which the normal movement of traffic can be more rapidly resumed". The article setting out the executive functions showed that E.C.I.T.O.'s main task was to help each government to restore transport in its territory and recover in the shortest possible time full command in the field of transport on its territory. In this it succeeded in less than two years. As early as towards the end of 1946 the decision was taken to disband E.C.I.T.O. in the very near future. But E.C.I.T.O. did more: by restoring transport and sovereignty, it created the conditions of revival for the numerous international agencies which, between the two wars, operated the complicated arrangements necessary to ensure international traffic under the régime of national sovereignty. All these international agencies were revived and with them their *raison d'être*, namely all the complicated technical and administrative arrangements which the war had swept away.

E.C.I.T.O. was disbanded in June 1947 and its place has been taken by a brand-new body, the Inland Transport Committee of the E.C.E. Like its predecessor, it can act only in a consultative and advisory capacity and its terms of reference specifically provide that it shall take "no action in respect of any country without the agreement of the Government of that country". Within this limitation its most important mission is to "promote agreement between Governments on long-term inland transport policy in Europe".

In its endeavour to promote agreement, the Committee has come up against two tests, one of minor and one of major character. The minor test is the regulation of international road transport in Europe. At present this traffic involves only a few hundred undertakings and a few thousand vehicles. In view of its possible growth it is felt that there is need for some regulation before the industry has become a really sizeable one. The present intention is to enforce a set of technical, legal, commercial and economic forms and rules, applicable to all undertakings engaged in international transport by road in Europe. The discussions on this subject reveal that it is impossible to make a set of rules that on no point conflicts with the national legislation of the one or other of the

European countries concerned. The solution of the difficulty is either to make a European regulation override national legislation or to adapt national legislation to an agreed European regulation. It is not yet certain that the first course will be agreed to. If the second course is to be adopted, then it is likely that many years will go by before any agreement can become effective.

The second test has come with the problem of co-ordination. In July 1951 the Committee reached the conclusion that its primary task now was that of "co-ordinating investments in the various branches of international transport". A special session was convened in January 1952 for making a start. At that meeting, however, the majority of the Committee seemed to get frightened of the courage they had displayed six months earlier. Instead of attempting to state some of the principles that should govern the co-ordination of investments in European transport, they decided to ask the experts to supply further reports on the social, economic, and financial aspects and implications of (a) the freedom of the users in the choice of transport; (b) the freedom to operate transport for own account; (c) the obligation to carry; (d) the social and economic charges borne by the various forms of transport and the economic advantages granted to them.

These questions have been discussed and studied for the last quarter of a century and to ask for new studies simply amounts to shirking the task. The real reason for postponing action is not that more knowledge is required. The experts have realized that they can work only on the basis of a European transport plan and must, consequently, begin by drawing up such a plan. So far they cannot obtain from their governments authority or instruction to take that job in hand. Each government is the custodian of interests, national and private, and each government realizes that it is impossible to set about planning European transport in a rational and responsible manner without jeopardizing some of these interests. The conflict of interests is paralyzing the E.C.E. Inland Transport Committee at present and will continue to do so as long as the Governments do not decide to place European interests above others.

At Strasbourg there are two bodies, the Consultative Assembly, composed of representatives of the Parliaments, and the Committee of Ministers, composed of representatives of the Governments. The Consultative Assembly discussed the Bonnefous plan for a European Transport Authority—a kind of transport counterpart of the Schumann Plan—with only a handful of members present, so that the President refused to put the matter to the vote. Consequently the plan has not been submitted to the Committee of Ministers. An alternative plan, aiming at the setting up of a European Transport Office with consultative and advisory powers only, has been worked out by the Committee on Economic Questions, but has not been discussed by the Consultative Assembly.

In April 1952 the French Minister of Transport informed Parliament and public opinion of the French Government's intention to convene a European conference for the purpose of setting up a European transport community which, at the start, would embrace the railways only. All

endeavours to obtain information about this new plan have proved in vain and enquirers on the spot have gathered the impression that a concrete proposal has not yet been worked out.

III. CONCLUSIONS

Would it not be possible to create a European federation whose task it would be to harmonize as far as possible everybody's interests and to promote co-operation by working out, for all branches of production, a master plan of development which would sweep away, in a common effort, all secondary rivalries? All efforts in this direction will have the support of French militant trade unionists.

