

INTERNATIONAL TRANSPORT WORKERS JOURNAL

Vol. X. Nos. 7/10.

JULY-OCT., 1950

Published by the
International Transport
Workers' Federation,
Maritime House,
Clapham Common,
London, S.W.4

THE STUTTGART CONGRESS

By *OMER BECU*

General Secretary of the I.T.F.

Affiliated Unions in :

ARGENTINA
AUSTRALIA
AUSTRIA
BELGIUM
BURMA
BRITISH GUIANA
CANADA
CEYLON
CHILE
CHINA
CUBA
CURACAO
DENMARK
ECUADOR
EGYPT
EIRE
FINLAND
FRANCE
GERMANY
GREAT BRITAIN
GREECE
HONG KONG
ICELAND
INDIA
INDONESIA
ISRAEL
ITALY
JAMAICA
JAPAN
KENYA
LEBANON
LUXEMBOURG
MEXICO
NETHERLANDS
NETH. WEST INDIES
NEW ZEALAND
NORWAY
PAKISTAN
RHODESIA
ST. LUCIA
SINGAPORE
SOUTH AFRICA
SPAIN
SWEDEN
SWITZERLAND
SYRIA
TRINIDAD
UNITED STATES
URUGUAY

THE Congress of the I.T.F. which met at Stuttgart from 21 to 29 July, 1950, was above all a working congress. The Zurich Congress, in May, 1946, following the Second World War, naturally devoted the greater part of its time to gathering up the threads that had been broken seven years earlier and to a consideration of problems of reconstruction—reconstruction both of the transport industry and the international trade union movement, for a new trade union international, the World Federation of Trade Unions, had been founded only a few months earlier on the hopes of millions of working men throughout the world.



The Congress badge

Certain indications at the very foundation of the W.F.T.U. had unfortunately awakened a suspicion that some of those who participated in that event looked upon the organization as a means less to improve the lot of the working man than to promote the interests of the Communist parties, and that as a means thereto they were hoping to destroy, or at least to bring under their control, international trade union organizations of long standing like the I.T.F. Negotiations during the eight months that elapsed before the I.T.F. Congress at Zurich tended to strengthen that suspicion, but the Congress, reluctant to take the heavy responsibility of refusing to have anything more to do with the new international, accepted "the principle of incorporation of the I.T.F. in the W.F.T.U." and instructed the Executive Committee to continue negotiations with a view to securing acceptable terms, which were to be submitted to a later Congress.

The Executive Committee duly followed these instructions, but the negotiations which took place during the ensuing sixteen months made it abundantly clear that previous suspicions were only too well founded, and that the terms offered were anything but acceptable. The W.F.T.U. was obviously out to swallow the I.T.F.—as well as all the other international trade secretariats—lock, stock and barrel. In the circumstances it was inevitable that our Executive Committee and General Council should decide that it was useless proceeding with the negotiations unless a new situation should arise. It was inevitable, also, that the next Congress of the I.T.F., held in Oslo from 19 to 24 July, 1948, should endorse this position and decide, practically unanimously, that "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



General view of the Congress Hall—Opening Session.

of an appropriate measure of autonomy for the international trade secretariats and guarantees the principles of free and democratic trade-unionism".

A few months later the non-Communist-dominated national trade union centres reached conclusions which had long been obvious to the leaders of the I.T.F., and decided to withdraw from the W.F.T.U.

When the Stuttgart Congress of the I.T.F. met, in July last, a new non-Communist trade union international, the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, had already been set up, and the Acting General Secretary of the I.T.F. had the satisfaction of reporting that relations with it were excellent. The late General Secretary of the I.T.F. had, indeed, been associated with the work preparatory to the setting up of the I.C.F.T.U., and he had been chosen as its first General Secretary. The I.T.F., while retaining its autonomy, is working in close co-operation with the new body, and relations with it are in sharp contrast with those which formerly existed with the W.F.T.U. A resolution adopted by the Congress gave full approval to the line taken up by the governing bodies of the I.T.F. and promised the I.C.F.T.U. the whole-hearted support of affiliated organizations.

With the situation clarified and the disturbing element

of uncertainty about its future out of the way, the I.T.F. was able at Stuttgart to get down to practical work. One of the most important jobs it has to tackle at the present moment, a job vital to the maintenance of the democratic ideal for which it has always stood, is that of fighting against the endeavours of the Communists—operating through the Seamen's and Dockers' Trade Union International, the "trade department" which the W.F.T.U. has recently established to sabotage in the ports of Europe the discharge of arms and ammunition shipped for the defence of the democracies under the Atlantic Pact. We are expecting a great deal from the co-operation of the I.C.F.T.U. in this work, they acting horizontally, in a general attack on Communism, and we vertically through the Vigilance Committees we have set up to deal with the special problem of the ports, which have, incidentally, already achieved splendid results. In this connection our Stuttgart Congress adopted a resolution giving its approval to the Atlantic Pact, endorsing the action of the I.T.F. Vigilance Committees and calling upon the members of the I.T.F. "to continue the carrying and handling of all arms and ammunition, the purpose of which is to prevent or repel an attack against free peoples".

Another resolution, similar in its aims, endorsed "the

United Nations' decision to resist the aggression in Korea", condemned "the discreditable efforts of the Cominform and the W.F.T.U. to sabotage the production and transportation of all materials necessary for the fighting troops of the United Nations", and called "upon the members of the I.T.F. to do everything in their power to ensure the shipment and delivery of arms to the fighting front". It was quite clear to delegates that the Korean affair had nothing whatever to do with the interests of the Koreans themselves, North or South, but was in reality another incident in the campaign of Joseph Stalin to rule the world.

Both these resolutions were an expression of Congress' approval of the determination of the democratic peoples of the world to defend themselves against all aggression. It is as true as ever it was that dictatorship leads to war. The Communists themselves never tired of emphasizing this fact during the years when Fascism was in the ascendant. Aggression by dictatorial governments is possible at any moment, and the democracies do not want to fall once more into the trap of being unprepared: to do so would be suicide. And the delegates to our Stuttgart Congress were determined to give them every possible support. It should be noted, however, that the resolutions on the Atlantic Pact and on Korea could hardly have been adopted but for the breakdown of the W.F.T.U. and the setting up of the I.C.F.T.U. The experience of the trade union movement during the past five years has definitely shown that organic unity between incompatibles is a serious brake on action.

Three consequential resolutions adopted were those determining the expulsion from membership of the I.T.F. of the Canadian Seamen's Union, the New Zealand Waterside Workers' Union and the Finnish Transport Workers' Union. They were adopted unanimously though with very great regret, since it is never a pleasant task to break with comrades of long standing. The Congress had no alternative, however, as all three organizations had associated themselves with the W.F.T.U., and the Seamen's and Dockers' Trade Union International it has set up as a rival to the I.T.F.

It was in line with the clear-cut attitude taken up by the Congress towards these matters that it should adopt a resolution condemning all totalitarian and dictatorial régimes and reminding "democratic governments of their moral duty to limit their dealings with all dictatorial governments to what

is strictly unavoidable, and to refrain from any other act calculated to strengthen the ideological or political hold of the dictators over the peoples whom they rule"; and another expressing sympathy with the workers behind the Iron Curtain and rededicating the I.T.F. "to the task, in co-operation with all other democratic forces, of restoring a system of free labour and free trade-unionism in all countries whose workers have lost their basic rights".

Four other resolutions dealt with particular aspects of the same ideas. The first of these welcomed "the rise and affiliation to the I.T.F. of free trade unions of transport workers in France and Italy"—a proof that the Cominform was losing its hold on the trade union movement in those countries. The second protested against the dismissal of 4,000 railwaymen who took part in the strike in Berlin in 1948, in spite of the assurances given by the Soviet Military Administration and Russian-controlled railway management that there should be no victimization. The third dealt with the case of the 28,000 children evacuated to Communist countries by the rebel forces during the recent civil war in Greece, and appealed to the United Nations Organization, and those governments which still maintain diplomatic relations with Greece's neighbours, to use their influence to see that they are repatriated and returned to their families. The fourth, sponsored by the conference of the Dockers' Section of the I.T.F., was prompted by the strike (then in its fifty-seventh day) of the Argentine seamen against the endeavours of the Perón Government and Government-controlled Argentine C.G.T. to force it to toe the line. The Dockers' Section, later supported by the Congress, decided to do everything possible to prevent the loading and discharging of Argentine ships in foreign ports until such time as the Argentine Government respects the right of free association and once more recognizes the General Confederation of Maritime and Allied Trades.

From a perusal of the foregoing alone it might be concluded that the Stuttgart Congress was obsessed by the dangers of Communism and Fascism, but this was by no means the case. The re-establishment of the international trade union movement after the break-down of the ill-fated and ill-conceived, though well-meant, experiment in co-operation with totalitarian forces was only of recent date, and it was only natural that delegates should wish to make their



The leaders of the German Unions, acting as hosts to the Congress, with their guests on the platform. From left to right: H. Jahn, A. Kummernuss, R. Bratschi, O. Becu and J. H. Oldenbroek.

position clear beyond all doubt. But they were well aware that Communism cannot be averted by pursuing an entirely negative and defensive course, but only by giving the workers a fair deal. Indeed, the resolution on the dictatorships referred to above expressly warned the democratic governments that if they wished for the permanent peace that is incompatible with the existence of dictatorial governments "they must aim sincerely and efficaciously at social progress in all parts of the world subject to their authority". And so the Congress—which sat for seven and a half days, including the whole of a week-end, instead of the usual four or four and a half days—set itself out to contribute to that social progress by a series of resolutions and decisions aimed at improving the lot of the working class, and the transport workers in particular.

One of the resolutions, while recognizing that the necessity of devoting a large part of the income of the democratic countries to defence against the possibility of aggression made immediate action difficult, and in some cases undesirable, invited "all transport workers and their organizations to work unremittingly for the reduction of hours of work in order to achieve, as soon as the economic possibilities of their countries permit, a forty-hour week".

Three resolutions dealt with the problems of particular countries. One of them drew attention to the fact that Japan has nearly 2,800 inhabitants per square mile of arable land, so that some of the restrictions on her economic activities make it difficult to provide for them a tolerable living standard, and consequently recommended that the Seamen's and Fishermen's Section of the I.T.F. should "undertake a study of the maritime problems of Japan to establish facts in the light of which it will be possible for the I.T.F. to adopt a programme and a policy to be laid before the Occupation Authorities". Another pointed out that in spite of the ratification of the Washington eight-hour day convention by the Greek Government, railwaymen in Greece were actually working nine and ten hours a day, and instructed the Secretariat and Executive Committee to make representations, and if necessary take international legal steps, to remedy this state of affairs. Still another took note of proposed measures for the reconstruction of the German railways that would involve the dismissal of 80,000 railwaymen, and expressed the view that "such a measure would bring in its train disastrous political repercussions and would be harmful to the cause of democracy in Germany".

The I.T.F. has always been interested in international co-operation, and particularly in the European Recovery Programme and the Organization for European Economic Co-operation, and the Congress adopted a resolution pointing out the urgency of steps to ensure independence from American aid when that aid ends in 1952, calling upon the members of the I.T.F. "to work untiringly to convince public opinion, parliaments and governments of the necessity of extending and intensifying economic co-operation between the peoples of Western Europe", and asking "that facilities be pro-

vided for the trade unions to have direct representation on the O.E.E.C. for the furtherance of these aims". Delegates felt strongly the need for more co-ordination between the European countries, and that the question of national sovereignty should not be allowed to stand in the way.

Sectional conferences for particular groups of transport workers, at which they can deal with their own peculiar problems, have always been a feature of I.T.F. Congresses, and that at Stuttgart was no exception to the rule. On this occasion conferences were held for the Railwaymen, Seafarers, Dockers, Road Transport Workers, Inland Waterway Workers, Fishermen and



On the platform, I.T.F. President and Secretary have something to smile about.

Civil Aviation Workers. From these conferences a number of resolutions and decisions emerged which were later approved by the Congress in full session.

The Seafarers' Section of the I.T.F. has always been a particularly active one, and it played a very important role during the recent war. On this occasion, too, it made it quite clear that the seamen are prepared to accept their responsibilities and play their full part in any future struggle to defend the freedom of the peoples of the world. They noted with approving interest the recent establishment, by the North Atlantic Council, of the North Atlantic Shipping Board, whose task it will be to deal with shipping policy in relation to commitments under the Atlantic Defence Pact, and they instructed the Secretariat of the I.T.F. to take up the question of seafarers' representation on that Board, with a view to the avoidance of the mistakes and misunderstandings of the last war.

