

PROCEEDINGS

of the CONGRESS of the
**International Transport
Workers' Federation**

held in the

**House of Parliament, Stockholm
from 16th to 23rd July 1952**

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PROPOSALS OF AFFILIATED ORGANISATIONS

1. Standing Committee of Civil Aviation Workers

The Congress requests the E.C. to provide for:

- (a) documentation on the laws governing employment in civil aviation;
- (b) an enquiry into trade union organization of civil flying and ground staff in the different countries;
- (c) an enquiry into ways and means of increasing trade union membership among civil aviation workers, in view of the special nature of the industry;
- (d) the setting up of a standing consultative committee composed of representatives of the staffs employed by the six largest air transport undertakings in Western Europe for the purpose of exchanging information and defending members' interests on the national and regional planes in a manner concordant with the need for cooperation between Western European States, including cooperation in safeguarding workers' interests affected by endeavours to secure coordination or integration of transport and the like.

Submitted by Dutch Air Transport Workers' Union.

2. Right of collective bargaining and the right to strike

That with a view to safeguarding these two fundamental rights of the transport workers the Congress take suitable measures to induce governments to remove all legal restrictions they may have placed on the exercise of these rights.

Submitted by the National Railway Workers' Union of Japan.

3. Labour legislation in Japan

That the Congress take steps to oppose the Japanese Government's plans for the revision of labour legislation, and to support the efforts of the National Railway Workers' Union of Japan to secure the repeal of the Public Corporations Labour Relations Act.

NOTE: The Japanese Government is preparing not only to amend in a manner detrimental to the trade unions the Trade Union Act and the Labour Relations Adjustment Act, but also to enact a Meetings and Demonstrations Control Act, a Special Public Peace Preservation Act and a General Strike Prohibition Act, the purpose of which is to suppress mass movements of the workers. All the workers in Japan, including the National Railway Workers' Union, are opposed to these reactionary plans and are vigorously resisting them. The Union is also trying to secure the repeal of the Public Corporations Labour Relations Act, to which it is subject.

Submitted by the National Railway Workers' Union of Japan.

4. Traffic Accident Regulations

Owing to the special nature of transport work it is difficult to apply the ordinary judicial system fairly when dealing with traffic accidents; it is necessary to have a system in which the opinions of traffic experts can be fully represented. The All-Japan General Federation of Transportation and Traffic Workers' Unions has been trying for many years to secure the introduction of such a system. The I.T.F. is asked to investigate conditions in all parts of the world and take steps accordingly.

Submitted by the National Railway Workers' Union of Japan.

5. Asiatic Regional Office of the I.T.F.

That the I.T.F. establish an Asiatic Regional Office in Japan, with a view to strengthening the solidarity of the Asian transport workers and improving their living standards and conditions of labour, which are exceedingly poor.

Submitted by the National Railway Workers' Union of Japan.

6. Transport as an Instrument of Peace

The transport industry is essentially peaceful in its nature and should not have militaristic characteristics. We ask the Congress and all affiliated unions to do their best to ensure that the transport industry shall contribute to the development of under-developed areas and help to avert the danger of another world war.

Submitted by the National Railway Workers' Union of Japan.

7. Proper implementation of safety measures for dock workers

As early as 1932 an international agreement was concluded containing rules and regulations for the prevention of accidents in the loading and discharge of ships. This agreement has been ratified by several countries, and by Finland in 1948.

Despite the existence of approved regulations, the conditions in the docks are still rather bad. In our country the chief complaints are of bad lighting and disorder at the place of work. Shipowners and captains sometimes fail to observe the regulations. We have found that many old ships use dim oil-lamps instead of electric lights. The inspection books of the ships are often incomplete. The inspectors do not always see to it that defects and faults discovered are entered in the control book. Insufficient notes are made, in spite of the inspection being carried out in due order. On board the ships hoisting machinery, hatches, accesses, and steps are out of order, and the lighting at the places of work is insufficient.

We have no detailed information how observance of the rules and regulations is ensured in other countries. In Finland the check on safety measures in ports, etc., is carried out by inspectors employed by the Minister of Social Welfare, but their number is far too small, and in some cases they live as much as 100 kilometres away from the port.

On the assumption that such conditions also exist in other countries, and in order to remedy them, *we suggest that the Congress discuss the matter and take steps to secure that inspection in ports be carried out separately from ordinary factory inspection.*

We make this suggestion because we consider that in the port industry the work and the places where it is carried out are quite different from those in factories. In industrial undertakings checks are made at regular intervals or, at the request of shop stewards, also at odd times, though this is not very usual in most undertakings. In ports, on the other hand, the need for inspection of several installations may arise in a single day or over longer periods.

We therefore consider it necessary to separate the port inspection from that in other industries, and that the task should be entrusted to a sufficient number of special port inspectors.

Submitted by the Finnish General Workers' Union.

8. Dock workers

Regulation of work in ports and organizational relations in the international field.

Submitted by the National Federation of Dock Workers, Italy.

9. Maximum load to be carried by one man

This 22nd Congress of the International Transport Workers' Federation, held at Stockholm from 16 to 23 July 1952,

Decides to ask the International Labour Office to adopt an International Convention providing that:

- (a) the maximum load to be borne on the shoulders of one man be fixed at 60 kilos;
- (b) the maximum distance for such a load to be borne on the shoulders of one man be fixed at 25 metres.

Submitted by the Dock Workers' Federation of Greece.

10. Eight Hour Day on Greek Railways

In spite of many representations by our Federation and the I.T.F., the Greek Government is still reluctant to apply the Washington Eight Hour Day Convention to all branches of the railway service, notwithstanding that Greece ratified this Convention as long ago as November 1920.

Submitted by the Pan-Hellenic Railwaymen's Federation.

11. The right to strike

The workers' right to fair conditions of employment is now universally recognized. It was especially emphasized by the authors of the Peace Treaty of 1919 and has been restated solemnly by the leading statesmen of the free world during and since the second world war.

The withholding of their labour is the workers' ultimate legitimate means of trying to obtain fair conditions of employment. The new Greek Constitution, by abolishing the railwaymen's right to strike, deprives them of this all-important means of obtaining justice.

Submitted by the Pan-Hellenic Railwaymen's Federation.

12. Housing of railwaymen

The Greek railwaymen, who during the last war rendered considerable service to the Allied cause, claim that a share of "Marshall Aid" should be devoted to their housing. They point out that the main burden for the rehabilitation of the country has been carried and is still being carried by the working class, including the railwaymen.

Submitted by the Pan-Hellenic Railwaymen's Federation.

MESSAGES

The following messages were received and read to the Congress:

From the PAN-HELLENIC RAILWAYMEN'S FEDERATION:

Greek Railwaymen extend heartiest fraternal greetings, wishing success to Congress and decisions that will strengthen the bonds between transport workers the world over and help to raise living standards, in the interests of freedom and democracy and the international peace that is so ardently desired. Ilias Mousourakos, Secretary.

From the ITALIAN SEAFARERS' FEDERATION:

Am unable to participate in Congress owing to big battle the Seafarers' Federation is waging against Communists to obtain immediate adoption new Seamen's Pensions Act. Please accept excuses and express to all delegates the brotherly feelings and solidarity of Italian seafarers. Hope work of Congress will produce abundant results for the defence of the interests of the workers and of the foundations of real peace, real justice and real democratic freedom. Romagnoli, National Secretary.

From the TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO TRANSPORT WORKERS' COUNCIL:

Congratulations twenty-second Congress. Regret unable attend. Wish successful deliberations. Alexander, President.

Greetings success twenty-second Congress. Agua Worrell, Secretary.

From the MARITIME UNION OF INDIA:

You and the delegates to the 22nd Congress of the I.T.F. can feel justly proud of the fine record of the Federation during the past years. You have devotedly upheld the interests of the transport workers of the Free World and as determinedly opposed all totalitarian forces which seek to subvert and corrupt Labour.

The Seafarers of India are particularly beholden to the Federation for its splendid and continued efforts on their behalf: efforts which have contributed so largely to arousing the conscience of the Maritime World to their plight and misery.

My colleagues and myself, on behalf of the Seamen of India, extend to you and to the delegates to the Congress our cordial greetings and best wishes for success of your deliberations. Joviano F. Soares, General Secretary.

From DR. WALTER AUERBACH:

Best wishes for a third successful Stockholm Congress.

From JOHAN BRAUTIGAM:

After expressing regret at his inability to accept an invitation to attend the Congress, owing to the illness of his wife, Brother Brautigam continues:

'What I think about the I.T.F., the Swedish comrades and their organizations I have expressed in the article I wrote, for the I.T.F. Journal, about the Stockholm Congress of 1928. What shall I add to that?

'I am sorry that we cannot be in your midst, but we will live with you in your deliberations, of which we are convinced that they will strengthen the I.T.F. We wish you a good Congress, good comradeship and good spirit in the struggle for peace, freedom and welfare. Make the good old I.T.F. the world-wide organization of all transport workers.'

From MRS. ALIDA DE JAGER:

Fraternal greetings. Best wishes for successful Congress and further growth and prosperity I.T.F.

Wednesday, 16th July 1952

MORNING SESSION

OPENING CEREMONY AND FRATERNAL ADDRESSES

The ceremonial opening of the Congress took place at the Concert House, but all other sessions were in the Lower House of Parliament.

ROBERT BRATSCHI, the President of the I.T.F., declared the Congress formally opened shortly after ten o'clock in the morning.

The proceedings were enlivened by the following programme of music by an orchestra conducted by E. Eckert-Lundin:

<i>Fingal's Cave, Concert Overture</i>	<i>Mendelssohn</i>
<i>Elegy from the Gustavus Adolphus Suite</i>	<i>Alfvén</i>
<i>Pomp and Circumstance March</i>	<i>Elgar</i>
<i>"LO" March</i>	<i>Eckert-Lundin</i>

At the end of the first part of the concert, the President, Mr. ROBERT BRATSCHI, called upon Mr. Ragnar Helgesson, President of the Swedish Transport Workers' Union, to address the Congress.

RAGNAR HELGESSON (President of the Swedish Transport Workers' Union), in welcoming delegates to the Congress on behalf of the Swedish transport workers' organizations, said that they highly appreciated the honour of having the 22nd Congress of the I.T.F. in their country. Sweden was fortunate in having been at peace for 140 years so that they had no towns and villages bombed to pieces nor women and children mourning fathers and brothers killed in war operations. This was no doubt largely due to luck but they thought that their very ancient constitution had something to do with it. The Swedish people had always been masters in their own house and had never known slavery or serfdom. Their Parliament was one of the oldest in the world.

To these facts they could no doubt attribute the fact that their Labour movement was so strong. The country's Government had been largely in the hands of the Social Democratic Labour Party for more than two decades and the people trusted the régime. Victory had not been easy and no progress had been made without energetic organizational work and hard struggle.

At the parliamentary elections in 1948, the Social Democratic Party had secured 112 seats in the Lower House, that is to say three seats less than one half. In the Upper House the Party's position was still better. The fact that the Party had lost the majority naturally caused the Government a good deal of anxiety and consequently the Social Democratic Party and the Agrarians had agreed in the autumn of 1951 to form a coalition government based on a programme the most important items of which were an unchanged foreign policy—that is to say a neutral and alliance-free policy—and the safeguarding of social development.

One question which had been a bone of contention between the working class and bourgeois parties for many years had been that of national defence, but since the fateful spring of 1940 this had ceased to be a party question. The social progress during recent years, largely under the guidance of the former Minister for Social Affairs, Gustav Möller, had led to a change in the attitudes of the workers towards the question of national defence. He had once said with justified pride: "We have taught the Swedish workers that their country is worth defending".

The Swedish trade union movement was very strong and between 95 and 100 per cent of the workers were organized. Increased power, however, meant increased responsibility, and in submitting their claims for increased wages they had now to bear in mind problems such as the economic balance of the community and the maintenance of the value of the currency. Not all the workers appreciated this, however. A great many young people came into industry every year and they had to be taken care of and educated, both from the trade union and political point of view. To fully understand the problems of the day it was necessary to know something of historical development and many young people were lacking in this respect. They found things in general quite satisfactory and did not realize that this involved effort of some kind or other. Consequently, both the Swedish Federation of Trade Unions and the trade unions generally had to spend a considerable amount of money for educational purposes. As in other countries, the Labour movement had to struggle constantly against ignorance and indifference. It was their steadfast hope that jointly with their comrades in other countries they would eventually succeed in building a better world in which people could live together in peace, freedom, and prosperity. He believed that the I.T.F. Congress was important as a means to this end and he expressed his hope that it would be a successful one.

THE PRESIDENT (Robert Bratschi), after thanking Mr. Helgesson for his address of welcome, then delivered the following presidential address:

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

In the name of the General Council, the Executive Committee and the Management Committee I bid you heartily welcome to the twenty-second Congress of the I.T.F., in the beautiful and proud capital of Sweden.

At our last Congress, in Stuttgart, our Austrian and Finnish friends asked to be allowed to act as hosts to the 1952 Congress. But Vienna is today, seven years after the end of the war, still an occupied city, and the hostile attitude of one of the occupying powers towards the free trade unions made it inadvisable to hold the Congress there. Helsinki is this year the scene of the great Olympic Games, which made it difficult for our Finnish comrades to receive us. We hope that the situation in these two countries will be more propitious for the holding of an international congress in the near future, so that we shall have another opportunity of accepting the kind invitation of our Austrian and Finnish friends.

In the circumstances the Executive Committee was particularly glad to accept the offer of the Swedish friends to act as hosts and decided with great pleasure to convene the Congress in Stockholm.

This is not the first I.T.F. Congress to be held in Stockholm. It is exactly fifty years ago since the delegates of the young and forward-looking I.T.F. first forgathered in this city. That first Stockholm Congress was on a very modest scale. There were twenty delegates, five of them from Swedish unions. Needless to say, our friend Charlie Lindley, who was also in the forefront at the foundation of the I.T.F. in 1896, was present at the 1902 Congress in Stockholm. Charlie Lindley, in his eighty-seventh year, is today among our guests of honour, after having rendered the I.T.F. distinguished service uninterruptedly from 1896 to 1946 as Member, Vice-President and President of the Executive Committee.

In 1928 Stockholm received a second Congress of the I.T.F. Like the present one, it was held in the building of the Swedish Parliament. In the intervening years the I.T.F. had grown into a big and strong organization, as testified by the 107 delegates who attended the Congress. For those who were there—I myself had the honour of being one of them—it was a Congress of unforgettable memories: the penetrating survey of the world situation by our all-too-soon-departed friend Edo Fimmen; the magnificent background of the city of Stockholm; the renowned hospitality of our Swedish friends, culminating in the tour to the Land of the Midnight Sun.

This time 206 delegates, and a considerable number of guests and observers, have gathered in Stockholm in a mood of pleasurable anticipation. Their pleasure is heightened by the fact that they know themselves to be in a country and a city where a kindly, intelligent, peaceful, and industrious nation works out its destiny in freedom and where the I.T.F. has five affiliated unions which are all model organizations in every way. Not only have these unions won for their people working and living conditions which may be described as exemplary, but moreover, together with their fellow unions in the other northern countries, they have set the highest standard of international solidarity. Never has the I.T.F. appealed in vain to the Swedish comrades when it was a question of helping weaker brethren in other countries or carrying the torch of international trade unionism to distant countries. Indeed, their willingness to grant financial aid for international purposes has always been truly magnificent.

What can be said of the Swedish unions affiliated with the I.T.F. applies no less to the whole of the labour movement of Sweden. The Swedish Federation of Trade Unions has over 1,300,000 members, apart from some 300,000 organized salaried grades. The Co-operative Societies have over a million members and the Social Democratic Labour Party of the country has no fewer than 750,000 members, men and women, and in the principal elections of recent years won the votes of over 1,800,000 people. For more than three decades the Swedish Social Democratic Labour Party has either been responsible for or exercised a major influence upon the government of the country. The people have in ever-growing numbers placed their trust in and followed the leadership of organized labour.

The work of the Swedish labour movement is truly impressive. The productive capacity of the country, under its leadership, has increased enormously, and labour's share in that greater productivity has increased proportionately. Social justice and the people's welfare have improved steadily. Social security is more developed than in most other countries. The health standards of the people are of an exceptionally high order. All this, however, does not mean that the Swedish trade unions think they can rest on their laurels. At conferences held recently, indeed, they have set themselves new and bold objectives, and there is no doubt of their determination to achieve them.

It is only natural that such a movement should throw up men of international stature. In our own circle we can cite Charlie Lindley. On the political plane it suffices to mention the names of two great statesmen who will stand out in the history of our time: Hjalmar Branting and Per Albin Hansson. The former was the driving force during the rise of democracy in this country. He also played a great rôle in the international labour movement as a champion of freedom and democracy and was one of the outstanding figures at the head of the first League of Nations in Geneva. The well-deserved tribute which the Swedish workers paid to this great man when they recently erected a monument to him here in Stockholm is one with which the entire labour movement of the free world will gratefully and wholeheartedly associate itself.

The great work of construction performed by the Swedish people rests entirely on the basis of democracy and freedom. Instinctively adverse to radical phraseology, the labour movement of this country has never played with dictatorship. The honesty, fairness and straightforwardness which characterized it at all times has contributed to the movement's steady progress. These qualities have preserved it against Communist and other disruptive tendencies.

It is a great honour and pleasure to have with us today several representatives of the Swedish authorities and the Swedish Labour Movement. I cordially greet the representative of the Swedish Government, John Lingman, Minister for the Civil Service and Labour, an old colleague of ours who was formerly President of the Swedish Railwaymen's Federation; Mr. Erik Upmark, Director-General of the Swedish State Railways; Mr. Stig Radhe, Town Clerk, representing the City Council of Stockholm; Axel Strand, President of the Swedish Federation of Trade Unions; Otto Nordenskjöld, Assistant General Secretary of the Swedish Federation of Salaried Employees; Mr. P. Williamson, Labour Attaché at the British Embassy in Stockholm; Mr. C. R. Atkinson, Labour Attaché at the American Embassy in London; Messrs. David Saposs and J. F. Heath of the Mutual Security Agency; Mr. S. Thorsson of the International Labour Office and Mr. J. Dubus of the International Railway Congress Association. I also welcome Arthur Deakin in his capacity as fraternal delegate from the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions; D. Follows from the International Federation of Air Line Pilots' Associations and John Christensson from the Scandinavian Transport Workers' Federation.

Then as guests of honour I have the pleasure of welcoming to our Congress a few old I.T.F. veterans: Charlie Lindley, A. Borgstedt,

S. Christiansson, A. Forslund, F. W. Franzén and A. Lofgren, of Sweden; F. Landskroon of Holland and K. Maxamin of Poland, now living in exile in Belgium. Johan Brautigam of Holland was also invited but we have received a letter to say that owing to the illness of his wife he is unable to come. All these are comrades who served the I.T.F. with distinction for several years in various capacities.

In Stuttgart we honoured a considerable number of comrades who had distinguished themselves in the struggle against Fascism and Nazism, in some cases at the cost of their lives. But the world has not yet been completely cured of the poison of Fascism and Nazism. In various countries, among them Spain and Argentina, there are still Fascist or near-Fascist Governments in power, which continue their infamous work of suppressing the free labour movement and do not shrink even from murdering men whose only offence is a belief in and a willingness to fight for the ideals of freedom and democracy. In Argentina it has been especially the trade unions of the seafarers and the railwaymen which fell foul of the existing régime and suffered defeat in the unequal fight for freedom and human rights. The I.T.F. rendered these brave comrades all the moral and material support which lay in its power. We are confident that the day will come when the banner of freedom will fly again in Argentina and Spain and when our persecuted and exiled comrades will be able to return to their homelands and resume the fight for their ideals. Here I would extend a special greeting to two of these courageous comrades who are with us today: Trifon Gómez, acknowledged leader of the Spanish railwaymen, who has served so ably on the Executive Committee of the I.T.F. for many years, and Juan Carlos Mason, acknowledged leader of the Argentine seafarers, who led the Argentine maritime and waterfront workers in their heroic fight against the Perón régime two years ago.

In the countries which first saw the emergence of Fascism and National Socialism these pests have also not yet been wholly exterminated. Both in Germany and in Italy there are still influential admirers of the late dictators who must be carefully watched by both the Governments and the Labour movements of the free countries if the danger of a relapse into dictatorship is to be allayed once and for all. The danger is aggravated by the fact that in the two countries mentioned the supporters of Fascist dictatorship, just as before the second world war, are obviously making common cause with the Communist enemies of free trade unionism and social progress.

In the Bolshevik-dominated countries a ruthless régime of systematic suppression suffocates every expression of freedom. Without conveying a full picture of conditions behind the "Iron Curtain", the reports of endless persecutions, purges, banishments, condemnations to concentration camps, forced labour, and death nevertheless tell enough of the inhuman conditions and methods employed there and of the mental and physical sufferings of the peoples who are exposed to them. Those who, with the I.T.F. and its affiliated unions, stand for freedom and human dignity, must never cease to raise their voices and to brand the existing situation for what it is.

Dictatorship, imperialism, and war have gone hand in hand in all periods of human history. As long as large sections of people are under the yoke of dictators, whatever the brand, humanity is exposed to the danger of war. Lying peace phrases, as used in the past by the National Socialists and Fascists and nowadays by the Communists, do not change these facts in the least. They are nothing but a criminal subterfuge designed to conceal their real intentions and to facilitate their preparations for war.

The war which has been going on for two years in Korea, with casualties already running into hundreds of thousands, and the end of which, despite the tantalizing truce talks, is not yet in sight, is only one of the dangers which threaten the whole of mankind. South-west Asia is another of the various centres of disturbance which today once again bedevil the peace of the world. With grave concern also we must regard the deterioration of the situation in Europe. The occurrences in the Baltic Sea and the mounting number of incidents on the border between the two zones of Germany throw the growing tensions into shrill relief. Where, in the reporting of all these unfortunate incidents, the truth, and where deliberate falsehood and misrepresentation have to be sought, need hardly be said.

In view of this situation in the world the strengthening of the democratic states of the West must be regarded as the principal factor in the struggle to preserve peace. It follows that the free trade unions must also give the fullest possible support to the further military reinforcement of the West. But important though defence requirements undoubtedly are, it must not mean neglect of the economic and social tasks of the democratic nations. Poverty, wherever it may occur, is a fertile soil for Communism and dictatorship. Orderly economic conditions and social justice are the best guarantees for the maintenance of democracy, freedom, and peace.

Above all, there must be no repetition of what occurred in the thirties, when economic depression and unemployment drove desperate men into the arms of unscrupulous dictators. Of the fact that economic depression is not a natural phenomenon which just descends upon men, but something which can be averted by intelligent action, the country whose hospitality we enjoy today is the most striking demonstration.

A survey published recently by the United Nations stated that 180,000,000 more houses must be built to satisfy the world's most urgent and elementary needs. If one house costs only 1,000 dollars to build, it still means a total expenditure of 180 milliard dollars. For hundreds of millions of people the lack of food and clothing is as acute as that of housing. The total volume of unsatisfied needs is immeasurable. Also immeasurable, however, are the economic possibilities which these unsatisfied needs afford, given an intelligent organization of economic resources. That an economic system in which profit is the sole motive cannot realize these possibilities is apparent. Economic planning and spiritual freedom are not incompatible concepts. Their synthesis, through the planned economy envisaged and advocated by the free trade unions, must be achieved if mankind is to be preserved from further serious upheavals.

No wars or preparations for wars are needed to prevent a recurrence of economic slumps and to ensure continued full employment. All that is needed is intelligent planning of the work to be done in order to satisfy the most modest and legitimate needs of mankind.

Since its last congress in Stuttgart the I.T.F. has continued to make satisfactory progress. At the end of 1951 it had 145 affiliated unions in forty-nine countries with upwards of five million members. These include seventeen new affiliations in twelve countries with a total of 137,000 members since the last congress.

In spite of this progress there are still many countries with transport workers' unions not yet affiliated with the I.T.F. Further there are countries where the transport workers are not yet organized in trade unions. In the main these are economically backward countries whose development is one of the major tasks of the free peoples and their trade unions. With many unaffiliated unions the I.T.F. maintains more or less close relations, so that there are good prospects of further affiliations in the course of time.

For the time being contact with organizations existing behind the "Iron Curtain" must be considered impossible. In several countries in Western Europe there exist important organizations which are under Communist control and therefore remain aloof from the I.T.F. In spite of the great difficulties we must continue our attempts to bring enlightenment into the ranks of these workers. Certain tendencies which have become apparent recently, especially in France and Italy, indicate that success in this direction is not impossible.

The seven Sections of the I.T.F. have a period of great activity behind them. Many conferences were held where the Sections considered their special problems after these had been prepared for discussion by the Secretariat. The Seafarers' Section was faced with particularly important problems in connection with the continued growth of shipping registered under the Panamanian and similar flags. The Railwaymen's Section and that of the Road Transport Workers performed pioneer work in the field of the organization of European transport and continued the efforts which aim at bringing about a coordination of the different means of transport on an international scale.

The General Council of the I.T.F. has held two meetings, the Executive Committee six meetings and the Management Committee sixteen meetings in order to perform the tasks assigned to them.

Following the formation of the Transport Department of the Communist W.F.T.U. an attempt was made at systematic disruption of the economic life of the free countries. To counteract this, the I.T.F. set up Vigilance Committees which have been able to perform useful work in very difficult circumstances both in the maritime industry in the Mediterranean area and in the waterfront industry.

In pursuance of a decision of the Stuttgart Congress, the Executive Committee, in conjunction with a special committee appointed for the purpose, has drawn up a set of proposals for revising the Constitution of the I.T.F. These proposals are to be discussed during the present Congress.

In order to maintain the closest possible relations with its affiliated unions in overseas regions and to gather as much information as possible in countries where no footing has yet been established, the I.T.F. operates an office in New York, jointly with the I.C.F.T.U., and a regional information office in Bombay; further, a sub-secretariat is in existence in Havana.

The I.T.F. has also continued its cooperation with the other international trade secretariats. Relations with the I.C.F.T.U. have been developed in a spirit of complete freedom and equality. More is said on this subject in the Report before you. Here I would only point to the remarkable and rapid success which has been achieved by the I.C.F.T.U. in the short period of its existence. It has now a membership of well over fifty millions in practically all the countries of the free world and exercises a corresponding influence in the labour movement. Last year it held a highly successful congress in Milan which attracted world-wide attention.

The spirit which animates the activities of the I.T.F. and the I.C.F.T.U. is the spirit of freedom, social justice, and peace. It is the spirit also in which we shall conduct the business of this Congress.

THE PRESIDENT then read (with delegates standing) the list of comrades active in the service of the I.T.F. who had died during the previous two years, and recalled that the tenth anniversary of the death of Edo Fimmen, former General Secretary of the I.T.F., would fall at the end of 1952.

He then declared the Congress open.

JOHN LINGMAN (Civil Service and Labour Minister, former President of the Swedish Railwaymen's Union) thanked the I.T.F. for the invitation to take part in the opening ceremony, particularly as it gave him an opportunity of meeting many old friends once more. He realized that many of the questions which would be discussed by the Congress were questions common to every country. Many of the most urgent problems he had to deal with in his own country were dependent on international economic factors.

During the period of peace, if it could be called peace, through which the world was passing, so many alarming problems were coming to the fore that all must be affected by them in some way or another. Concern about the future was leading to an increase in armaments and military expenditure and the consequent demand for articles and products of many kinds was causing prices to rise and, in some cases, leading to violent fluctuations. These fluctuations had been very severe in Sweden and, paradoxically enough, they were partly due to the high prices which they had received for some of their exports. The demand abroad for these products had pushed up the price level in the home market, since a consumer at home had had to pay approximately the same prices as other countries were willing to pay. This had naturally caused a good deal of concern and anxiety to those who were anxious to maintain and improve the standard of living. He thought that, in spite of the difficulties, they had been fairly successful in these endeavours and the position of large sections of the population had been considerably improved.

A feature of their economic policy had been the endeavour to maintain full employment and since the war they had succeeded in doing so. It might be said that this was mainly due to the prosperity which had prevailed, particularly for their export industries. The authorities were ready at all times to intervene should the situation change, but though there had been a certain decline in exports latterly, they had not been of such magnitude as to cause any fear of unemployment.

They were anxious to ensure that there was work available for everybody, as they could not afford to have people with nothing to do. Such a policy, however, involved close cooperation between the trade union movement and the political party governing the country. They had tried to maintain contacts and improve co-operation and both sides were well aware that they would have to face their responsibilities and take such steps as were necessary to prevent any further decline in the value of the currency.

During a period like that through which they were passing it was frequently necessary to make more or less rapid and violent adjustments to keep pace with changes in demand and technical developments, and this was equally true of the transport field, both national and international. The problems arising could be intensified very considerably by competition between the different means of transport. He did not think that it was advisable to do away with such competition but it was necessary to pay proper attention to the problems to which it gives rise, so that it could be healthy competition and not harmful to the community or to those employed in transport. He understood that this was one of the problems that would occupy the Congress to a considerable extent during the ensuing days and he thought it constituted a useful field for consultation and discussion.

Finally, Mr. Lingman offered to Congress the compliments of the Swedish Government and repeated the welcome uttered by the previous speaker. He hoped that the work of the Congress would benefit all employed in the important field of activity which they represented.

STIG RADHE (Town Clerk, representing the City Council of Stockholm) said that those who, like himself, did not count the handling of transport problems among their daily duties were probably seldom aware of the great amount of important transport work connected with practically every aspect of their daily life. Not until there was a breakdown somewhere—if they did not receive their morning paper with their breakfast or if they could not get certain spare parts for their motor cars—did they start thinking about transport at all.

Transport, however, was a very important part if not the very backbone of modern society. Improvement in transport conditions was necessary for industrial development and the constant raising of the standard of living. It was also necessary, however, to improve the standards of those working in the transport industries, particularly as this big group of workers often had to perform their tasks under unfavourable conditions, carrying on day and night in summer and winter and in all kinds of weather.

Especially in a country like Sweden, with its great distances, its widely separated industries and agriculture, and its sparsely populated areas; a country whose commercial and industrial life necessitated close relations with foreign countries, upon which it was dependent for many commodities; transport was paramount among the country's problems. Transport was a deciding factor not only nationally but also in the exchange of commodities and utilities between countries and peoples and it could rightly be said that the transport worker was the bearer of internationalism.

He was glad that the I.T.F. had chosen Stockholm as the venue for its Congress. Not only was it a city with a handsome skyline and many beautiful sights but they had traffic problems such as were to be found probably in few other cities in the world. Stockholm was a conglomeration of densely populated islands intersected by the waters of Lake Mälaren and the Baltic Sea and connected by only a few bridges, some of which were crossed by as many as sixty thousand vehicles a day.

The city had just embarked upon the first stages of a revolutionary transformation of the lay-out with a view to improving traffic and transport conditions. The biggest project in process of being carried out, the underground railway, was not very evident to the eye of the visitor but it was a very strong influence on the finances of the city as the total cost of construction would be over 250,000,000 Swedish crowns. The difficulties of street traffic in Stockholm reached their peak in the afternoon but he hoped that this would not cause delegates too much trouble the following day at 4 p.m. when the City of Stockholm hoped to see many of them as its guests at the City Hall where the President of the City Council would welcome them.

THE PRESIDENT expressed his thanks to Messrs. Helgesson, Lingman and Radhe for their words of welcome; to the City Council for its kind invitation to the reception at the City Hall the following day; to Mr. E. Eckert-Lundin and his orchestra for what it had done to make the morning's proceedings pleasant; and to those responsible for the organizational arrangements for all they had done to ensure that the opening ceremony and the Congress generally should run smoothly. He reminded delegates that subsequent sessions of the Congress would be held in the Lower Chamber of Parliament House.

The session then ended.

Wednesday, 16th July 1952

AFTERNOON SESSION

When the Congress resumed its sessions on Wednesday afternoon, 16 July, at the Parliament House, the Chairman announced that before they proceeded to business Brother Charles Lindley, former President of the I.T.F., and Mr. S. Thorsson, representing the International Labour Office, would address the gathering.

FRATERNAL ADDRESSES (continued)

CHARLES LINDLEY said that it was a great pleasure to him to welcome the Congress once more in the Parliament House. He hoped that delegates would enjoy their stay in Stockholm and that the Congress would be a successful one. He was sorry that they were not in a position to wind up the Congress as they did in 1928, with a trip to the Land of the Midnight Sun, but this time the number of delegates was so much larger. It was hoped, nevertheless, to make their stay as agreeable as possible. He apologized for the fact that delegates were not allowed to smoke in the House but as he himself had had to put up with this for something like thirty-four years he hoped they would be willing to do so for a week. Smoking was allowed in all the corridors and adjoining rooms.

He recalled that since our 1928 Congress they had had a second world war and had lost many good comrades who were still with us then—Edo Fimmen, Charlie Cramp, Ben Tillet, Forslund, Mahlman, to mention only a few. He felt sure that the decisions of this Congress, would be good ones and would take the I.T.F. a further step forward.

S. THORSSON (International Labour Office) said that it was a great pleasure and honour for him to bring into the Congress the good wishes of the Director of the International Labour Office, Mr. David Morse, who had asked him to thank the Congress for the invitation and to wish it success. Mr. Morse very much regretted his inability to come to the Congress in person like one of his predecessors as Director of the I.L.O., Mr. Harold Butler, who had attended the last Congress of the I.T.F. before the war and who had been honoured with the I.T.F.'s highest distinction, the Golden Badge.

He believed that they all knew the I.L.O. and that it could be a great instrument in the hands of organized labour in its efforts to improve working conditions and promote social progress and social justice, the only solid basis for a lasting peace. Close relations had always existed between the I.L.O. and the I.T.F., a powerful, active, and realistic International—perhaps the most international of all the Internationals—which had always been a great customer, or employer, of the I.L.O. He could understand that they had at times been a little impatient at the delays in I.L.O. procedure and he would be careful not to aggravate matters by taking up too much of the time of the Congress. He had no need to go into details of the bonds which existed between the I.T.F. and the I.L.O. Many of the aspects of these relations

were dealt with in the report submitted to the Congress by the Secretariat of the I.T.F. and in the Brief Survey of the History and Activities of the I.T.F., which Mr. Becu had just published. He wished, however, to refer them to the sixth report of the I.L.O. to the United Nations, in which they would find abundant information about the I.L.O.'s activities in the maritime field, including its collaboration with the World Health Organization on the Committee on the Hygiene of Seafarers, a question which was also dealt with in an article by an eminent Norwegian expert, Dr. Karl Evang, in a recent issue of the *International Labour Review*.

He wished also to say a few words about the recent 17th Session of the Joint Maritime Commission of the I.L.O., held in the previous May. At this session, the J.M.C. decided to recommend to the Governing Body of the I.L.O. that a regional Asian maritime conference of the I.L.O. be held early in 1953, either in February or May, to deal with (1) a report by the Director-General of the I.L.O.; (2) methods of recruitment and engagement of Asian seafarers, and (3) the welfare of Asian seafarers in Asian ports. The J.M.C. had recommended that France, the Netherlands, Norway, and the United Kingdom, as countries with maritime interests in Asia, should be invited to participate. Delegations would consist of government, employers' and workers' representatives.

The J.M.C. had also decided, by twelve votes to nil, the shipowners abstaining, that the Governing Body should set up a special Committee of Experts with a view to the early adoption by the International Labour Conference of international regulations governing employment conditions of fishermen. In this connection the I.L.O. had recently published the first report on conditions of work in the fishing industry. One of the main items on the agenda of the J.M.C. had been a proposal from the seafarers' members that a tripartite regional conference be called by the Governing Body to discuss hours of work and manning in the short sea trades of North West Europe or, alternatively, that a tripartite sub-committee be set up to consider the need for such a conference. The shipowners' group had opposed this proposal, the vote being twelve to twelve. The resolution would now be reported to the Governing Body.

The seafarers had also proposed that the I.L.O. Convention on Wages, Hours and Manning be submitted to the 1953 session of the International Labour Conference for revision, the idea being that in order to facilitate ratification the Convention should be divided into two parts, one on wages and the other on hours and manning, each of which would be ratified separately. Here again the shipowners had opposed the proposal and the matter would now be submitted to the Governing Body for consideration.

He agreed that the negative attitude of the shipowners' group in regard to proposals so vital to the seafarers must seem rather discouraging to them, and it was not surprising, therefore, that the question of a change in the structure of the J.M.C.—which unlike other industrial committees, and the I.L.O. itself, was not tripartite but bipartite in character—was again being raised. In spite of these and other difficulties, however, he felt convinced that the intimate and confident co-operation between the I.T.F. and the I.L.O. would not only continue

but grow stronger, in the interest of the great and important group of workers they represented. The I.L.O. was grateful for the outstanding and loyal support it had always had from the I.T.F., in good times and bad. It had always followed with keen interest the accomplishments of the I.T.F., and he felt happy to be with them again—he had been present at the 1921 Congress—to be able to listen to their deliberations and to report back to the I.L.O. He wished the Congress every success.

THE PRESIDENT thanked the two previous speakers for what they had said about the I.T.F. and announced that the Executive Committee, in its capacity as Standing Orders Committee, proposed that Item 11 of the agenda, the Revision of the Constitution, should be taken immediately after Item 3, the Election of the Credentials Committee and of a Resolutions Committee. This was recommended so that the provisions of the new Constitution could be applied in all voting that took place in the Congress.

ELECTION OF CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE

It was agreed that the Credentials Committee should consist of one representative each of the Benelux group, Germany, Scandinavia, Great Britain, and France, to be chosen by the groups themselves; and the following names were later handed in and approved:

Benelux group	.....	.....	R. Dekeyzer
Germany	.....	.....	L. Oetzman
Scandinavia	.....	.....	R. Helgesson
Great Britain	.....	.....	D. Tennant
France	.....	.....	J. Philipps

ELECTION OF RESOLUTIONS COMMITTEE

A similar procedure was adopted in the choice of a Resolutions Committee, the following being appointed:

Scandinavia	.....	.....	J. K. F. Jensen
Austria	.....	.....	A. Thaler
France	.....	.....	F. Laurent
United States	.....	.....	C. E. Goodlin
Spain	.....	.....	A. Pérez
Greece	.....	.....	P. Kalapothakis
Great Britain	.....	.....	J. B. Thorneycroft
Germany	.....	.....	H. Hildebrand
Italy	.....	.....	A. Maffei
Benelux	.....	.....	H. J. Kanne
Japan	.....	.....	T. Nishimaki
Switzerland	.....	.....	E. Haudenschild

The Congress then proceeded to deal with the proposed

REVISION OF THE CONSTITUTION

THE PRESIDENT called on Brother Arthur Deakin to report on behalf of the Executive Committee.

ARTHUR DEAKIN (British Transport & General Workers' Union): I have to submit for your consideration the draft of the revised Constitution that has been in your hands for some considerable time and with which you are no doubt more or less familiar.

The Rules Committee that was appointed following the Stuttgart Congress in 1950 has met on three occasions. It has tried to bring the Constitution up to present-day requirements and to eliminate some of the provisions which were completely out of touch with the conditions confronting us today. The Executive Committee considers it desirable that the matter should be brought forward at this early stage in the proceedings so that the new Constitution can be applied at this Congress both for the voting on the matters that will be put before you and in the elections which will take place towards the end of the Congress.

The terms of reference to the Rules Committee involved a complete revision of the Constitution with the specific provision that representation and voting at the Congress should be related in some way to the contribution made to the funds of the I.T.F. I feel perfectly sure that all delegates assembled at this Congress will accept the view that it is desirable, that it is in fact the very essence of democracy, that representation and voting should be on the basis of *effective* affiliation to this International Federation.

Another suggestion was that a more expeditious procedure should be devised for sympathetic action in the case of emergency.

I think you will agree with me that the old Constitution was so out of touch with the changed conditions under which we are operating today as to be completely unenforceable. If you are to carry out efficiently the duties and responsibilities associated with an organization of this character, it can only be done effectively on the basis of a written Constitution. It is obvious that over a period of years you may have to proceed on the basis of trial and error, but there does come a time when practical experience leads you to the conclusion that there are certain principles involved in a free and democratic organization of the character of the I.T.F. which must be clearly and unmistakably written into the Constitution. Your Committee has tried to do this.

Now you have before you a document which sets out the proposals for the revision of the Constitution. It deals first with the antecedents and it further sets out in precise detail and by example what the effect of the changes proposed will be. The new Rules and the present ones are set out in parallel columns so that no one can be in any doubt at all as to exactly what the change proposed is.

I do not want to go over the document in detail since you can readily understand it if you read it for yourselves, but I do want to draw your attention more particularly to Rule 8, because since this document was circulated the Executive Committee has taken another look at subsection 3 of this Rule, which says that "the elected members of the E.C. shall number one-fourth of the elected members of the General Council . . .". They suggest inserting the two words "at least" after the word "number"; and, further, to add at the end of the subsection, after the word "Congress", two new sentences: "In the election of members of the Executive Committee Congress shall endeavour to secure the best possible representation of the several sections of the transport industry. In no case shall more than one-half of the members of the Committee belong to one section of the industry." I am perfectly sure that Congress will appreciate the reasons for that suggestion. As

at present constituted, the Executive Committee has five representatives of the Railwaymen's Section and only three of all the other sections, so that there is a lack of balance. I hardly think that anyone is likely to challenge the proposal. There is some merit in the fact that the railwaymen affiliated to the I.T.F. considerably outnumber the membership of the other sections, but in an organization of the character of ours it is desirable that as many sections as possible should be represented on the Executive Committee, so that their views can be made known.