CHARLES LAURENT, General Secretary,
French Civil Servants' Federation;
Deputy of the Résistance to the Algiers
Parliament, French National Committee
of Liberation, 1943.

Obscuring the issue

Experience shows that a European transport agency can work swiftly and well provided the Governments give it a mandate and the necessary power. E.C.I.T.O. has tackled the major task of ensuring international transport in 1945 and 1946, when large quantities of relief goods had to be carried across the whole of the European Continent, and millions of people brought back to their homes. It routed the traffic over a net of railways, waterways and roads of which major parts were, in the beginning at any rate, disconnected at many vital points. Much transport had to be routed in unorthodox fashion. Availability of means of transport at the wrong point on the wrong line often dictated unusual solutions of movement problems and E.C.I.T.O. applied them. It could do so because just then, for a short time, no government insisted on its national sovereignty.

The E.C.E., too, has worked well. It has successfully prodded the international railway agencies into rationalizing their work and getting to grips with the problem of standardization. It has made the governments conclude a series of agreements on the use of roads by foreign vehicles. The transport of perishable foodstuffs has been accelerated by measures concerted at the initiative of the E.C.E. Customs formalities have been simplified, national third party insurance certificates have been made valid in international road traffic. And much good work of that kind is still going on. All these problems were minor in substance and scope but they bedevilled international traffic, and the E.C.E. has done excellent work in swiftly removing or diminishing these obstacles. On the other hand, the E.C.E. has succeeded in this field only because the governments wanted it to succeed, and the governments did so because success did not diminish but rather strengthened their sovereignty. A European road transport regulation would not restrict national sovereignty to any noteworthy extent, but it would nevertheless affect the principle. Therefore work is slow and success still uncertain.

Co-ordination of investments in transport calls for a European transport plan and that is sure to call for the sacrificing of some interests at present protected by national sovereignty. So the governments still stall. To hammer out a European transport rates and charges policy is an item on the agenda of the E.C.E. but because it touches upon an important aspect of national sovereignty even optimists have only faint hopes that the problem may be tackled in the foreseeable future.

Of course, these problems are not simple but, by listening too intently to those who emphasize the difficulties, one is apt to lose sight of the fundamental problem, namely the economic viability of Europe, which can be assured only by economic integration.

Closing the gap between words and deeds

There is, therefore, a considerable gap between the words written by European governments into the constitutions of international organizations and the deeds performed by those same governments. If the governments are to be made to live up to their promises they must be put under pressure. The E.C.E. is an inter-governmental body with which the I.T.F. has consultative status. That status is not enough to bring pressure to bear upon the governments. The Strasbourg Assembly, or at any rate a substantial group of members of the Assembly, could bring pressure to bear upon the Committee of Ministers. However, if a group of Assembly members were to pursue the creation of a European Transport Authority it ought to be better informed on international transport matters than political leaders usually can be, and that would require co-operation between such a group and the I.T.F. Without the I.T.F. acting as the driving force there is little likelihood that the Strasbourg Assembly can work efficiently in this field and finally convince the Committee of Ministers.

An opportunity missed

The recovery of Europe despite non-integration, thanks to E.R.P. and the passing of time, have not made easier the achievement of the I.T.F.'s aim. On the contrary. The war had created conditions which could have been taken advantage of for unifying European transport. The old apparatus of numerous international agencies, required for operating international transport under the régime of national sovereignty, was then out of action and could not be pieced together again in time for organizing continental transport in the liberation and rehabilitation period. A substitute was needed and the European Governments provided it through the simple and single machine of E.C.I.T.O. This machine proved effective in spite of its being hampered at the outset by the fact that it was conceived merely as a temporary expedient, and in spite of its being hamstrung by a heavy and cumbersome political control, a control which, after the accession of the U.S.S.R. in September 1945, became downright obstructionist. Instead of being made the starting point of a new and permanent institution, E.C.I.T.O. was dismantled even before the old apparatus which it had successfully replaced could be restored to working order. Thus an opportunity, such as only the misfortune of war affords, was missed.

The need for integration of European transport persists

The need to integrate the European transport system has, however, not become less. European transport must be integrated if the European economy is to be integrated.

