

**THIRD PART**

**PROCEEDINGS**

*of the CONGRESS of the*

**International Transport Workers' Federation**

*held at*

**INGENIÖRFORENINGEN, 17 KRONPRINSENGATEN**

**OSLO**

*from 19th to 24th July 1948*

# CONTENTS

## First Part—Report on Activities

	PAGE
INTRODUCTION ... ..	1
<b>I AFFILIATED ORGANIZATIONS AND PROPAGANDA ... ..</b>	<b>5</b>
Membership ... ..	5
New Affiliations ... ..	5
Former Member-Organizations of the I.M.M.O.A. ... ..	6
Relations with the U.S. Railway Trade Unions... ..	6
Affiliation of the German Trade Unions ... ..	9
Relations with Affiliated and Unaffiliated Unions (Countries in alphabetical order) ... ..	13
List of Affiliated Organizations ... ..	19
<b>II ADMINISTRATION AND INTERNAL ORGANIZATION ... ..</b>	<b>25</b>
I.T.F. Congress, Zurich, May 6-11, 1946 ... ..	25
General Council ... ..	27
Executive Committee ... ..	28
President of the I.T.F. ... ..	28
Management Committee ... ..	29
Auditors ... ..	29
Chartered Accountants ... ..	30
Establishment ... ..	30
Staff Matters ... ..	31
Problems of Regional Organization ... ..	31
Caribbean Area and West Indies ... ..	31
Near East ... ..	32
Pacific Area ... ..	33
Plan for an Asian Seafarers' Secretariat ... ..	35
Representation of the I.T.F. at Conferences of Affiliated Organizations and other Meetings ... ..	36
Personalia ... ..	38
Obituary ... ..	39
<b>III VARIOUS INTERVENTIONS AND ACTIVITIES ... ..</b>	<b>40</b>
(Countries in alphabetical order)	
Relief ... ..	53
<b>IV PUBLICATIONS AND DOCUMENTATION ... ..</b>	<b>55</b>
Journal ... ..	55
Press Report ... ..	56
Congress and Conference Reports ... ..	57
Conditions for Improvement of the Publication and Documentation Service ... ..	57
<b>V SECTIONAL REPORTS ... ..</b>	<b>59</b>
Railwaymen's Section ... ..	59

International Railwaymen's Conference	...	60
One-man Driving of Locomotives	... ..	61
Automatic Couplings	... ..	61
International Convention on Hours of Work on Railways	... ..	62
Reconstruction of War Damaged Railways	...	62
Housing of Railwaymen	... ..	63
XIVth Congress of International Railway Congress Association	... ..	64
Road Transport Workers' Section	... ..	65
Dockers' Section	... ..	66
Regional Dockers' Conference	... ..	66
European Dockers' Conference	... ..	67
Revision of Docks Convention of 1932	... ..	68
Inland Waterway Workers' Section	... ..	71
International Programme of Minimum Demands for Rhine Navigation Personnel	... ..	72
Protection of Young Workers and Educational and Training Facilities for Children	... ..	77
Seafarers' Section	... ..	77
International Seafarers' Conference, London, January 31, and February 1, 1946	... ..	77
The Seattle Conference	... ..	78
International Seafarers' Conference of October 28 to 30, 1946	... ..	80
The Joint Maritime Commission	... ..	83
Whaling	... ..	84
Fishermen's Section	... ..	84
International Fishermen's Charter	... ..	85
Programme of International Demands	... ..	88
Civil Aviation Personnel	... ..	92
VI. RELATIONS WITH OTHER INTERNATIONAL BODIES	... ..	93
World Federation of Trade Unions	... ..	93
Repercussions of I.T.F./W.F.T.U. Relations (France, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Italy, and Southern Pacific)	... ..	101
International Maritime Labour Conference at Seattle	...	112
Inland Transport Committee of the I.L.O.	... ..	113
U.N. Transport and Communications Commission	... ..	114
European Transport Experts' Conference	... ..	115
European Transport Commission	... ..	116
European Central Inland Transport Office	... ..	117
ADDENDUM	... ..	118
General Regulations for the W.F.T.U. Trade Departments	... ..	118

## Second Part—Financial Report

	PAGE
INTRODUCTION ... ..	125
TABLE 1 INCOME, 1945-1947 ... ..	126
TABLE 2 EXPENDITURE, 1945-1947 ... ..	127
TABLE 3 AFFILIATION FEES, 1945-1947 ... ..	128
TABLE 4 EDO FIMMEN FUND, 1945-1947 ... ..	131
TABLE 5 SPANISH FUND, 1947 ... ..	131
TABLE 6 SEAMEN'S FUND, 1945-1947 ... ..	132
TABLE 7 DUTCH CHILDREN'S FUND 1945 and 1946 ... ..	133
BALANCE SHEET, 1945 ... ..	134
BALANCE SHEET 1946 ... ..	136
BALANCE SHEET 1947 ... ..	138

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## Third Part—Proceedings of the Congress

	PAGE
LIST OF DELEGATES ... ..	143
LIST OF GUESTS ... ..	147
AGENDA ... ..	148
PROPOSALS SUBMITTED ... ..	149
OPENING AND WELCOMING ADDRESSES ... ..	154
PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS ... ..	158
FRATERNAL ADDRESSES ... ..	165, 209
REPORT ON ACTIVITIES ... ..	167, 226, 241
COMPOSITION AND REPORT OF THE CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE ... ..	164, 188, 217, 256
RULES COMMITTEE ... ..	189, 209, 221
AFFILIATION FEES COMMITTEE ... ..	189, 209, 218
SECTIONAL CONFERENCES ... ..	208, 223, 249, 253, 256, 262
E.C.A. LABOUR ADVISORS' ADDRESSES ... ..	211
FINANCIAL REPORT ... ..	218
AUDITORS' REPORT ... ..	218
REGIONAL ORGANIZATION ... ..	218, 225
PROPOSALS OF AFFILIATED ORGANIZATIONS ... ..	222, 225
RESOLUTIONS ON THE W.F.T.U. ... ..	226, 246, 248
CHINESE DELEGATES ... ..	239
GENERAL COUNCIL (COMPOSITION, NOMINATION AND ELECTION) ... ..	239, 248, 252
EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE (ELECTION) ... ..	253
MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE (ELECTION) ... ..	256
RESOLUTION ON THE INLAND TRANSPORT COMMITTEE OF THE I.L.O. ... ..	265
ELECTION OF SECRETARIES ... ..	266
ELECTION OF AUDITORS ... ..	266
HEADQUARTERS OF THE I.T.F. ... ..	266
PLACE AND DATE OF THE NEXT CONGRESS ... ..	266
OTHER BUSINESS ; VOTES OF THANKS, ETC. ... ..	266
CLOSURE OF CONGRESS ... ..	268
LIST OF SPEAKERS ... ..	269



