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MOROCCO
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ECUADOR
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MEXICO
UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA
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Other relations in :

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BRAZIL
BULGARIA
CZECHOSLOVAKIA
GERMANY
GREECE
ITALY
JAPAN
LATVIA
POLAND
PORTUGAL
SPAIN
and other countries

THE WAR SPREADS TO SOVIET RUSSIA

IN the dawn of 22nd June, 1941, Hitler hurled his armed forces against the U.S.S.R.

Hitler is waging this war to impose his "New Order" on Europe and the world. This new order is a peace of the graveyard and of towns in ruins. It is a state of terror with a gigantic police force composed of criminals and commanded by bandits. It is a plundering of the homes of citizens of all classes, of farms, shops and factories. It is the complete depopulation of entire provinces for the end of Germanizing those territories. It is the break-up of millions upon millions of workers' and peasants' families by deportation in open or disguised captivity—a labour supply measure introduced during the war and which would become a permanent institution after the war. It is the physical ruin of the industries of conquered countries. As is evident from the role played by the "governments" of Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Bulgaria, Rumania and, not in the last instance, France, Italy and Germany itself, it is the overwhelming of states with the object of forcing the conquered peoples to work for their own subjection and degradation and that of other peoples. The Nazi order, in a word, is the enslavement of peoples and individuals. The subject European peoples are suffering, and in case of a Fascist victory will suffer in the future, a martyrdom very much worse than that ever endured by the peoples of Russia during their long history. Those peoples have everything to win by defending themselves tooth and nail.

In the Nazi plan of campaign, conceived and matured long before 1st September, 1939, the subjugation of the Soviet Union, propitiation, intrigue, intimidation or violence, occupied its place. According to this plan, by a series of lightning strokes, Continental Europe was to be overrun, Great Britain put out of action, the British Empire enfeebled, and America stupified, after which the Russian question was to be definitely settled. The decisive act which upset this plan was the stand made by Great Britain and the British Empire in the critical days of June and July, 1940, and the refusal to acknowledge the defeat of Europe by laying down arms. The effect of this magnificent moral effort, followed at once by an enormous material effort, was that the Nazi order could not establish itself definitely in Europe, that the United States of America was given a needed respite for its moral and industrial mobilization, and that the Soviet Union does not stand alone to face the most formidable war machine ever witnessed.

Though it be true that Nazism has suffered a very serious setback and that its plans have to be revised, its defeat is still not in sight. Before Nazism can be defeated, it must be checked in its victorious march. A victory of Fascism over Soviet Russia would critically increase the danger of world subjugation. The only reasonable psychological effect which the aggression against the Soviet Union may produce upon the anti-Fascist forces in the world is a resolve to redouble the vigour of the war effort.

FOR WINNING THE PEACE

Mr. John G. Winant was Director of the International Labour Office until shortly before his appointment as United States Ambassador in London.

In a report to the governments, employers and workers of the member states of the International Labour Organization he deals with the decisions come to by the governing bodies of the I.L.O. during the years 1939 and 1940. He explains the reasons which led to the transfer of the I.L.O. from Geneva to Montreal, and examines the tasks falling to the I.L.O. during the war and in connection with the peace of to-morrow.

The opinions of one who combined a commanding personality with the post of Director of the I.L.O. carry great weight, and it is therefore gratifying to find that he shares the aspirations of the workers, of the organized workers more particularly, on the peace aims to be pursued in the social sphere. He writes :

"We know to-day very little of what the future holds ; but the course of events so far during the war shows that we are living in a period not only of tragedy but also of opportunity. The door has closed on the pre-war world. When war is done, the peoples of all free nations, working together, will rebuild democracy more in their own likeness than it has been in the past. This much we know, for arms shall not be laid down in vain. What, then, is to be the foundation of the stronger democracy of the future ? How can we help to draft a charter of social rights in a radically changed and rapidly changing world ?

It is wise, in thinking towards the future, to look briefly towards the past. In the interval between world wars, amid mounting economic and social unrest, a conviction became more widespread that the world belongs to the common people. Groups, national organizations and even Governments came into being to translate this conviction into practical action and to render service in the interests of the general welfare. The industrial worker, in his trade

union, came nearer to the farmer, the farm tenant, and the farm labourer, to the white-collar worker, to the professional technician and manager, to the student, to the civil servant, with a steady interlocking of social interest and an ever-widening area of social concern.

These people have realised to how small an extent the plain men and the world have had a share in national and international responsibilities and in the practices of free collaboration which are essential to a democratic way of life. They have seen, particularly during the last decade, the unbelievable gap between the world's capacity to produce and to consume and actual standards of production and consumption. They have seen that this wastage of much-needed resources was the inevitable result of inefficient economic and social organization, international as well as national. Many have known hunger, want and insecurity in a land of plenty.

The cornerstone of the future, at least, is already apparent from the mistakes of the past. Political democracy must be broadened to include economic stability and social security. The waste of resources which has been effectively eliminated in time of war must not be allowed to return once peace has come. An unemployed or poorly employed citizenry is no basis for winning the peace. Even though, at a moment when the survival of democracy is in the balance, priority of production, energy and will must be granted to the waging of the war itself, we must not lose sight of this conclusion from the past. No opportunity to enlarge the social content of democracy must be lost. No opportunity to strengthen the fundamental social and civil rights of the great majority of citizens must be neglected. No opportunity to wipe out the want and the hopelessness of the pre-war period must be ignored. This is not only prudent national defence, it is the tradition of democratic freedom. Let us work together to make it the practice of freedom in all walks of life and in all fields of work."

ARGENTINE RAILWAYMEN ON SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC PROBLEMS

Some time ago the Argentine Government set up a Parliamentary Commission to enquire generally into social and economic problems. As a preliminary measure this Commission is endeavouring to prepare a list of emergency and permanent problems, and the means and measures for solving them which are considered necessary or desirable by different social groups.

Properly carried out such an initiative might be productive of very interesting results. If the members of the Commission have the necessary vision and courage, they are in a position to oblige the different social groups which compose the nation to declare to what extent the present war has convinced them of the need to join forces in a real social revolution.

We see no indication, however, that the Commission really proposes to pursue its enquiries in this direction.

It has addressed to the Argentine Railwaymen's Union an enquiry which confines itself to the "economic and occupational interests which take first place among the aims of your association."

In its reply the Argentine Railwaymen's Union throws the emphasis on two main points, the wages and working hours of railwaymen. About a half of the 100,000 railwaymen in the country earn wages amounting to between 50 to 125 pesos a month. For something like ten years they have not even had the rates fixed by collective agreements still in force. The railway companies succeeded in imposing a substantial temporary cut to enable them to get through the recent economic depression with a minimum of financial inconvenience. An award by the President of the Republic reduced the cuts in 1934, but there is a remainder still in operation, against the will of the

Chamber of Deputies, but with the approval of the more reactionary Senate. The Argentine Railwaymen's Union sums up the situation in the following terms :

"The immense majority of railway wages . . . are extremely low, and are still far from reaching the level which official authorities regard as necessary to meet the most elementary requirements of a working class home. The increase in the average cost of living—which has been sufficiently proved, and needs no demonstration—has had the effect of diminishing the purchasing power of the railwaymen's wages, which have remained unchanged for many years, while the comfortable policy of making them contribute towards the safeguarding of the capital of the companies, from the risks which are common to every business undertaking, still persists. Such things keep alive among the railwaymen a latent restlessness which naturally tends to grow in intensity when they see that in spite of all our endeavours, repeated year after year, there is no change in a policy that has such profound effects on the Argentine economy.

" . . . We consider it absolutely necessary that any legal measures taken in this connection should maintain intact the rates of wages fixed in the collective agreements ; and that this should not be done at the cost of dismissals that would only aggravate the already acute problem of unemployment."

In a paragraph relating to working hours the Union challenges the view that the intermittent character of certain kinds of railway work justifies the lengthening of the working day :

"We further consider necessary the adoption of clear legislative measures that will definitely prevent, as a regular custom, the extension of working hours beyond eight for day work and seven for night work ; this with a view to bringing the working week down to forty hours. The prolongation of the working day beyond eight hours, and to as much as twelve hours, is a regular thing for thousands of railwaymen, because it is allowed by the regulations . . . dictated by the President, in spite of all the protests we have made against the injustice which it involves. . . . The fact of the matter is that all these thousands of work-

men are constantly on duty for twelve hours a day, entirely at the orders of their employer and unable to leave for a single moment the work that has been allotted to them, and for which they are responsible throughout that time ; and all on account of an interpretation of the law which departs both from its letter and its spirit, and which has no counterpart in the legislation of any country worthy of being taken as a basis of comparison with ours. It is necessary, therefore, that steps be taken that will make the eight hour day a reality, and prevent exceptions which destroy the purpose of the Act."

In so far as the general aspects of the questions referred to the Commission are concerned, the Argentine Railwaymen's Union confines itself to supporting the unemployment policy of the General Confederation of Labour.

On immigration policy the Union takes a stand that will earn it the gratitude of all victims of fascism, and the congratulations of all internationalists. Its reply to the Parliamentary Commission says in this connection :

"We are also in favour of a generous and sound immigration policy inspired by the elementary principles of human solidarity, in accordance with the precepts of the Argentine Constitution. We consider that the circumstances call for measures that will permit the admittance to this country of European families, composed of workers, who are persecuted in many ways in the Old World as a result of the social convulsions which are taking place. We believe that such immigration—if encouraged without consideration of creed, religion or race, and always provided that it is limited to persons prepared to work, and willing to be respectful of our democratic system—will provide on our soil, to men, women and children, that peace which they so ardently desire, in addition to economic welfare. They will in their turn contribute to the social and economic development of our country, populating fertile lands at present uncultivated, and become absorbed in the life of our society, adopting its language and its most edifying customs, and following the example given by so many generations of foreigners."

The National Union of Railwaymen of Great Britain in 1940

Some Wartime Problems of British Railwaymen

The Annual General Meeting of the N.U.R. was held at Swansea from 6th to 18th July last. The general secretary, Mr. J. Marchbank, submitted a full report which, though submitted in a business-as-usual manner, showed that many things were not as usual. The head offices of the union had been hit several times by bombs, so that they had been transferred to the country. Several of the 1,612 branch offices had suffered similarly. Many of the branch officers and rank-and-file members have been bombed out of their homes. All have to work hard, and for longer hours than normally. The currents of railway traffic continually shift from one part of the country to another,

which involves the transfer of railway workers from place to place, numbers of them have been transferred many times already. Some members have been temporarily transferred from the railways to the arms industry.

The organization has felt the effects of the conditions. Contributions do not come in with such perfect regularity as in peace time. Revenue from union contributions, apart from that of the Benefit and Provident Funds, in 1940 amounted to a little under 20s. 0d. per member, as compared with 23s. 10d. previously.

The organization has withstood these difficulties

magnificently. Membership rose from 349,542 to 361,750, an advance of over 12,000. In view of the strategic importance of the railways, part of the personnel have been retained in the industry instead of being called up for military service. The N.U.R. has 22,252 members serving with the armed forces.

The finances of the union are in an excellent condition. The General Fund, available for trade-union action, amounts to £866,923, or £2 7s. 11d. per member. As the Central Fund receives 17s. 4d. of the annual contribution of 23s. 10d., the reserve equals over two and a half years of contributions. The total assets of the union, that is, General Fund and Benefit Funds, total £2,708,779, or £7 9s. 9d. per member. *This is an increase of £160,283 over the figures for 1939.*

The leaders were very active in defending and protecting the interests of the members. Various situations arose which could not be met by simple appeal to the terms of existing collective agreements. Working conditions were affected in many ways. Certain services and establishments of the railways had to be closed down, others reduced in scale. In some localities there was a redundancy of staff, which had to be transferred to other services and, in many cases, other work. Elsewhere there was a shortage of staff. Men having reached the retirement age had to be kept in the service, which was not without effects upon the promotion rights of others. Recourse had also to be had to retired employees, which also raised its problems. The departure of men to the armed forces on the one hand and the return to the service of men released or discharged from the forces on the other, in some cases upset the promotion scheme. Women had to be called upon for railway work suitable to their physique. Enemy air attacks caused at the time a loss of many man-hours and overtime. New duties had to be performed: fire-watching and other protection against air raids. A special service of flying repair squads had to be brought into being. Many railwaymen are voluntary members of the A.R.P. (*air raid precaution*) organization and the Home Guard (local defence against parachute troops). The effective functioning of these services requires regular and punctual attendance. These demands and those of the railway service at times clash with one another.

