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THE OSLO CONGRESS OF THE I.T.F.

By **J. H. OLDENBROEK**
General Secretary of the I.T.F.

THE Congress that was held in Oslo from 19 to 24 July of this year was certainly one of the most important in the history of the I.T.F. It was attended—apart from some 70 guests and fraternal delegates—by close on 180 representatives of 58 affiliated organizations in 18 countries, representing 3,152,666 of the four-and-a-half-million transport workers who now belong to the I.T.F.

The fact that it was held in Oslo naturally suggests comparisons with the I.T.F. Congress held in somewhat similar circumstances in the same city (then known as Christiania) twenty-eight years earlier, in March, 1920. Similar, but with a difference. Then, as now, it was the second Congress following a world war, but on that occasion the I.T.F. had suspended all activities during the war, and had hardly yet got into its stride again; this time activities had been, if anything, greater during the war, and the I.T.F. was at the height of its power, in spite of the defection, as a result of political influences, of some of the transport workers in France—though happily the Force Ouvrière group, which has broken away from the Communist-dominated C.G.T., is maintaining its membership—and those in most of the countries of Eastern Europe. Then, as now, there were American delegates at the gathering, but whereas in 1920 they only represented a small seamen's union that has since disappeared, the 1948 Congress saw the fruition of endeavours extending over a quarter of a century, and 816,882 American railwaymen, seafarers and teamsters were represented by eight delegates actively participating and making a contribution to the work that augurs great things for the future.

It was pleasant to be able to meet once more delegates from the German railwaymen's and transport workers' unions, and a hearty welcome was also extended to a number of old I.T.F. veterans who attended the Oslo Congress of 1920: Charles Lindley, of course, of the Swedish Transport Workers' Union, who was our President until 1946, and who carries his 83 years like a youngster; Johan Brautigam, of the Dutch Transport Workers' Union; Johann Döring, of the German Transport Workers' Union; Karl Weigl, of the Austrian Transport Workers' Union; and, of the Norwegians, Oscar Nilsen and A. Birkeland, of the Seamen's Union, and H. Fladeby, of the Transport Workers. Karl Weigl was the only one of the seven who attended this time as a regularly appointed delegate: the others being present as guests of the I.T.F.

The Report was adopted unanimously, after a discussion in which the question of the negotiations with the World Federation of Trade Unions captured most of the limelight, perhaps rather at the expense of other matters which might otherwise have had more attention. This is easy to explain, however, as delegates

were unanimous as to the necessity of coming to a clear and definite decision about the question of future relations. There is no doubt what that decision was. Speaker after speaker voiced his dissatisfaction with the failure of the W.F.T.U. to give proper attention to the trade union programme which it drew up for itself at its birth three years ago, and which was, indeed, the only real justification for its existence; and also with the undemocratic way in which it had conducted the so-called "consultations and negotiations" with the I.T.F. and other international trade secretariats. Delegates were clearly well aware of the danger of giving up the substance for the shadow.

This danger had long been apparent. After the first World Trade Union Conference in February 1945, I wrote in this Journal:

It is essential that this International Movement shall be world-wide in scope in the real and full meaning of the term. This presupposes first, as between different countries, a willingness to cooperate in a spirit of understanding and compromise, and secondly, within countries where the trade union movement has not yet succeeded in achieving national unity, a willingness to sink differences at the national level to the extent needed to attain unity at the international level.

On the practical side a warning may be uttered against the dangers of too ambitious a World Federation. Apart from the dangers inherent in an over-centralization of power and over-concentration of functions, it will in the most favourable circumstances take time for the new organization to get into its stride. It would be premature, therefore, to scrap or neglect the machinery already in existence for the handling of the workers' international interests and thus create a vacuum at a time when it is more important than ever that the voice of Labour should be heard in world affairs.

There is no doubt that these conditions have in no way been fulfilled, and that is the real explanation of the W.F.T.U.'s failure. The resolution adopted at Oslo therefore declares that:

... in the circumstances, and in view of developments in the international trade union movement during the past two years, the interests of the transport workers would best be served by continuing the independence of the I.T.F. until such time as negotiations can be resumed with an all-embracing trade union international which offers sufficient prospects of an appropriate measure of autonomy for the international trade secretariats and guarantees the principles of free and democratic trade-unionism.

The Congress did not reject, therefore, the idea of close association with the rest of the international trade union movement, but it has made it quite clear that the W.F.T.U.—as at present constituted and in its present frame of mind, at any rate—is quite out of the question. For the time being the I.T.F. will have to work together with such of the national federations of trade unions as embrace the principles of free and democratic trade-

unionism and, still more important, with the other international trade secretariats, with a view to the promotion of common interests.

Apart from this resolution, there were two important indications that the organizations affiliated with the I.T.F. fully support the policy which has been followed up to now, and are prepared to make it possible for the I.T.F. to extend its activities in the future along the same lines. The first was the unanimous re-election of the Executive Committee and the other the adoption of a new scale of affiliation fees which means that 90 per cent of the affiliated organizations will increase their affiliation fees by over 30 per cent.

This additional income will facilitate the carrying out of plans—put forward by the Executive Committee and approved by the Congress—for decentralizing the work of the I.T.F. and organizing it on a regional basis, which will involve the setting up of either sub-secretariats or branch offices in the different continents. Now that there can be no doubt about the continued existence of the I.T.F. as an independent organization we may expect a considerable increase in the number of affiliated transport workers' unions in the non-European countries, and it will be necessary to set up these offices if the international interests of such of them as are in parts of the world remote from the general headquarters in London are to be properly looked after.

The I.T.F. has had a branch office in New York for some time past, and another has recently been opened in Singapore, to deal more particularly with seafarers' problems in the Far East. Just before the Oslo Congress, Mr. Trifón Gómez, the Spanish member of the Executive Committee, made an extensive tour through the Latin-American countries on behalf of the I.T.F. He found a general readiness in nearly all the countries visited to take a closer interest in international trade union affairs, and if this results in a sufficient number of affiliations in that part of the world it may well be that the next regional office to be opened by the I.T.F. will be in Latin America.

In connection with these plans for decentralization, mention should be made of a proposal put forward by the Belgian Transport Workers' Union, and adopted by our Oslo Congress, which calls for the setting up of a centre for training trade union organizers for international work, and also for national work in countries where the trade union movement is not yet highly developed. The I.T.F. has always been keenly interested in pioneering work, and if its General Council finds it feasible to put this plan into practice the results should be worth following.