## LIST OF DELEGATES

<i>Country</i>	<i>Organization</i>	<i>Membership</i>	<i>Delegates and Substitutes</i>
Argentina ...	Sindicato Obreros Maritimos Unidos (Seamen)	17,000	<i>Gallardo, M. ; Pardo, M.</i>
Austria ...	Gewerkschaft der Eisenbahner (Railwaymen)	75,850	<i>Freund, R. ; Thaler, A.</i>
	Gewerkschaft der Bediensteten im Handel Transport und Verkehr (Transport Workers)	20,975	<i>Brosch, L. ; Weigl, K.</i>
Belgium ...	Secteur Cheminots de la Centrale Générale des Services Publics (Railwaymen)	32,000	<i>De Bruijne, P. ; Despontin, L. M. ; Devaux, G. ; D'Helt F. ; Premer, G.</i>
	Centrale Belge du Personnel des Tramways, Vicinaux et Autobus (Tramwaymen)	15,682	<i>Geldof, J. ; Lauwereins, J. ; Vercruyce, A.</i>
	Belgische Transportarbeidersbond (Transport Workers)	26,270	<i>Becu, O. ; Cassiers, W. ; De Crom, G. ; Dekeyzer, R. ; Hendrickx, G. ; Major L.</i>
Canada ...	Canadian Brotherhood of Railway Employees and other Transport Workers	22,000	<i>McGuire, J. E.</i>
China ...	National Chinese Seamen's Union	150,000	<i>*Wong, L. S. ; Sun, W. C.</i>
Denmark ...	Dansk Jernbaneforbund (Railwaymen)	9,927	<i>Jensen, J. K. F. ; Madsen, P.</i>
	Dansk Lokomotivmands Forening (Locomotivemen)	1,800	<i>Petersen, E. G. ; Suneson, S.</i>
	Dansk Arbejdmandsforbund (Transport Workers)	35,000	<i>Borg, E. ; Pedersen, I. ; Poulsen, P.</i>
	Sømaendenes Forbund i Danmark (Seamen)	4,107	<i>Anderson, A. M. ; Johansen M. ; Laursen, Th.</i>

\* Attending in an advisory capacity.

<i>Country</i>	<i>Organisation</i>	<i>Membership</i>	<i>Delegates and Substitutes</i>
Denmark ...	Søfyrbødernes Forbund i Danmark (Firemen)	1,800	<i>Jensen, R. ; Rasmussen, H.</i>
	Dansk Sø-Restaurations Forening (Stewards)	1,050	<i>Jensen, P.</i>
Egypt ...	General Union of Cairo Motor Drivers	1,557	<i>Zein El-Din, M. I.</i>
	All Arab Transport Workers' Unions	3,868	<i>Zein El-Din, M. I. (proxy)</i>
Finland ...	Suomen Rautatieläisten Liitto (Railwaymen)	15,153	<i>Backman, W. E. ; Haapalainen, A. ; Tuori, R. ; Weckroth, U.</i>
	Suomen Veturimiesten Liitto (Locomotivemen)	3,500	<i>Widing, G. W.</i>
	Suomen Kuljetustyöntekijäin Liitto (Transport Workers)	24,009	<i>Kajander, K. ; Suutari, V. H. ; Vapalahti, O. ; Vuorela, T.</i>
	Suomen Merimies-Unioni (Seamen)	6,383	<i>Ahokki, V. ; Ahonen, T. ; Syrjänen, V. ; Wälläri, N.</i>
	Suomen Konemestariiliitto (Engineers)	1,400	<i>Eriksson, G. ; Ihaksinen, E. J. ; Pousar, E. ; Veure, R.</i>
France ...	Fédération Syndicaliste Confédérée des Travailleurs des Chemins de Fer de France et d'Union Français (Railwaymen)	55,000	<i>Clerc, R. ; Lafond, A. ; Laurent, F.</i>
	Fédération Nationale "F.O." des Transports (Transport Workers)	8,000	<i>Gellibert, M.</i>
	Fédération des Travaux Publics et des Transports (Public Transport Workers)	2,000	<i>Lapeyre, R.</i>
	Fédération Nationale des Ports et Docks de France, Colonies et Protectorats (Dockers)		<i>Ehlers, E. (proxy).</i>
	Fédération Nationale de la Marine Marchande (Seamen)	5,000	<i>Ehlers, E.</i>
Germany ...	Gewerkschaft der Eisenbahner Deutschlands (Railwaymen)	404,000	<i>Horlacher, L. ; Jahn, H. ; Kraft, W. ; Leweke, A. ; Schäfers, H.</i>
	Gewerkschaft öffentliche Dienste Transport und Verkehr (Transport Workers)	70,000	<i>Davidson, H. ; Kummernuss A.</i>
Great Britain	National Union of Railwaymen	434,009	<i>Figgins, J. B. ; Murphy, W. ; Potter, W. T. ; Walton, G. E.</i>
	Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen	74,859	<i>Baty, J. G. ; Bidwell, H. E. ; Bunting, A.</i>