The disturbance of life and work on the railways, combined with the rationing of supplies, creates for many men a feeding problem. In some cases canteens have been established, in others special allowances are paid to enable men to obtain meals at catering establishments near the place of work.

The population of certain towns have been evacuated, while railwaymen stayed where they were. Elsewhere, railway services were transferred, while railwaymen's families stayed behind. Occasionally a railway establishment is bombed and put out of action for some time, and the workers concerned sent to work elsewhere. Sometimes the homes of railwaymen are destroyed, and their families have to find a home elsewhere, while the men themselves must remain at their post.

A legal problem created by present conditions is the position of a worker meeting with an accident at work due to enemy action. Some thirty questions of principle have had to be dealt with at numerous meetings and discussions. Hundreds of cases called for special treatment.

An especially important question of principle has arisen in connection with wages. Before the war the railway companies were able to negotiate freely. Since the war the railways are under the control of the Government, which has guaranteed a minimum level of profits. The Board of Management (called Railway Executive Committee) composed of representatives of the companies, referred claims for wage increases to the Government. The Minister of Transport first declared that he could not enter into negotiations, but only comply with the decision of an impartial tribunal. Pressed by the three railway unions—the National Union of Railwaymen, the Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen, and the Railway Clerks' Association—the Government modified the Minister's decision and decreed that the whole of the existing negotiating machinery should be used to bring about a settlement, and that arbitration should only be resorted to if all other attempts failed.

The railway industry has since a number of years possessed a Railway Staff National Tribunal. In peacetime the decisions of this body are not binding. On 18th July, 1940, the Government issued an Order establishing compulsory arbitration for all collective labour disputes. After complicated discussions, it was agreed that the Railway Staff National Tribunal should as a rule and in principle be the body to arbitrate on disputes occurring in the railway industry.

With a view to avoiding loss of production as a result of unnecessary labour turnover, the Government has empowered the Minister of Labour to conscript labour, all ages and both sexes, of establishments essential to the prosecution of the war. Conscript labour may not be dismissed or leave the job without the permission of the authorities. Establishments employing conscript labour must fulfil certain conditions: wages and working conditions must conform to the recognized standards of the industry concerned; managements must provide suitable canteens, washing and such like facilities; workers are entitled to a full week's pay whether there is work for them or not; overtime must be paid for at suitable rates over normal weekly earnings; training facilities must be provided in order to increase the number of skilled and semi-skilled workers.

The railway industry is of course one of those apt to be brought under the scheme. The N.U.R. and the other two railway unions are not opposed to the principle of conscripting railway workers, but the N.U.R. assents on one condition: the establishment of a minimum wage of £3 a week, apart from cost of living allowances. It considers it unfair that a man not attaining this wage should be tied to his job.

The N.U.R. disagrees profoundly with the Labour Minister of the Home Security on his Order concerning

fire-watching duties. Last winter the country was suddenly confronted with a new form of aerial warfare, when incendiary bombs rained down by tens of thousands in a night. A.R.P. personnel was insufficient in numbers to cope with the thousands of fires which were started. Great evils call for great remedies. An Order was issued imposing upon every citizen the civic duty of performing forty-eight hours of "national service" per month without payment, by keeping watch around houses and factories, garages and shops, in regions liable to air attacks. Among those exempted because of the demands of their work were some classes of railwaymen.

Since the beginning of the war the railways had organized their own A.R.P. services, with a permanent paid personnel. The Order of the Minister of Home Security required these services to be extended by a considerable number of unpaid watchers. The work of watching railway premises was naturally considered to be the duty of railwaymen. This gave rise to the queer position that of ten men on guard, say, in a depot, station or yard two or three were paid for their work while the others were not. This was generally considered to be unfair. Men who without a word and as the most natural thing in the world patrolled a whole night around the town hall or a block of buildings in or outside the quarter where they lived without receiving a penny for their trouble, only obeyed protestingly when they were required by law to guard railway property without pay and demanded payment at trade union rates for the work.

This state of mind is not so strange as it appears. British railway workers, particularly the 200,000 constituting the lower grades, are anything but friendly disposed towards the railway companies, who, in their eyes, are greedy profit-makers indifferent to the lot of their humble servants. "It is ridiculous and insulting," said a speaker on one of the resolutions, "to expect a porter or permanent way man or lampman, who receives 47s. 0d. a week plus war bonus, to go out compulsorily and fire-watch the premises of railway companies who had fought tenaciously for years against increasing the low standard of life of the lower-paid workers on the railways." The campaign for the repeal and revision of the Order is also being carried on at other points of the industrial front, and the railway workers are taking part in it actively, saying many a hard word at the address of the Minister who issued the Order without consulting the workers' and employers' organizations.

This survey does not exhaust the list of questions discussed at the Annual General Meeting. There was an important discussion on co-ordination of transport. Mr. J. Benstead, assistant general secretary, said that the point had been reached where there was no difficulty so far as the immediate nationalization of railways was concerned. In the case of road transport, however, the large number of private owners, and the large number of interests involved, would make it a very difficult problem. But these difficulties should not prevent the complete nationalization of transport,

without which it will not be possible to bring about a scientific division of work between the different means of transport. Air transport, which will make great strides at the end of the war, should be governmentally owned and controlled by the State rightaway. The resolution adopted by the meeting called for the complete co-ordination of transport under a system of public ownership and control, giving full representation to the trade unions concerned.

And finally the war situation. The opening passage of the resolution adopted: "This Conference recognize that the future of democracy, the Trade Union, Labour and Co-operative Movements, are dependent upon the defeat of Nazism and Fascism," reflects the mood of the gathering. The meeting expressed its warm admiration of the magnificent stand of the Russian armed forces against Nazi aggression and heartily approved the official co-operation between the British and Soviet Governments. Several speakers criticised the prosecution of the war and the absence of any declared programme of war and peace aims. The resolution called "for a bold statement of policy by those countries opposed to Nazism and Fascism and the adoption of a world plan which will allocate to each nation its economic task and to all nations the necessary raw materials, and for an appeal to be made to the German and Italian peoples to abandon the disastrous policy of aggression." Commenting on the latter point, Mr. J. W. Benstead said, amidst loud applause, "that they had to tell the German workers that they were not out for their extermination; they were not out for crushing and oppressing them; and that if they would overthrow the Nazi Government which had seized power in Germany, the British workers were ready to hold out their right hands to them and lift them up and give them their proper place in society." An interesting side-light is that those who applauded this statement unanimously were meeting in a town ravaged by air attacks, where on an area of nearly a square mile not a house remained standing, where the victims, killed and wounded, particularly in the working class quarters, were numerous indeed.

The Annual General Meeting of the N.U.R. in Swansea extended a very cordial welcome to the representative of the I.T.F., to a French railwayman comrade, Guerin, serving with the Free French naval forces, and to Mr. S. Parlett, representing the I.L.O. A very warm ovation also greeted a distinguished visitor in the person of the Prime Minister of New Zealand, Mr. Peter Fraser.

Mr. J. H. Potts in 1941 completes his third year of office as President of the N.U.R. Under the Rules he has to return to the ranks. He has shown himself a president equal to his task and was warmly thanked for the excellent work done during his three years of office. His successor, for 1942, is Mr. J. F. Burrows. At Swansea the N.U.R. took an affectionate leave of an old stalwart, G. W. Alcock, who had been one of the union's three trustees for fifty-two years.

THE I.T.F. IN WAR TIME

The circumstances created by the war have made the Management Committee and the Secretariat of the I.T.F. the only statutory bodies which have been able to function normally since June, 1940. The Executive Committee, General Council and Congress cannot meet in the existing conditions. The powers of these three bodies must in the meantime be exercised by the Management Committee and the Secretariat. By the time that the delegates of all the affiliated unions can meet again the war will probably be over. The next congress of the I.T.F. will have before it the report on the activities during 1939 and subsequent years. It will decide, in the last instance, whether the activities carried on during those years by the I.T.F. meet with the approval of the affiliated unions.

In the intervening period, however, the Management Committee and the Secretariat wish to associate the affiliated unions as much as possible in their activities and to receive from them at least some guidance regarding the policy to be followed in the more or less immediate future. To this end they invited the affiliated unions functioning in Great Britain and Ireland to constitute an Emergency General Council.

This Emergency General Council met in London on 25th and 26th July last. A report was submitted covering the activities of the Secretariat during the period 1st September, 1939 to 30th June, 1941. In addition to information about the internal functioning of the I.T.F., the report contained an account of the activities undertaken on behalf of numerically more or less important groups of members of the I.T.F. and in furtherance of the cause of organized transport labour as a whole.

Below we quote a few passages from the report :

Between yesterday and to-morrow

It should be clear to us all that the present emergency marks a transitional period. War is a great reformer and transformer, and there can be no question of continuing where we left off in September, 1939. Entirely new situations and problems are presenting themselves during the war and will present themselves after it. Never has there been so great a chance for International Labour to become an important, if not dominating factor, in shaping a new world. To bring labour's influence to bear, the International Labour Movement must have the ability to organize and to unite the Labour Unions all over the earth into one strong universal association. Unless that object is achieved, Labour will be unable to play the role which the future has in store for it.

If we look back over the years which lie between 1919 and 1939 we have to admit that the International organizations of the working class movement have neither been able to achieve social security for the workers, nor to preserve the peace. We do not make this statement by way of reproach, but if we ask why the International Movement has been too weak to

realize these two great aims the answer must be that we have lacked unity, that we have not succeeded in uniting the working classes of all countries, and all peoples, behind our banner. There is no doubt that we have been sincere in our desire for happiness and prosperity, for peace and collaboration between the peoples, but being divided in itself the working class movement has been unable to apply the slogan "Each for all and all for each." Perhaps, seeing the turn which the immense conflict has taken, a situation will emerge that will make it possible to build up a strong, united and undivided movement able to materialize the great ideals for which generations of workers have been striving.

For the I.T.F. the present war is only a continuation of the struggle it has been waging against imperialism and oppression, and in particular against Fascism, Nazism, and similar totalitarian regimes, such as have sprung up since the first world war. It is questionable whether the story of this struggle will ever be written. It can certainly not be denied that we have made great sacrifices on behalf of the Italian workers, and the Austrian and German workers, and that our affiliated organizations have always contributed generously to make it possible for us to maintain our connections with those many faithful comrades who have continued to believe in Internationalism, although they were under the heel of Fascism and Nazism. Many have paid heavily, in concentration camps, in prisons, and even with their very lives for their courageous behaviour. After this war those who will still be alive will be at the head of the German and other worker's organizations which will re-take their places in our International Movement.

The I.T.F. has, from the beginning, wholeheartedly supported the Allied Governments in their endeavours to stop further aggression and it will continue to give support to the Allied war effort, always retaining its full independence and maintaining its right to criticize and to express its own views with regard to the building of a new world, which apart from safeguarding world peace and collective security, must guarantee social security, democratic institutions and, in particular, the free right of coalition and international association. A large number of organizations have been temporarily forced to sever their connections with the I.T.F., but none of them has done so of its own free will. Either it has been the Governments which have dissolved the free trade union movement or forbidden them to remain affiliated to an international organization—Italy, Germany, Austria, Portugal, Spain, Yugoslavia, Greece, Roumania, Bulgaria, Latvia; or the countries have been overrun by a foreign invader—Czechoslovakia, Poland, Estonia, Norway, Denmark, Holland, Belgium, Luxemburg, and France: a formidable number, but we are convinced that all these countries and organizations are eagerly awaiting the moment when they will be able to again take part in the International Movement, and in the meantime

the I.T.F. knows that it can speak for and act on behalf of its former members, who in spirit are with the I.T.F.—perhaps more so than ever before.