In accordance with long-established practice, most of the more specific trade union problems were dealt with in the sectional conferences, held in connection with the Congress, for railwaymen, road transport workers, seamen and fishermen, dockers and inland waterway workers, and civil aviation personnel. Limitations of space make it impossible to go into details, but a highlight was the joint decision of the dockers' and seamen's sections to proclaim an international boycott of ships registered in Panama and Honduras but actually belong-

ing to non-nationals of these countries who, apart from other considerations, hope thereby to evade social legislation and depress working conditions. The transfer of vessels to the flags of these countries, which cannot really be regarded as maritime nations, has reached alarming proportions, and constitutes a serious menace to the working and social conditions and amenities of the seafarers in all countries, and particularly of those under whose flags the ships originally sailed.

The Civil Aviation Conference decided to ask the I.T.F. to set up a special section for civil aviation per-

sonnel. On this the General Council will have to decide, but in the meantime it will be necessary to bring into the I.T.F. more organizations catering for this group of employees.

There is no doubt, therefore, that the I.T.F. can look back on another highly successful Congress, and look forward to another two years of useful work as a result of it. For this, no small thanks are due to the Norwegian Reception Committee and its genial and efficient Chairman, Mr. I. Haugen, the City of Oslo and the Norwegian Government, who made the very best of hosts.

THE I.T.F. CONGRESS IN THE PRESS

A congress of an international trade union federation covering only one industry or group of industries is, on the whole, an affair in which the large reading public can have only a limited interest. The I.T.F. fares in this respect better than other similar federations. Transport problems—especially general policy with regard to organization (national and international), control and principles of management—do interest a large part of the public.

International trade union affairs have aroused interest in a very wide circle during and since the second world war. As the I.T.F. is a factor of importance in this field, the Press paid a great deal of attention to the agency reports on the Oslo debates on this particular subject.

The most important instrument for the dissemination of reports on congresses of international trade union bodies is, of course, the press of the organizations directly concerned. The journals of all member-organizations of the I.T.F. have devoted considerable space to the Oslo Congress. Nearly all of them confined themselves to reporting what had happened, letting the speeches and resolutions speak for themselves. The comments some of them made are reproduced below.

Headlines in the Norwegian Press.

For the Norwegian Press the Congress was an event of the first magnitude. Nine out of the ten dailies published in Oslo reported the Congress proceedings day by day.

For most journalists the I.T.F. was just one of many international organizations: they had to rely on the proceedings of the Congress to teach them what the organization is and does, and what the meeting was all about. Two opening speeches helped them: one was the welcome address Ingvald Haugen gave on behalf of the Norwegian Reception Committee, the other Omer Becu's presidential address.

The editor of the Labour paper *Arbeiderbladet*, however, knows the I.T.F. In a welcome to the Congress he wrote:

"The International Transport Workers' Federation is the strongest of all international trade union federations, and we may add the liveliest. This has its natural causes. In the transport industry, workers of all countries meet each other and they have learned that international solidarity must be something more than a phrase in a speech if they are to secure respect for their work and consideration of their views. Transport workers have better opportunities than others to see beyond the borders of their countries and to point the road to closer co-operation between all peoples in the world".

From the presidential address and speeches some journalists selected what suited their headlines. The choice is significant. The headlines on 20 July, introducing the report on the opening session, read as follows:

"The European Recovery Programme will save us

from ruin and chaos.—We must have again a sane and democratic Germany.—Greece, Portugal and Turkey must grant trade union freedom and we must support the fight against Franco". (*Arbeiderbladet*).

"Unconditional fight against those who would sabotage the Marshall Plan". (*Vårt Land*).

"Marshall countries must fulfill their obligations towards the workers.—The last hope of securing co-operation with the Soviet workers in international affairs given up". (*Dagbladet*).

"Heavy guns against the Communists at the Transport Workers' Congress". (*Aftenposten*).

"Violent outburst against the Communists.—Endeavours have been made to turn the W.F.T.U. into a political weapon in the hands of the Soviets". (*Norges Handels og Sjøfartstidende*).

"Active support of the democratic forces behind the Iron Curtain". (*Verdens Gang*).

The headlines of reports on the second day's debates introduce the W.F.T.U. problem in the following manner:

"Transport Workers' Conference discusses W.F.T.U., which is not an instrument for Communism' according to the British president". (*Verdens Gang*).

"The I.T.F. wants to maintain its independence.—Strong criticism of the W.F.T.U., but Deakin warns against a decision which implies splitting the trade union movement.—Also strong attacks against the Communists". (*Arbeiderbladet*).

"Free trade union activity in the Transport Workers' International". (*Dagbladet*).

“W.F.T.U. not a tool of the Communists”. (*Vårt Land*).

“Transport Workers' Front against the Communists steadily growing stronger.—Disagreement about breaking off negotiations with the W.F.T.U.” (*Aftenposten*).

“Co-operation with the W.F.T.U. on specified conditions”. (*Norges Handels og Sjøfartstidende*).

In the reports on the third day's plenary sessions the E.R.P. competes successfully with the W.F.T.U. issue, the speeches of Messrs. C. Golden and B. Jewell being given prominence in terms like these :

“A big responsibility rests upon the transport workers.—The two principal Labour advisers of the E.C.A. Chief address the Transport Workers' Congress”. (*Vårt Land*).

“The American workers stand behind the Marshall Plan”. (*Verdens Gang*).

The W.F.T.U. figures in the headlines of only three papers, two of which indicate the trend of the discussions as follows :

“W.F.T.U. losing ground in many parts of the world.—Feeling of the Transport Workers' Congress unmistakable”. (*Aftenposten*).

“Proposal to break with the W.F.T.U.—Six against one in the Executive Committee”. (*Arbeiderbladet*).

Interpretation of the Resolution on the W.F.T.U.

The conclusion of the debate on the main topic was summarized in a headline by *Arbeiderbladet*, the Labour daily, as follows :

“No break yet between the I.T.F. and the W.F.T.U.—Nordic amendment accepted by the Transport Workers' Congress”.

The reporter of *Aftenposten* understood that the “Nordic amendment does not entirely close the door for negotiations”. The reporter of *Verdens Gang* also understood that “The I.T.F. continues independent until negotiations with the W.F.T.U. can be resumed”. However, the representative of *Morgenposten* came nearest to the meaning read into the resolution by the majority of the Congress with his headline :

“The I.T.F. maintains its independence until negotiations with an all-inclusive trade union international can be taken up”.