<i>Country</i>	<i>Organization</i>	<i>Membership</i>	<i>Delegates and Substitutes</i>
Great Britain	Railway Clerks' Association	90,361	<i>Lewis, C. M. ; Morris, P. ; Pett, L. F. ; Sharples, A. ; Stannard, H. A. ; Thorneycroft, G. B.</i>
	Transport and General Workers' Union	250,000	<i>Deakin, A. ; Fryer, E. E. ; Grant, A. ; McAlpine, W. ; McAndrews, A. ; Reid, H. ; Silcock, J. ; Slack, B.</i>
	Union of Shop, Distributive and Allied Workers	40,000	<i>Beardsworth, G. ; McGibbon, D. ; Worfolk, H.</i>
	Scottish Horse and Motor-men's Association	20,000	<i>Brannigan, J. ; McQuade, J. ; Wilkie, W.</i>
	National Union of Seamen	55,000	<i>Booth, C. ; James, S. ; Ockleton, J. ; Tanner, H. J. ; Yates, T.</i>
	The Navigators and Engineer Officers' Union	12,500	<i>Gregory, J. G. K. ; Tennant D. S.</i>
	Radio Officers' Union	6,000	<i>Perkins, H. J.</i>
Luxembourg	Landesverband Luxemburger Eisenbahner (Railwaymen)	5,200	<i>Leick, M. ; Leurs, J.</i>
Netherlands	Nederlandse Vereniging van Spoor- en Tramwegpersoneel (Railwaymen and Tramwaymen)	21,920	<i>Joustra, G. ; Peterse, L. W.</i>
	Centrale Bond van Transportarbeiders (Transport Workers, Dockers and Seamen)	29,040	<i>Berger, J. J. A. ; Laan Sr., R. ; Plooyer, R. ; Smeding, T.</i>
	Centrale van Kapiteins en Officieren ter Koopvaardij (Officers)	5,660	<i>Harms, D. ; Driel van, C. W. ; Muijlwijk van, J. F. ; Vries, de, P.</i>
Norway ...	Norsk Jernbaneforbund (Railwaymen)	19,202	<i>Kül, E. ; Sørsdahl, O. ; Trana, M.</i>
	Norsk Lokomotivmandsforbund (Locomotivemen)	2,080	<i>Heggstad, M. ; Narvestad, Th.</i>
	Norsk Transportarbeiderforbund (Transport Workers)	23,000	<i>Askeland, O. ; Elseth, H. ; Michelsen, L. ; Olsen, L. S. ; Wilsgaard, S.</i>
	Norsk Sjømannsforbund (Seamen)	23,000	<i>Berg, E. ; Hauge, G. ; Haugen, E. ; Haugen, I. ; Helland, O. ; Iversen, R. ; Johannessen, C. ; Sønsteby, T.</i>
	Norsk Styrmandsforening (Mates)	3,071	<i>Nilsen, N. ; Skjervoll, O.</i>
	Det Norske Maskinistforbund (Engineers)	3,500	<i>Johansen, J. H.</i>
Spain ...	Sindicato Nacional Ferroviario (in exile) (Railwaymen)	12,000	<i>Gómez, T. ; Pérez, A.</i>

<i>Country</i>	<i>Organisation</i>	<i>Membership</i>	<i>Delegates and Substitutes</i>
Spain ...	Federación Nacional del Transporte UGT (in exile) (Transport Workers)	13,000	Gómez, T. ; Pérez, A.
Sweden ...	Svenska Järnvägsmannaförbundet (Railwaymen)	64,000	Blomgren, H. H. ; Kjellvard H. ; Lindqvist, E. A. ; Neijmer, H. ; Nordin, J. A. ; Petterssen, K. G. ; Zerne, N.
	Svenska Transportarbetareförbundet (Transport Workers)	42,584	Christensson, J. ; Eriksson, O. ; Flenström, A. ; Helgesson, R. ; Larsson, E. R. ; Svensson, H. ; Wrenby, K.
	Svenska Sjöfolksförbundet (Seamen)	15,725	Berggren, E. W. ; Carlsson, B. ; Svensson, J.
	Svenska Maskinbefälsförbundet (Engineers)	2,819	Söre, A.
Switzerland	Schweizerischer Eisenbahner-Verband (Railwaymen)	40,938	Bratschi, R. ; Dietzger, A. ; Perrin, P. ; Wagner, J. ; Willfratt, E. ; Wyttenbach, E. ; Zeli, E.
	Verband der Handels-Transport- und Lebensmittelarbeiter der Schweiz (Transport Workers)	9,687	Brunner, W. ; Leuenberger, H.
Syria ...	Syndicat des Chauffeurs (Motor Drivers)	1,000	Zein El-Din, M. I. (proxy).
U.S.A. ...	Railway Labor Executives' Association	705,882	Carroll, T. C. ; Donovan, F. ; Harrison, G. M. ; Lyon, A. E. ; Peterson, E.
	International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Warehousemen and Helpers of America.	50,000	Harrison, G. M. (proxy).
	Seafarers' International Union of North America	51,000	Lundeberg, H. ; Weisberger M.
	National Organization of Masters, Mates and Pilots	10,000	May, C. F.

MEMBER OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE  
(not included in national delegation)

*Christiansson, S.*, Sweden

SECRETARIES

*Oldenbroek, J. H.*, General Secretary  
*Tofahrn, P.*, Assistant General Secretary

FRATERNAL DELEGATES

*Christensson, J.*, Scandinavian Transport Workers' Federation  
*Follows, D.*, International Federation of Air Line Pilots  
*Lascaris, G.*, Leader of Greek railwaymen in the days of free, independent  
and militant trade unions  
*Rusterholz, H.*, Federation of Public Service Employees, Switzerland

GUESTS OF HONOUR  
(specially invited by I.T.F.)

*Birkeland, A.*, (Norwegian Seamen)  
*Brautigam, J.*, (Dutch Transport Workers), former member of I.T.F.'s  
Management Committee.  
*Döring, J.*, (German Transport Workers), former member of I.T.F.'s  
Executive Committee.  
*Fladeby, H.*, (Norwegian Transport Workers)  
*Krier, Mrs. L.*, War-time manager of the New York branch office of I.T.F.  
*Lindley, Ch.*, (Swedish Transport Workers), co-founder of the I.T.F. in  
1896 and former President of the I.T.F.  
*Nilsen, O.*, (Norwegian Seamen)  
*Weigl, K.*, (Austrian Transport Workers), present as an ordinary delegate

GUESTS

*Langhelle, N.*, Norwegian Minister of Communications  
*Bull, B.*, Deputy Mayor of Oslo  
*Nordahl, K.*, President of the Norwegian Federation of Trade Unions  
*Bratt, T.* } International Labour Office  
*Fano, P. P.* }  
*Golden, C. S.* } Labour Advisers, Economic Co-operation Administration,  
*Jewell, B. M.* } Washington.  
*Binks, J.*, Member of Audit Committee of the I.T.F.  
*Dorchain, W.*, Manager of the I.T.F.'s New York branch office  
*Albrechtsen, C. M.*, (Danish Railwaymen).  
*Beier, W.*, (Swiss Railwaymen)  
*Brynildsen, E.*, (Norwegian Transport Workers)  
*Canini, G.*, (Italian Light Railwaymen and Tramwaymen)  
*Hammerström, J.*, (Norwegian Railwaymen)  
*Jensen, N. A.*, (Danish Railwaymen)

# AGENDA

OPENING : MONDAY, JULY 19, 1948, 10 A.M.