Your President and the General Secretary went into this matter and at the meeting of the Executive Committee held here in Stockholm on the first two days of this week they made the recommendation which I have just mentioned to you, that there shall be an alteration and an addition to Rule 8, subsection 3 that will make it possible to secure a balance without reducing the representation that the railwaymen are entitled to.

If you accept this proposal you will get a further recommendation at a later stage during the Congress, that the Executive Committee shall in the future consist of ten representatives, not more than five of whom shall represent any one section. I suggest to you that this is a very necessary adjustment at a time when we are talking about the need to maintain the principle and practice of democracy.

Now, Mr. Chairman and Friends, this document makes very plain the proposals which your Committee, after a very careful and prolonged consideration of what is required for the good conduct of affairs and for the proper administration of the I.T.F., has deemed it desirable to lay before you. In addition to these proposals you have in your possession a supplement containing a number of amendments proposed by the French Railwaymen's Federation. The first of these suggests that Congress should be held not two-yearly, as at present, but three-yearly. That, however, has been withdrawn and consequently is not before the Congress.

Then you have a series of suggestions as to the organization of section conferences, with particular reference to the set-up and functions of the section committees. They would make the appointment of a section committee obligatory instead of optional as at present; they would fix the number of their members unchangeably at seven; they would oblige them to meet at least twice a year; and they would require the travelling and hotel expenses of members of these committees to be borne by the Federation.

On behalf of the Executive Committee I am asking you to reject these proposals. The Rules Committee has gone carefully into the matter and they consider that we have been doing very well with sectional conferences during the last few years. The Executive strongly hold the view that no useful purpose or greater efficiency would result from amendments of the character proposed. As regards the proposal that the I.T.F. should pay the expenses of members of sectional committees, your Executive has during the past two or three years experienced some considerable difficulty in balancing the budget. Any additional cost of this character would unbalance the ship to the extent that it would not be possible to pay our way on the affiliation fees you

pay at present. So altogether we ask Congress to turn down all these amendments and I hope that after the explanations that have been given the representatives of the French organization responsible for them will withdraw them. If they are not prepared to do so, then I ask the Congress to reject them as being completely unworkable and wasteful in so far as the expense involved is concerned at the present time.

In view of all these considerations, I commend this report and revision of the Constitution to Congress for adoption. I suggest to you very respectfully that in a Congress of this character it would be unprofitable to waste any considerable amount of time in going into the proposals in detail. We have gone through the Constitution with a fine-tooth comb, seeking to make those changes which were necessary and no more, and to make the Constitution clear and understandable, so that it may act as a sure guide both in our deliberations at Congress and in the administration of the affairs of the I.T.F.

With that I move the report on the Revision of the Constitution and ask Congress to approve it.

R. FREUND (Austrian Railwaymen's Union) said that while explanations had been given in the document for a considerable number of the changes proposed in the Constitution, there was one in which this was not the case. It was proposed that the Assistant General Secretary should no longer be elected by Congress but should be appointed by the General Council. Brother Deakin had not said a single word to explain this proposal, and the Austrian Railwaymen's delegation would very much appreciate it if, in replying to the debate, he would make some reference to the matter. For many decades it had been the custom to elect both secretaries at the Congress and they thought that this should continue to be the case.

H. BLOMGREN (Swedish Railwaymen's Union) recalled that at the Stuttgart Congress in 1950 a Rules Committee had been appointed to deal with certain proposals for a revision of the rules which were before that Congress. It duly accomplished its task but came to the conclusion that the rules needed further revision, and consequently the Executive Committee and Management Committee of the I.T.F. were instructed to undertake a general revision of the present rules. It was decided that their proposals should be submitted to the Rules Committee which dealt with the proposals before the Stuttgart Congress. He understood, however, that of that Committee only the Chairman had intervened in preparing the new proposals.

Some of the proposals that were now being brought forward were of doubtful value. It was being proposed, for instance, in Rule XI (3) that the salary of all secretaries should be fixed by the Executive Committee instead of the General Council, as hitherto, the reason given being that the Executive Committee met more frequently than the General Council. The General Council met every year and he did not think that salaries were so unstable that a more frequent revision should be necessary.

Then it was proposed, in Rule VII (2) that the Assistant General Secretary should no longer be a member of the General Council. In putting forward such a proposal it would have been desirable that the Executive Committee should give a reason, and he asked Brother Deakin to give one when replying to the discussion.

It was difficult to avoid a feeling that the general tendency of some of the proposals was to transfer power from the Congress to the General Council, from the General Council to the Executive Committee, and from the latter to the General Secretary, and he had some doubts as to whether this would be a good thing for the I.T.F.

He regretted that the French Railwaymen had withdrawn their proposal that the Congress should meet every three years instead of every two, as he would have been glad to support it. He appealed to the Congress to give serious consideration to the question whether the work of the I.T.F. would not be more effective if a three-yearly period gave the Secretariat more time to make its preparations.

Finally he asked that all the proposals for amendment of the Constitution should be referred to the Committee appointed at the Stuttgart Congress in 1950, so that delegates might have time, during the ensuing days, to reflect on the amendments now proposed and suggest any changes that they might think necessary.

H. JAHN (German Railwaymen's Union) said that the responsibilities of the Secretariat of the I.T.F. were very great and were constantly increasing and, with a view to lightening the burden which lay on the shoulders of the General Secretary, he considered that part of that burden should be transferred to other shoulders, as was the custom in national organizations in his own and other countries. The Assistant General Secretary should, therefore, take over part of this burden. It necessarily happened that occasionally one or other of the Secretaries was absent from the office, and when the General Secretary was away it was undesirable that there should not be some other fully responsible person in charge, since this would tend to cripple the organization. He urged therefore that the Assistant General Secretary should attend meetings of the General Council in a responsible capacity, and that to give him greater standing he should continue to be elected by the Congress.

ARTHUR DEAKIN (British Transport and General Workers' Union) said that he was very much surprised at the statement made by his friend Jahn, who had been present at all the discussions of the Executive Committee on the proposals for the revision of the Constitution and had never at any time made the proposals that he now put forward.

That in putting forward the proposals he [Mr. Deakin] had made no specific mention of the proposal to change the method of electing the Assistant General Secretary was due to the fact that he did not think that any doubt was likely to arise about it at all. Since he was asked, however, the simple reason was that it was necessary to make the organization work. There had been some considerable unpleasantness over a long period of time. The General Secretary of the I.T.F. was its principal officer, and as such he was entitled to the fullest measure of support and confidence. He was entitled, as Brother Jahn said, to feel confident

that while he was out of the country the affairs of the organization would be properly carried on during his absence. During periods of absence of the General Secretary, however, they had had the greatest difficulty in securing that harmony within the office that would enable the organization to function effectively. That had happened during Oldenbroek's period of office and it had happened during Becu's. For the purpose of removing that difficulty it was considered that the General Secretary should be declared beyond question to be the one officer answerable to, and therefore elected by, Congress, so that he might have the authority placing him in a position to direct the administration of the I.T.F.

It was nothing unusual to ask that the General Secretary of an organization, its principal officer, should have the authority to supervise and direct the work of other people within the organization. When the Assistant General Secretary was in a position to say "I am not responsible to you, I am only responsible, like you, to Congress", there was a position that made for such division of opinion and conflict within the organization as to make it impossible for the General Secretary to do his job properly. In making its proposals, the Executive Committee had done so because of the internal discord that arose in the organization because the General Secretary had not the necessary authority under the old Constitution. Not only had there been differences between the General Secretary and the Assistant General Secretary but there had been in the office supporters of one side or the other. It was impossible to run an organization properly where there was divided allegiance, and if they wanted the I.T.F. to be an efficient organization they would be well-advised to accept the recommendation of their Committee.

Brother Blomgren had suggested that the proposals should be again reviewed. The Executive Committee had reviewed them repeatedly and if they were to have another look at it during their stay in Stockholm he did not think they could make a single suggestion for improving them.

Brother Blomgren had suggested that the General Council should fix the salaries both of the General Secretary and the Assistant General Secretary. It would be just as sensible to suggest that the General Council should fix the salaries of every person employed by the organization. He suggested that the Executive Committee had that intimate and particular knowledge that they needed to have in deciding questions of salary. There was nothing sinister at all in the proposal. He wished to avoid a possibility of canvassing taking place among members of the General Council should the responsibility for fixing salaries be placed upon them.

The I.T.F. was paying the best salaries that it could in relation to the amount of money it had at its disposal, and their officers were not badly treated. As trade unionists they wished to pay the best salaries they could but they had to have regard to the capacity and financial resources of the unions that contribute to the funds of the I.T.F. by paying affiliation fees. They should never forget that they were dealing with the money of people who contributed it in small weekly contributions. In the circumstances, he thought that the fixing of salaries was

a function which could only be properly and effectively handled by a small committee having full knowledge of all the facts and circumstances.

He therefore asked Congress to reject any counter-suggestion and to accept the Executive Committee's proposals. Much time and care had been spent on them and he regarded them as the only workable plan and the only possible interpretation of the instructions of the Stuttgart Congress.

THE PRESIDENT said that Brother Blomgren had proposed as a point of order that the revision of the rules should be referred to the Rules Committee appointed at the Stuttgart Congress. He asked whether anybody wished to speak to the point of order.

G. DEVAUX (Belgian Railwaymen's Union) supported Brother Blomgren's suggestion. It had not been his intention to speak on the revision of the rules, but he felt that there was more behind the whole matter than met the eye. Brother Deakin had denied this but this had not satisfied him. It was only out of deference to the Executive that his delegation had accepted the proposal to change the order in which the different items of the agenda were to be dealt with, though the procedure seemed to them to be abnormal. To smooth matters over, he suggested that it would be better to deal with the revision of the rules at the end of the Congress instead of the beginning. It might be that conversations in the interval might dissipate some of their differences, and that would be all to the good of the I.T.F.

THE PRESIDENT pointed out that the Rules Committee appointed at the Stuttgart Congress ceased to exist after that Congress, and it was therefore not possible to lay the proposals for revision of the rules before it. If they went into Brother Blomgren's proposal there would therefore be no other alternative but to appoint a new committee. Brother de Vries, the Chairman of the former Committee, was present. In the meantime, the Executive Committee had appointed a Rules Committee to prepare proposals to be laid before Congress. As the members of the Stuttgart Committee were not all present it would not be possible to lay these proposals before it and if they wished them to be considered by another committee they would have to choose a new one.

H. BLOMGREN (Swedish Railwaymen's Union) repeated that if the Swedish text of the proceedings of the Stuttgart Congress were correct, the decision of the Stuttgart Congress had been to keep its Rules Committee in existence. That decision called upon the Executive Committee, after revising the rules, to submit its proposals to this Rules Committee, so that jointly with the Executive Committee it could submit them to the Stockholm Congress. If this had been done he thought that the proposals would not have been the same as those presented by Brother Deakin, though obviously everybody regretted that the situation in the Secretariat should be such as described by Brother Deakin. He wished to point out, however, that the existing rules already laid down quite clearly that the Assistant General Secretary should act under the orders of the Executive Committee and the General Secretary. He pointed out that there were about three million railwaymen affiliated

with the I.T.F., and they had a majority on the Executive Committee. Throughout the whole period he had been with the I.T.F. the man directly in charge of the Railwaymen's Section had had a seat and a vote on the General Council, and they were rather shocked to find that it was now proposed that he should be deprived of the possibility of exercising his influence on matters discussed by the General Council.

He asked Congress to agree to his proposal and also to decide that Congresses should meet only every three years.

THE PRESIDENT pointed out that since only four of the members of the Stuttgart Rules Committee were present at the Congress it would not be possible to lay the new proposals before them. If they were to adopt Brother Blomgren's proposal it would therefore be necessary either to appoint a new Committee or to defer further consideration of the proposals.

Hj. SVENSSON (Swedish Transport Workers' Union) said that of late years the activities of the I.T.F. had largely consisted of sectional work, part of which was prepared and performed by the sectional committees, chosen by the unions belonging to the respective sections. He asked whether the time had not arrived to give these committees executive powers, and to call them sectional executives.

He could not quite understand the proposal that sectional conferences should in future be convened by the General Secretary in consultation with the President of the I.T.F. and the Management Committee instead of, as hitherto, by the Executive Committee. This seemed to him an unnecessary concentration of powers in the General Secretary, who already had a great deal to do. He would have liked at least to hear what Brother Deakin had to say in favour of this setting aside of the Executive.

He backed Brother Blomgren's proposal and, in addition, moved that in Rule XV (3) provision should be made for the appointment of sectional executives, and further that sectional conferences should continue to be convened by the Executive and their agenda fixed by that body at the proposal of, and in consultation with, the sectional executive.

THE PRESIDENT pointed out that Brother Svensson had not spoken to the point of order that was before the Congress but had raised other matters and he asked that delegates should in future confine themselves to the matters before the Congress.

R. HELGESSON (Swedish Transport Workers' Union) confirmed the accuracy of Blomgren's account of what had occurred at Stuttgart and said that after the Congress the General Secretary had actually asked him to be ready to come to London for a meeting of the Rules Committee, which never took place.

J. K. F. JENSEN (Danish Railwaymen's Union) suggested that, though not all the Rules Committee members chosen at Stuttgart were present at the Congress, it would be an easy matter to appoint new members and ask it to undertake a speedy examination of the draft rules.

THE PRESIDENT then called upon Arthur Deakin, as rapporteur, to reply to the discussion.

ARTHUR DEAKIN (British Transport and General Workers' Union) said he felt that the discussion that had taken place was a challenge to the document and suggestions contained in it, and not a procedural point at all. If Helgesson had been told at Stuttgart that he would be called to London he should have put in a complaint if this did not occur. He had not done so, and the point had, after the lapse of two years, little or no merit.

The only contrary views that had been expressed were based on a complete misapprehension. It was said that the Assistant General Secretary would not be a member of the General Council. True, he would not, but he ought not to be, as there was no justification for it. But he would be in attendance at meetings of the General Council, continuing to render the sort of service that had always been given by the Assistant General Secretary. The further point that this would mean the end of his activities with the Railwaymen's Section also did not make sense. Blomgren had suggested that what was proposed would meet with the disapproval of the three million railwaymen associated with the I.T.F., but he [Mr. Deakin] had been asked by Brother Lyon, of the R.L.E.A. (the American Railwaymen's organization), to say that this would certainly not be the case with the million he represented.

The procedure followed had not been merely an *ex parte* examination by the Executive Committee. Brother de Vries, who had been Chairman of the Rules Committee at Stuttgart, had been in the discussions about the new rules right from the beginning, and he was a man who had rather expert knowledge.

He asked the Congress not to be misled—every consideration had been given to the matter and they were not proposing anything that would be a disservice to the railwaymen. Rather they were strengthening that position by tightening up and perfecting the organization so that it could do a more useful job of work. He was not questioning the right of Congress to take any action it wished, but he felt sure that in the short space of time available it would not be possible to produce any new report, document, or conclusion that could easily be adopted by the Congress. They had spent very many hours trying to find the right reply to the problem which had been set them and he asked Congress to accept the proposals contained in the document and to reject the reference back.

THE PRESIDENT said that the matter would be put to the vote and asked for the appointment of four tellers.

Messrs. T. Yates (British National Union of Seamen), R. Degris (French Railwaymen's Union), L. Brosch (Austrian Transport Workers' Union), and E. G. Petersen (Danish Railwaymen's Union) were chosen for this purpose.

A. G. F. SÖRE (Swedish Ships' Engineers' Union) asked that the vote should be postponed until the following morning, as the Scandinavian delegates wished to have an opportunity of discussing the matter among themselves.

THE PRESIDENT refused to accept the suggestion as the whole matter had been raised on a point of order.

The matter was then put to the vote and Blomgren's proposal was rejected by 93 votes to 61.

THE PRESIDENT said that since it was obvious that several members wished to propose amendments to the rules, further discussion of them should be postponed to a later date. He asked those who wished to propose amendments to the rules to do so not later than the following morning, since it would be necessary to have them translated for distribution before any further discussion took place.

In the meantime the Congress would begin the following morning with a discussion on the Standing Orders and the Report on Activities.

He further said that two comrades, Tofahrn and Jahn, had asked to be allowed to make personal statements. He suggested that it would be desirable that these should be taken during the discussion on the revision of the rules.

This was agreed to, and the Congress adjourned until the following day, it being 6.37 p.m.

Thursday, 17th July 1952

MORNING SESSION

THE PRESIDENT opened the session at 9.20 a.m. and reported that Brother Kummernuss, of the German Transport and Public Services Union, and the delegation from Israel, would not be arriving until Friday, 18 July.

He also announced the arrival of Brother A. Novák, former President of the Czech Locomotivemen's Union, who was present as a guest, and bade him a hearty welcome.

He then submitted to Congress the

STANDING ORDERS

reserving the right to change the order of business should the development of the discussion render this necessary.

The Standing Orders were adopted without discussion.

REPORT ON ACTIVITIES

The President then took the Report on Activities paragraph by paragraph.

Argentine Seamen's Strike (*Report on Activities, page 47*)

J. C. MASON (Argentine General Confederation of Maritime and Allied Trades) expressed his thanks to the I.T.F., both personally and on behalf of his organization, for having made him a member of the Joint Maritime Commission and for having made it possible for him to come to Europe to attend the Congress. He congratulated the General Secretary on the very clear and detailed report submitted to the Congress, which showed the enormous amount of useful work that was being done by the I.T.F. in many fields of activity.

Referring to the account, given in the report, of the strike declared by his organization, which had lasted from May to August 1950, he said that they had long realized that the fight was inevitable though they had done everything possible to avoid it. Even after they had started, when they were summoned to meet a high official of the Ministry of Labour on 3 May 1950, they had agreed on the terms of a solution, subject to ratification by their Executive Committee. It had been agreed that they should meet the same official at 6 p.m. the same day, but when the General Secretary of the General Confederation of Labour heard of the negotiations that were going on he had taken steps to have the strike declared illegal, thus stabbing the organization in the back.

It was only then that they had asked for the support of the I.T.F., and they were very grateful for what the I.T.F. and its affiliated organizations had done in boycotting Argentine ships.

He thought they had done their duty. They had had to choose between fighting or surrendering the unions affiliated to their Confederation. They could not do the latter as a principle was at stake. Freedom could not be bartered, it must be won and defended. They had been

defeated but not destroyed. The Seamen's Confederation still lived in the hearts of the Argentine seamen precisely because of the course they had followed. Even without international assistance they might have won if the spirit of some of their people had not been broken by the cases of treason and bribery which had taken place. The great mass of their members had fought to the last, even when their financial position was desperate. No other organization had lasted out so long against the enormous power of Perón's "justicialism".

He agreed with the Report that the result might have been different if the boycott could also have been applied in Great Britain and the United States. On two occasions they had been on the point of reaching an acceptable solution but eventually collapsed when it was learned that Argentine ships were entering and leaving British and North American ports. He appreciated, however, the difficult circumstances which made it impossible for the British and American unions to back them up and he did not wish anybody to feel that what he had said constituted a reproach. If they had won, however, Perón's power would have been undermined, with consequences of the highest importance. Their faith in the I.T.F. had not suffered, and when the Argentine Maritime Confederation was again able to guide the destinies of the Argentine seamen they would once more be with it to make a contribution to its work.

In the Argentine Republic all vestiges of democracy had been destroyed. Since 28 September 1951 the country had been living under the threat of the Internal War Act, which had done away with such personal guarantees as still existed at the time, though individual and collective rights had long been adapted to the Government's convenience. Press and wireless were under strict Government control and they had had to resort to clandestine leaflets to let the public know a little of the truth. Justice, so-called, had been turned into an instrument for repressing and exploiting the people; education had been transformed into a means of propaganda, aimed at turning young people into Perónists. The police harrassed and maltreated all opponents of the régime, using torture and murder as their instruments, even when women were concerned. In this ignoble task they were backed up by the Argentine General Confederation of Labour, which had recruited for the purpose gangs of ruffians, who received arms from the Government and from the Eva Perón Social Foundation. To sum up, everything that had come into contact with "justicialism" had been corrupted or destroyed.

Economically the country was rapidly becoming bankrupt. Agricultural production, its mainstay, which provided it with the foreign currency it needed, had seriously declined; the large reserves accumulated during the war had disappeared; and the country had now to face the most serious inflation in its history. Wage increases which the Government had been forced to grant had not kept pace with prices. Everything had got out of control and individual and collective welfare was doomed to shipwreck.

A few figures would suffice to disprove Perón's declaration that Argentina was the world's paradise. When he became President on 30 June 1946, the country had 5,877 million Argentine dollars in gold

and foreign currency; by 15 February 1952 this had shrunk to 1,673 million, or by 71½ per cent. The national debt, which in 1946 had been 10,830 million dollars, had risen to 18,096 million by 1950. Later figures were not available but presumably they were much higher. Government expenditure between 1944 and 1950, without counting expenditure of decentralized and autonomous bodies, had been 36,090 million dollars—more than had been spent by all previous Governments over a period of forty years. Currency in circulation on 31 December 1942 had been only 1,850 million dollars: by 1946 it had risen to 3,331 million, but since Perón had been in power the figure had risen to 17,210 million. The value of the Argentine dollar, reckoned in gold cents, had been 12·64 cents in 1946: by 1951 it had fallen to 1·58 cents.

From the social point of view, while he had no wish to deny the importance of the social reforms and public works carried out by Perón—which, freed from their political purposes might have been of real advantage to the country—they had been brought to nought as a consequence of inflation and the rise in prices. But no benefit or advantage could be sufficient compensation for the total loss of the essential rights of the trade unions and their transformation into cog-wheels of the political machinery by which the country was governed.

But not all had been lost. The desire for freedom and the spirit of rebellion were still alive. The day of liberation would come, putting an end to an opprobrious régime which, to their shame they had to confess, they had themselves put into power.

The resistance movement in Argentina needed toning up, and this was a task in which the international free trade union movement could help. To compromise with the totalitarian régimes and to negotiate with the sham labour leaders would introduce a new factor of confusion and disappointment among the Argentine workers.

The electoral success which Perón had had in 1946 should not be underestimated in appreciating the tasks which free trade unionism had before it. What had happened in Argentina had happened, and still could happen, in other countries. That was the tremendous lesson taught by peoples who had lost their faith, destroyed by broken promises and unaccomplished programmes, by departures from democracy, and by the failure of theories which proved in practice unable to solve fundamental problems. The most dangerous moments for peoples came when they lost their confidence in ideals and leaders, and their consequent decline in morale made them easy prey to regressive and obscurantist theories.

There were many important educational and social problems still remaining to be solved in Argentina and such matters were invariably bound up with the economic situation of the country. The same occurred in other Latin American countries and no doubt also in other parts of the world. It could not even be asserted that under the really democratic régimes individual and collective welfare had been effectively guaranteed. There were still constant attacks on the freedom of the trade unions and plotting by the governments and capitalists to hold back the social progress of the workers. Democracy would only be able finally to end the danger arising from totalitarian theories when it had won the welfare of all peoples. The world, suffering from the conse-

quences of two tremendous wars, was eagerly seeking the way that would lead it to such welfare, and it must not be disappointed in its hopes. The destiny of nations and the future of humanity was at stake.

He was firmly convinced that free trade-unionism was the only power capable of bringing about the conditions necessary for a life worth living, but before it could do this it would have to inspire the workers with absolute confidence in trade union action. The I.T.F. embodied the tremendous force of labour solidarity, and was following an exemplary course, and he therefore had great faith in its future. But solidarity must be absolute and without exception if it was to perform its task. At the recent meeting of the General Council of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions in Berlin a delegate of the American C.I.O. had declared that the workers were expecting deeds and not words. That was a lot of truth in a few words and he hoped that deeds would speak for the I.T.F., for he was convinced that if free trade-unionism lost the way and failed in the task it had set itself, freedom and social justice would be swept from the world.

THE PRESIDENT thanked Brother Mason for what he had done during the struggle of the Argentine unions against the Perón régime, and expressed the hope that they would soon once more enjoy their freedom.

Organization of European Transport (*Report on Activities, page 75*)

H. J. KANNE (Dutch Railwaymen's Union) said that he was proud of the fact that the I.T.F. had already recognized during the war the need to integrate European transport and had pioneered the idea of a super-national authority for transport in Western Europe. Conviction of the need for such measures was growing everywhere, and it was realized that this involved some sacrifice of national sovereignty, though difficulties arose as soon as an attempt was made to put the matter on a concrete basis, in spite of the fact that there were already in existence a number of international institutions, both on the governmental and employer level, endeavouring to solve problems affecting coordination and integration. Examples were the international organizations dealing with railways and road transport. The former had, in the past, achieved interesting results in connection with technical improvements, and the latter would probably be similarly successful.

There were also in existence some three or four international inland transport committees. That of the O.E.E.C. seemed to have little success in its attempts at economic integration, and that of the International Labour Office was restricted to social problems arising from coordination. The Inland Transport Committee of the Economic Commission for Europe had achieved some results in connection with technical and customs problems but when it came into touch with more fundamental problems of policy it lacked the necessary authority to perform more than an informatory function.

The European Council also had an Economic Advisory Committee, which had set up a sub-committee for inland transport. But while serving to focus attention on the complexity of the Western European transport problems, it had not yet achieved any decisive results. Indeed, a French proposal to set up a High Authority for transport had failed

to secure the necessary support, even when it was proposed that this should be done on a provisional basis only.

Too much time and energy was being wasted and the I.T.F. should consider whether it was not desirable to go beyond what had been claimed in the resolution adopted by the Railwaymen's Conference of August 1951, and ask that the I.T.F. should be represented on all international bodies concerned with transport. It should also consider whether it was not on the wrong track in dealing with questions of transport integration and coordination—a matter of common interest to all the sections of transport—in separate sectional conferences.

He considered that the I.T.F. should press for coordination of the activities of the transport committees to which he had already referred, which might be an initial step towards the establishment of a European Transport Authority. If these bodies could be brought together in one central institution it would be much easier for the I.T.F. to bring its influence to bear.

He further suggested that it might be useful to set up an I.T.F. regional body for Western Europe, to deal with such problems, and that if finance stood in the way affiliated organizations in Western Europe might be prepared to pay a special contribution.

The unions in Holland were of the opinion that the international integration and coordination of transport, and the setting up of a higher transport authority, could only be realized in practice by international political action, which would mean, in the case of Western Europe, through the Advisory Council of Strasbourg and the Council of Europe. The recent proposal of Mr. Anthony Eden, the British Foreign Secretary, to integrate the Schumann Plan in the Council of Europe was an indication of possibilities in this direction. He did not wish to belittle the work of the Inland Transport Committee of the Economic Commission for Europe, but since this organization was unable to come to concrete decisions, it could only achieve all it was capable of if incorporated in the Strasbourg Council.

In the meantime, the I.T.F. must be ready, when the time came, to make clear its views as to what should be done and how it wished the international integration of transport to be effected. The I.T.F. Railwaymen's Conference held at Utrecht in 1951 was well aware that no clear principles had yet been laid down, and it asked the Executive Committee of the I.T.F. to appoint a committee of experts to investigate the problem, with a view to a special conference of affiliated unions in Western European countries being held later to discuss the matter in detail. He regretted that no effect had yet been given to this decision.

He drew attention to the endeavours of the Chambers of Commerce—mentioned in page 77 of the I.T.F. Report on Activities—to establish close cooperation between North Sea and Channel ports. If these endeavours were successful, the results achieved might later on stand in the way of the coordination of transport in Western Europe as a whole.

He hoped that the Congress would approve the proposals of the Railwaymen's Section, with a view to the speedy formulation of I.T.F. claims in regard to transport policy in Western Europe, and also that it would back the idea of setting up an I.T.F. Western European

regional body, to which affiliated unions concerned would pay a special contribution if need be.

(For further discussion on this subject see page 259.)

Campaign against Communist disruption

(Report on Activities, page 66)

F. LAURENT (French Railwaymen's Federation) said that his delegation had been instructed to approve the Report but wished to ask for certain explanations and to define the position of its organization in view of the fact that reference was made to certain objections it had raised to the activities of the Mediterranean Vigilance Committee.

To remove any misunderstanding he wished to make it clear that the Railwaymen's Federation he represented was established in July 1947, six months before the foundation of the Force Ouvrière C.G.T. They had left the old C.G.T. at that time because they did not wish to be associated with the sham trade-unionists whose chief aim was to serve Moscow. At the I.T.F. Congress in Oslo, in 1948, they had voted for a break with the W.F.T.U. They had acted thus in defence of free trade-unionism, and to prevent France becoming a Western Poland.

That they had not voted for the Stuttgart resolution on the transport of arms was due to psychological considerations which it would take too much time to enter into, but in case others should think that this was a fault on their part, he wished to point out that, as disciplined democrats, they had done everything possible to carry out the provisions of that resolution. They were, and always had been, resolutely opposed to the manoeuvres of the Communists.

Why, then, did they protest against the activities of the Mediterranean Vigilance Committee? In the first place, they were surprised not to have been invited to take part in the activities of this Committee, because the Stuttgart resolution had made it a duty of all members of the I.T.F. to maintain the transport of arms intended to repel attacks against the free peoples, and they had wanted to take part in the activities the Vigilance Committees proposed to carry on.

But after the first meeting of the Mediterranean Committee, held in Marseilles in January 1951, and largely reported in the Press, it had been clear to them that that Committee was more of a political committee than a committee of action. The resolutions adopted by the two meetings of this Vigilance Committee, held at Marseilles and Salonika, had damped their interest in joining forces with it. One resolution dealt with the problems of the Far East, and supported Chiang-Kai-Shek, the man chiefly responsible for the development of Communism in China and the rise of Mao-Tse-Tung. Another read like an invitation to bring Franco into the western defence system, a line which they could not follow out of respect for their Spanish comrades, with whose struggle and martyrdom they were well acquainted. It was to be regretted that in opposing these resolutions they had given the appearance of being on the Communist side and opposed to the I.T.F., though in fact they were only backing up the Executive Committee of the I.T.F., which had, on two occasions, asked the Mediterranean Committee to keep to its rôle as a committee of action

and to leave political questions to the official governing bodies of the I.T.F. He asked the Congress to consider seriously whether the Vigilance Committees were justifying their existence.

Following the meeting of the Vigilance Committee in Marseilles, the Executive Committee of the I.T.F. asked it to avoid issuing political instructions, but only a few months later, at Salonika, the same thing happened again. Could they consider themselves safe from further violation of the decisions and recommendations of the Executive Committee of the I.T.F.?

The report mentioned that the activities of the Vigilance Committee were confidential, but if its activities were to be confidential, its meetings should be equally so, and the publicity given to those at Marseilles and Salonika involved serious risks which might endanger the aims pursued.

He would have liked to have heard something of the results of these activities. It was true that the report spoke in general terms of the disillusion among the workers who had hitherto followed the Communists, especially in France, but no details were given of positive results obtained.

The Financial Report gave no indication that the I.T.F. was financing the Mediterranean Committee, and it would appear that they had resources not subject to the control of the I.T.F., although it was clear from the Report that the number of organizations behind the Mediterranean Committee was comparatively small. In spite of this it was able to maintain two offices, one in Paris and the other in Rome, and to publish, in three languages, a paper considerably larger than the I.T.F. Journal. It would appear, therefore, that far from operating under the auspices of the I.T.F. it was really an autonomous body.

He complained also of interference by the Mediterranean Committee in the life of other French organizations affiliated with the Force Ouvrière C.G.T., which tended to destroy the unity of organizations established to bar the way both to the Communists and the employers. Particularly he was worried at the conflict started within the Force Ouvrière Dockers Federation, between partisans of the Mediterranean Committee and members who objected to the interference of outsiders with the affairs of the union.

They were also strongly opposed to an organization avowedly operating under the auspices of the I.T.F. having in its employment a man who, during the Nazi occupation, supported the Vichy régime and preached the advantages of compulsory work in Germany.

In view of all these circumstances he considered it would be better to leave the responsibility for all I.T.F. activities to its official governing bodies. If special measures against the Communists were required the Executive Committee could have the assistance of *ad hoc* committees on a regional basis, meeting in the same manner as the section committees. This would avoid placing affiliated organizations face to face with decisions whose authority was in doubt.

(The discussion on the Report continues on page 205 and that on the campaign against Communist disruption on page 207.)

FRATERNAL ADDRESSES (continued)

A. DEAKIN (International Confederation of Free Trade Unions) said that he was glad to have an opportunity of speaking on behalf of the I.C.F.T.U., particularly as the I.T.F. was one of the first organizations to seek the establishment of a free and independent trade union International. The previous speaker had referred to his refusal, at the I.T.F. Congress in Oslo in 1948 to take those steps which would result in the withdrawal of the free trade unions from the W.F.T.U. He suggested that in fact the timing of the withdrawal had been most effective.

Their meeting in Stockholm, in Sweden, gave them an opportunity of seeing social democracy at work and realizing how much more effective it was in practice than the Communist ideology. Any unbiased observer would have no hesitation in reaching the conclusion that the example of Sweden and the other democracies in the Western Hemisphere gave the lie to the suggestion that Communism provided the best answer to the social and human problems with which the world was confronted. He was proud to be one of the founder-members of the I.C.F.T.U. Indeed, he felt he could say with all due modesty that he was the midwife that brought it into existence, and he felt a great deal of satisfaction at the vigorous growth the organization had undergone since its birth a little more than three years before.

After severing their connection with the Communist International, they had had a fairly considerable task confronting them, but they had succeeded beyond their most optimistic expectations. The free trade union International represented fifty million people who were not in the organization by reason of being part of the mechanism of government in their respective countries, but because they were convinced that the I.C.F.T.U. was an instrument in their own hands which could make a solid and substantial contribution to the sum total of human progress. That was something to be proud of, that they represented all the free peoples who were struggling for the survival of human dignity and decency in the relationships between the peoples of the world, regardless of their outlook, creed, colour or race. They stood for freedom.

In the so-called People's Democracy they also spoke of freedom, but it was a conception of a freedom which was not that which inspired the peoples in the free democracies throughout the world. It was licence to do those things which interfere with the spiritual and moral concepts of ordinary folk—with the liberty that enabled them to accept a full measure of responsibility to do things which would add to the stature of the human race and improve conditions for the great mass of people everywhere, which was the basis of the outlook and ideology of the I.C.F.T.U.

The I.C.F.T.U. stood second to none in striving to secure relationships throughout the world which would make for peace, regardless of any political considerations. The western world was anxious to do these things regardless of the cleavage in political ideology, and to make possible the cooperation expressed through the United Nations Organization. They did not want spurious conferences like the so-called Stockholm Peace Conference of the previous year. They believed in working through the International agencies they had at their disposal.

For the moment their prime task was to secure peace, but having done that they sought to abolish poverty wherever it might be found. The days when nations could expand their economy by exploiting the peoples of the backward areas of the world, in colonial territories, by the pursuit of imperialistic policies, were long past. If civilization was to achieve its full purpose, it could only do so by creating conditions throughout the world that would enable the peoples everywhere to enjoy the advantages that flowed from the march of civilization, from research and technological development and from the ability of mankind, using what science had placed in its hands, to give those peoples the things that would make life worth living. By using the industrial resources of the world, and providing full employment everywhere, they could make available to people the advantages which flowed from their capacity to produce in unlimited quantity.

He paid a tribute to the former Secretary of the I.T.F. and present Secretary of the I.C.F.T.U., their good friend Oldenbroek. When he succeeded to the secretaryship of the I.T.F., with the passing of Edo Fimmen, he had done a fine job of work and they had naturally regretted the development of events which necessitated his release and transfer to the I.C.F.T.U. He had since expended a great deal of energy and strength, and above all a fine imagination, in developing the world organization that the I.C.F.T.U. represented at present. The I.C.F.T.U. had become a body of some importance in the build-up of the world, in the councils of the United Nations Organization, and in those institutions which had been created for the purpose of playing their part in the reconstruction and rehabilitation of Europe, made possible, to a great extent, by the generosity, not of Wall Street, but of the people of the United States. It had been given a place in the scheme of things, a representative capacity in the development of trade union organization which was regarded as an essential concomitant of the job of reconstruction. The representatives of the I.C.F.T.U. had played a magnificent part and would continue to do so.

The Report on Activities gave a clear indication of the type of organization that was being developed on a regional basis, and as one who had some practical experience in the running of a fairly large organization, he suggested that it was an indispensable condition of success that there should be a considerable measure of decentralization. It was with that idea in view that they had established their regional organization in the Far East. It was difficult to over-estimate the importance of the Far East at the present time. Unless they could do something to establish co-prosperity between East and West they would be in for a very difficult time, and the regional organization was capable of making an important contribution in that respect.

In Europe the I.C.F.T.U. had also had to set up a regional organization. There was a very substantial need to take hold of the trade union situation in France and Italy, in view of the grip on the trade unions of those countries which had been attained during the immediate post-war years by the Communist-dominated C.G.T. in France and the C.G.I.L. in Italy. The I.C.F.T.U. had done this and had raised considerable funds to enable free trade-unionism to assert itself in these countries.

The same process was going on in Africa. They had not developed to the extent that they would have wished the regional organization in that Continent but substantial progress had been made.

They were living in an age of change: nothing in their life was so constant as the change that took place from day to day, and the trade union movement could not escape its impact. Consequently there was a tremendous educational task confronting them everywhere, and the I.C.F.T.U. had taken the matter in hand, establishing educational facilities in France and encouraging the trade unions in Germany in their own projects, so that people could be trained to provide the service that people expected everywhere from their trade unions.

He had tried, as briefly as he could, to give some indication of the work of the I.C.F.T.U. To sum it up, he would say that their purpose was to build up a planned structure in the economy of the nations of the world, both strong and weak, that would enable them to accomplish the task they had taken in hand, namely, establishing the social justice which the peoples of the world were crying out for today.

It had been claimed that there was a clash between two ideologies, and that might well be true, but the test would come when they applied those ideologies to the economic conditions of the people everywhere. Unless freedom and democracy could produce a greater measure of social security and social justice, and improve and progressively raise the standards of life of people everywhere, it would fall by the wayside and the triumph of Communism would be achieved. He did not believe that would happen. He believed that the first result of an extension of Communism would be a diminution of the living standards of people everywhere. Human dignity and all those things they had striven for for so long and so earnestly would be lost for a great many years. Therefore they must redouble their energies and reconsecrate their purpose. It was with a feeling of pride that he brought to the I.T.F. Congress the fraternal greetings and good wishes of the I.C.F.T.U.

J. CHRISTENSSON (Scandinavian Transport Workers' Federation) thanked the I.T.F., on behalf of the Scandinavian Transport Workers' Federation, for the invitation to the Congress. His Federation was an association of all transport workers' unions in the four northern countries, constituted within the framework of the I.T.F. It had been in existence for more than fifty years and had always cooperated with the I.T.F., with useful results. It met regularly to consider questions of common interest to the four northern countries and aimed particularly at securing, as far as possible, similar working conditions in all of them. This was particularly noteworthy in connection with shipping where an improvement in the legislation relating to seamen in one of the four countries is generally followed by a parallel change in the others. They had managed to secure cooperation between the government departments in the four countries which were responsible for maritime legislation. They were trying to secure similar arrangements for road transport and the docks, though they had not yet been so successful as in the case of shipping. They had, however, come to the point where there was consultation between government authorities of the four countries when changes in traffic regulations were under consideration. As far as the

ports were concerned, the position in one country could often have repercussions on the work in the ports of other countries, and they were trying to promote an agreement between the employers, which they considered to be possible in cases where the situation is roughly the same.

He wished the Congress every success in its deliberations.

REPORT ON ACTIVITIES (continued)

R. DEKEYZER (Belgian Transport Workers' Union) thanked the Secretariat for the timely receipt of the report for 1950 and 1951, and congratulated it on the splendid work achieved. No other international trade secretariat was so active and the Secretaries and the Executive Committee were clearly doing all they could to ensure that the I.T.F. should maintain the prestige it had won in the past. They had acted on the wish expressed at Stuttgart that greater attention should be paid to the specific problems of the different sections.

He wished to make particular reference to the Fishermen's Section, however. Having had a hand in the I.T.F. Fishermen's Charter, he was particularly interested in this Section, which had not met since the Stuttgart Congress. It was true that they had an opportunity of expressing their views at meetings of the Seafarers' Section and consequently of securing results through the Joint Maritime Commission, and they appreciated the fact that, thanks to I.T.F. intervention, the I.L.O. had published a very good international survey of conditions of work in the fishing industry. He hoped the Secretariat would continue its pressure to get the I.L.O. to convene a conference to deal with fishermen's problems.

He wished to put on record his thanks to their Dutch friends, and especially to the General Secretary of the I.T.F., for the very valuable help rendered to the Belgian dockers during their strike in July 1950. International solidarity was a reality in the I.T.F.

With regard to the disruptive activities of the Communists on the European waterfront, he thought it fair to say that the setting up of Vigilance Committees under the auspices of the I.T.F. had reduced them to insignificance, though it would be well for the unions not to be too complacent and to be constantly on the watch.

He was pleased to acknowledge the work done by the I.T.F. for the dockers, seafarers and inland navigation workers, but asked that special attention should be given to the activities of the road transport workers, because of the consequences of modern developments.

He fully endorsed the comments of the General Secretary in his report on relations with the I.C.F.T.U., and he wished personally to thank him for his remarks about his [Dekeyzer's] activities as a member of the I.C.F.T.U. delegation to the Far East. On this trip he had tried to contact as many transport workers' unions as possible, and to impress them with the valuable work being done by the I.T.F. The I.T.F. had since sent propaganda material to these unions and he hoped it would bear results.