He omitted the W.F.T.U. from his headline altogether.

While the Norwegian newspapermen revealed only in their headlines something of their impressions and opinions, the reporter of the Dutch Labour paper *Het Vrije Volk* freely commented and interpreted the events of which he was witness. In his view the divergencies of views were driven to their climax by Deakin's speech against Harrison's speech in favour of the E.C.'s resolution. After quoting the Scandinavian amendment, which he calls the “deadlock breaking word”, he wrote :

“Mention is made here of “a” trade union international, which clearly cannot be the W.F.T.U. in its present form. If, however, the W.F.T.U. complies at any time with the stipulated conditions, then negotiations can be resumed.

“Thus the Executive, the Americans and probably the majority of the delegates had things their own way,

while for Deakin and his supporters a useful way out had been opened. The Congress agreed to the amended resolution—with the exception of the Americans, who practically harvested a victory but abstained from voting.

“Meanwhile the unity of the I.T.F. has been maintained and it has at the same time become evident that the divergencies of views are not as wide as appeared on the surface. It is less a question of divergence of views than a difference as to tactics.

“It has further become apparent that the W.F.T.U. does not rank high in the esteem of the transport workers”.

Arbeiderbladet of 29 July carried an editorial with reflections on the Congress. It considered the question of relations with the W.F.T.U. as one of the most important that were debated. The further comment runs as follows :

“The I.T.F. is an old organization. It was founded more than 40 years ago (should be 50—Ed.). It is a strong organization not only by reason of its big membership but also owing to its efficaciousness. It has affiliates only on this side of the Iron Curtain and is therefore capable of taking practical action and initiative. It has grown into an international power. We are reminded of the attitude the organization took towards Franco when he threatened Norwegian shipping. We shall also in some time see the effect of the boycott against ships flying the Panamanian and Honduran flags.

“The W.F.T.U. was formed in 1945. It was founded on the hopes of peace and understanding which prevailed so widely immediately after the recent war. Practically the whole of the world's trade union movement joined it. Of the American organizations the C.I.O. affiliated, but not the A.F. of L. The Soviet Union and the people's democracies of Eastern Europe wield great influence on account of the numerical importance of their organizations. It cannot be said that there is a real Communist majority in the W.F.T.U., but at best that West and East hold each other in balance. Deakin is President, the French Communist Louis Saillant the General Secretary.

“Under these conditions big power politics have made their imprint on the W.F.T.U. and it is difficult to do any practical work. However, as all endeavours to shape an effective organization have not yet been abandoned many thought the Transport Workers' International should not already bring about a break.

“But conditions being what they are, nobody can expect so strong an organization as the Transport Workers' International to abandon its independence and subordinate itself to an organization whose future is uncertain”

The journal of the Swiss Trade Union Federation puts a less political interpretation on the resolution. After quoting it in full, it comments as follows :

“That is a decision the more significant since the Zürich Congress of the same International Transport Workers' Federation, held in 1946, adopted a resolution expressing the will to co-operate with the World Federation of Trade Unions, though refusing to give up its autonomy. If the I.T.F. has come to another decision at Oslo it is because the W.F.T.U. obstinately insists,

in the face of all that is common sense, in purely and simply absorbing the international trade secretariats—transformed into trade departments—into its own organizations, while the immense majority of the international trade secretariats quite rightly wish to retain their autonomy.

“If the W.F.T.U. does not take another line, and if it persists in its foolish intransigence, it is not difficult to guess what will happen. No doubt the national trade union centres of the new popular democracies will continue their all-out support of the W.F.T.U., since inexorable centralization has already been achieved in their countries. But it will probably be otherwise with those which, like the Swiss Federation of Trade Unions, have the trade unions as their basis, and have not yet reversed the rôles. The Swiss Federation of Trade Unions has never concealed its opinion on this matter, and it has unceasingly advocated that the international trade secretariats should be autonomous, just as it recognizes in its own constitution the autonomy of the trade unions which are affiliated to it.

“If the W.F.T.U. really wants to preserve the unity of the trade union movement throughout the world, as it is so fond of saying, let it prove it by changing its position. Otherwise its disintegration will inexorably continue, to the great harm of the workers throughout the world”.

The question that next drew the attention of the Norwegian Press was the

Transfer of ships to the Panama Flag.

It drew many headlines and full reporting of all important statements by delegates, the Seafarers' Section and the Congress.

Though to our knowledge the world press, with the exception of the *New York Herald Tribune*, did no more than pick the currants out of the cake, i.e., tear speeches or parts of speeches out of their context, the question of the “Panama ships” engaged the attention of papers and journals more or less closely interested in shipping, such as *The Journal of Commerce* (Liverpool), *Lloyd's List* (London) and *Fairplay* (London).

While these papers confined themselves to reproducing agency reports, *The Times*, of London, dealt with the matter in its own way. The introductory paragraph to an article on the subject reads as follows:

“Indications are accumulating that the registration of ships in Panama, and also in Honduras, may not in future confer on owners all the advantages which have accrued to them during recent years. The International Transport Workers' Federation, which recently held a Congress in Oslo, passed a resolution in definite terms favouring the boycott of vessels flying the flags of those countries. This will be considered by the Seafarers' Section, which is to meet within the next two or three months and will also have before it the question of a date for its institution and the means of putting it into effect”.

Two Labour papers of Maritime countries, *Het Vrije Volk* (Amsterdam) and *De Volksgazet* (Antwerp) not only reported the Congress decision but gave an extensive description of the whys and hows of the practice of

transferring ships to the Panama flag, a practice they termed “A new Panama scandal”.

The Narvik (Norway's northernmost port) Labour paper *Fremover* devoted an editorial to the Congress decision on this question.

Comment of insiders.

With few exceptions, the journals of affiliated unions which have so far been received carry factual reports, unadorned by reflections. The exceptions are so rare that it is easy to quote them all.

The leader of the delegation of the Railway Clerks' Association of Great Britain, G. B. Thorneycroft, writes:

“It is commonplace to talk of the unsettled state of the world. But unhappily the fact remains, and it is therefore refreshing to be able to share in the work of a body which is making a positive contribution towards the solution of some of the problems which beset us. To this end the promotion of universal understanding between the workers is a primary essential, and the International Transport Workers' Federation is fully justifying its existence by its strenuous activities in many parts of the globe. Yet even in its limited sphere the Federation is meeting with setbacks that could be discouraging to the less resolute, and its experience may be taken as a pointer to the magnitude of the wider problem”.