It is not possible in a short article to deal in detail with all the business transacted by the Seafarers' Section in three busy sessions, but four resolutions were adopted that call for special mention. Three of them were

inspired by the fierce competition and great inequality in wage rates and working conditions in the near sea and inter-coastal trades of the North and Baltic seas area. The first urged the necessity of minimizing the inequalities and called upon seafarers' unions concerned to accept British wages and conditions as a fair average standard suitable for the area and to make every effort to reach that level. The second pointed to the danger of freight rates in the same area falling to an uneconomic level and offered the co-operation of the seafarers belonging to the I.T.F. in any endeavour the International Chamber of Shipping might make to establish adequate minimum freight rates. The third asked the International Labour Office to make a preparatory survey of wages, conditions of employment and other pertinent matters, with a view to the convening of a Regional Maritime Conference for North and North-Western Europe.

The Section's fourth resolution asked the Secretariat of the I.T.F. to issue a general appeal to Asian seafarers to organize themselves more effectively; to urge the desirability of a joint organization of Indian and Pakistani seamen; to formulate and press for the early adoption of a scheme of social security for all Asian seamen; and to promote the establishment of an Indo-Pakistani Maritime Board to regulate conditions of service of the seamen of the two countries.

The main subjects which engaged the attention of the conference of the Dockers' Section were the disruptive activities of the Communists in European and other ports, and the Argentine maritime strike, both of which



Behind the scenes the staff does not look gloomy either.

matters have already been mentioned. The resolution adopted on the latter question emanated from this conference.

The Fishermen's Section, which is a comparatively new one, decided to ask the Secretariat of the I.T.F. to undertake enquiries into two matters, the wage structure and trade union structure of the fishing industry in different countries. It also adopted two resolutions: one protesting against "the reluctance of governments to

admit fishermen's representatives to international discussions affecting their industry", and instructing the Secretariat to make representations about the matter; and the other deploring the little progress made by the International Labour Office in dealing with the social problems of the industry, and again asking for representations by the I.T.F. Secretariat.

The Railwaymen's and Road Transport Workers' Sections duly had their separate conferences, but also held a joint one. These sections have been in existence for many years, and their conferences devoted themselves largely to a consideration of work already in hand. The attention of the joint conference was entirely taken up with the resolution on the forty-hour week which has already been referred to. The railway and road transport industries are largely competitive, and to avoid discrepant decisions the Executive Committee considered it desirable that the problem should be considered jointly. There was some difference of opinion, on the tactical side of the question rather than on principle, but the resolution was adopted by a large majority.

The Inland Waterway Section Conference was mostly taken up with the endeavours of the I.T.F. to secure a regional regulation of working and social conditions for the workers employed on the Rhine system of waterways. No new decisions were come to on this question, but the Secretariat was asked to undertake enquiries into three other matters; conditions on the inland waterways, schooling and vocational training for the children of inland waterway workers, and the employment of women on canal craft.

The conference of the Civil Aviation Section considered and approved the draft of an international convention relating to holidays with pay for air crews, which the Secretariat of the I.T.F. was asked to submit to the International Labour Organization. It also asked the Secretariat to undertake enquiries into the hours of duty of flight crews; the deleterious effects of flying, with special reference to the effects of pressurization; working conditions of ground staff; and pension schemes for flying and ground staff. Two resolutions were adopted: one expressing the views of the Section on the composition of flight crews and the other insisting, in the interests of safety, that wireless equipment capable of transmitting and receiving on the international distress frequency of 500 kilocycles should be carried on all overseas routes.

It will be seen from the above that the Congress accomplished a great deal of work during the few days it was assembled at Stuttgart. If it is to be fruitful work will depend to a great extent on the affiliated organizations. The decisions come to are the decisions of the affiliated organizations, and they are important decisions, but if they are to produce their full effect it is necessary that they should be brought home to the rank and file of the unions, that affiliated organizations should communicate and explain them to their members, in whose interests alone they have been arrived at.

The full text of the resolutions will be found on pages 52 to 57 of this issue.

SALUTE TO ROBERT BRATSCHI

President of the I.T.F.

By PAUL TOFAHRN

Assistant General Secretary of the I.T.F.

At Stuttgart, we elected Robert Bratschi to the office of President of the I.T.F. When he agreed to accept the position, the members of the General Council felt that they had gained a victory, for in 1946 Bratschi had refused to succeed Charles Lindley, and again in 1947 had declined to act as successor to John Benstead. It is true that he agreed to deputize for Omer Becu during the period from February, 1950, to July of the same year, but it is also true that he did so on the express condition that another candidate be found at the Stuttgart Congress. The General Council, however, did not wish for any other candidate than Bratschi and he was, therefore, literally forced to accept the Presidency.

In order to understand why the General Council was so insistent, one must know Bratschi himself: cordial, mild-mannered, generous, studious, hard-working and efficient; quick to grasp any problem, experienced in conference, a clear thinker and excellent speaker and, above all, a wise counsellor. He is good company, whether at table or on a journey, always ready to enjoy a joke and often willing to crack one; a non-smoker himself, he is nevertheless, tolerant towards smokers. What, in addition to all these virtues, makes him particularly fitted for the high office of President of the I.T.F., however, is his trade union "pedigree".

Quite a long career has gone into the making of the man. When the 17-year-old Bratschi entered railway service there were seven craft unions in existence in the industry. One of these was the "Railway Servants' Federation", which, although open to railwaymen of all grades, was essentially a rallying point for associations of railway clerks. Young Bratschi joined his federation practically in the same week as he entered the service of the railways. At that time, the clerks' federation could justly claim to be the strongest of all the trade union bodies catering for Swiss railwaymen. It had published a fortnightly journal, read by many members of all railwaymen's associations, since

1890 and, as early as 1894, had established a permanent headquarters with full-time officials.

Young Bratschi was not satisfied with the conditions of employment of "station apprentices". He particularly resented the long period of stagnation as "apprentices" imposed on fully fledged clerks who had, like himself, gone through a long course of training at the railway school, at their own expense, before entering the service. He therefore wrote articles on the subject and signed them "The perpetual apprentice". Through one of these articles he once convened a meeting of apprentices, expecting that it would be attended by half-a-dozen fellow-sufferers, with whom he could talk matters over. He did not ask an officer of his own association to come to the meeting and still less did he think it necessary to ask a federation official to attend. In spite of his modest estimates, however, scores of apprentices turned up and the inexperienced convener of the meeting was, notwithstanding his extreme embarrassment, induced to take the Chair. At that meeting serious claims were advanced which, twelve years later, were realized by the National Railwaymen's Federation of which Bratschi was then General Secretary.

As a young man, Bratschi entered the commercial department at railway headquarters in Berne, where the opportunity of getting a fuller grasp of both railway and staff problems intensified his interest in trade union work and, more particularly, in the driving of harder bargains. On 1 January, 1918, he left the railway service and became Assistant Secretary of the clerks' federation.

This union had always been striving for an all-embracing railwaymen's organization. In 1895, together with the other craft unions, it founded the Union of employees in the Swiss railway industry which, before the close of the century, fought some big and successful battles. However, the organization did not last; not all unions joined it, and those which did, left afterwards.



Other efforts to federate the railwaymen's unions met with only partial and temporary success and when the First World War broke out, things were much as they had been ten or fifteen years earlier.

The clerks' federation then organized itself into a national union. It adopted a constitution based on individual membership instead of the affiliation of local or regional clerks' or other craft associations, and launched a powerful campaign in favour of the idea of a single all-grades union. The economic and social



Part of the fight against Franco—
Spanish delegates at the Congress.

difficulties resulting from the war helped the railwaymen to realize the need for unity. In November, 1918, the leaders of all Swiss railway trade unions met and adopted the constitution of the Swiss Railwaymen's Federation, which was to be composed of ten autonomous craft unions.

Bratschi, as the Assistant Secretary

of the clerks' union (the official name of which was the Railway Servants' Union), took an active part in the work which resulted in the setting up of the Swiss Railwaymen's Federation. The compromise arrived at did not come up to his expectations, for both he and his colleagues had aimed at an all-grades union.

The first General Secretary of the new Swiss Railwaymen's Federation died in July, 1920. Another founder of the Federation had died a few months earlier and the burden of the general secretaryship fell on the shoulders of Bratschi—a 29-year-old junior in the hierarchy of the new Federation. The Federation was not a closely knit one and a constituent union could leave it at a year's notice. Under Bratschi's leadership, however, no one left for the simple reason that the young General Secretary saw to it that each craft union acquired a vested interest in the Federation. It created an extensive secretariat comprising a legal department, a relief fund, a loan fund, an accident and life assurance fund, an unemployment fund, and a co-operative society acquiring and running holiday homes under conditions defying competition. Single-handedly, none of the ten craft unions could have set up any of these social and economic institutions, which the members soon began to value.

Since then, the Federation has been re-shaped by Bratschi in such a manner that the constituent craft unions enjoy great autonomy. Outwardly, however, the Federation only is in evidence. This synthesis of the two principles, combined with the wise leadership of a Socialist who never arouses the passions of members having other convictions, explains the fact that for the last three decades the Swiss Railwaymen's Federation has been able to boast of a 95 per cent membership.

Robert Bratschi entered the Swiss Parliament in 1922 as a Socialist member and has been re-elected ever since. The new Swiss social security law was piloted through the parliamentary machine by Bratschi, the Chairman of the social security committee of the Federal Parliament. It bears the stamp of his Socialist conceptions and of the thoroughness which characterizes his work. In 1922 also, Bratschi was elected President of the Swiss Civil Service Federation (to which the Railwaymen's Federation is affiliated) and he still holds that office to-day. In 1943, he was elected President of the Swiss Trade Union Federation and since that date has never had a competitor for the office. For the last thirty years he has been a sitting member of the Board of Directors of the Swiss Federal Railways.

In the I.T.F., Bratschi appeared for the first time as a delegate at the 1921 Congress held in Geneva. He was elected a member of the General Council at the London Congress of 1930 and has been re-elected at each subsequent congress. In 1930 also, he was elected to the Executive Committee and has been a member of this body ever since. The qualities which have made him a prominent and

important citizen in his own country have also earned him the esteem and affection of his colleagues in the I.T.F. and make us all value highly the contribution he has been making for so many years to the I.T.F.'s work and prestige.

We are proud of our new President.

CONTINENTS MEET



Veteran Ch. Lindley, founder of the I.T.F., with the newcomer from Pakistan, Faiz Ahmed.

ROBERT BRATSCHI'S FIRST IMPRESSIONS OF THE I.T.F.

"In April, 1921, I attended, at Geneva, the first post-World War I Congress of the I.T.F. to be organized by us Swiss. At this, I had the opportunity both of obtaining my first impressions of this great international organization and also of getting to know its leading personalities, some of whom—and, in particular, our dear friend Lindley—are still among us to-day. On this occasion, also, we saw for the first time Ernest Bevin, now British Foreign Minister, who attended as a delegate and showed himself to be an accomplished debater [he also presided over part of the Congress proceedings . . . Ed.]. My impressions of this first I.T.F. Congress are to-day still fresh in my memory."

[From a speech made by Bratschi on the occasion of a dinner held in honour of the ex-General Secretary of the I.T.F., J. H. Oldenbroek during the course of the Stuttgart Congress].

OMER BECU

The I.T.F.'s new General Secretary

By **ROBERT BRATSCI**

President of the I.T.F.

It is not so easy to introduce our new General Secretary, Omer Becu, to affiliated organizations and their members, for he is very sparing of information about his past achievements. But members will want to get to know the man whom the Stuttgart Congress unanimously put at the head of our great and proud I.T.F., and with some difficulty I have been able to find something to say about him.

Life began seriously for Omer Becu when he went to sea, in November, 1920, as an eighteen-year-old radiotelegraphist. He attended school in Ostend up to his seventeenth year and then spent a year as apprentice electrician, during which time he attended a school for wireless operators.

For the next nine years or so he followed his vocation at sea. Shortly after starting he became a member of the Belgian Radiotelegraphists' Union, taking part in its activities as best a seaman can, attending meetings at long intervals, and for the rest discussing Union affairs with the colleagues with whom he made individual but frequent contacts on board ship and in seamen's pothouses at ports all over the world. In the course of the years he got to know all of them and they got to know him, and so it happened that in 1928 he was chosen to negotiate with the wireless telegraph company for an improvement in the working conditions of the wireless operators. The result of the long-drawn-out discussions was not satisfactory, and Becu was eager for a scrap. This led to his colleagues making him President of the Union, with full powers to declare a strike. He first assured himself of the support of the Ships' Officers' Union and then, in the spring of 1929, the battle was fought and won.