He was convinced that the I.T.F. would always be true to its past.

S. DIMITRACOPOULOS (Greek Railwaymen's Union) brought to the Congress the hearty fraternal greetings of the Greek Railwaymen's Union, who wished them every success in their deliberations. They hoped the Congress would help them until they achieved final satisfaction of claims still pending in their country, particularly complete application of the principle of the eight-hour day. He was happy to say that they had recently reached agreement with the Government for the progressive application of the principle.

His delegation fully supported the Secretariat in the activities mentioned in the report and wished to express its sincere thanks for the generous assistance which had been given every time they had asked for it.

The session then ended.

In the afternoon the delegates attended a reception by the City Council at the City Hall.

Friday, 18th July 1952

No full session of the Congress was held on Friday, 18 July 1952, the whole of the day being devoted to sectional conferences.

Saturday, 19th July 1952

MORNING SESSION

REPORT ON ACTIVITIES (*continued*)

Campaign against Communist disruption. (*Continued from page 201*)

P. FELCE (French Transport Workers' Federation) said that though he knew nothing about the activities of the Mediterranean Committee, Brother Laurent had described it as nefarious. He had taken it upon himself to bring accusations against one of the men employed by the Mediterranean Committee and to question the origin of the financial resources of that Committee. He considered that Froideval, an old French trade unionist, was not worthy of confidence because he was expelled from the trade union movement after the war by a committee set up by the Communists.

Laurent ought to know that the only reproach the trade union centre to which he himself belonged, the Force Ouvrière C.G.T., had been able to bring against Froideval was that he was connected with a trade union journal which had, on occasion, criticized the policy of that national centre, and he should be aware that, if everyone was to be condemned who had criticized that centre in one journal or another, the number would be very considerable, and Laurent himself would probably be among them.

Laurent's accusations were entirely without foundation. He had on two occasions been offered an opportunity to support them before an international committee specially set up for the purpose—and presided over, he believed, by Brother Dekeyzer, present at the Congress—and he had failed to appear. The surprising thing, however, was that while Brother Laurent failed in his accusations against Froideval he was a convinced supporter of Boucher, another old trade unionist expelled immediately after the war, whose position was similar to that of Froideval—and when he said similar that was an understatement, since Boucher had been appointed by the Occupation Authorities as Councillor of the Department of the Seine, though nothing in his previous career had particularly qualified him for such a position. He could not help thinking that Laurent was really less concerned with Froideval's past than with the fact that he was connected with the Mediterranean Committee.

Not satisfied with accusing the Mediterranean Committee of employing doubtful men, Brother Laurent accused it of having equally doubtful financial resources, an accusation which sounded strange at a Congress of an International one of whose functions was to secure the help of the wealthier trade unions for the poorer ones. Like all the French free trade unions, the Mediterranean Committee had asked for, and obtained, help from the international working class movement, and was proud of having obtained it, seeing in the fact a fine proof of international working class solidarity. Laurent's attitude was the more surprising since his organization also asked for, and obtained, assistance from the same organizations which were helping the Mediterranean Committee.

Laurent seemed to be willing to believe all the rumours that were flying about, whatever their origin, relating to the Mediterranean Committee, and he seemed to have accepted without further proof the suggestion that this Committee was interfering in the internal affairs of certain French trade unions. In the case of the Dockers' Federation, for instance, Laurent did not seem to have troubled to find out that there existed in France an Inter-Federation of Dockers and Seafarers which was regularly qualified to deal with all matters of interest to seafarers and dockers. Like those who were accustomed to seeing the devil inside every cloak, Laurent seemed to see the hand of the Mediterranean Committee in everything that happened.

His [Felce's] own organization was very satisfied indeed with the activities of the Vigilance Committees. He preferred to judge the Mediterranean Committee not in the light of rumours spread by the Communists and their accomplices, but by the results of its activities, and nobody could deny that those results, without being decisive, had been very good. Since the Mediterranean Committee had been set up, the Communists had been unable to declare any strike in ports which were traditionally their preserve.

He doubted whether Laurent, in making his proposal, was speaking as a representative of the whole of the Railwaymen's Federation, or whether his Congress had mandated him to put it forward. Recent events had shown that though Communist forces in France had seriously weakened, their underground machinery was still powerful, and it was necessary to continue to act against them in any way that had been proved successful.

A. MAFFEI (Italian Dockers' Federation) said that he wished to give a few explanations to Brother Laurent of the French Railwaymen's Federation, the hastiness of whose judgment could only be attributed to ignorance of the purposes and method of running of the Mediterranean Committee. Laurent should know that in August 1949 a Communist committee was set up in Marseilles with the definite purpose of paralyzing transport in all ports of countries that had joined the Atlantic Pact, particularly those in the Mediterranean basin, that is to say, France, Italy, Greece, and North Africa. Obviously it was necessary to take counter-measures and so the I.T.F. Mediterranean Vigilance Committee was set up in Naples on 4 September 1950. Its purpose was to find out all it could about the Communists' plans and pass it on to the free trade unions of the countries concerned so that they could take appropriate action. The Committee was still doing this work and, thanks to its activities, it had been able to prevent the sabotage planned by the Communists.

Brother Laurent was probably aware of the situation existing in Leghorn, which was for a long time regarded as the Italian Kremlin. In this port endeavours had been made by the Communists to prevent the discharge of military equipment supplied to Italy by the United States. Here again, the Mediterranean Committee had always been prepared to give advice and support. Their comrades in France, Greece and North Africa had always shown their solidarity and, thanks to this, the Communists were defeated in Leghorn, but the fact that they were

defeated did not mean that the struggle had ended. Wasn't Brother Laurent aware that after the arrest of Duclos, which had as a result also the arrest of the Secretary of the Communist Dockers' Union at Toulon, the Communist Committee had been transferred from Marseilles to Genoa—a very significant step.

He hoped that, as a result of careful consideration of these facts, Brother Laurent would modify his attitude towards the Mediterranean Committee.

P. GIORNELLI (Italian Dockers' Federation) said that his only reason for speaking on the Report was the fact that an attack had been made on the Mediterranean Vigilance Committee, of which he formed part as representative of the Italian sector. He had the impression that Brother Laurent was not quite clear about the Mediterranean Committee, which was not a French committee but a committee of action composed of representatives of the maritime workers of Greece, France, North Africa and Italy—in other words, all those who were really interested in preventing sabotage and Communist preponderance in Mediterranean ports. And when Laurent said that the Committee was essentially political in character he showed that he knew little of the struggle they had had sustained in Naples, Genoa, Trieste, Leghorn, Marseilles, The Piraeus and all other ports in the Mediterranean basin. A few facts might enlighten him as to what had been happening.

When Brothers Becu, Zeli, and Ferri-Pisani came for the first time to Italy, the trade unions of seafarers and dockers practically existed only on paper. It had only been a few months later in Naples that they were able to harvest the first fruits of their efforts. It was on 13 April, at Easter, when Brother Laurent, following the custom in Latin and Catholic countries, had probably gone out into the country, though he himself was in the port at Naples looking after the discharge of the steamer "Exelona", the first vessel carrying Atlantic Pact material which had come to a European port. The Communists had done all they could to prevent its discharge, visiting all the dockers in their own houses, threatening them with terrible reprisals, publishing manifestoes, and mobilizing their followers. Togliatti himself was following the development of the situation and they decided to declare a general strike. But the Communists did not succeed in preventing discharge of the vessel and the membership of his own [Giornelli's] union increased within a month from 141 to 850. Following the example of Naples, things developed in the same way in Cherbourg and Marseilles.

Another action of the Mediterranean Vigilance Committee took place in Leghorn. This port had a municipal council 85 per cent of whose members were Communists, and for over a year nobody could work in the port if he did not hold a Communist card. Thanks to the action of the Mediterranean Committee in support of the Dockers' Federation and its Secretary, Brother Maffei, materials for the defence of Europe could now be discharged without difficulty. Thanks to the 631 members of their Federation all sabotage by the Communists had been prevented. The same kind of thing had happened at Trieste, Marseilles, Palermo, Taranto, Genoa, Bari, and Algiers. This had been possible thanks to the fact that they were presenting a united front in the Mediterranean, using the Communists' own weapons. This, he

said to Brother Laurent, was not politics but a fight to safeguard the interests of all the workers and to preserve the peace they all wanted but that the Communists tried to disturb every day.

Then Laurent wanted to know where the funds came from which were necessary for the Committee to do its work. The answer was a simple one, they came from other workers and trade unions and they went entirely to the workers in the form of assistance, defence of their interests and defence of the interests of the wider Mediterranean community. Their French comrade had therefore no need to worry. In the struggle to defend the interests of the workers, and in the greater and harder struggle against Soviet imperialism, there was work and glory for everybody. He wondered whether the whole of the delegation from the French railwaymen thought the same as Laurent. He doubted it. He thought that Laurent's attack was directed not at the Mediterranean Committee but rather at a representative of that Committee. But they were asking for thanks from nobody for what they had done in the struggle against the Communists. All they wanted was to be allowed to do their work in peace.

Relations with affiliated organizations

(Report on Activities, page 26)

T. NISHIMAKI (Japanese Seamen's Union) said that so far six Japanese transport workers' unions—railwaymen, tramwaymen, seamen, taxi-drivers, etc.—with a total of about 600,000 members had affiliated to the I.T.F. The Dockers' Union, however, was still outside. All the unions except the Dockers' Union were affiliated to a National Transport Workers' Council. There was an Express Workers' Union which had also not yet affiliated to the I.T.F. but was preparing to do so at an early date. Once it did so, the whole of the National Transport Workers' Council would be brought within the I.T.F.

The Dockers' Union was national in scope but was rather loosely organized and was not affiliated with the SOHYO (The Japanese Trade Union Federation). His own union was endeavouring to strengthen the dockers' organization and to promote its early affiliation with the I.T.F. The Seafarers' Union had received a great deal of assistance from the I.T.F. but it was not necessary for him to go into details as these were given in the Report. They had been greatly helped by the resolution on sea transport and fisheries, adopted by the General Council of the I.T.F. when it met at Marseilles in October 1951. This resolution had played an important rôle at the Fishery Conference of representatives of the United States, Canada, and Japan, where an agreement had been reached which was fair to each country. This had greatly enhanced the prestige of the I.T.F. with the Japanese Government and the fishery undertakings in Japan.

He wished to express the thanks of his organization to the Executive Committee of the I.T.F. and the members of the Joint Maritime Commission for what they had done to get the I.L.O. to make arrangements for an Asian Seafarers' Conference, and his only regret was that the arrangements for the place and date were not progressing fully in

accordance with I.T.F. intentions. It would do a great deal for the success of the Conference if it could be held in Japan, and he hoped the I.T.F. would continue its efforts.

General

P. DE VRIES (Dutch Mercantile Marine Masters' and Officers' Union) congratulated the Executive Committee and General Secretary on the report, both on its contents and as evidence of the ever-growing influence of the I.T.F. in the transport industry and upon the social and economic development of the world. It showed that the I.T.F. was duly performing its tasks, but made it clear, at the same time, that it was necessary to consider every now and then whether it had at its disposal all the means necessary to do it adequately. He could not help feeling some serious doubts as to whether this was the case.

In his presidential address, Brother Bratschi had pointed out that orderly economic conditions and social justice were the best guarantees of democracy, freedom and peace. He entirely agreed: the world needed economic planning and in this the I.T.F., as one of the most important international bodies of the trade union movement, had its part to play. One of the items on the agenda of the Congress was the question of the setting up of a European Transport Authority. This problem alone called for the greatest possible effort on the part of the Federation. Another was the problem of the low standards existing in the backward regions of the world, and the need to give them all possible help. Although these problems were regional in character, the way in which they were solved would influence the position of the workers all over the world. The same applied, though for different reasons, to the problem of the economic integration of Western Europe.

All these questions called for thorough study and this would have to be done by technicians and experts who would have to be attached to the staff of the Secretariat. This would involve heavy expenditure and his own union was prepared to accept the implications. He hoped that the Congress would be prepared to increase affiliation fees so that the I.T.F. might have the necessary means for the performance of the vital tasks confronting it.

Campaign against Communist disruption (continued)

A. FIORINI (Amalgamated Autonomous Union of Italian Railwaymen) said that his union had already supported, at the Stuttgart Congress, the setting up of the Mediterranean Vigilance Committee and they were still of the opinion that its activities should be continued. This was necessary to ensure the transport of arms to the European countries that were signatories of the Atlantic Pact, the aim of which was the defence of freedom, democracy, and the peace of the world, constantly menaced by sabotage on the part of the Communist unions and by the recovery of the Fascist movement.

M. PETROULIS (Pan-Hellenic Seamen's Federation) said that the Report on Activities threw into relief the great variety of work performed by the I.T.F. since the Stuttgart Congress and the difficulty of the problems it had to solve. Cooperation between the free peoples was

constantly developing and the problems facing them called for international solution. This had repercussions on the work of the I.T.F. In performing this work, the General Secretary and Executive Committee of the I.T.F. had shown realism combined with the practical idealism which was a distinguishing feature of the leaders of the working class.

His Federation was well aware of the importance of the problem of the spurious transfer of ships to Panamanian and similar flags and it was prepared to play its part, but he asked the Congress to take the necessary steps so that the I.T.F. could assist it in the task.

As regards the Mediterranean Vigilance Committee, he could say that the whole of the Greek delegation, including the Pan-Hellenic Railwaymen's Federation and the Dockers' Federation, had been following its work with keen interest and considered that its objectives expressed a need deeply felt by Greek trade unionists. The Greek free trade union movement had paid a heavy toll in blood, as 144 of its leaders had been cold-bloodedly murdered by the Communists during the rising in 1944 and they felt the need for defence against the Communist attacks. They had been painfully surprised at Brother Laurent's criticism of the work done and the resolutions adopted by the Mediterranean Vigilance Committee as they were convinced that it was performing its task fruitfully and effectively.

The aggression launched against the free world by the Soviet block, and especially by its agents within the trade union movement of the free countries, called for an immediate and decisive answer and that was what the Mediterranean Committee was giving. They had expected to hear from the rostrum words of praise rather than criticism. It was true that some of the resolutions adopted by the Mediterranean Committee were political in character. But who could prevent delegates at the Salonika Conference from coming to decisions which were only elementary means of defence against Communist aggression—particularly in the case of delegates who had felt on their own bodies the methods and atrocities of Soviet Communism? Did Brother Laurent think that the Greek workers should stand aloof from a struggle of life and death, a struggle in which the whole Greek nation was involved in repelling Communist aggressors, simply because the struggle bore a political character? One of the resolutions passed by the Mediterranean Committee had asked for the inclusion of Greece and Turkey in the North Atlantic Treaty. The realization of the wish they expressed had strengthened the front of the free peoples in its fight against totalitarian aggression. Was the Mediterranean Committee to be criticized for asking for it? The struggle was one which would have to be fought out and any shirking in coming to decisions which could reinforce the front of freedom and democracy would show lack of courage and lack of the will to fight.

P. FERRI-PISANI (French Seafarers' Federation) said that, as the person chiefly responsible for the Mediterranean Committee, he perhaps owed them some explanation. Normally under its constitution the Mediterranean Committee was dependent on the Central Vigilance Committee, presided over by Brother Tom Yates of the Executive Committee. In the very nature of things, therefore, it came under the control of the top responsible leaders of the I.T.F., who had the confi-

dence of the Congress. To imagine that their successive decisions approving the Mediterranean Committee were taken lightly would be to deny their competence, loyalty, and seriousness. To ask for public discussion on the purposes of the Committee and to criticize the brevity of information given about it in a non-confidential report was to show ignorance of the reasons why it was set up.

The Report actually did mention the remarks to which the first public acts of the Committee gave rise, and they were a proof of the great care which the Executive Committee had given to its task of controlling and cooperating with the Committee. Contrary to what appeared to be believed in some quarters, he had welcomed the advice of his colleagues on the Executive Committee and had consequently made some changes with a view to correcting the defects which an entirely new organization inevitably showed. He could therefore leave it to the General Secretary to justify the existence of the Committee and the conclusions of his report. He felt, however, that if he himself refrained from taking any part in the discussion this might be misinterpreted.

The scope of the Mediterranean Committee's activities was a maritime one, because it was set up as a result of a decision of the Seafarers' and Dockers' Sections of the I.T.F. A wider scope could be imagined either geographically or by extension to other branches of transport, but they could not be criticized for a limitation that was backed by the Stuttgart Congress in approving what had been done by the Executive Committee. Within its limitations, and with the constant cooperation of the Secretariat of the I.T.F. and the Chairman of the Vigilance Committee, they had laid down their immediate aims, clearly defined their problems and sought a solution for them.

The task had not been an easy one. The Committee had no wish to be a clandestine and illegal organization but, having to deal with the Communists, it necessarily had to be cautious. Its activities were semi-public and legal but, at the same time, discreet.

They were asked whether they were a political committee or a committee of action. The question was a disarmingly childish one. They were a political committee in so far as they supported the policy of the I.T.F. but a policy without action was of no avail.

The circumstances in which they had to act should not be forgotten. Neither the I.T.F. nor the Mediterranean Committee was able, like a government, to recruit men irrespective of their personal opinions and throw them into the struggle. Some kind of propaganda therefore had to precede organizational action, and the participation of trade unions mandating their delegates made it impossible to prevent discussions of certain matters. The Communists controlled the ports in the region and maintained such an atmosphere of terrorism that dockers and seamen had to stop work when ordered to do so. Secret agents of the Cominform, entrenched in all-important posts, were able to turn the merchant ships of the Mediterranean countries into a weapon in the cold war, pending their destruction or diversion in the case of a hot war.

To change this situation without talking and without promising protection to the one side and reprisals to the other would have needed a power to perform miracles which he had not. To commence with, with

a handful of resolute men, they had undertaken a struggle which seemed desperate, and matters were made worse by the underhand opposition of those who should have been their allies.

He had not time to enter into details of the difficulties which the Committee had to surmount, from Cherbourg to Marseilles, from Genoa to Trieste, from the Piraeus to Salonika, and from Casablanca to Sfax, but it should suffice to say that at present the Mediterranean seacoast was the one place where the Communists, at one time all powerful, had not tried to declare a political strike. And their fury was a tribute to the efficiency of the Committee. The Seafarers' Section of the W.F.T.U. had had to acknowledge defeat and to hold conferences to work out new methods of action.

The members of the Committee had been subjected to a venomous campaign of denunciation and accusations and he felt the need, not in consideration of his own person but that of the friends and active members who had shown confidence in him in spite of serious risks to themselves, to ask for the moral support of the Congress of the I.T.F. They had had successes but they were far from being decisive. The evil forces of the world had not been destroyed and it would be a serious error if, deceived by appearances, they assumed that an end had been put to the Communist menace. They had entered upon a new stage of difficult underground action and organizations like the Mediterranean Vigilance Committee were more necessary than ever to face the complicated apparatus which the Cominform was bringing into action. His friends on the Mediterranean Committee were conscious of having done their duty. They would continue to do so and thus make their modest but positive contribution to the strengthening of the influence of the I.T.F. in its efforts to obtain greater security and greater liberty for all men of good will.

Invitations from Fascist Unions

N. WÄLLÄRI (Finnish Seamen's Union) said that on page 106 of the Report on Activities it was stated that Finnish trade unions, including that of the seamen, had received invitations to send delegations to Argentina at the expense of the Argentine trade union movement. He felt there must be a mistake and he wished to correct it in so far as the seamen were concerned. His union had received no invitation either from the trade unions in the Argentine or from any other body there. The Finnish seamen had never been friendly towards the Perón régime and, when they heard that one Finnish trade union had been invited to send two delegates, they had written to the Finnish Federation of Trade Unions asking that all Finnish trade unions should be warned not to accept such invitations.

General

N. METSLOV (Estonian Seamen's Union) said that he brought the cordial greetings of the Estonian Seamen's Union which represented, in the I.T.F., the only country behind the Iron Curtain. Until their country was occupied by the Communists they had lived happily on peaceful terms with their neighbours, not threatening anybody's security.

Their social legislation had been very progressive. Their greatest wealth had been in the shale oil industry, the largest of its kind in the world. They had had a highly developed agricultural industry and a considerable amount of shipping.

When the Communists invaded the country in 1940 a few of the people, including some of the seamen, succeeded in escaping into the free world and even in saving a part of their merchant fleet. As a result their seamen could continue to serve on ships of their own nationality, a rather unusual advantage for refugees. The refugee seamen of other countries, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, etc., had also found work on these ships. Even in exile they were continuing their trade union work in the Estonian Seamen's Union, faithful to the trade union principles and high ideals of the I.T.F.

He wished to express their sincere gratitude for the moral support and assistance which they had had from the I.T.F. and its affiliated organizations. They approved the activities of the I.T.F. as described in the Report.

Having lived under the first Communist occupation of his country, he was personally acquainted with the suffering which that régime meant to everybody, especially the workers. Some 200,000 persons had been deported from Estonia, and recent information showed that detentions and deportations were still continuing. Most of the deportees and of the men arrested and murdered were ordinary workers and peasants, among them some who had taken part in international trade union conferences and whom some of the delegates surely knew personally. The free trade unions had been completely liquidated and replaced by institutions whose aim was not to protect the workers but to force them to exert all their strength to secure increased labour output. They felt sure, however, that the time would come when they would once more be able to decide their own fate.

Communism was the greatest present danger to the free trade union movement, and the fight against it was one of the I.T.F.'s most important tasks. He hoped the Congress would again bind the I.T.F. to continue the struggle for the restoration of freedom and justice in the countries subjected to Communist régimes, among them Estonia. Such a declaration would show the world that the I.T.F. was still marching at the head of those who are fighting for freedom and justice and holding high their standard of international trade union solidarity.

THE PRESIDENT said that that ended the discussion on the Report on Activities except for the General Secretary's reply, which would be given later.

He welcomed Mr. D. Follows, of the International Federation of Air Line Pilots' Associations, who had just arrived.

In the meantime, they would proceed to a discussion of the Financial Report, and he called on the General Secretary to open it.

FINANCIAL REPORT

O. BECU (General Secretary) said that he would be brief. Delegates had the Financial Report for 1950 - 51 before them, and also the Auditors' Report. He would confine his remarks to the General Fund.

First of all he wished to record the Executive Committee's appreciation of the splendid way in which affiliated organizations had fulfilled their financial obligations towards the I.T.F. Thanks to the regularity with which they had paid their affiliation fees, the I.T.F. had been able to continue its activities on an even larger scale than previously.

The table of affiliation fees showed that there had been a slight increase in income from this source. It had been £41,000 in 1949, £39,000 in 1950, and £42,000 in 1951, the slight increase being largely due to new organizations which had joined the I.T.F. during the two years. Expenditure had also risen during the period, having been £33,000 in 1949, £38,000 in 1950, and £39,000 in 1951. The increase in the last year had not been large, only about £900.

The question of affiliation fees had been placed on the agenda and Congress would be asked to decide what they should be for the next two years. In order that they might come to a decision in full knowledge of the circumstances, he wished to point out that the fact that the expenditure had not increased more during 1951 was due to certain measures taken by the Executive Committee, Management Committee, and Secretariat. Owing to the rise in the cost of living, it had been necessary to increase the wages of the staff but they had been raised only by a bare minimum, on an average 15 per cent. The cost of printing materials, travelling, etc., had also gone up considerably and it was clear that if they had not taken steps to effect economies the figure of £39,000 for 1951 would have been considerably higher—of that there was no doubt.

They had always tried to keep expenditure as low as possible and, for the time being, the staff of the I.T.F. was not as large as it had been at one time. In certain cases, when members of the staff had left the I.T.F., they had not been replaced, not so much to save the expenditure as because of the difficulty of finding candidates to fill the vacancies. The figure of £39,000 for expenditure in 1951 was therefore lower than it would have been if the I.T.F. had had to face the same commitments in this respect as in 1950.

He felt it his duty, therefore, as General Secretary, to point out that unless income was increased I.T.F. activities would suffer. He did not wish to dwell on this point for the moment as there would be an opportunity at a later stage when the question of affiliation fees came up. He would then explain more clearly and in greater detail his views and those of the Management Committee and Executive Committee. With those words he submitted to Congress the Financial Report for 1950 - 51.

There was no further discussion on the Financial Report and it was adopted early in the afternoon session.

The Congress then went on to consider the report on

RELATIONS WITH THE I.C.F.T.U.

O. BECU (General Secretary) said that relations with the central body of the International Trade Union Movement was a problem that had been under discussion ever since there had been such a body. It

was a question of the relations between the two sections of the movement, the horizontal section and the vertical section, and it had always given rise to a great deal of discussion and sometimes dissension. Things had changed, however, and it was now being discussed with a view to arriving at the closest and most fruitful cooperation possible between the different international trade secretariats on the one hand and the I.C.F.T.U. on the other. Delegates had before them a report on the question.

He recalled that before the constitution of the I.C.F.T.U. in 1949 the seventeen international trade secretariats then existing had come together in a joint conference to try to find ways and means of coordinating their work which, at that particular time, meant counteracting the activities of the W.F.T.U., with which some of the free and democratic trade union centres were still associated. At a joint conference in Bournemouth in 1949 the international trade secretariats decided to set up a Coordinating Committee, but unfortunately two of the more important secretariats were not willing to associate themselves with it. They were later joined by two others, so that there were four international trade secretariats—including those of the Miners and Metal Workers—who would not have anything to do with the Coordinating Committee.

When the I.C.F.T.U. was constituted it included in its Constitution a clause providing for cooperation with the trade secretariats and it was later agreed that they should be represented collectively, through the Coordinating Committee, on the Emergency Committee, Executive Board and General Council of the I.C.F.T.U., and individually at its congresses. In its relations with the Coordinating Committee, however, the I.C.F.T.U. was faced with the difficulty that the Committee did not represent all the trade secretariats. The question had come up for discussion on several occasions at conferences of the trade secretariats, on the last occasion at the conference in Rotterdam in December 1950. At that meeting some opposition arose to the continuation of the Coordinating Committee and it was generally agreed that the I.C.F.T.U. should again call all the trade secretariats together to try and find a better way of cooperation, to discuss the desirability or otherwise of the continued existence of the Coordinating Committee and to consider what should take its place should it be decided to abolish it.

A conference of representatives of the trade secretariats and the I.C.F.T.U. had been held in Berlin a few days earlier, on 28 June, too late for it to be possible to include its findings in the report of the I.T.F. Congress. It was decided to discontinue the Coordinating Committee, chiefly because of the non-cooperation of four important international trade secretariats. It was recognized, however, that some kind of machinery for cooperation and coordination was necessary and, in the place of the Coordinating Committee, it was decided to set up a Liaison Committee of five members which would act under the auspices of the I.C.F.T.U. and would have the services of its secretariat, so that the international trade secretariats would not have to incur any expenditure under that heading. The five members chosen to constitute the Liaison Committee were Lincoln Evans (U.K.) of the Metal Workers' International, W. Bock (Germany) of the Garment Workers' International,

W. Spiekman (Holland) of the Salaried Employees' International, M. Bolle (Holland) of the Civil and Public Services' International, and himself, representing the I.T.F. It was left to the Liaison Committee to appoint the representatives of the international trade secretariats on the governing bodies of the I.C.F.T.U. At a subsequent meeting of that Committee, it had been decided that he [Becu] should be the representative on the Emergency Committee of the I.C.F.T.U., that Spiekman and himself should be the two representatives on the Executive Board and that Spiekman should represent the trade secretariats on the I.C.F.T.U. Regional Fund Committee. It was not thought necessary to appoint a joint or collective delegation to sit on the General Council of the I.C.F.T.U., since under its rules that Federation was required to invite each international trade secretariat to be represented individually.

A matter which still had to be discussed was the question of the expenses incurred by trade secretariat representatives in attending meetings of the governing bodies of the I.C.F.T.U. This would be decided at a general conference of the international trade secretariats.

It was agreed that, while the secretariat of the I.C.F.T.U. would take the responsibility of convening conferences of the international trade secretariats and meetings of the Liaison Committee, the I.C.F.T.U. understood that the trade secretariats might hold meetings without representatives of the I.C.F.T.U. being present. The I.C.F.T.U. did not claim to be an all-embracing organization in whose hands all the responsibilities for the international trade union movement rested but recognized that within particular fields of activity the international trade secretariats had the same rights as it had in respect of the national centres.

At the conference of the I.T.S. and I.C.F.T.U. in Berlin one somewhat difficult problem had come up for discussion, the problem, mentioned in the Report which lay before delegates, of individual trade unions applying for membership of the I.C.F.T.U. The I.C.F.T.U. was accepting into membership small individual national trade unions, some of them with not more than fifty or sixty members. There was a clause in the Constitution of the I.C.F.T.U. which provided that individual *bona fide* trade unions accepting the aims and Constitution of the Confederation might be admitted into affiliation provided that the Executive Board, following consultation and agreement with the affiliated national centre concerned, was satisfied that such affiliation was desirable. When reading this paragraph of the Constitution of the I.C.F.T.U. he—and his view was shared by some other representatives of the international trade secretariats—had understood that the intention was that the I.C.F.T.U. could affiliate organizations like, for instance, the United Miners of America, and possibly other big organizations; that were not affiliated with the I.C.F.T.U. through a national centre. But in practice it was accepting very small organizations of miscellaneous trades. At the previous meeting of its General Council, for instance, there had been an application from a transport workers' union in Kenya with only fifty members. The first time that the question arose in the General Council of the I.C.F.T.U., the representatives of the international trade secretariats, himself amongst them, had expressed some doubt as to the desirability of such a policy. There was a danger, for instance, that

some organizations might affiliate with the I.C.F.T.U. rather than with the appropriate international trade secretariat because affiliation fees to the former were considerably lower. There might be political as well as financial reasons. It might even happen that trade unions which had been expelled from one of the international trade secretariats would be admitted to the I.C.F.T.U. Certainly an individual union already affiliated with the I.C.F.T.U. would be less likely to apply for membership of an international trade secretariat and pay a second affiliation fee.

When doubts about the matter were expressed by I.T.S. representatives at a previous meeting of the Executive Board unfortunately very little attention was paid to the objection, although the point was raised on three occasions. At the meeting in Berlin, however, there had been a good deal of discussion on the subject. The conclusion was that the matter was a complicated one and needed very careful study and discussion between the I.C.F.T.U. and the I.T.S. Oldenbroek had declared himself prepared to discuss the matter with the Liaison Committee of the I.T.S. and a delegation from the Executive Board of the I.C.F.T.U., so that there would be an opportunity of thrashing the matter out and arriving at an agreement.

There was one aspect of the matter which was not without interest. The I.C.F.T.U. had set up regional offices in several regions and it was laid down in the Constitution that only organizations affiliated with the I.C.F.T.U. could take part in its regional activities. The I.C.F.T.U. did not agree that affiliation of an individual union in a particular country with an international trade secretariat made it a part of the international trade union movement and entitled it to participate in such regional activities, though in Berlin he had expressed the view that it should have that right. He had upheld the view that the international trade union movement consisted not only of the I.C.F.T.U. but also of the I.T.S. and that all sections of the movement formed together one international movement. If that principle could be established the problem could be solved.

The session then ended.

There was no further discussion on the report on Relations with the I.C.F.T.U. and it was adopted early in the afternoon session.

Saturday, 19th July 1952

AFTERNOON SESSION

THE PRESIDENT called upon Brother R. Dekeyzer to present the

REPORT OF THE CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE

R. DEKEYZER (Belgian Transport Workers' Union) said that as rapporteur of the Credentials Committee it was his privilege to submit its report. Delegates had the text of the report in their possession and they had also received a statement of the voting strength of each organization. He drew special attention to the third paragraph, according to which the Credentials Committee recommended acceptance of the credentials of 195 delegates (three of them holding proxies for organizations not represented) representing 3,145,116 members belonging to 75 affiliated organizations in 22 countries. For simplicity's sake, the Committee had included in the figures the delegates and membership of the British National Union of Railwaymen, in spite of the fact that their delegates were not expected to arrive until the following day.

The Committee wished to extend a hearty welcome to a number of other organizations mentioned on the second page of its report.

He wished to draw the attention of Congress to the difficulties which confronted the Credentials Committee at every Congress in connection with the temporary easements on affiliation fees, provided for in Paragraphs 4 and 5 of Rule 14 of the Constitution of the I.T.F. Such easements were only temporary and should not be regarded as precedents by other organizations. Some difficulty had arisen also owing to currency restrictions still in force in certain countries. He hoped that these difficulties would be overcome before the next Congress and that all unions would see that they settled their financial obligations fully before the Congress. The Committee had, however, done its best to satisfy all concerned and their remarks were only inspired by the need to see that the Rules of the I.T.F. were complied with.

He submitted the report on behalf of the Credentials Committee and asked Congress to endorse it.

The following is the report of the Credentials Committee:—

REPORT OF CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE

The countries chosen by the Congress to appoint members of the Credentials Committee appointed the following:—

Germany	.....	.....	L. Oetzman
Benelux Group	.....	.....	R. Dekeyzer
France	.....	.....	J. Philipps
Great Britain	.....	.....	D. Tennant
Sweden	.....	.....	R. Helgesson

The Committee chose Mr. R. Dekeyzer as Chairman and rapporteur. The Assistant General Secretary sat with the Committee and furnished it with all information required.

The Committee has examined all credentials and recommends Congress to accept those of 195 delegates (three of them holding proxies for organizations not represented), representing 3,145,116 members belonging to 75 affiliated organizations in 22 countries. For simplicity's sake the Committee has included in these figures the delegates and members of the British National Union of Railwaymen, whose delegates are not expected until Sunday, 20 July.

Some of the organizations represented do not fulfil all the requirements for participation with the right to vote laid down in Paragraph 5 of Article IV of the Constitution.

One of these is the Argentine General Confederation of Maritime Unions, represented by Mr. Juan Carlos Mason. In view of the heroic fight which the Argentine Seamen put up against Perón's dictatorial régime, the Committee recommends that Congress seat Mr. Mason as a full delegate with a token vote for 5,000 members.

The delegates of other organizations concerned have given the Committee information explaining failure to complete contributions for the first six months of 1952. In each case the reasons given were found to be valid. All of them had made a financial effort as token of their attachment to the I.T.F. and their intention to fulfil their obligations. In a few cases the delegates concerned have undertaken to clear up arrears of contribution shortly after the Congress.

In the absence of confirmation of payment of its contributions for 1952 by the French Ports and Docks Federation the Committee regrets having to recommend to Congress that the credentials which the Federation has given to a delegate of another French organization be not accepted.

Apart from the 250 delegates and observers, Mr. G. Joustra is attending the Congress as a member of the Executive Committee who is not a member of a national delegation, and further the following nine veterans who for various reasons have deserved well of the I.T.F. :—

Charles Lindley, former President of the I.T.F.

F. P. A. Landskroon, former Treasurer of the Dutch Railwaymen's and Tramwaymen's Union.

Karol Maxamin, former Secretary of the Polish Railwaymen's Union.

S. Christiansson, former member of the Executive Committee of the I.T.F.

A. Borgstedt, A. Forslund, F. W. Franzén, and A. Löfgren, former leaders of the Swedish Railwaymen's Union.

D. Sandberg, former officer of the Swedish Engineers' and Firemen's Union.

Messrs. J. Brautigam, former member of the Management Committee, and S. Lundgren, former leader of the Swedish Seamen's Union, have unfortunately been unable to accept our invitation for health and family reasons.

The international trade union organizations with which the I.T.F. maintains friendly relations are represented by the following fraternal delegates:—

- A. Deakin, International Confederation of Free Trade Unions.
- D. Follows, International Federation of Air Line Pilots' Associations.
- J. Christensson, Scandinavian Transport Workers' Federation.

The following authorities and organizations have shown their interest in the work of our Congress by sending the following official observers:—

- S. Thorsson, International Labour Organization.
- P. Williamson, Social Attaché of the Embassy of the United Kingdom in Stockholm.
- O. Petersen, Social Attaché of the Embassy of the United States in Stockholm.
- C. R. Atkinson, Social Attaché of the Embassy of the United States in London.
- D. Saposs } of the Mutual Security Agency, Paris.
- E. Williams }
- J. Dubus, International Railway Congress Association.

The Secretariat will in due course furnish delegates with a list of the organizations represented at the Congress, showing their respective voting power.

The Rapporteur

R. DEKEYZER.

The report of the Credentials Committee was adopted nem. con. and without discussion.

RELATIONS WITH THE I.C.F.T.U.

THE PRESIDENT then put to the vote the report on Relations with the I.C.F.T.U. It was adopted *nem. con.*

FINANCIAL REPORT FOR THE YEARS 1950 AND 1951 AUDITORS' REPORT

THE PRESIDENT then put these two reports to the vote and they were adopted *nem. con.*

REGIONAL ORGANIZATION

O. BECU (General Secretary) recalled that, as mentioned in the Report on Regional Organization which delegates had before them, the General Council of the I.T.F., meeting in Marseilles in October 1951, had decided to call upon affiliated organizations to pay a special contribution of £1 per thousand members per year to a Regional Activities Fund. This was in accordance with a recommendation of a general conference of the international trade secretariats, held in December 1950. That conference intended that the money collected should go to the I.C.F.T.U. to help finance its regional activities but the E.C. of the

I.T.F., with the endorsement of the General Council, felt that since the I.T.F. was also actively engaged in regional organization—the first and still the only I.T.S. to do so—one half of the money should be devoted to its own regional activities and the other half should go to the I.C.F.T.U.

That referred to the year 1951, and it would be for Congress to decide whether the contribution should also be made for 1952 and subsequent years in accordance with the recommendation of the General Conference of the I.T.S.

He had already pointed out that the I.T.F. was the only I.T.S. actively engaged in regional organization. The first proposal to set up regional offices had been made by Edo Fimmen at the Stockholm Congress of 1928. The work done in this respect had not been on a very large scale as it had to be kept within the bounds imposed by financial possibilities, but the I.T.F. had a Regional Information Office in Bombay which was rendering very useful services, keeping the Secretariat informed of important events and developments in the Far East as well as keeping in touch with the transport workers of that region. He wished to take the opportunity to pay a tribute to Brother Joviano Soares for the unselfish cooperation and service rendered by him at the Regional Office.

The I.T.F. had also recently set up a Sub-secretariat for Latin America in Havana, but it was still in its beginnings though it had already rendered useful service. A dictatorial, or semi-dictatorial, régime had recently been established in Cuba, however, and one of their friends, the General Secretary of the Cuban Transport Workers' Union affiliated with the I.T.F., had been imprisoned and there were some doubts whether it would be good policy for the I.T.F. to maintain a Sub-secretariat under such a régime. The regional Latin American organization of the I.C.F.T.U. also had its offices in Havana—in fact the I.T.F. and the I.C.F.T.U. were sharing them.

The Executive Committee of the I.T.F. had decided to watch developments closely and to keep in touch with the I.C.F.T.U. and its regional organization. The latter would be holding a conference in Rio de Janeiro in December and the matter would naturally be discussed. It was hoped that the Executive Committee of the I.T.F. could be represented at the meeting.

The I.T.F. also had an office in New York, though it could hardly be called a regional office as it had been set up to keep touch between the I.T.F. and its American affiliated organizations. However optimistic or ambitious they might be, it would be an impossibility for the I.T.F. to set up regional machinery in all the different regions of the world where it was necessary, as the financing would be too great a burden. They could therefore welcome the fact that the I.C.F.T.U. had realized the great importance of regional machinery and had tackled the matter right from the outset, with results which had exceeded their expectations. He thought that if the I.T.F. was to tackle the problem efficiently and adequately it could only be in conjunction with the I.C.F.T.U., pooling the resources of the I.C.F.T.U. and the international trade secretariats.

There were, of course, a number of problems that remained to be solved and one of them was the question of relations with the individual unions in the different regions. Should the Secretariat of the I.T.F. maintain direct relations with these unions or should this be done through the regional machinery of the I.C.F.T.U.? The I.C.F.T.U. fully realized the necessity of working out the best ways and means of tackling the problem, and its Milan Congress, which had discussed the matter, appreciated that the solution would have to be worked out gradually in terms of the practical problems confronting the regions. It recommended that the Executive Board of the I.C.F.T.U. should consult with the I.T.S. and regional organizations with a view to developing the most effective means of cooperation. That had been done in Berlin at the end of the previous June, when the I.T.S., together with the regional organizations of the I.C.F.T.U. and a delegation of the Executive Committee of that body, had held a joint conference. It was reported that the I.T.S. had been cooperating already with the I.C.F.T.U. and many of them had made contributions to its Regional Activities Fund. The conference considered a number of specific points which he would read to Congress as they had been formulated at the conference:—

1. The Regional Fund Committee has already approved the sending of several special missions to assist workers in particular industries to strengthen their trade union position. The problem of finding suitable personnel to carry out its expanded programme is one of the major questions facing the Regional Fund Committee. The Conference was of the strong opinion that the I.T.S. could make an extremely important contribution to the operation of the programme if they could assist in making available personnel to carry out work in regard to projects concerning special industries.
2. It was felt highly desirable that the International Trade Secretariats expand their work in the regional activities' field, and the Conference hoped that, in the near future, the number of field representatives of the I.T.S. in regional work will be increased. These representatives could work in close cooperation with I.C.F.T.U. regional organizations in various parts of the world.