There is no longer any need for the I.T.F. to show and prove that the proposal is practical. There is no need either to give the blue-print of a constitution. All those conversant with European transport problems know what functions a European Transport Authority should assume. When the Governments are determined to have these functions performed by a European transport body they will have no difficulty in framing a constitution.

The I.T.F.'s task is to continue what it has done hitherto: inform its own member-organizations through its publications; urge them to work in their own countries to inform public opinion and to bring pressure to bear upon their governments and parliaments; use its right of representation on official international bodies in order to throw into relief the irrationality prevailing in the European transport business and to advocate, on all suitable occasions, solutions calculated to further the integration of European transport and lead eventually to the establishment of a European Transport Authority, charged with serving the interests of the European Community.

PAUL TOFAHRN,

Rapporteur.

London, 16 June 1952.

Financial Report

Introduction

The I.T.F. figures of receipts and expenditure in recent years reflect a general tendency of the times: costs rising much more steeply than income.

The following table shows income for the years 1949, 1950, and 1951:

£41,317	5s.	0d.	in 1949
£39,566	10s.	11d.	in 1950
£42,121	5s.	0d.	in 1951

These figures do not entirely reflect the actual position, as the 1949 figure is inflated by two circumstances: firstly, owing to the restrictions on currency transfers, the German unions were not able to pay any fees until 1949 so that the figure for that year includes their fees for the two years 1948 and 1949; secondly, certain funds held abroad increased in value following the devaluation of sterling in October 1949. If the necessary correction is made, income is seen to show a slight increase for 1949, 1950 and 1951 respectively.

The figures of expenditure for the three years, on the other hand, show an increase which is anything but slight:—

£33,551	11s.	5d.	in 1949
£38,379	0s.	0d.	in 1950
£39,269	0s.	3d.	in 1951

The difference between 1949 and 1950 is particularly marked. This was partly due to our having moved into larger offices, involving a higher rent, and further to increases in the salaries of the staff and a loss on exchange of more than £1,000. The 1951 figure shows a continuation of the upward tendency, and if this goes on it will be difficult to make ends meet.

Unless, therefore, it proves possible to increase income, we shall seriously have to consider cutting expenditure. This would be regrettable, as it could hardly be done without curtailing our activities.

It would be doubly regrettable in that it is more necessary than ever that the I.T.F. should be active and on the alert to show the world what a free and democratic trade union organization can do in defence of its members, in promoting international understanding between workers of the same trade and assisting small trade unions in countries where trade unionists lack experience and need our help in the performance of their tasks.

Particulars of income and expenditure will be found in Tables 1, 2, and 3.

From the Balance Sheet for 1951 it will be seen that the Federation's premises in Amsterdam are still on our books. These premises have been sold to one of our affiliated unions, but owing to certain legal complications, the sale had not been completed at the end of 1951. But it is certain to take place in 1952 and the price which has been agreed upon will leave us a margin of profit.

A further point to be noted in connection with the Balance Sheet is that it was possible in 1951 to write off another thousand pounds on the fixed assets of the Federation, the figure for which had risen steeply in 1950 due to the fact that our removal to larger offices necessitated the purchase of new furniture and office equipment. We intend to continue to write off on furniture and equipment as far as our financial condition permits, so as to put our finances on a more healthy basis.

Special Funds

Tables 4 to 10 give particulars of the position of the different funds existing within the I.T.F.

In 1949, for the first time since the war, we were able to contribute to the special funds out of the General Fund. As is apparent from Table 2, we continued to do this in 1950 and 1951. Besides, the small balances of a few of the funds were transferred to others, as they no longer served any practical purpose. Thus the balance of the Children's Fund (created just after the war to assist the children of members of affiliated unions in countries having suffered heavily from the war) has been transferred to the General Relief Fund; that of the Far Eastern Secretariat (created in 1948 when our Singapore Office for Asian seafarers was opened) to the Regional Fund; and that of the Seamen's Fund (dating from the war-time period when Allied seamen sailing from British ports were organized together as a sub-section of the I.T.F.) to the Panama Action Fund.