The war did not find the I.T.F. unprepared. All measures had been taken to continue normal activities and the work has gone on to capacity. All that, however, would not have been possible had it not been for the understanding and assistance of the British Organizations affiliated to the I.T.F., which have shown the Secretariat such hospitality and generosity, that they deserve the gratefulness and the praise of the Transport Workers of all countries.

If ever a Labour Movement has risen to the occasion it has been the British Movement. It holds the key position and it is with admiration and hope that the workers of all countries, and particularly of those countries which are at war and which are being oppressed, look to them. May the British Movement realize its possibilities and responsibilities. Then indeed an International Labour Movement will arise such as has never existed before.

Transfer of the Secretariat

Already at the Luxemburg Congress of the I.T.F. in October, 1938, when Amsterdam was designated as the Headquarters of the I.T.F. the provision was made that the General Council, or the Executive Committee would be empowered to transfer the offices to another country if circumstances would require such a decision. Since then the question was regularly on the agenda, and after many preliminary discussions the General Council meeting at Geneva in June, 1939, gave authority to the Executive Committee and the Management Committee to execute a project submitted by the Secretariat. The project was to transfer the Headquarters to London, but at the same time to open up branch offices in Paris and Stockholm.

The British, French and Swedish members of the Executive Committee had made the necessary arrangements with their respective Home Offices to ensure that the establishment of I.T.F. offices in their countries would meet with the approval of the authorities concerned. Objections were raised by the Swedish Government, which did not fail to point out that in view of possible international repercussions the work of the I.T.F. office in Sweden would be subject to such regulations as would be applied to ensure Swedish neutrality. It took a long time before the French Government agreed to the setting up of an I.T.F. office in France. The British Home Secretary agreed without laying down any conditions or making any reservations.

When it became evident that Russia would not take part in the war the idea to establish an office at Stockholm was abandoned, and on August 25th, 1939, it was decided by the Management Committee that the General Secretary, Mr. Edo Fimmen, would take six members of the staff to England within the next few days, that the Secretary of the Railwaymen's Section, Mr. P. Tofahrn, would go to Paris with two members of the staff, and that instead of opening an office in Stockholm the Amsterdam office would be retained as long as possible, with the Assistant General Secretary, Mr. J. H. Oldenbroek, in charge of ten employees. On 29th August, 1939, the two parties left and only three days after their arrival at their destinations hostilities commenced.

After a few weeks an S.O.S. came from England that Mr. Fimmen was seriously ill and that Mr. Oldenbroek had to take over his duties, who thereupon with three members of the staff proceeded to England on 18th October, 1939.

Although it was not closed before the middle of May, 1940, the transfer of practically the whole of the staff meant that the Amsterdam Secretariat after over twenty years of work in that relatively quiet city, which after the first world war had become the centre of International trade unionism, had to be abandoned.

The growing volume of work at headquarters, coupled with Mr. Fimmen's illness made us decide, after consultation with the French Member of the Executive Committee, to call Tofahrn back, and at the beginning of March, 1940, he joined the Secretarial staff in England.

Relations with Affiliated Unions

On 2nd September, 1939, affiliated unions were informed of the transfer of the Secretariat to Great Britain, the setting up of a branch office in Paris, and the maintenance of a skeleton office in Amsterdam. Unions were likewise informed that the I.T.F. would continue its activities, that it condemned Germany's aggression against Poland, and would render every possible assistance to those determined to destroy Nazism. Affiliated unions showed themselves satisfied with the measures taken to ensure the continuance of the I.T.F. and with the standpoint taken up, which was indeed a continuation of the policy of the past. We received not a single communication from any affiliated union suggesting that they were not anxious to maintain their connection with the I.T.F. We have been able to secure three new affiliations, namely the Kenya and Uganda Asian Railway Union, the South African Council of Transport Workers, and the Sierra Leone Seamen's Union. The former two were duly admitted to membership of the I.T.F., but in the case of the third the Secretariat learned that there existed a rival organization in Sierra Leone, which made an investigation necessary.

Up to the beginning of April, 1940, relations with the unions were almost normal. But after the occupation of Denmark, the invasion of the Low Countries and the collapse of France, the situation was entirely changed. Before that time the unions were able, although members were called up for military service, to continue normally, the only exception being France. Membership figures did not decline, but on the contrary tended to increase. In France the trade union movement, which had not yet recovered from the difficulties of the unsuccessful strikes of 1938, was shortly after the outbreak of war in a state of chaos owing to the attitude of the Communists, who occupied many important posts in the French movement. In the case of the Dockers' and Seamen's Unions the difficulties were not very serious, but in the Railwaymen's and the Road Transport Workers' Unions the situation was very critical. But, after a few months, the leaders of the latter two organizations had the situation in hand, and when, on 17th December, 1939, a National Congress of the Railwaymen's Union was held, there was an immense majority in favour of the policy of the Executive Committee to support the war effort and to remove the Communist leaders who, in view of the Russo-German Pact, considered it their duty to oppose that effort as much as possible.

Affiliation fees received in 1939 (after 1st September).

	£	s.	d.
British Transport and General Workers' Union ..	1,168	13	2
Canadian Brotherhood of Railway Employees ..	42	3	3
Belgian Tramwaymen	26	8	11
New Zealand Locomotivemen	21	1	0
Belgian Railwaymen	209	8	11
French Railwaymen	107	19	1
French Road Transport Workers	142	0	10

Received in 1940	£	s.	d.
British National Union of Railwaymen	3,415	6	1
British National Union of Seamen	320	0	0
Surinam Dockers	2	6	4
French Railwaymen	142	0	10
French Road Transport Workers	56	16	4
British Associated Society of Locomotive Engin- eers and Firemen	565	6	6
Canadian Brotherhood of Railway Employees ..	60	10	9
British Railway Clerks' Association	686	16	3
New Zealand Locomotivemen	18	19	3
Iceland Seamen	20	15	0
Norwegian Seamen	231	11	7
Irish Transport and General Workers' Union ..	53	6	8
British Transport and General Workers' Union..	2,337	6	4
British National Union of Distributive and Allied Workers	368	0	0
Belgian Transport Workers	291	4	6
Danish Seamen	19	7	4
Finnish Transport Workers	24	2	1
Dutch Railwaymen	163	0	7
Dutch Transport Workers	401	15	6
Norwegian Railwaymen	142	2	1
Norwegian Locomotivemen	18	3	7
Norwegian Mates	31	11	7
Norwegian Transport Workers	22	4	3
Swedish Railwaymen	368	0	6
Swedish Locomotivemen	47	18	10
Swedish Transport Workers	368	0	6
Swedish Seamen	152	13	3
Swiss Transport Workers	68	7	7
Swiss Railwaymen	334	8	0

The Establishment of Foreign Seamen's Unions on British Soil

It was generally assumed that immediately upon the outbreak of war Germany would march into Holland and Belgium, but after eight months of war Hitler occupied Denmark and invaded Norway. A large part of the neutral mercantile marine was chartered by the British Ministry of Shipping. Norway with her large tanker fleet carried oil and petrol for Great Britain; the whaling expeditions were on the catching grounds in the Antarctic. Should Norway be attacked, what would happen with the Norwegian seamen and whalers? Would they be adequately protected? To discuss this question, Mr. Haugen—the President of the Norwegian Seamen's Union—came to England at the beginning of March, 1940. At a conference in which Mr. Jarman of the British National Union of Seamen, Mr. Ingebrigtsen—the London Secretary of the Norwegian Seamen's Union—Mr. Haugen and Mr. J. H. Oldenbroek took part, it was decided that if the Norwegian Seamen's Union could not function from Oslo its leaders would make for England, but should they not be able to do so, emergency headquarters would be established in England by Messrs. Ingebrigtsen, Jarman and Oldenbroek. The invasion of Norway came suddenly and unexpectedly; yet only a few days after, on 13th April, 1940, a meeting took place in London under the chairmanship of Mr. J. Henson, and in the presence of delegates from the I.M.M.O.A. (International Mercantile Marine Officers' Association), the N.U.S. (British National Union of Seamen), the Norwegian Seamen's Union and the I.T.F. It was decided to continue the Norwegian organization and all measures were taken to let it function right from the beginning. The I.T.F. advanced money for initial expenses, which our Norwegian comrades were soon able to refund.

The Norwegian Seamen's Union soon became the same powerful organization it had been in Oslo. The organization of the Norwegian Engineers and Mates was entrusted to the British Officers' Federation, acting on behalf of the I.M.M.O.A. in conjunction with Mr. Henson—the Agent of the Norwegian Mates' Union for the Bristol Channel—and a co-ordinating committee of British and Norwegian Seamen's and Officers' organizations was set up including representatives from the I.T.F. and the I.M.M.O.A.

After a short time the Treasurer of the Norwegian Seamen's Union—Mr. Th. Sønsteby—who had been able to escape to Sweden, succeeded in reaching England, and at the beginning of June the President—Mr. I. Haugen—arrived with the Norwegian Government, who had decided to transfer their seat to the United Kingdom.

During these fateful days of April, 1940, wireless messages were sent out by the I.M.M.O.A. and the I.T.F. to all Danish and Norwegian ships, advising the captains and crews to proceed with their ships to Allied ports or Control stations, and not to obey any orders given by shipowners or authorities who were, in effect, under German control. A large number of Danish vessels and all Norwegian vessels acted in accordance with these appeals and instructions. Danish ships were requisitioned by the British authorities and would sail under the British flag. For that reason it was decided that Danish seamen would form a special section of the N.U.S. No responsible leader of any of the three Danish Seamen's Organizations was able to get over to England, but fortunately the Secretary of the Antwerp branch of the Danish Sailors' Union—Mr. B. Møller—came over by the end of May and he was put in charge of the Danish section of the N.U.S. This section also became a great success. After a year's working the N.U.S., at the request of the I.T.F., has given autonomy to the section, so that the Danish Seamen now have their own organization.

Soon after, the wave of invasion reached Holland and Belgium. When the Assistant General Secretary visited Holland at the end of April, 1940, he discussed with the Dutch Seamen's Union the probability of a German attack upon Holland, and he was given authority to take similar measures for the Dutch Seamen as those taken for the Norwegians. So that when, indeed, Holland was invaded, the same wireless message was sent out for Holland as well as for Belgium, and steps were taken to set up a Dutch Union, whilst it was expected that Belgian leaders, who had fled to France, would be able to reach England and take the restoration of their unions into their own hands. As in the case of Norway, a Dutch and Belgian Co-ordinating Committee was set up for the purpose of dealing with the affairs of the Officers and Seamen of those Countries.

Then came the collapse of France, necessitating a special appeal to the French seamen. In their case the situation was far more difficult in view of the attitude adopted by the French Government. Many crews of

(Continued on page 45)

THE SEAMEN'S NEWS LETTER

I.T.F. BRANCH OFFICE IN NEW YORK

The Management Committee of the I.T.F. in September, 1940, decided to open a branch office in New York with the object of facilitating the co-ordination of the activities of the branches of European seamen's unions. Wartime conditions make it impossible for the headquarters of these unions to direct their branches in America in the same way and with the same promptness as in peace time. The branches have to handle on their own judgment and with their own resources questions which normally are handled by headquarters.

The necessities of the war have called for a measure of pooling of the work of the European seamen's unions. On the European side of the Atlantic this co-ordination was automatically effected, in 1940, by a simple extension of the normal activities of the I.T.F. On the American side a similar co-ordination was dictated by the needs of the war. It was duly agreed that this co-ordination should also be carried out under the auspices of the I.T.F.

The decision could not be carried into effect as quickly as was hoped, but now it has been done.

Mr. O. Becu, secretary of the Merchant Officers' Section of the Belgian Transport Workers' Union, has been placed in charge of the branch office of the I.T.F. in New York. He has reported that two important stages in the work of co-ordination have already been completed. The American branches of the European seamen's unions have also decided to set up a joint body under the name Belgian, Danish, Dutch, French and Polish Seamen's Union (B.D.D.F.P.) on the lines of the similar body set up in Great Britain. In addition there has been set up a Co-ordinating Committee, presided over by comrade Becu and covering the B.D.D.F.P. and the American branches of the Seamen's Unions of Great Britain, Norway and Sweden.