It was recognized that one of the problems involved in such an expansion of activities will be the question of finance. Many of the I.T.S. will find it difficult to undertake these expanded operations and consideration should be given as to the manner in which the I.C.F.T.U. can assist in this regard. In this connection, the Conference took note of the cooperation between the Regional Fund Committee and the International Land Workers' Federation. The latter has undertaken to assist in the organization of plantation workers in various parts of the world. To aid the I.L.F. in getting their programme under way in Asia, the Regional Fund Committee allocated a sum for a plantations mission to Asia on the understanding that the I.L.F. appoint a permanent representative to deal with this work in Asia.

The Conference was of the view that an extension of this type of assistance might well be desirable for other I.T.S. which have a substantial interest in a particular region. It should be understood that in any regional work the I.T.S. would receive the full coopera-

tion of our regional organizations. This would mean that the facilities (e.g., offices, secretarial assistance, etc.) of our I.C.F.T.U. regional organizations would be at their disposal.

In discussing this question, one of the members of the Executive Board, who participated in the Conference, expressed the fear that such I.T.S. activities might be misinterpreted as an attempt to interfere with the functioning of national trade union organizations in a particular region. However, the General Secretary was of the opinion that all such programmes would be carried out only after full consultation with the affiliated organizations concerned. The member of the Executive Board who raised this question expressed his satisfaction with this explanation.

3. The Conference was also of the opinion that consideration should be given to the possibility of the several I.T.S. offering scholarships for workers to attend I.C.F.T.U. schools.

The Conference had also discussed the question of the coordination of activities, with a view to avoiding duplication and overlapping of effort, and had agreed to the following statement adopted by the Regional Fund Committee of the I.C.F.T.U. in February 1952 and approved by its Emergency Committee the following month:—

A short discussion took place in the Committee about activities undertaken by affiliated and associated organizations on lines similar to those for which the Regional Activities Fund was set up. The Committee felt that duplication of effort and overlapping should, wherever possible, be avoided and that for a variety of reasons coordination of activities was desirable.

The Committee fully understood that the I.C.F.T.U. has to respect the autonomy of affiliated organizations. It was nevertheless of the opinion that the Executive Board should request affiliated organizations to keep the I.C.F.T.U. fully informed of their activities in relation to organizing, education, publicity, relief and other fields undertaken or planned by them in countries other than their own, and at the same time to request associated organizations to send the I.C.F.T.U. regular information on their activities. This will ensure that the Regional Fund Committee always has a full view of the situation. Overlapping on the one hand and divergent policies on the other hand can thus be avoided.

The Committee asked the Secretariat to include this point in its report to the Executive Board with a request that affiliated and associated organizations be approached on this matter without delay, having in mind that the regional activities of the I.C.F.T.U. are now coming into full swing.

Those had been the decisions at the Berlin Conference. He felt sure that Congress would realize how complicated the problems were and that solutions to them could only be arrived at as a result of practical experience.

THE PRESIDENT then put to the vote the report on Regional Organization, pointing out that its adoption would imply assent to continuance of the special contributions for regional work. It was adopted nem. con.

SUPPORT FOR FREE TRADE UNIONS

O. BECU (General Secretary) said that he had little to add to the Report on Support for Free Trade Unions that lay before them but the response to the appeal for support of the weaker railwaymen's unions had not been unsatisfactory, as the total reached the considerable sum of £3,539. It was, however, quite insufficient to meet requirements if the jobs were to be done properly and responses given to the different appeals which had been made by affiliated organizations. For the time being consideration had been limited to the railwaymen's unions but there were others that were equally in need of financial support.

He wished to lay stress on that part of the Report that dealt with the situation in France, where the sum of £24,000 had been tentatively mentioned as required to help the affiliated organizations of transport workers, and this was the estimate for the next two or three years. It would be seen from the Report that the matter had been fully discussed by the I.C.F.T.U., the French Force Ouvrière C.G.T., and the I.T.S. concerned, and that some of the latter, namely the Miners', Metal Workers', and Postal Workers' Internationals, had already promised considerable sums. The Miners' International had recently contributed £5,000 to help the mine workers in France.

Help for their French friends was very important and urgent as there was no doubt at the moment there were special opportunities of organizing not only the unorganized but also those who were wrongly organized.

With regard to Italy, he wished to mention a very important recent development which was not mentioned in the Report. Thanks more particularly to the generous aid received from the American Railroad Brotherhoods, through the R.L.E.A., it had been possible to render considerable assistance to the Italian railway workers' unions affiliated with the I.T.F. At the moment their friend Zeli, formerly one of the Secretaries of the Swiss Railwaymen's Federation, was still in Rome enquiring into the situation. As they knew, there were in Italy two railwaymen's unions affiliated with the I.T.F., who were competing with one another. It had been pointed out to them from the outset that it would not be possible for the I.T.F. to render financial assistance to the two of them if they continued fighting each other and trying to organize the same people, and it had been suggested that they should at least form some kind of joint committee for the purpose of coordinating their work. He had to report that they had been very cooperative and shortly before coming to the Congress their governing bodies had decided to set up a cartel with a common programme of activities and demands. This was very encouraging and augured well for the future of the railway workers in Italy. Their joint programme would be drawn up as soon as the Congress was over, and they had already asked for an interview with the Italian Prime Minister, under the auspices of the I.T.F., to discuss their demands with him, and there was every hope that in the near future the I.T.F. would be able to do something practical for the Italian railway workers.

He hoped that the Congress would provide further financial means to meet these requirements. It was urgently needed, since the £4,000 or so they had already raised was far from sufficient to make any sub-

stantial and effective help possible. Large sums had already been drawn from these funds to meet expenses for regional activities—the Regional Office in Bombay, for instance—as well as for the considerable financial help given the French Railwaymen's Federation.

He wondered whether Congress would not take the view that they should set up a general fund for support to free trade unions to take the place of the special fund solely for railway workers. Other organizations of transport workers were also in urgent financial need and he wished to suggest to Congress that the I.T.F. should make another effort in this respect and make an appeal to all affiliated organizations to contribute to a general fund.

A. DEAKIN (British Transport and General Workers' Union) offered a friendly criticism of what the General Secretary had said in submitting his report. He had said that the I.T.F. was satisfied with the result of the appeal, but some of them would probably think that it could have been much more satisfactory and that much more money might have been forthcoming. He felt that some of the unions in some countries were probably disappointed because they had not had an opportunity of contributing to the fund. He therefore suggested that the idea of making the fund a general one should commend itself to delegates.

He felt that there was not a sufficient sense of urgency in regard to the matter and that the problem was being faced with far too much complacency. They should not fool themselves. The activities of the Communists in their midst and their continued attempt to secure control of the trade union movement was a very real menace. They would have to fight it and they could not fight it effectively by sitting in stony silence when reports of the character of the one before them were given. He knew that there were unions represented at the Congress who had more money than they knew what to do with and he suggested that there was a very practical way of solving that problem by contributing to the realization of the principles for which they stood. Moaning platitudes was of no use, it would not do anything to destroy the monster in their midst.

The General Secretary had told them of the contributions made by the railwaymen in response to the limited appeal which had already been made and also of the response of other international trade secretariats, but he had said nothing of the response to the appeal made by the I.C.F.T.U. He was unable to give full details but his own union had contributed £2,000 to that fund as a first instalment and he had had to persuade his Executive that that would do for the time being, though they were more liberally minded than he at the time. The reason was that he felt that they should expect something from Italy and France in return for the money that they were putting into the effort. He did not believe that they could establish a good and lasting trade union membership by pouring money into either of the two countries. That could only be done by convincing the workers that they were being offered something that was worth having. There would have to be a very definite change of heart among the French and Italian workers in regard to trade unionism and all it stood for. While he fully supported the proposal, therefore, he was anxious that it should take the form that

would give them full value for their money. One of the things the I.C.F.T.U. had sought to do was to train people as field organizers in Italy and France, so that the job should be done effectively and the money should not be wasted.

He suggested, therefore, that they should widen the scope of the appeal to embrace the whole of their affiliated organizations and that the Executive Committee of the I.T.F. should be charged with the responsibility of working closely with the Regional Fund Committee of the I.C.F.T.U. to ensure that money was not being supplied from two sources to one organization to do a single job of work.

He appealed to every organization affiliated with the I.T.F., particularly those that had more money than they knew what to do with, to subscribe as liberally as their hearts dictated to a worthy cause that was, at the moment, of great urgency and importance.

J. CHRISTENSSON (Swedish Transport Workers' Union) said that three years before, when the I.T.F. appealed for contributions for the Spanish trade union movement, his union had contributed more than 30,000 Swedish crowns, while most of the other organizations which contributed anything at all gave amounts of £10, £20 or £30. To the fund which was now under discussion, his union had contributed 5,000 Swedish crowns but it was not mentioned in the table included in the Report, presumably because it had been received too late. When there was a question of contributions to an I.T.F. fund, the Swedish Transport Workers' Union would not be found on the list of those not contributing.

O. BECU (General Secretary) rose to say that he had just learned from the Swedish Transport Workers' Union that they had paid into the fund the sum of 5,000 Swedish crowns. This was certainly a great gesture of solidarity, for hitherto the appeal had only been made to the railwaymen's unions, since the fund was originally intended to help railwaymen's organizations only. Now they had a case of a transport workers' union voluntarily contributing to the fund.

He also had to correct an omission from the report, which did not mention the payment of 20,000 francs by the French Railwaymen's Federation. This was appreciated all the more since that organization had great financial difficulties with which to contend.

H. JAHN (German Railwaymen's Union) said that his organization was of the opinion that where trade unions were fighting for their existence, or against the danger which threatened from the East, everything that was humanly possible to help them should be done. In the case before them, they were prepared to give even more than in the past, because living as they did so close to the Iron Curtain, they knew only too well what was at stake.

In the year 1949 the railwaymen of Western Berlin had struck for thirty-nine days against the strongest military power in the world, the Soviet Military Administration in Eastern Europe, and on the fortieth day, after the strike had ended in a victory, the Russian General Kvashnin had met their representatives at the negotiating table and had signed an agreement that they had dictated to him. That was something that even the United Nations Organization had not yet succeeded

in doing. That 13,000 German railwaymen could do that by striking for thirty-nine days was proof enough for him that trade union solidarity could bring the strongest opponent to his knees if only the will were there.

That strike had resulted in the victimization of 4,000 men, however, and most of them would have some idea of what it meant for a trade union to have to support 4,000 victims for a period of years, and now several hundred more German railwaymen had been dismissed by the Soviet Administration and his union had the responsibility of supporting them.

He pointed these facts out not to inspire pity but to make it clear that his union had great responsibilities of its own. They would, however, help to shoulder the burden because for them international solidarity was not an empty phrase but a reality.

THE PRESIDENT announced that the delegation from the German Public Services and Transport Workers' Union had offered a further sum of 10,000 German marks for the fund, Brother Yates, of the British National Union of Seamen, £1,000, and Brother de Vries, of the Dutch Mercantile Marine Officers' Union, another 1,000 Dutch guilders, an amount equal to its full yearly contribution to the I.T.F.

He then said that since apparently no other delegates wished to speak on the Report he would put it to the vote. Its acceptance would imply that the fund, hitherto confined to railwaymen's trade unions, would in future be used for any organization affiliated to the I.T.F. and that an appeal would go out from the Congress to all affiliated unions to contribute to it. That was the proposal put forward by the General Secretary and supported by Brother Deakin, who had added a rider that consideration should be given to the best way in which the fund could be employed. That was also the wish of the Executive Committee, which would undertake this enquiry together with the Secretariat.

The Report on Support for Free Trade Unions, together with the proposal as formulated by the President, was then adopted.

THE PRESIDENT expressed his thanks to the railwaymen's unions which so far contributed to the fund and also to those organizations who had, during the course of the discussion, promised their contributions, and whose example he hoped would be imitated by many other organizations.

It being 5 p.m. he proposed to end the session and reminded the delegates that on the following day, Sunday, there would be an excursion to Drottningholm and in the evening a banquet in the City Hall to which all delegates were invited by the Swedish affiliated organizations.

The next full session of the Congress would be on Monday morning, the 21st when they would first hear the General Secretary's reply to the discussion on the Report on Activities, to be followed by a continuation of that on the Revision of the Constitution. The latter part of the proceedings would take place in a Closed Session at which the Press would be absent, since they had to deal with internal affairs of the I.T.F.

The Congress then adjourned.

Monday, 21st July 1952

MORNING SESSION

REPORT ON ACTIVITIES (*continued*)

O. BÉOU (General Secretary), replying to the discussion, said that Congress still had a great deal to do, so he would not dwell too long upon general considerations, particularly as he had since introducing the Report expressed views on several occasions on outstanding problems. He wished, however, to draw special attention to the tremendous job the I.T.F. had before it in connection with its future regional activities in cooperation with the I.C.F.T.U. This could only be done successfully with close cooperation between the I.C.F.T.U. and the international trade secretariats, and it called for the greatest possible cohesion and unity in the international trade union movement. It was of the highest importance to build up trade unions in those parts of the world where they did not exist and to strengthen those which were still too weak to defend adequately the interests of the workers, and in so doing to protect our democratic way of life. There was work to be done in France and Italy, the Middle and Near East, Africa, South America, and the Far East, to say nothing of the countries behind the Iron Curtain. It would mean a great effort, but so long as they could count upon the spirit of comradeship and cooperation which had always been characteristic of the organizations affiliated with the I.T.F., he had little doubt of success.

His friend Mason had given them an inside picture of the circumstances in which the Argentine workers were living and he had referred to the help the I.T.F. had been able to give in the strike of the Argentine Confederation of Maritime Workers in 1950, an account of which was given in the Report. He (the General Secretary) considered that this great life-and-death struggle had been one of the most important events in the previous two years of I.T.F. activities and he was glad that they had been able to give the Confederation substantial support. The sympathetic action by several affiliated organizations was of tremendous importance, although they had never expected that it would be a decisive factor, having said so at the Stuttgart Congress while the strike was still on. It was indeed unthinkable that a small fraction of the Argentine trade union movement, even with the help of the I.T.F., could win a struggle of such magnitude—the main thing was that the fighting spirit of their Argentine friends should remain strong even if the battle were lost. He could assure his friend Mason that he could continue to count upon the I.T.F. if ever the Argentine workers should again throw their forces into the struggle against the Perón régime. When the battle was again joined he hoped that his Argentine friends would see to it that not only the maritime workers, but other branches of the Argentine trade union movement should also come in. If only the transport workers of Argentina could concentrate their strength—seamen, railwaymen, dockers, road transport workers, etc.—they would constitute a tremendous force and it would not be long in expanding also to other industries.

Brother Kanne had put in a warm plea for the coordination of transport and integration of Europe. There would be a discussion on this subject later on and he did not wish to anticipate it but Brother Kanne had drawn the attention of Congress to the necessity for the I.T.F. to play a greater rôle in such international conferences as were held on the subject. He entirely agreed, and the Secretariat was doing its best with the limited means at its disposal. If the I.T.F. was to play its part, Brother Kanne's remarks about the need for more help for the Secretariat of the I.T.F. were certainly not out of place, since with the limited staff of the Secretariat it was as yet not possible to do everything.

This was, of course, closely connected with the need to strengthen I.T.F. finances, to which Brother de Vries had drawn attention. If the Secretariat of the I.T.F. was to do a better job, it must be provided with the means. Affiliated organizations and even Congress sometimes expected the Secretariat to solve so many difficult problems in so many different fields—not only social problems but also economic problems—without thinking about the personnel required and the primary task of the I.T.F. not only to help affiliated organizations that were fighting and struggling but also to help to build up a stronger trade union movement in the world. He would like Brother Kanne to suggest, for instance, how they could find the necessary experts whom they would need, for if they were to deal with economic problems, then they would need to have economic experts. It was a specialist matter and it could not be expected that everything could be tackled by the brains of the General Secretary the Assistant General Secretary, or anybody else at the Secretariat of the I.T.F.

The only note of criticism he had heard had come from his French friend, Brother Laurent, with whom he had had a considerable amount of correspondence in order to enlighten him and clarify the situation with regard to the activities of the Mediterranean Vigilance Committee. There was also a good deal about the matter in the Report on Activities, so that he could not help feeling surprised at Brother Laurent's insistence.

To refresh the memory of Congress he would therefore refer to some passages from the Report. The Vigilance Committees had been set up as a result of a decision of a joint dockers' and seafarers' conference held at Rotterdam in August 1949, which asked the Executive Committee to set up Vigilance Committees in maritime industries. At that time the maritime and waterfront industries were seriously troubled by Communist-inspired activities the object of which was clearly to undermine and dislocate the economic life of the free countries. The Transport Workers' Department of the Communist World Federation of Trade Unions had been established shortly before, and this threatened to lead to serious intensification of these subversive activities. Communist agents were directing their attack at the supplies which America was shipping to Europe under the Atlantic Defence Pact. Ostensibly the Communists were acting in the interests of peace but, simultaneously, they were themselves transporting war materials from the Polish port of Gdynia to Albania. It was perfectly clear that the I.T.F. could not

just sit back and wait and see. He had personally had experience of Communist activities in Antwerp and it had taken his union from 1945 until 1949 to counteract the resultant violence and terrorism. Some of his people had daily risked their lives and many of them were landed in hospital, while work in the ports was frequently stopped. If his memory served him correctly, he had had to deal with five strikes in the port of Antwerp in two years—all unofficial strikes made possible by the fact that Communist terrorists were able to stop the hiring of the people.

So in 1949 the I.T.F. had decided to set up the Vigilance Committees. Some of their friends in other sectors of the transport industry—railways, inland navigation, road transport, etc.—had not had the same difficulties to face, and it was very easy for them to criticize, but it was a very different matter when looked at from inside a particular industry in which such things were happening. Steps had to be taken by the dockers' and seafarers' unions concerned and the purpose of the I.T.F. Vigilance Committees, as conceived by the joint Dockers' and Seafarers' Conference and by the Executive Committee of the I.T.F., was to stimulate and coordinate those steps.

To start with the I.T.F. set up a Central Vigilance Committee, and later three Regional Vigilance Committees for the Baltic and Scandinavian area, the North Sea and Atlantic Coast area, and the Mediterranean area. Their objectives were to establish national joint trade union committees for the docks, shipping and allied industries, to direct anti-Communist activities on the national plane; to establish in all ports, where practicable and desirable, joint committees of dockers' and seafarers' unions *and of others where necessary* to watch and report disruptive activities to the national committees and to organize local counteraction in accordance with secret instructions from national committees; and to establish regional and local I.T.F. centres in ports where they could serve a useful purpose.

Now it was necessary to make a distinction between activities on a national and local plane and those on a regional plane. Brother Laurent had expressed regret that his Railwaymen's Federation had not been called upon by the French national and local Vigilance Committees to participate in their activities. But these activities had been based upon the maritime industries and it had only been suggested that *if necessary on a local basis* other unions could be called in and that it would be left to the local organization to determine whether that was necessary. In speaking of other unions they had considered not only railwaymen but also other industries, such as the metal industry, ship-repairing and different port organizations which were not affiliated with the I.T.F., and even persons not directly connected with the national or international trade union movement provided that they were honest democratic citizens who would be prepared to help.

Since Brother Laurent complained that his union had not been asked to participate, it was surprising that he had not made a request at the I.T.F. Stuttgart Congress in 1950, when the battle was on and people belonging to I.T.F. unions were risking their lives. If the Railwaymen's Section of the I.T.F. wished to take some part in the activity they had to take the initiative themselves. On the Executive Committee he had advocated that the matter should be laid before all I.T.F. sections, to

consider whether it was necessary or possible to set up similar machinery in the different sections, and the matter was actually discussed at the I.T.F. Railway Conference at Utrecht in August 1951. A resolution was laid before that Conference proposing the setting up of Vigilance Committees but the French Railwaymen's Federation did not vote for it, they even abstained from voting at all.

Brother Laurent had also referred to political activities by the Mediterranean Vigilance Committee and to resolutions it adopted when it met in Salonika in June 1951. To a great extent his criticism was groundless but the I.T.F. Executive Committee had considered the matter and had expressed the view that the political trend of some of the resolutions adopted by the Mediterranean Vigilance Committee at its meetings, both in Marseilles and later in Salonika, were open to criticism. Its criticism was directed less at the actual terms of the resolutions themselves than at 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 view of the I.T.F. as a whole. After considering the matter very carefully, the Executive Committee decided to emphasize the fact that the Vigilance Committees were action committees and not policy-making bodies and that their resolutions with regard to such matters should be kept strictly within the bounds of decisions previously arrived at by the governing bodies of the I.T.F. The leader of the Mediterranean Vigilance Committee, their friend Ferri-Pisani, had understood this and had declared himself completely in agreement with the Executive Committee, so that they might expect that the difficulty would not arise again.

Brother Laurent had said that there was nothing in the Report about the financing of the activities of the Vigilance Committees. If he had studied the Financial Report, he would have found that the I.T.F. has a fund called the Vigilance Committee Fund, set up by a decision of the Executive Committee, to which contributions had been coming forward from different affiliated organizations. During the two years of its existence, the Central Vigilance Committee had spent, as could be seen in Table 10 of the Financial Report, the sum of £890. That had been spent on travelling, and none of the affiliated organizations which had directly something to do with the Vigilance Committees had asked for financial help, they had provided the finance themselves. There was nothing wrong in that. Brother Laurent said that in France they seemed to spend too much money, but that was not the concern of the I.T.F. When affiliated organizations take action, particularly on the national plane, the Secretariat of the I.T.F. could not be expected to ask them where the money came from. That would be interference with the financial autonomy of a national organization.

Finally, Brother Laurent referred to the employment of Brother Froideval by the Mediterranean Committee. The matter had already been raised previously and the I.T.F. was asked to investigate it. It was a somewhat delicate matter for the I.T.F. to undertake the purging of the French trade union movement, but after consideration the Executive Committee did undertake to set up a small committee of investigation. That committee was duly appointed, but when it came to the

matter of fixing a date, Brother Laurent twice asked for a postponement, and since the people sitting on the committee could not be expected to hold themselves indefinitely at the disposal of Brother Laurent's organization, they resigned.

Brother Dekeyzer had referred to fishermen's questions and pointed out that no meeting of the Fishermen's Section had been held between the two Congresses; but that had not meant that problems connected with the fishing industry had not been dealt with. It so happened that seafarers' unions affiliated with the I.T.F. also represented the fishermen, and the same people who would have represented the latter had attended meetings of the Seafarers' Section and had discussed a number of problems affecting them.

He had also asked that greater efforts should be displayed on behalf of the Road Transport Workers' Section. There was indeed quite an amount of work to be done in connection with the social conditions of road transport workers, but it was a very difficult problem to tackle. Possibly the solution might be found in connection with the question of coordination of transport in Europe, and possibly something more would have to be done on a national scale—not so much directly by the I.T.F. itself as by affiliated organizations—particularly in those countries where road transport workers were badly organized.

As regards the eight-hour day for Greek railwaymen, all that could be done had been done. The matter had been taken up with their Government and with the I.L.O., and it had been brought before general conferences of the I.L.O. It would be pressed until their Greek friends had received satisfaction. He could assure his good friend Dimitracopoulos that the I.T.F. would stand by them and do everything humanly possible to satisfy them.

Brother Nishimaki had had nothing but praise for what the I.T.F. had done and had no further wishes to express. He had even said that the Japanese unions were becoming so strong that they would be able to tackle in the national field the problems they had to face. The I.T.F. had helped them so far as it was able to do and he was happy to hear from Brother Nishimaki that the I.T.F.'s interventions had been useful. He could rest assured that everything would be done to help the Japanese transport workers when they required it.

Brother Petroulis from Greece had referred to the spurious transfer of ships. The matter had been thoroughly discussed within the Seafarers' Section and it had been particularly pointed out that their Greek friends could do much, in cooperation with the other seafarers' organizations affiliated with the I.T.F., to make the action still more effective. They in particular could play an important rôle, owing to the large number of ships sailing under the Panamanian and similar flags which were operated by Greek shipowners and the large number of Greek seamen who were sailing under such flags. He appreciated that the Greek seamen would not be able to bear the financial burden alone, indeed no single affiliated organization could do so. The Seafarers' Section had already discussed the matter and should the Greek Union call upon the I.T.F. for financial help it would be given in so far as that was possible.

The situation of the Estonian seafarers and other transport workers certainly had all the sympathy of the I.T.F. He did not refer to the situation existing behind the Iron Curtain, though he hoped that there would be a resolution before the Congress referring not only to Estonia but also to the other countries behind the Iron Curtain. His friend Metslov had had all possible assistance from the I.T.F. in the organization of the Estonian seafarers and his union had never been so strong as it was today. They had been able to conclude a collective agreement with the Estonian shipowners, which was reasonably satisfactory if not completely so, and he felt sure that the Congress would agree that the I.T.F. should continue to render assistance wherever and whenever necessary.

THE PRESIDENT then welcomed the delegation of the British National Union of Railwaymen which had just arrived.

He announced that the Congress would adjourn for a quarter of an hour, after which it would resume in closed session to give further consideration to the proposals for the revision of the Constitution.

The Congress then went into Closed Session to consider the Executive Committee's proposals for the Revision of the Constitution. It is consequently not possible to give a full account of the proceedings, but the following is a summary of the matters dealt with and the decisions reached:

CLOSED SESSION

REVISION OF THE CONSTITUTION (*continued*)

The Congress had before it a 27-page document containing the Executive Committee's proposals for a complete revision of the Constitution, put forward in compliance with a decision of the Stuttgart Congress of 1950. The overwhelming majority of these proposals were adopted without discussion, and the complete new Constitution, as adopted, is printed as an appendix (see page 311). The following proposals for amendment (of the proposals), however, were also before the Congress:

1. That Paragraph 2 of old Rule IV (new Rule VI) be amended to provide that Congress should meet every three years instead of every two.

Proposed by the F.O. French Railwaymen's Federation but withdrawn. Re-moved by the Swedish Railwaymen's Union.

2. That Rule VIII, Paragraph 3, be altered to read as follows:

"The elected members of the Executive Committee shall number at least one-fourth of the elected members of the General Council (fractions being neglected) but shall not be less than seven. They shall be elected by secret ballot, for which purpose the voting strength of each delegation shall be directly proportional to the affiliation fees actually paid by its organization for the quarter immediately preceding the Congress.

"In the election of members of the Executive Committee Congress shall endeavour to secure the best possible representation of the several sections of the transport industry. In no case shall more than one-half of the members of the Committee belong to one section of the industry."

Proposed by the Executive Committee as an amendment to its own original proposal. The amendment consisted of the addition of the words in italics.

3. That the second paragraph of the new text of Rule VIII, Paragraph 3 (as printed above), be altered as follows: For "the best possible" substitute "a good"; and for the final sentence substitute: "As far as possible not more than one-half of the members of the Committee shall belong to one section of the industry."

Proposed by the Austrian and Swiss railwaymen's and transport workers' unions.

4. In Rule XI, Paragraph 2, substitute for the first two sentences the following: "The General Secretary and Assistant General Secretary shall be elected by Congress."

Proposed by the Swedish Railwaymen's Union.

5. For Rule XI, Paragraph 2, substitute the following (i.e., the old text): "The General Secretary and Assistant General Secretary shall be elected by the Congress. The secretaries in charge of sections shall be appointed by the General Council at the proposal of the Conference of the Section concerned or at the proposal of the Executive Committee."

Proposed by the Austrian delegation, the Swiss Transport Workers' Union and the Belgian and French railwaymen's unions.

6. For Rule XI, Paragraph 2, substitute the following: "The General Secretary and Assistant General Secretary shall be elected by Congress on the proposal of the Executive Committee. The Assistant General Secretary and the secretaries in charge of Sections, as well as the personnel of the Secretariat, shall work under the direct authority of the General Secretary, whose instructions they shall follow."

7. For Rule XI, Paragraph 3, substitute the following: "The salaries of all personnel, including the General Secretary, shall be proposed by the Executive Committee and approved by the General Council."

8. For Rule XI, Paragraphs 4 and 5, substitute the following: "The General Secretary and Assistant General Secretary shall attend Congresses of the Federation and meetings of the General Council, Executive Committee and Management Committee with consultative voice, and shall act generally under the orders of the Executive Committee, within the limits of the powers given him by that body. The General Secretary shall be responsible for the general administration of the business and property of the Federation, and for all documents and publications required to be issued by the Federation."

Amendments 6 to 8, above, proposed by the Luxembourg delegation.

9. For Rule XI, Paragraph 5, substitute the following (old text): "The Assistant General Secretary shall attend all Congresses and meetings of the General Council, Executive Committee and Management Committee and act generally under the orders of the Executive Committee and of the General Secretary. He shall assist the General Secretary as required. He shall have the right to speak on any business of the Federation at meetings of the General Council, Executive Committee and Management Committee. He shall have the right to speak at the Congress by authority or instruction of the General Secretary or Executive Committee or at the request of the Chairman. He shall have the right to vote at meetings of the General Council and, in the absence of the General Secretary, at meetings of the Executive Committee. During the absence of the General Secretary from headquarters he shall be in charge of the affairs of the Federation."

Proposed by the Swedish, Belgian and French railwaymen's unions.

10. For Rule XI, Paragraph 7, substitute the following: "The General Secretary shall, in consultation with the Executive Committee, appoint such employees as may be necessary."

11. It is suggested, in connection with Rule XI, Paragraph 8, that it is desirable to lay down disciplinary measures that can be taken against each individual member of the personnel of the Secretariat. The employee penalized should have the right to appeal to Congress, the Federation's highest authority.

12. Rule IX, Paragraph 6, requires that "the Management Committee shall supervise the activities of the Secretariat", but Rule VIII, Paragraph 1, says that the Executive Committee is "responsible for the general management and superintendence of the Federation's affairs". All control and supervision, including control over the Executive Committee, should be exercised by a single body, the Management Committee, whose name should be changed to "Supervising Committee", and which should be appointed by Congress. The General Secretary should receive his powers by delegation from the Executive Committee.

13. For Rule VIII, Paragraph 2, substitute the following: "The Executive Committee shall consist of members elected by the Congress from among the members of the General Council. The General Secretary, Assistant General Secretary and the President or Vice-President of the Management Committee shall attend meetings of the Executive Committee in a consultative capacity."

14. Rule X, Paragraph 3. Add after "President" the words "and Vice-President".

15. For Rule VII, Paragraph 2, substitute the following: "The General Council shall be composed of representatives elected by the delegates to the Congress, and shall further include, *ex officio*, the General Secretary and Assistant General Secretary of the Federation. The General Secretary and Assistant General Secretary, as officials of

the Federation, shall not have the right to vote. The Chairman of the Industrial Sections may attend meetings of the General Council in an advisory capacity only."

Amendments numbers 10 to 15 above, were
proposed by the Luxembourg delegation.

16. In Rule VII, Paragraph 2, add after "General Secretary" the words "and Assistant General Secretary".

17. For Rule XI, Paragraph 6, substitute the following (old text): "Section secretaries shall attend and be entitled to speak at all meetings of the sections in their charge. They shall be responsible for the preparation and distribution of all documents required for the proper discharge of the business of such sections. They shall attend at all sessions of the Congress with the right to speak on all matters connected with their sections, and on any other matter with the permission or at the request of the General Secretary. They shall attend at meetings of the General Council and Executive Committee when their presence is required for the consideration of matters relating to their sections."

18. For Rule XI, Paragraph 8, substitute the following: "The General Council is empowered to suspend from office the General Secretary and the Assistant General Secretary, who in their turn are entitled to appeal to Congress."

19. For Rule XV, Paragraph 2, substitute the following (old text): "Section conferences shall be convened by and meet under the authority of the Executive Committee, which shall fix their agenda and the date and place of meeting. Affiliated organizations may apply for the convening of section conferences, but the decisions as to the calling of such meetings shall rest with the Executive Committee."

20. In Rule XVIII, Paragraph 3, for "Executive Committee" substitute "General Council".

Amendments numbers 16 to 20, above, were
proposed by the Swedish Railwaymen's Union.

21. Add at the end of Rule XV, Paragraph 1: "On the proposal of the Sectional Conference the Congress shall elect a Sectional Committee for each section. The Committee shall consist of a maximum of ten members, who shall be nominated by the unions concerned. During the period between Congresses the Executive Committee shall consult the Sectional Committee, through the Sectional Secretary, on all matters of special importance to the Section."

22. Delete last sentence of Rule XV, Paragraph 2, and substitute the following: "On the proposal of and in consultation with the Sectional Committee the Executive Committee shall fix the agenda of the conference and the date and place of meeting."

Amendments 21 and 22, above, *proposed by the Swedish Transport Workers, Union.*

23. Amend Rule XV, Paragraph 2, to read as follows: "Section conferences shall be convened by the Executive Committee which, with the assistance of a Section Committee, shall fix their agenda and the date and place of meeting. Affiliated organizations may apply for the convening of section conferences but the decision as to the calling of such

meetings shall rest with the Executive Committee. The Section Committee shall consist of seven members, including the Chairman. It shall be elected by the Section Conference, which shall normally meet at least twice a year."

24. For Rule XV, Paragraph 3, substitute the following: "Section Conferences shall meet under the auspices of the Executive Committee. At their conferences the industrial sections shall each elect a chairman who, if he is not an elected member of the General Council, shall become one *ex officio*."

25. For Rule XV, Paragraph 5, substitute the following: "The travelling and personal expenses of delegates to Section Conferences shall be borne by the organization they represent. Expenses occasioned by meetings of Section Committees and the preparation for and meeting of Conferences shall be borne by the Federation. Travelling and hotel expenses of members of Section Committees and rapporteurs at Conferences shall be borne by the Federation."

Amendments 23 to 25, above, *proposed by* F.O.
French Railwaymen's Federation.

26. For Rule XV, Paragraph 5, substitute the following: "The expenses of delegates to the Sectional Conferences and of the Sectional Committees shall be borne by the affiliated organizations concerned."

Proposed by the Swedish Transport Workers' Union.

THE PRESIDENT said that when the discussion on the proposals for the revision of the Constitution started the atmosphere had been somewhat charged with electricity, and the Executive Committee had considered it desirable that further discussion should take place in a closed session. With the spread of electric traction, however, members of the I.T.F. had become more skilled in handling electricity and he hoped that that skill would be apparent in the further proceedings. In the meantime a number of amendments to the proposals had been received which had been carefully considered by the Executive Committee, on behalf of which Brother Deakin would report.

A. DEAKIN (British Transport and General Workers' Union) said that the Executive Committee had given careful consideration to the remarks made in the course of the discussion on the proposals for revision of the Constitution, and also to the proposals for amendment which had since been received. Their consideration of the matter, however, had left the Executive Committee strengthened in their belief that their first proposals were perfectly sound and calculated to bring the Constitution into line with present day requirements. They were therefore recommending that the new amendments proposed should not be accepted. He wanted to assure the Congress that there was nothing sinister in the proposals of the Executive Committee. They were not out on a head-hunting expedition and no personal considerations were involved. It was not intended to divorce the function of the Assistant General Secretary from the work of the General Council, the Executive Committee or of the Congress itself, nor was it proposed to withdraw from the railwaymen any of the facilities that the Railwaymen's Section had enjoyed in the past. The Railwaymen's Section was a very considerable section of the I.T.F. and was numerically the strongest.

It contributed the most financially and to seek to injure or take from it facilities that it had previously enjoyed would be extremely stupid. The proposals had been made solely because it was considered that they were in the best interests of the I.T.F.

He wished to refer to certain statements that he had made, when he spoke on the previous Thursday, with regard to the views then expressed by Brother Jahn. There had been a frank talk on the Executive Committee about this matter and he wished to say that the Executive acknowledged that there had been no intention on the part of Brother Jahn to be disloyal to a decision reached. It was one of those misunderstandings that sometimes arise. The Executive Committee appreciated that one of its members had the right to speak for his delegation and to express a point of view that represented the considered opinion of that delegation. The misunderstanding had therefore been disposed of.

He also wished to refer to other misunderstandings—he chose the word with a great deliberation—that had existed in the Secretariat. While delegates were sleeping in their beds the Executive Committee had sat for six hours at the top of the Malmen Hotel for the purpose of considering these misunderstandings. Views had been freely expressed and undertakings had been given and it had been found possible to resolve the differences of opinion from which they derived and to create that team spirit which would enable them to go forward with undivided councils and that measure of loyalty which was so essential to the good governance and wellbeing of the I.T.F. He wished it to be clearly understood that there had been no intention to take penal action against anybody but simply to create within the Secretariat that measure of understanding and spirit of brotherly cooperation which was so necessary.

He regretted that, in putting forward the proposal of the Executive that no section of the I.T.F. should have more than half the members of the Executive Committee, he had omitted to mention that it would be suggested at a later stage that for the period 1952 - 1954 the Executive Committee should consist of ten members, so that the effect of the proposal would be that no section should have more than five members. He suggested that that was a fair and generous allocation. He felt sure that the railwaymen had no wish to dominate the councils of the I.T.F. or to control its Executive. The railwaymen had a little over half the affiliated membership of the I.T.F. and they would get one half of the members of the Executive.

As regards the proposals of the Austrian and Swiss delegations and those of the Belgian Railwaymen's Union and French Railwaymen's Union, dealing with the question of the Assistant General Secretary, he hoped that he had said sufficient already to remove any suspicion there might be in the minds of delegates that there was some ulterior motive in the proposal, and that Congress would therefore accept the proposals of the Executive Committee as they originally stood. The I.C.F.T.U. had a similar provision in its Constitution.

As regards the proposal of the Swedish Railwaymen's Union that the Congress should be held every three years instead of every two, the Executive also advised rejection, after very careful consideration. It might save a little money but it would have the disadvantage that international contacts would be less frequent.

As regards the proposal of the Swedish Transport Workers' Union concerning sectional conferences, the Executive Committee was of the opinion that present facilities were ample to meet the needs of the various sections and that the adoption of the proposal would not improve them.

Most of the resolutions had centred round the proposals to which he had referred, but there were also a number put forward by the delegation from Luxembourg. They had evidently gone into the matter very thoroughly but he thought that if they had had at their disposal the information available to the Executive Committee they would not have made the proposals. The Executive Committee regretted that it could not accept them.

He submitted the report of the Executive Committee and hoped that the Congress would follow its recommendation that all the amendments, except that which it was itself putting forward, should be rejected.

THE PRESIDENT said that he would proceed to deal with the resolutions in detail. He thought they could be divided into five groups.

1. The proposal that Congress should be held every three years;
2. The resolutions dealing with the status of the Assistant General Secretary;
3. Those dealing with the composition of the Executive Committee;
4. Those dealing with the convening of sectional meetings and the appointment of section chairmen; and finally
5. Some of the proposals put forward by the Luxembourg delegation.

Frequency of Congress

THE PRESIDENT called on Brother Blomgren to move the proposal of the Swedish Railwaymen's Union that the Congress should be held every three years (amendment number 1 above).

H. BLOMGREN (Swedish Railwaymen's Union) said that in putting forward this proposal after it had been withdrawn by the French Railwaymen's delegation the only aim of his organization had been to facilitate the work of the Secretariat. They certainly had no objection to seeing their comrades again every two years instead of every three and since the Executive Committee recommended that the proposal should not be adopted they wished to withdraw it.

The Congress agreed and then proceeded to discuss the second of the proposals, that relating to

Composition of the Executive Committee (amendments numbers 2 and 3)

H. LEUENBERGER (Swiss Transport Workers' Union) said that he had not been convinced by Brother Deakin's remarks though he agreed in principle that undue preponderance of any particular Section upon the Executive Committee should be avoided. The Congress should endeavour to secure a fair representation of the different groups of

transport workers. What he objected to was the method proposed, which seemed to take the form of a quite unnecessary demonstration against one particular group, though Brother Deakin had, it was true, expressly said that that was not the intention. He thought that the aim desired should not be achieved by measures of compulsion and he particularly objected to the words "in no case" for which he wished to substitute the words "as far as possible", which sounded more democratic. It was important that the Executive Committee should consist of the best men available, men in whom they could have their fullest confidence. The President of the I.T.F., Brother Bratschi, was such a man—though he was unfortunately a railwayman—and he was also President of the Swiss Federation of Trade Unions. He moved the substitution of the words he had proposed.

A. DEAKIN (British Transport and General Workers' Union) said that he could reassure Brother Leuenberger that he was not proposing to dispense with the services of Brother Bratschi and he felt sure that he would be re-elected. The Executive Committee was pursuing the same aim as Brother Leuenberger, that of obtaining fair representation of the different Sections, and that could not be ensured if there was a possibility of one group electing all the members of the Executive Committee. There was no question of singling out the railwaymen. The aim was to avoid undue preponderance of any single Section whichever it might be. As regards Brother Leuenberger's proposal that this preponderance should be avoided "as far as possible" the difficulty was that no suggestion was made as to how this should be enforced.

THE PRESIDENT pointed out that there was apparently no difference of opinion on the proposal to increase the number of members of the Executive Committee and he assumed that that could be regarded as approved. On the question of the limitation of the representation of any one section, there appeared to be no disagreement in principle but only as to the manner in which it should be done.

The Executive's proposal was then put to the vote and adopted by 112 votes to 41.

The Congress then adjourned until the afternoon.

Monday, 21st July 1952

AFTERNOON SESSION

CLOSED SESSION

REVISION OF THE CONSTITUTION (*continued*)

Appointment of Assistant General Secretary (amendments 4 to 6)

THE PRESIDENT called upon Brother Blomgren to move the proposal of the Swedish Railwaymen's Union that both the General Secretary and Assistant General Secretary should be elected by the Congress.