Roger Dekeyzer, the General Secretary of the Belgian Transport Workers' Union, concludes a concise but full report with these words:

“An extraordinary successful congress, where a lot of work was done. A democratic congress, where the leaders took due account of remarks and observations made. There is no doubt that the I.T.F. has the wind in its sails, and we are convinced that it has still many achievements ahead in the interests of all transport workers”.

In *Syndicats*, the weekly journal of the Belgian Federation of Trade Unions, Arthur Vercrucy, the leader of the Belgian tramwaymen, adduces the report on “Regional Organization” as evidence of the vitality and foresight of the Executive Committee of the I.T.F. He writes:

“This ‘regional organization’ provides for the opening of new permanent offices in different parts of the globe, and particularly in those places where the workers are most shamefully exploited. For any other organization than the I.T.F. such a proposal might seem to be pretentious, as on an international scale such an organization costs a great deal of money and demands of its promoters a maximum degree of audacity and intelligence”

“Yes, such a task of emancipation would seem to be beyond the powers and will of the man, since he will have to fight on two fronts—on the one hand against the ignorance of the masses who are exploited like beasts of burden, and on the other against a world that balks at nothing to defend its shameful privileges, won with the sweat of fellow-beings.

“The I.T.F. had already taken this immense task in hand in the time of its late lamented leader Fimmen,

After the last monstrous war the world of labour laid all its hopes in the new "International" known as the W.F.T.U.

"The I.T.F. was fortunately mistrustful of the new structure of the W.F.T.U., which decided to incorporate the international trade secretariats in its own organization and deprive them of all right of decision. We have since seen what this unmitigated centralization has brought the outcasts of this world—heavier chains than ever.

"Since the W.F.T.U. has failed in its mission of freeing the so-called "uncivilized" peoples, the I.T.F. has forged ahead of it and will try to make up the delay caused by certain international trade union leaders. It proposes to expand its fighting equipment so that all men, without distinction of race, may earn their bread by their work—which will also be in the interest of the working masses of Europe."

Werner Brunner, Secretary of the Swiss Transport Workers' Union, reports in a lively fashion and with a style of his own. From his article we cull the following introductory paragraphs :

"The I.T.F. can claim not to have wasted the time that has elapsed since the end of the war. As soon as circumstances offered the first opportunity the Secretariat and Executive of this trade international took resolutely in hand the task of getting going again, and nothing can better illustrate their success than the rising curve of national organizations affiliated to it. This does not mean that they have not had disappointments. The unions in several countries have not seen their way to renew their membership since hostilities ended, while others have left the organization as a result of political revolutions which have taken place in their countries. But with 105 affiliated organizations in 45 countries the I.T.F. has already far exceeded its pre-war strength, and has developed, with its four and a half million members, into a very influential trade international

"Such a world-wide organization could hardly fail to have successes. Several of the Conventions of the International Labour Office are the fruit of its tireless activity. Boycotts and blockades have brought governments and powerful shipowners to reason, and who does not remember the important contribution the I.T.F. made to the overthrow of dictatorship and the fight against the aggressors in the recent world war ?

"While the Federation's congresses have always attracted a good deal of attention, owing to the leading position it occupies in the international trade union movement, the second post-war congress, which was to be held in Oslo from 19 to 24 July, was looked forward to with particular interest."

After remarking on the expedition with which the administrative business was dealt, and saying that the election of Bratschi to the Executive Committee honours the man and the whole Swiss trade union movement, Brunner prepares his readers for the amended resolution on the W.F.T.U. in the following way :

"It was, however, the discussion on the question whether there was any reason to go back on the decision of the Zürich Congress, in 1946, with regard to the

transformation of the I.T.F. into a 'trade department' of the World Federation of Trade Unions which really set the Congress going. It will be recalled this decision authorized the governing bodies of the Federation to enter into negotiations on the subject, but instructed them to oppose any new arrangement which would mean organic integration in the new World Federation in such a manner that it would sacrifice the autonomy it had hitherto enjoyed. There were not wanting at Zürich sceptics as to the possibility of conciliating this firm determination to preserve independence, as a prerequisite for the further development and intensification of the activities of the I.T.F., with the claims to precedence put forward by the W.F.T.U.; and their number has certainly not become smaller in the meantime. The fact that the world organization—baptized so hopefully in Paris in 1945, but since condemned to paralysis as a consequence of an internal political struggle for power—has been silent on events of historical importance against which it should have raised a flaming protest; together with its divided attitude towards the Marshall Plan and other matters; has thinned out the ranks of those who were favourable to the plan of amalgamation two years ago, regarding it as a means to strengthen the fighting power of the trade union movement on a world scale. This development was thrown into such high relief at the I.T.F. Congress as to leave no doubt whatsoever. It is true that the British delegation, led by Arthur Deakin, who is at the moment President of the W.F.T.U., and bound apparently by decisions of the Trades Union Congress, endeavoured to keep the door open for a continuation of the negotiations, but the greater part of the Congress was united in believing that the wedding cannot take place, since the betrothed cannot agree about the terms of the marriage contract. The many discussions that had taken place since the Zürich Congress had been wrecked by unbridgable differences, and the same thing would happen, in their opinion, to the new attempt to reach agreement that was to be made in Paris in mid-September".

Having quoted the resolution, he comments on it thus :

"This clearly points the way for the Executive and Secretariat. True to the principles to which it owes its growth and success, the I.T.F. is ready, as before, to co-operate with a general trade union international. But equally unmistakably it says to the world that its independence is still not for sale, and that in this respect the discussions at its Congress leave no room for false conclusions. This decision is the more important since it will undoubtedly influence the attitude of the other international trade secretariats. And with it the six-day Congress was rung out; a Congress that will be a milestone in the annals of the I.T.F."

André Lafond, of the French Railwaymen, writes :

"International unity of the workers cannot be achieved under the tutelage, the dictatorship, of a national trade union centre which expresses not the will of free workers but the imperialist aspirations of a government.

"While the W.F.T.U. is in a state of dissolution and only awaits the pressure of events before breaking up

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U.S. ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE OFFICIALS' ADDRESS TO CONGRESS

Two Labour Advisors of the U.S. Economic Co-operation Administration, Washington Headquarters, Messrs. BERT. M. JEWELL and CLINTON S. GOLDEN, honoured the I.T.F. Congress with their presence, and delivered addresses on 24 July.