The address of the I.T.F. branch office and of the B.D.D.F.P. in the United States is 21, Pearl Street, New York.

EEN AFDELINGSKANTOOR DER I.T.F. TE NEW YORK

Het Dagelijks Bestuur der I.T.F. had in September 1940 besloten tot de oprichting van een afdelingskantoor te New York.

De oorlog maakte samenvoeging van de werkzaamheden der Europese zeelieden-organisaties noodzakelijk. Deze coördinatie kwam aan deze zijde van de Grote Plas in 1940 vanzelf tot stand door uitbreiding van de normale werkzaamheden der I.T.F. Aan gene zijde is de Kwestie nu ook geregeld.

Den Heer O. Becu, secretaris der Sectie voor Officierenter Koopvaardij van de Belgische Transportarbeidersbond, is de leiding van het Afdelingskantoor der I.T.F. te New York opgedragen. Hij heeft inmiddels

I.T.F. AVDELING I NEW YORK

I September 1940 besluttet styret i I.T.F. å åpne en avdeling i New York for å få istand et bedre samarbeide mellom de forskjellige avdelinger av europeiske sjømannsforbund.

På grunn av krigen er det umulig for disse forbunds hovedkontorer å bestyre deres avdelinger i Avdelinger i Amerika på samme måte og med samme hurtighet som i fredstid. Spørsmål som i almindelighet avgjøres av hovedkontoret må nu behandles av avdelingene, etter deres egen bedømmelse, og med hjelp av deres egne midler.

Krigens nødvendigheter har gjort at de europeiske sjømannsforbunds arbeide må sammenføres. Denne kooperasjon ble automatisk avgjort i 1940 på den europeiske side av Atlanterhavet med en almindelig utvidelse av I.T.F.'s normale aktiviteter. En lignende koordinasjon ble gjort nødvendig på grunn av krigen, på den amerikanske side, i hvilken sjømenn fra alle okkuperte land ønsker Hitlers nederlag. Det ble avgjort at dette samarbeide skulle bli gjennomført under ledelse av I.T.F.

Avgjørelsen kunde ikke bli gjort effektiv så fort som håpet, men er nu gjennomført.

Mr. O. Becu, sekretær for offiserenes avdeling av Belgian Transport Workers' Union, er nu blitt sjef for I.T.F.'s avdeling i New York. Han forteller oss at to meget viktige deler i koordinasjonens arbeide nu er fullstendig gjort. De amerikanske avdelinger av de europeiske sjømannsforbund har også besluttet sig å grunnlegge en felles union som heter: Belgian, Danish, Dutch, French and Polish Seamen's Union, (B.D.D.F.P.) som skal arbeide efter samme linjer som den tilsvarende organisasjon i Storebritannia.

Dessuten er Mr. Becu formann i styret for koordi nasjons komiteen som er opsatt for å dekke B.D.D.F.P og de amerikanske avdelinger av sjømannsorganisasjonene i Storebritannia, Norge og Sverige.

I.T.F.'s avdeling og B.D.D.F.P.'s adresse i Amerika er: 21, Pearl Street, New York.

* * *

E.S. Det Norske og Svenske Sjømannsforbund har egne kontorer i: 156, Montague Street, Brooklyn N.Y.

meegedeeld, dat twee belangrijke stappen in de coördinatie der werkzaamheden reeds zijn gedaan. De Amerikaanse afdelingen der Europese zeeliedenorganisaties hebben eveneens besloten tot de oprichting van een gemeenschappelijk lichaam onder de naam van Belgische, Deense, Hollandse, Franse en Poolse zeelieden-organisatie (B.D.D.F.P.) op dezelfde grondslag als het soortgelijke lichaam in Groot-Brittannië. Bovendien is een coördinatie-comité opgericht, onder voorzitterschap van kameraad Becu, omvattende de B.D.D.F.P. en de Amerikaanse afdelingen der zeelieden-organisaties van Groot-Brittannië, Noorwegen en Zweden.

Het adres van het afdelingskantoor der I.T.F. en van de B.D.D.F.P. in de Verenigde Staten is 21 Pearl Street, New York.

LET US HELP THE COLOURED SEAMEN

The I.T.F. is an international combination of trade unions of transport workers, to which every union can affiliate that accepts the principles of the I.T.F. as laid down in its rules and contained in the resolutions of its congresses. No union is debarred from affiliation because it belongs to a particular country, or because its members belong to a particular race or creed.

The I.T.F. aims to be world-wide and all-inclusive, as it has always been. It is true that for the time being the transport workers of a large number of countries have no connections with the I.T.F., but that is not because they have severed relations with their International of their own free will, but because the undemocratic rulers of their countries seemed to fear international association and forbade transport workers to remain affiliated.

Transport workers' unions have understood and accepted the I.T.F. as a world-wide and all-inclusive organization. Not only all the free trade unions of Europe belonged to it—and still belong to it—but many a non-European has joined its ranks, like the Chinese railwaymen and seamen, the Japanese seamen, the Trinidad transport workers, the railwaymen of the Dutch East Indies, the dockers of Dutch Guiana, to mention only a few organizations catering for transport workers whose colour is not white. These workers have, thereby, shown their confidence in the I.T.F. and their belief in international brotherhood.

It is the primary object of the I.T.F. to promote the organization of transport workers everywhere and to support them in obtaining improvements in their wages, working conditions and social status generally.

As long as transport is confined to the territory of one particular country the fixing of working conditions is primarily, perhaps entirely, a matter for the trade unions of that country, and the help the I.T.F. can give—and has given in the past—is limited to moral and material support. Moral support by appealing to its members not to take over the work of those engaged in strike or lockout—in other words, by preventing the supply of strike-breakers. Further, by providing unions with information about better conditions in other countries, which will serve as an incentive to follow a good example. Finally, by giving financial support, either in the form of a grant or a loan of funds, to enable a union to carry a struggle in which it is engaged to a successful end, and to prevent it from having to give up owing to lack of money.

The question, however, becomes different where inter-country transport is concerned, and particularly where it concerns such an international form of transport as shipping. The problem of the employment of coloured seamen arises in this connection. It has been under consideration for very many years, and as far back as 1926 the I.T.F., together with the I.M.M.O.A., set up a committee which produced a report to the effect that where coloured seamen were doing the same work as white seamen, and in competition with white seamen, they should receive the same wages. There was a time when the complement of

coloured seamen in ships was much larger than the number of white men carried, but generally speaking, that is no longer the position to-day. Coloured seamen have acquired the requisite training and on the whole are now doing the same work. They should, therefore, receive the same pay, and the I.T.F. and its affiliated unions pledge their support to Chinese, Indian and other coloured seamen in the achievement of this end.

National economists and shipowners maintain that the peoples of the less advanced countries must be given an opportunity of raising their standards of living, of taking part in industrial processes, not only of producing the raw materials with which they can provide the world, but also of participating in the transportation of such products. We do not wish to challenge this position from an international point of view. A planned economy in which the same factors produce raw materials, foodstuffs, finished products and render services such as the transport of these goods at the same time is difficult to conceive. But the question cannot be pursued here.

We grant that there is such a thing as a national wage standard, although actually standards are anything but uniform within the separate, especially within the large countries. But workers must watch that employers of different countries do not take advantage of the inequality to compete with one another at the expense of the workers' standards of living. In the case of shipping, which is pre-eminently international in character, this applies with double force. In any case, the principle should be established that where seamen are employed in the same trade and are expected to perform the same work, they shall be entitled to the same conditions, regardless of nationality, race or creed.

It may be that men would consequently get better conditions than they would in their own countries, or that they would be far ahead of wages in industrial undertakings in their home countries, but that should not matter. That should only spur us to seek to equalize conditions all over the world. If we succeed in securing such equality of treatment among seamen, it would be a big step forward in bringing about equality for all workers.

It is a fact that very many coloured seamen do not sail from their own countries, but from foreign ports. It costs them, if not more, certainly no less to live than it does the seamen of the country in whose ships they sail, and therefore, whilst realizing that Rome was not built in a day, we stand for equal treatment. Coloured seamen, however, have to understand that their conditions can only be defended and improved after they have built up strong trade unions, if they are prepared to pay reasonable contributions and enable their unions to carry on their activities and play their part in the international movement.

The I.T.F. and its affiliated unions will help them all they can, but they must realize that it is only assistance that can be given, and that the task itself must be undertaken by themselves.

FORCES FRANÇAISES LIBRES

Travailleurs de la Marine Marchande

En Grande-Bretagne s'est établie une véritable «Internationale des Marins». Tous les pays européens envahis qui avaient une flotte marchande de quelque importance, sont représentés en Grande-Bretagne par une fraction plus ou moins importante de cette flotte. La France y est représentée par un quart de sa flotte marchande et un nombre appréciable de marins. Les marins français secondent de leur mieux l'effort de la Grande-Bretagne résolue à terrasser l'oppressur de l'Europe.

Les forces en lutte contre Hitler ne sont pas représentées exclusivement par des gouvernements. L'une des plus forces les plus grandes et les plus résolues est le mouvement syndical de Grande-Bretagne dont les mots d'ordre aux travailleurs, véritables combattants civils, ont une autorité extraordinaire. Les marins étrangers venus en Grande-Bretagne ont, dès la première heure, entendu un appel syndical : celui de de la Fédération Internationale des Ouvriers du Transport, connue partout sous l'appellation «I.T.F.».

L'I.T.F. siégeait, en temps de paix, à Amsterdam. Des militants français dont le nom fait autorité, faisaient partie de ses conseils ; nous ne mentionnerons pas leurs noms aujourd'hui pour ne pas augmenter le nombre des victimes des geôliers de Paris ou de Vichy. L'I.T.F. a transféré son siège en Angleterre le 25 août 1939, quelques jours avant la guerre.

Grâce à la présence de l'I.T.F. en Angleterre, les marins des pays envahis ont rencontré immédiatement la compréhension et reçu l'assistance nécessaires pour reconstruire en Angleterre leurs organisations syndicales. Les Norvégiens étaient assez nombreux pour voler de leurs propres ailes après très peu de temps. Les Polonais, les Belges et les Hollandais furent bientôt amenés à fonder une fédération commune. Les Danois se groupèrent en une section danoise rattachée à l'Union Nationale des Marins de Grande Bretagne. Les Français, à cause de l'énorme désarroi dans les esprits, ont mis quelque temps à comprendre que la continuation de la lutte en terre étrangère signifiait aussi la continuation de l'action syndicale. L'I.T.F. décidait à leur place—et aucun syndiqué ne se plaindra de cette décision—qu'ils devaient former une section nationale française au sein de la Fédération des syndicats exilés dont le nom devint Belgian, Dutch, French and Polish Central Organization of Transport Workers, mieux connue sous l'appellation «B.D.F.P.». Depuis, la section danoise a été transférée à la Fédération des syndicats exilés qui dut ainsi ajouter une lettre à son nom abrégé et s'appelle maintenant «B.D.D.F.P.».

Le travail de propagande et de recrutement parmi les marins français a porté des fruits : nous sommes maintenant plus de 500 syndiqués et, à un moment favorable, nous pourrions envisager une réunion, une réunion de laquelle partira un message vers la France

envahie par les Hitlériens et trahie et humiliée par les hommes de Vichy, un message par lequel nous demanderons aux nôtres et à tous les Français de tenir bon et d'espérer, et par lequel nous leur dirons pourquoi nous avons choisi les dangers des bombes et des torpilles plutôt que le rapatriement. Les Français en France auront ainsi une fois de plus l'occasion de juger combien est odieux et vain l'acte de ces quislings de Vichy qui nous ont privés de notre nationalité.