Taking to heart the lessons taught by the strike he went out, successfully, for an amalgamation of the Radiotelegraphists' Union with that of the Ships' Officers. The General Secretary of the latter, Alexander Brandt, gave his full co-operation in the endeavour, as he was very pleased with the way in which Becu had led his little group. The amalgamation was brought about the same year, and Becu was appointed Deputy General Secretary of the Ships' Officers' Union, with special charge of the affairs of the wireless operators.



He was drawn at the same time into international trade union work, and soon became Vice-President of the International Federation of Radio Officers. But Brandt had a bigger job for him. Brandt was General Secretary of the International Mercantile Marine Officers' Association, but found that he was unable to devote enough time to it, so on his proposal Becu was elected full-time Deputy General Secretary. When Brandt died in 1932 Becu was chosen as his successor as General Secretary, both of the Belgian Ships' Officers' Union and the I.M.M.O.A.

His wish to build up a real effective trade union organization had not been satisfied with the amalgamation of the unions of radiotelegraphists and ships' officers, and he set out to secure close co-operation with the Belgian Seamen's Union. Even in 1932 he already had an amalgamation with this Union in mind, but it was not until 1945 that he achieved his aim. For the Officers this was an important step forward, as it meant at the same time amalgamation with the Belgian Transport Workers' Union, of which the Seamen's Union was a part. He was immediately made General Secretary of the Transport Workers' Union, a position he held for six months until he was unanimously elected President by the first post-war Congress. The affairs of the Seamen's and Officers' Unions were still his particular charge, and at the general wish he also took over the leadership of the Belgian Dockers' Union. He became at the same time a member of the Executive Committee of the Belgian Federation of Trade Unions, an office he laid down after some time owing to pressure of other work. In November, 1947, he was elected President of the I.T.F.

In his international work Omer Becu has followed a similar line as in his own country. He was very devoted to the International Mercantile Marine Officers' Association, but as soon as he became acquainted with the work of the Seamen's Section of the I.T.F. he became convinced that the ships' officers should also be in our great international, and repeatedly put the question of amalgamation on the agenda of meetings of the I.M.M.O.A.

A GUEST OF HONOUR



86-year-old veteran *J. Döring*, ex-President of the pre-war German Transport Workers' Union.

There would have been no difficulty in finding a majority in favour, but Becu was not satisfied with that, and wanted unanimity, and until he was able to carry the whole of the organization with him he contented himself with close co-operation with the I.T.F. and bided his time. The Second World War hastened developments, and at their Congress in Zurich in 1946 the I.M.M.O.A. decided to cease its trade union activities and recommend all its affiliated organizations to join the I.T.F.—which with few exceptions they did, thus bringing to fruition the efforts Becu had made internationally to secure the unity of organization he had already achieved in his own country.

At the Congress which the I.T.F. also held in Zurich in 1946, Becu was elected a member, both of the General Council and the Executive Committee. But this was by no means the beginning of the services he has rendered the I.T.F. His first contact goes as far back as 1929, when he co-operated with Fimmen and Oldenbroek at a Conference of the International Labour Office. Between 1932 and 1939 there was a regular exchange of ideas between the I.T.F. and the I.M.M.O.A., and the two organizations issued a joint fortnightly Press Report.

In 1940, after the German invasion of Belgium, Becu went to London, and from there on to New York on a mission for the Belgian seafarers' organizations. In addition to his job there he took on another: he became the busy ambassador of the I.T.F. in the United States, opening the I.T.F. branch secretariat in New York and carrying on an active campaign of propaganda that was destined to bear rich fruit a few years later.

In the Seafarers' Section of the I.T.F. he won respect for himself from the very beginning, and within a short time unquestioned authority. And it was the same in the Executive Committee of the I.T.F.: his urge to action, practical experience, knowledge of languages and of men, and ability to get on with people soon brought him recognition and the highest regard.

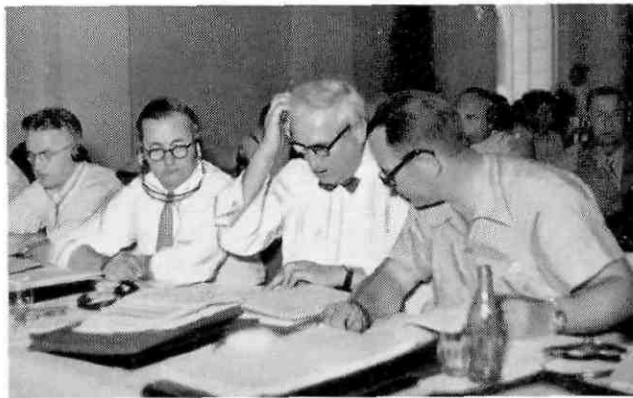
The manner in which Omer Becu fulfilled his duties as President of the I.T.F. from 1947 onwards made it inevitable that the Executive Committee should appoint him General Secretary of the I.T.F., when J. H. Olden-

broek was called, in February of this year, to the high office of General Secretary of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions; an appointment that was unanimously confirmed by our Stuttgart Congress.

As a trade union leader Becu has had a tempestuous life. It is a delight to hear him tell of his activities during the Spanish civil war; of the daring and often hazardous tricks he played to ensure the delivery of arms to the Republican forces, or to hinder deliveries to Franco. On one occasion his plan miscarried and he and a colleague were sentenced to a fine of over two million Belgian francs—which was naturally never paid.

Notwithstanding his French name, Becu is a Fleming, but linguistically he is fully up to the name. His father, of whom he speaks with enthusiasm and respect, was a teacher with a somewhat unusual career. A teacher with liberal views had great difficulty in earning a living in clerically ruled Belgium in the 'nineties, so Becu's father spent five years in London, three as a cabman and two as a private tutor, until he was able to get a job as private tutor in his own country. So he was able to give his son a good basis on which to build a knowledge of English. German Becu picked up as best he could, and therefore speaks it quite well.

In so far as character, experience, mental alertness, trade union spirit and other human qualities are concerned, the new General Secretary of the I.T.F. has all he needs to perform the huge task he will have at the head of the I.T.F. On his election at Stuttgart we congratulated him and wished him success. We can congratulate ourselves on our success in having found Omer Becu for the post.



Delegates from Sweden tackling a problem.



Session adjourned. Delegates leave the Congress building.

THE NEW EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Robert BRATSCHI,



former Vice-President and now President of the I.T.F., is both General Secretary and President of the Swiss Railwaymen's Federation, as well as President of the Swiss Federation of Trade Unions, and of the Swiss Civil Servants' Federation. An employee of the Swiss Federal Railways from 1908, he entered the service of his Federation in 1918, becoming its Secretary in 1920. In 1922 he became a member of the Swiss Parli-

ament and has been prominent in Parliamentary life since then. He is also a member of the Board of Directors of the Swiss Federal Railways and a leading figure in local and cantonal politics. He has attended every Congress of the I.T.F. since 1920, and has, since 1924, alternated with representatives of the Austrian unions as member both of the General Council and of the Executive Committee.

Arthur DEAKIN,



General Secretary of the Transport and General Workers' Union, was born in Sutton Coldfield in the year 1890.

After serving as a full-time officer of the Union since 1919, he was appointed National Secretary of the General Workers Group in 1932, and three years later took office as Assistant General Secretary.

Upon Mr. Ernest Bevin, the then General Secretary, accepting office

as the Minister of Labour and National Service in 1940, he acted as General Secretary of the Union throughout the war years and until Mr. Bevin's retirement in 1946, when he was elected to the General Secretaryship of the Union.

Mr. Deakin is a member of many important Government Committees and is a member of the Trades Union Congress General Council and of many of its sub-committees. He was also elected as a Vice-President of the new International Confederation of Free Trade Unions.

Pierre FERRI-PISANI



was born at Marseilles in 1901. He was General Secretary of the Marseilles Seamen's Union from May, 1927, until July, 1941, when he was placed under house arrest by the Vichy Government. In 1929, General Secretary of the French National Federation of Maritime Unions. Resigned this post when he was elected a town councillor and Deputy Mayor

of Marseilles. Held these latter positions until July, 1940. In March, 1943, he was arrested by the Gestapo and spent the next two and a half years in Buchenwald and the German salt mines. Repatriated to France in June, 1945, he refused to resume his office as General Secretary of the Marseilles Seamen's Union, because this latter was Communist-dominated. Took no further part in trade union activity until January, 1948, when, following the creation of the C.G.T. "Force Ouvrière", he helped to found non-Communist Federations of Seamen, Merchant Officers and Dockers. Now General Secretary of the Seamen's Federation and of the Interfédération Marine-Ports. He has been active in the I.T.F. Seamen's Section since 1929.

Trifon GOMEZ



became Secretary of the Northern Railwaymen's Union in 1915. Directed the part played by the union in the general strike of 1917. This cost him his job on the railway and forced him to take refuge in France until an amnesty in 1918. General Secretary of the Spanish National Union of Railwaymen from November, 1918, until July, 1934. A member of the Executive

Committee of the Spanish General Federation of Trade Unions from 1920 onwards, becoming Assistant Secretary of the same organization in 1932. Member of the City Council of Madrid from 1931, and also Member of Parliament for Madrid. During the Civil War he was Director General of Supplies. Vice-President and President respectively of the Spanish Socialist Party and the Spanish General Workers' Union in exile, he became Minister of Labour and Emigration in the Spanish Republican Government in exile in 1945. Has been a member of the General Council of the I.T.F. without interruption since 1921 and a member of the Executive Committee since 1935.

Ingvald HAUGEN

is President of the Norwegian Seamen's Union, a position which he has held since the year 1936, after having been Vice-President since 1927. A fisherman at the age of 14, he later became a seaman, giving up his sailing career in 1919 to become chairman of the Haugesund branch of the Norwegian Seamen and Firemen's Union. In 1920 he went to England as Scandinavian Secretary of the Seamen's Union, returning to Norway in 1926. Haugen has been a member of the Central Committee of the Norwegian Labour Party since 1936 and was Labour Member of Parliament for Oslo from 1945 to 1949. In addition, he has held an important position in the Norwegian T.U.C. for a number of years.

Ingvald Haugen has been a member of the General Council of the I.T.F. since 1946 and a member of the Joint Maritime Commission since 1942.

Hans JAHN

is President of the German Railwaymen's Union. He has been a trade unionist and member of the German Social Democratic Party since 1903. In 1909 became the official representative of the Bremen District of the Blacksmiths' Association. Worked on the German railways as fireman from April, 1914, and as locomotiveman from October, 1917. In 1920 he became Secretary of the Works Council Department of the German Railwaymen's Association. From early 1933 onwards he was engaged in underground activity inside Germany and between then and 1935 was repeatedly arrested. In the latter year, he left Germany to continue his underground work from abroad, in collaboration with the I.T.F. From 1945 onwards he was, as an executive member of the German T.U.C., active in the reconstruction of the German trade union movement. Since 1948 he has been President of the German Railwaymen's Union, as well as a member of the Trizonal Transport Advisory Council and of the Advisory Council of the German Federal Railways. He is also a member of the West German Parliament.

G. JOUSTRA

is President of the Dutch Union of Railwaymen and Tramwaymen. He entered the trade union movement in 1909 and later became General Secretary of the Dutch Locomotivemen's Union. In 1918, when this union fused with the Dutch Union of Railwaymen and Tramwaymen, Joustra became Vice-President of the new organization, taking over the presidency from P. Moltmaker in 1939. He was a member of the Railway Wages Council from 1920 to 1926 and became a member of the Railway Staff Council in 1926. Joustra played an important part in organizing the resistance movement on the Dutch Railways during the German occupation, and in 1949 was made an Honorary Officer of the Order of the British Empire for his service to the Allied war effort. In addition to being a member of both the General Council and Executive Committee of the I.T.F., Brother Joustra is also President of the Railway Staff Council and a member of the Executive Committee of the Dutch Federation of Trade Unions.