Mr. Bert M. Jewell, formerly a member of the Executive Committee of the I.T.F. said :
Fellow Trade Unionists :

In one sense I have come home. My association with your Executive and with officers and individuals of your great organization has given me a new sense of what trade union fraternity can mean. I must say to you that I regret the need for interrupting participation in your great organization. I enjoyed the opportunity of serving as one of you and I acknowledge with gratitude and appreciation the many kindnesses shown to me. My present position as Labor Advisor to the Economic Co-operation Administration, U.S.A., I hope will give me an opportunity to preserve all the old bonds and to make new ones.

Clinton Golden and I were selected by the three great union groups of the United States, totalling 15 million members, for appointment as Labor Advisors on the Economic Co-operation Administration. We are the visible evidence of the support and co-operation of all the American trade unions in this great joint effort for world peace. Labor's participation in this great enterprise, both at home in America and in each of the co-operating countries, has recently been defined in the labor policy statement by the Administrator, Mr. Paul G. Hoffman. Mr. Hoffman says :

" Washington, July 5. Labor has a vital part to play in the European Recovery Program and will be given full opportunity to participate through non-communist labor organizations both here and abroad. Paul G. Hoffman, Economic Co-operation Administrator, declared today.

" My awareness of the valuable contribution labor can make toward success of the E.R.P. is evident from the fact that I have named to my staff, as top labor advisors of equal rank, Clinton S. Golden, (C.I.O.), and Bert M. Jewell, (A.F.L.)," Hoffman stated, "It is my intention to appoint other competent leaders in the labor movements as advisors to the chiefs of E.C.A. missions in the participating countries in Europe." Hoffman explained that his two labor advisors will assist him in (1) the formulation of policies, (2) the selection of competent personnel to serve as labor advisors to E.C.A. country missions, (3) maintaining continuing liaison between E.C.A. and American labor organizations, and (4) in solving economic, social, technical and other problems affecting the European workers and their trade unions.

The labor advisors to the country missions will be given the opportunity to utilize to the utmost the practical experience and skill they have gained in the American trade union movement. Among their responsibilities will be to :

(a) Establish and maintain contacts with non-communist European trade union leaders. (This is a

particularly vital responsibility because the non-communist labor groups in the participating countries "constitute a well-organized and influential democratic political, social and spiritual force in each such country).

(b) Serve as links between European trade union leaders and the chiefs of the country missions and to channel pertinent information obtained from these trade union leaders, together with their advice on matters affecting the recovery program through to the country mission chiefs, to the U.S. Special Representative in the Paris headquarters, and to the labor advisors in the Washington E.C.A. headquarters."

It is no mean distinction to be a member of the International Transport Workers' Federation. This is probably the greatest and strongest international organization in the world of labour to-day. Such a tool involves great responsibility. I can almost say with accuracy that as the transport workers go so goes the world. I find in your minutes of a recent meeting food for thought ; you said of the European Recovery Program: "The success of this enterprise in co-operation depends upon the devotion, intelligence, and team play of all of us." Mr. Golden and I are not here to tell you or even suggest to you what you should do. We are here to assist you and co-operate with you in making this program a success. Above all else, we are not here to ask you to consider any change in your government or labor union policy. That is strictly your business, but we do want to emphasize the fraternal spirit of which ourselves and our colleague come to work with you. This policy holds good for the Washington headquarters, Paris headquarters, and for all the country missions.

May I thank you again for your hospitable reception to me here, and may I say again that I am happy to be in work that is going to bring me in contact with my old colleagues and my trade union brothers.

Mr. Clinton S. Golden addressed the Congress as follows :

I do not need to tell you of my pleasure at being here in attendance at a World Conference of Trade Unions in a country which has blood ties with the United States as well as bonds of freedom, friendship and liberty. I have come 4,000 miles to speak but briefly to you about matters which seem to me of the utmost importance. I do not think that I paint a too realistic picture when I state that the fate of Western democracy, perhaps of the whole world, depends upon what we as trade unionists of the Western world do in the next five years. The war gave us only a brief reprieve, the real struggle lies ahead—a struggle that demands much hard thinking and much team play.

Mr. Jewell and I are travelling together. We are working together in the utmost harmony. You have heard, perhaps, much about the so-called conflict in the

American labor movement between the A.F. of L. and the C.I.O. I assure you that while there may be perfectly legitimate and understandable differences of opinion as to relations or affiliations with world labor organizations, there is at the same time almost completely unanimous support for the so-called Marshall Plan and its implementation through the Economic Co-operation Administration. Further evidence of the joint concern of all American labor organizations for restoring the economic health of Europe is seen in the fact that representatives of our principal federations participated in the formulation of the Report for the Harriman Committee which was the basis for the legislation creating the Economic Co-operation Administration. I can therefore assure you that all branches of the labor movement support the Marshall Plan by their participation through the Economic Co-operation Administration. There are no differences of opinion there—we are here together to visualize and symbolize that fact to you.

My country, the United States of America, has never engaged in imperialistic adventures. It is making a gesture of goodwill, friendliness, and generosity at a time when those nations which paid a heavy price in the World War need help.

We are engaged in a heavy task of trying to co-ordinate many kinds of international relationships. There is an Economic Co-operation Administration office in Washington with which I am identified. There is also an Economic Co-operation Administration office in Paris, as you know. This office will administer and service country missions under the Economic Co-operation Administration Program, upon which country missions and practical trade unionists will function and operate. In addition, of course, there are the widely spread and usual diplomatic, ambassadorial, and ministerial functions of our Government. I can assure you that organized labor, through its representatives, has a co-equal position with other groups in the Economic Co-operation Administration. I have functioned in the service of the United States Government before and I can assure you that our American labor organizations have never previously had the opportunity for such full participation in the formulation of policies and decisions as that made possible by Paul G. Hoffman, Administrator of the European Co-operation Act.

We are coming into Europe in the utmost friendliness and in the traditional trade union spirit. We are coming, I assure you, with humility—we are not going to pose as experts, technicians, or visitants, but as friends and brothers. We want you to tell us what your needs and hopes are and we want to aid you if we can to fulfil those needs.