As far as the General Relief Fund is concerned, as in the past, payments have been made out of this to trade unionists in distress. The recipients were comrades from Eastern Europe and, more recently, from Argentina, where men have also been forced into exile because of their refusal to submit to the Peronist régime. We intend to continue to use the Fund for the purpose for which it was created—assistance to trade unionists who are in need as a result of victimization at the hands of dictatorial governments.

It will be noted that two new funds were opened in 1951, both arising out of decisions taken by the Executive Committee at its meeting in Marseilles in October 1951. One was that a general appeal should be addressed to affiliated unions to make a financial contribution towards regional activities, especially in countries whose trade union movement is not yet fully developed. The sums received in response to this appeal will be found in Table 7. Half of this money is earmarked for the Regional Activities Fund of the I.C.F.T.U. The second decision con-

cerned an appeal to railwaymen's unions only, who were asked for funds to help weak railwaymen's unions, especially in cases where competition from Communist railwaymen's organizations was strong. As the appeal was not issued until the end of 1951, only one contribution appears in Table 5. The report submitted to the Congress on this question, however, contains a complete statement of the sums received at the time of writing.

O. BÉCU,

General Secretary.

June 1952.

BALANCE SHEET AS AT 31st DECEMBER, 1951

CURRENT LIABILITIES.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
AMOUNTS OWING TO AFFILIATED UNIONS:						
Belgian Transport Workers' Union	717	14	7			
Danish Seamen's Union	450	2	7			
Dutch Transport Workers' Union	1,115	19	9			
Finnish Seamen's Union	296	18	0			
German Railwaymen's Union	3,659	10	4			
German Transport Workers' Union	106	12	9			
Norwegian Seamen's Union	98	11	11			
Norwegian Mates' Union	40	0	0			
Swedish Railwaymen's Union	591	2	4			
SUNDRY CREDITORS:				7,047	12	3
General Accounts	1,847	6	6			
Advances	3,227	18	1			
Affiliation Fees Prepaid	54	10	3			
Dutch Trade Union Centre	674	18	7			
Dutch Trade Union Centre (ARFT)	29	10	4			
				5,834	3	9
				12,881	16	0

FUNDS:						
Ecto Finmen	607	7	3			
Ecto Finmen Trade Union Reconstruction	842	12	3			
Panama Action	251	2	4			
Staff Retirement	5,939	4	1			
Railwaymen's	83	0	0			
Regional	78	0	4			
Reitfel	2,526	6	11			
Spanish Trade Union	1,526	19	1			
Trade Union Foundation	25,573	7	8			
Vigilance Committee	3,991	9	11			
General Fund	8,366	15	7			
				49,515	11	5

We have obtained all the information and explanations which to the best of our knowledge and belief were necessary for the purpose of our audit. In our opinion proper books of account have been kept by the Federation so far as appears from our examination of the books. We have examined the above Balance Sheet and annexed Income and Expenditure Account and Fund Accounts which are in agreement with the books of account. We have reported separately thereon to the Management Committee of the Federation under even date. In our opinion and to the best of our information and according to the explanations given to us the Balance Sheet gives a true and fair view of the state of the Federation's affairs as at 31st December, 1951, the Income and Expenditure Account gives a true and fair view of the Excess Income over Expenditure for the year ended on that date and the Fund Accounts give a true and fair view of the balances on those respective Accounts as at 31st December, 1951.

(Signed) HESKETH, HARDY, HURSHFIELD & CO.
Chartered Accountants.
Norwich House,
13, Southampton Place,
London, W.C.1.
9th June, 1952.

CURRENT ASSETS.

3 BARS OF GOLD				£	s.	d.
CASH IN HAND, LONDON						897 0 6
(Including Foreign Currencies)						
CASH AT BANK AND WITH AGENTS:						
Amsterdam, Twentsche Bank	18	16	0			
Copenhagen, Arbejdernes Landsbank	380	19	2			
Helsinki, Nordiska Foreningabanken	185	0	0			
London, B. W. Blydenstein & Co.	8,714	11	8			
New York, Colonial Trust Co.	2,220	11	8			
Paris, T. Gomez	282	0	0			
Stockholm, A. B. Jordbrukarebanken	566	3	4			
Vienna, Arbeiterbank	1,643	15	10			
Havana, Latin America Sub-Secretariat	78	18	0			
						20,872 7 10