Mais à cette occasion, comme d'ailleurs en toute autre circonstance à l'avenir, le syndicat des Inscrits Maritimes Français en Grande-Bretagne devrait être l'interprète autorisé de tous les marins au service de la flotte marchande des Forces Françaises Libres. Nous sommes loin de compte. De nombreux marins français n'ont pas encore rejoint les rangs de leur organisation professionnelle. Les Polonais et les Belges sont tous syndiqués à quelques exceptions négligeables près. Nos copains hollandais sont en bonne voie vers les 100 p.c. Parmi les Anglais, l'affiliation au syndicat est une chose si naturelle qu'elle est pratiquement obligatoire. Parmi les Norvégiens, les Suédois, les Danois, les Finlandais, un marin non-syndiqué serait aussi difficile à trouver qu'une épingle dans un tas de foin. Les syndicalistes parmi les marins français doivent donner un bon coup de collier pour que nous ne demeurions pas en reste sur nos collègues d'autres pays. Le Syndicat des Inscrits Maritimes Français en Grande-Bretagne doit devenir un morceau de la France Libre, vivante et militante, un centre où continue la vie syndicale française, où se groupent les forces morales ouvrières de résistance à l'ennemi. Il doit devenir une des assises solides du Centre Syndical Français en Grande-Bretagne qui groupe nos compatriotes travaillant dans les industries de guerre.

Le Syndicat a d'autres fonctions encore, notamment par rapport à vos conditions de travail.

Que dois-je faire ? demanderas-tu, camarade, après avoir lu ceci. Si tu es syndiqué, examine si tous les copains de ton bateau le sont. Exhorte les retardataires à adhérer au syndicat. —Y a-t-il un comité de bord ? S'il n'y en a pas, demande une réunion et propose la constitution du comité. S'il y a un comité, assiste les «comitards» à entretenir une liaison aussi constante que possible avec le siège du syndicat. Travaille avec eux pour prendre contact avec des équipages d'autres bateaux français à l'occasion de séjours dans des ports et répandre l'appel du syndicat. Et aide le comité de bord à tenir le syndicat au courant de tout ce qui peut l'intéresser pour la propagande et pour la défense des intérêts des marins.—Si tu n'es pas syndiqué, cherche contact avec le comité de bord ou avec un compagnon syndiqué. Si tu ne trouves pas ces contacts, écris au syndicat.

HENRI ROUSSEL, *secrétaire.*

POLISH SEAMEN'S CONGRESS

The Seamen's Section of the Polish Transport Workers' Union reconstituted in Great Britain held a congress in Glasgow on 2nd and 3rd March last. In addition to the delegates, it was attended by representatives of the Polish Government, the International Labour Office, the Polish Officers' Union, and the I.T.F.

A report on activities was submitted, covering the second half of 1940. It dealt with the reconstruction of the section and the improvements in working conditions which had been secured. Among the improvements were a 50 per cent increase in wages and better relations between officers and men. At the end of 1940 the section had a membership of 562 out of some 900

Polish seamen serving in Poland merchant ships. Part of the crews had not yet been approached owing to the absence of ships from British ports.

The congress decided to set up a shipping co-operative society, which Polish seamen were urged to join and to entrust their savings to. The Executive hopes shortly to purchase a ship and entrust its operation to the co-operative society. Further the Executive was instructed to promote measures to develop the Polish

merchant fleet. Social insurances are still in an unsatisfactory condition as far as Polish seamen are concerned, and the most urgent reforms will be sought whilst the war is in progress. Finally the congress appealed to Polish seamen to join the union to the last man.

A. Adamczyk was elected president of the section and L. Passalski secretary-treasurer.

SMERIGE DUITSE PRACTIJKEN AAN DE SCHANDPAAL

De uitbetaling der weekbrieven is altijd een onderwerp geweest van veel discussie onder de Nederlandse zeelieden.

Alle landen, die een goede buit beloofden aan het roofzuchtige Duitse militarisme en imperialisme moesten erop rekenen, vandaag of morgen te worden aangevallen. In het bijzonder de kleine, vredelievende staten, die, hoe moedig ook, slechts gering verzet zouden kunnen bieden aan den tot de tanden bewapenden Duitsen indringer.

De Nederlandse reders troffen dan ook tijdig de maatregel, dat, ingeval ons land zou worden overrompeld, alle afgegeven weekbrieven zouden worden doorbetaald. Wij zijn daarvoor zeer dankbaar. Het is best mogelijk, dat in sommige gevallen de weekbrieven niet of slechts ten dele worden uitgekeerd. Helaas is het onmogelijk dat na te gaan. Officieel bestaan er geen verbindingsen meer met Nederland en men kan nu eenmaal niet afgaan op officieuze berichten. *Hoe dan ook, de Nederlandse Scheepvaart- en Handelscommissie te Londen heeft met nadruk verklaard, dat alle bedragen, die niet zijn uitbetaald, na de oorlog zullen worden vereffend en wel voor de volle honderd procent.* Aangezien deze toezegging sommige zeelieden nog niet bleek te bevredigen, verzochten wij den Minister van Handel, Nijverheid en Scheepvaart, namens de Nederlandse Regering de verklaring af te geven, dat de Nederlandse Regering zich garant stelt voor de naleving der verplichting, welke de Scheepvaart- en Handelscommissie op zich genomen heeft. *Dit is thans geschied, doch in verband met een gebeurtenis, welke een schel licht werpt op het smerige karakter der Duitse bezetters.*

Deze bloedhonden vallen weerloze vrouwen en kinderen aan, gebruiken hen als gijzelaars, wanneer zij hun tegenstanders niet te pakken kunnen krijgen. Ze beweren lukraak, dat de in Indonesië geïnterneerde Duitsers slecht worden behandeld. Daarvan is natuurlijk niets waar, omdat fatsoenlijke mensen nu eenmaal geen wraak nemen op weerlozen, hoe smerig deze zich ook tegenover het land, waar zij zich als gasten bevonden, mochten hebben gedragen. Aangezien de Duitsers echter hun woede niet kunnen koelen op de Indonesische autoriteiten, nemen zij représailles tegen bekende figuren in Nederland, die naar Duitse concentratiekampen worden gestuurd. Wie verwacht van zulke schobbejakken ridderlijkheid? Niemand. Wij verachten hen, wij spuwen op hen.

Wat hebben deze smeerlappen nu weer uitgehaald? Ze hebben door de radio twee mededelingen laten omroepen: een leugen en een dreigement.

De leugen is, dat de Nederlandse Scheepvaart- en Handelscommissie te Londen zeelieden zou hebben bedreigd met intrekking (dus niet-uitbetaling) der weekbrieven.

Deze leugen moet dienen om het dreigement der

Duitsers te verbloemen, dat geen weekbrieven meer zullen worden uitbetaald aan familieleden van Nederlandse zeelieden, die hun arbeid verrichten op Nederlandse schepen, welke voor de geallieerde zaak varen.

Sinds wanneer is het niet het goed recht van de wettige Nederlandse Regering om de scheepvaart te blijven uitoefenen; sinds wanneer mogen Nederlandse zeelieden niet de strijd tegen den overweldiger voortzetten? Is er vrede gesloten tussen Duitsland en Nederland? Neen immers, en die vrede zal ook niet gesloten worden, voordat het nazisme ten val zal zijn gebracht. Hebben de Duitse overweldigers het recht, hun woede te koelen op de gezinnen der Nederlandse zeelieden? Neen, dat recht hebben zij niet. *Doch zij hebben lak aan internationaal recht, zij hechten slechts aan de macht van den sterkste, gelijk overigens alle totalitaire staten, waar menselijkheid en recht opgehouden hebben te bestaan.*

Als de Duitsers geloven, dat zij het verzet der Nederlandse zeelieden tegen den Duitsen overweldiger kunnen breken met zulke middelen, dat hebben zij zich deerlijk vergist. Zulke handelingen versterken slechts de wil der Nederlandse zeelieden om door te vechten tot de uiteindelijke overwinning.

Er zijn echter enige lichtpunten in deze zaak. *In de eerste plaats weten de Duitsers niet, wie wel vaart en wie niet vaart.* Doch er is een nog groter lichtpunt.

De Minister van Scheepvaart, Nijverheid en Handel heeft zich per radio tot de Nederlandse bevolking gewend en haar opgewekt dat, ingeval het dreigement der Duitse bezetting inderdaad zou worden uitgevoerd, de Nederlandse bevolking zich het lot van de families der Nederlandse zeelieden zal aantrekken. Gezien het vrijwel algemene verzet der Nederlanders tegen de Duitse bezetters, mag met gerustheid worden aangenomen, dat de Minister niet aan dovemansdeuren heeft geklopt. De Nederlandse zeevarenden kunnen dus gerust zijn. Zij kunnen hun vuisten ballen en hun tanden op elkaar zetten. We zullen ze wel krijgen!

In zijn radiorede heeft de Minister gezegd: „De Koninklijke Nederlandse Regering stelt zich garant voor alle betalingen, welke zijn of nog zullen worden gedaan aan de naaste familieleden van Nederlandse zeelieden. Deze Regeringsgarantie geldt voor het volle bedrag van de voor hen vastgestelde week- of maandbrieven of voor de hoogte der uitkeringen, welke tot dusverre uit anderen hoofde zijn gedaan.”

Bravo, Nederlandse Regering!

Wij, Nederlandse zeelieden voelen ons opgelucht.

Wij zullen doorvechten voor de vrijheid van ons volk, voor de vrijheid van allen, die ons dierbaar zijn in Nederland, voor de vrijheid van onze vakbeweging en van onze arbeidersklasse.

J. C. Esveldt.

The Establishment of Foreign Seamens Union on British Soil— (continued from page 40)

ships which had put into British ports were wavering whether to return to France, or to join the Free French Mercantile Marine of General de Gaulle. Bad blood was created when these men were taken from their ships and interned like enemies, in the Crystal Palace, near London. We sent a delegation to the Crystal Palace consisting of Messrs. P. de Witte, the General Secretary of the Belgian Transport Workers' Union, and P. Tofahrn, on behalf of the I.T.F. A manifesto was distributed among the inmates of the Crystal Palace, which had a soothing effect, and a number of them joined the Free French Mercantile Marine, although it was generally believed by the British authorities that none of them would be prepared to do so. It must be assumed that the bad spirit amongst the French seamen in the Crystal Palace was partly due to Communist and Fifth Column propaganda.

By the end of June, 1940, the leaders of the Belgian Transport Workers' Union came over to England, and also the President of the Polish Transport Workers' Union—Mr. A. Adamczyk—who had been with the Polish Government in France.

At a combined meeting of Dutch, Belgian and Polish representatives it was decided to form a joint organization for the Belgian, Dutch, French and Polish seamen. The Management Committee of the I.T.F. decided to issue an appeal for funds to the affiliated British unions. The response was magnificent, as the figures of donations show :

Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen	£50
National Union of Distributive and Allied Workers	£80
National Union of Railwaymen	£500
National Union of Seamen	£500
Railway Clerks' Association	£105
Transport and General Workers' Union	£500

With this money in hand, the newly formed organization could make a start, and immediately officials were appointed, ships visited and members enrolled. After some time, district offices in Cardiff, Glasgow and Liverpool were set up. As from 1st July, 1941, the newly amalgamated Danish Seamen's Union affiliated with the B.D.F.P. (hereafter called the B.D.D.F.P.), and as the Danish Union has its headquarters in Newcastle, the B.D.D.F.P. is now also represented in that port. A special Fishermen's section of the Belgian and Dutch Unions is established in Fleetwood.

In view of the large amount of Dutch shipping in the port of New York, a branch office of the Dutch Union was established there with two officials, and since the beginning of March, 1941, the B.D.D.F.P. is officially represented in New York by Mr. O. Becu, secretary of the Merchant Officers' section of the Belgian Transport Workers' Union.

We wish to thank the British organizations for their generosity ; in particular we are indebted to the British N.U.S. for all the help which the Executive Committee and all District and Branch officials have

rendered to make the organization of the B.D.D.F.P. a success, and not only that, we have to thank them for their broadmindedness in immediately agreeing to the setting up of foreign organizations in the British Isles, carrying on their own work and their own negotiations. No man deserves more praise than Mr. C. Jarman, National Organizer of the N.U.S. and the Honorary President of the B.D.D.F.P., for the great services he has rendered to the Allied Seamen and their Unions. So far as the Fishermen are concerned, we are indebted to the T. & G.W.U. for the assistance rendered by Mr. Hillman and also to the Fleetwood Branch Office of that Union for the valuable help and advice given to our Belgian and Dutch Unions and their officials.