I am aware that it is easy to secure a false picture of capitalism in America. I am aware that the past dies hard, that old stereotype charges made against my country can and do reappear frequently as excuses for sabotaging the Marshall Plan, which has been called by the *British Economist*: "The most unsordid act in history." Uncle Sam has been pictured and of course will continue to be pictured by enemies as a hungry,

ambitious schemer reaching out for new power and new markets.

Capitalism is a broad term which covers a long history of development, and I know and you know that in the past great sins in its name have been committed against humanity. The democratic capitalism of the United States, as history shows, is a flexible system, capable of progressive change in the direction of industrial democracy which European labor seeks to achieve.

I see in the history of capitalism three great periods; the first could be described as primitive capitalism; the second as handicraft capitalism; and the third as mass production or technological capitalism. Primitive capitalism as it developed in the early stages of this form of production was tyrannical, autocratic and greatly ignored human values and personal dignity. It brought in the sweat shop, the plug ugly, the labor spy, and other such anti-social features. This form has all but passed away throughout most of the industrialized areas of the world and it does no good to assert for propaganda purposes that these features still prevail and are the rule rather than the exception.

In the second period of handicraft capitalism we saw the rise of labor organizations, collective bargaining and slow progress on a piece-meal basis toward a better life. Handicraft capitalism is and was distinguished by uneven economic development. Those groups that were powerfully organized made progress and secured a better standard of living than those that were not organized, though the unorganized benefited by the efforts of a stronger group, pledged to unionism.

The United States left that stage of handicraft capitalism almost a generation ago. Under mass production and technological capitalism we have established a universally high standard of living and have achieved a large degree of industrial democracy. We are beginning to use the great tool of economic planning to offset the changing conditions brought about by technological innovations and developments.

Dramatic evidence of the progress made towards the establishment of democratic processes and procedures in American industry is the existence of more than 100,000 collective agreements jointly negotiated and administered by our trade unions and their employers. In addition to this we have had as many as 4,000 labor-management committees concerned with improving the quality and quantity of production during the war period. It will be seen, therefore, that as American trade unions have grown they have extended both their influence and the democratic process into a very large and important segment of American industry.

As long as we stay close to the democratic tradition, as long as we adhere to those principles stated in the Bill of Rights, and as long as we invest in freedom and liberty, we shall move nearer to you and strengthen the bonds of friendship, solidarity and faith in the democratic process.

I do not believe that we are far apart. Just the other day I was reading an article by your distinguished General Secretary, J. H. Oldenbroek. Among many good things, Mr. Oldenbroek said:

"The Marshall Plan stressed the need for planning

and this aspect we consider even more important than the immediate assistance which it will bring, valuable and vital though that assistance will be in the coming year."

In my own country I happen to be the Chairman of the National Committee of the National Planning Association, and I have worked therein for ten years to gain acceptance of the idea of more orderly development for our economic institutions. I find in this address of Mr. Oldenbroek another interesting statement :

" Properly planned, the Western European countries ought to be able, while maintaining and strengthening the democratic institutions which we regard as a condition for satisfactory development, to expand their economic activities on a very great scale and thereby bring about a speedy recovery and a general improvement in the standard of living of the common people."

I can assure you that we are behind such a program and I can tell you that I know of nothing within the Economic Co-operation Administration which will militate against such a program.

Mr. Bevin was quoted recently as saying :

" If national aid had been declined you would have been on this platform to-day telling this conference that you would have to cut the rations and standard of living in this country. We would have been guilty of one of the greatest crimes against our own people if we had fallen down under the threat of Mr. Molotov . . . I will submit to no threats from anyone."

We need you as equal participants in this great effort to restore the economic health of your country and of the world. Each of you know better, than I can ever hope to know, the conditions of your own people. You can tell us how you think we can best be more helpful within the lawful limitations placed upon us by our Congress in this great co-operative effort that has been launched. We need your advice. We want you and the organizations which you represent to be equal partners in a joint co-operative effort to improve the well-being of all peoples. If we can succeed we can avert the danger of war. If we fail every human value and institution which we cherish as freedom-loving people will be endangered if not lost.

BALLASTING OF SHIPS

By D. S. TENNANT

General Secretary of the Navigators' and Engineer Officers' Union of Great Britain

It is many years since international agreement was reached on the then vexed question as to whether the deep load line, or Plimsoll mark, was necessary.

Most seafarers will recall, with gratitude, the successful outcome of the courageous campaign of Samuel Plimsoll in connection with this all-important question. Through his courage and enthusiasm in and out of Parliament he aroused the public conscience of his country to the dire perils to which seafarers were exposed as a result of the absence of any agreement on the quantity of cargo which vessels could safely carry.

The seafarers of those days knew to their sorrow that there were many casualties due to over-loading. The seafaring cynics declared that the load line on many ships was to be found on the funnel. The need for the introduction of the deep load line, despite the abundant evidence in its favour, was fiercely and indeed, fanatically opposed from many quarters.

It was contended that an agreement on such an intricate and technical problem was impossible. Opponents to the reform considered that it would be impossible to reach agreement between the countries for such a measure and maintained that the case for the introduction of a deep load line had been widely over-stated. Despite opposition, public conscience was stirred to such an extent that the arguments put forward by those who were in opposition were swept aside and eventually the deep load line was introduced and a very broad measure of international agreement reached regarding its application.

With the introduction of the deep load line the days of the "coffin" ships were numbered. Seafarers were no longer required to go to sea in, in some cases, criminally over-loaded ships.

Since that time great technical progress has been made in the construction of ships and much general technical knowledge has been gained, but to think that the ultimate in ship design and safety has now been achieved, could only be the outlook of a dangerous reactionary.

To-day the ballasting of ships is a problem with which practically every seafarer is familiar but it is nevertheless one which has never, in my view, been fully investigated and consequently has never been satisfactorily dealt with.

From time to time casualties occur to light ships such as strandings, abandonments at sea, machinery breakdowns, etc., all of which have in common the fact that the ships concerned were in ballast and the ballast condition, despite other factors, appears in many cases to be the determining factor giving rise to the casualty. Every seafarer must at some time have had the unhappy experience of being on a ballast voyage in an almost unmanageable ship. The under-ballasted ship, even with plenty of sea-room and in weather conditions which cannot be regarded as being unduly adverse, can be a menace to ships in the vicinity due to unmanœuvrability.

The majority of ships at the present time rely entirely on water being carried in the double bottom and in some cases water carried in one or two deep tanks to ballast them sufficiently for any voyage, summer or winter, irrespective of hemisphere and known conditions. Few

vessels may in addition to the water ballast carry solid ballast.