SUNDRY DEBITORS:						
Prepayments	98	7	2			
Advances	6,808	6	6			
Affiliation Fees Due	2,674	7	0			
Amount estimated recoverable in respect of						
Repairs to Dutch Property	450	0	0			
Rent Due on Dutch Property	105	15	0			
						10,129 15 8

AMOUNTS OWING BY AFFILIATED UNIONS:						
Swiss Railwaymen's Union	164	18	8			
Swiss Transport Workers' Union	175	3	0			
						340 1 8

STOCK OF PAPER AND STATIONERY as estimated by						
Officials of the Federation	600	0	0			
						32,910 10 7

FURNITURE, FIXTURES AND OFFICE EQUIPMENT:						
At Cost, less Sales	4,216	19	9			
Additions during year	112	14	10			
						4,329 14 7

Less: Sales						
Amounts written off to date	5	0	0			
						3,107 5 5

MOTOS CAR, at Cost	1,222	9	2			
Library at Nominal Value	800	0	0			
Property 61, Vondelstraat Amsterdam as valued	1	0	0			
by General Secretary, 31st December, 1948	3,000	0	0			
Less: Mortgage thereon	1,110	0	0			
						1,890 0 0

ASSETS HELD FOR TRADE UNION FOUNDATION						
FUND						
£18,800 31% War Loan at Cost	18,800	0	0			
4 Bars of Gold	6,773	7	8			
						25,573 7 8

£62,397 7 5

TABLE 1.

INCOME FOR THE YEARS 1950 AND 1951

	1950			1951		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
1. Affiliation Fees	39,356	7	3	41,942	19	3
2. Rent Amsterdam Premises	153	16	5	145	10	7
3. Interest	18	6	8	16	15	3
4. Discounts	38	0	7	15	19	11
	<hr/>			<hr/>		
	£39,566	10	11	£42,121	5	0

TABLE 2.

EXPENDITURE FOR THE YEARS 1950 AND 1951

	1950			1951		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
SALARIES AND ALLOWANCES						
1. Salaries	11,397	15	3	12,734	18	6
2. Staff Retirement Fund	1,676	10	10	1,871	15	0
3. Travel and other allowances	889	2	5	998	10	11
4. Reports and Translations	872	19	0	584	7	2
RENTS, RATES AND OFFICE EXPENSES						
5. London Office	1,576	7	2	1,744	6	9
6. Removal Expenses	223	19	0	—		
7. Insurance	18	14	0	18	14	0
8. New York Office	4,700	6	1	4,819	6	11
TRAVELLING AND ENTERTAINING EXPENSES						
9. Travelling Expenses	3,320	9	0	3,752	4	8
10. Meetings and Conferences	4,801	15	7	4,417	18	2
11. Entertaining Expenses	798	1	4	841	0	6
12. Motor Car	458	15	2	320	9	1
PUBLICATIONS, LIBRARY AND STATIONERY						
13. Journals and Reports	3,166	8	9	3,812	5	2
14. Subscriptions	360	11	8	615	6	9
15. Library	192	4	11	130	15	5
16. Stationery and Office Sundries	429	8	2	693	18	6
POSTAGE, TELEPHONE AND TELEGRAMS						
17. Postage	407	15	4	459	18	8
18. Telephone, Telegrams	610	4	4	380	10	5
ACCOUNTANCY, LEGAL AND GENERAL EXPENSES						
19. Accountancy Fee	335	0	0	475	0	0
20. Legal Charges	27	8	0	5	5	0
21. Bank Charges	43	15	4	56	5	0
22. General Expenses	590	16	8	395	9	4
23. Difference on Exchange	1,086	17	0	9	9	4
24. Affiliation Fee Payable	393	15	0	131	5	0
	<u>£38,379</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>£39,269</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>3</u>
TRANSFERS TO FUNDS						
Edo Fimmen Fund	—			1,000	0	0
Edo Fimmen Trade Union Reconstruction Fund	—			1,000	0	0
Panama Action Fund	1,000	0	0	—		
Strike Fund	188	1	11	—		
	<u>£39,567</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>£41,269</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>3</u>
Written off Furniture	—			1,000	0	0
	<u>£39,567</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>£42,269</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>3</u>

TABLE 3.