1. OPENING AND WELCOMING ADDRESSES
2. PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS
3. ELECTION OF CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE
4. STANDING ORDERS
5. REPORT ON ACTIVITIES
6. FINANCIAL REPORT
7. REPORT ON REGIONAL ORGANIZATION
8. RESOLUTIONS AND PROPOSALS SUBMITTED
9. AFFILIATION FEES
10. ELECTIONS :
  - (a) General Council
  - (b) Executive Committee
  - (c) Management Committee
  - (d) General Secretary
  - (e) Assistant General Secretary
  - (f) Auditors
11. HEADQUARTERS
12. DATE AND PLACE OF NEXT CONGRESS
13. ANY OTHER BUSINESS.

# PROPOSALS SUBMITTED

## 1. Affiliation Fees

With a view to increasing the income of the I.T.F. from affiliation fees on the one hand, and limiting the amounts payable by the larger organizations (subject to a corresponding reduction in voting strength) on the other hand, it is proposed :

- (a) That the existing flat rate of £10 13s. 4d. per thousand members and per year be replaced by the following graduated scale :

<i>per 1,000 members per year</i>		50,000 members
£14 or \$56 for the first		
£13 or „52 for the second	"	"
£12 or „48 for the third	"	"
£11 or „44 for the fourth	"	"
£10 or „40 for the fifth	"	"
£9 or „36 for the sixth	"	"
£8 or „32 for the seventh	"	"
£7 or „28 for the eighth	"	"
£6 or „24 for the ninth	"	"
£5 or „20 for the tenth	"	"
£4 or „16 for the eleventh	"	"
£3 or „12 for the twelfth	"	"
£2 or „8 for the thirteenth	"	"
£1 or „4 for the fourteenth and subsequent	"	"

- (b) That the new scale be applied as from July 1, 1948 ;
- (c) That in the event of the adoption of the above or a similarly graduated scale, Rule IV, para. 8, relating to the card vote be amended so as to provide for voting strength at the rate of 1,000 votes for every £14 or \$56 a year paid in affiliation fees by the organization concerned, or such other amount as the Congress may determine.

*Proposed by the I.T.F. Executive Committee.*

## 2. Voting at Congress

This Congress . . . . .  
in accordance with the decision it has come to fixing a new scale of affiliation fees payable to the I.T.F.

Decides on the following amendment to Rule IV of the I.T.F. Constitution :

That the third sentence of subsection 8 reading :

“ When requested by delegates of at least five organizations, a card vote on affiliated membership shall be taken, but no organization shall vote on more than one million members.”

be replaced by the following :

“ If requested by the delegates of at least five organizations a card vote based on affiliated membership shall be taken. For this purpose the voting strength attributable to the membership of the several organizations shall be scaled down proportionately to the scale of affiliation fees in force at the time.”

*Proposed by the Executive Committee*

### **3. Composition of the Management Committee**

This Congress . . . .

Decides on the following amendment to Rule VII of the I.T.F. Constitution :

That subsections 1 and 2 reading :

“ 1. There shall be a Management Committee of four representatives of the affiliated organizations in the country in which the Federation is domiciled. Its members shall be nominated by the delegations of the organizations concerned attending the Congress, and their names shall be submitted to the Congress for its approval.

“ 2. Should any vacancy occur on the Management Committee between two sessions of the Congress, they shall be filled by the organizations concerned, which shall submit the name of the person chosen for the approval of the Executive Committee or General Council.”

be replaced by the following :

“ 1. There shall be a Management Committee composed of four representatives of the affiliated organizations in the country in which the Federation is domiciled, chosen as far as possible from different organizations by the delegations of such organizations attending the Congress. Should more than four candidates be put forward by the organizations concerned, the four representatives shall be elected by the said delegations, for which purpose the delegation of each organization concerned shall have as many votes as it is entitled to have delegates at the Congress under Rule IV, subsection 4.

“ The names of the persons so chosen shall be submitted to the Congress for its approval.

“ 2. Should any vacancy occur on the Management Committee between two ordinary sessions of the Congress, it shall be filled in like manner by the organizations in the country in which the Federation is domiciled. Should there be more than one candidate for the vacant seat the organizations concerned shall proceed to elect one of them, for which purpose each such organization shall have the same number of votes as under subsection 1 of this rule.

“ The name of the person chosen shall be submitted to the Executive Committee or General Council for its approval.”

*Proposed by the Executive Committee.*

### **4. Election and attributes of the I.T.F. President**

This Congress . . . .

Decides to add the following provision to the Constitution of the I.T.F. :

#### **RULE VIIA**

“ 1. The President of the Federation shall be elected by the General Council, from among the members of the Executive Committee, for a period which shall end with the close of the next following ordinary session of the Congress.

“ He shall be eligible for re-election.



" 2. The President shall preside over all ordinary and extraordinary sessions of the Congress and over all meetings of the General Council and Executive Committee.

" 3. The President shall be entitled to attend all meetings taking place under the auspices of the I.T.F., for which purpose his travelling expenses shall be borne by the Federation."

*Proposed by the Executive Committee.*

#### **5. International Trade Union Training Scheme**

This Congress . . . .

Considering that it is of paramount importance to promote the development of the trade union movement in certain parts of the world and the initiation of the movement where it has not yet come into being ;

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

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

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

*Proposed by the Belgian Transport Workers' Union.*

#### **6. Purging of Unions of Criminal and Anti-Democratic Elements**

This Congress . . . .

Decides

- (a) That affiliated seafarers' unions should refuse membership to anti-democratic and criminal elements who have been banned or expelled from the seafarers' union of another country ;
- (b) That persons of foreign nationality applying for membership of a seafarers' union should be required to produce a membership book or other certificate issued by the seamen's union of their own country;
- (c) That affiliated seafarers' unions should communicate through the I.T.F. particulars concerning banned, expelled or other ineligible persons to seafarers' unions in other countries.

*Proposed by the Finnish Seamen's Union.*

#### **7. Two Drivers in International Road Traffic**

This Congress . . . .

Declares that passenger coaches passing through two or more countries should be manned by two drivers.

*Proposed by the Swedish Transport Workers' Union.*

#### **8. International Motor Drivers**

This Congress . . . .

Decides to appoint a committee to draw up regulations providing uniform working hours and rest periods for drivers of freight lorries and passenger coaches engaged in international traffic.

*Proposed by the Dutch Transport Workers' Union.*

## 9. Transport and Handling of Petroleum and Related Products

This Congress . . .