The available space for the carriage of water ballast is still a matter for the individual shipowner, naval architect and shipbuilder. Many factors may influence the amount of water which a ship is designed to carry. It is realised that a shipowner, when ordering new tonnage, will wish to construct a ship which will make expeditious passages and at the same time be as great an earning unit as possible.

On occasions it may be difficult to reconcile equitably these two considerations. For example, if the size of the double bottom tanks are increased, the cubic capacity of the hold in which the cargo is carried will be reduced. If vessels are to be engaged in a trade in which light or large cubic cargoes are frequently carried, a shipowner may well be averse to increasing the size of the double bottom and thereby reducing the earning capacity of the ship. One method of overcoming the difficulty arising in these cases is the construction of deep tanks, but experience has shown that deep tanks in themselves are not always the complete answer.

The addition of solid ballast is in itself unsatisfactory in many respects. It is often expensive, causes delay and therefore is uneconomic, necessary though it may nevertheless be in certain circumstances.

As there are no regulations at present governing ballast, there must always be present so far as solid ballast is concerned, the temptation to dispense with it—even if the nature of the voyage would demand its carriage—or to reduce the amount below what could be regarded as a prudent level.

There would appear to be no good reason why the problem of ballasting arrangements should not be fully investigated and international regulations agreed defining what would constitute an efficiently ballasted ship. A number of factors would doubtless have to be taken into consideration, not only from a constructional point of view, but also whether the passage was to be undertaken in winter or summer. In other words, perhaps the introduction of a zone arrangement similar to that which applies in connection with the deep load line.

The investigation would, of necessity, have to consider all the factors that make for a seaworthy and manageable ship in any weather that the vessel was likely to encounter whilst in a ballast condition. These factors would have to include stability, fore and aft trim, propeller immersion, ratio of immersion area to exposed area, and so on.

If regulations were introduced, owners could place no limiting requirements on builders and designers which would detrimentally affect the manoeuvrability and seaworthiness of vessels in ballast and there is little doubt in my mind that builders and designers would quickly produce suitable vessels, which I believe in the long run will prove to be more economical and safe.

The problem is obviously one which will have to be considered on an international level as no country alone can be expected to introduce regulations which could

prejudice that country's competitive efficiency in world shipping.

It was bearing this factor in mind, and on behalf of my organization, that I moved at the Oslo Congress of the International Transport Workers' Federation the following resolution :

"This Congress strongly recommends investigation into the problem of ballasting for light ship passages, and urges that the Seafarers' organizations affiliated to Congress impress upon their respective Governments the urgent need for official investigations to be made and for the organizations to press for their participation in such discussions in the hope that international agreement will be reached on more adequate ballasting for vessels when proceeding on light ship passages".

The fact that this resolution was unanimously adopted proves beyond question that the seafarers of the world feel that a full investigation into the problem of ballasting—an investigation in which they should participate—is necessary.

The most satisfactory time to give consideration to adequate ballasting arrangements is when vessels are in the blueprint stage, as once ships are built, extensive structural alterations would be necessary to increase the amount of water ballast they are capable of carrying. It is readily recognised that there are difficulties to solve, both technical and national and moreover that in the case of some existing ships, if regulations were introduced, certain dispensations at the discretion of the competent authority might be conceivably necessary. It is thought, however, that in the main, passenger ships would probably not be affected.

So far as oil tankers are concerned it would appear that a light load line could be introduced without delay, but so far as tankers are concerned when proceeding on light ship passages their construction enables them to be ballasted in a way to meet changing climatic conditions.

In the case of refrigerator vessels it is probable that their water ballasting arrangements could not be materially increased without seriously affecting their carrying capacity. In such cases solid ballast may be necessary, but regulations should be drawn up providing for the disposition, stowage and securing of the solid ballast so as to obviate any possibility of it shifting during heavy weather.

Despite these many technical considerations which will have to be borne in mind I feel that the ingenuity of the naval architect and the shipbuilder will soon find an answer to the technical problems, providing agreement could be reached on regulations necessary to govern the amount of ballast to be carried when vessels are proceeding on light ship passages.

Finally I feel that the first step must be the insistence by all seafarers' organizations that a full and expert investigation is necessary, believing that arising from that investigation the light load line may well evolve and thereby complete the magnificent work in ensuring the safety of life at sea for which Samuel Plimsoll lived and died.

RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED BY THE OSLO CONGRESS

Relations between I.T.F. and W.F.T.U. The Congress of the I.T.F., meeting in Oslo from 19 to 24 July 1948 and attended by 148 delegates representing 58 trade union organizations with 3,152,666 members, has given careful consideration to the report of the Secretariat on its relations and negotiations with the World Federation of Trade Unions.

It fully endorses the conclusions and decisions of the Executive Committee and General Council of the I.T.F. as embodied in the resolutions adopted at their meetings in Washington on 22 September 1947 and London from 25 to 27 November of the same year and approves the policy and procedures followed by their representatives in the course of the negotiations.

The Congress is satisfied that the negotiations between the International Trade Secretariats and the W.F.T.U. have shown conclusively that co-operation as envisaged in the resolution adopted by the Zürich Congress has not proved possible.

The Congress declares that in the circumstances and in view of developments in the international trade union movement during the past two years, the interests of the transport workers would be best served by continuing the independence of the I.T.F. until such time as negotiations can be resumed with an all-embracing trade union international which offers sufficient prospects of an appropriate measure of autonomy for the international trade secretariats and guarantees the principles of free and democratic trade-unionism.

The Congress expects all affiliated organizations to maintain their connection with the I.T.F., and appeals to those transport workers' organizations which are still outside its ranks to join them without delay and help to build up an all-embracing international of free transport workers' unions capable of withstanding all attacks and successfully defending and promoting the interests of its members.

The Congress instructs the Secretariat to inform the W.F.T.U. of these decisions, which reverse those of the Zürich Congress, and to continue and strengthen the I.T.F.'s relations with the other international trade secretariats with a view to the promotion of their common interests.

Seattle Convention. This Seafarers' Section, meeting in connection with the Biennial Congress of the I.T.F. at Oslo on 21 July 1948,

Has considered the position in relation to the ratification of the Seattle Maritime Conventions by the different countries and once again voices the deep dissatisfaction of the seafarers—it represents that so little progress is being made in this direction.