H. BLOMGREN (Swedish Railwaymen's Union) said that his union saw no reason to change the procedure under which the Assistant General Secretary was elected by Congress as well as the General Secretary. When they were first confronted with the proposal his union could not free themselves from the idea that there might be a personal motive behind the proposal, and he was glad to have Brother Deakin's assurances in this respect. He felt, however, that insufficient reasons had been given for the change and he asked Congress to reject it.

He regretted that when making a previous speech he had been misunderstood to say that he was speaking on behalf of three million railwaymen. That was not the case, he was speaking only on behalf of the Swedish Railwaymen's Union. He wished to add, however, that he thought that the railwaymen were not the only group who would agree with him on the proposal under discussion.

R. FREUND (Austrian Railwaymen's Union), speaking in support of amendment 5, part of which was of similar tenor to that moved by the previous speaker, said he also was glad to have the assurance that no personal question was involved in the proposal to which the amendment was moved. He also thought it better that both the General Secretary and his assistant should be elected by the Congress. The work of the I.T.F. was growing and would continue to do so, and he considered it was desirable to have somebody—elected by Congress and not chosen by a small group—to represent the General Secretary in his absence. In this view he had the support of the Austrian organizations, the Swiss Transport Workers' Union and the Belgian and French Railwaymen's Unions.

G. DEVAUX (Belgian Railwaymen's Union), supporting the amendment moved by the previous speakers, said that in the view of his delegation it was normal that an Assistant General Secretary, called upon on occasion to act in the absence of the General Secretary, should be elected by Congress, though he agreed that in certain cases the General Secretary should decide whether his Assistant should or should not replace him. He felt that the proposal placed the Assistant General Secretary to a certain extent in the position of an employee. None of them questioned for an instant that the only person in authority was the General Secretary, but that was no reason why the Congress should not elect his assistant. Justification might be found for abolishing the position of the Assistant General Secretary but if he were not to be

abolished he should be elected by the Congress. He wished to make it quite clear that both the General Secretary and the Assistant General Secretary had the full confidence of the French and Belgian delegations.

T. YATES (British National Union of Seamen) said that he hoped everybody would recognize the sincerity of purpose of those who had undertaken the task of revising the rules. He himself had been a member of the Rules Revision Committee and was a member of the Management Committee and he was in the fortunate position of living and working in the same building that housed the I.T.F. The I.T.F. now had a General Secretary and an Assistant General Secretary and it might well happen that some day it might have three or four Assistant General Secretaries. The Rules Committee had thought that it was very necessary to make perfectly clear the position of the chief administrative officer. He therefore subscribed to everything that had been said by Brother Deakin the previous Thursday.

The particular matter under discussion had not been considered over night. There had been four meetings of the Rules Revision Committee and their proposals had been given serious consideration by the Executive Committee, largely composed of persons who had been re-elected time and again to that body and for whom the Congress surely had respect. They had been unanimous in suggesting that for the better management of their International the changes proposed should be made.

J. B. FIGGINS (British National Union of Railwaymen) thought that the arrangement under which both the General Secretary and the Assistant General Secretary were elected by Congress should continue. That was the practice in his own union.

K. WEIGL (Austrian Transport Workers' Union) thought that the Assistant General Secretary should be elected by Congress for the reasons given by his friend Freund. If he were elected by the General Council his status would be that of an employee. It was desirable that the Assistant General Secretary should have the confidence of the Congress and he should therefore be elected by it. Naturally he should act in agreement with the General Secretary on all important questions. The General Secretary might in certain circumstances, however, be away from the office, and there must be somebody there looking after affairs and able to assume responsibility if any serious situation developed.

A. DEAKIN (British Transport and General Workers' Union) said that he had heard nothing in the speeches of those who had opposed the Executive Committee's proposals to induce him to change his views. Congress only met every two years and if they should at any time feel themselves in a position of needing another Assistant General Secretary they could do nothing about it until Congress next met. Brother Devaux had no need to have any fear of the position of the Railwaymen's Section, which would be carried on in precisely the same way as it had always been. It was necessary that the I.T.F. should have undivided and clear leadership. He hoped that Congress would support the Executive Committee's recommendation.

A card vote was asked for and there were 1,452,439 votes for the Executive Committee's proposal and 1,112,489 against.

THE PRESIDENT said that although there was a majority for the proposal of the Executive Committee it was not the two-thirds majority required by Article 4, Paragraph 8, of the Constitution.

The proposal of the Executive Committee was therefore rejected.

Sectional Committees (amendment number 21)

HJ. SVENSSON (Swedish Transport Workers' Union) said that the practice had developed of late years in the I.T.F. of having sectional committees to assist the Secretary in preparing for sectional conferences. He thought the time had come to make provision for them in the Rules. He saw no reason why the practice followed hitherto, of sectional conferences being convened by the Executive Committee, should be discontinued and that the power to do so should be transferred to the General Secretary after consultation with the President and the Management Committee. Sectional conferences should be convened by the Executive Committee as hitherto and the Executive Committee should also fix their agendas, on proposals from and in consultation with the sectional committees.

THE PRESIDENT then announced that the French Railwaymen's Federation wished to withdraw their proposals on the same subject (amendments 23, 24 and 25).

A. DEAKIN (British Transport and General Workers' Union), replying to the Swedish proposal, asked Congress to reject it. The appointment of the Committees for the sections had hitherto been optional and the proposal would make them compulsory, whether or not the sections wished to have them, and that would mean additional expense. Again, the proposal that the Committees should consist of a maximum of ten members was unrealistic.

The Executive Committee recommended that the amendment should be rejected.

The matter was then put to the vote and the Executive Committee's proposals were adopted by a large majority.

Luxembourg amendments (6 to 8, 10 to 15)

THE PRESIDENT said that a number of proposals of the Luxembourg delegation were similar to those embodied in other amendments, but others raised new matters. The Executive Committee recommended that all of their proposals should be rejected and he asked the Luxembourg delegation whether they were prepared to withdraw them.

The Luxembourg delegation agreed to do so, on the understanding that they should be placed before any future committee appointed to revise the rules.

Assistant General Secretary's membership of the General Council (amendment 16)

H. BLOMGREN (Swedish Railwaymen's Union) said that the railwaymen's delegation was surprised at the proposal that the Assistant General Secretary should no longer be a member of the General Council. During the course of the many years they had been cooperating with the present Assistant General Secretary they had learned to appreciate his

capacities and there seemed to be insufficient reasons for the proposal. Brother Deakin had emphasized the need for delegates to have confidence in their Executive Committee. He could assure him that the Executive Committee had their full confidence but he felt that the Executive Committee was not taking up the same attitude towards the delegates and was not expressing the reasons for its proposals sufficiently. He moved the amendment of the Swedish Railwaymen's Union.

A. DEAKIN (British Transport & General Workers' Union), on behalf of the Executive Committee, asked Congress to reject the amendment.

On being put to the vote the amendment was rejected by 66 votes to 65, and the President declared the Executive Committee's proposal carried.

Status of the Assistant General Secretary (amendment 9)

H. BLOMGREN (Swedish Railwaymen's Union), moving the amendment, said that again no sufficient reason had been given for the proposals. The old rule, however, did contain a provision that would have to be dropped since it had now been decided that the Assistant General Secretary should not form part of the General Council. That was the provision that he should have the right to vote at meetings of that body. He saw no reason, however, to change any other of the provisions of the old rule and he asked Congress to accept his amendment subject to the removal of the sentence he had mentioned.

A. DEAKIN (British Transport and General Workers' Union) agreed with Brother Blomgren that as a result of the fact that the Assistant General Secretary would no longer be a member of the General Council it would not be possible to give him a vote at meetings of that body. He considered, however, that the Assistant General Secretary should not have the right to vote at any meetings nor should he have a prescriptive right to act as General Secretary in the absence of that official. The proposal of the Executive Committee was quite clear. It provided that the Assistant General Secretary should attend Congresses and meetings of the General Council, Executive Committee and Management Committee and further that he should act under the orders of the General Secretary. That was simple and straightforward. He could not imagine any General Secretary being willing to accept the responsibilities associated with his job when his Assistant had the status proposed by Blomgren. That would be allowing conditions to remain which made for strife and conflict within the Secretariat. It would make for a condition of anarchy and divided responsibility.

O. BECU (General Secretary) emphasized that no personal question was involved, it was a matter of principle. It had been repeatedly emphasized, by Devaux for instance, that the Assistant General Secretary should be under the authority of the General Secretary. Assistant General Secretary meant assistant to the General Secretary, no more and no less. The old article said that the Assistant General Secretary was also under the orders of the Executive Committee and the tendency of that statement was to divide the authority and it was impossible for an organization with two heads to work satisfactorily. The new rules provided that the Assistant General Secretary should attend Congresses of the Federation and meetings of the General Council, Executive Committee, and Management Committee, and

rightly so, because it was necessary that he should be just as well informed as the General Secretary of what was going on within the Federation, since in certain circumstances it was necessary that he should be able to replace the latter. But to state that during the absence of the General Secretary he should be in charge of the affairs of the Federation was quite another matter. Would that mean that if the General Secretary should be away for a week or ten days to attend a Congress, where he could be contacted at any moment, the Assistant General Secretary should be free to make his own decisions? That was absurd. The General Secretary could, however, delegate his powers or give instructions to the Assistant General Secretary if he were away for months at a time. That was a different matter, but to give him automatically the right to act on his own would be a vote of no confidence in the General Secretary.

H. BLOMGREN (Swedish Railwaymen's Union) said that it seemed to him that the only obstacle to the acceptance of his proposal was the last sentence and, as a point of order, he asked the President if it would not be possible to refer this part to the Executive Committee, on the understanding that it had never been the intention of those who had put forward the amendment that the Assistant General Secretary should take over from the General Secretary in case of a comparatively short absence.

THE PRESIDENT refused to accept this as a point of order and on the matter being put to the vote the amendment was rejected by 95 votes to 55.

Suspension of Secretaries (amendment 18)

THE PRESIDENT said that on the question of the amendment of Rule 11, paragraph 8, in such a manner as to provide for suspension of the Assistant General Secretary as well as the General Secretary, Brother Arthur Deakin had a declaration to make on behalf of the Executive Committee.

A. DEAKIN (British Transport and General Workers' Union) said that the Executive Committee agreed to change the text to put the Assistant General Secretary in precisely the same position as the General Secretary by providing that the Executive Committee might suspend either of the two subject to appeal to the next Congress.

H. BLOMGREN (Swedish Railwaymen's Union) thought that if a situation should arise in which it would be necessary to suspend the General Secretary it would be of so grave a nature that the Executive Committee, consisting of only ten members, would hardly be competent to decide the matter. He thought it should go to the General Council, which met every year, and if necessary an extraordinary meeting of the General Council could be called. He therefore maintained his amendment.

A. DEAKIN (British Transport and General Workers' Union) said that he did not think that his Swedish friends realized what was involved in their proposal. The General Secretary might leave the country and carry

off all the I.T.F.'s funds and it would not be possible to do anything about it until they had called the General Council together. Then the matter would have to be referred to the Executive Committee.

The amendment was then put to the vote and rejected by 96 votes to 44.

Section Conferences (amendment 19)

Amendment number 19, that section conferences should be convened by the Executive Committee instead of the General Secretary, was then put to the vote without discussion and rejected by a large majority.

Supplementary contributions (amendment 20)

H. BLOMGREN (Swedish Railwaymen's Union) moved this amendment, to provide that the General Council, instead of the Executive Committee, should be given the power to call for supplementary contributions. He said that he made this proposal to facilitate the decision on such matters by putting it in the hands of a body having greater representative capacity.

A. DEAKIN (British Transport and General Workers' Union), on behalf of the Executive Committee, asked Congress to reject the proposal. He thought the task could very well be entrusted to the Executive Committee, which met more frequently.

The amendment was put to the vote and rejected by a large majority.

THE PRESIDENT then put the new Constitution to the vote as a whole, and it was adopted by 121 votes to one.

APPLICATION OF NEW CONSTITUTION

THE PRESIDENT said that that concluded the discussion on the revision of the Constitution. It only remained to decide when it should come into force. The Executive Committee proposed that this should take place immediately, so that the new rules could be employed in the elections the following Wednesday.

The Congress agreed unanimously.

THE PRESIDENT suggested that the Credentials Committee should be entrusted with the task of determining the voting powers of the different delegations under the new rules, and the Congress also agreed.

VISIT TO BRANTING MEMORIAL

THE PRESIDENT announced that there would be no full session of the Congress the following afternoon but delegates would meet before the Parliament building at two o'clock for the purpose of going together to deposit a wreath on the Branting Memorial.

This ended the Closed Session and Congress adjourned, it being 8.25 p.m.

OTHER MATTERS DEALT WITH

Although the Congress had met in closed session to consider the revision of the Constitution, the delays involved in card votes made it possible to interrupt the proceedings on occasion to deal with some matters in open session. A full account of the proceedings during these interruptions follows:

REPORT OF RESOLUTIONS COMMITTEE

G. B. THORNEYCROFT (Rapporteur) said that the Resolutions Committee had considered carefully the drafts of all resolutions which had been submitted up to the previous day and the result of their deliberations was contained in the four separate resolutions that had been circulated to delegates that morning. The Resolutions Committee recommended that they should be moved by the delegates whose names were attached to them: that relating to Argentina by Brother Mason; that relating to the transport of arms in peace and war by Brother Laurent; that relating to labour legislation in Japan by Brother Nishimaki; and that relating to Greek railwaymen's right to strike by Brother Dimitracopoulos.

THE PRESIDENT called on Brother Mason to move the following

Resolution on trade union freedom in Argentina

Whereas the dictatorial régime now existing in the Argentine Republic is still violating trade union freedom;

Whereas the (general)* behaviour of the present Argentine General Confederation of Labour, and, in particular, its conduct on the occasion of the struggle waged by the seafarers' and railwaymen's unions in defence of their independence, demonstrates quite clearly that it cannot be considered as a free trade union organization;

Whereas trade union freedom is essential to the effective protection of the workers' interests;

The 22nd Congress of the I.T.F., meeting in Stockholm from 16 to 23 July, 1952,

Reaffirms its opposition to dictatorship as declared by the resolution adopted at the Stuttgart Congress of 1950;

Urges the workers of Argentina in general, and particularly the transport workers, to continue the struggle for the restoration of democratic principles and for the independence of their unions; and

Declares that for the attainment of these aims the I.T.F. shall continue to render every possible assistance.

J. C. MASON (Argentine Maritime Confederation) said that the resolution had two fundamental aims: firstly to lend vigour to the resistance inside Argentina, and secondly to counteract the effects of both Communist and Perónist propaganda. It was necessary to make it clear to the Argentine workers that they were not alone in their fight.

The Resolutions Committee, however, had omitted the word "general" before the word "behaviour" in the second paragraph of the original draft. He asked that it should be restored, as in the Spanish language, at any rate, it was necessary to balance the words "in particular" which came in the following line.

G. B. THORNEYCROFT (Rapporteur) said that the Resolutions Committee had omitted the word "general" on the grounds that it was redundant, but in view of what Brother Mason had said he felt sure he could agree, on the Committee's behalf, to reinsert the word "general".

The Congress unanimously adopted the resolution subject to this amendment.

* The word "general" was inserted following discussion.

Resolution on the Greek railwaymen's right to strike

Whereas the new Greek Constitution has abolished the railwaymen's right to strike;

Whereas strike action should only be taken when all conciliatory methods of negotiation have failed to secure justice;

The 22nd Congress of the International Transport Workers' Federation, meeting in Stockholm from 16 to 23 July 1952,

Declares:

a. That it is the duty of governments and parliaments to seek to avoid possibilities of conflict between the transport workers' claims to fair conditions of employment and other interests;

b. that it is the duty of transport employers and transport workers' trade unions, as well as of governments and parliaments, to establish codes and machinery of industrial relations capable of ensuring social justice through negotiation and agreement; and

c. that to coerce transport workers to work under conditions they do not freely accept, by depriving them of the right to withhold their labour, is an act unworthy of a free society and incompatible with social justice.

S. DIMITRACOPOULUS (Greek Railwaymen's Union) *formally moved this resolution and it was unanimously adopted by Congress without discussion.*

THE PRESIDENT then called upon Brother Laurent to move the following

Resolution on transport in war and peace

Whereas the members of the International Transport Workers' Federation are devoted to the maintenance of peace and are striving for 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;

Whereas world peace is endangered by dictatorial powers which do not respond to the will of the peoples they govern and obey none of the precepts of right but threaten free peoples with subjugation by ideological penetration, internal subversion and aggression;

Whereas it is the duty of every community to defend itself at all costs against the danger of enslavement;

Whereas transport is a vital factor in war as well as in peace;

This 22nd Congress of the International Transport Workers' Federation, meeting in Stockholm from 16 to 23 July, 1952;

Declares that the free transport workers' trade unions, in all their endeavours to maintain and improve national and international transport, aim at nothing else than the economic, social and cultural welfare and progress of all peoples;

Recognizes, however, that so long as dictatorial régimes endanger world peace, it is essential that the transport industries shall be fitted for the task of contributing to the defence of freedom;

Proclaims its conviction that the achievement of lasting peace depends on the successful fight for freedom of men and women in the countries governed by dictators and on the successful working of world-wide institutions established for the attainment of social justice; and

Urges all bodies within the international trade union movement to support the fighters for freedom everywhere with all available means and to continue to work for the achievement of social justice through the appropriate institutions of the United Nations.

F. LAURENT (French Railwaymen's Union) said that the Resolutions Committee, in drafting the resolution which lay before delegates, wished once more to draw the attention of Congress and of all transport workers to the I.T.F.'s aim of a durable peace throughout the world, specifically mentioned in its Constitution. But while the free trade unions affiliated to the I.T.F. were working in the free countries to improve the lot of the working class, an organization like theirs could not forget that other countries were suffering under dictatorial régimes whose very existence was a threat to peace. In these countries peace was threatened in many ways: by the propaganda which went out from those other countries to the free countries; by the intrusion of a fifth column in the interior of the free countries for the purpose of establishing a world dictatorship; and by the direct threat of political parties which preached subversive action aimed at destroying freedom.

The resolution indicated that the transport workers realized that transport was a vital factor in war as well as in peace and that so long as dictatorial régimes endangered peace it was essential that the transport industry should be able to make its contribution to the defence of freedom. Finally the resolution recognized that in the totalitarian countries—Argentina, Spain, Russia and all the other countries behind the Iron Curtain—there were men fighting for their freedom. It was not possible to ignore this underground struggle and the resolution urged all bodies with the international free trade union movement to support them.

J. B. FIGGINS (British National Union of Railwaymen) said that the resolution before the Congress was not a resolution for the preservation of peace but a declaration of war, a resolution against freedom and democracy, a resolution in support of a dictatorship and for the enslavement of the working class. Two years before, at Stuttgart, there had been a long discussion on the question of the Korean war which had then just started and far too many people were under the impression that it was going to be a war for democracy, a war for freedom and in the interests of the working class. Since then they had had two years of it and it was openly admitted that Syngman Rhee was no friend of democracy, no friend of the working class and an openly declared dictator. The British Press had pointed out, in terms which there was no mistaking, that this Syngman Rhee was a menace to democracy. Even Mr. Truman, and other people in Australia, Canada and suchlike countries, had had to protest against him, and he was not without opposition inside his own country. This opposition had already existed two years before but people who were dictators liked to have an adventure and Syngman Rhee was no exception.

The war in Korea was being fought in American interests and was likely to develop into a third world war. When the third world war did develop he hoped the Americans would be able to take what was coming to them, as they were the instigators of it.

The cause of war, as everyone who had any sociological training knew quite well, was the fight for markets, for the control of raw materials and for the extension of the domination of one particular country against the interests of all other countries. And that was exactly the position in this case. America had reached a stage in its economic and political development when it had no alternative, if it wished to preserve capitalism, but to prepare for war and to wage war.

Those who stood for the resolution were the enemies of the working class and the friends of capitalism, because there could be no preparation for war on the extensive scale that was now regarded as necessary without a reduction in the standard of living. It would affect not only the lives of those who fought in the war but also the lives of their families, and if a world war came about they would all be landed in a much lower standard of life. They were going to have poverty if they continued the scale of rearmament that was being attempted for the third world war. In Britain it had already been openly admitted that preparations for war could not be continued on the scale that had hitherto been accepted as the absolute minimum, and the British Press had said the previous week that the British Government was seriously considering a further reduction in armaments for the purpose of protecting the British capitalist class, who needed to export the commodities they produced into the markets of the world; and the British working class was going to suffer in consequence . . . (*Some of Mr. Figgins' remarks were here inaudible owing to interruptions from the body of the Congress.*)

They had come to a situation in which even a Conservative Government was compelled to propose a slowing down of rearmament, as it realized that if it were to continue to rearm on the scale proposed there would be a diminution in the amount of exports from Great Britain and consequently a further curtailment of imports.

The British working class was now faced with the probability of a reduction in wages—not merely a wage freeze—and the position would develop into a state of war which would affect not only the working class of Great Britain but also that of other European countries. There were only two courses that could be taken, one was to stand for a war policy and the other was to marshal the forces of the working class to cooperate with those who stood for a policy of world trade on a wider scale and increased production everywhere. That was the only way to save the working class.

The resolution said that dictatorial régimes were endangering the peace of the world. That was a conception that had no foundation in fact and was, indeed, contrary to all fact, because it was not a dictatorial government that endangered peace—ever since 1945 it was America that endangered peace, and America had been driven forward by capitalism.

A group of members of his union had visited the Soviet Union in the previous November. It had seen the people of the Soviet Union and had interviewed some people connected with the trade union movement there. They had seen the great demonstration for peace in the Red Square on 7 November, where banner after banner in favour of peace had been carried by an overwhelming number of the working class. Everywhere—in Moscow, Leningrad and everywhere else—the workers

stood for the preservation of peace and they had asked them to go back to their country and tell the working class of Great Britain that the Russian people wanted peace. That had been the main subject discussed everywhere they went. It was quite clear from what they said that they were one hundred per cent behind the Russian Government because they had seen the tremendous advance of the previous five years—they saw improvement in supplies, reduction in prices, improvement in housing and reconstruction. It had been evident to all of those who composed the delegation that, if Russia could do this, in about five or six years it would have a higher standard of living than any other country in the world. In America there was a great deal of unemployment and there was also a steel strike. In Russia there was no necessity for steel strikes.

In Russia they stood for peace—they were not standing for war. The resolution was therefore simply American propaganda. There was no question of a fight for freedom. If they went into a third world war some people would receive a rude awakening. He asked Congress to turn down the resolution.

P. MORRIS (British Transport Salaried Staffs' Association) said that it would be nothing less than a tragedy if the Congress were given the impression that what Brother Figgins had said represented the views of Britain. There were at least nine members of Brother Figgins's Union, the British National Union of Railwaymen, who sat with him [Percy Morris] in the British House of Commons supporting a Labour Government, and he challenged Brother Figgins to mention the name of one who would subscribe to the speech he had just made. The shocking thing about the speech was that it had no relevance at all to the motion before the Congress. It was a case of a convenient peg on which to hang a hat.

When Brother Figgins spoke of freedom in Russia he was talking arrant nonsense. If he were to make a similar speech against the Russian Government on the other side of the Iron Curtain he would be put to death without any hesitation at all. It was an insult to their intelligence. They had no thought of bringing about war. The issue was to try and prevent the extension of war and they had made it abundantly clear that their one concern was to bring about an early peace with the minimum loss of life and the minimum of suffering.

The Congress had been taken advantage of. The views of Great Britain had not been put to them truly and properly and he asked them by their vote to demonstrate to the world that the I.T.F. stood for the policy outlined in the resolution, namely, that transport was essential in war and in peace and that they did not subscribe for a moment to the suggestion that there was anything like freedom or opportunity in Russia. The British National Union of Railwaymen Members of Parliament, and all other Labour Members of Parliament in the British House of Commons, stood on the side of the United Nations. They were grateful for the cooperation of the American people and for the help they had given and they wished to do all they possibly could to restore peace to the people of the whole world.

P. LAFOND (French Railwaymen's Federation) said that he would not have troubled to speak to the resolution submitted by Brother Laurent—since it also reflected the views of his delegation—had it not been for the speech that had just been heard. His delegation would vote for the resolution in the certainty that it would be a vote in favour of freedom and democracy. It was strange to hear somebody assert that by voting for the resolution on the war in Korea at the Stuttgart Congress they had been voting for dictatorship and aggression, as if there had not been aggression enough in Korea. If they wanted to know anything about dictatorship let them ask their comrades in Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and the Baltic countries. It was to be regretted that Brother Figgins had not arrived in time to hear Brother Maxamin as it might have given him other ideas.

As an old trade unionist he was no admirer of militarism but they had been obliged to defend their freedom against Hitler and they were prepared to defend that same freedom against any other dictator, even if he came from Moscow. No doubt the forces of capitalism were preparing for war but there were other forces doing the same thing. It was all very well to speak of peace demonstrations in Moscow, but he wondered whether they were as pacifist as was suggested. He was in favour of peace but not of peace under a dictatorship, with thousands upon thousands of workers in concentration camps, nor was he prepared to accept as a pattern a régime which had set up such camps. And talking about Paradise, he wondered why some travellers had stopped at Stockholm and had not continued their voyage a little further.

H. JAHN (German Railwaymen's Union) said that he lived in a country which bordered on the Iron Curtain and was consequently in close touch with what was happening behind it. They also had people coming out of the East who told such fairy tales as Brother Figgins had dished up, they also had infiltrators and the I.T.F. would do well to beware of them, as there was nothing the Kremlin hated more than the I.T.F.

He did not know whether Brother Figgins really believed what Moscow had put over to him: he certainly would not be allowed to move about freely and undisturbed in Soviet Russia. But although they had many a bone to pick with the capitalist system of the West, at least they had the right to strike if they were not satisfied with their conditions, but anybody who struck for such a reason in Soviet Russia would be shot. That was the freedom of the East and he had no interest in sharing it. He stood for personal freedom, for freedom of speech and for the rights of man—without them he had no wish to live. His country had experienced a régime such as existed in Russia and had no wish to try it again. He hoped Brother Figgins would realize that he was on the wrong track and that if there were no unemployed in Russia there were certainly millions of persons engaged in forced labour; and that in Russia and its satellite countries only one opinion was permitted, the opinion of the Kremlin. In Russia there was only one freedom, the freedom to obey the dictator or die.

F. LAURENT (French Railwaymen's Federation) said that he could be short, as the speakers immediately preceding him had lightened his task by replying to Brother Figgins. He hoped that Congress would adopt the resolution he had submitted and thus show Brother Figgins that they were not behind his attack on the American people. If Brother Figgins had been in France the previous 28th of May he would have seen the shock troops of the Communists trying to seize key points in Paris with the idea of bringing about a régime which the French workers had no wish to have.

They had never praised Syngman Rhee, nor claimed that he was a friend of the working class, but they knew that the forces of the United Nations in Korea had prevented the spread of war there and thus made it possible that they could still hold a free Congress of the I.T.F. in Stockholm. A speech such as that of Brother Figgins was quite out of place at an I.T.F. Congress and the best reply would be to adopt the resolution that lay before them.

THE PRESIDENT said that though they might regret Brother Figgins's speech they were sitting in a Congress where anybody could say what he thought. There was still freedom of speech in the West, but he thought that if Brother Figgins should take up a similar line in reverse in the East he would have a bad time of it. What Congress thought would be shown by the way it voted and he thought that the result of the vote would prove that the discussion they had just had had done no harm, but rather the contrary.

The question was then put to the vote and the resolution was carried nem. con.

A. DEAKIN (British Transport and General Workers' Union) asked if it could be placed on record that Brother Figgins had not been supported by his own delegation.

THE PRESIDENT said that that would be done.

Tuesday, 22nd July 1952

MORNING SESSION

After Brother Tofahrn had submitted the report of the Credentials Committee on the voting strength of the different delegations present at the Congress the PRESIDENT called upon Brother Becu to present the following recommendation of the Executive Committee with regard to

AFFILIATION FEES

At its meetings in Marseilles in October 1951 and Amsterdam in April 1952, the Executive Committee considered financial figures for 1950, the provisional figures for 1951 and the budget for 1952.

They noted with some concern the fact—also pointed out in the introduction to the Financial Report to this Congress—that the increase in the income of the I.T.F., although in itself not unsatisfactory in view of existing circumstances, does not keep pace with that of expenditure, which has been increasing during the last few years at a rather alarming rate.

The Executive Committee, in discussing this situation, considered what could be done to place the finances of the I.T.F. on a sounder basis, which would offer some guarantee of financial equilibrium in coming years.

This equilibrium can be reached either by an increase in the income or by cutting down expenditure.

Reviewing the various items of income and expenditure the Executive Committee came to the conclusion that, in present circumstances, an important increase of income from affiliation fees was unlikely unless new affiliations could be found in financially strong countries in the Western Hemisphere; that on the other hand it was not desirable to make cuts in the main items of expenditure (salaries, travelling expenses, meetings and conferences, and publications) as such cuts would necessarily mean curtailment of the activities of the I.T.F. They were, on the contrary, of the opinion that activities, far from being cut down, needed to be extended to enable the I.T.F. to perform to the full its manifold tasks in the trade union and industrial fields.

The Executive Committee, remembering that a suggestion in this sense had already been made to the Stuttgart Congress, considers it therefore its duty to submit to the Congress a recommendation to increase the present rate of affiliation fees by 10 per cent.

This recommendation has not been arrived at without reluctance, since it is known that many affiliated organizations are at grips with difficulties of a similar nature as those facing the I.T.F. The Executive Committee, however, sees no other way out and trusts that affiliated organizations, who in the past have given so many proofs of their attachment to their International, will once more be prepared to make a special effort to enable it to go ahead full speed in its task of furthering and defending the interests of all free transport workers in the world.

O. BECU (General Secretary) said that there was little he need add to the report that lay before them. When meeting in October 1951 and April 1952 the Executive Committee had given very careful consideration to the financial situation of the I.T.F. and had come to the conclusion that something would have to be done immediately—that is to say at the present Congress. There were two ways of meeting the situation. One would be to ask Congress to increase affiliation fees and the other to cut down expenditure. The latter would also mean cutting down activities and the Executive Committee was of the opinion that, on the contrary, they ought to try to increase them. If that were also the opinion of the Congress then it would be necessary to increase the affiliation fees. It was not with any pleasure that the Executive Committee had come to that decision, as they felt that they were asking affiliated organizations far too often to make financial sacrifices; but they were living in a fast-moving world and more finance was necessary to do the work. They were faced with opponents who seemed to have unlimited funds at their disposal. If the free trade union movement had only ten per cent of what its opponents had the Communist trade union movement would probably not exist.

Brother Kanne had already made some proposals for increasing affiliation fees when he referred to the need for the Secretariat to engage the services of experts: but that was only one aspect of the whole problem. More money was needed to do the job which Congress expected the I.T.F. to do, and the ten per cent. increase proposed was only a bare minimum. He felt confident, speaking on behalf of the Executive Committee, that Congress would approve the proposal.

The Executive Committee's recommendation was approved unanimously without further discussion.

THE PRESIDENT called upon Brother Nishimaki to move the following resolution on

Labour legislation in Japan

Whereas the Japanese Government is at present engaged in revising existing Acts and submitting Bills for new Acts affecting the rights and activities of trade unions; and

Whereas in view of this impending legislation the Japanese transport workers' trade unions affiliated to the I.T.F. express grave apprehension as to the intentions of the Japanese Government;

This 22nd Congress of the International Transport Workers' Federation, meeting in Stockholm from 16 to 23 July 1952,

Urges the Japanese Government,

- (a) to reassure the Japanese workers and the international trade union movement as to the Government's democratic intentions by implementing and applying such instruments as have been adopted by the International Labour Organization, particularly:
 - Convention No. 87 concerning Freedom of Association and Protection of the Right to Organize;
 - Convention No. 98 concerning the Application of the Principles of the Right to Organize and to Bargain Collectively;

Resolution on Industrial Relations in Inland Transport adopted by the 1947 session of the Inland Transport Committee of the I.L.O.;

Recommendations concerning Collective Agreements and Voluntary Conciliation adopted by the 1951 session of the International Labour Conference;

- (b) to maintain and safeguard the Japanese citizens' right to demonstrate peacefully in public for the purpose of expressing their views on any aspect of human affairs and urging these views on the public authorities;
- (c) to maintain and safeguard the wage-earners' right to withhold their labour when they believe that justice is denied them;

Declares that the General Strike Prohibition Act contemplated by the Japanese Government is likely to be of no avail since it could be enforced only if the Government were prepared to suppress such a strike by resorting to force, a step that is unthinkable in a democratic state; and

Supports the Japanese transport workers' unions affiliated with the I.T.F. in their endeavours to develop and maintain social legislation worthy of a State in which democracy and social justice prevail.

T. NISHIMAKI (Japanese Seamen's Union) said that the Japanese trade union movement was confronted with many serious problems, particularly endeavours of the Government to limit the rights of the trade unions to engage in demonstrations and strike action. There were six million organized workers in Japan, compared with only four hundred thousand before the war. This remarkable development was largely a product of the policy of the occupying powers. During the occupation the rights of labour had been guaranteed by the new Constitution and laid down in detail in the Trade Union Act and the Labour Relations Adjustment Act. That was the main reason why so many Japanese workers had been organized with such ease in so short a period.

Unfortunately the Japanese trade unions were weak as regards structure and activities. Many of them had no traditions and most of their leaders and members lacked experience. This situation had been misused by the Communists, who repeatedly called political strikes. As a result, trade unionists were now paying closer attention to the movement and endeavouring to drive the Communists out.

Of the organized workers about two million, organized in ten national organizations, were affiliated with the I.C.F.T.U. through the Joint Council of Japanese Trade Unions. The transport workers, textile workers and some others were also affiliated with their appropriate international trade secretariats. The strength of the Communists was now decreasing and rapid progress was being made in the democratization of the trade unions.

In these circumstances the Japanese Government had undertaken a revision of the Trade Union Act and Labour Relations Adjustment Act, following the signing of the Peace Treaty. The proposed new legislation would have the effect of weakening the trade unions and

enabling the Government to control them. It was proposed to prohibit not only national general strikes but also those called in individual industries.

The Japanese trade union movement was therefore in a serious position and it would do everything possible to restore the rights of the trade unions by parliamentary action. The Japanese trade unions were still in their infancy and the adoption by the I.T.F. Congress of the resolution which lay before them would greatly assist their development.

The resolution was then put to the vote and adopted unanimously.

THE PRESIDENT then called upon the Assistant General Secretary to present his report on the

THE INTEGRATION OF EUROPEAN TRANSPORT AND ESTABLISHMENT OF A EUROPEAN TRANSPORT AUTHORITY

P. TOFAHRN (Assistant General Secretary) said that in 1928, in the same building in which he was now speaking, Brother Nathans, who was then Secretary of the Railwaymen's Section of the I.T.F., reporting on the question of road/rail coordination, had complained that railway administrations very often neglected warnings given them by their personnel. The same thing was happening again with European governments. During the recent war the I.T.F. had warned them that they should take advantage of the opportunity to organize European transport on a Continental basis. Instead of doing so they had re-established the pre-war régime, which had already been out of date in 1939.

In 1935 a League of Nations civil aviation expert deplored that Europe had not enjoyed the benefits that a policy of collective action, based on strictly economic principles, could give her.

A report submitted to the Transport and Communications Committee of the League of Nations in 1929 pointed out that the German, Belgian, and French railways were quoting uneconomic rates for the express purpose of drawing as much traffic as possible to the ports of their own countries. The same thing was happening today. Between 1920 and 1939 conference after conference had been held without avail to try to regulate the problem of railway and inland navigation rates as a feature of competition between North Sea ports and the port of Trieste, in the Adriatic. On 7 June 1952 the Allied Military Government of Trieste had written to the Economic Commission for Europe that European ports were still fighting for the traffic and that coordination of railway rates was urgently necessary. The cause of the consequent anarchy was the insistence of the different countries in defending at all costs the interests of their national economies, and the only solution was the organization of European transport on a continental scale.

In other parts of the world there were vast territories like India, Brazil, the Soviet Union, and the United States of America, which were larger even than Europe. His knowledge of the subject would not allow him to speak for India, Brazil or Soviet Russia, but he had studied extensively the regulation of transport in the United States. It was common to regard the United States as a single country but it was, in reality, a continent, and the sovereignty of each of its forty-eight states was as real as those of Europe in so far as transport was concerned. The

United States had a Federal Transport Authority which in inter-state traffic overruled the powers of the different states. The great difference between these states and the nations of Europe was that each American state had a sense of common interest and responsibility towards the community known as the United States of America. This made possible the existence of the transport authority which was known as the Interstate Commerce Commission, which had been in existence for three-quarters of a century. When conflicts of interest in respect of transport matters arose between the different states in America, they were settled by this Commission, following a public enquiry. But when similar conflicts arose in Europe there was blind struggle behind the scenes.

In the case of an authority covering a large territory, it could naturally happen that its power was abused. If any of the States in America considered that it was being unfairly treated, the dispute was referred to a tribunal whose task was to decide whether the Commission acted strictly within the powers conferred upon it by the Constitution.

In Europe there was no such thing as common legislation, nor any such authority as the Interstate Commerce Commission capable of acting as custodian of the common interests of the European peoples and as arbiter between European states. Given good will it should be possible to conclude a European Convention laying down major rules governing the organization and operation of transport; it being understood that international regulations should override national regulations. It should be possible to set up an Authority composed of civil servants sworn to fidelity to the European community as a whole. In the course of the previous half century many groups of officials had been formed who had developed a truly international conscience. A European Transport Authority could bring conflicts of interest between nations out into the light of day, and decisions could be reached as to the rights and wrongs of them. Such an authority could have powers of regulation and implementation and it could also be given powers of economic direction—to direct investment, decide on a rates policy, and even on working conditions, because there was still a great deal of inequality in this respect in different parts of Europe. And the International Court of Justice at the Hague could be used as a court of appeal against the European Transport Authority should it be considered that it had abused its powers.

Something of the kind was badly needed. For years people had been saying that the existence of a free Europe was at stake. Transport was an important instrument, not only from the economic point of view but also for the defence of freedom and national independence. In the Soviet Union transport might suffer from technological defects but it was at least integrated and under one management throughout that vast territory. Technical deficiencies were, to a certain extent at least, compensated by better organization, which had made possible the remarkable services which the Soviet transport had rendered during the second world war.

The integration of European transport was also necessary for the purpose of strengthening the European economy. The Continent's

obvious economic weakness was one of the causes of the stagnation of social progress, and trade unions could never agree that social progress should cease.

They might be told that it was not the right time to set up a European Transport Authority when Europe was divided into two by the Iron Curtain—when in respect of other matters as well as transport we were the Disunited States of Europe. But that very disability was precisely the reason for starting immediately. They would have to limit their efforts to a smaller number of countries but that should not discourage them. They should do as the founders of the Swiss Confederation and the United States of America had done. The Swiss Confederation had consisted of only four small states in the year 1291: 539 years later they were 22. When the Americans constituted the United States in 1776 they had only 13 states: 132 years later they had 48. If they could unite that part of Europe that was still free they could be sure that as other countries recovered their freedom they would also come in.

R. LAPEYRE (French Civil Aviation Personnel) said that the question should not be discussed in general terms but in relation to the different branches of transport separately. Civil aviation also came into the picture and in civil aviation they had competition not only within each country but between one country and another. They thought that a European Transport Authority might be able to introduce a little order where there was now anarchy, and he congratulated the I.T.F. on having been one of the first organizations to raise the matter.

The circumstances of each particular branch of transport needed to be taken into consideration. Speaking technically, for instance, the railways had probably pretty well reached their maximum development. In the case of civil aviation, however, things were quite different and it was difficult to see even as little as five years ahead. In the case of inland navigation, on the other hand, the matter needed to be considered in terms of centuries.

The Secretariat of the I.T.F. should consider whether, in speaking of a European Transport Authority, it would not be better to think in terms of a European authority for each means of transport. In the case of the railways, they had conferences on timetables and rates. In the case of air transport, there were pools—that is to say a certain number of companies who had reached an agreement and were operating their lines jointly or, alternatively, there were cases of complete absorption like the Scandinavian Airlines System, in which one company had replaced three others. There was a strong case, therefore, for treating each particular means of transport separately. In some cases there was even urgency. In civil aviation, for instance, there were urgent problems of the building, maintenance, and inter-relations of aerodromes and in some countries, particularly the smaller ones, there were financial and safety problems of the highest importance that called for early solution.

There was bitter competition between the different companies and consequently considerable disquiet among the personnel of many of them. What would happen with the employers of some of these com-

panies if—as seemed inevitable—Germany did, at a comparatively early date, occupy a place in connection with civil aviation that had hitherto been refused her?

There were also problems not so much of transport as of aeroplane construction which were extremely important. He had only to point to the brilliant success the British had had with their Comets. They had now taken the lead in aeroplane construction and were giving the Americans a good deal to think about. Discussions were also taking place about a Franco-German aeroplane construction pool.

All these were problems on which the I.T.F. would have to keep an eye. How could this be done? He thought that the Secretaries in their visits to many countries for the purpose of attending congresses of affiliated unions should consider with them the possibility of bringing pressure upon the different European governments and informing them of the wishes of the transport workers that the present disorder should be cleared up.

He thought he could support the suggestion of his Dutch friend that the Congress should not confine itself to adopting a resolution to be submitted to governments, but that the I.T.F. should carry on constant propaganda, on the basis of the discussions, and keep on following the matter up. This would naturally call for organization and he asked that the Secretariat should be instructed to consider the best means not only of putting forward its policy but also of getting it applied in practice. There was far too great a tendency to discuss such matters in general terms and in the abstract and it was necessary for the I.T.F. to exert constant pressure to get its policy adopted.