After the war these seamen and fishermen will return en bloc to their own countries and form a vanguard of the Free Trade Union Movement in those countries, carrying in their hearts the feelings of profound international solidarity.

Negotiations on Behalf of Allied Seamen

The occupation and invasion of their countries automatically cut off the mercantile marines and the seamen. Their monies were no longer accepted abroad and it was, therefore, necessary to pay them in English money. At the first meeting of the Norwegian Seamen's Union, district officials complained that the banks would only accept Norwegian money at 50 per cent of the official rate of exchange and the seamen were, therefore, demanding that they should in future be paid on the same basis as British seamen. A similar position arose for the Dutch and Belgians. The Poles were receiving English money, but were paid at rates which were far below the British. The Norwegian seamen were warned not to move too quickly. The Ministry of Shipping in agreement with the Norwegian Consul General in London promised to exchange Norwegian money at the official rate of exchange so as to protect the interests of Norwegian seamen. At the first Co-ordinating Committee meeting the following policy was outlined. That so far as wages (apart from war bonus) were concerned, they should not be lower than British wages. If they were higher prior to the country's entry into the war, such higher rates would be maintained, and also all social conditions, which in respect of all countries happened to be better than those applying for British seamen. With regard to the war bonus, however, it was realized that no higher war bonus could be demanded for allied seamen than that being paid to Britishers.

The Dutch were the first to conclude negotiations with their shipowners. Wages were converted into British money at a rate of exchange fixed by the Dutch Government ; these wages were slightly higher than those of British seamen, and the complicated system of calculating war bonus based on danger zones was thrown overboard and replaced by the British system. Moreover, a shore bonus was introduced at a rate of £1 per week when ships were lying in United Kingdom or Irish ports.

The Norwegians soon followed ; their wages were increased and their war bonus fixed at a slightly higher rate than the British plus a shore bonus of 3s. 6d. per day. For Danish and French Seamen British conditions were to apply, as these ships were sailing under the British flag (French ships under the British and French flags).

After prolonged negotiations the Belgians followed suit with an agreement which was much the same as that for British vessels, and for the Poles British wages—after many months of negotiations—were obtained, which constituted a considerable improvement in their conditions.

It was generally understood and accepted by the Unions, that Allied seamen were not entitled to demand conditions which were far superior to British standards. The time for high war bonuses was gone, and fighting together they had to take the same risks and had always to bear in mind that the British people have to foot the bill.

Unfortunately, however, considerable agitation and subversive propaganda went on in the U.S. directed against the British war effort, led by Communist inspired circles and financed by German secret agents, who were trying to induce seamen to

leave their ships and/or to demand excessive wages. The consequence was that a not inconsiderable number of allied—and in particular Norwegian ships—were held up in the summer of 1940, at a time when Great Britain passed through the most difficult phase of the war, and the Norwegian Shipping Mission being urged to bring over the ships with material at all costs agreed to pay an additional war bonus in view of the dangers of the North Atlantic crossings. This situation led to considerable friction, because the unions of the other countries were not prepared to follow the same line, and there was danger of the payment of additional war bonus to Norwegian seamen having repercussions on the seamen of other allied countries, and maybe even on British ships. A special conference was held on 4th September, 1940, to discuss the situation and to try and maintain a common policy. The inevitable happened, however, and an agreement was concluded whereby the Norwegians received 150 kroner—roughly £8 10s.—for an Atlantic crossing and the same amount for a trip to the Red Sea, and the same amount per month for the British Home Trade. The example was, however, not followed by other countries.

British seamen received an increase of £2 per month as from 1st January, 1941. The Danish, French and Polish Seamen received the same increase.

Negotiations with the shipowners and the shipping committees were, however, not limited to wages and war bonuses, but many other items had to be dealt with such as shore leave, holidays with pay, loss of effects, overtime payments, sickness benefits, unemployment benefits, compensation in case of accidents, food scales, allotment notes, payment of taxes, etc. These negotiations are carried on by the representatives of the different countries and therefore are not proper to a report on the activities of the I.T.F.

There were, however, problems of a general nature such as the curfew order and the armament of ships which were dealt with through the Ministry of Shipping, and in which the I.T.F. also took part.

A special situation arose with regard to Belgium. The Belgian Government was still in France and we had a suspicion that the Belgian shipowners did not want their vessels to be used in the Allied cause, but to remove them from British ports and use them in trades between the Belgian Congo and other countries.

An International Seamen's Conference was held on 15th July, 1940, to discuss inter alia this question, about which we had already been in contact with the General Secretary of the T.U.C.—Sir Walter Citrine—and the Ministry of Shipping. The Belgian Officers and Seamen were not prepared to sail unless a definite undertaking was given by the Belgian shipowners, and confirmed by the British authorities that Belgian ships would be employed to help in the war effort. That assurance was eventually given, after which the Unions signed the agreement and allowed the men to sail.

Decentralization of the I.T.F.

Although the I.T.F. has, more than any other international organization, succeeded in gaining the confidence of trade unions in different parts of the world by securing their affiliation, it has always been realized that the I.T.F. was primarily European. At one time all important unions of transport workers in Europe belonged to the I.T.F., the only exceptions being the Russian unions. Outside Europe, organizations in the Argentine Republic, Canada, China, Dutch Guiana, India, Kenya, New Zealand, Rhodesia, Palestine, Sierra Leone, South Africa and Trinidad belong to the I.T.F., and at some time or the other Algeria, Australia, Brazil, Canary Islands, Cuba, Dutch East Indies, French Indo-China, Japan, Madagascar, Salvador, Tunis and the U.S.A. have been attached to it. They are, or were, however, always isolated outposts, and it was generally difficult to maintain that close relationship with them which is so necessary for the proper working of an international organization. Either they are situated in countries, or parts of the world, in which the trade union move-

ment is well developed, such as North America, Australia and New Zealand, or in continents where the trade union movement is still in its infancy, such as South America, the Far East, India, the Near East and Africa.

Now the task of the I.T.F. as laid down in its rules is not only to bring about the affiliation of transport workers' organizations, but also to promote the organization of transport workers in countries where they are not, or badly organized. To strengthen the ties with extra-European organizations the Stockholm Congress of the I.T.F., held in 1928, adopted a plan to set up sub-secretariats of the I.T.F. in different parts of the world and to prepare for the transformation of the I.T.F. from a centralized international organization into a decentralized body made up of different parts of the world, having identical, or similar interests.

It must be admitted that the efforts to realize the project have not met with outstanding success. The General Council in 1929 decided to impose a special levy for propaganda purposes so as to make it possible to send one or more delegates to countries far removed from headquarters, and a large number of affiliated unions willingly paid this levy. In 1931 the General Secretary made a world tour, visiting Canada, Japan and China. The world was still suffering from the effects of the industrial crisis, which broke out in 1929, involving heavy unemployment among the transport workers, and when Mr. Fimmen arrived in Japan to discuss the establishment of a sub-secretariat in the Far East comprising Japan and China, the Japanese Imperialists had embarked upon their policy of aggression by invading Manchuria, so that the moment for collaboration between the working class movements of the two countries was hardly favourable. Not that our Japanese Seamen's Union approved of the policy of the Japanese Rulers—on the contrary, the Japanese Seamen's leaders were courageous enough to express their disapproval, which they repeated when Japan attacked China proper in 1937, but unfortunately, the Labour Movement of Japan was too weak to make a strong stand, although strenuous efforts were made to rally all progressive forces in Japan against the Government's adventurous policy.

Yet the Far Eastern secretariat was established. In 1939, however, the Japanese Seamen's Union was compelled by the Government to withdraw from the I.T.F. and consequently the Far Eastern sub-secretariat had to be relinquished.

At the outbreak of war preliminary steps had been taken to call a conference of South American transport workers. The Executive Committee decided at its meeting held in January, 1940, to send its member—Mr. T. Gomez—for at least a year to South America. Unfortunately Mr. Gomez was unable to leave France in time before it collapsed. We have, however, not given up our intention to set up a South American or Latin-American section of the I.T.F.

So far as Australasia is concerned, the I.T.F. had arranged to send a delegation to New Zealand in connection with the Centennial celebrations at the

beginning of 1940. An Australasian Conference had been called which would have been attended by a surprisingly large number of transport workers' organizations in Australia and New Zealand. Unfortunately, however, this plan had to be given up owing to the outbreak of war.

Australian Unions have informed us that their affiliation will hardly be brought about during the war, and that it will be necessary to call a Pacific Conference, in which the unions from Canada and the United States will have to take part, if a success is to be achieved and a section of the I.T.F. established in that part of the world.

It was also intended to send a delegation representative of European transport workers to the United States. Full agreement had been reached with the powerful railway trade unions in the U.S.A. which had made arrangements to receive the delegation in the Spring of 1940. Here again the plan had to be abandoned owing to the war.

Although the I.T.F. has been anything but successful in its re-organization plans there were, at any rate, hopeful indications in 1939 that our projects would at last be accepted by the different continents.

The problem which the world will have to face after the ending of hostilities will be less that of production than of distribution and transportation. International and world machinery will have to be created for coping with immediate difficulties. Some of this machinery will probably assume a permanent character. The trade unions of the transport workers must prepare themselves on the one hand for playing a new rôle in the organization and direction of the transport industry and the management of transport undertakings, and on the other for establishing among themselves a system of international co-operation parallel to that which will necessarily come about between the transport systems of the countries of a continent and of the world.

Under the pressure of this development, the idea of decentralization will make headway, and it will probably be necessary to establish sub-secretariats even within areas of Europe.

I.T.F. Office in New York

At the Management Committee meeting held in February, 1941, it was decided to appoint Mr. O. Becu—the former Secretary of the I.M.M.O.A.—to act as representative of the I.T.F. in the U.S.A. Mr. Becu was going to the U.S.A. on other business and will stay there for a long time, if not for the duration of the war, and was prepared to look after the interests of the I.T.F. during his stay in that country.

As from 2nd May, 1941, an office has been leased at 21, Pearl Street, New York City, where the B.D.D.F.P. and the I.T.F. have their headquarters. Further, a Co-ordinating Committee of all I.T.F. organizations has been established comprising in addition to the

B.D.D.F.P. the British, Norwegian and Swedish Seamen's organizations of which Mr. Becu is the President and Mr. G. Thompson of the N.U.S. the Secretary.

Publications Service

On the eve of the war the publications of the I.T.F. were a fortnightly *Press Report*, with supplements on a range of subjects which were dealt with in a printed monthly journal before its discontinuation in 1933, and a fortnightly bulletin entitled *Fascism*. The outbreak of war and the transfer of the Secretariat from Amsterdam to London, though not interrupting the publication service, produced some irregularity in appearance and diminution of volume. After the Secretariat had been established in Kempston and re-equipped, the publication of the two periodicals became regular again.

Having lost our documentation on the trade union movement with many of our files, we are at present inadequately informed about transport workers' organizations existing in different parts of the world. Owing to the almost complete disappearance of the European Continent as a factor in trade unionism, the centre of gravity of our attention is shifting from Europe to other parts of the world. With postal communications slowed down as they are to-day, progress is very slow.

The *Press Report* (published in English, French and Spanish) give information on activities undertaken by transport workers' unions for the achievement of immediate aims. At the same time such information often points out special aspects of a particular issue or a particular period as it affects different countries. An additional and not less essential purpose is to supply to trade union journals material assisting them to awaken and keep alive the interest of the rank and file in trade union activity abroad, and to foster the realization that the trade union struggle is one and indivisible all over the world. We feel that it is of importance now to emphasize, through the *Press Report*, that in all free countries trade unions are carrying on the struggle for the improvement of working conditions and other objectives, even if hampered to some extent by the war.