It recalls that at the meeting of the Joint Maritime Commission of December 1947 it was decided to urge that a tripartite meeting representative of the two sides of the J.M.C. and of the governments of the countries most concerned should take place in the very near future,

where the governments should explain the difficulties which prevented rapid implementation of the Seattle Conventions.

After consultations the tripartite meeting was fixed for 15 September 1948 but it is learned that the reports of certain governments, necessary for a fruitful consideration of the question, have been received too late for the I.L.O. to make adequate preparations for the meeting by that date.

Whilst expressing the deepest concern at the failure of the governments and at the repeated delays, this Seafarers' meeting is willing, in the interests of an effective discussion, to agree to a further postponement of the tripartite meeting until 15 November 1948, on the explicit understanding that the seafarers will in no circumstances consider any further postponement, and if the tripartite meeting does not materialize by the date mentioned consider themselves free to take independently the action they deem fit to enforce the pledges given on repeated occasions during and since the war.

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This Congress of the I.T.F., held at Oslo on 19 to 24 July 1948, deplores the slow progress in implementing the assurances given to seafarers of an improvement in their working and living conditions and embodied in the International Conventions adopted at the International Maritime Labour Conference held at Seattle in June 1946; hopes that the session of the Joint Maritime Commission of the I.L.O. to be held in the near future will register definite progress in this direction; and instructs the Secretariat of the I.T.F. to prepare a plan of joint action whereby, if that hope is disappointed, the international minimum claims of seafarers may be realized; the plan to be submitted to a Seafarers' Conference to be held in conjunction with the meeting of the Joint Maritime Commission to be held this autumn.

Tonnage transfers. That this Congress of the I.T.F., meeting in Oslo on 21 July 1948, declares after mature consideration of all the relevant factors, and being satisfied that the registration of ships in Panama and Honduras is for the purposes of evasion whether it be wages, working conditions, social and safety standards or dodging taxation, that the unions affiliated to the I.T.F. in the Seafarers' and Dockers' Sections will no longer tolerate the menace which is threatening seafarers' conditions everywhere, and that on a date to be determined by the I.T.F. an international boycott of Panama and Honduras ships will be applied by both the seafarers and dockers, believing that it is only through such drastic action that the menace can be eliminated.

Transfer of members. This Congress meeting in Oslo, from 19 to 24 July 1948, decides:

(a) That affiliated seafarers' unions should refuse membership to anti-democratic and criminal elements

who have been banned or expelled from the seafarers' union of another country.

(b) That persons of foreign nationality applying for membership of a seafarers' union should be required to produce a membership book or other certificate issued by the seamen's union of their own country.

(c) That affiliated seafarers' unions should communicate with the I.T.F. when approached by persons coming under the preceding paragraph.

Ballasting of ships. This Congress meeting in Oslo from 19 to 24 July strongly recommends investigation into the problem of ballasting for light ship passages, and urges that the seafarers' organizations affiliated to Congress impress upon their respective governments the urgent need for official investigations to be made and for the organizations to press for their participation in such discussions in the hope that international agreement will be reached on more adequate ballasting for vessels when proceeding on light ship passages.

Representation at official international meetings. Whereas at the inter-governmental maritime conference held under United Nations auspices at Geneva in March last, and at the international diplomatic conference on safety of life at sea held, at the initiative of the British Government, in London in May and June last, there was insufficient representation—in some cases no representation at all—of seafarers on the national delegations ;

Whereas such international conferences and discussions, whether arranged by the International Labour Office, United Nations, individual governments or other institutions, are of vital concern to the seafarers of all countries ;

Whereas, further, adequate representation of the seafarers through their national trade unions, or otherwise, is imperative in order to ensure that the seafarers' point of view is duly voiced and defended ;

This Congress of the I.T.F. held at Oslo from 19 to 24 July 1948 decides to instruct the Secretariat of the I.T.F. to bring this matter once again to the notice of the affiliated organizations of seafarers and to urge them, whenever occasion presents itself, to make to the appropriate quarters the requisite representations to secure

(Continued from page 42.)

entirely, the I.T.F. continues and grows bigger and more prosperous. We know that it will be a decisive factor in the reconstruction of a genuine free trade union international. This alone would be reason enough to give it our full support".

The fact that the American delegates abstained from voting on a resolution that in its spirit and practically also in its letter expressed their own point of view has exercised many minds, including that of the editor of *Labor*, the American railwaymen's weekly. He obtained from A. E. Lyon, Executive Secretary of the Railway Labor Executives' Association—the federation of American railway trade unions—the following explanation :

participation of representatives of officers and men of the merchant navy, in a manner commensurate with the importance of their rôle in the shipping industry, in all international deliberations and consultations connected with maritime affairs, so that their voice may be heard and regard had to their views in decisions and measures taken at the international level.

Civil Aviation Section of the I.T.F. That the Executive Committee give immediate consideration to the setting up of a Civil Aviation Section of the I.T.F. so that all circumstances affecting personnel employed in civil aviation be investigated forthwith.

The Inland Transport Committee of the I.L.O. That this Congress of the I.T.F., taking place in Oslo from 19 to 24 July, after having discussed the report of the Secretariat dealing with the Inland Transport Committee of the International Labour Office, requests the Executive Committee to approach the Director-General of the I.L.O. and the Workers' Group of the Governing Body with a view to :

- (a) Obtaining a more adequate representation of the several branches of transport at the meetings of the Inland Transport Committee ; and
- (b) Ensuring that the governments implement the decisions, recommendations and conclusions of the Inland Transport Committee.

International trade union training scheme. This Congress of the I.T.F., taking place in Oslo from 19 to 24 July, considering that it is of paramount importance to promote the development of the trade union movement in certain parts of the world and to initiate the movement where it has not yet come into being ;

Considering that the attainment of this end should be promoted by training trade union organizers capable of undertaking the necessary propaganda work ;

Considering that such a measure would also make for a healthy development of the international trade union movement of the transport workers ;

Resolves to set up a centre for the training of international trade union representatives.

"The resolution expressed the views of the American delegation, but because of the slight revisions in wording we abstained from voting. We did so to assure our complete independence of action should any question arise as to how the resolution will be applied".

Finally we quote also Brunner's tribute to the hosts of the Congress, because he best expressed what all those who wrote about the Congress wanted to say :

"The hospitality shown during the whole period of the Congress by the Norwegian trade unions and authorities made a deep impression on both delegates and guests, and won many new friends for a people who are rightly proud of their small but beautiful land and its democratic institutions".