A couple of months earlier the French Government had come forward as the champion of a European transport policy. It would be remembered that two Members of Parliament had taken up the case for the Europeanization of transport on the Council of Europe—M. Bonnefous of the French Parliament and van de Kieft from Holland. The French Government had come forward with a statement that it wished to carry the matter into practice, but since then it had no doubt come to the conclusion that the job would be too big a one to tackle on a political basis and that it would be necessary to split it up and solve it in stages. It appeared that it was now considering the matter more on an economic than a political basis and had decided—he believed in agreement with the I.C.A.O.—to organize a meeting of experts from different countries to study the question and see if something could be done immediately.

Whether this would be a good thing or not he could not say but he was somewhat worried to find this was being done without the trade unions having their say. If the matter was to be dealt with by a group of experts it was obvious that an expert from the I.T.F. should be included. This was a matter which the I.T.F. might very well take up after Congress was over. The question of setting up a European Transport Authority was of great importance and this was, of course, why the I.T.F. had included it in the agenda for its Congress. There was no time to lose. The Director of the K.L.M., who could certainly be described as an authority, had recently said that within ten years the useful

capacity of cargo planes, which was at present 13 tons, would have exceeded 50; that within 15 years they could reckon with atomic propulsion for aeroplanes; and that jet planes would have reached the stage of commercial exploitation within five years.

Looked at from a world point of view European countries were economically small and if they were to be strong they would have to join forces, because it was ridiculous in the age in which they lived to be in constant competition with one another.

H. J. KANNE (Dutch Railwaymen's Union) said that he had already spoken on the subject of a European Transport Authority at an earlier stage but wished now to make a few remarks about the resolution on the matter that lay before them. In his opinion it was no use Congress going on adopting resolutions saying that it wanted transport integration and that it was in favour of a European Transport Authority. Any day they might be faced with a situation calling for the practical application of the principles they were enunciating and it was necessary that they should make up their minds how they were going to get and apply what they wanted. If it was not possible for the I.T.F. to set up a committee of experts to draft a programme of action, as the General Secretary had suggested the previous day, then it would be necessary to find some other means of doing what they wanted. Perhaps they might find at least one recognized expert who could, with the cooperation of a few I.T.F. representatives from the countries most interested, help to draft an I.T.F. Western European programme. This would have to be approved by a special meeting of representatives of the Western European organizations affiliated with the I.T.F. It would then be the task of the group to endeavour to further the programme wherever they could. He wished this idea to be included in some way or other in the resolution, on the basis of a written proposal which he was handing in.

The Congress then adjourned until the following day, it being 12.35 p.m.

There was no afternoon session and delegates went together to deposit a wreath on the Branting Memorial.

Wednesday, 23rd July 1952

MORNING SESSION

REPORT ON THE INTEGRATION OF EUROPEAN TRANSPORT AND ESTABLISHMENT OF A EUROPEAN TRANSPORT AUTHORITY (*continued*)

P. TOFAHRN (Assistant General Secretary), replying to the discussion, said that there had not been much of it so that he would not have much to say in reply.

Brother Lapeyre had asked whether it would not be desirable to integrate one European transport industry after another instead of doing all at once. He doubted whether it would be feasible. The relation between railway, road and inland water transport was too close to make it possible to divide them into compartments. They had already seen that the Road Transport and Railwaymen's Sections had found it necessary to have joint discussions, and it was necessary to have a European transport policy which covered all means of transport.

There was, however, one transport industry which it might be difficult in the beginning to bring under a general European Transport Authority, and that was civil aviation. Even at Strasbourg there had been a feeling that it was desirable to treat it separately and the idea had been put forward of a European civil aviation company. It might be possible, however, to have a European body to deal with civil aviation, which would be in close relations with a transport authority responsible for railways, inland navigation, road transport and the ports. For the moment the volume of civil air transport was not of such magnitude that it could be said that the economic foundations of the other means of transport were seriously shaken. He also thought that there might be some objection to the bringing of civil aviation under the same direction as other means of transport, although that would no doubt come in time.

Brother Kanne had suggested that while they were agreed on the principles of the resolution they were not so clear as to the method of applying them, and he wished the I.T.F. to set up a committee of experts to go further into the problem. At their International Railway Conference in Utrecht their French comrades had put forward a similar proposal but, as he had already told the Railwaymen's Section, the Executive Committee had found that it had not at its disposal experts of that kind, that is to say men who knew all about railway rates and their application and were consequently able to judge what was likely to be the effect of one measure or other. Such experts were only at the disposal of governments, or possibly very large undertakings. He did not think that this was necessary, however. What they needed was the assistance of men able to take a general view, well acquainted with economic matters, who knew enough about the trade union movement to be aware of the aims of the working class and were familiar with the policies pursued by the I.T.F. for many years. He believed that such experts were available within the ranks of the I.T.F., particularly in countries where the trade unions were represented in management.

Even the Secretariat of the I.T.F. had a comrade whose work carried some authority in circles interested in the question. So the Secretariat of the I.T.F. was sufficiently equipped to deal with the matter and if they were to set up a committee they would not need to go outside.

In the meeting of the Resolutions Committee the previous day Brother Kanne had explained in more detail what he wished and it was clear that it was necessary to consider their aims a little more concretely. But the question arose whether they should set up a committee composed of representatives of the different unions or one consisting of comrades put forward by the unions and who had such special knowledge of the subject as would enable them to draft a programme that could be sent to affiliated organizations as a basis for discussion. These were matters which required further consideration and that was the reason why the Resolutions Committee had not been very precise in its proposals. But it would naturally be very useful if the Secretariat could come together now and again with a few comrades for the purpose of considering the discussions which had taken place in the different international bodies, important publications connected with the subject and what had already been done by the different international bodies, for the purpose of drawing from the documentation available a few pointers that would be useful. A resolution on the subject would be laid before the Congress shortly.

As a whole, he found that the Congress was still in favour of the idea of a European Transport Authority, not for the sake of having one but as a means of bringing the European peoples closer together and getting them to unite their efforts and resources for the purpose of maintaining themselves as free and democratic communities.

The Report on the Integration of European Transport and establishment of a European Transport Authority was then put to the vote and adopted nem. con.

THE PRESIDENT announced that the two resolutions on the subject would be laid before Congress later.

THE PRESIDENT then called on Brother Dekeyzer to move the following

REPORT OF THE CONFERENCE OF THE DOCKERS' SECTION

The Dockers' Section met on Friday morning 18 July and was attended by 29 representatives from 12 countries, as follows: Austria 2, Belgium 3, Denmark 2, Finland 2, France 1, Germany 3, Greece 2, Holland 2, Italy 1, Norway 2, Sweden 5, and United Kingdom 4. The General Secretary of the I.T.F. also attended.

R. Dekeyzer (Belgium) was elected Chairman of the Dockers' Section and Rapporteur to the plenary session of Congress.

Pseudo flag transfers and sub-standard ships

After a general discussion, in which A. Flenström (Sweden), H. Hildebrand (Germany), T. Smeding (Holland), A. Deakin (United Kingdom), and O. Beu (I.T.F. Secretary) took part, and during which it once more transpired how serious was the situation resulting from the

registration of an ever-increasing number of ships under flags of non-maritime countries, the Conference unanimously endorsed the recommendations which had been made on the subject by the I.T.F. Boycott Committee and the Dockers' Sectional Committee following meetings held, respectively, in London on 28 and 29 April and in Antwerp on 26 and 27 May this year.

These recommendations were:

(1) That the action of the I.T.F. against the menace of sub-standard ships should be continued with the greatest possible vigour;

(2) That dockers' unions should henceforth take a direct part in the struggle, having regard to the fact that the undermining of social and safety standards in the shipping industry must impact eventually also upon conditions in the port industry;

(3) That the I.T.F.'s wages policy in respect of Panamanian and suchlike ships should be revised on the lines contemplated by the Seafarers' Section, in view of the fact that the present policy tended to act as an incentive to seafarers rather than a deterrent upon shipowners;

(4) That various organizational and administrative measures should be taken with a view to placing the I.T.F. campaign on an effective basis, including:

(a) Conversion of the Boycott Committee into an International Campaign Committee for the promotion of Fair Practices;

(b) Setting up, where necessary, of National Campaign Committees, jointly composed of dockers' and seafarers' representatives, to function under the guidance of the International Campaign Committee and to ensure continuity and coordination of effort at the national level;

(c) Engagement of a special officer at the Secretariat of the I.T.F. for the international direction of the campaign under the supervision of the General Secretary;

(5) That the question of the joint campaign should be discussed by the Dockers' and Seafarers' Sections at a joint conference to be held during the Congress.

In particular the Conference endorsed the recommendations of the above mentioned Committees (1) that there must be the fullest possible participation by all the dockers' and seafarers' unions in the different countries, and (2) that careful attention must be paid to the mechanics of the campaign to ensure that once action is taken against any ships it is followed through in other ports and countries. It also agreed to the suggestion that, instead of the wage differentials which had hitherto been demanded for the crews of Panamanian and suchlike ships, ship-owners with whom agreements were concluded should be asked to pay contributions to a Seafarers' International Welfare Fund. It was agreed that at the joint conference which was to be held with the Seafarers' Section to discuss the matter the Dockers' Section should propose that dockers' unions should be represented on the Committee to be appointed to control and administer the Fund.

Report on Activities

The sections of the General Report on Activities relating to dockers' affairs, as well as a Supplementary Report on the most recent developments in connection therewith, were unanimously approved.

In particular, note was taken of the progress of the efforts by the I.T.F. for some years past to secure a revision of the I.L.O. International Docks Convention and an international limitation of the weight of loads carried by one man to 75 kilogrammes (165 lbs.).

With regard to the former question, it was agreed that a supplementary convention should be adopted in order that the 1932 Convention, which has had a most valuable effect in increasing the safety of dock work, may be brought into line with present-day requirements. It is hoped that the Governing Body of the I.L.O., when it meets in the autumn, will include this question in the agenda of the 1953 International Labour Conference.

With regard to the second question, note was taken of the resolution adopted by the I.L.O. Inland Transport Committee at Genoa in December 1951. It was hoped that this resolution—especially the clauses which recommended governments, in cases where the use of mechanical appliances is not practicable, or not yet practicable, 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—would assist dockers' unions in pressing the matter at the national level. The position will be kept under constant review, so that if the effect given to the Genoa resolution is not considered satisfactory, the possibility may be considered of securing international action on the matter.

In the discussion which took place on a proposal submitted on the latter question by the Greek Dockers' Union, A. Thiopoulos said that mechanization was not advanced in Greek ports and that dockers there still had to carry loads weighing 100 to 140 kilogrammes over distances of 40 to 70 metres. A. Maffei (Italy) also made a strong plea for the limitation of loads carried by dockers in view of the serious injury to their health.

In view of the discussion which had taken place the Greek and Italian representatives withdrew the resolutions which had been submitted by their Unions (Proposals Nos. 8 and 9— page 169). It was agreed that the Italian statement should be circulated to the unions interested.

Port inspection services

The Finnish General Workers' Union had submitted a proposal which urged that port inspection services should be separated from the general factory inspectorate in view of the specialized character of its function. M. Kitunen (Finland), T. Smeding (Holland), A. Maffei (Italy), A. Nicolaisen (Germany) and E. Larsson (Sweden) took part in the discussion which ensued, during which it was said that though a special port inspection service was no doubt desirable in big ports, coordination with the general factory inspection service had its merits in the case of

small ports. The conclusions of the Conference were formulated in the following proposed resolution (which takes the place of Proposal No. 7—see page 168):

Resolution on port inspection

“This Dockers’ Conference, meeting in Stockholm on 18 July 1952 on the occasion of the Biennial Congress of the I.T.F.,

“Having regard to the great importance of establishing the highest possible standard of safety in dock work and noting that there is room for considerable improvement in this respect in various countries;

“Urges Governments to devote the closest possible attention to the matter with a view to introducing the best possible safety regulations for the dock industry and, especially, an inspection system calculated to ensure their full enforcement;

“Draws attention to the merits of a specialized port inspection system for the main centres of cargo handling and of a system coordinated with the general factory inspection in secondary ports;

“Invites affiliated dockers’ unions to make representations, where appropriate, to secure the necessary improvements in dock safety regulations and inspection services;

“Instructs the Secretariat of the I.T.F. to collect information about port inspection practice obtaining in different countries and to circulate it among the unions interested.”

Mechanical cargo handling

A discussion took place on the question of mechanical cargo handling. The Conference endorsed the report submitted on the subject, which stated that dockers’ circles in the different countries view with favour the mechanization of dock work in so far as the object is to lighten work and to increase productivity and not to deprive dockers of their livelihood. Note was taken of the establishment of the International Cargo Handling Coordination Association and it was agreed that its activities should be watched from the dockers’ point of view.

Dockers’ Sectional Committee

The following were elected to constitute the Dockers’ Sectional Committee during the coming period: R. Dekeyzer (Belgium, Chairman), E. Borg (Denmark), P. Ferri-Pisani (France), H. Hildebrand (Germany), R. Laan (Holland), A. Maffei (Italy), L. S. Olsen (Norway), A. Flenström (Sweden), A. Bird (United Kingdom), J. Ryan (U.S.A.).

Other matters

The report on the activities of the Secretariat in connection with the following matters were also approved, it being understood that they should be continued as circumstances required: study and promotion of dock decasualization schemes, elimination of harmful competition between ports in certain regions, and dockers’ welfare and training schemes.

R. DEKEYZER,

Rapporteur.

R. DEKEYZER (Belgian Transport Workers' Union), moving the report, drew particular attention to two points. It would be observed, he said, that on the question of sham flag transfers the Dockers had decided to go all out to remove the menace. Attention was also drawn in the report to the need for adequate port inspection. The accident rate in many ports was still high and the Dockers' Section had therefore decided to submit to Congress the resolution on the subject.

The Report of the Conference of the Dockers' Section, together with the resolution attached, was then put to the vote and adopted nem. con.

THE PRESIDENT then called upon Brother Tennant to move the following

REPORT OF THE CONFERENCE OF THE SEAFARERS' SECTION

The Seafarers' Section held three sessions, on Thursday afternoon, 17 July, and Friday afternoon and evening, 18 July. They were attended by 52 representatives from 17 countries, as follows: Argentina (Officers and Ratings 1), Belgium (Officers and Ratings 2), Denmark (Sailors 1, Firemen 1, Stewards 1), Estonia (Officers and Ratings, in exile, 2), Finland (Ratings 4), France (Officers 1, Ratings 1), Germany (Officers and Ratings 2), Greece (Officers and Ratings 4), Holland (Officers 4, Ratings 1), Israel (Officers and Ratings 1), Italy (Officers and Ratings 1), Japan (Officers and Ratings 1), Norway (Engineer Officers 1, Navigators 1, Ratings 4), Sweden (Engineer Officers 1, Ratings 5), Switzerland (Officers and Ratings 1), United Kingdom (Navigators and Engineer Officers 3, Radio Officers 1, Ratings 6), U.S.A. (Ratings 1).

The General Secretary of the I.T.F. (O. Becu), Charles Lindley (former President of the I.T.F.) and W. J. Dorchain (I.T.F. Representative in the U.S.A.) were also present.

Election of chairman and vice-chairman

In accordance with previous practice, under which an officers' representative and a ratings representative alternately hold office, D. S. Tennant (British Navigators' and Engineer Officers' Union) and T. Yates (British National Union of Seamen) were elected Chairman and Vice-chairman, respectively, of the Seafarers' Section, and O. Becu Secretary. The Chairman was requested to act as rapporteur to the plenary session of Congress.

Pseudo flag transfers and sub-standard ships

There was a short general discussion on the report on this question submitted by the Secretariat, in which I. Haugen (Norway), P. de Vries (Holland), G. Carlsson (Sweden) and T. Yates (United Kingdom) took part.

From the report it appeared that the menace of pseudo flag transfers was becoming increasingly serious. The efforts of the organized seafarers to deal with the problem, chiefly by organizing the crews of Panamanian and suchlike ships and by bringing the owners of these

ships within the scope of collective bargaining, had been only partly effective. Though considerable sympathetic action had been taken by dockers' unions in various countries, especially in the Scandinavian countries, Belgium and Germany, it was apparent that ultimate success depended upon a more direct participation by dockers in the struggle.

After the Secretary had reported that the Dockers' Section had already declared its willingness to play a full part in the broader campaign contemplated, the Conference endorsed the recommendations made on the subject by the Boycott Committee and the Seafarers' Sectional Committee of the I.T.F. as a result of meetings held, respectively, in London on 28 and 29 April and in Geneva on 9 and 10 May this year.

These recommendations were:

(1) That the action of the I.T.F. against the menace of sub-standard ships should be continued with the greatest possible vigour;

(2) That dockers' unions should henceforth take a direct part in the struggle, having regard to the fact that the undermining of social and safety standards in the shipping industry must impact eventually also upon conditions in the port industry;

(3) That the I.T.F.'s wages policy in respect of Panamanian and suchlike ships should be revised;

(4) That various organizational and administrative measures should be taken with a view to placing the I.T.F. campaign on an effective basis, including:

(a) Conversion of the Boycott Committee into an International Campaign Committee for the promotion of Fair Practices;

(b) Setting up, where necessary, of National Campaign Committees jointly composed of dockers' and seafarers' representatives, to function under the guidance of the International Campaign Committee and to ensure continuity and coordination of effort at the national level;

(c) Engagement of a special officer for the international direction of the campaign under the supervision of the General Secretary of the I.T.F.;

(5) That the question of a joint campaign should be discussed by the Seafarers' and Dockers' Sections at a joint conference to be held during the congress.

H. Hildebrand (Germany), P. de Vries (Holland), Th. Sönsteby, N. Wälläri (Finland), T. Yates (United Kingdom), D. S. Tennant (United Kingdom, Chairman), A. Söre (Sweden), O. Skjervoll (Norway), as well as the Secretary, took part in the discussion which ensued on the above points.

With regard to point 2, it was agreed to propose at the joint conference of dockers and seafarers that the International Campaign Committee which was to replace the Boycott Committee should be composed of the same representatives who had sat on the latter, viz: I. Haugen (Norway), H. Lundeborg (U.S.A.), D. S. Tennant (United Kingdom) and P. de Vries (Holland) on the seafarers' side, and A. Bird

(United Kingdom), R. Dekeyzer (Belgium), A. Flenström (Sweden), and J. Ryan (United States) on the dockers' side, with T. Yates (United Kingdom) and O. Becu (I.T.F.) acting *ex officio* as Chairman and Secretary respectively.

With regard to point 3, it was decided to propose at the joint conference that a Seafarers' International Welfare Fund should be established. It was further agreed to propose the terms of Rules to govern the functioning of the Fund. These Rules provided, among other things, for the election of an Administrative Committee composed of three representatives each of seafarers and dockers. I. Haugen* (Norway), H. Hildebrand (Germany) and P. de Vries (Holland) were chosen as the seafarers' nominees for the seafarers' side of the Welfare Fund Administrative Committee.

With regard to the setting up of National Campaign Committees (Point 4b), it was agreed that the Secretariat should within the next two months issue directives for the functioning of these bodies, including indications as to the collective agreements to be concluded with ship-owners using Panamanian and similar flags.

With regard to the appointment of the special officer who was to undertake the day-to-day direction of the campaign, it was decided that affiliated seafarers' and dockers' unions should be invited to submit nominations for the post, and that the selection should be made by a committee composed of the Chairman, Vice-chairman and Secretary of the Seafarers' Section, subject to ratification by the first meeting of the Seafarers' Sectional Committee or Campaign Committee held thereafter.

During the discussion it was emphasized that any additional finance that would be needed to meet the administrative costs of the campaign should be raised by means of an appropriate levy upon affiliated seafarers' unions only, as the dockers' unions would already be making their contribution by any sympathetic action they had to take against certain ships.

Shipping dispute in U.S.A.

J. Waugh (U.S.A.), conveying the fraternal greetings of the American seafarers, reported that the President of the Seafarers' International Union of North America, H. Lundeberg, had planned to attend the Stockholm Congress, but had been prevented from doing so at the last moment by the outbreak of a major dispute in which a hundred or so ships had already been tied up. It was agreed to dispatch the following telegram on behalf of the Conference:

"Seafarers Section of International Transport Workers Federation meeting on occasion of Biennial Congress in Stockholm much regrets your absence and wishes S.I.U. every success in dispute in which it is engaged. With fraternal greetings."

International shipping policy

After a brief discussion on international shipping policy, it was agreed that the following resolution should be submitted for adoption by the Congress:

* Withdrew later in favour of T. Yates (United Kingdom).

Resolution on International Shipping Policy

“This Congress,

Regrets that four years after its adoption by a United Nations conference which was attended by the governments of nearly seventy States, including all the major maritime nations of the world, the Convention providing for the establishment of the Inter-Governmental Maritime Consultative Organization is still far from having received the requisite number of signatures;

Considers that non-implementation of such an important instrument not only hampers the solution of difficulties which beset the shipping industry, but is also calculated to weaken the efficacy of the United Nations Organization and thus to lessen the prospects of solving the many general political, economic and social problems of the world;

Observes that the present tendency in world shipping is towards an indiscriminate expansion of tonnage and must eventually result in a serious disequilibrium between supply and demand, bringing in its train a growth of chaotic competition and encouraging the spread of undesirable practices;

Stresses that the need for an international regulatory agency for the shipping industry as greater than ever; and

Addresses, therefore, an urgent appeal to the United Nations Organization and to the governments associated with it to take immediate steps to ensure that the I.M.C.O. Convention is ratified by the requisite number of States, so that the Organization may be brought into existence with the least possible delay.”

It was agreed that the resolution should be given all possible publicity and that in circulating it to affiliated seafarers' unions they should be urged to make the strongest possible representations to their governments in favour of speedy ratification of the I.M.C.O. Convention.

Short sea trades of North-West Europe

The Conference approved the report of the Secretariat on this question. It noted with great satisfaction that the Governing Body of the I.L.O. had, at its last meeting, decided to accede to the request of the seafarers and to refer the question to a tripartite sub-committee of the Joint Maritime Commission at an early date, and that it also intended to invite the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations, or some other suitable agency, to study the possibility of setting up machinery to regulate freight rates.

I.L.O. Convention 93 relating to Wages, Hours and Manning

Note was taken of the report of the Secretariat on the subject, which showed that there were good prospects of the question of the further revision of this Convention, with a view to facilitating ratification by Governments, being put down for discussion at the envisaged meeting of the tripartite sub-committee of the J.M.C.

The Conference expressed warm appreciation of the valuable support which had been received from the Workers' Group of the I.L.O. Governing Body in bringing about progress on the above two important maritime questions.

Placement of seamen

This question had been raised at the 17th session of the Joint Maritime Commission in May last. There exists an International Convention (No. 9, adopted in 1920) which deals with the methods by which seamen are engaged for employment on board, but the position is still far from satisfactory. The Conference learned that the question of the revision of the Convention will come up for discussion at the next session of the J.M.C. It is hoped that it will then be possible to make progress towards bringing the engagement of all seafarers within the control of accredited agencies.

Seafarers serving under foreign flags

Consideration was given to the possibility of arriving at some kind of mutual transfer scheme between unions to cover the cases of seafarers who serve for shorter or longer periods under foreign flags. Having regard to the complexity of the matter, it was agreed that the Secretariat should make a study of the question and report to the next meeting of the Seafarers' Sectional Committee.

Seafarers' Sectional Committee

It was agreed that the composition of the Seafarers' Sectional Committee for the coming period should be as follows:

Argentina: vacancy; Australia: vacancy; Belgium: W. Cassiers; Denmark: T. Laursen; Estonia (exile) N. Metslov; Finland: N. Wälläri; France: P. Ferri-Pisani (Ratings) and A. Français (Officers); Germany: H. Hildebrand; Greece: D. Benetatos (Ratings) and P. Kalapothakis (Officers); Holland: A. de Boon (Ratings) and P. de Vries (Officers); India: J. F. Soares; Italy: L. Mucci (Ratings) and U. Romagnoli (Officers); Japan: B. Aoki; Norway: I. Haugen (Ratings) and J. E. Johansen (Officers); Pakistan: vacancy; Sweden: A. Söre (Officers) and J. Svensson (Ratings); United Kingdom: D. S. Tennant (Officers, Chairman) and T. Yates (Ratings, Vice-Chairman); U.S.A.: H. Lundeberg (Ratings), vacancy (Officers), O. Becu (I.T.F. Secretary).

Report on Activities

The sections of the Report on Activities not covered under the preceding heads were also approved.

Organization of crews of Swiss-flag ships

At the request of the representative of the Swiss Transport Workers' Union, H. Brunner, the conference endorsed the following resolution for adoption by Congress:

Resolution on organization of Swiss crews

“Whereas during the war years 1940 - 45 the Swiss Confederation, under the pressure of circumstances, put into service a number of ships flying the Swiss flag in order to ensure the country's supply lines;

Whereas the experience gained in connection with maritime shipping has demonstrated the need for Switzerland to maintain a merchant navy also in time of peace; and

Whereas it is consequently necessary to organize the crews of these ships on a trade-union basis:

This Congress invites the Swiss Transport Workers' Union to take the necessary steps to establish a trade union for seafarers in close association with the seafarers' unions affiliated with the I.T.F."

D. S. TENNANT,

Rapporteur.

D. TENNANT (British Navigators' and Engineer Officers' Union), moving the report, drew particular attention to the recommendations of the conference with regard to the campaign against sub-standard ships sailing under the Panamanian and similar flags; to the telegram which it had been decided to send to Brother Lundeborg, President of the Seafarers' International Union of North America, regretting his absence and wishing his organization every success in the dispute in which it was engaged; and to the two resolutions which the conference was asking Congress to adopt, one on international shipping policy, and the other inviting the Swiss Transport Workers' Union to establish a trade union for Swiss seafarers, which would work in close association with the seafarers' unions affiliated with the I.T.F.

THE PRESIDENT said that associated with the Report of the Conference of the Seafarers' Section was another of a joint conference of that Section and the Dockers' Section which had been held in connection with the Congress.

He called upon Brother Yates to move the following

REPORT OF THE JOINT CONFERENCE OF THE DOCKERS' AND SEAFARERS' SECTIONS

The Dockers' and Seafarers' Sections met in joint conference at 5 p.m. on Friday, 18 July, to discuss the problem of Panamanian and similar shipping, arising out of a proposal of the Boycott Committee of the I.T.F. that the action against unfair practices and sub-standard ships should be placed on a broader basis.

The joint conference was attended by the delegates who had participated in the separate conferences of the two Sections, and T. Yates (British National Union of Seamen) was elected to the chair.

The question under discussion had been considered separately by the two Sectional conferences, and it was reported that they had both responded favourably to the recommendations of the Boycott Committee and agreed as to the need for the strongest possible joint action to prevent further deterioration of the situation.

After the seafarers' representatives had expressed their warm appreciation of the attitude of the dockers' unions, who had for the past four years already rendered invaluable assistance to the seafarers, by giving moral support and taking sympathetic action where possible and necessary, and were now willing to play an even bigger part by joining in the struggle as equal partners, the joint conference proceeded to consider ways and means of carrying on the campaign on the new lines.

It was agreed that the leadership of the action should be entrusted to an International Campaign Committee for the Promotion of Fair Practices, which should be composed of the same persons who had hitherto constituted the Boycott Committee, viz.: I. Haugen (Norway), H. Lundberg (United States), P. de Vries (Holland) and T. Yates (United Kingdom) on the seafarers' side, and A. Bird (United Kingdom), R. Dekeyzer (Belgium), A. Flenstrom (Sweden) and J. Ryan (United States) on the dockers' side, plus the Chairman of the Seafarers' Section and the General Secretary of the I.T.F. as *ex officio* members.

It was further agreed that National Campaign Committees should be set up, where necessary, jointly composed of dockers' and seafarers' representatives, to function under the guidance of the International Campaign Committee and to ensure continuity and coordination of effort at the national level, and that the Secretariat should supply these bodies within the next month or two with directives concerning the conduct of the campaign, including indications as to the collective agreements to be concluded with shipowners using the Panamanian and similar flags.

The proposal of the Boycott Committee, endorsed by the two Sections, that a special officer should be appointed to undertake the day-to-day direction of the campaign, was formally approved by the joint conference, which also agreed that affiliated dockers' and seafarers' unions should be invited to submit nominations for the post, and that the appointment should be made by a committee consisting of the Chairman, Vice-Chairman and Secretary of the Seafarers' Section, subject to confirmation by the first meeting of the Seafarers' Section Committee or Campaign Committee held thereafter.

On the proposal of the seafarers' side of the conference it was agreed to discontinue the previous policy of demanding for the crews of Panamanian and similar ships the British wages scale plus certain differentials, and to establish instead a Seafarers' International Welfare Fund. In this connection it was reported that the Seafarers' Conference had decided that dockers' unions should not be called upon to contribute towards the administrative costs of the campaign, as they would be playing their part if sympathetic action became necessary, but that any additional funds needed would be raised by a levy upon seafarers' unions only.

After discussion it was agreed that an Administrative Committee, composed of three representatives each from the dockers' and seafarers' sides, should be appointed to control the Welfare Fund. The dockers' side put forward R. Dekeyzer (Belgium), L. Olsen (Norway) and Th. Smeding (Holland). The seafarers' side had previously nominated I. Haugen (Norway—who with the consent of the conference withdrew in favour of T. Yates (United Kingdom)—H. Hildebrand (Germany) and P. de Vries (Holland). These six were formally appointed to constitute the Administrative Committee of the Welfare Fund.

The conference then approved the Rules which were to govern the functioning of the Welfare Fund and which read as follows:

Rules of the Seafarers' International Welfare Fund

1. The Seafarers' International Welfare Fund, established under the auspices of the International Transport Workers' Federation, exists for the purpose of financing such welfare and related work as is sanctioned by the Seafarers' Sectional Committee of the Federation.
2. The income of the Fund consists of contributions received under agreements on the subject concluded with shipping undertakings and organizations on behalf of the Seafarers' Section of the Federation.
3. Responsibility for the management of the Fund is entrusted to an Administrative Committee, which submits detailed reports and audited accounts to the Conferences of the Seafarers' and Dockers' Sections held in conjunction with the Biennial Congress of the Federation.
4. The Administrative Committee is composed of six members appointed three each by the Conferences of the Dockers' and Seafarers' Sections held in conjunction with the Biennial Congress of the Federation.
5. The General Secretary of the Federation is *ex officio* a member of the Administrative Committee of the Welfare Fund and is responsible to that Committee for the day-to-day management of the Welfare Fund.
6. The Administrative Committee meets at such times as are necessary but not less than once a year, to control the management of the Welfare Fund on the basis of detailed reports and audited accounts submitted by the General Secretary of the Federation.
7. Reports on the activities of the Fund, as well as the audited accounts, will also be submitted to the Executive Committee of the Federation at intervals of not more than one year.

T. YATES,
Rapporteur.

T. YATES (British National Union of Seamen) formally moved this report.

The two reports—of the Conference of the Seafarers' Section and of the Joint Conference of the Dockers' and Seafarers' Sections—including the two resolutions contained in the former, were then put to the vote and adopted nem. con.

THE PRESIDENT then called upon the Assistant General Secretary to submit the following

REPORT OF THE CONFERENCE OF THE RAILWAYMEN'S SECTION

The section dealt with its whole agenda in a single session on 18 July. It elected as President, to serve until the next Congress, G. Devaux, General Secretary of the Railwaymen's Section of the Belgian Public Services Union.

The Conference considered and approved the chapter relating to the Railwaymen's Section in the General Report. Two points of general interest for the I.T.F. emerged from the discussion: action for the setting up of a European Transport Authority and the coordination of transport.

As regards the former, the Section considered that it would be useful to appoint a European Committee that would meet from time to time to review the activities of official and private bodies, and important publications dealing with the question. It was considered that continuous methodical study of this kind would provide useful hints for work to be done by the I.T.F. and its affiliated unions. The Section recommends this suggestion to the attention of the Congress and the Executive Committee.

As regards the coordination of transport, the Section would like the question to be the subject of a discussion by spokesmen for all sections concerned. The meeting at which this takes place should have before it a report throwing light on the economic, social and international aspects of the problem and containing the draft of a declaration of the principles which should govern all transport policy, with special reference to the situation in Europe. The Section asks for a decision that the question be placed on the agenda for the 1954 Congress.

The Section took cognizance of a report of its Committee on the plan of work for the near future. All the points of this plan are of strictly railway concern, relating to matters such as modern signalling and telecommunications, and their repercussions on the railwaymen; safety of permanent way workers; the organization of services dealing with hygiene and preventive medicine on the railways, etc.

A resolution was adopted, the text of which is annexed to this report, dealing with working conditions of drivers on electrified lines.

At the request of the German Railwaymen's Union the agenda included a discussion on the possibility of organizing the international exchange of railwaymen's children during school holidays. The Secretary's report on the subject showed that the only feasible way of doing this would be through bilateral arrangements between two unions in two different countries; and that this would not call for the intervention of the I.T.F. in the organization of the exchanges.

A suggestion of the Saar Railwaymen's Union led the Committee of the Section to raise the question of the desirability of organizing week or fortnight long courses in international trade-unionism for comparatively young trade union leaders—say of less than 40 years of age. Unfortunately the report of the Secretariat on this question had not reached the majority of the unions represented at the Congress, and as the interest and importance of the question are such as to merit careful consideration, the Conference decided not to discuss it there and then but to place it on the agenda for the next Section Conference.

While the meeting was in progress the Section was invited by the Italian railwaymen to hold the next Section Conference in Rome. The invitation was received with great pleasure by the whole of the delegates assembled, and the Section asks the Executive Committee for a decision in favour of acceptance of the invitation.

P. TOFAHRN,

*Secretary of the Railwaymen's Section
and Rapporteur.*

Resolution on the conditions of service of electric locomotive staff

Whereas the electrification of railways allows of measures of rationalization which contribute to a considerable increase in the output of locomotive staff;

Whereas the workers are entitled to a share in the profits derived from technical progress and it would be contrary to every idea of justice to take technical improvements as a pretext for worsening conditions of employment;

Whereas locomotive staff in electric service need a fund of knowledge and vocational qualifications equal to those required in the steam service;

Whereas the lesser physical effort required on electric locomotives is counterbalanced by the much greater mental strain involved;

Whereas the responsibility of locomotivemen is the same with both forms of traction;

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Declares that in no case may a difference be made in the rates of pay and conditions of service of locomotivemen in the two forms of traction.

P. TOFAHRN (Assistant General Secretary) said that one matter to which it was necessary for him to draw the attention of Congress was the request that the question of coordination of transport should be included in the agenda for the 1954 Congress. The drawing up of the agenda for congresses was, of course, the task of the Executive Committee, but if the Congress approved the report of the conference the Executive Committee would naturally bear this in mind.

Attached to the report was a resolution on the employment of the personnel of electric locomotives. This was a technical matter and it would probably suffice if the resolution were simply adopted by the Railwaymen's Conference, but they would be happy to have the support of the Congress.

Another matter to which he wished to draw attention was the fact that their friend Maxamin had spoken at the Conference of the Section on the question of the situation of the workers behind the Iron Curtain. He asked that these workers should be given representation on one or other of the governing bodies of the I.T.F.—particularly the General Council. The request was received by the section with a good deal of sympathy but it did not feel called upon to express an opinion on the subject. It simply asked the members of the Executive Committee who were present to take note with a view to considering in due course whether it was possible to grant Brother Maxamin's request.

He submitted the report for the approval of the Congress.

THE PRESIDENT said that the question Brother Maxamin had raised at the Conference of the Railwaymen's Section was one of a general character and could not be decided by the Secretariat itself. The Executive Committee would in due course deal with the matter but no decision would be possible at the Congress. Attached to the report was a resolu-

tion of a technical character which was more a matter for the railwaymen but, as Brother Tofahrn had pointed out, the Section would be glad of the support of the Congress.

The Report of the Conference of the Railwaymen's Section, together with the attached resolution, was then put to the vote and adopted unanimously.

THE PRESIDENT then called upon Brother Lapeyre to submit the following

REPORT OF THE CONFERENCE OF THE CIVIL AVIATION SECTION

The Civil Aviation Section met on 19 July 1952. The following organizations were represented:

Belgium, General Public Services Union; France, Public Works and Transport Federation (Civil Aviation); Germany, Union of Employees in Public Services, Transport and Traffic; Holland, Federation of K.L.M. Flying Personnel, and General Union of Air Transport Workers; Sweden, Commercial Employees' Union, and Swedish Transport Workers' Union; United Kingdom, Navigators' and Engineer Officers' Union, and Radio Officers' Union.

Mr. D. Follows of the International Federation of Air Line Pilots' Associations attended the meeting as an observer.

The following decisions were reached:

Item 1 of the Agenda: Election of a Section Chairman

R. Lapeyre, of the French Public Works and Transport Federation, was unanimously re-elected as Chairman of the Section. At the same time, in consideration of the fact that Mr. Lapeyre is a representative of an organization which includes ground personnel, it was proposed that a Vice-Chairman should be elected to take Mr. Lapeyre's place, if necessary, particularly at meetings of the flying personnel sub-section. The Conference agreed to this proposal and elected Mr. H. O'Neill of the British Radio Officers' Union.

Item 2 of the Agenda: Report of the Section

The report relating to the activities of the Section up to 31 December 1951 was approved after a prolonged discussion in which the following took part: D. S. Tennant (United Kingdom), H. O'Neill (United Kingdom), K. Mayer (Switzerland), J. G. K. Gregory (United Kingdom), D. H. Lamb (United Kingdom), and O. Beu (General Secretary).

Largely as the result of remarks by D. S. Tennant (United Kingdom) agreement was reached with the Secretariat on the necessity of the Civil Aviation Section increasing its activities.

It was decided:

(a) To maintain on behalf of the I.T.F. that the I.C.A.O., in view of its constitution, was not competent to deal with social questions, which should remain within the field of activity of the I.L.O.

(b) In consideration of the fact that the approaches made to the I.C.A.O. about two resolutions—one relating to flight crew complement and the other to 500 kc/s equipment—adopted by the Conference of the Section held at Stuttgart in July 1950, had been unsuccessful, it was decided to call at an early date a conference of the Flying Staff Sub-Section to come to a decision on flight crew complement for submission to the approaching meetings of the I.C.A.O., Operations Division. The organizations represented undertook, at the request of the Secretariat, to provide it with the national regulations.

Items 3, 4, and 5 of the Agenda:

The Conference successively adopted:

The report on flight time, drawn up by the Sub-Committee of the Section (the Belgian delegates abstained);

The report relating to working conditions of ground personnel prepared by the Secretariat on instructions of the Sectional Conference held at Stuttgart.

It further took cognizance of the result of the enquiry made by the Secretariat into the deleterious effects of flying.

Item 6 of the Agenda: Social Security Measures

The General Secretary asked the Section to inform the Secretariat what measures in connection with social security should have priority in approaches made by the I.T.F. to the I.L.O. After a full discussion, the Conference decided that priority should be given to the question of sickness and accident insurance.

Item 7 of the Agenda: Draft model collective agreement for Steward Personnel

The Conference had before it the draft of a model collective agreement for steward personnel approved by the Flying Staff Sub-Committee at its meeting in London on 23 February 1951. As some objections were raised, it was decided to refer the report to all affiliated organizations concerned, asking them for their opinion.

Item 8 of the Agenda: Proposals submitted by Dutch Air Transport Workers' Union

This organization had submitted the following resolution:

“The Congress requests the Executive Committee to provide for:

- (a) documentation on the laws governing employment in civil aviation;
- (b) an enquiry into trade union organization of civil flying and ground staff in the different countries;
- (c) an enquiry into ways and means of increasing trade union membership among civil aviation workers, in view of the special nature of the industry;
- (d) the setting-up of a standing consultative committee composed of representatives of the staffs employed by the six largest air transport undertakings in Western Europe for the purpose of exchanging information and defending members' interests on

the national and regional planes in a manner concordant with the need for cooperation between Western European States, including cooperation in safeguarding workers' interests affected by endeavours to secure coordination or integration of transport and the like."

After a full discussion of the problems raised by this proposal, and after details had been given of the work already done by the Secretariat in relation to the points raised in paragraphs (a) and (b), it was decided, in agreement with the authors of the proposal, to ask the Secretariat to follow closely the matters dealt with in paragraph (d), which can be fitted within the general activities of the I.T.F.

Item 9 of the Agenda: Election of Section Committee

The General Secretary proposed that a seat on the Committee should be reserved for the German Union, including seats on the Flying and Ground Staff Sub-Sections, since Germany would certainly have its own civil aviation very shortly. He also proposed that a seat should be offered to France for the Flying Staff Sub-Section so that any French flying staff organization that might eventually join could be represented. The Conference approved these two proposals and the Section Committee is now made up as follows:

Flying Staff—North America (2 seats), Great Britain (2), Belgium (1), France (1), Germany (1), Holland (1), Scandinavia (1), Switzerland (1); Ground Staff—North America (2 seats), Great Britain (2), France (1), Germany (1), Holland (1), Scandinavia (1), Switzerland (1).

Item 10 of the Agenda: Date and place of next Section Conference of the Section

The Conference decided to leave it to the Secretariat to fix the date and place of the next Conference.

Item 11 of the Agenda: Other Business

The Conference decided to submit to Congress two resolutions, one on recognition of the Mexican League of Air Line Pilots and the other on the shooting down of civil aircraft.