At the first meeting of the Management Committee established in Great Britain (4th November, 1939) Mr. Bevin proposed the publication of a printed monthly journal. Three weeks later it was decided to adopt the proposal and to publish a journal in the English and Spanish languages. The publication, whilst permitting of a more detailed treatment and a wider range of subjects, serves essentially the same purpose as the *Press Report*.

When adopting the proposal to publish a printed journal the Management Committee realized that this could not be done out of the ordinary funds of the I.T.F., limited as they are by circumstances arising out of the war. It therefore decided to appeal for special contributions to certain of the British affiliated unions. As a result of the appeal the following grants were made to the I.T.F. publication department:

British National Union of Railwaymen	£220
British Transport and General Workers' Union ..	£500
British National Union of Seamen	£75
British Railway Clerks' Association	£75
Canadian Brotherhood of Railway Employees and other Transport Workers	£25
	<hr/>
	£895

This amount will probably be nearly sufficient to cover the cost of both editions for the first two years.

The journal is exceedingly valuable as a means of giving publicity to the opinions of transport workers' organizations in general, and the unions contributing have done valuable service by placing in our hands so useful an instrument at so critical a time, when it was necessary to touch as many organizations as possible in the countries overseas.

Fascism (published in English, German and Spanish) deals with the position of the working classes in Fascist and Fascist-dominated countries.

The matter in a single number may often appear fragmentary, but viewed over a period the publication is found to give a comprehensive picture on a wide range of subjects.

Resolutions adopted by the Emergency General Council of the I.T.F.

The Council discussed the situation in the occupied countries, the application of the blockade against the Fascist powers, the repercussions of the Sino-Japanese war and of the extension of the war to Soviet Russia on the general situation of the war.

The conclusions of the discussions may be summed up as follows: The war against all the Fascist powers should be waged with all the vigour of which the anti-Fascist forces are capable. While carrying the war effort to its utmost pitch, the oppressed peoples are to be urged to reassemble their forces and to strike at the first propitious occasion. The intensification of the war effort will have to include a tightening of the blockade, and anti-Fascist seamen of all countries are urged to co-operate in closing the few loopholes that still exist. Confidence in the successful outcome of the gigantic conflict is so great that, apart from the war aim, the Council sought to give tentative expression to the minimum wishes of the organized transport workers in relation to the peace aims.

The meeting of the Emergency General Council was a manifestation of the vitality of the Transport Workers' International. Contrary to what occurred during the war of 1914-18, the I.T.F. has not been put out of action during the present war. The battle-fronts have not completely severed relations between workers on either side of them. The I.T.F. continues to exert influence in the very heart of Germany, and there are grounds to hope that the response to its appeals will become stronger to the extent that are dissipated the doubts and anxieties of the German workers with regard to the consequences to them of a military defeat of the Nazi regime.

The meeting was attended by representatives of Belgium, China, France, Germany, Great Britain, Holland, Norway and Poland, and presided over by MR. J. MARCHBANK, chairman of the Management Committee of the I.T.F. and general secretary of the National Union of Railwaymen of Great Britain and Ireland.

Resolution on the War

This meeting of the Emergency General Council of the I.T.F., held in London on 25th and 26th July, 1941, and attended by representatives from Belgium, China, Denmark, France, Germany, Great Britain, Holland, Norway and Poland.

Declares that owing to the aggressions by the Axis powers the war is rapidly developing into a world war involving all continents and practically all countries;

That by the most recent act of aggression against Soviet Russia Hitlerite Germany has once more torn up a pact of friendship and non-aggression as a scrap of paper, although from the statements of Russian statesmen it is evident that Soviet Russia has not disregarded that pact in any degree whatsoever;

That the Soviet people are now involved in the common struggle against the Fascist states and for freedom and self-determination;

That Japan by its move against Indo-China is threatening to attack countries which desire greater freedom but certainly refuse to be dominated by the Japanese imperialists;

That because of these developments it will now be admitted by everyone that the Chinese struggle against Japanese invasion and domination is part of the universal struggle against war-mongers and oppressors;

That this Emergency General Council reiterates the resolution adopted by the Executive Committee of the I.T.F. on 27th and 28th January, 1940, affirming in essence:

That Fascism, National Socialism and similar authoritarian systems are based on coercion, violation of the law, and racial persecution;

That these systems have, by means of tyranny, despotism, suppression of free speech, abolition of the freedom of association and pitiless persecution of opponents, reduced the moral forces within their own peoples to impotence;

That they have developed subsequently into totalitarian powers directing their whole policy at the militarization of the peoples and conquest by war;

That they are guilty of non-observance and brutal violation of international agreements;

That they have threatened and attacked neighbouring countries, and committed inhuman cruelties against civilians on land, from the air and at sea;

That these totalitarian states intend to subjugate free peoples and condemn them to slavery, and aim at the domination of the entire world.

The Emergency General Council is therefore of the opinion that for each and all of these reasons National Socialism and similar systems must be destroyed;

Calls for continuation of the war with undiminished vigour until final victory has been won over these degrading systems;

Expresses its admiration for all peoples fighting for the common cause and those who support their struggle by placing their resources at the disposal of the Allied countries.

Resolution on the Occupied Countries

This meeting of the Emergency General Council of the I.T.F., held in London on 25th and 26th July, 1941, and attended by representatives from Belgium, China, Denmark, France, Germany, Great Britain, Holland, Norway and Poland.

Having taken cognizance of the reports from the different countries,

Expresses its admiration of the resistance which the peoples of the occupied countries, and more particularly the working classes of those countries, are offering to the foreign invaders;

Extends greetings also to the workers in the Fascist and National Socialist countries who, in spite of terror and war, have undauntedly and uninterruptedly fought their tyrants, who to-day have turned the whole of Europe into a battlefield.

The Emergency General Council is convinced that they will continue to do their duty in the fight against the enemy of humanity. It points out that transport constitutes the weakest point in the German war machine, and therefore appeals to transport workers of all kinds to sabotage by every suitable means traffic, by rail, air and water, destined for or serving the ends of the Axis powers, in order that the inevitable defeat of the totalitarian régimes be brought about in the nearest possible future.

Resolution on the Blockade

This meeting of the Emergency General Council of the I.T.F., held in London on 25th and 26th July, 1941, and attended by representatives from Belgium, China, Denmark, France, Germany, Great Britain, Holland, Norway and Poland;

Extends greetings to the seafarers of all nationalities who man the merchant navies of the Allied countries and, braving all dangers, make a valiant contribution to the triumph over those who seek the destruction of civilization and humanity, for whom the brotherhood of the sea is an empty phrase.

Seafarers of all nations view with disgust and contempt the practices of German and Italian warfare at sea, which are directed against unarmed merchant and fishing vessels and against life-saving craft, and demand that the authors of these misdeeds be tracked down after the war and undergo the punishment they deserve.

The fight in which the seafarers in the service of the Allied countries are doing their part is the common fight of all seafarers of the world.

The noble idea of the brotherhood of the sea will only recover its full realization when the Fascist, National Socialist and other totalitarian régimes have been done away with.

The Allied seafarers affiliated to the I.T.F. declare that they refuse to carry cargoes to countries associated with the Axis powers.

They appeal to the seafarers of all countries to follow their example.

The Secretariat of the I.T.F. is instructed to approach all seamen's and dockers' unions concerned with a view to a complete blockade of all ports of the Axis countries.

War and Peace Aims

The Emergency General Council of the I.T.F. meeting in London on 25th and 26th July, 1941.

Considering that the defeat of any one of the great countries now constituting the anti-Fascist alliance would seriously aggravate the danger of the conquest of the world by German Fascism and its world-wide Fifth Column ;

Declares that the war aim is and must remain the complete and joint victory of the armed forces of all the countries at war against Fascism ;

Considering that the defects of the social, economic and political world order are the cause of the recurrence of wars which increasingly threaten with destruction the trade union movement and all forces making for civilization ;

Invites all the governments concerned to include in their peace aims :

1. The establishment in all countries of democratic methods of government ensuring freedom of thought, of speech and the press, of association, of movement, and of choice of occupation as well as inviolability of the person and of domicile.

2. Economic security for all nations through the association of all nations in the joint use of the world's resources.

3. Protection of the right of self-government of all peoples through an efficient system of collective security.

4. Social security for every individual and social progress for the working people through democratic organization and management of the economy in every country.

5. Investment of the International Labour Organization with powers sufficient for the task of systematic and world-wide

action for the improvement of the workers' conditions by the promotion of economic progress and the development of social legislation.

Calls upon transport workers, concertedly with all other workers, to strengthen the trade union organizations to the utmost and to work indefatigably for the establishment and development of political, economic and social democracy in their countries.

Urges the trade union movements of all countries to arrive at agreement as early as possible on the peace aims of the organized workers and to make ready for concerted and world-wide action for their realization.

Appeals to unaffiliated transport workers' unions to join forces with those united in the I.T.F.

Participation of Soviet Russia in the War

For the organized workers throughout the world the German attack on Russia means something more than a simple case of aggression. The Russian Revolution, by putting an end to the mixture of feudalism and capitalism that formerly prevailed in the country, laid the foundations for a socialist economic régime, that the Soviet State undertook to build up. Although the organized workers of the world have not always seen eye to eye with those of Soviet Russia as to the methods to be employed to bring about Socialism, they have never ceased to hope that that country would make a great contribution towards the spread of Socialism throughout the world and that the Soviet régime would evolve in the direction of democracy. To-day differences which have existed in the past sink into insignificance in face of the common danger.

A victory of the Soviet forces over those of Fascism is of capital importance for the future of Socialism. The defeat of Soviet Russia would destroy a State founded for the achievement of Socialism.

The Emergency General Council of the I.T.F. therefore sends its fraternal greetings to the transport workers, and the whole working class, of the U.S.S.R. ; and

Declares its solidarity with them in the defence of their country.

Nationalization of the Private Railways in Sweden

By Sture Christiansson, General Secretary of the Swedish Railwaymen's Union

About ten years ago a special committee called " the Nationalization Board " was set up in Sweden with the view of investigating and later submitting a report on the question of nationalization. The proposals which were eventually worked out by the Board did not yield any results, but nevertheless constituted a guidance on the nationalization of our private railways. Those to take the initiative in the nationalization of the private railways were the then president of the Railwaymen's Union, Albert Forslund, and the former editor of the railwaymen's paper *Signalen*, Frans Severin, who were both, and still are, members of Parliament and thus had the possibility of promoting a bill on the question. A couple of years passed before any real results appeared, but once the start had been made, the Government decided to embark upon a more general nationalization of private railways. This decision was taken three years ago, and it was expected that nationalization would be completed in the course of five years. One of the strongest factors favouring nationalization was that it would permit of a reduction of fares and freights. In Sweden there exist special scales of fares and freights for the State railways and another for so-called transit traffic, i.e. traffic between the State railways and the private railways, while in addition there are scales locally decided upon by the private lines. Both

freights and fares appear to have been considerably higher on the private than on the State railways. In transit traffic there has further existed a certain interdependence through train connections, transshipping, etc., all factors causing difficulties in the handling of traffic. Nationalization was to simplify the railway system and bring about quicker connections both between the different private railway systems and with the State railways traversing the whole country, and so to provide the public with a better and more comfortable service. At the same time it was sought to raise the general standard of the private lines to that of the State railways, which are famed for their first class equipment.

The prices at which private railways have been taken over by the State are the result of negotiations between the Government and the railway managements concerned. The less prosperous systems have been acquired on fairly easy terms, but in the case of more prosperous lines the conditions have been stiffer.

For many years difficulties were encountered in securing satisfactory wage standards on the private railways. Three officials of the Railwaymen's Union and one of the former Locomotivemen's Union were regularly occupied with wage movements on these systems. The agreements concluded between the companies and the Government in connection with nationalization provide that upon acquisition of the private lines by the State, the personnel shall be

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SUPERANNUATION PRACTICE IN CUBA

The following brief account of superannuation practice in Cuba forms one of the chapters of a report by José Domenech, General Secretary of the General Confederation of Labour of the Argentine Republic, who was Argentine labour delegate to the Second Pan-American Labour Conferencia held in Havana at the end of 1939, under the auspices of the International Labour Office.