A. E. LYON

entered railway service in the State of California in 1919. He has been a member of Oakland Lodge No. 92 of the Brotherhood of Railroad Signalmen of America for thirty years, becoming local chairman of that organization in 1923, General Chairman in 1924, member of the Grand Executive Board (national body) from 1925 to 1927, Assistant to the Grand President from 1927 to 1934, and Grand President from 1934 to 1945. Since 1945 he has been on leave of absence from the position of Grand President in order to serve as Executive Secretary of the Railway Labour Executives' Association. In addition, he is a member of the Trade Union Advisory Committee on International Affairs of the U.S. Department of Labor; Member of the E.C.A. Public Advisory Board; Member of the U.S. National Commission of the Pan-American Railway Congress Association; Member of the General Council of the Inter-American Confederation of Workers and Chairman of Railway Labor's Political League.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

By *R. BRATSCHI*

(Delivered on Friday, 21 July, 1950)

I.

I ought first to explain how it happens that I have the honour of presiding over this Congress. The founding of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions resulted in an important change in the leadership of the I.T.F. Our friend and colleague, Brother Oldenbroek, who, ever since the death of our unforgettable Edo Fimmen, that is to say since 1942, guided the destinies of the I.T.F. as its General Secretary, was elected General Secretary of the new free Trade Union International. At its meeting in February, 1950, the Executive Committee appointed the President of the I.T.F., Brother Omer Becu, as Acting General Secretary. The office of President thus became vacant. As senior member of the Executive I was asked by my colleagues on that body to take over the Presidency until this Congress. In order not to cause any difficulties for the I.T.F. I acceded to this wish. When Congress has elected a new General Council it will also have to elect a new President. Until then I ask for your indulgence and support in my task as Chairman of this assembly.

I owe you a further explanation regarding the Congress venue. At its meeting of December, 1949, the Executive Committee decided that, providing the Austrian affiliates were willing to undertake the organizational work involved, the Congress should be held in Vienna. The decision was intended to show recognition and appreciation of the attitude, loyalty and endeavour of our Austrian friends. Enquiries made by the I.T.F. were met in Vienna not only with readiness to undertake the organization of the Congress, but with enthusiasm on the part of our Austrian comrades. However, at the time when the decision was taken, it was assumed that by 1950 Vienna would be a free city in a free land, i.e. free from foreign occupation. Unfortunately this condition has not been fulfilled and Austria is still an occupied country. I do not doubt that even under these circumstances the Austrian organizations would have done everything within their power to make the Congress run smoothly, and it is quite certain that the well-known Austrian hospitality, enjoyed by the Railwaymen's Section at Innsbruck in 1949, would not have been lacking either. However, the Executive Committee did not consider that the position regarding the free entry of delegates into Austria and the actual organization of the Congress had been sufficiently clarified to justify holding it in Vienna.

The Congress of the I.T.F. is a free forum from which anyone can say what he thinks, and such it will remain. The Executive Committee took the view that, at the present time, all the necessary conditions for the conduct of our assembly in that spirit in Vienna were not given. On behalf of the governing bodies of the I.T.F. I thank

our Austrian friends for their readiness to receive us and would, at the same time, express the hope that Austria, with its proud and beautiful city of Vienna, may soon enjoy complete freedom and be able to receive a future Congress of the I.T.F. in the manner to which we have become accustomed where our Austrian friends are concerned.

I should like, at the same time, to thank the German organizations for immediately springing into the breach and undertaking the organization of the Congress. Before we could consider London, which even in the very darkest days of the Second World War kept alive the hope, faith and confidence of Europe and of the whole world, the German organizations offered their services. If, only five years after the frightful war, criminally and irresponsibly unleashed by Nazism and Fascism, we are holding our Congress in Germany, that is intended as a bold gesture and as a contribution towards the overcoming of the feeling which the war has, inevitably, left behind in millions of hearts, and thus as an important contribution in the fight against the war psychosis and for the maintenance of peace. We are happy to find here in Germany strong Trade Union organizations ready and able to continue the work for freedom and social justice so violently interrupted by Nazism. We are meeting in the country in which Nazism wrought greater havoc in the Trade Union and political organizations of the workers than anywhere else. We bow our heads in reverence to those fighters who laid down their lives on the execution block, in prison or in concentration camp, and we thank those who have survived terror and suffering and to-day put their whole energy into building the Trade Union Movement.

We are proud that many of these comrades are in our own ranks.

We have Friedel **Jahn**, whom Edo Fimmen described as the bravest woman in the illegal movement. After years of successful and hazardous work she was arrested, languished for two years in solitary confinement, then suffered four years in a penitentiary and from there was sent to a concentration camp.

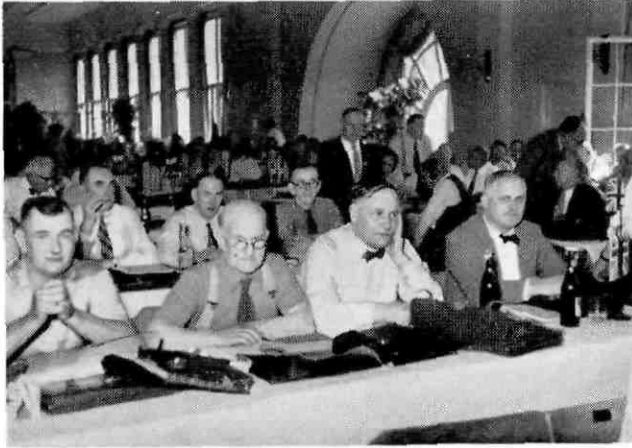
There is Heinz **Kummerowsky**, of Wuppertal, and Paul **Emmen**, of Krefeld, who worked as leaders of illegal groups and were each sentenced to ten years' hard labour.

We have Max **Pester**, of Cologne, who was sentenced to six years' hard



An interpreter listening in.

labour; Matthias **Hermann**, of Nuremberg, who was arrested several times and who played a big part in the attempt by Gördel and the Generals to overthrow Hitler. We have Otto **Faller**, of Cologne, and Karl **Molt**, of Stuttgart, and, at the head of the Railwaymen's delegation, we have Hans **Jahn**, whom Edo Fimmen testified to have been one of the bravest, most successful and untiring fighters against



Delegates from Great Britain.

Hitler, and Adolf **Kummernuss**, who in 1933, working together with Edo Fimmen, founded an illegal resistance group, which led to the trial by the notorious "People's Court" of "Kummernuss and Comrades" and resulted in a two years' sentence for Kummernuss.

There is, further, Johannes **Bolling**, of Hamburg, who has been in prison (1936) for eighteen months for conspiring for high treason, after he had already been in a concentration camp for more than one year.

And there is finally Max **Peschel**, Duisburg, who was in the concentration camp Dachau from 1941 until the collapse of the Nazi régime.

Of the many comrades who fell in the fight, I will name here a few who were in the ranks of the I.T.F. They are:

Hermann Jochade, Berlin
 Lorenz Breunig, Berlin
 Gustav Sauf, Königsberg
 Jonny Bruggmann, Hamburg
 Hans Wiechmann, Danzig
 Wilhelm Bode, Cottbus
 Hans Fungler, Krefeld
 Franz Stenzner, Munich
 Jakob Ruf, Mannheim
 Erich Steinfurt, Berlin
 Werner Lehmann, Wuppertal, and
 Georg Otten, Halle.

* * *

Our Congress honours the fallen. It would, however, also serve as an encouragement to the living and, in particular, to our younger comrades, to carry on the

struggle for freedom, social justice, true democracy and peace.

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

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

The man who said that was no less a person than the former Bavarian Prime Minister, Dr. Högnér. Certain verdicts in political trials seem to point to the fact that the influence of the former National Socialists in the German Courts also is not exactly small. There is no need here to deal at length with the situation of democracy in the Eastern Zone. There can be no doubt that democracy, as we understand it, is non-existent, and that we are dealing with one-party rule which leaves trade unionism no possibility of free development.

If, in spite of this, we are ready to feel confidence in the German people, and if we give expression to this by holding our Congress here, we do so because of the spirit of and the forces at work in the German Trade Unions, as expressed in the May Day Manifesto of the German Trade Union Centre of this year, 1950, which demands "the renunciation of all nationalism and militarism, a new order in German economy and its incorporation in the European community".

II.

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

Alex Hammarström, Treasurer of the Norwegian Railwaymen's Union;

James Phillips, former President of the Order of Railway Conductors of North America and former Chairman of the Railway Labor Executives Association of North America;

And his successor in both Offices, Harry Frazer;

Johnny Owens, the Secretary of the Maritime Department of the American Federation of Labor;

Stanley Hirst, the former Financial Secretary of the

British Transport and General Workers' Union ; and Thorleif Narvestad, President of the Norwegian Locomotivemen's Union.

All these comrades had deserved much of the Trade Union Movement and of the I.T.F., and had among us many acquaintances and friends. The list of those who were our friends and co-workers and are no more is not complete because we do not learn of it when one of our comrades behind the Iron Curtain dies.

We owe, further, a thought to the numerous active members and stewards of affiliated Unions whose loyalty and devotion were the foundation of the I.T.F., but who have left us without their names appearing in the annals of our organization. We should be particularly grateful to those who have given their lives in the fight against oppression and for freedom.

I ask you to rise for a minute to pay tribute to all our dead.

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

To begin with, it gives me great pleasure to be able to state that our International has grown still further since our last Congress. At Oslo, Brother Becu was able to tell Congress that the I.T.F. had 105 affiliated Unions in 45 countries, with a total membership of 4½ million. To-day we have affiliated to us 130 Unions in 47 countries with a total membership of over 5 million. Two years ago, the most significant event reported was the affiliation of the big American Railwaymen's Organizations and the German Unions. To-day it can be stated that further American Unions have affiliated to us, that the Japanese Railwaymen and Seamen have re-affiliated and that the I.T.F. has now secured a firm foothold in South America, in the Near East, in Pakistan, as well as in other parts of the world. The position of the I.T.F. in France has been consolidated and relations have been re-established with the Unions in Italy.

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

During the past three years the railwaymen's section alone has increased its membership by nearly two million members. The other sections also show a satisfactory increase. In addition, two new sections have been created since the last Congress: a civil aviation section and a deep-sea fishermen's section, and I am sure Congress will welcome this.

The first task of the civil aviation section will be that of clarifying the position of affiliated members in the various countries. It will have to recognize their problems and draw the necessary conclusions on the international plane. I am convinced that our Congress will prove a valuable aid to the new section. Many problems facing civil aviation staffs can only be solved inter-

nationally. The I.T.F. has here embarked upon a wide field of important and rewarding work.

Hitherto, the most direct and concrete results obtained by the I.T.F. have stemmed from its efforts on behalf of the seafarers and dockers. Shipping is, by its very nature, international and its important social problems can only be settled at international level. In collaboration with the International Labour Organization at Geneva and working in close contact with the affiliated Seamen's and Dockers' Unions, the Secretariat of the I.T.F. strives to secure a solution to these problems.

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

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

III.

One task to which the I.T.F. has, ever since its inception, paid particular attention, is that of the preservation of peace. Nor has it flinched from drastic measures when it has believed that conflicts could thereby be prevented and peace ensured. Since 1920 it has taken part, repeatedly and intensively, in the fight against warmongers and aggressors. In view of the nature and importance of the work performed by its affiliated members, it has gone further in this respect than any other organization. I need only recall here the part it played during the Second World War. The importance of its contribution was recognized by all who were engaged in the struggle against Nazism and Fascism. Those in charge of the I.T.F. have no intention of slackening their efforts towards the preservation of real peace.

They refuse, however, to be dragged behind movements, the purpose of which is less to further peace among the nations than to serve the political aims of any one country or group of countries, as is the case with the so-called Partisans of Peace. The campaign of the "Partisans", which is being conducted by Communist organizations throughout the world, demands "the unconditional banning of the atomic bomb" and "strict international control" of the operation of this ban. It is not the task of your President to deal in detail with the arguments put forward by the "Partisans" or even with the senseless abuse, by "Partisans" of greater or lesser academic standing, to which the free Trade Unions have been subjected. It may be definitely stated, however, that, even in the purely formal sense, the

"Partisan" campaign does not demand the maintenance of the peace as such but merely strives for the banning of a certain weapon of warfare. Admittedly it is a weapon of peculiar efficacy, but it is not at all certain, however, whether other weapons, such as poison gas, bacteriological warfare, cosmic rays and all the other things that science may yet discover, are less terrible than the atomic bomb. There is also the further question as to whether the methods used in the First and Second World Wars, if used again and on a more extensive scale, are not also likely to destroy the results of centuries of civilization. Does the banning of a single weapon mean that, apart from this, war is, as it has been in the past, still a permissible, indeed, even normal, means of solving differences of opinion and clashes of interests between peoples and nations?