**AFFILIATION FEES RECEIVED AND RECEIVABLE IN
1950 AND 1951**

	1950			1951		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
ARGENTINA						
Seafarers	154	18	0	—		
AUSTRALIA						
Maritime Transport Council	42	0	6	42	0	6
AUSTRIA						
Railwaymen	960	0	0	960	0	0
Transport Workers	308	0	0	308	1	4
BELGIUM						
Civil Aviation Personnel	11	4	0	7	0	0
Railwaymen	490	0	0	490	0	0
Tramwaymen	210	0	0	210	0	0
Transport Workers	365	8	7	333	19	2
BRITISH GUIANA						
Seamen (1949, 1950 and 1951)	—			11	4	0
CANADA						
Railwaymen and Transport Workers	421	8	0	384	15	0
CUBA						
Civil Aviation Personnel (1950 and 1951)	—			37	3	0
Railwaymen	—			437	3	0
Seamen	—			322	2	11
Transport Workers	—			615	14	5
DENMARK						
Ships' Firemen	25	4	4	24	1	7
Locomotivemen's Assn.	26	5	4	28	0	0
Locomotivemen's Union	14	0	4	4	18	0
Railwaymen (Private Railways)	16	7	9	15	12	2
Railwaymen	150	12	3	151	0	0
Seamen	65	16	0	66	2	5
Catering Personnel	13	6	0	13	9	6
Transport and General Workers	490	0	0	490	0	0
EGYPT						
Alexandria Seamen	7	10	0	—		
Cairo Motor Drivers	49	0	0	49	0	0
EIRE						
Seamen and Dockers	14	0	0	14	0	0
Transport and General Workers	70	0	0	70	0	0
ESTONIA						
Seamen (in exile)	9	2	0	9	2	0
To carry forward	£3,914	3	1	£5,094	9	0

	1950			1951		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Brought forward	£3,914	3	1	£5,094	9	0
FINLAND						
Engineer Officers	24	11	0	26	9	2
Locomotivemen	56	0	0	56	0	0
Motor Drivers	—			70	0	0
Railwaymen	210	0	0	217	13	9
Seamen	88	9	3	91	4	3
FRANCE						
Dockers	28	0	0	70	0	0
Railwaymen (comprising 1948/1950)	—			329	14	3
Seamen	70	0	0	98	0	0
Ships' Officers	28	0	0	35	0	0
Transport Workers	177	0	5	81	5	4
Transport and Public Works	42	0	10	42	0	0
GERMANY						
Railwaymen	4,455	16	7	4,326	6	3
Transport Workers	2,366	7	8	2,317	13	0
GREAT BRITAIN						
Locomotive Engineers and Firemen	999	0	0	947	0	0
Navigators and Engineer Officers	168	0	0	168	0	0
Radio Officers	75	2	6	50	8	0
Railwaymen	4,163	17	0	3,955	0	0
Scottish Horse and Motormen	280	0	0	280	0	0
Seamen	830	0	0	830	0	0
Shop, Distributive and Allied Workers	560	0	0	560	0	0
Transport and General Workers	3,000	0	0	3,000	0	0
Transport Salaried Staff	1,172	4	0	1,157	16	2
GREECE						
Dockers	—			15	0	0
Railwaymen	151	18	0	151	0	0
Seafarers	175	0	0	—		
ICELAND						
Seamen and Fishermen	20	0	0	20	0	0
INDIA						
Ships' Officers	—			14	0	0
ITALY						
Dockers	70	0	0	—		
Light Railway and Inland Navigation	140	0	0	—		
Railwaymen (SAUFI)	—			60	12	1
Railwaymen (SNF)	—			56	16	2
Road Transport Workers	70	0	0	—		
Seafarers	139	16	10	—		
To carry forward	£23,465	7	2	£24,121	7	5