* * *

Cuba has pension and superannuation funds for many trades and occupations, including Shipping, Communications, Administration of Justice, Civil Fund, Schools, Police, Telephones, Notarial Offices, Property Registration, Journalists, Bank Employees, Health and Maternity, Railways and Tramways, etc. This list will give an idea of the progress which has been made in this respect.

These funds do not greatly differ from one another in so far as details of organization are concerned, so I will confine myself to a brief description of the first mentioned, the Maritime Superannuation Fund, to give an idea of its main characteristics.

Maritime Superannuation Act

The funds for superannuation under the Maritime Superannuation Act, which provides for ordinary superannuation, superannuation in case of invalidity, and pensions, are drawn from the following sources:

A contribution by the workers of 3 per cent of their wages. The Act lays it down that this contribution shall be gradually raised to 5 per cent if the percentage first mentioned should prove insufficient to pay the benefits provided for. On the other hand the maximum contribution of 5 per cent will be gradually reduced again to 3 per cent when the financial position of the Fund allows. Workers must further contribute an amount equal to their first month's wages and the first month of any increase.

Employers must contribute an amount equal to 3 per cent of all salaries, wages "and any other form or equivalent of remuneration earned by the workers." This contribution may also be increased and subsequently decreased in the circumstances indicated in the previous paragraph.

A deduction of 5 to 10 per cent from the pensions, according to the requirements of the Fund.

A variable Government contribution, and other secondary sources.

These are the main sources of income of the Fund. Ordinary superannuation benefit is granted when the worker concerned is not less than fifty years of age and has contributed to the Fund for not less than twenty years. If he has contributed for at least twenty-five years he may be superannuated at any age he may have reached.

Invalidity pensions are payable to workers who have contributed for not less than five years.

The minimum pension is, in both cases, \$360 a year, and the maximum \$960. Its actual amount, in

the case of ordinary superannuation, "will be calculated by multiplying an amount equal to 3 per cent of the average annual earnings subsequently to 12th September, 1927, by the number of years for which contributions have been paid." The amount of invalidity pensions is calculated in the same manner.

No right to superannuation or pension exists in the following cases, among others: if the person concerned is in gainful employment; if he holds public office of profit; if he has unearned income exceeding \$1,800 a year, unless his average annual earnings when at work exceeded that sum, in which case the maximum unearned income may equal the said average annual earnings.

Beneficiaries who absent themselves from the national territory for more than a year suffer a 20 per cent deduction from their pensions.

An important provision is contained in article 60 of the Act, which says:

"The amounts of superannuation and pensions shall be regarded as nominal when the income (of the Fund) is insufficient to cover all outgoings. The effective amounts of superannuation and pensions shall be calculated quarterly in the following manner:

"The Board, taking as a basis the income for the previous three months, will estimate the income for the following three months, and after deducting the corresponding part of the expenditure budgetted for, as provided for in article 9, will apportion the remainder over the pensions payable.

"On the completion of each period of three months, and within the first fortnight of the following month, the Board will take into account the shortages and excesses resulting from the previous period, and fix accordingly its estimates of income for the next three months, proceeding as laid down in the previous paragraph."

The Board of the Fund is composed of a President appointed by the Government; two representatives appointed by the employers; one representative by the manual and skilled workers; one representative by the clerks and officers; and one representative by the pensioners; all with their respective substitutes. Both the President and the members of the Board are paid for their services.

Financial difficulties of superannuation funds

Generally speaking few of the superannuation and pension funds pay the nominal amounts of benefits due; most of them are apportioning the net income among the pensioners, so that many of them are receiving considerably less than they are supposed to get. Figures given by a trustworthy Cuban financial paper show that the Administration of Justice Fund was only paying 55 per cent of the nominal benefits; the Civil Fund 50 per cent; the School Fund 50 per cent; Telephones 33 per cent; Notarial Offices 68 per cent; and with the remaining funds the position

(Continued bottom first col. next page)

The War and Peace Aims of the Trade Union Movement—III.

During the twentieth century the antagonism between the general interests and the special ones of the masters of industry and finance has reached the pitch where the latter strive to use the power and authority of the State for the attainment of their special ends. In a number of countries they have succeeded in completing their economic dictatorship by a political dictatorship. Economic dictatorship and genuine political democracy tend to exclude one another mutually. To maintain and develop political democracy, democracy must be extended to the economic field.

Under a dictatorial regime, the governed, or at least the immense majority of them, must conform to the will of those who govern. Under a democratic regime, those who govern conform, or are considered to conform, to the will of the governed, or at least the immense majority of them.

The world has had, under capitalism, a fairly long experience of dictatorship in economic life. Of democracy in economic affairs it has had fairly little experience. Lack of experience, however, is no reason for clinging to the old economic system. It is known that it leads to poverty amidst plenty and to war between classes and between peoples. It causes the individual and the community to miss the object of their activities and leads to the very opposite of that object. That alone is a sufficient reason for seeking, even if gropingly and at the expense of making mistakes, to work out a better system.

To be democratic, the economic government, just like the political government, must carry out the will of the governed, or at least the great majority of them.

Experience gained in the political field teaches that to govern according to democratic methods is a much more complicated process than the use of dictatorial methods. It may be supposed that the use of democratic methods in the government of economic affairs would give rise to similar complications. Be that as it

(Superannuation Practice in Cuba—Continued from page 50)

was somewhat similar. The position of the Railways and Tramways Fund was particularly critical, as it is only able to pay 25 per cent, and is on the verge of bankruptcy—as a result of excessive liberality in paying benefits, so it is said. This Fund, among others, has been granting pensions on the grounds of age, length of service, unemployment and invalidity, as well as to widows and others.

As will be seen, Cuba has an acute problem to solve in so far as pensions are concerned, and one that is seriously preoccupying the public authorities. A recent message of the Cuban President to the Legislature affirms the necessity of "adopting legislation that will cover all risks deriving from the act of working, such as old age pensions and health, invalidity and unemployment insurance." In other words it is proposed not only to solve the difficulties of the existing funds, but to extend the whole system of social insurance.

may, democracy, that is justice, has to be brought about. To bring about economic democracy the first thing to do is to define the economic rights and duties of the individual, inasmuch as there can be no duties without rights, nor, in the case of able-bodied adults, rights without duties. Another self-evident principle is that in the matter of rights and duties all members of the community must be placed on an equal footing.

The next point is the rights and duties of associations of individuals. It is necessary to define the conditions these must fulfil in order to exercise their rights and to meet their obligations, the objects they may pursue and those which they may not pursue, the means they may use and those they may not use.

Among the rights of individuals and groups of individuals must be included that of expressing their will and, in the case of the will of the majority of the governed, of rendering that will effective by its incorporation in economic "legislation"; that of supervising the activity of the economic government, and of appointing and removing members of the government.

What about the "rights" of the owners of the economic instruments? Revision of the system of economic government necessarily involves revision of the contracts governing economic relationships. Property owners, share and bond holders, administrators, directors, manual and non-manual workers, employers' associations, industrial and commercial associations, trade union organizations—all must conform to a new code.

This may sound abstract. But the concrete comes, partly, of itself. Whether we like it or not, systems of economic government are in process of being born in several large countries and regions of the world. The necessity of ensuring order and reason instead of anarchy forces the world in this direction. Many an institution and expedient, conceived as temporary, will prove indispensable when different times come. There will arise, one after another, new unexpected situations which will make necessary new measures dictated by circumstances and the necessity of maintaining a minimum of order in economic life. The war has unloosed a flood which even peace will be incapable of damming. A regrettable fact is that the work is being done fragmentarily, under the pressure of circumstances, without the intention of creating a really permanent organization embracing the whole of the economic activities of the peoples concerned, without the intention of discarding a system whose day is past and replacing it by a new one. Some day it will be necessary to make of the wartime improvisations a coherent whole, by changing what needs to be changed and completing what needs to be completed.

The architects of systems of economic government will therefore not have a free hand. They will be to a greater or lesser extent, according to the country or the region, prisoners of the past. They will nevertheless produce systems that will work, some progressing

a little faster and making a few mistakes less than others. It may be predicted that they will adapt existing machinery or create new machinery for the control of production on the regional, national, provincial and local scale, for part or the whole of industry. They will probably adapt or create machinery for organizing the work in the industries whose production is planned. And under pain of failure and serious consequences, they will—as a task which logically should come first—have to decide the end or ends of economic activity, to lay down principles of management calculated to permit of the attainment of those ends, and to set up machinery for ensuring observance of those principles.

The systems constructed and the principles laid down will only be democratic if those that make them are democrats themselves or obey democratic forces. If the managed economy of the future is to be managed according to democratic principles, democrats will have to knead the dough themselves.

The organized workers are a section of democrats deeply interested in the government of the economy. They constitute an important group of the governed, both on account of their numbers and their quality. Their quality resides in the role they play in production, in their attachment to the ideal of industrial democracy which they have developed and advocated for decades, the capacity of their organizations to express with authority the will of a large number and to become a part of a system of democratic government of economic life.

Under such a system trade union organizations will be called upon, at every stage, to play a role in the direction of production, the organization of work both in individual factories and on an industry-wide plane. They must have the means of asserting their views with regard to the running of economic undertakings and to the use to be made of the products of labour. They must be called upon to play a role in these spheres even if, for a time, other groups of the governed should be incapable of properly exercising their rights or acquitting themselves fully of their duties. Trade union organizations themselves must be ready to wield economic power and to carry responsibilities.

A false step which was made by the Weimar Republic and which must not be repeated, was to invest trade union organizations with the appearance but not the substance of power. The power to be given to them must be sufficient for them to translate their will into facts. The limits to the economic power of the trade union organizations, as to that of all other groups participating in the government of the economy, shall be determined exclusively in relation to the general interests.

The first condition for the realization of economic democracy: the existence of a democratic economic force, is fulfilled in a number of important countries. Where that force has been destroyed it can be recreated in a short time. The second condition is that that force be resolved to play its role and to adapt itself to its task. The second condition is not satisfied completely

in all cases. In the trade union movement there are still many who have yet to understand the new situation, perceive the new task, and appreciate the necessity of performing it. Once this has been done, it remains to adapt the organizations individually and as a whole to the new requirements.

A system of economic government giving to trade union organizations sufficient power for making the will of the workers a decisive factor could offer guarantees which will certainly be recognized as highly important by the great majority of people in all countries. Production will be organized and carried out on lines which will ensure that the primary needs of the masses are supplied before the luxuries of the few, that decent homes for the humble sections of the community are built before the sumptuous mansions of the powerful, and schools, hospitals and maternity homes before barracks, that the tools of industry and agriculture are made before bombing planes, and creches and kindergartens before hunting stables. Once the will of the workers is a decisive factor in the organization of work, an end will come quickly and without the compulsion and the heavy costs of legislation, factory inspectorate and law-court, to unfair, unhealthy and dangerous working conditions. Finally, the intervention of the trade unions in the management of industry and the distribution of the products of labour will ensure that economic activities will be and remain directed towards social, cultural and political aims willed by the great majority of the community.

The accession of the trade unions to economic power will be a factor making for international peace. The internationalism of the world of labour, its devotion to peace and repugnance to war, make any genuine trade union movement incapable of wanting war. Placed at the controls of the economic system, trade union organizations will bar the way to whomsoever would use the economic machine for a war of aggression.

(Nationalization of the Private Railways in Sweden from p. 49)

transferred to the State railways on the same conditions and social benefits as civil servants. There have been cases when so-called lower salaried staff transferred from a private railway to the State railways have received a salary increase of 400 to 500 crowns a year. In addition staff of taken over railways will enjoy better social benefits in the form of sick pay, pensions, travelling facilities, etc. On the whole it may be said that the staffs of the railways already taken over by the State are very satisfied with their new wage and working conditions.

The railways which have not yet been nationalized are, with a few exceptions, the so-called "big lines." With these some difficulties may arise, as they are fairly prosperous and will consequently demand a high price. Sooner or later, however, they will have to yield to the pressure of Parliament, which if necessary can resort to expropriation at a price fixed by the Government.