Decides

1. To investigate the possibility of concerted activities in as many countries as possible in the matter of wages, working hours, social provisions and safety of workers engaged in the transport and handling of petroleum and related products ;
2. To seek recognition for itself and its affiliated unions by the bodies legislating in social and economic matters at the international level, such as U.N.O. and I.L.O., as entitled to represent the workers engaged in the transport and handling of petroleum and related products (carriage, storage, loading and unloading).

*Proposed by the Dutch Transport Workers' Union.*

## 10. Seattle Conventions

This Congress . . .

Deplores the slow progress in implementing the assurances given to seafarers of an improvement in their working and living conditions and embodied in the International Conventions adopted at the International Maritime Labour Conference held at Seattle in June 1946 ;

Hopes that the session of the Joint Maritime Commission of the I.L.O. to be held in the near future will register definite progress in this direction ;

Instructs the Secretariat of the I.T.F. to prepare a plan of joint action whereby, if that hope is disappointed, the international minimum claims of seafarers may be realized ;

Calls upon affiliated seafarers' organizations in the different countries to exert appropriate pressure upon their respective governments and to make ready for undertaking concerted international trade union action that may be necessary for the realization of the seafarers' claims.

*Proposed by the Norwegian Seamen's Union, Norwegian Navigators' Union, and Norwegian Marine Engineers' Union.*

## 11. Tonnage Transfers

This Congress . . .

Viewing with misgivings the practice of transferring tonnage in considerable quantities to countries, such as Panama, which have not played a prominent part in maritime enterprise in the past, and which lack adequate safeguards, in the shape of legislative provisions or an established trade union movement, for the working and living standards of seafarers ;

Considering that the practice of indiscriminate tonnage transfers is not compatible with a well-conceived international shipping policy as advocated by the seafarers' movement ;

Strengthened in this belief by the attitude of non-co-operation manifested by the Panamanian representatives who walked out of the International Shipping Conference held in Geneva in February this year ;

Calls upon the International Labour Office to continue its investigations into the practice of tonnage transfers ;

Reaffirms the seafarers' determination to resist attempts to undermine their standards by unfair methods and practices.

*Proposed by the Norwegian Seamen's Union,  
Norwegian Navigators' Union and Norwegian Marine Engineers' Union.*

## **12. Near and Middle East Transport Workers' Conference**

This Congress . . .

Decides that a conference of transport workers' unions of the Near and Middle Eastern Area shall be called by the I.T.F. for December 20 to 24, 1948, at Cairo, Egypt.

*Proposed by the General Motor Drivers' Union of Cairo*

## **13. Ballasting of Ships**

This Congress . . .

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

*Proposed by The Navigators' and Engineer Officers' Union of Great Britain.*

**Monday, 19th July, 1948**

## **MORNING SESSION**

### **OPENING OF CONGRESS**

*The President, OMER BECU (Belgium), opened the Congress at 10 a.m., after which the delegates were entertained with a number of Norwegian Labour songs by the Ladies' Choir of the Oslo Labour Party.*

*After the President had expressed thanks on behalf of the Congress, proceedings opened with the*

### **ADDRESSES OF WELCOME**

I. HAUGEN (President of the Norwegian Seamen's Union and Chairman of the Reception Committee) : On behalf of the six Norwegian unions affiliated with this great and world-wide International, I have the honour to bid you all a hearty welcome to the 1948 Biennial Congress of the I.T.F., here in Oslo.

The last time the Norwegian unions had the honour to be the hosts of an I.T.F. Congress was away back in 1920. At that time it was a comparatively small body of pioneers who gathered in our capital to reconstitute the International Transport Workers' Federation after it had been obliged to suspend its activities during the world war from 1914 to 1918. That first world war had all but smashed the Federation, but the pioneers had unshakable faith in the ideal of international solidarity of the transport workers on land and sea. Their faith was justified, for with the late lamented Edo Fimmen at its head as General Secretary, the International rapidly translated what was once a mere ideal of pioneers into a practicable proposition for men of action.

When the second world war came upon humanity, its effect on the Transport Workers' International was very different from that of the war of 1914 to 1918. So solidly had the foundations been laid that the I.T.F. not only survived the disaster, but even played a notable part in bringing about the defeat of the forces of evil. And so it is that to-day our International stands prouder and stronger than ever, and can count among its adherents trade unions in the Near, Middle and Far East, in America, Australia and Africa, and in all European countries except Soviet Russia and those swayed by Communist doctrines and slogans.

We are mightily proud to act as hosts to this great gathering. We have only been able to cope with the task thanks to the wholehearted co-operation of all those who have been associated with the arrangements. Even so I am apprehensive whether the hotel accommodation is to the satisfaction of all the guests and delegates. But you must remember that we are in Oslo and not in London, Paris or New York, and that this Congress is not the only event which is in progress in our capital at the present moment. But however that may be, here we all are, and I sincerely hope that the arrangements are such that you will carry away with you pleasant memories of our country and its capital, and that the second Oslo Congress may also be recorded among the memorable events in the annals of the I.T.F.

As you all know—and you will pardon our pride in referring to the matter—Norway is a country with a Labour Government, based on a majority in our House of Representatives. We are also proud to say that Labour has a majority in the Municipal Council of Oslo as well. So you see, the I.T.F. Congress meets in a congenial atmosphere, in a country and city where its deliberations will be followed with sympathetic interest.

But others are waiting to address fraternal words to this gathering, and you have much and important work to do, so I will conclude, Mr. President, by extending once more a cordial welcome to all here present and expressing, on behalf of the Norwegian unions, our sincerest wishes for a successful Congress.

NILS LANGHELLE (Norwegian Minister of Communications) : I have the honour, in the name of the Norwegian Government, to welcome the delegates to this Congress of the International Transport Workers' Federation. We are very glad to see so many prominent trade unionists from so many countries assembled in the capital of Norway. Your stay in our country will, unfortunately, be comparatively short, but I sincerely hope that you will find it enjoyable. We have to ask you to bear in mind that our country was exposed for five years to war and occupation. Norway was invaded by the Nazis, but immediately took up the fight against the aggressor and became one of the allied nations which fought Nazi Germany. I think that it is the opinion of all informed persons that the Norwegian merchant fleet did an important job during the war, and did it well. One consequence of the war was a general reduction in our productive capacity. The Norwegian merchant fleet, which when the war began had reached a total of 4,800,000 tons, was reduced by half. Many cities were damaged, and when the Germans evacuated the northern part of Norway the whole region was systematically demolished.