	1950			1951		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Brought forward	£23,465	7	2	£24,121	7	5
JAPAN						
Municipal Transport Workers (1950 and 1951)	—			168	0	0
Seamen " "	—			540	0	0
Private Railwaymen " "	—			270	0	0
Railwaymen " "	—			1,642	0	0
Taxi Drivers " "	—			24	12	0
Travel Bureau Employees " "	—			10	12	0
KENYA						
Asian Railwaymen	11	17	9	11	4	0
LUXEMBOURG						
Railwaymen	77	1	0	77	7	9
NETHERLANDS						
Railwaymen	355	15	0	356	17	0
K.L.M. Personnel	3	5	10	9	0	0
Ship's Officers	87	7	6	89	6	4
Transport Workers	479	10	10	498	2	8
NEW ZEALAND						
Locomotive Engineers and Firemen	31	10	0	31	10	0
Seamen	35	0	0	—		
Cooks and Stewards	—			14	0	0
NORWAY						
Engineer Officers	56	0	0	56	0	0
Locomotivemen	30	16	0	31	17	9
Mates	46	4	0	46	15	0
Railwaymen	290	17	7	297	6	4
Seamen	420	0	0	420	0	0
Transport Workers	322	0	0	357	16	9
RHODESIA						
Railwaymen	54	14	10	56	5	7
SAAR						
Railwaymen	115	10	6	153	19	9
SOUTH AFRICA						
Transport Workers	42	0	0	42	0	0
SPAIN						
Railwaymen	37	0	0	42	0	0
Transport Workers	40	1	8	38	10	0
To carry forward	£26,001	19	8	£29,406	10	4

	1950			1951		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Brought forward	£26,001	19	8	£29,406	10	4
SWEDEN						
Commercial Employees (Civil Aviation)	42	0	0	42	0	0
Engineer Officers	45	9	8	47	17	4
Railwaymen	921	0	0	921	0	0
Seamen	224	0	0	224	0	0
Transport Workers	560	0	0	574	0	0
SWITZERLAND						
Public Services (Civil Aviation)	14	1	3	12	7	2
Railwaymen	871	14	11	872	9	2
Transport Workers	192	4	0	189	16	9
U.S.A.						
Airline Pilots	69	19	7	125	0	0
Longshoremen	766	1	4	1,021	8	7
Locomotivemen	—			178	11	6
Machinists	199	16	5	—		
Masters, Mates and Pilots	180	0	0	180	0	0
Radio Officers	25	17	10	25	17	10
Railwaymen (R.L.E.A.)	7,213	8	7	6,086	6	3
Seamen (S.I.U.)	1,020	0	0	1,020	0	0
Teamsters and Warehousemen	1,000	0	0	1,000	0	0
URUGUAY						
Railwaymen	15	14	0	15	14	4
	<hr/>			<hr/>		
	£39,363	7	3	£41,942	19	3
Less over-provision for outstanding Affiliation Fee 1949	7	0	0			
	<hr/>			<hr/>		
	£39,356	7	3	£41,942	19	3
	<hr/>			<hr/>		

TABLE 4.

EDO FIMMEN TRADE UNION RECONSTRUCTION FUND

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Balance at 1st January 1950				3,068	9	6
CONTRIBUTIONS IN 1950:						
U.S.A. Maintenance of Way Employees	356	16	6			
Railway and Steamship Clerks	89	5	9			
Railway Signalmen	35	14	3			
R.L.E.A.	89	5	9			
NORWAY Mates	25	0	0			
				596	2	3
Reimbursement of fare				139	0	0
Transfer from General Fund				1,000	0	0
				<u>4,803</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>9</u>
EXPENDITURE IN 1950 AND 1951:						
France	1,051	0	5			
Italy	1,000	0	0			
Bombay Office	836	6	0			
Latin-American Sub-Secretariat	833	19	7			
Miscellaneous	239	13	6			
				<u>3,960</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>6</u>
Balance at 31st December 1951				<u><u>£842</u></u>	<u><u>12</u></u>	<u><u>3</u></u>

TABLE 5.

RAILWAYMEN'S FUND

	£	s.	d.
Belgian Railwaymen	35	0	0
Balance at 31st December 1951	<u>£35</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>

TABLE 6.