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

The banning of a single weapon—even were it the most dangerous and terrible of them—is a danger to the preservation of peace. Just as we fight the oppression of man by man in all its forms, so must we combat war itself as a means of settling differences between nations. All the weapons of modern warfare are cruel and inhuman. If we reject war as such we cannot possibly ban one weapon and, so to speak, justify all the others. The choice, by the "Partisans" of the weapon to be banned, emphasizes the one-sidedness of the whole campaign. How well founded were the doubts which were felt as to the seriousness of the whole campaign is illustrated by the sombre events in the Far East, as to the causes of which there can hardly be any doubt. The further development of these events may confront the Governments of the World Powers and, above all, of the "United Nations" with weighty problems and put them to a severe test.

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

IV.

At our Zurich and Oslo Congresses the relations between the I.T.F. and the W.F.T.U. occupied an important place on the agenda. In Zurich, discussion revealed a determination to achieve an understanding. It was—and still is—clear to us what tremendous



"The Grand Old Man" spins a yarn.

significance a single comprehensive organization of the workers of the entire world would have for the maintenance of peace, social justice and human liberty. We know, too, the hopes raised in millions of human hearts by the founding, after the Second World War, of the World Federation of Trade Unions. We were ready to do all in our power not to disappoint these hopes.

Developments since 1946 have shown unmistakably that co-operation with the Communist organizations is not possible. Just as you cannot have peace at any price so you cannot have unity at any price. True unity presupposes a minimum of agreement as to aim and method. Where this prerequisite does not exist, there cannot be unity. The organizations of the East which call themselves Trade Unions and which, in fact, form the basis of the present W.F.T.U., have hardly anything in common with us but their name. Just as the word "Trade Union" means something different in the East from what it does to us, so do the terms "democracy", "freedom", "social justice", "peace" and many others.

That such co-operation would not, in the long run, prove possible, emerged clearly from discussions at our Oslo Congress. The parting of the ways, in itself very much to be regretted, but unavoidable if honesty were to prevail, has since become a reality. That the withdrawal of those organizations which could not follow the Communist course of the W.F.T.U. was not the end of the story was clear. In December of last year, a new organization was set up in London, namely the "International Confederation of Free Trade Unions". The new organization embraces the free Trade Unions of about fifty countries in all parts of the world, with an aggregate membership of about 50 million.

We are linked with the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions in a common aim: the welfare of all working people irrespective of race and belief. We are united with it, too, in our determination to achieve this goal through collective effort in the spirit of freedom and mutual trust and respect. Between the new organization and the old-established Trade Secretariats, the I.T.F. foremost, a period of collaboration which already promises well has been ushered in. Not the least of the

guarantees that this will prove successful is the fact that our friend Oldenbroek—to whose thirty years of work in the I.T.F. we shall pay recognition at a later stage in this Congress—has been appointed General Secretary of this new world-wide organization.

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

In conclusion, I have the honour of welcoming five veterans who are in our midst, five who have worked for decades in the leadership of the I.T.F., and who were present at the 1922 Congress in Vienna, where this year's Congress should have taken place. I refer to our friends and brothers:

Charles Lindley of Stockholm,
Johannes Döring of Hamburg,
J. Brautigam of Rotterdam,

Arie Kievit, also of Rotterdam, and
Karl Weigl of Vienna.

I extend a particularly hearty welcome to these comrades. I thank them for their work and for their loyalty. May their presence here to-day serve as a symbol of the continuity of the purposeful effort and the great and proud tradition of the I.T.F.

I should also like to greet Colleague Walter Auerbach, who gave such devoted service to the I.T.F. Secretariat for many long years.

When we celebrated the 50th Anniversary of the I.T.F. at the Zurich Congress in 1948, the then President, our friend Charles Lindley, who was one of the founders of the I.T.F., declared, in somewhat melancholy vein; that he hoped he would not be there when the I.T.F. should haul down its flag and lose its identity in a bureaucratic Department of the World Federation of Trade Unions. Charles Lindley is still here. He is among us, well and full of spirits. Let his old and yet eternally young sailor's heart rejoice: the flag of the I.T.F. has not been hauled down. It has been newly unfurled and flies bravely in the fresh breeze of free trade unionism.

In this spirit the I.T.F. will press on with its work and its struggle. May the work of our Congress, too, be imbued with the same spirit of freedom, true comradeship and brotherliness.

RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED BY I.T.F. CONGRESS

POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC ISSUES

THE WAR IN KOREA

World peace hangs in the balance as the aggression of the North Korean Communists continues against the peaceful peoples of South Korea.

Behind the front of a puppet régime, the Cominform and the W.F.T.U. are engaging in an aggressive move to subdue yet another nation as a prelude to possible further aggression on other fronts.

The United Nations has denounced this flagrant act of aggression and has called upon the puppet régime of North Korea to cease fire and withdraw its armed forces to the line of the 38th Parallel and has requested the free nations of the world to send troops to Korea in order to stop aggression by force of arms and to restore peace.

In compliance with the United Nations' decisions, ratified by 52 member states, the allied forces of several nations are now engaged in military action on land, in the air and at sea as the front line defenders of the world's freedom and peace.

Flouting these decisions, the Communists of the world, through the Cominform and the W.F.T.U., are attempting with every means at their disposal to carry out the foreign and military policies of the Soviet Union. At the same time the Cominform is organizing, on a military basis, its fifth column in order to sabotage the forces of peace and of resistance to aggression.

In view of these developments the 21st CONGRESS of the I.T.F., meeting in Stuttgart from 21 to 29 July, 1950:

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

Endorses the United Nations' decision to resist the aggression in Korea;

Pledges aid and support to the troops now fighting for freedom and democracy against immense difficulties and calls upon the members of the I.T.F. to do everything in their power to ensure the shipment and delivery of arms to the fighting front;

Condemns the discreditable efforts of the Cominform and W.F.T.U. to sabotage the production or transportation of all

materials necessary for the fighting troops of the United Nations and pledges itself to expose and counteract these machinations; and

Declares its readiness to join in the development of a vigorous offensive against the fake Stockholm peace slogans of the Cominform and the W.F.T.U. which under the camouflage of anti-atom bomb propaganda cover up and defend the present armed aggression.

DICTATORSHIPS

Whereas the safeguarding of human rights and the maintenance of peace are indispensable conditions for all social progress and must consequently be a main preoccupation of all workers and their national and international trade-union organizations;

Whereas all dictatorial and totalitarian régimes resort of inherent necessity to violence of the worst kind to control and subjugate the people's minds;

Whereas dictatorial régimes are incompatible with all freedom of thought, expression, movement, communication and action;

Whereas the violence used by dictatorial régimes against presumed opponents takes every imaginable form: intimidation, imprisonment for longer or shorter terms, separation from the family, slavery in forced labour camps, executions after parodies of legal procedure, beating up and slow death in torture chambers and lethal establishments;

Whereas the subjection of a people to any kind of dictatorship always leads to the suppression or total perversion of the trade unions, which are the upholders of social progress and social justice, and to the more or less disguised enslavement of the workers;

Whereas, further, the maintenance of peace depends on the successful operation of world-wide organizations established for the purpose of achieving social justice, and the danger of war will persist so long as the relations between human communities are not governed by laws and institutions based on such justice;

Whereas the danger of war is linked with the existence of dictatorial régimes because, not being responsible to the will of the

peoples they govern, they are all based on injustice, obeying none of the precepts of right but relying solely on force and violence, threatening all free peoples with subjugation by ideological penetration, internal subversion and aggression ;

The CONGRESS,

Proclaims the unshakable hostility of the transport workers to all dictatorial régimes and holds them up to the execration of all the workers of the world ;

Reminds the democratic governments of their moral duty to limit their dealings with all dictatorial governments to what is strictly unavoidable, and to refrain from any other act calculated to strengthen the ideological or political hold of the dictators over the peoples whom they rule ; and

Warns them that if they wish for permanent peace they must aim sincerely and efficaciously at social progress in all parts of the world subject to their authority.

WORKERS BEHIND IRON CURTAIN

The 21st CONGRESS of the International Transport Workers' Federation, meeting in Stuttgart from 21 to 29 July, 1950, denounces the Soviet domination of Central and Eastern Europe, which has led to the destruction of the free trade union movement in that part of the world.

The workers in these countries have been ruthlessly deprived of their basic right to freedom of association and collective bargaining, and of their right to strike. The trade unions have been integrated in the state machine and have thus become nothing but the government equivalent of company unions.

The workers have become mere units in a totalitarian economic system based upon forced labour and police control, dedicated to the militarization of the entire population.

Exploitation has been carried to inhuman lengths under a system of highly accelerated production, known as Stakhanovism, which the Soviet masters have imposed upon the peoples of their satellite nations.

In view of these tragic developments, and so that the workers behind the Iron Curtain may know that they are not alone and not forgotten, the CONGRESS, true to its traditions of humanitarianism and devotion to the ideals of freedom, which were proved in the late war against Nazism, raises its voice on their behalf, since they are no longer able to speak for themselves ;

Pledges itself to carry on an unceasing struggle to expose before the conscience of the world what happens under Soviet domination ;

Promises to do everything possible to help its enslaved brother trade-unionists, so that the flame of freedom may be kept alive until such time as the democratic forces can become strong enough to liberate these lands from their present dictatorships ; and

Rededicates itself to the task, in co-operation with all other democratic forces, of restoring a system of free labour and free trade-unionism in all countries whose workers have lost their basic rights.

TRANSPORT OF ARMS

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

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

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

Therefore, the CONGRESS :

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

Approves the action which is being carried on by the I.T.F. to ensure the transport of arms sent by the United States of America to Western Europe ;

Approves further the action of the Vigilance Committees set up by the I.T.F. who frustrate Communist endeavours to sabotage the fulfilment of the Pact ;

Calls upon the members of the I.T.F. to continue the carrying and handling of all arms and ammunition, the purpose of which is to prevent or repel an attack against free peoples.

EVACUATED GREEK CHILDREN

Whereas, during the course of the civil war in Greece, the rebels evacuated 28,000 children to neighbouring countries, the Governments of which were in sympathy with their cause ;

Whereas the civil war in Greece is long since over ;

Whereas at the present time there is no longer any justification—presuming that it were ever fully justified—for the separation from their families of these children and that the continuance of this enforced exile has become an act of cruelty ;

The CONGRESS :

Expresses its sympathy with those families which have been deprived of their children ;

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

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

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

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

E.R.P. AND O.E.E.C.

The CONGRESS :

Expresses to the people of the United States, and particularly to its workers, its appreciation of the help given to further the economic recovery of Europe ;

Recognizes the endeavours made by the European governments to organize European self-help, but declares that since American aid is to end in 1952 further action is urgently necessary if independence of that aid is to be achieved by that time ;

Emphasizes that for this purpose it is necessary to restore the equilibrium of trade with the rest of the world if Western Europe is to be capable of resisting ideological penetration and possible military aggression by the U.S.S.R. ;

Regrets that no common plan has yet been evolved which will achieve this purpose and at the same time ensure social justice ;

Demands that facilities be provided for the trade unions to have direct representation on the O.E.E.C. for the furtherance of these aims ;

Calls upon the members of the I.T.F. to work untiringly to convince public opinion, parliaments and governments of the necessity of extending and intensifying economic co-operation between the peoples of Western Europe, so that they may be able to maintain themselves as free and democratic communities ; and

Calls upon the Western European governments associated with the O.E.E.C. to take the steps necessary to remove all causes of difference, whether due to private interests or concepts of national sovereignty, so that agreement can be reached on a policy that will ensure the attainment of these objectives.

JAPANESE ECONOMY

Whereas Japan has nearly 2,800 inhabitants per square mile of arable land, probably the highest density of population in ratio to arable land in the world ;

Whereas, therefore, the agricultural and maritime resources of Japan can never be sufficient to guarantee to all its inhabitants a tolerable standard of life ;

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

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

This CONGRESS :

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

Recommends to the Seafarers' Section and the Fishermen's Section to undertake a study of the maritime problems of Japan to establish facts in the light of which it will be possible for the I.T.F. to adopt a programme and a policy to be laid before the Occupation Authorities in Japan.

TRADE UNION MOVEMENT — I.T.F.