Since the liberation of Norway three years ago it has been our chief task to rebuild what was destroyed. We started with a plan for reconstruction within a period of five years, and I think we shall succeed.

In the post-war world conditions for international co-operation are not so favourable as we should all like to see them. I am sure you are all acutely aware of the obstacles and difficulties which lie before us, but all who believe in a better future for this world of ours must go about their jobs with courage, unrelenting energy and patience. In the shaping of this better future international organizations like yours have a task of the highest importance.

It is my earnest hope that your conference may contribute to the development of better understanding between the nations of the world. On behalf of the Norwegian Government I thank you for your kind invitation. I convey to you also the best wishes of my colleagues in the Government and in the country generally, to which I bid you a hearty welcome.

BRYNJULF BULL (Deputy Mayor of Oslo) : It is my great pleasure and privilege, acting as Deputy Mayor of Oslo, to bid the delegates to the International Transport Workers' Congress a most hearty welcome to our city. It is not my place to point out to you the importance of national and international trade and transport in the world to-day: it should suffice to emphasize that the transport of goods and persons from one country

to another, and from one place to another within your own country, is one of the chief factors of the welfare and happiness of the peoples of the world. And may I add that close connections between people from different countries that promote international trade and transport is of great importance for the growth of international understanding.

May I wish you success in your important work of securing good conditions for the people working in connection with transport. I hope that your Congress will be a successful one and that you will all have a happy time in Oslo.

KONRAD NORDAHL (President of the Norwegian Federation of Trade Unions) : It is for me a great pleasure and, indeed, a great honour, to welcome the delegates to this Conference on behalf of the Norwegian Federation of Trade Unions. During the nearly 50 years our Federation has been in existence, the various organizations of the transport workers have always played a prominent part in its activities. I take pleasure in recording that practically all the Norwegian unions affiliated with the International Transport Workers' Federation have been for many years members of the Norwegian Federation of Trade Unions.

Within their particular fields of activity all these organizations have greatly contributed to the promotion of higher standards of living and improved social conditions. It is not possible for me to enumerate, on this occasion, the merits of all these organizations, but I feel sure that no offence will be taken if I do emphasize the great importance of the Norwegian Seamen's Union. My reasons for giving prominence to this particular union are the outstanding achievements of its members and leaders throughout the last great war. But for the magnificent self-sacrifice of its members and the great foresight displayed by its leaders, Norway's contribution to the common war effort would have been a less conspicuous one. Thousands of the Union's members sacrificed their lives in the course of the war, and the Norwegian community owes to these gallant men a debt it will never be able to repay. Their organization is carrying on, however, and we are keenly aware of the fact that it has always been one of the most active members of the I.T.F.

Reconstruction is still the first item on the agenda for post-war Norway, for it is of the highest importance that we should rehabilitate our productive machinery, increase the supply of commodities and so improve the standard of living. A good deal has already been achieved, but a long and hard struggle still separates us from the high standards of living enjoyed in this country before the war. It was not only the workshops, factories and machinery that needed overhaul and reconstruction. Human labour is still the most important element, and by the end of the war it had also been worn out as a consequence of inadequate nutrition and low wages. In this respect substantial progress has also been made.

Since the cessation of hostilities wages have been increased considerably and our social legislation has been further developed. I can mention that practically all wage-earners are now entitled to an annual holiday of three weeks, and that the 1st of May and the 17th of May, Norway's Constitution Day, are now public holidays for which full wages are paid.

Since the war we have succeeded in increasing our membership, and the Norwegian Federation of Trade Unions has now something like 450,000

members ; a high figure considering the economic structure of the country and the fact that it has only three million inhabitants.

In the field of industrial democracy we have also made progress since the war. About a thousand production committees are now in operation. Joint industrial councils have been set up in a number of industries, and in some branches of industrial activity manual workers and salaried employees now participate in the management of the undertakings. Although only three years have elapsed since the German occupation came to an end, and in spite of the fact that in the ensuing period a great deal of time has had to be spent in rebuilding the trade unions disrupted by the war, our achievements are by no means unsatisfactory, though a good deal of work has still to be done if we are to reach our objectives.

On the occasion of this Congress we should like to express our delight at having you as our guests, at the opportunity of receiving representatives of the transport workers from so many countries. We sincerely hope that the proceedings and results of your Congress will prove to be of great importance not only in promoting the interests of the transport workers : it is equally desirable that its positive results should also be registered over a much wider and more varied field. To-day international co-operation is applicable to all spheres of life, and it will be a matter for great satisfaction if we can secure the participation of the organized workers of different industries in close international co-operation. I hope that the achievements of this Congress will make their effects felt far beyond the ranks of the transport workers and so contribute to the strengthening of international co-operation in the future.

THE PRESIDENT : It is my duty as Chairman of this Congress—and it is a pleasant duty—to express on behalf of the Congress the most heartfelt thanks to our Norwegian hosts. First of all I should like to tell the Norwegian transport workers who so kindly invited us to hold our Congress in Oslo how greatly we appreciate our stay in this country and the generous hospitality offered to us by their Reception Committee, and I should like to include the Norwegian working class in general. I want to ask Brother Haugen to convey our thanks for what the affiliated Norwegian transport workers' unions are doing for us, and Brother Nordahl to convey similar thanks to the other workers in this country. And I should like to include also the City of Oslo, its population, and the country as a whole.

This is not the first time that we have held a Congress in this beautiful city, and many of us have been delegates to conferences of the seamen and other transport workers in this country.

I should also like to thank the Norwegian Minister of Communications, Mr. Langhelle, and Deputy Mayor Bull and the City Council, for the welcome they have extended to us. We appreciate very greatly the interest they have shown in our work by attending this first session of the Congress, and we are highly honoured by the fact that the Norwegian Government should have delegated its Minister of Communications to our Congress.

I am sure that the democratic principles which this country follows and the high standard of living which its working class enjoys, will be an inspiration to the delegates to this Congress. It is also a country of great importance for transportation, a great seafaring nation. We are well aware how much we owe to the seafarers of Norway for what they did during the recent gigantic struggle against Fascism and Nazism.

*The President then proceeded to deliver his*

### **PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS**

OMER BECU (President) : In welcoming the delegates and guests to this second post-war Congress of the International Transport Workers' Federation I wish in the first place to express the deep joy I feel at occupying the chair at a gathering of such significance. It is the first time that this great honour falls to me, as I was only chosen President of the I.T.F. at the meeting of its General Council which took place in London in November 1947, in succession to Brother John Benstead, when he retired from the office to take up an appointment as member of the Transport Commission which to-day operates the nationalized transport system of the United Kingdom.