The text of these resolutions is attached.

R. LAPEYRE,
Rapporteur.

Resolution on recognition of the League of Mexican Air Line Pilots

Whereas the powerful Mexican Aviation Company is unwilling to recognize the League of Mexican Air Line Pilots as a bargaining agent for its personnel, and the Mexican Minister of Labour unjustly refuses to grant the League legal status as a trade union;

Whereas the League has appealed to the Mexican Supreme Court against this refusal; and

Whereas the air pilots have the same right as other wage-earners to defend their rights and interests;

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Endorses the action of the General Secretary of the I.T.F. in urging the Mexican Supreme Court to grant the legal status asked for;

Appeals to the Mexican Supreme Court and Government to take steps to ensure that the Mexican Aviation Company recognizes the League of Mexican Air Line Pilots and negotiates with it acceptable conditions of employment for its personnel;

Promises the League all possible support in its endeavours to secure the recognition that would enable it to negotiate with the Company in the same way as the many trade unions belonging to the Civil Aviation Section of the I.T.F.; and

Instructs the General Secretary to communicate this resolution to the Mexican Government and Supreme Court.

Resolution on the shooting down of civil aircraft

The Congress,

Shocked by recent incidents in the air, and particularly by the machine-gun attack on the regular Air-France Frankfurt to Berlin air liner,

Expresses its sympathy with the members of the crew, who displayed magnificent calmness;

Draws public opinion to the danger to the development of air transport involved in methods so cynically regardless of human life—even when a commercial plane unwittingly crosses frontiers it is intolerable that national sovereign rights should lead to its being deliberately shot down, while air transport regulations have provided for such eventualities; and

Calls upon the Governments concerned to use all their authority to prevent the repetition of such incidents.

R. LAPEYRE (French Federation of Civil Aviation) said that there had been a long discussion in the course of which some of the delegates had suggested that the Civil Aviation Section had not displayed sufficient activity during the past two years. It was felt that although the section did not represent a very large number of persons it was very important that it should be active. The Secretariat had expressed agreement. He drew attention to the fact that, in view of certain reductions in flight crew complement in certain countries, it had been decided that the Flying Staff Sub-Section Committee should meet at an early date.

As regards the Dutch proposal that a standing consultative committee of representatives of the staff employed by the larger air transport undertakings should be set up for the purpose of dealing with European transport, it was decided that the Secretariat could fit the matter into its general activities. It would be noted that provision had been made for the German Union to have, when the time came, a seat on the Committee of the section.

Two resolutions were being put forward, one asking the I.T.F. to support the League of Mexican Pilots in the claims it had put forward, and the other protesting against attacks on civil aircraft. As regards

the latter the conference felt—in connection with the recent attack on an Air-France plane—that while the pilot of any plane might make a mistake, international regulations for air transport provided for such cases. He asked Congress to approve the report of the Conference of the Civil Aviation Section and the two resolutions.

On the matter being put to the vote, the Congress did so unanimously.

THE PRESIDENT then called upon Brother Svensson to move the following

REPORT OF THE CONFERENCE OF THE ROAD TRANSPORT WORKERS' SECTION

The Section has held two meetings during the Congress and has re-elected the outgoing Chairman of the Section. On the agenda there was no item affecting the general policy of the I.T.F. The foremost preoccupation of the Section is at present the enforcement of a standard set of rules governing international road transport in Europe. This set of rules is to be drafted and made final by the Economic Commission for Europe. Besides legal, technical and commercial provisions, it should also contain provisions on conditions of work, working hours in particular. The chapter dealing with the conditions of work was referred by the E.C.E. to the Inland Transport Committee of the I.L.O. and discussed at the conference in Nervi in December 1951.

The Secretary reported that the discussion in the Inland Transport Committee of the E.C.E. which took place in May this year had not yet brought about a final decision. At the meeting some representatives of Ministries of Transport took the view that they were not bound by the votes given by the representatives of Ministries of Labour, and several made an attempt to set aside the results of the Nervi discussion. However, the spokesman of the I.T.F. had stated in Geneva that the workers cannot accept that the governments say "yes" through the mouth of the Ministry of Labour and "no" through the mouth of the Ministry of Transport. The discussion has been interrupted and is to be resumed in October next. Meanwhile the E.C.E. will consult the Ministries of Transport and the I.L.O. the Ministries of Labour. The Section Conference urged the trade unions concerned to intervene energetically with the governments of their countries in order to safeguard the standard set of rules agreed upon in Nervi in December 1951 by the representatives of the governments, the employers and the workers.

The Meeting approved, after a very brief discussion, the chapter on road transport in the Report on Activities. There was little debate because the Section had held a fully fledged conference in April 1952 in Zurich, where the affairs of the section were thoroughly discussed. That conference adopted a resolution asking the Executive Committee to provide for a discussion on the coordination of transport at a joint meeting of all the Sections concerned.

At the request of the Executive Committee the Conference also considered proposal No. 4 submitted by the Japanese Railwaymen's Union and decided to make an enquiry into penal and disciplinary procedures in a number of industrial countries.

The Section Conference had to renew its Section Committee for the forthcoming period, and secured the cooperation of eleven countries. These have appointed the following as members and substitutes of the Section Committee (substitutes in brackets):

Austria, K. Weigl (H. Dobrink); Belgium, G. Hendrickx (J. Geldorf); Denmark, E. Borg (E. Winther); Finland, S. Koutio (H. Palmén); France, P. Felce (M. Bourgoïn); Germany, J. Steldinger (O. Knaack); Great Britain, F. Cousins (F. Coyle); Holland, H. W. Koppens (H. de Later); Italy, G. Martelli; Norway, O. Askeland, (E. Aasen); Sweden, H. Svensson (S. Klinga).

HJALMAR SVENSSON,

Rapporteur,
Chairman of the Section.

HJ. SVENSSON (Swedish Transport Workers' Union), introducing the report, gave an outline of its contents, as the text was not yet available to delegates.

The report of the Conference of the Road Transport Workers' Section was then put to the vote and adopted nem. con.

THE PRESIDENT then called upon H. Hildebrand to move the following

REPORT OF THE CONFERENCE OF THE FISHERMEN'S SECTION

The Fishermen's Section met on Tuesday morning, 22 July, under the chairmanship of I. Haugen (Norway). H. Hildebrand (Germany) was appointed to act as Rapporteur to Congress.

The following representatives attended:

Belgium: R. Dekeyzer; Finland: N. Wälläri, B. Johansson; Germany: H. Hildebrand, M. Kuleisa; Holland: A. de Boon; Norway: I. Haugen (Seamen's Union), T. Kristiansen (Seamen's Union), O. Skjervoll (Navigators' Union); United States: J. Waugh; I.T.F.: O. Becu, W. Dorchain.

Report on Activities

During the discussion on the Report on Activities for the period elapsed since the previous Congress, which was adopted, the following matters arose:

Illegal seizures of fishing boats

Several representatives spoke of the outrages committed against fishing boats and their crews by Communists on the high seas. It was decided to submit the following resolution on the subject for adoption by Congress:

Resolution on attacks on fishing boats

This Congress,

Deeply shocked at the numerous attacks by armed Communists on fishing boats of various nationalities, in which fishermen have been carried into captivity in Soviet Russia and even lost their lives;

Appeals to the United Nations Organization, to Governments and to all others competent in the matter, to take immediate and strong action to prevent these outrages; and
Declares that the Executive Committee of the I.T.F. is authorized to take all possible measures in order that fishermen may be able to carry on their calling in safety.

Limits to territorial waters

On this question it was decided to submit the following resolution to Congress:

Resolution on limits of territorial waters

Whereas confusion and conflict must arise, especially in connection with deep-sea fishing operations, from the lack of clearly defined and internationally recognized limits to territorial waters;

Whereas there is, therefore, an urgent need to remedy the situation by means of an International Convention on the basis of the economic needs and moral rights of nations;

This Congress,

Instructs the Secretariat of the I.T.F. to take the matter up with the appropriate international agency with a view to the adoption of an International Convention; and

Urges that in the meantime those limits to territorial waters which have been established by tradition and custom shall continue to be observed by all parties.

International regulation of fishermen's conditions

The Conference noted with satisfaction the resolution, adopted by the 17th session of the I.L.O. Joint Maritime Commission in May this year, in favour of international legislation dealing with fishermen's conditions of employment. It is the intention of the I.L.O. to set up a Committee of Fishery Experts as soon as replies have been received from Governments to an enquiry of the Office as to which aspects of fishermen's conditions are ripe for international regulation. The Conference felt that the appointment of the Committee of Experts was an urgent matter, in order that the work preparatory to adoption of an International Convention on Fishermen's Conditions could be undertaken with the least possible delay, and accordingly decided to submit the following resolution to Congress:

Resolution on international regulation of fishermen's conditions

This Congress,

Expresses its great appreciation of the excellent work already done by the International Labour Office in studying conditions in the fishing industry throughout the world;

Emphasizes the need for speedy action in arriving at international legislation dealing with the working conditions of fishermen; and therefore

Requests the Governing Body of the I.L.O. to proceed without further delay to the setting up of the International Committee of Fishery Experts and to Governments to respond promptly to the inquiry addressed to them by the I.L.O. concerning the fishing industry, in order that the question of an International

Convention relating to fishermen's conditions of employment may be discussed by an International Labour Conference at the earliest possible date.

The resolution was to be circulated to affiliated fishermen unions, following its adoption, with the request that they bring pressure upon their respective Governments to reply to the I.L.O. enquiry without further delay.

Fishermen's Sectional Committee

The following were elected to constitute the Fishermen's Sectional Committee for the coming period:

Belgium: R. Dekeyzer; France: vacant; Germany, H. Hildebrand; Holland: A. de Boon; Japan: K. Takahashi; Norway, I. Haugen; United Kingdom: vacant; United States: J. Waugh.

It was agreed that H. Hildebrand (Germany) should act as Chairman of the Fishermen's Section during the coming period.

H. HILDEBRAND,

Rapporteur.

H. HILDEBRAND (*German Transport Workers' Union*) formally moved the Report, together with the three resolutions it embodied, and it was adopted *nem. con.*

AFFILIATION FEES

THE PRESIDENT reminded delegates that they had already decided at a previous session that the affiliation fees to the I.T.F. should be increased by ten per cent. It had been left to the Executive Committee to decide when the increase should come into force. The Executive Committee had met the previous day and had decided that the new rate should come into force as from 1 July 1952.

PROPOSALS OF AFFILIATED ORGANIZATIONS

P. TOFAHRN (Assistant General Secretary) referred delegates to the document which contained the proposals submitted to the Congress by affiliated organizations. (*see page 167*).

The first of these proposals, that a standing committee of civil aviation workers should be set up, put forward by the Dutch Air Transport Workers' Union, had been withdrawn by that organization. Proposals Nos. 2 and 3, relating respectively to the right of collective bargaining and the right to strike and labour legislation in Japan, had been dealt with by the Resolutions Committee and embodied in a resolution which had already been adopted.

As regards proposal No. 4 in which the National Railway Workers' Union of Japan asked for an investigation into penal and disciplinary responsibility of transport workers in case of accidents, he could report that the Committee of the Railwaymen's Section had already decided, when meeting in Zurich the previous April, to undertake such an enquiry. The Conference of the Road Transport Workers' Section held in connection with the Congress had also considered the question and had come to a similar decision to the Committee of the Railwaymen's Section, so that in due course the information asked for by the Japanese railwaymen would be available to their union.

Proposal No. 5 of the Japanese railwaymen that the I.T.F. should set up an Asian Regional Office had been carefully examined by the Executive Committee. The Committee recognized that such an office would be very useful for purposes of propoganda and coordination of trade union activities but it would involve considerable expenditure and, for the time being, they saw no possibility of overcoming the difficulty. They therefore regretfully recommended that Congress should not agree to it.

Proposal No. 6, relating to transport as an instrument of peace, also submitted by the National Railway Workers' Union of Japan, had already been the subject of a resolution put forward by the Resolutions Committee and adopted. The matter was therefore settled.

Proposals Nos. 7, 8 and 9, relating to different aspects of dock work and submitted by the Dockers' Unions of Finland, Italy, and Greece, had been dealt with by the Conference of the Dockers' Section.

Proposal No. 10, relating to the eight-hour day on the Greek railways and put forward by the Pan-Hellenic Railwaymen's Federation, had been considered by the Resolutions Committee and made the subject of a resolution which would in due course be distributed to delegates.

Proposal No. 11, relating to the right to strike and also submitted by the Pan-Hellenic Railwaymen's Federation, had also been made the subject of a resolution which had already been adopted.

As regards proposal No. 12, of the Pan-Hellenic Railwaymen's Federation, which asked that a share of Marshall Aid should be devoted to their housing, the Executive Committee found that they were unable to make a recommendation of any kind either to the Congress or the Resolutions Committee and consequently there seemed to be no alternative but to drop the item.

There was no further discussion on this item of the Agenda.

ELECTION OF GENERAL COUNCIL

THE PRESIDENT invited discussion of the following proposals for the allocation of seats on the General Council which had been distributed in the meantime.

Allocation of Seats on the General Council

The Executive Committee recommend that the seats on the General Council be allocated as follows:

EUROPE	<i>Seats</i>
Great Britain	4
*Germany (Railwaymen)	2
*Germany (Transport Workers)	2
Sweden	1
*France	1
*Italy	1
*Greece, Trieste, Israel, Lebanon	1
*Spain	1
Belgium, Holland, Luxembourg	3
Denmark, Norway, Finland, Iceland, Estonia, Eire	3
Austria, Switzerland, Saar	3

	<i>Seats</i>
NORTH AMERICA	
Canada	1
United States	4
LATIN AMERICA	
*§Argentina, Chile, Uruguay, Mexico, Cuba, Trinidad, Ecuador, British Guiana, St. Lucia	2
(One seat to be allocated to Cuba, the other open)	
ASIA	
*†§India, Ceylon, Kenya	1
§Japan	1
*†§Pakistan	1
AUSTRALASIA	
*§Australia, New Zealand	1
	—
	33
	=

* Countries or groups so indicated require a special decision of Congress if they are to be given the representation suggested. In the case of Germany this is required, under Rule VII (3), to allow of four representatives for only two organizations; in the case of the others to allow of representatives being allowed for smaller numbers of members than those stipulated in Rule VII (5 and 6).

§ In the case of countries or groups so indicated agreement of the Executive Committee is required for payment of the whole or part of the cost of sending representatives to meetings of the General Council (owing to the high cost and relatively small contribution).

† To be made effective by the Executive Committee if token payment is made.

P. GIORNELLI (Italian Dockers' Union) asked that, in view of the fact that the administration of Trieste had been entrusted by the British Authorities to Italy, that territory should be grouped with Italy instead of with Greece, Israel, and the Lebanon as proposed by the Executive Committee.

THE PRESIDENT said that he thought that he could, on behalf of the Executive Committee, agree to this proposal.

The recommendations of the Executive Committee were then put to the vote and agreed to nem. con., subject to the amendment with regard to Trieste.

THE PRESIDENT pointed out that the assent given by Congress carried with it a certain subsidiary decision. A special decision of Congress was required for some of the proposals. Particulars of these were given in the footnotes to the document. Germany was a case in point and also France, Italy, the Greece-Israel-Lebanon Group and Spain, because they had not the necessary qualifying membership of 100,000. In a number of cases, also indicated in the footnotes, acceptance of the proposals involved delegating to the Executive Committee certain powers with regard to the making effective of the allocations proposed.

P. TOFAHRN (Assistant General Secretary) then announced that the following proposals had been received for membership of the General Council.

List of Nominations for General Council

(TW = Transport Workers; R = Railwaymen; S = Seafarers; D=Dockers; CA=Civil Aviation; RTW=Road Transport Workers. Names in italics are substitutes.)

Great Britain	.....	.....	A. Deakin (TW) T. Yates (S) J. G. Baty (R) F. Knowles (TW)
Germany, Railwaymen	.....		H. Jahn; <i>C. Kamp</i> K. Klus; <i>F. Schreiber</i>
Germany, Transport Workers			A. Kummernuss; <i>G. Huber</i> H. Hildebrand (S.D.); <i>J. Steldinger</i> (RTW)
Sweden	.....	.....	H. Blomgren (R); <i>R. Helgesson</i> (TW)
France	.....	.....	P. Ferri-Pisani (S); <i>F. Laurent</i> (R)
Italy-Trieste	.....	.....	P. Fiorini, S.A.U.F.I., (R); <i>E. Pellegrino</i> , S.N.F., (R)
Greece-Israel-Lebanon	.....		M. Petroulis (S); <i>A. Thiopoulos</i> (D), Both Greek
Spain	.....	.....	T. Gómez (R); <i>A. Pérez</i> (R)
Belgium-Holland- Luxembourg			H. J. Kanne (R Holl.) J. Leurs (R Lux.) <i>R. Dekeyzer</i> (TW Belg.)
Denmark-Norway-Finland- Iceland-Estonia-Eire	.....	.....	I. Haugen (S Nor.); <i>T. Laurson</i> (S Den.) E. Borg (TW Den.); <i>L. S. Olsen</i> (TW Nor.) G. Widing (R Fin.); <i>J. K. F. Jensen</i> (R Den.)
Austria-Switzerland-Saar			A. Thaler (R Aust.); <i>L. Brosch</i> (TW Aust.) R. Bratschi (R Sw.); <i>W. Brunner</i> (TW Sw.) E. Welter (R Saar); <i>R. Freund</i> (R Aust.)
Canada	.....	.....	To be submitted later
United States	.....	.....	A. E. Lyon (R) H. Lundeberg (S) J. Ryan (D) C. Sayen (CA)
Latin America	.....	.....	Vacant
India-Ceylon-Kenya	.....	.....	Vacant
Japan	.....	.....	T. Nishimaki (S); <i>A. Iwai</i> (R)
Pakistan	.....	.....	Vacant
Australia-New Zealand	.....	.....	Vacant

He said further that neither the Benelux or United States delegations were yet in a position to put forward the names of their substitutes. In the case of Canada, the seat would have to remain vacant until the Canadian affiliated organizations had nominated their candidates and decision would have to be left to the Executive Committee. The same would apply to the two seats allocated to Latin America as no proposals had yet been received. The seats allocated to India, Pakistan and Australia would have to remain vacant for the time being.

P. DE VRIES (Dutch Officers' Union), speaking on behalf of the majority of the Dutch unions represented at the Congress, said that the question of the representation of his country, Holland, on the General

Council had been discussed at length before they came to Stockholm. As Holland was entitled to one seat they had agreed on the desirability of putting forward a single nomination. It appeared, however, that one of the Dutch unions was only agreeable to this procedure provided its own candidate were accepted for nomination and was not prepared to give way to the other four unions, who were unanimously agreed on another candidate.

From the point of view of democratic principle they considered that the fifth union might have been expected to yield to the four others. But this was unfortunately not the case. For the sake of their national pride, however, and because they could hardly expect the Congress to accomplish what they had been unable to do in their own country, those of them who represented the majority of the organized transport workers of the Netherlands preferred to withdraw their candidate, but wished to place on record that the candidate who had actually been put forward by the Netherlands could not be regarded as a free choice. The disharmony which existed between them would have to be thrashed out in their own country as they did not wish it to be a bone of contention at the Congress.

THE PRESIDENT said that from Brother de Vries's declaration it appeared that the Dutch organizations had been unable to agree on a candidate. The Congress, however, was not in a position to do anything about it but he hoped that the disagreement would not lead to a permanent division between the Dutch affiliated organizations.

W. KIEBOOM (Dutch Railwaymen's and Tramwaymen's Union) said that if there were to be talk of democracy it was not democratic practice to make a declaration against persons at a public gathering without informing them that it was to be made.

Further, he pointed out that there were in Holland five organizations affiliated with the I.T.F. All of them had the right to put forward candidates for membership of the General Council of the I.T.F. and they had the right to give expression to their views not only in their own country but also at the Congress. His organization was putting forward Brother Kanne, their President, and they considered that he was entitled to a seat on the General Council of the I.T.F. because the Belgians, with whom they were associated for representative purposes, were putting forward a transport worker and had expressed agreement that the Dutch representatives should nominate a railwayman.

Another reason for the proposal was that the five affiliated organizations of Holland were united in a Federation whose President was also President of the Dutch Railwaymen's and Tramwaymen's Union and therefore enjoyed in Holland the confidence of all the five organizations. Why should he not also enjoy that confidence in Stockholm and as a member of the General Council of the I.T.F.? He hoped that the Congress would understand this and that there would be no further discussion of the matter.

THE PRESIDENT said that the Congress would take due note of Brother Kieboom's declaration, but that would end the matter as far as the Congress was concerned.

On being put to the vote, the list was adopted nem. con.

ELECTION OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

THE PRESIDENT then invited nominations for membership of the Executive Committee. He pointed out that, according to the new rules they had just adopted, the number of members could not exceed ten and no country could have more than one representative and no single section more than five. The limitation to one member for each country did not mean that a group of countries associated for representative purposes could not have more than one representative. There was no objection to all the countries in a single group each having a representative. He asked delegates to submit their nominations in writing.

The following nominations were submitted: I. Haugen (Norwegian Seamen), R. Bratschi (Swiss Railwaymen), A. Deakin (British Transport and General Workers), T. Gomez (Spanish Railwaymen), H. Jahn (German Railwaymen), H. J. Kanne (Dutch Railwaymen), A. E. Lyon (United States Railwaymen), A. Kummernuss (German Transport Workers), R. Dekeyzer (Belgian Transport Workers), P. Ferri-Pisani (French Seamen).

THE PRESIDENT said that there were ten nominations and only five of them were railwaymen, so that in so far as the limitation of the membership of a particular section was concerned everything was in order. There were, however, two nominations from Germany, Brother Jahn representing the railwaymen and Brother Kummernuss transport workers, so that it would be necessary to have a vote, which would be by ballot.

Ballot papers were then distributed and votes cast, the result being announced in the afternoon.

ELECTION OF MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE

The following were unanimously elected members of the Management Committee

T. Yates.
J. G. Baty.
D. S. Tennant.
J. W. P. Webber.

Wednesday, 23rd July 1952

AFTERNOON SESSION

ELECTION OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

(continued)

THE PRESIDENT, after opening the session, announced that the results of the vote were available. The number of ballot papers returned was 263: two of them had been in blank, so that the total of valid votes was 261. Of these 147 had been cast for Brother H. Jahn and 114 for Brother A. Kummernuss. The new Executive Committee would therefore consist of:

- I. Haugen (Norwegian Seamen);
- R. Bratschi (Swiss Railwaymen);
- A. Deakin (British Transport and General Workers);
- T. Gomez (Spanish Railwaymen);
- H. Jahn (German Railwaymen);
- H. J. Kanne (Dutch Railwaymen);
- A. E. Lyon (United States Railwaymen);
- R. Dekeyzer (Belgian Transport Workers);
- P. Ferri-Pisani (French Seamen);
- O. Becu (General Secretary).

He offered the new Executive Committee his hearty congratulations and thanked the two members who were ceasing to belong to that body, Brothers G. Joustra and K. Weigl, on behalf of the Congress, for the valuable services they had rendered to the I.T.F. in the past. Brother Joustra had been a member of the Executive Committee since 1946, and also for many years of the General Council, and previously, while the I.T.F. was in Holland, of the Management Committee. He had also rendered valuable services in the Dutch underground movement during the war.

Brother Weigl had reached the age of seventy years and he had decided that it was time for him to leave the General Council. Like Brother Joustra, he had stood for many decades at the head of his union and all the time worked in close cooperation with the I.T.F. and in the General Council. The war had made it necessary for him to spend several years in exile, though it had not prevented him from fighting the good fight. When the war ended he had again taken up the work in his own country and would continue to do it.

Thanks were also due to Brother G. B. Thorneycroft, who was leaving the Management Committee on ceasing to be General Secretary of his union. It would not be necessary to take leave of him as his time in his own union would last still another year and they hoped that this fact would give them further opportunities of meeting him. He wished, however, to thank him for the valuable services he had rendered to the I.T.F.

ELECTION OF AUDITORS

THE PRESIDENT announced that there were only two nominations for the position of Auditor, Brothers H. W. Franklin and H. Haworth. Only two were required and he assumed that Congress would agree to their election.

The Congress acted accordingly.

ELECTION OF GENERAL SECRETARY AND ASSISTANT GENERAL SECRETARY

THE PRESIDENT proposed the election by acclamation of the General Secretary O. Becu and Assistant General Secretary P. Tofahrn.

The Congress acted accordingly.

THE PRESIDENT congratulated Brothers Becu and Tofahrn on their election and expressed his conviction that they would continue to perform their difficult task to the satisfaction of Congress in a spirit of cooperation and determination to do their best for the I.T.F.

TAKING LEAVE

G. JOUSTRA expressed his thanks for the opportunity that had been given to him to say a few words to take leave of the Congress. He had had the pleasant privilege of working with three generations of comrades in the I.T.F.: immediately after the first world war their unforgettable friends Edo Fimmen, Cramp, Jochade, Döring, König, Nathans, Moltmaker, Brautigam, and Mahlman; after the second world war Brothers Bratschi, Oldenbroek, Lindley, Becu, Deakin, Marchbank, Benstead, Tofahrn, Gomez, Lyon, Jahn and many other good comrades; and during the previous two or three years a very large number of the younger comrades had been added to them. He was therefore taking with him many memories of the past.

He would never forget that the first I.T.F. Congress after the second world war had considered him worthy of becoming a member of the Executive Committee particularly since it had greatly helped him, in the international sphere, to give the lie to Communist calumnies against himself and his union. He therefore felt very grateful to the I.T.F. and its staff and to all his other friends at home and abroad.

The I.T.F. had always done its work in a very praiseworthy manner, though the realization of international aims was even more difficult than trade union work within national frontiers. They were passing through very difficult times, however, and the problems they still had to solve were so important that it was probable that even more would be expected of the I.T.F. in the future than in the past, though he was convinced that it would continue to advance and register still further successes. This would require considerable development of their determination and sense of a common purpose. He left the Congress with his heartfelt good wishes and expressed the hope that the I.T.F. would march forward to the triumph of democratic freedom, social justice, and peace.

THE PRESIDENT said that Brother Karl Weigl, who was also retiring from the General Council, wished to be associated with Brother Joustra's remarks, for which he thanked them both.

He then called upon Brother H. Hildebrand of the German Transport Workers' Union to introduce (instead of Brother T. Smeding) the following

REPORT OF THE CONFERENCE OF THE INLAND WATERWAY WORKERS' SECTION

The Inland Waterway Workers' Conference held two sessions on 22 July 1952. It was attended by ten delegates of affiliated unions organizing inland waterway workers from Belgium (2), Germany (3), Finland (1), Japan (1), Holland (1), Austria (1) and Switzerland (1). The General Secretary attended the meetings as secretary of the Section.

1. *Election of a Chairman*

T. Smeding (Holland) was unanimously re-elected Chairman of the Section and appointed rapporteur to the Congress.

2. *Report*

The chapter of the General Report dealing with inland waterway questions was approved.

3. *The Hamburg Conference of February 1952 on Rhine Navigation*

The Conference took cognizance of the Secretariat's report on this Conference, and discussed in detail a number of the questions it raised.

The Conference took note of the ratification of the International Convention on Social Insurance for Rhine Boatmen by both chambers of the Dutch Parliament, and of the fact that a Bill on the subject has been laid before the Belgian Parliament. Since the other riparian states have already finally approved the Convention, it may be expected that it will be put into force at an early date. The Conference therefore instructed the Secretary to get into touch with the Central Rhine Commission, which under the Convention is responsible for setting up the necessary administrative bodies, to find out whether steps have already been taken for this purpose, and to urge that this be done without delay if this is not the case.

As regards the Convention relating to working conditions, the Secretariat's report showed that it had only been ratified by the German Federal Republic. Belgium was preparing for ratification, but Switzerland had not even signed the Convention yet. This fact had caused other governments, that of Holland in particular, to defer ratification. The Conference declared unequivocally that the trade unions could not tolerate such an attitude, and that it was necessary that unions organizing inland waterway men in the different countries should campaign energetically in their own countries to get the Convention put into force. As soon as a majority of the States concerned have ratified it the others would be morally obliged to follow suit, since ratification by all the riparian States and Belgium is required for it to be carried into effect.

It was decided to take no international action before the end of the year, so that the national unions should have an opportunity of pressing for ratification in their own countries. After the end of the year it will be the task of the Committee of the Section to consider whether other measures are necessary, and if so what.

In the meantime the I.T.F. will publish a manifesto addressed to the Rhine boatmen calling upon their assistance to secure the ratification of the two Conventions.

4. *Meeting of the I.L.O. Inland Transport Committee (December 1951)*

The Conference took cognizance of the fact that the Inland Transport Committee of the I.L.O., at its meeting in Nervi in December last, had adopted a resolution on the working and living conditions of inland waterway personnel in the Asiatic countries, requesting the I.L.O. to devote increased attention to the matter.

5. *Future work of the Section*

It was decided that the Section should devote itself mainly to the implementation of the two Rhine shipping agreements. At the same time it should not fail to deal with the problems of other inland waterways, for example the Danube, when the need arose. This would probably be particularly necessary in the case of the whole Rhine-Danube area once a direct link between these two rivers had been effected.

6. *Election of Section Committee*

The following Section Committee was elected: Austria, L. Brosch; Belgium, L. Eggers; France, vacant; Germany, H. Hildebrand; Netherlands, T. Smeding; Pakistan, vacant.

7. *Date and place of next Section Conference*

It was decided that a meeting of the Section Committee or, if necessary, of the Section, should be held either at the end of 1952 or the beginning of 1953. The fixing of the date and place of the meeting was left to the Secretary and the Chairman.

T. SMEDING,
Rapporteur.

H. HILDEBRAND (German Transport Workers' Union) said that as the end of the Congress was approaching the discussion would necessarily have to be short and he would also be short. He would simply move the Report and at the same time promise on behalf of his own union and the Austrian unions that they would do their utmost to promote a solution of the problem of the German inland waterways at the earliest possible moment.

The Report of the Conference of the Inland Waterway Workers' Section was then adopted nem. con.

THE PRESIDENT then called on Brother Thorneycroft to present the

SECOND REPORT OF THE RESOLUTIONS COMMITTEE

G. B. THORNEYCROFT (British Transport Salaried Staffs' Association) said that the Resolutions Committee was submitting five further resolutions, the texts of which had already been distributed to delegates. One related to European Transport, about which the Assistant General Secretary had spoken that morning at length, in reply to discussions on the subject. This resolution was a revision of the one which had been annexed to the Report on the Integration of European Transport and Establishment of a European Transport Authority, which had been

circulated earlier. The alterations were not alterations of substance but rather of a verbal nature, so that he thought Congress would have no difficulty in adopting them. The resolution would be moved by the Assistant General Secretary.

The second resolution related to the application of International Convention No. 98 in the Saar Territory, and the Resolutions Committee recommended that it should be moved by Brother Welter of that Territory.

The third resolution related to the position in Countries behind the Iron Curtain, which it was recommended should be sponsored by Brother Metslov of Estonia.

The fourth resolution related to the Application of the Eight-hour day on the Greek Railways, which they suggested should be moved by Brother Dimitracopoulos, and finally there was a fifth resolution on the I.T.F.'s action for a European Transport Policy, which was related to the longer resolution on European transport, which he had mentioned first. It was suggested that this resolution should be moved by Brother H. J. Kanne. It was to be noted that it did not commit Congress to anything beyond requesting the Executive Committee to consider a certain line of action.

THE PRESIDENT then called upon the Assistant General Secretary to move the following

Resolution on European Transport

Whereas the conversion of Europe into an economic unit is for the nations of that continent a condition of survival as self-supporting, free, and democratic communities;

Whereas an integrated transport system is 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;

Whereas the degree of unification achieved in the field of European transport may be considered as a reliable indication of the progress made in implementing the declared intention of the European Governments to establish the institutions necessary for the success of European cooperation;

Whereas international cooperation as practised traditionally and at present, that is merely for the purpose of framing and implementing technical, legal, and administrative regulations for international traffic, affords only sham solutions, since it cannot possibly lead to the required integration of the European transport systems;

Whereas economic action in the field of transport on the European Continent postulates the existence of a European Transport Authority;

This 22nd International Transport Workers' Congress, meeting under the auspices of the I.T.F. from 16 to 23 July 1952 in Stockholm,

Places on record:

(a) that the I.T.F. has done pioneering work by advocating, during and since the war, in an adequate manner, the unification of European transport, in the face of forces wedded to the outworn concept of separate national economic units;

(b) that the I.T.F.'s policy is being vindicated by the fact that official national and international bodies are at present considering plans for setting up a new European transport agency;

Declares that it is incumbent upon the I.T.F. and its affiliated organizations to continue to lend its full support to any endeavour to further this idea and to find ways and means of translating it into practice;

Decides to instruct the I.T.F. Secretariat to continue to advocate a rational economic structure in the field of Continental transport.

P. TOFAHRN (Assistant General Secretary) said that the occasion was the first on which a Congress of the I.T.F. had discussed in explicit terms the problem of European transport, though in adopting the Report on Activities in 1946 Congress had implicitly agreed to the idea of the I.T.F. advocating the setting up of a European Transport Authority, and since then the question had been dealt with more or less thoroughly by the sections.

Congress had already adopted the special report on the subject, which was submitted to it, and the matter had again been discussed by the sections. It was now asked to adopt the resolution which lay before it so as to make it clear that it represented the policy of the whole of the I.T.F.

The resolution was then put to the vote and adopted nem. con.

THE PRESIDENT then called upon Brother Kanne to move the

Resolution on the I.T.F.'s action for a European Transport Policy

The 22nd Congress of the International Transport Workers' Federation, meeting in Stockholm from 16 to 23 July 1952,

Requests the Executive Committee to consider the appointment of a European Transport Committee for the purpose of formulating a programme that would serve as a guide for the I.T.F. Secretariat and the affiliated organizations in matters of policy affecting European transport; the programme to be submitted for deliberation and approval to the European organizations concerned.

H. J. KANNE (Dutch Railwaymen's Union) said that since the Congress had already dealt fully with the subject of a European transport policy he could confine himself to saying that the draft resolution had been unanimously agreed to by the Resolutions Committee after a full discussion. He asked the Congress to accept it.

Upon being put to the vote the resolution was adopted nem. con.

THE PRESIDENT then called upon Brother Welter to move the

Resolution on the Application of International Convention No. 98 in the Saar Territory

The 22nd Congress of the International Transport Workers' Federation, meeting in Stockholm from 16 to 23 July 1952, notes the fact that the Government of the Saar Territory withholds from the railwaymen the right of collective bargaining laid down in International Convention No. 98, and learns with regret that it has not replied to two letters from the I.T.F. drawing attention to the Convention.

The Congress declares:

(a) that the Government of the Saar Territory, in excepting the railwaymen from the scope of application of International Labour Convention No. 98, acts in contradiction with democratic principles;

(b) that the Saar Government's failure to answer communications from the I.T.F. is in marked contrast with the normal courtesy shown by other Governments with which the I.T.F. communicates.

The Congress urges the Government of Saar Territory to observe democratic principles in industrial relations by applying International Labour Convention No. 98 in respect of railwaymen.

E. WELTER (Saar Railwaymen's Union) said that the railwaymen in the Saar Territory had lost the right to a collective agreement and had so far been unsuccessful in their fight to secure its restoration. The I.T.F. had twice written to the Government of the Territory drawing attention to the Geneva Convention of 1918 and that Government had not yet considered it necessary to reply. It was not possible to tolerate in the heart of Europe a Government acting in such a manner. He asked the Congress to adopt the resolution.

On being put to the vote the resolution was adopted nem. con.

THE PRESIDENT then called upon Brother Metslov to move the **Resolution on Countries behind the Iron Curtain**

Whereas the people of the countries of Eastern and Central Europe continue to suffer the evil of Communist domination and tyranny, with all its horrors;

Whereas the working classes in these countries are deprived of the most elementary human rights and liberties and live in conditions of extreme hardship, aggravated in many cases by imprisonment, banishment and death;

This Congress:

Expresses once more, in the name of the millions of organized transport workers of the free world, its abhorrence and contempt of a régime and an ideology which hold entire nations in subjection by the most inhuman methods;

Reaffirms its unshakable belief in the ultimate triumph of freedom and democracy throughout the world;

Salutes those who, in the face of the severest hardships and gravest perils, carry on the fight for the great ideals of humanity in the countries under the yoke of dictatorship and totalitarianism;

Hopes fervently that the day may be near when these unhappy countries will be restored to the community of free nations; and

Pledges its full moral and material support to the fighters for freedom.

N. METSLOV (Estonian Seamen's Union) said that the resolution was the natural and logical consequence of another adopted the previous Monday, in which Congress had expressed its sympathy with the trade unions and workers living under the Fascist régime in Argentina and in which it promised the full support of the I.T.F. to those who were

struggling against the dictatorships. The fugitives, like himself, from the Communist dictatorship in the East were democrats, and Communist imperialism was the greatest danger which threatened their freedom and world peace. What was happening in the countries behind the Iron Curtain was a warning to all freedom-loving people and if international solidarity had any meaning for the delegates to the I.T.F. Congress then Congress could not remain silent at what was happening to their brethren in those countries.

What the resolution said about the conditions which existed in the countries behind the Iron Curtain—the tyranny, deprivation of the most elementary human rights and liberties, suppression of the working class, etc.—was literally true. He was not speaking as a tourist who had only spent a few days behind the Iron Curtain and had been treated by the authorities there to pompous parades: he had personally lived under the reign of terror and knew what it meant. And what he said would be confirmed by millions of people who had succeeded in escaping. Time would not permit him to give them details about the terrible night of 14 June 1941, when hundreds of thousands of innocent people were dragged away from their homes and sent in cattle wagons to slave labour in Siberia. Since then, nothing had been heard of them. If he had time he could tell them of many members and officers of their trade unions who had been arrested and condemned by the G.P.U. to lifelong forced labour in the Siberian mines. But they were probably familiar with the facts. No doubt these friends and brothers of theirs were knocking at their consciences. He asked Congress for the moral support which adoption of the resolution would give them.

N. WÄLLÄRI (Finnish Seamen's Union) said that he wished to make a declaration on behalf of the Finnish Seamen's Union. Brother Metslov's resolution dealt with countries such as Lithuania, Rumania, Bulgaria, etc., where Fascist régimes were in power before the war, and semi-Fascist régimes in most of the other countries referred to. Among the people fighting against the present governments in those countries there were Fascist elements whose only aim was to replace the present régime by Fascist dictatorships and to suppress freedom just as was now being done. His union would not lend its support to any Fascists and the wording of the resolution was so vague that it could be interpreted as pledging support also to Fascist fighters from Eastern and Central European countries. The delegation of the Finnish Seamen's Union was therefore compelled to abstain from voting and he wished a record of this fact to be included in the Proceedings of the Congress.

THE PRESIDENT said that there was no definite opposition to the resolution, but mention of Brother Wälläri's declaration would be included in the Proceedings.

The resolution was then put to the vote and adopted nem. con.

THE PRESIDENT then called upon Brother Dimitracopoulos to move the

Resolution on the Eight-Hour Day on the Greek Railways

The 22nd Congress of the International Transport Workers' Federation, held in Stockholm from 16 to 23 July 1952, notes:

(a) That the Greek Government has ratified the International Labour Convention on the eight-hour day;

(b) That, nevertheless, the Greek Government has not fully applied the eight-hour day on the railways, despite repeated promises to do so;

(c) That in May 1952, following an agreement between the Pan-Hellenic Federation of Railwaymen and the Ministries of Labour and Communications, a Decree was drafted concerning the application of the eight-hour day on the railways, which Decree was signed by the King;

(d) That the Minister of Labour, who represented the Greek Government at the 1952 Session of the International Labour Conference, declared that this question was settled by Decree;

(e) That, notwithstanding this declaration, the Decree has not yet been published.

This Congress therefore:

(1) Protests against the dilatory attitude of the Greek Government;

(2) Calls upon the Greek Government immediately to implement the Decree;

(3) Instructs the Secretariat of the I.T.F. to continue to make representations to the Government until the matter is satisfactorily resolved.

S. DIMITRACOPOULOS (Pan-Hellenic Railwaymen's Federation) moved the resolution, asking Congress to support it, as it would greatly assist his union in their struggle to secure the implementation of the promise given by the Greek Government to the International Labour Conference and the Decree it had since drafted.

The resolution was then put to the vote and adopted nem. con.

HEADQUARTERS OF THE I.T.F.

On the proposal of the PRESIDENT the Congress decided that the Headquarters of the I.T.F. should remain in London for the next two years.

DATE AND PLACE OF NEXT CONGRESS

THE PRESIDENT proposed that the determination of the date and place of the next Congress should be left to the Executive Committee. It would take place two years later and nobody could say what the position was likely to be then. The previous Congress had adopted this course.

The question was then put to the vote and Congress expressed agreement.

CLOSE OF CONGRESS

THE PRESIDENT said that they had now finished dealing with the agenda but one or two delegates and others wished to say a final word. He called upon the General Secretary to address the meeting.

O. BÈCV (General Secretary) said that he felt it his duty to rise on behalf of Brother Tofahrn and himself to thank Congress warmly for the honour and confidence it had shown in re-electing them unanimously. That confidence and unanimity made them conscious of the great responsibility which lay upon them in fulfilling their task during the next two years. He felt sure, however, that by the time the next Congress was reached they would have proved that the confidence shown in them was justified.