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

Whereas the trade unions of transport workers affiliated to the I.T.F. co-operate in their respective countries with the free trade unions of workers of other industries for achieving common aims ;

Whereas the member-organizations of the I.T.F. desire to extend this co-operation to the international field ;

Whereas the national centres of free trade unions in nearly all democratic countries are associated in the I.C.F.T.U., which adopts the same methods and pursues in its own field the same ends as the I.T.F. ;

Whereas it is desirable that the I.T.F. works hand in hand with the I.C.F.T.U. for the furtherance of its own interests and those of the free trade union movement in general ;

Whereas the I.C.F.T.U. desires to conclude with the I.T.F. such arrangements as will ensure the most effective collaboration and reciprocal representation on a consultative basis and arrangements for mutual assistance in the field of trade union organization ;

This CONGRESS :

Declares that the I.T.F. shares the desire of the I.C.F.T.U. and that, unless a further Congress decides otherwise, the basis of the relations between the I.T.F. and the I.C.F.T.U. must be association and co-operation on a footing of equality, in reciprocal respect of each other's autonomy, and mutual assistance in defending and furthering common interests ;

Welcomes gladly the initiative taken by the I.C.F.T.U. with a view to establishing machinery for co-operation between itself and the I.T.S., and expresses its satisfaction that the I.C.F.T.U. is acting with speed, goodwill and in a constructive spirit ;

Approves the maintenance of the Co-ordinating Committee of the I.T.S. for the purpose of their collective representation on the governing and executive bodies of the I.C.F.T.U. ;

Approves the attitude of the representatives of the I.T.F. in the discussions among the I.T.S. and in the negotiations with the I.C.F.T.U. ;

Expresses the hope that the machinery for consultation which has been established will ensure smooth and effective co-operation between the I.C.F.T.U. and the I.T.S. collectively and, as far as necessary, between the I.C.F.T.U. and the I.T.F. separately ;

Assures the I.C.F.T.U. of the wholehearted support of the free transport workers' trade unions in the defence of the free trade union movement, in its efforts to improve the conditions of life and work of all workers who have so far not obtained their due share of the benefits of technical and social progress, and in its action aimed at the overthrow of all régimes hostile to freedom and social justice.

FREE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT IN FRANCE AND ITALY

The CONGRESS :

Welcomes the rise and the affiliation to the I.T.F. of free trade unions of transport workers in France and Italy which continue the tradition of a free trade union movement free from all external influences ;

Notes with satisfaction the material and moral support rendered to those unions by the I.T.F. ;

Observes that thanks to the existence and the activity of these unions the totalitarian forces can no longer impose their policy upon the organized workers and subordinate them to the interests of the Dictators and the Cominform ;

Congratulates the new free trade union organizations of France and Italy on seizing the initiative in the struggle for the improvement of the living and working conditions of their members ;

Calls upon all transport workers in France and Italy to join the ranks of the new free organizations and thus take up the fight for their own interests and those of the transport workers of all countries.

EXCLUSION OF THE CANADIAN SEAMEN'S UNION

This CONGRESS :

Having considered the refusal of the I.T.F. to show solidarity with the striking Canadian Seamen, and the suspension of the affiliation of the Canadian Seamen's Union by the Executive ;

Takes into account the following facts :

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

The leaders of the Canadian Seamen's Union called for the assistance of the I.T.F. but systematically hid the truth about the alleged dispute by deliberately refusing to furnish information which, in accordance with the Rules of the I.T.F., they were under an obligation to provide. Instead of informing the I.T.F., and through it the organizations whose support was desired, the Communist leaders of the Canadian Seamen's Union, with the active assistance of agents of the Communist Parties, conducted a campaign of lies among the workers in the different ports throughout the world and exploited in a shameless fashion the sentiment of solidarity of the latter. They thus did grave injury to the waterside workers whom they led astray and to the economy of the countries affected.

On the other hand, the leaders of the Canadian Seamen's Union conferred secretly with the so-called World Federation of Trade Unions and this instrument of the Cominform supported their campaign against the I.T.F. and the organizations affiliated to it. The leaders of the Canadian Seamen's Union conducted their campaign by means and according to methods which demanded large financial resources, but they left their members on strike in foreign ports to the charity of the sympathizing workers.

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

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

This CONGRESS :

Approves the decision of the Management Committee, the Executive Committee and the General Council to refuse, for the first time in the history of the I.T.F., assistance to an affiliated organization engaged in a dispute ;

Decides to expel the C.S.U. from the I.T.F. for having harmed the interests of its own members and those of other affiliated unions ;

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

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

EXCLUSION OF THE NEW ZEALAND WATERSIDE WORKERS' UNION

This CONGRESS :

Deliberating upon the suspension of the affiliation of the New Zealand Waterside Workers' Union by the Executive Committee ;

Takes into account the following facts :

In December, 1949, the New Zealand Waterside Workers' Union affiliated to the Maritime Department of that agency of the Cominform which parades under the name of W.F.T.U., whose hostility towards the I.T.F. is a matter of public notoriety. The N.Z.W.U. thus deliberately disregarded a decision of the competent bodies of the I.T.F. which have laid down that affiliation to the so-called W.F.T.U. is incompatible with affiliation to the I.T.F.

By making, in the spring and summer of 1949, common cause with the Canadian Seamen's Union, the New Zealand Waterside Workers violated a decision of the General Council of the I.T.F. of May, 1949.

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

This CONGRESS :

Decides to expel it from the I.T.F. ;

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

Calls upon the non-Communist members of the N.Z.W.U. to get together and act to eliminate the Soviet agents from their organization, and make their Union once again an instrument for the defence of their interests and bring about its reintegration in the great brotherhood of workers associated under the banner of the I.T.F.

EXCLUSION OF THE FINNISH TRANSPORT WORKERS' UNION

This CONGRESS :

Considering the suspension of the affiliation of the Finnish Transport Workers' Union ;

Takes into account the following facts :

Contrary to the express recommendation of the Executive Committee the Finnish Union was represented in July, 1949, at the inaugural conference of the Seamen's and Dockers' Section of the so-called World Federation of Trade Unions. At that time the Union was affiliated to the Finnish Trade Union Centre, itself affiliated to the W.F.T.U.

In August, 1949, the Finnish Union, in contravention of decision of the Finnish Trade Union Centre, conducted a strike in which exclusively Communist-dominated unions took part. For that reason it was expelled from the Finnish Trade Union Centre and, by reason of this fact, ceased to be affiliated indirectly to the W.F.T.U.

Subsequently, the Transport Workers' Union, jointly with the Forestry Workers' Union—also excluded from the Finnish Trade Union Centre—set up a Unity Committee and "a request was made to the W.F.T.U. to re-establish affiliation on this basis".

INLAND TRANSPORT

40-HOUR WEEK

Whereas the Convention on the Eight-Hour Day adopted in Washington in 1919 has had a most beneficial effect on the social policy of the democratic world and has helped to make the eight-hour day general for the great majority of railwaymen throughout the world ;

Whereas the full benefit of this Convention has not yet been achieved for the railwaymen of Greece and India and other countries backward in their social and economical development ;

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

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

Whereas in the United States, Australia and New Zealand the 40-hour week is now the norm for the great majority of railwaymen and for a considerable proportion of road transport workers ;

Whereas in Britain the 44-hour week is now the norm in industry as a whole, the railways and road transport included ;

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

Whereas, on the one hand, the economic consequences of the war and, on the other, the need for the democratic countries to devote a large part of the national income to safeguard themselves against the possibility of aggression, cancel out, over a considerable part of the world, the effects of the increased productivity of labour brought about by technical progress and are an impediment to the 40-hour week becoming general ;

Whereas these obstacles are essentially of a temporary nature ;

This CONGRESS :

Congratulates those railwaymen and road transport workers who have achieved the 40- or 44-hour week, or have, in some other form, achieved conditions which are an improvement upon those laid down in the Convention on the Eight-Hour Day ;

Invites all transport workers and their organizations to work unremittingly for the reduction of hours of work in order to achieve, as soon as the economic possibilities of their countries permit, a 40-hour week ;

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

Invites the I.L.O. to conduct an enquiry in order to ascertain in which countries and for what reasons workers in road and rail

This CONGRESS :

In view of the fact that the request for the re-establishment of affiliation, addressed by the Finnish Transport Workers' Union to the W.F.T.U., and being bound to result in the establishment of direct links between that Union and the Communist organization hostile to the I.T.F., concludes that the Finnish Union has ceased to be a free trade union ;

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

Decides to expel it from the I.T.F., and

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

SUPPORT OF ARGENTINE FREE MARITIME WORKERS' UNION (adopted by the DOCKERS' SECTION at its London meeting of 14 July, 1950, and endorsed by CONGRESS).

After a full discussion of the question of the carrying out of the action in support of the Argentine seafarers and dockers who have been on strike since 18 May, 1950, for the right to belong to a democratic trade union of their own choice ; and taking into consideration the fact that a number of ships have been manned by blacklegs and have thus been able to sail from Argentine ports ; the representatives of the dockers present at the meeting of the Dockers' Section of the I.T.F. held in London on 14 July, 1950, decide to do everything possible to prevent the loading and discharging of these ships in foreign ports, until such time as the Argentine Government respects the right of free association and once more recognizes the General Confederation of Maritime and Allied Trades.

transport are still deprived of the benefits which the Washington Convention ought to have brought them ;

Assigns to the Trade Union Movement of the democratic world and to the I.L.O. the task of benefiting the new generation by a new and powerful drive towards social progress, in particular by achieving for it the advantages of the 40-hour week.

HOURS OF WORK ON GREEK RAILWAYS

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

Whereas the Washington Convention on the 8-hour day is applicable to all railway personnel, with the sole exception of persons holding positions of supervision or management or persons employed in a confidential capacity ;

Whereas the Government of the Hellenes ratified the said Convention in 1920, and, having never denounced it, is, both morally and contractually, obliged to observe it ;

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

The CONGRESS :

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

Instructs the Secretariat and Executive Committee of the I.T.F. to lend support to the representations made to the Government of the Hellenes by the Pan-Hellenic Federation of Railwaymen, and, should such representations be unsuccessful, to take the necessary steps to ensure application of the procedure provided by articles 24 to 34 of the Constitution of the International Labour Organization, with a view to having the Government of the Hellenes summoned before the International Court of Justice should this prove necessary.

GERMAN FEDERAL RAILWAYS

The CONGRESS of the I.T.F. believes that the reconstruction of Europe can only be effected by employing man-power on a large scale and consequently resolutely opposes any measure calculated to lead to an increase of unemployment ;

The CONGRESS welcomes the steps taken by the German Railwaymen's Union in favour of the reconstruction of the German Federal Railways ;

Having heard, however, that the Occupation Authorities have at present under consideration a report on the German railways that makes recommendations the adoption of which would involve the dismissal of 80,000 railwaymen ;

The CONGRESS considers that such a measure would bring in its train disastrous political repercussions and would be harmful to the cause of democracy in Germany.

BERLIN RAILWAYMEN

The 21st CONGRESS of the I.T.F. notes with anxiety that notwithstanding the agreements signed and assurance given by the Soviet Military Administration in the Soviet Zone of Germany

and the Railway Administration in Berlin according to which there should be no victimization of the railwaymen who took part in the Berlin strike of 1948, more than 4,000 railwaymen in Western Berlin have been dismissed and further dismissals are threatened.

The CONGRESS demands that the negotiations started by the German Railwaymen's Union with the Municipal Council of Berlin, the Federal Government at Bonn and the High Commissioners shall lead as soon as possible to satisfaction of the legitimate demands of the railwaymen of Western Berlin.

SHIPPING

ASIAN SEAFARERS

The International Transport Workers' Federation, assembled in its 21st CONGRESS at Stuttgart, Germany, from 21 to 29 July, 1950, having heard and noted the present difficulties of Asian seamen, particularly those of India and Pakistan, having regard to the virtual breakdown of the Joint Negotiating Machinery set up in Calcutta, namely the Calcutta Maritime Board, after India was divided into two independent states, hereby requests the Secretariat :

- (a) to issue a general appeal to Asian seamen and to their organizations urging upon them the immediate necessity of organizing and re-organizing themselves more effectively, also urging those unions, which have not yet affiliated to the I.T.F., to make immediate application for affiliation ;
- (b) also to urge in particular the desirability of having a joint organization of Indian and Pakistani seamen to promote collectively and safeguard the interests of the seamen of both countries and to render such help and assistance as may be required in the formation of the same ;
- (c) to formulate a scheme of social security for the benefit of all Asian seamen and to press for its early adoption by all concerned ;
- (d) to suggest to the Governments of India and Pakistan and to the shipowners concerned the desirability of establishing an Indo-Pakistan Maritime Board to regulate employment and other conditions of service for Indian and Pakistani seamen having regard to the problems arising out of and created by the division of India and also to offer to all concerned the active support and help of the I.T.F.