This is the second time that the Congress of the I.T.F. meets in Oslo. The earlier congress was a very important milestone in the history of the I.T.F. The year was 1920 and it marked the reconstitution of the I.T.F. after it had been forced to discontinue activities during the four years of the first world war. Among the acts of that Oslo Congress was the adoption of a new Constitution for the I.T.F., which laid the foundations for the great development which the International was to experience during the inter-war period.

In those days the I.T.F. already cherished the hope of uniting within its ranks the organized transport workers of the world regardless of nationality, race or creed, and its Constitution of that time was framed with that object in view. To a great extent the object was attained. Practically all the countries of Europe entered our ranks, and even a substantial number of countries in other Continents. There was, however, one notable exception. Though the hand of friendship was extended to the transport workers of the Soviet Union, their trade unions were not prepared to come into one organization with those of other countries. It is not necessary for me to analyse the reasons for this. Suffice it to say that we now know, after endless attempts to find a basis of agreement, that the Russian trade union movement as it is today will never join forces with a wider movement in which it cannot unconditionally lay down the law ; that there never was any possibility of reaching agreement with them on the democratic basis which to us is primary.

Yes, the first I.T.F. congress held in the Norwegian capital, which was still known as Christiania at the time, was a memorable event in our history and we only hope that we shall have an equally fruitful congress in the week that lies ahead.

In memory of those earlier days we have invited to be with us as our guests of honour today three veterans who attended the Oslo Congress of 1920 and who played conspicuous roles in the I.T.F. during the intervening years. They are Johan Brautigam of the Dutch Transport Workers, who was a member of our Management Committee for many years ; Johann Doring of the German Transport Workers, who sat on the Executive Committee until 1932 ; and finally Charles Lindley, of the Swedish Transport Workers' Union, who was President of the I.T.F. from 1935 until he retired after presiding over our first congress held after the last war, in Zurich in May 1946. Further we have with us, also as guests of honour, Norwegian veterans who participated in the 1920



Congress and who have also rendered signal services to the I.T.F. : Nilsen and Birkeland of the Norwegian Seamen's Union and Fladeby of the Norwegian Transport Workers' Union.

To all these old stalwarts I extend a most hearty welcome on behalf of the Executive Committee. There is another stalwart of the 1920 Congress whom we should have liked to have with us, namely Brother Ernest Bevin, who to-day holds the high office of Foreign Secretary of the United Kingdom. I am sure you will all associate yourselves with me in extending a special greeting from this Congress to the former leader of the British Transport Workers.

I cannot mention all our guests and observers by name, for they number something like a hundred, but allow me to extend a special welcome to one or two : Mrs. Krier, who rendered signal services to the I.T.F. during the war, particularly in connection with the New York Office, and Messrs. Bratt and Fano, who are representing the International Labour Office.

On occasions such as this, there is always a sad ceremony to perform, for reminiscences bring back memories of those who have passed away. During the two years death has again taken its toll, and in the Report before you the I.T.F.'s tribute is paid to the departed comrades. Only a few days ago we suffered another loss through the death of Brother Bostock, General Secretary of the British Railway Clerks' Association and member of the Management Committee of the I.T.F., who died in the prime of life within a year almost of his election to office. As a tribute to our departed comrades I request the delegates to stand one minute in silence.

Figures are not everything, but a brief glance at the number of countries, unions and members organized in the I.T.F. to-day, compared with 1920, shows how far we have travelled in the intervening years. In 1920 the I.T.F. had 14 affiliated unions, in eight countries, with an aggregate membership of about one and a half million. The Report on Activities has shown you that when it was written the number of affiliated unions was no less than 105 in 45 countries, and that the aggregate membership had reached the impressive total of about four and a half millions. At yesterday's meeting of the Executive Committee a further five unions were admitted to affiliation, namely the French Merchant Navy Officers' Association, the U.S. Brotherhood of Teamsters, the Scottish Horse and Motormen's Union, the Motor Drivers of Port Said and the Motor Drivers of Zagazig.

This happy growth of the I.T.F. is evidence of the fact that trade-unionism, in both the national and the international spheres, has come to be recognized by the workers as a major force for raising the material well-being of the peoples. It is evidence also that organized transport labour is well satisfied with the manner in which the I.T.F. has applied itself to the tasks for which it was created.

I say this in no mood of complacency. The record of the I.T.F. for the close on three decades which have elapsed since the 1920 Oslo Congress is one of setbacks as well as accomplishment. How could it be otherwise during a period of such profound and widespread economic and political turmoil and upheaval ? I say simply that we can draw encouragement

from the growth of I.T.F. influence and from the confidence placed in it by transport labour in a steadily widening area of the world, and hope that the world will yet succeed in overcoming the perils with which it is confronted.

It is gratifying to be able to say that the country which is the host of our congress to-day is one in which the tradition of trade-unionism is very firmly rooted. Despite the ordeal of the German occupation during the war years, the Norwegian workers have lost none of their zeal for trade union organization. Their unions were ever a tower of strength in the I.T.F. and we are proud to have six of them in our ranks to-day. The membership figures of these unions show what an important force they are in a country with a population of about three millions. There is the Norwegian Railwaymen's Union with over 19,000 members, the Locomotivemen's Union with 2,000, the Transport Workers' Union with 23,000, the Seamen's Union, also with 23,000, the Marine Engineers' Union with 3,500 and the Navigators' Union with 3,000.

This is the second congress to be held since the end of World War No. 2, which the I.T.F. was able to survive without any interruption of its activities. The first post-war congress took place in Zurich in May 1946. During the two years elapsed since then many important events have taken place in the world at large, but it is not my task to consider them here : I confine myself to the briefest reference. During those two years the world outlook has certainly not brightened, but to-day problems can be seen more clearly than just after the greatest conflagration in the world's history : we can distinguish the short and the long term problems, and can with more assurance make plans for dealing with some of them.