H. BLOMGREN (Swedish Railwaymen's Union) said that the twenty-second Congress of the I.T.F. was reaching its end. For over a week it had been leaving its marks on Stockholm. The Swedish Press had given considerable attention to the Congress and he thought that it had dealt with the deliberations very fairly.

It was a great honour for the Swedish unions to have had the opportunity of organizing an I.T.F. Congress and he wished to express his thanks for the confidence shown in them. As the actual task of organization had been in the hands of young people with little or no experience in such matters, the Reception Committee hoped that any defects which may have been apparent would be excused. Thanks were due to the officers and staff of the I.T.F. for all the valuable assistance they had rendered and their understanding of the difficulties. He hoped that delegates would take home from Stockholm pleasant memories of their stay. If any of them had not found everything as it ought to have been he assured them that it had been their aim as hosts to arrange everything as perfectly as possible and that any failure was not due to lack of good will but to lack of experience.

He wished particularly to thank the National Debt Office for having placed the Parliament building at their disposal and for the general good will which had been shown by all the Stockholm authorities. Thanks were due also to those comrades who had constituted the Reception Committee and had made such a great contribution to the success of the Congress.

Finally, he wished to express the gratitude of the Swedish organizations for the opportunity they had had of spending these few days together. He asked delegates to carry home with them a greeting from the Swedish unions and the assurance that the Swedish workers were fully aware of the international solidarity which they must all feel if they were to do good work. He hoped to see them all back one day and in the meantime wished them Godspeed.

A. DEAKIN (British Transport and General Workers' Union) said that it would be an unpardonable omission on their part if they did not at the close of the twenty-second Congress of the I.T.F. express their thanks and appreciation to their good friend and president, Brother Bratschi. He had been a model of what a chairman should be—patient and long-suffering. He had been charming to all of them and nothing could be more appropriate at the moment than to remind Congress of the reference made earlier in their deliberations to a little Swiss flower, that natural phenomenon—the Edelweiss. He thought he could say of Brother Bratschi that he had all the charm and fragrance of that flower. His chairmanship would be remembered as an outstanding example. On

behalf of the Congress he wished to express thanks to him for all he had done to make the Congress one of the most outstandingly successful ever held under the banner of the I.T.F.

THE PRESIDENT thanked Brother Deakin for the kindly words which he had addressed to him personally as president of the I.T.F. He promised him that the next time he came to Switzerland he should have a fine bunch of mountain roses and Edelweiss.

That the Congress had finished to time after completing its work was largely due to the splendid discipline which had been observed by all delegates. He thanked all of them for the support they had given him and the confidence they had shown in him, thus making his task a light one. He thanked especially the rapporteurs, movers of resolutions, and all participants in the discussions who had helped to make clear matters which were obscure. He thanked also all the committees, and particularly their chairmen, whose preliminary consideration of many matters had helped to make easier the work of the Congress. Finally, thanks were due to the Executive Committee who had met repeatedly while the Congress had lasted.

But with the best of good will things would not have run so smoothly had it not been for the careful preparations and general staff work, the influence of which came out so clearly in the many reports and resolutions; and for this they must thank the Secretariat of the I.T.F. and its staff. He particularly thanked the interpreters, without whom there could be no international congresses; and this applied equally to the translators and other workers behind the scenes.

But other things were needed for a successful congress. He was thinking more especially of the general frame in which the Congress was held. The twenty-second Congress would be another milestone in the history of the I.T.F. He could assure the Swedish colleagues that delegates would leave Stockholm with the pleasantest of memories, as indeed they had done after the previous Congress held in the same city. He wished to thank them for their friendly reception at the opening session in the Concert House, for the memorable trip to Drottningholm, for the splendid banquet in the most beautiful of all town halls, for the many events arranged for the ladies who had accompanied delegates and, above all, he thanked them for the spirit of comradeship shown by the Swedish affiliated unions.

For all that he offered them hearty thanks—particularly to the Organizing Committee, with Brothers Blomgren and Helgesson at its head. They had spared neither work nor expense to make their stay in Stockholm as pleasant as it could be.

He wished to thank the Swedish Government, too, for placing the Hall, and indeed the whole of the Parliament building, at their disposal, thus contributing so greatly to the smooth running of the Congress, and he could not forget to mention the display of flags on the square in front of the Parliament building, where each of them had found his national flag.

He wished to thank also the City of Stockholm, with its sympathetic Town Council and its friendly people, for the reception in the Town Hall and for placing that Hall at their disposal for the banquet.

He wished to show his appreciation also to the Management of the Swedish State Railways and to their General Manager for attending the opening ceremony and the banquet in the Town Hall. They had been helpful in granting many delegates free transport on the Swedish section on their journeys. Thanks were due also to the Swedish Federation of Trade Unions and the Central Employees' Federation, and also, naturally, to their guests of honour who had followed with so much interest the Proceedings of the Congress. Particularly he thanked his friend Charles Lindley who had attended the sessions of the Congress from morning till evening.

Nor would he wish to forget the representatives of the International Labour Office and the International Railway Congress Association for their presence and the interest they had shown. The I.T.F. was very grateful for the cooperation they had always had from these two organizations.

Last but not least, thanks were due to the Swedish and foreign press as well as the Swedish broadcasting system who, in spite of the many claims of the Olympiad, had drawn the attention of the world to the Congress of the I.T.F. and made its decisions known.

He very much appreciated the kindly way in which they had been received by the population of Stockholm and of Sweden generally, which had contributed so much to making their stay in this beautiful country so pleasant.

If in his expressions of thanks he had inadvertently forgotten anybody he asked to be excused, for thanks were due to all who had helped to make the Congress so successful.

They could now go home conscious that they had done their best. Not everyone of them had been able to get his views accepted but that was to be expected. Even in a small country like Switzerland it sometimes happened that delegates went home from a Congress dissatisfied. The great thing was that everybody should have tried to do his best and to serve the cause for which he stood. They could go home strengthened by the feeling that they belonged to a great international organization and this would be of help to them in their task of fighting for social justice, peace among the nations of the world, real freedom, democracy and the rights of man.

He declared the Congress at an end.

LIST OF DELEGATES

<i>Organization</i>	<i>Delegates</i>	<i>Observers</i>
Argentina (exile) Confederación General de Gremios Marítimos y Afines (seafarers)	<i>J. C. Mason.</i>	
Austria Gewerkschaft der Eisenbahner (railwaymen)	<i>R. Freund. A. Thaler. J. Krämer. L. Glinz.</i>	
Gewerkschaft der Bediensteten im Handel, Transport und Verkehr (transport workers)	<i>K. Weigl. L. Brosch.</i>	
Belgium Belgische Transportarbeidersbond (transport workers)	<i>R. Dekeyzer. G. De Crom. G. Hendrickx. W. Cassiers.</i>	<i>L. Eggers. P. Vanden Berg. L. Vander Aa. W. Peeters.</i>
Secteur Cheminots de la C.G.S.P. (railwaymen)	<i>G. Devaux. P. Morel. G. Premier. F. d'Helt.</i>	
Centrale Belge du Personnel des Tramways, Vicinaux et Autobus (tramwaymen)	<i>J. Geldof. R. Hubert. H. van Ballaer.</i>	<i>P. Coche.</i>
Secteur Aviation de la C.G.S.P. (civil aviation)	<i>S. F. Stolz.</i>	
Denmark Sømaendenes Forbund i Danmark (seafarers)	<i>T. Laursen.</i>	
Søfyrbødernes Forbund i Danmark (firemen)	<i>R. Jensen.</i>	
Dansk Arbejdsmandsforbund (transport workers)	<i>E. Borg. E. Winther.</i>	
Dansk Jernbaneforbund (railwaymen)	<i>P. Madsen. J. K. F. Jensen. N. M. Kristensen.</i>	<i>N. J. Olsen.</i>
Dansk Lokomotivmands Forening (locomotivemen)	<i>E. G. Petersen.</i>	<i>K. B. Knudsen.</i>
Dansk Sø-Restaurations-Forening (stewards)	<i>P. Jensen.</i>	
Estonia (exile) Esti Meremeeste Union (seafarers)	<i>N. Meislov.</i>	<i>A. Suurna.</i>
Finland Finlands Sjömans-Union (seafarers)	<i>N. Wälläri. B. Johansson.</i>	<i>A. J. Ahti. A. Heimö.</i>
Finlands Arbetarförbund (dockers)	<i>M. Kitunen.</i>	<i>K. Salonen.</i>
Finska Järnvägsmannaförbundet (railwaymen)	<i>W. E. Backman. R. Tuori. H. Poutanen.</i>	
Finska Lokotivmannaförbundet (locomotive-men)	<i>G. W. Widing.</i>	<i>M. Ilvo.</i>
Finlands Bilbranscharbetareförbund (motor drivers)	<i>S. Koutio. O. Kähkönen.</i>	
France Fédération Nationale de la Marine Marchande (seafarers)	<i>P. Ferri-Pisani. J. Philipps.</i>	<i>L. Scotto. -. Piquemal.</i>
Fédération des Officiers de la Marine Marchande (navigating officers)	<i>A. Francais.</i>	<i>G. Gendron.</i>

Organization	Delegates	Observers
Fédération Syndicaliste F.O. des Cheminots (railwaymen)	F. Laurent. R. Degris. A. Lafond.	
Fédération Nationale F.O. des Transports (transport workers)	P. Felce.	
Fédération des Travaux Publics et des Transports (civil aviation)	R. Lapeyre.	
Germany		
Gewerkschaft öffentliche Dienste, Transport und Verkehr (transport workers)	A. Kummernuss. A. Dienst. G. Huber. H. Hildebrand. J. Steldinger. A. Nicolaisen. M. Kuleisa. H. Hackstein. H. Tomaschewski.	E. Stahl. A. Wild. G. Mayfarth. G. Thiessen.
Gewerkschaft der Eisenbahner Deutschlands (railwaymen)	H. Jahn. K. Klus. J. Müller. H. Völk. K. Schulz. F. Berger. J. Hommen. W. Burmester. W. Schröter. F. Schreiber. C. Kamp. H. Frieser. B. Kempf. L. Oetzmann. A. Reiser. J. Friedel. K. Mantel.	W. Wallbaum. M. Pester. W. Kitter.
Great Britain		
National Union of Seamen	T. Yates. S. James. H. J. Tanner. A. Butcher. A. A. Cassells. J. Ockleton.	
Navigators' and Engineer Officers' Union	Lord Winster. D. S. Tennant. J. G. K. Gregory.	
Radio Officers' Union	H. O'Neill.	D. H. Lamb.
Transport and General Workers' Union	A. Deakin. E. E. Fryer. T. Cowan. L. Forden. J. W. Hoy. J. W. T. Jones. C. Mortimer. W. Pinnell.	
National Union of Railwaymen	J. B. Figgins. H. W. Franklin. A. Barker. H. E. L. Down.	

<i>Organization</i>	<i>Delegates</i>	<i>Observers</i>
Transport Salaried Staffs' Association	<i>P. Morris.</i> <i>G. B. Thorneycroft.</i> <i>J. R. H. Forsyth.</i> <i>A. Harvey.</i> <i>T. Vaughan.</i> <i>S. C. Casson.</i>	
Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen	<i>S. R. Lunniss.</i> <i>O. Gow.</i> <i>J. G. Baty.</i>	
Union of Shop, Distributive and Allied Workers	<i>R. Hanes.</i> <i>F. Knowles.</i> <i>D. McGibbon.</i> <i>W. H. Stacey.</i> <i>J. White.</i>	
Scottish Horse and Motormen's Association	<i>J. Brannigan.</i> <i>J. McQuade.</i>	
Greece		
Pan-Hellenic Seamen's Federation	<i>M. Petroulis.</i> <i>P. Kalapothakis.</i> <i>D. Benetatos.</i>	
Federation of Greek Dockers	<i>A. Thiopoulos.</i> <i>A. Kazakos.</i>	
Fédération Panhellénique des Cheminots (railwaymen)	<i>S. Dimitracopoulos.</i> <i>G. Dimitracopoulos.</i> <i>S. Basiliades.</i>	
Holland		
Centrale Bond van Werknemers in het Transportbedrijf (transport workers)	<i>T. Smeding.</i> <i>A. de Boon.</i> <i>H. Koppens.</i> <i>P. Koedijk.</i>	
Centrale van Kapiteins en Officieren ter Koopvaardij (navigating officers)	<i>P. de Vries.</i> <i>D. Harms.</i>	<i>C. W. van Driel.</i> <i>C. Kramer.</i>
Nederlandse Vereniging van Vervoerspersoneel (railwaymen)	<i>H. J. Kanne.</i> <i>W. A. Kieboom.</i> <i>F. de Jong.</i> <i>A. W. Korbijn.</i>	<i>R. v. d. Weerd.</i>
Algemene Bond van Luchtvaartpersoneel (civil aviation)	<i>J. de Graaff.</i>	<i>J. Harms.</i> <i>J. K. Post.</i>
Federatie van Verenigingen van Vliegend Personeel (flying personnel)	<i>B. J. Nienhuis.</i>	
Israel		
Israel National Association of Seamen	<i>Dan Gilad.</i>	
Italy		
Federazione Gente del Mare (seafarers)	<i>L. Mucci.</i>	
Federazione Nazionale Lavoratori Portuali (dockers)	<i>A. Maffei.</i>	<i>P. Giannelis</i>
Federazione Nazionale Lavoratori Autoferrotranvieri e Internavigatori (tramwaymen and bargemen)	<i>G. Abate (proxy).</i>	
Federazione Italiana Lavoratori Trasporti e Ausiliari del Traffico (transport workers)	<i>G. Abate.</i>	
Sindacato Nazionale Ferrovieri (railwaymen)	<i>E. Pellegrino</i> <i>F. Bartoloni</i> <i>A. Chiari</i>	
Sindacato Autonomo Unificato Ferrovieri Italiani (railwaymen)	<i>A. Ferrini</i> <i>A. Maccottelli</i> <i>K. Cappugi</i>	

<i>Organization</i>	<i>Delegates</i>	<i>Observers</i>
Japan All Japan Seamen's Union Travel Bureau Trade Union	<i>T. Nishimaki.</i> <i>K. Mori.</i>	
Luxembourg Fédération Nationale des Cheminots Luxembourgeois (railwaymen)	<i>J. Leurs.</i> <i>J. B. Schilling.</i>	
Norway Norsk Sjømannsforbund (seafarers)	<i>I. Haugen.</i> <i>T. Sönsteby.</i> <i>I. Kristiansen.</i> <i>W. Falao.</i>	
Norsk Styrmandsforening (mates) Det norske maskinistforbund (ship's engineers)	<i>O. Skjervoll.</i> <i>J. E. Johansen.</i>	
Norsk Transportarbeiderforbund (transport workers)	<i>L. S. Olsen.</i> <i>O. Askeland.</i> <i>T. B. Jahnsen.</i> <i>S. Knustad.</i>	
Norsk Jernbaneforbund (railwaymen)	<i>M. Trana.</i> <i>E. Edvardsen.</i> <i>H. Nordberg.</i> <i>F. Hager.</i>	
Norsk Lokomotivmannsforbund (locomotivemen)	<i>M. Heggstad.</i>	<i>A. Novák.</i>
Saar Einheitsgewerkschaft der Arbeiter, Industrierverband Eisenbahn (railwaymen)	<i>E. Welter.</i> <i>A. Flätgen.</i>	
Spain Sindicato Nacional Ferroviario (railwaymen) Federación Nacional del Transporte (transport workers)	<i>T. Gómez.</i> <i>A. Pérez.</i>	
Sweden Svenska Sjöfolksförbundet (seafarers)	<i>J. Svensson.</i> <i>G. Carlsson.</i> <i>J. S. Thore.</i>	<i>E. Karlsson.</i> <i>E. W. Berggren.</i> <i>E. Holm.</i> <i>A. Stridsberg.</i>
Svenska Maskinbefälsförbundet (ship's engineers)	<i>A. G. F. Söre.</i>	<i>G. F. Fernandí.</i> <i>C. B. Z. Ahlgren.</i> <i>B. A. H. Linderstam.</i>
Svenska Järnvägsmannaförbundet (railwaymen)	<i>H. Blomgren.</i> <i>G. Weidenfors.</i> <i>N. Zerne.</i> <i>H. Kjellvard.</i> <i>A. Waimon.</i> <i>E. Engström.</i> <i>A. Thorén.</i>	
Svenska Transportarbetareförbundet (transport workers)	<i>R. Helgesson.</i> <i>R. Melander.</i> <i>S. Klinga.</i> <i>V. Norrblom.</i> <i>T. W. Sundin.</i> <i>W. Jonsson.</i>	<i>E. Brandt.</i> <i>E. Larsson.</i> <i>W. Pettersson.</i> <i>E. Hedenby.</i> <i>J. Christensson.</i> <i>A. Flenström.</i> <i>H. Svensson.</i> <i>N. Peterson.</i> <i>I. Östling.</i> <i>G. Carlsson.</i> <i>K. Wrenby.</i> <i>V. Stuchly.</i>
Handelstjänstemannaförbundet (civil aviation)	<i>K. B. R. Lindfors.</i>	<i>G. H. T. Wallén.</i> <i>B. E. O. Kjellberg.</i>

Organization	Delegates	Observers
Switzerland		
Verband der Handels-, Transport- und Lebensmittelarbeiter (transport workers)	<i>H. Leuenberger.</i> <i>W. Brunner.</i>	<i>J. Gämperle.</i>
Schweizerischer Eisenbahner-Verband (railwaymen)	<i>R. Bratschi.</i> <i>A. Mathys.</i> <i>B. Gössi.</i> <i>W. Hungerbühler.</i> <i>E. Fell.</i> <i>E. Haudenschild.</i>	<i>W. Meier.</i> <i>Dr. T. Bratschi.</i>
Schweizerischer Verband des Personals öffentlicher Dienste, Sektion Luftfahrt (civil aviation)	<i>K. Meyer.</i>	
Trieste		
Sindacato della Gente del Mare di Trieste (seafarers)		
Sindacato Triestino dei Portuali Democratici (dockers)		
	<i>P. Giornelli (proxy).</i>	
United States		
Seafarers' International Union of North America	<i>J. Waugh.</i>	
Railway Labor Executives' Association	<i>A. E. Lyon.</i> <i>R. Morgan.</i> <i>C. E. Goodlin.</i>	
International Association of Machinists	<i>A. E. Lyon (proxy).</i>	

Guests

Netherlands

F. P. A. Landskroon.

Poland (exile)

K. Maxamin.

Sweden

A. Borgsted.

S. Christiansson.

A. Forslund.

F. W. Franzén.

C. Lindley.

A. Löfgren.

D. Sandberg.

Fraternal Delegates

A. Deakin.

International Confederation of Free Trade Unions

D. Follows.

International Federation of Air Line Pilots' Associations

J. Christensson.

Scandinavian Transport Workers' Federation

Observers

C. R. Atkinson.

Labor Attaché, U.S. Embassy, London

D. Saposs.

Mutual Security Agency

E. Williams.

Mutual Security Agency

S. Thorsson.

International Labour Office

J. Dubus.

International Railway Congress Association

D. B. Hirshfield.

Accountant

P. Williamson.

British Embassy, Stockholm

G. J. Joustra.

Member of the Executive Committee

W. C. Potter.

Auditor

Congress Organizing Committee

<i>H. Blomgren.</i>	Swedish Railwaymen's Union, Chairman
<i>G. Weidenfors.</i>	Swedish Railwaymen's Union, Secretary
<i>R. Helgesson.</i>	Swedish Transport Workers' Union
<i>A. Stridsberg.</i>	Swedish Seafarers' Union
<i>A. Söre.</i>	Swedish Ships' Engineers' Union
<i>S. Sundelin.</i>	Swedish Civil Aviation Personnel

I.T.F. Secretariat

O. Becu, General Secretary

P. Tofähn, Assistant General Secretary

<i>Miss T. Asser.</i>	<i>Mrs. C. Hirdman.</i>
<i>S. Backlund.</i>	<i>A. Johnsson.</i>
<i>Mrs. I. Barea.</i>	<i>Mrs. L. Kant.</i>
<i>Miss Bazelli.</i>	<i>V. Klatil.</i>
<i>Mrs. F. Castles.</i>	<i>L. Martinez.</i>
<i>G. R. Clutterbuck.</i>	<i>J. L. Merle.</i>
<i>I. Dahlbom.</i>	<i>Miss A. Nebout.</i>
<i>W. Dorchain.</i>	<i>Miss T. Osborne.</i>
<i>Miss I. Elmberg.</i>	<i>R. Santley.</i>
<i>Miss A. Fank.</i>	<i>A. Spirig.</i>
<i>L. Franzén.</i>	<i>Miss Wilmart.</i>
<i>K. Golding.</i>	<i>M. Zwalf.</i>

CONSTITUTION

of the International Transport Workers' Federation
as revised at the 22nd Biennial Congress
held at Stockholm from 16 to 23 July 1952.

PREAMBLE

The International Transport Workers' Federation, founded in 1896, is an international organization which aims to embrace the trade unions of the transport workers of all countries, irrespective of their colour, nationality, race or creed.

It is a free trade union body, established to defend and further, in the international plane, the economic and social interests of transport workers of all kinds and their trade unions. It stands for the defence of democracy and freedom and is opposed to totalitarianism and aggression in all their forms.

The Federation's activities shall be governed by the following Constitution:

Rule I. OBJECTS

The objects of the Federation shall be:

- (a) to support national and international action in the struggle against economic exploitation and political oppression and to make international working class solidarity effective;
- (b) to cooperate in the establishment of a world order based on the association of all peoples in freedom and equality for the promotion of their welfare by the common use of the world's resources;
- (c) to seek universal recognition and enforcement of the right of trade union organization;
- (d) to defend and promote, in the international plane, the economic, social and occupational interests of all transport workers;
- (e) to represent the transport workers in international agencies performing functions which affect their social, economic and occupational conditions;
- (f) to furnish its affiliated organizations with information about the wages and working conditions of transport workers in different parts of the world, legislation affecting them, the development and activities of their trade unions, and other kindred matters.

Rule II. METHODS

The Federation shall work for these objects by:

- (a) establishing and maintaining close relations between the trade union organizations of transport workers of all countries;
- (b) helping to organize the transport workers in countries where they are unorganized or only partly organized and assisting weak organizations worthy of it, in particular by enlisting the support of public opinion for improvements in the social conditions in the countries concerned;
- (c) promoting, establishing and operating schemes of mutual assistance among transport workers' trade unions of different countries, and supporting transport workers' trade unions engaged in disputes;

- (d) cooperating with other international bodies;
- (e) collecting and distributing information about the working and living conditions of transport workers and matters affecting these conditions, such as national and international legislation, regulations relating to work in the transport industries, technical developments affecting the life and work of transport workers, and organization, ownership and management of transport industries.

Rule III. MEMBERSHIP

1. All trade unions and associations of trade unions catering for persons engaged in any capacity in any transport industry, whether publicly or privately owned or operated, are eligible for affiliation to the Federation, provided that:

- (a) they subscribe to the objects of the Federation as defined in the present Constitution;
- (b) their constitution and practice ensures democratic conduct of their affairs;
- (c) they undertake to fulfil the obligations arising from affiliation.

2. Applications for membership of the Federation shall be submitted in writing to the Executive Committee, which shall have power to accept or reject them after consultation with the organizations of the same country affiliated with the Federation. When the Executive Committee thinks fit the decision shall be referred to the General Council, before whom the organizations consulted may, in case of disagreement, state their position. An organization whose application has been rejected may resubmit it in writing to the Congress.

Rule IV. OBLIGATIONS OF AFFILIATED ORGANIZATIONS

Membership of the Federation shall not involve any sacrifice of autonomy by the organizations, but by joining they assume the following obligations:

- (a) to pay affiliation fees at the rates and under the conditions fixed by the competent authorities of the Federation;
- (b) to furnish regularly to the Secretariat any information which may be of interest, or may be asked for, about their activities and development;
- (c) to cooperate in carrying out the decisions of the governing and executive bodies of the Federation, and to report to the Secretariat on the action taken and its result, or on the reasons why no action is taken;
- (d) to make known among their members the principles, policy and decisions of the Federation and to report to their governing bodies on its activities.

Rule V. WITHDRAWAL, LAPSE OF MEMBERSHIP, SUSPENSION AND EXPULSION

1. An organization wishing to withdraw from the Federation shall give one year's notice. Financial obligations shall not cease before the expiration of such notice.

2. Should an organization fail to comply, after repeated reminders, with the financial obligations assumed by becoming affiliated, the Executive Committee shall report it to the General Council, which may declare its membership to have lapsed. A copy of the Executive Committee's report shall be sent to the organization concerned at the same time as to the members of the General Council.

3. The Executive Committee shall have power to suspend relations with an affiliated organization which, in its judgment, acts against the interests of the Federation, or ceases to come within the terms of eligibility mentioned in Rule III. The organization concerned shall be informed of the decision and the reasons for it, and shall have the right to appeal to the next meeting of the General Council.
4. The General Council shall have power to expel an affiliated organization, either at the proposal of the Executive Committee or on its own initiative.
5. An appeal against a decision of the General Council under paragraph 2 or 4 of this article may be made to the next following session of the Congress.

Rule VI. THE CONGRESS

1. The Congress is the supreme governing authority of the Federation.
2. The Congress shall meet in ordinary session every two years on dates to be determined by the Executive Committee.
3. The Executive Committee shall convene the Congress in extraordinary session whenever circumstances, in its judgment, require, or at the request of affiliated organizations belonging to at least three countries and representing at least one fourth of the total membership of the Federation.
4. Affiliated organizations shall be entitled to representation at the Congress according to their paid-up membership, as follows:

Paid-up membership	Delegates
Under 5,000	1
5,001 to 10,000	2
10,001 to 20,000	3
20,001 to 30,000	4
30,001 to 40,000	5
40,001 to 50,000	6
50,001 to 75,000	7
75,001 to 100,000	8
100,001 to 125,000	9
125,001 to 150,000	10
150,001 to 175,000	11
175,001 to 200,000	12
200,001 to 250,000	13
250,001 to 300,000	14
300,001 to 350,000	15
350,001 to 400,000	16
400,001 to 450,000	17
450,001 to 500,000	18
500,001 to 600,000	19
600,001 to 700,000	20
700,001 to 800,000	21
800,001 to 900,000	22
900,001 or more	23

5. Paid-up membership shall be understood to be members for whom affiliation fees at the standard rate have been paid up to and including the quarter preceding the date of the Congress. If only a part of the standard affiliation fees has been paid the representation shall be that corresponding to the actual amount paid in affiliation fees.
6. Affiliated organizations may send to Congress a reasonable number of observers in addition to their delegates.
7. At its first session the Congress shall elect a Credentials Committee to verify the credentials of the delegates. No further vote or election may take place until the Congress has disposed of this Committee's report and recommendations.

8. Voting at Congress shall normally be by show of hands and decision by simple majority.

A card vote shall be taken if requested, before the vote, by the delegates of at least three organizations. For this purpose the voting strength of each delegation shall be directly proportional to the affiliation fees actually paid by its organization for the quarter immediately preceding the Congress.

Decision by card vote shall also be by simple majority, except in the case of votes for amendments of the Constitution or expulsion of an affiliated organization, which must secure two thirds of the votes cast.

9. Affiliated organizations unable to be represented at the Congress may nominate the delegation of another organization as proxy. No delegation may represent more than one organization in addition to its own.

10. The expenses of delegations to the Congress shall be borne by the organizations they represent.

11. The agenda for each ordinary session of the Congress shall contain the following items:

- (a) Report on activities
- (b) Financial report, auditors' report and fixing of contributions
- (c) Elections
- (d) Domicile of the I.T.F.
- (e) Resolutions submitted by affiliated organizations.
- (f) Such other matters as the Executive Committee or General Council may decide to include.

12. The agenda of an extraordinary session of the Congress shall be fixed by the Executive Committee. If such session is convened at the request of affiliated organizations the Executive Committee shall circulate the documents submitted by these organizations and determine what other documents, if any, shall be laid before the Congress.

13. All resolutions to appear on the agenda of the Congress shall reach the Secretariat at least four months before the Congress, and the final agenda shall be issued not less than two months before the Congress.

Emergency resolutions may be put forward during the Congress, but decision as to whether they shall be submitted to the Congress shall rest with the Executive Committee.

Rule VII. THE GENERAL COUNCIL

1. Between sessions of the Congress supreme authority, subject to the general policy laid down by the Congress, shall be vested in the General Council.

2. The General Council shall be composed of representatives elected by delegates to Congress from among their number, except in so far as Congress may otherwise decide, and shall further include, *ex officio*, the General Secretary of the Federation. The chairmen of the industrial sections may also attend meetings of the General Council in an advisory capacity only.

3. The number of elected representatives may vary according to the number of members of the Federation, but shall not be less than twenty. No organization shall have more than one representative nor the organizations of one country more than four, except that by special decision of Congress more than one member of the General Council may be elected from one organization if its size and composition make it desirable to provide for more adequate representation of the different transport industries of the country concerned.

4. For the purpose of electing the General Council the organizations shall be so divided into national and regional groups as to provide in the most effective manner for representation of the affiliated countries. In choosing their representatives these groups shall endeavour to secure the best possible representation of the several transport industries.

5. The organizations of any single country whose aggregate paid-up membership is 100,000 or more shall form a national group. Within the limits laid down in Paragraph 3 of this article, each national group shall have one representative for each 100,000 paid-up members.

6. Countries whose paid-up membership is less than 100,000 shall be divided into regional groups whose composition shall be determined by the Congress. No country in a regional group shall have more than one representative on the General Council, but subject to this limitation the group shall have one representative for every 50,000 paid-up members. Each component country whose organizations have an aggregate paid-up membership of 40,000 or more shall be entitled to a seat.

Regional groups with less than 50,000 paid-up members but with the right to elect one member of the General Council may be formed as a result of a special decision, subject to renewal at each ordinary session of the Congress.

7. For each member of the General Council thus elected the groups shall also elect a deputy, to serve when the titular member is unable to attend meetings.

8. The General Council shall meet once a year. The date of the meeting shall be announced, when possible, two months in advance.

9. The Executive Committee shall be empowered to call emergency meetings of the General Council when they deem it desirable.

10. The travelling and subsistence expenses, when attending meetings of the General Council, of members of that body, deputy members deputizing for them, and section chairmen, shall be borne by the Federation, unless the Executive Committee, in special cases, otherwise decide. Other deputy members may attend meetings of the General Council in an advisory capacity, but their travelling expenses shall not be borne by the Federation.

Rule VIII. THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

1. There shall be an Executive Committee responsible for the general management and superintendence of the Federation's affairs, the carrying out of the decisions of the Congress and General Council, and the control of the Secretariat.

2. The Executive Committee shall consist of members elected by the Congress from among the members of the General Council, and shall include the General Secretary *ex officio* and the Chairman of the Management Committee in a consultative capacity.

3. The elected members of the Executive Committee shall number at least one fourth of the elected members of the General Council (fractions being neglected) but shall not be less than seven. They shall be elected by secret ballot, for which purpose the voting strength of each delegation shall be directly proportional to the affiliation fees actually paid by its organization for the quarter immediately preceding the Congress. In the election of members of the Executive Committee Congress shall endeavour to secure the best possible repre-

sentation of the several sections of the transport industry. In no case shall more than one half of the members of the Committee belong to one section of the industry.

4. If two persons or more belonging to the affiliated organizations of one country shall be candidates for election to the Executive Committee, the one obtaining the largest number of votes shall be declared to be elected.

5. Should any vacancy occur on the Executive Committee between two sessions of the Congress, the General Council shall have power to fill it. Should the person elected not be already a member of the General Council he shall become one *ex officio*.

6. A meeting of the Executive Committee shall be convened by the Secretariat at least once between successive ordinary meetings of the General Council, or of the General Council and the Congress. Further meetings shall be called as required.

7. The Secretariat shall convene an emergency meeting of the Executive Committee when the Management Committee so decides, or when requested by three members of the Executive Committee.

8. The travelling and subsistence expenses of members of the Executive Committee when attending meetings of that body shall be borne by the Federation.

Rule IX. THE MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE

1. There shall be a Management Committee composed of four representatives of the affiliated organizations in the country in which the Federation is domiciled, chosen as far as possible from different organizations by the delegations of such organizations attending the Congress. Should more than four candidates be put forward the four representatives shall be elected by the said delegations, for which purpose each delegation shall have as many votes as the organization it represents is entitled to have delegates at the Congress.

The names of the persons so chosen shall be submitted to the Congress for its approval.

2. Should any vacancy occur on the Management Committee between two ordinary sessions of the Congress, it shall be filled in like manner by the affiliated organizations in the country in which the Federation is domiciled.

The name of the person chosen shall be submitted to the Executive Committee or General Council for its approval.

3. At its first meeting following each Congress the Management Committee shall elect from among its members a Chairman.

4. The Management Committee shall meet every two months, or at shorter intervals should the General Secretary deem it necessary.

5. The Management Committee shall be kept informed of matters coming within the purview of the Executive Committee.

6. The Management Committee shall supervise the activities of the Secretariat in respect of administrative, financial and staff matters.

7. It shall be the duty of the Management Committee to see that the decisions of the Congress, the General Council and the Executive Committee are carried out by the Secretariat.

8. The Management Committee is empowered to call for submission of all books and documents relating to the administration of the funds of the Federation.

9. The travelling and subsistence expenses of members of the Management Committee while engaged on work for the Federation shall be borne by the Federation.

Rule X. THE PRESIDENT AND VICE-PRESIDENT

1. The President and Vice-President of the Federation shall be elected by the General Council, from among the members of the Executive Committee, for a period which shall end with the close of the next following ordinary session of the Congress. They shall be eligible for re-election.

2. The President, or in his absence the Vice-President, shall preside over ordinary and extraordinary sessions of the Congress and over meetings of the General Council and Executive Committee.

3. The President shall be entitled to attend all meetings taking place under the auspices of the I.T.F.

4. The travelling and subsistence expenses of the President and Vice-President, while on duty for the Federation, shall be borne by the Federation.

Rule XI. THE SECRETARIAT

1. The Secretariat of the Federation shall consist of a general secretary, an assistant general secretary and secretaries in charge of industrial or other sections or departments.

2. The General Secretary and Assistant General Secretary shall be elected by the Congress. The secretaries in charge of sections shall be appointed by the Executive Committee at the proposal of the conferences of the sections concerned.

3. The salaries of all secretaries shall be fixed by the Executive Committee.

4. The General Secretary shall attend Congresses of the Federation and meetings of the General Council, Executive Committee and Management Committee, and shall act generally under the orders of the Executive Committee. He shall have the right to vote at meetings of the General Council and Executive Committee. He shall be responsible for the general administration of the business and property of the Federation and for all documents and publications required to be issued by the Federation.

5. The Assistant General Secretary shall attend Congresses of the Federation and meetings of the General Council, Executive Committee and Management Committee, and shall act under the orders of the General Secretary.

6. Section secretaries shall attend all meetings of their sections. They shall be charged, under the direction of the General Secretary, with the preparation and distribution of such documents as shall be required for their sections, and generally with the planning and carrying out of the work of such sections.

7. The General Secretary shall, in consultation with and with the approval of the Management Committee, appoint such employees as he may consider necessary. The rates of pay and conditions of employment of such employees shall be decided in agreement with the trade unions to which the members of the staff of the Federation belong.

8. The Executive Committee shall have power to suspend from office the General Secretary or Assistant General Secretary, who shall have the right to appeal to Congress.

Rule XII. PUBLICATIONS

1. The Secretariat shall publish a journal devoted to:
 - (a) the propagation of the principles and policy of the Federation;
 - (b) the discussion of important questions, events and reports touching upon the interests of transport workers and the working class in general.
2. The journal shall be published in every language spoken by one fifth or more of the paid-up membership of the Federation. It may also appear in other languages provided that the organizations applying for such publication undertake to bear a part of the costs of translation, printing and postage, to be determined by agreement with the Management Committee.
3. The Secretariat may issue such other periodical and occasional publications (reports, circulars, booklets, etc.) as may be required.

Rule XIII. HEADQUARTERS

The place where the headquarters of the Federation are to be established shall be determined by the Congress.

Rule XIV. REGIONAL ORGANIZATION

1. The affiliated organizations of several countries suitably located to be grouped together on the basis of common bonds or interests such as language, culture, communications or economic and social conditions or interdependence, may have the assistance of a regional sub-secretariat of the Federation, exercising functions complementary to those of the General Secretariat.
2. All officials of a sub-secretariat shall be appointed by the Executive Committee of the Federation, after consultation with the organizations concerned.
3. Sub-secretariats shall act generally under the orders of and by delegation of power from the General Secretariat, and shall respect the principles and policy of the Federation. They shall interpret for the affiliated organizations in their area the decisions and actions of the Federation, advise them as to the steps to be taken to carry out such decisions and endeavour to coordinate their action in connection with such matters.

Rule XV. INDUSTRIAL SECTIONS

1. For the purpose of dealing in the first instance with matters affecting the workers in particular branches of transport the General Council shall, as circumstances require and permit, set up industrial sections within the Federation.
2. Conferences of such sections may be convened by the General Secretary after consultation with the President of the I.T.F. and the Management Committee, but they shall meet under the authority of the Executive Committee. The Management Committee shall fix their agenda and the date and place of meeting.
3. A conference of each industrial section shall be held in connection with each ordinary Congress of the Federation, on which occasion the representatives of the Section there present may elect a Section Chairman to conduct all meetings of the Section during the period ending with the commencement of the next following ordinary Congress. Should an industrial section not make use of its right to elect a Section Chairman, each meeting of the Section shall elect a chairman to serve for the duration of the meeting.

4. Each affiliated organization which has members working in the transport industry concerned shall be invited to send representatives to section conferences. The number of delegates to such conferences shall be left to the discretion of each organization. Voting, if required, shall be by roll call and recorded, and the result shall be reported to the Executive Committee.

5. The expenses of delegates attending section conferences shall be borne by the organizations they represent.

Rule XVI. ASSISTANCE IN MAJOR CONFLICTS

1. Affiliated organizations shall call for the help of the Federation only in the event of struggles of considerable importance and extent. If possible they shall consult with the Federation before the outbreak of conflicts in which help might be needed.

2. Organizations applying for help before or after the outbreak of major conflicts shall give full particulars about the origin, substance and immediate cause of the conflict; the demands of the workers; the number of organized and unorganized workers involved and, in general, the fullest information bearing upon the dispute.

3. When an application for consultation before or help after the outbreak of a conflict implies a request for sympathetic action by one or more affiliated organizations, the organizations likely to be involved shall be informed or summoned to a meeting, and asked for advice and suggestions.

In cases of emergency, when sympathetic action is immediately necessary, the General Secretary shall consult with the President of the Federation, the Chairman of the Management Committee and any member of the Executive Committee who may be resident in the country in which the Federation is domiciled.

4. When the application implies a request for financial help the Executive Committee, or in cases of emergency the Management Committee, shall decide whether the circumstances are such as to render such help desirable and, if in the affirmative, make suitable recommendations to affiliated organizations.

5. A full account shall be given to Congress of the circumstances in which help is given to organizations engaged in major disputes.

Rule XVII. AFFILIATION FEES

1. The Congress shall fix the standard rate of affiliation fees payable by affiliated organizations.

2. Affiliation fees shall be payable quarterly in advance for all members affiliated on 31 December of the preceding year.

3. The Executive Committee shall have power to call for a supplementary contribution from affiliated organizations to meet any possible deficiency for administrative purposes. It shall also have power to fix an affiliation fee lower than the standard rate for an individual organization in special circumstances, after investigating the financial capacity of the organization concerned.

Rule XVIII. FINANCE AND AUDITING

1. The General Secretary shall receive all moneys paid to the Federation and shall be legally responsible to the Federation for the same.

2. The General Secretary shall prepare and submit for approval by the Executive Committee an annual budget of income and expenditure.

3. The General Secretary shall be responsible for keeping the accounts of the Federation and shall produce such books and documents as the Management Committee may require. He shall submit to the governing and executive bodies of the Federation, at each of their ordinary meetings, proper accounts of income and expenditure, supplementing them with such reports and comments as he may judge necessary or as may be asked for.

4. The accounts of the Federation shall be audited by a qualified accountant appointed by the Executive Committee at the proposal of the Management Committee. The accountant shall present his ordinary report at the close of each financial year but shall present extraordinary reports when requested by the Management Committee, Executive Committee, General Council or Congress. All his reports shall be communicated to the Management Committee and Executive Committee.

5. Financial transactions of the Federation shall be supervised and checked by three auditors to be elected by the Congress from among responsible officials of affiliated organizations residing reasonably near the headquarters of the Federation, and who shall at all times have access to the books and accounts of the Federation.

6. The auditors shall report every year on their findings. The Secretariat shall circulate their reports to the members of the Management Committee and the Executive Committee and include them in the report to the Congress.

Rule XIX. DISSOLUTION OF THE FEDERATION

1. The dissolution of the Federation may be decided upon by the Congress only, after a proposal to that effect has been put on the agenda in accordance with Art. VI paragraph 13.

2. A resolution to dissolve the Federation shall become effective only if supported by three quarters of the affiliated membership represented at the Congress. It shall stipulate how the assets of the Federation shall be disposed of and how the obligations of the Federation towards its staff and responsible officers are to be fulfilled.

Rule XX. VALIDITY AND REVISION OF CONSTITUTION

This revised Constitution shall come into force on 21 July 1952, and it may be revised only by the Congress of the Federation.

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