REGIONAL MARITIME CONFERENCE

Having regard to the differences in seafarers' wages and conditions of service as between the countries participating in the near sea and inter-coastal trades of West and North-Western Europe—France, United Kingdom and Eire, Belgium, Holland, Germany, Denmark, Norway, Sweden and Finland—and to the detrimental effect of these differences upon seafarers' standards ;

Having regard, further, to the fierce competition which is making itself felt and to the threat which it constitutes to the very existence of these trades ;

This CONFERENCE of the Seafarers' Section of the I.T.F., held at Stuttgart on 25 and 26 July, 1950, on the occasion of the Biennial CONGRESS of the I.T.F. :

Urges the need of establishing regional basic wages and conditions of service for the seafarers of the region defined ;

Invites the International Labour Office to submit the question to an early session of the Joint Maritime Commission with a view

to the convening of a Regional Maritime Conference for North and North-Western Europe ; and

Requests the International Labour Office to make for the purpose of such a conference a preparatory survey of seafarers' wages and conditions of employment and of all other matters pertaining to the near sea and inter-coastal trades of the area in question.

REGIONAL MINIMUM WAGES AND CONDITIONS

Having regard to the interdependence of the shipping industry as between one country and another, and to the threat which low wages and conditions of service in one country constitutes to seafarers' conditions in other countries ;

Having regard in particular to the wide differences in seafarers' wages and conditions between countries participating in the near sea and inter-coastal trades of the North and Baltic seas area ;

This CONFERENCE of the Seafarers' Section of the I.T.F., meeting at Stuttgart on 25 and 26 July, 1950 on the occasion of the Biennial CONGRESS of the I.T.F. :

Recognizes the need for minimizing the existing differences ; and

Calls upon the seafarers' organizations concerned to accept the wages and conditions obtaining in United Kingdom ships as a fair average standard for the area, without prejudice to better standards already prevailing, and to make every possible effort in their respective countries to raise seafarers' wages and conditions to that regional level.

FIXING OF REGIONAL FREIGHT RATES

Having regard to the fierce competition which is operating in the near sea and inter-coastal trades of the North and Baltic seas area and to the danger of freight rates in these trades falling to a level inconsistent with economic operation ;

Having regard, further, to the danger of such a situation both to the existence of a healthy near sea and inter-coastal industry and to the maintenance of a decent standard of living for the seafarers who are employed in it ;

This CONFERENCE of the Seafarers' Section of the I.T.F., held at Stuttgart on 25 and 26 July, 1950, on the occasion of the Biennial CONGRESS of the I.T.F. :

Draws attention to the importance of the near sea and inter-coastal trades for the national economies of the several countries ;

Expresses the view that adequate minimum freight rates should be established for the different trades and services within the area in question ;

Hopes that such a policy will be adopted by the International Chamber of Shipping and the shipowners associated with it ; and

Declares the willingness of the organized seafarers concerned to co-operate towards ensuring the effectiveness of any steps taken in that direction.

FISHING

LABOUR REPRESENTATION AT INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCES AND INQUIRIES INTO THE INDUSTRY

This CONGRESS of the International Transport Workers' Federation, meeting at Stuttgart, from 21 to 29 July, 1950 :

Notes with deep concern that international Fishery Treaty conferences and inquiries for the purpose of dealing with important problems of the fisheries industry are held by governments without adequate participation of fishermen's representatives ;

Considers that the fishermen's interest in these discussions is as great as that of any other section of the industry ;

Registers a strong protest against the reluctance of governments to admit fishermen's representatives to international discussions affecting their industry ; and

Instructs the Secretariat to make appropriate representations with a view to rectifying the position.

FISHERMEN'S INTERNATIONAL SOCIAL PROGRAMME

This CONGRESS of the International Transport Workers' Federation, meeting at Stuttgart from 21 to 29 July, 1950 :

Notes that so far little progress has been made by the International Labour Organization in dealing with social questions of the fisheries industry, and in particular that the establishment of a Committee of Experts on Fishery Experts has been opposed by some governments ;

It deplores the slowness of the realization of an international social programme for fishermen through the International Labour Organization ; and

Instructs the Secretariat of the I.T.F. to take appropriate steps to hasten progress in this direction.

CIVIL AVIATION

FLIGHT CREW COMPLEMENT

This CONGRESS of the International Transport Workers' Federation, held at Stuttgart, Germany, from 21 to 29 July, 1950 :

Having regard (1) to the need for maintaining at all times the highest possible safety standards in civil aviation, (2) to the necessity of an adequate supply of qualified specialist personnel being available in case of national emergencies, and (3) to the technical development which is rapidly taking place and the constant adoption of new types of aircraft for commercial operation :

Having regard further to the fact that the national regulations of various countries are in many respects based on the recommendations of I.C.A.O. and that these recommendations are in some cases subject to undue influence by employers' representatives :

Decides to bring the views of the Civil Aviation Section of the I.T.F., as set out below, to the knowledge of I.C.A.O. with a view to securing that future recommendations of I.C.A.O., particularly on the subject of crew complement, be based as much on the experience of specialist flight crew members as they are at present on the commercial considerations of the employers.

Pilots

That the number of pilots required to operate any aircraft in air transportation shall be sufficient to provide for adequate safety. The type and weight of aircraft, the type of operation involved and the duration of flights between points where flight crews are changed shall be the basis for making this determination. The minimum pilot complement which may be employed shall be as follows :

- (a) A minimum of two properly qualified and certificated pilots shall be required on all flights of aircraft certificated for a maximum take-off gross weight of 10,000 pounds or more :
- (b) A minimum of two properly qualified and certificated pilots shall be required on all flights of aircraft under instrument conditions in scheduled air transportation.
- (c) On all flights requiring two or more pilots, these pilots shall perform pilot's duty only. Specialist members of the aircrew qualified also as pilots shall not be required to perform duty as pilots on the flight or any multiple duties.

Navigators

That a flight crew member holding the appropriate flight navigator's licence should be carried, in addition to the other flight crew members required, and should act in the sole capacity of flight navigator on all trans-oceanic routes as well as on certain other routes where all interested bona fide organizations representing staff consider radio aids inadequate.

That, subject to consultations with such bona fide staff organizations as are affected, an aircraft may proceed without a flight navigator provided that it is found that radio aids are such that the position of the aircraft can be accurately determined at least every 200 nautical miles.

(Continued from page 60.)

The fact that its influence is felt from the easternmost tip of Japan to the coast of California, from South America up to Finland and from Egypt across the Balkans to Pakistan, gives it possibilities of action and a hitting-power which have been amply demonstrated by the success of past international actions. It is, therefore, not surprising that the latest Congress of the I.T.F., meeting in Germany for the first time for twenty-six years, excited both interest and attention in countries situated far from the borders of that country.

Öffentlicher Dienst, speaking for the **German Union of Public Service and Transport Workers**, had this to say when introducing the Congress :

International congresses are not only highlights and milestones in the life of the trade union movement : they are also pointers to the future and help turn men into fighters for peace. To-day, such a congress has even greater significance, particularly when it is that of a group of workers who, more than anyone, detest war. Such a description applies to the 21st Congress of the International Transport Workers' Federation, which is now being held in Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt.

The organ of the **Danish Railwaymen's Union**, *Jernbane-Tidende*, said :

Flight Engineers

That a flight crew member holding the appropriate flight engineer's licence for the aircraft concerned should be carried and should act in the sole capacity of flight engineer on all aircraft (a) having four or more power plants, (b) certificated for more than 80,000 lb. maximum take-off weight, (c) where the appropriate authority finds the design of the aircraft used or the type of operation is such as to require engineer personnel.

That where a flight engineer is carried as a member of the flight crew he should be provided with a separate station and suitable instruments and control apparatus.

Radio Officers

That a flight crew member holding a flight radio officer's licence and acting in the sole capacity of radio officer should be carried on all flights, except where the Government authority and the bona fide organizations representing staff concerned jointly agree that having regard to the circumstances of each case the carriage of a specialist radio officer is not necessary.

That the varying practices of dual capacity working, which derive from the permissive nature of the national radio regulations of the various countries, and which reduce the safety factor, are viewed with concern and should in principle be opposed.

That the national organizations concerned should take the necessary steps within their respective countries to bring pressure to bear on their Parliaments or other appropriate authorities, with a view to ensuring that radio regulations be more closely defined and that the present tendency be reversed or checked.

CARRIAGE OF 500 KC/S EQUIPMENT

This CONGRESS of the International Transport Workers' Federation, held at Stuttgart, Germany, from 21 to 29 July, 1950 :

Having given careful consideration to the available evidence on the use of 500 kc/s equipment :

Having taken note of the fact that certain air carriers have dispensed with this equipment and of the tendency of others to do likewise :

Expresses its grave concern at this development which, in its view, represents a far-reaching lowering of the safety standards :

Considers that the carriage on all overseas routes of 500 kc/s equipment immediately usable for the transmission and reception of messages on 500 kc/s is essential and that in order to obtain the maximum benefits from the telecommunication service this equipment shall be operated by a specialist radio officer : and

Calls upon the Secretariat to impress these views on I.C.A.O. and to take such other consequential action, national and/or international, as may be necessary to ensure that national legislatures shall require the carriage of 500 kc/s equipment in accordance with the terms of this decision.

The work of the Congress was, from start to finish, characterized by unity and the desire to further the cause of peace and justice. . . .

Those words which the I.T.F.'s great Edo Fimmen wrote in 1940, shortly before his death, still have validity : "Whatever the war may bring and whatever its final results may be, the I.T.F. will survive and go forward, because, surrounded by hate, it preaches the brotherhood of men and nations, knowing neither frontiers nor differences of race and colour."—That spirit pervaded the latest and most important I.T.F. Congress.

Le Cheminot, official organ of the **Swiss Railwaymen's Federation**, praised the work of the Congress in the following words :

This international congress made a good impression on us. Well organized by the Secretariat and the Executive Committee, skilfully presided over by our colleague, Robert Bratschi, ably assisted by the interpreters, it did not at any time descend to the banalities of so many spectacular but empty debates. Eschewing demagogic propaganda speeches . . . the I.T.F. Congress tackled those great social and economic problems which occupy the minds of the free workers of the whole world. The resolutions adopted at Stuttgart are no rubber-stamp documents, but precise and courageous guides to action on the national plane by the affiliated unions.

THE STUTTGART CONGRESS IN THE PRESS

The selection of press comments printed below is restricted, if for no other reason than that all references to our Congress have not yet reached us. At the time of the preparation of this review, the beginning of September, further comment was awaited, in particular, from the periodicals of affiliated unions.

Taking into consideration current world events, the general press, apart from the local German papers, could hardly be expected to consider our Congress front-page news. Nevertheless, it appears to us that, on account of its attitude towards the international political situation, more attention has been paid to our Congress on this than on previous occasions. We may, therefore, feel satisfied with the publicity given to the determined resolve of the Congress that the I.T.F. should be in the forefront of the battle against the encroaching danger of enslavement which threatens to force civilization back into the dark ages.

German Press Comment

For the German Press, the 1950 I.T.F. Congress, the first international trade union congress to be held in Germany since 1933, was an event of the first magnitude and was, therefore, given a great deal of attention.

The Stuttgart *Deutsche Zeitung* pointed out that the Congress of the I.T.F. was meeting again on German soil for the first time since the year 1924 and stressed the fact that the links between the Federation and the transport workers of Germany had never been severed—not even during the dark days of the Nazi period. It went on to pay a tribute to the fact that the transport workers of the world have remained united in a single international trade union organization ever since the formation of the I.T.F. in the year 1896. The paper also complimented the I.T.F. on the business-like manner in which the Congress proceedings were conducted, adding humorously “the transport workers are no long-winded speakers. They take off their jackets, roll up their sleeves and then get down to work.”

The *Deutsche Zeitung* also had something to say about the tasks, both industrial and political, which the I.T.F. has set itself, and made particular reference to the I.T.F.'s opposition to Communist disruption in the transport industry. It pointed out that “the I.T.F. knows that the Communists are concerned, not with defending the interests of the workers, but with defending the interests of the Soviet Union. It also knows, however, that many workers, particularly in the port industry, believe that the two sets of interests are identical and that one cannot immediately dispel the illusions which Communist workers have regarding the Soviet Union.” In this connection, the *Deutsche Zeitung* went on to quote the following remarks made at the Congress by J. H. Oldenbroek: “We must, therefore, be dynamic—something which we have not been in the past. We must speak directly to the workers and let them know that we stand on the side of the United Nations.”