VIGILANCE COMMITTEE FUND

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Balance at 1st January 1950				1,399	11	6
CONTRIBUTIONS IN 1950:						
Norwegian Transport Workers	249	15	0			
American Seafarers' Union (S.I.U.)	1,785	14	3			
				<u>2,035</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>3</u>
CONTRIBUTIONS IN 1951:						
American Seafarers' Union (S.I.U.)	357	2	10			
Private Donation	89	5	8			
				<u>446</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>6</u>
				<u>3,881</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>3</u>
EXPENDITURE:						
Expenses in connection with meetings of Central and Regional Committees and various individual travelling expenses				890	6	4
Balance at 31st December 1951				<u><u>£2,991</u></u>	<u><u>2</u></u>	<u><u>11</u></u>

TABLE 7.

REGIONAL FUND

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
CONTRIBUTIONS IN 1951:						
Belgian Railwaymen	35	0	0			
British Seamen	60	0	0			
British Transport and General Workers	250	0	0			
British Shop, Distributive and Allied Workers	40	0	0			
Canadian Railwaymen	32	8	1			
Danish Railwaymen (Private Railways)	1	2	0			
Danish Seamen	39	7	2			
Estonian Seamen	1	0	0			
Finnish Seamen	6	10	0			
Norwegian Mates	4	0	0			
Norwegian Seamen	30	0	0			
Swedish Railwaymen	67	0	0			
Swiss Public Services (Civil Aviation)	1	0	0			
U.S.A. Seamen (S.I.U.)	51	0	0			
					618	7 3
Transfer from Far Eastern Secretariat					175	19 1
Balance at 31st December 1951					£794	6 4

No expenditure was incurred in 1951.

TABLE 8.

SPANISH TRADE UNION FUND

	£	s.	d.
Balance at 1st January 1950	2,654	16	10
Grants to organizations and individual members in 1950 and 1951	1,128	4	9
Balance at 31st December 1951	£1,526	12	1

TABLE 9.

STRIKE FUND

	£	s.	d.
Balance at 1st January 1950	169	0	11
Transfer from General Fund per 31st December 1950	188	1	11
		357	2 10
Grant to Argentine Seafarers		357	2 10

TABLE 10.

PANAMA ACTION FUND

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
CONTRIBUTIONS IN 1950:						
British Union of Seamen	27	10	0			
Dutch Transport Workers	27	13	0			
Individual Contributions	4	8	10			
	<hr/>					
					59	11 10
Transfer from General Fund per 31st December 1950				1,000	0	0
CONTRIBUTIONS IN 1951:						
British Seamen	323	17	2			
Dutch Transport Workers	10	11	2			
French Seamen	17	13	6			
Direct Members' Contributions	254	9	6			
	<hr/>					
					606	11 4
SPECIAL FEE FROM SEAFARERS' UNIONS:						
Estonian Seamen	16	11	4			
Finnish Seamen	54	5	10			
German Transport Workers	81	13	4			
Indian Maritime Union	7	7	6			
New Zealand Cooks and Stewards	7	1	4			
Norwegian Mates	27	16	0			
Swedish Engineer Officers	28	9	10			
	<hr/>					
					223	5 2
Transfer from Seamen's Fund per 31st December 1951					162	13 7
					<hr/>	
					2,052	1 11
EXPENDITURE IN 1950 AND 1951:						
Printing and Subscriptions	397	19	11			
Salary and special allowance George Reed	1,085	8	4			
Sundry travelling expenses General Secretary and others	317	11	4			
	<hr/>					
					1,800	19 7
	<hr/>				<hr/>	
Balance of Fund at 31st December 1951					£251	2 4
	<hr/>				<hr/>	

**REPORT OF COMMITTEE OF AUDITORS
FOR THE YEARS 1950 AND 1951**

We, the undersigned, members of the Committee of Auditors of the I.T.F. report that we have examined the Accounts and Balance Sheets for the years 1950 and 1951.

It will be seen from the Financial Report that the income for the year 1950 was £1,751 less than in 1949, whilst the expenditure was £4,828 more than in 1949. The figures for 1951 show an improvement over 1950 of £2,555 in income, but we must draw attention to the fact that the expenditure has increased by £990. These increases appear to be unavoidable, but it does, in our opinion, point to the need for every care to be exercised in expenses of administration as the expenditure figure is getting dangerously near to the estimated income.

We express our thanks to the General Secretary and the staff for the ready help they have given us in answering all our queries and for the efficient way in which the Accounts are kept.

The Committee of Auditors,

JAMES HAWORTH.

S. T. POTTER.

24th June 1952.