The *Stuttgarter Nachrichten* gave prominence to the remarks made by I.T.F. President Robert Bratschi regarding the internal situation of Germany and quoted his statement that the presence of strong democratic trade unions in the country did much to allay foreign fears of a Nazi revival there.

The *Stuttgarter Zeitung* carried the headline “International Transport Workers' Congress opened—a contribution to the fight against the war psychosis” and also drew attention to the remarks of Brother Bratschi regarding the role of the trade unions in the young German Republic. Mention was also made of the part played by the German affiliated unions in the boycott of Argentine shipping.

Die Neue Zeitung, the German-language newspaper published by the American authorities in Western Germany, headlined its write-up of the Congress as follows: “International Transport Workers' Congress opens in Bad Cannstatt—U.S. Land Commissioner underlines its political significance”, and quoted the statement made by General Gross regarding the importance of the renewal of close international relations between German and other democratic unions abroad.

The *Württembergischer Abendzeitung* also reported extensively on the Congress



as well as publishing the life-story of the "Grand Old Man" of the I.T.F., Charles Lindley. From it, we cull the following observations:

At a meeting of the delegates taking part in Stuttgart in the I.T.F. Congress, the President took the words out of our mouth when he declared that the organization now meeting under his chairmanship has always prided itself on being the most international of all the Internationals. In so doing he paraphrased something which was already an historical fact. The International Transport Workers' Federation is not only one of the oldest international workers' organizations, but is without question also one of the most active and powerful.

In no other International is the distinction between political and purely trade union activity so undefined as in the I.T.F. This is due mainly to the fact that its members occupy such a key position in the world economy. A strike of seamen, dockers or railwaymen strikes at the life-blood of industry far more keenly than does, for instance, a strike of textile workers. Every such action, therefore, inevitably possesses a political character.

The *Neue Zeitung*, of Munich, which gave much prominence to the Congress, wrote in its concluding review:

There can be no doubt that the leaders of the transport workers of the free world represent immense power. Were these representatives Communists, they would be capable of sabotaging both the economic reconstruction of the democratic world and the supply of military aid to Europe and Asia. The Soviets have, through the Communist-controlled W.F.T.U., done everything within their power to gain control of the transport workers' international. That they have not done so is to the credit of the then General Secretary of the I.T.F., J. H. Oldenbroek, who is now General Secretary of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions.

For many observers, the sharpness with which Communism is rejected in the Congress resolutions may appear surprising. For the transport workers were formerly, and not only in Germany, considered to be particularly "left". But, as one can read in the Report on Activities of the I.T.F. for 1948 and 1949, the Communists have, wherever they could, tried to stampede the transport workers into political strike action and more and more openly attempted to make of them part of Moscow's Fifth Column. In two years the I.T.F. has succeeded in breaking Communist influence. The world-wide port strikes announced by Moscow came to nothing. That is the most important contribution which the I.T.F. has made towards the preservation of peace and freedom.

The resolutions passed at the Congress are not mere paper resolutions. The Communists will learn what it means when the transport workers declare uncompromisingly against the exploitation of the workers behind the Iron Curtain, when they condemn aggression in Korea and promise the United Nations every support in its action against the Communist attack.

The German Communist Press, since it could not possibly ignore the significance of the event, wrote tearfully:

During the course of the Congress of the International Transport Workers' Federation in Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt, it becomes more and more obvious that the I.T.F. is being increasingly used in the fight against progressive trade unionists and the peace bloc of the Eastern countries. The transport workers can see from what Becu has said that the I.T.F. leadership is not interested in combating the threat of war, but has placed itself openly in the camp of the warmongers and actively supports their preparations for a new war. Becu even went so far as to declare that the Soviet Union was engaged in destroying the trade unions and the workers' movement, was striving for world domination, and wanted to overrun the weaker nations.

The Communist editor of this particular paper (*Die Volkstimme*) apparently thinks he can turn the impressive stand made against Communism by our Congress to Communist advantage by the following concluding remarks which will deceive no one, not even himself:

There is no doubt that the workers will not be deceived by such statements into allowing themselves to be diverted from their demands for peace, joint management of industry and higher

wages. They will draw the conclusion that their interests will be best served if they turn their backs on the "Confederation of Free Trade Unions" to which the I.T.F. is affiliated and join the powerful, 70-million strong World Federation of Trade Unions, which really fights for peace and the interests of the workers of the entire world.

World Press Comment

Outside Germany, the topics discussed at the Congress which most interested the general Press were the resolution in support of the United Nations' action in Korea, the I.T.F. anti-Communist campaign in the ports, and the boycott of Argentine shipping. Another point which caught the attention of some newspapers was the statement made by Hans Jahn, President of the German Railwaymen's Union, that the Communists had formed sabotage teams in Western Germany, particularly on the railways. This disclosure was given special prominence in the Dutch daily, *Het Parool*, which captioned its story—"German trade union leader warns that Communists are forming sabotage groups on German railways". The European edition of the *New York Herald Tribune* also mentioned the statement in the course of an article headed "New Communist Activity in Germany".

The resolution on Korea, dealing as it did with a topical international issue, naturally drew many headlines. The Dutch *Het Parool* captioned its reporting on the subject—"I.T.F. promises help to all democratic forces", whilst the Dutch Social Democrat daily, *Het Vrije Volk*, announced—"I.T.F. lends support to United Nations' action in Korea". The British Liberal, *Manchester Guardian*, also devoted a large amount of space to the resolution, as did the Labour *Daily Herald*, and many British provincial newspapers. *The New York Times* coupled its reporting on the Korean resolution with that on the resolution concerning the transport of arms, and captioned its item—"Federation hits Kremlin—World transport body pledges support to West rearming."

The success of the I.T.F.'s anti-Communist campaign in the ports also attracted a good deal of attention, particularly from newspapers in Great Britain and Holland. Typical of British comment was that of *The Times* which, in an item headed "Communist Action in the ports—arms shipments not delayed", said that "the Communists have been almost completely unsuccessful in their attempts to slow down Atlantic Pact arms shipments and Marshall Aid supplies from the United States to European ports". The *Daily Herald* entitled its item—"Wreckers halted at ports", and gave the main points from the report of the Dockers' Section. The British *Journal of Commerce* also published extracts from the report headed "Communists at ports—resistance by free unions", and *Het Vrije Volk* carried a similar item, captioned "The I.T.F. watchful in the ports".

The boycott of Argentine shipping was dealt with at some length by a number of newspapers in Great Britain, Holland and Norway. For the British Press the most important point seemed to be that the British delegates had not committed themselves to actual boycott action, and the headlines of the *Manchester Guardian*, *Lloyds List* and *Journal of Commerce* were phrased accordingly. The Dutch *Het Parool*, however,

warned that "on the outcome of the present conflict in Argentina will depend the fate of the democratic trade union movement there and perhaps of that of the whole of South America. It is for that reason that the I.T.F. has called its boycott of Argentine ships, which can thus be considered as an international struggle for the right to free association".

The Norwegian Labour daily, *Arbeiderbladet*, also dealt sympathetically with the I.T.F. action under the headline "The trade union movement in Argentina must have the right to freedom of association".

Trade Union Comment

Although many I.T.F.-affiliated organizations confined themselves to giving purely factual accounts of the I.T.F. Congress in their official journals, a number took the opportunity of commenting on the great significance of the Congress both for the international trade union movement as a whole and for the peoples of the democratic world.

Hans Jahn, the President of the **German Railwaymen's Union**, for instance, prefaced his report of the Congress, published in the union's official journal, *Der deutsche Eisenbahner*, with the following remarks:

The 1950 I.T.F. Congress is over. The period during which it was held was one of hard work performed in the interests of transport workers throughout the free and democratic world. Not represented were organizations in those countries where freedom of association is either subject to limitations or entirely abrogated.

The last congress of the I.T.F. to be held in Germany was in 1924. This latest was the first congress of the international transport workers' organizations of all five continents to take place on German soil since 1945. At it were assembled the representatives of five million seafarers, dockers, railwaymen, road transport workers, radio officers and pilots, in order that they might discuss, in the name of their members, how the world-wide influence of the I.T.F. might best be used in the interests of I.T.F.-organized workers.

The Stuttgart Congress was characterized by the fact that the question of individual freedom occupied the most important place both in the discussions and the conclusions reached as a result of them.

This urgent problem was broached in the speeches made by Robert Bratschi, J. H. Oldenbroek, Hans Jahn and Adolf Kummernuss, all of whom gave expression to the determination of the organized transport workers of the world to put all their energies into the task of safeguarding peace, freedom and the dignity of man.

Die Ö.T.V. Gewerkschaft, the Berlin Branch Monthly of the **German Union of Public Service and Transport Workers**, wrote as follows, under the heading "The most international of Internationals":

The Stuttgart Congress is over. It will stand out as a culminating point in trade union history. The President of the I.T.F., Brother Bratschi, declared at a press conference "that the organization over which he presides has always prided itself on being the most international of Internationals". For the I.T.F. and its members "the international idea" has never been a mere phrase, but a living reality. Our colleagues in the I.T.F. have always shown more solidarity than any other international association. If ever there has been an "international class struggle", it has been carried on by seamen, dockers, railwaymen and other transport workers. Through the efforts of the I.T.F. and its members, the conditions of certain groups of workers have been fundamentally changed. Consider the plight of seamen and dockers at the turn of the century! The I.T.F. has fought for and won not only better wages and exemplary working regulations, but also living conditions worthy of human beings, whether on land or at sea. Slave labourers, formerly without rights and subject to arbitrary treatment, have now attained the status of free and equal partners. These free men hold more power than

almost any other group of workers. For does not a strike by seamen, dockers, railwaymen or other transport workers have a stronger impact on economic life than a strike by any other group of workers? Consequently, the line of demarcation between industrial and political activity is blurred in the case of the I.T.F., as in that of no other international. This is clearly proved by the decisions taken at the Stuttgart Congress.

Welt der Arbeit, the official organ of the **West German Trade Union Federation**, carried articles on the Congress in two consecutive issues. The first of these dealt in the main with the reactions of foreign delegates to conditions in Germany and their interests in present-day German problems, whilst the second concentrated on the future tasks of the I.T.F.

The organ of the German Trade Union Federation officials, *Die Quelle*, pointed out, in an article entitled "Transport Workers against all forms of dictatorship", that the I.T.F. Congress had taken place at a time when the transport workers of the world were again faced with difficult tasks and the responsibility of taking important decisions. The paper continued:

The Great Powers are involved in a dangerous conflict which will demand special sacrifices on the part of transport workers and which even to-day brings them face to face with the greatest difficulties. Both the I.T.F. and its affiliated members played a decisive role during the late world war. Then, as now, the transport workers placed themselves uncompromisingly on the side of democracy. The I.T.F., however, sees its task not only as that of assisting in the maintenance of peace, but also as that of improving the social conditions of its members, of raising the living standards of the transport workers and of protecting them against the placing of unnecessary burdens on their shoulders. It is thus quite clear that the translation into practice of the multifarious aims and tasks of the I.T.F. necessitates much hard work. This fact coloured the whole proceedings of its congress.

After referring to the I.T.F. struggle against the menace of Communist disruption in the transport industry, *Die Quelle* continued:

The delegates at the I.T.F. Congress, however, expressed their opposition not only to the forces of totalitarianism from the East, but also to Fascist and semi-Fascist tendencies wherever these may raise their heads.

The youth magazine of the German Trade Union Federation had this to say about the I.T.F.:

The I.T.F. has always been an organization which has fought in an exemplary manner for freedom and against reaction and Fascism. . . . the work of the I.T.F. Congress represents another milestone in the struggle for international understanding, democracy and peace.

The significance of this latest I.T.F. Congress was also underlined by *Weekblad*, the weekly paper issued by the **Dutch Union of Railwaymen and Tramwaymen**, which wrote:

The Congress of the I.T.F. held recently at Stuttgart was again one of particular significance. It was a great demonstration of the will to safeguard peace, freedom of thought and the dignity of man, and of readiness to defend these ideals to the limit. At the same time, the Congress demonstrated how active our trade international is in the field of affiliated members' working conditions.

The official organ of the **Swiss Federation of Commercial, Transport and Food and Drink Workers**, prefaced its report of the Congress with the following remarks:

The International Transport Workers' Federation is undoubtedly the most representative of the international professional organizations. With its five and a half million members and 132 affiliated unions in 47 different countries it is, even in terms of numerical importance, way ahead of the other international trade secretariats.

(Continued at foot of page 57.)