To review the whole of the world scene would take me beyond my purpose, but I will touch briefly on a few of the countries and on their bearing on the affairs of the I.T.F. Starting on a low note, let me refer first to Germany, which is a country posing many a dilemma to the world. As the loser in the most destructive of wars, Germany is to-day a broken and completely impoverished nation. But the permanent impoverishment of Germany, in the heart of Europe, would mean the disruption of the economic life of the whole continent. Yet the recovery of Germany raises all sorts of issues connected with the fear that she will once again exploit her power to plunge the world into war. But the problem goes deeper than that. The war with Germany was engaged in the name of vital human values which she had disregarded. The question to-day is how can the military victory gained over her be used without betraying the values for which the war was fought ? No answer can be found to that question unless a truly democratic regime is established in Germany. Such a regime is an essential condition for the achievement of European co-operation and avoidance of another world war.

The settlement of the German issue is indeed important from many points of view. The crisis which has arisen over Berlin, and which is at its height as this Congress assembles, shows how difficult and delicate the problem and its implications are. We will not go into the matter here, except to say that inside Germany the trade union movement is one of the forces working for a Germany prosperous and in harmony with the rest of the world. Therefore the German trade unions are entitled to our

sympathy and support, and we are happy to know that we enjoy theirs and that two of them, embracing a total of 650,000 railwaymen and transport workers in the Anglo-American bizon, once again occupy a place in the I.T.F. They are represented at this Congress, for the first time since 1932, by comrades whom we have known for a long period of years as valiant fighters for the rights of the workers and the highest ideals of mankind and whom we are very proud to have in our midst.

Another problematic country, especially from the I.T.F. point of view, is France. Although during the days of the resistance and afterwards the I.T.F. rendered all the aid it could to the transport trade unions which re-emerged there following the deliverance from German occupation, political factors gained the upper hand and prevented them from keeping their traditional place in the I.T.F. But the same forces which brought about this estrangement eventually caused a split in the French movement itself. The new trade unions which arose in France owing to this development did not hesitate to fill the vacant place in our ranks. To-day these unions are not numerically strong, but they are the carriers of the true traditions of free trade-unionism in France, and we are therefore happy to welcome their representatives at our Congress.

There are other countries where factors of the same kind as those operating in France have resulted in temporary estrangements from the I.T.F. On the morrow of the recent war the transport unions of countries such as Poland, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Bulgaria—they are, to put it bluntly, the countries within the Soviet sphere of influence—did not renew their membership of the I.T.F. But these are countries which all played worthy roles in the I.T.F. in years gone by, and we have therefore by no means lost hope that the ideas of sound trade-unionism still survive there, and that some day they will prevail and lead to the return of these unions to the brotherhood of the I.T.F.

Indeed we do more than hope. We are determined to give what assistance we can to the forces in these countries which desire freedom and union with the democratic sector of the working class movement. In the days of the German occupation and domination of Europe we never lost touch with those who remained loyal to our ideals and aspirations and we shall explore and exploit all opportunities of maintaining contact with and bringing aid to our friends who to-day are held in a thrall of a similar kind.

After looking to the east let us turn our gaze to the west, to the United States of America in particular. For many years this country showed a determined desire to shut itself off from developments in other parts of the world, believing that it could best work out its destiny with as few external relations as possible. The first world war brought an interlude in which there was a reversal of this policy, but disappointment with the outcome soon led the U.S.A. to revert to its former isolation. This attitude was also reflected in that of the American trade unions. Though fully prepared to entertain cordial relations with trade unions abroad, they did not believe there was an active role for them to play in the international movement.

World events have since taught America that in the long run she cannot dissociate herself from world affairs, economically or politically. With the wholeheartedness characteristic of this great nation it seems

determined to accept the implications of this fact in all their fulness, recognizing that in modern times the different parts of the world are closely interdependent, that in the world as it is poverty and unrest cannot exist in one place without causing repercussions elsewhere, that, therefore, good-neighbourliness and co-operation on a world scale is in the ultimate interests of all concerned.

The new attitude is again reflected in the labour and trade union movement of America, which indeed is one of the main driving forces bringing the country into closer contact with others, and it is further reflected in the strong foothold which the I.T.F. has gained in the American continent. Since the establishment of our New York office in 1941, U.S. unions have joined, representing an increase of 800,000 in I.T.F. membership, to say nothing of the immense increase in prestige and potentiality.

The U.S.A. cannot be mentioned without thinking of the European Recovery Programme. Much has been written and said about this phase in American intervention in world affairs. Though some choose to see it as part of a purely selfish plan to impose American domination upon Europe, others recognize it as an attempt, inspired by generosity and enlightenment, to prevent the ruin of Europe from dragging the whole of civilization down into chaos. The I.T.F. was quick to appreciate the American offer at its true worth. It considered the E.R.P. in all its aspects and implications, including of course the particular bearings on the transport industry and transport workers, at a special conference held in Luxemburg in April of this year. The conference adopted a series of resolutions on the different issues involved and unequivocally pledged the support and offered the co-operation of the I.T.F. in the accomplishment of the great project. The I.T.F. is not only prepared to play any part assigned to it in the carrying out of the American plan, it will also fight uncompromisingly the forces which still strive to sabotage it. But though the I.T.F. is prepared to pay almost any price to help to save the peoples from a third world war, which might spell the doom of civilization as we know it, the price must be compatible with honour and the preservation of the freedoms which we hold dear above everything else.

Here it is appropriate to say a few words about those countries which are prepared to share the benefits of the Marshall Plan, but show no signs of any willingness to meet the obligations which it implies. I refer to countries such as Greece, Portugal and Turkey, which continue to deny the workers the most elementary rights. There is no doubt that this Congress will insist that the governments of these countries must radically change their policy towards the working class and recognize the workers' right to organize freely in trade unions before we shall be prepared to co-operate with them in any way.

And the same applies to Spain, There is no doubt whatsoever that Franco has failed to win the confidence of the Spanish workers and that the majority of the Spanish people desire the removal of his regime. This is not difficult to understand when one knows the misery and poverty which continue to be the lot of the working class in Spain. The beggar is more than ever the dominating feature of the street scene in Madrid. The situation in Spain to-day shows more than ever the need for us to give all the support we can to any movement aiming at a change of régime in that unfortunate country.

Thanks to the continued loyalty and unstinting co-operation of the unions which have been affiliated for many years, and to the support of the new recruits to its ranks, the I.T.F. can look back on a period of fruitful activities since its previous Congress. These activities, which had to be undertaken with resources still very restricted, benefited all sections. Full details will be found in the comprehensive Report on Activities and other documents which are before the delegates. Here I will only mention the consideration given to sectional matters, such as the question of hours of work and rest and various technical problems of the railway industry, the question of working hours and rest periods in road transport, the International Seafarers' Charter, the decasualization scheme for the dockers, the new charter drawn up for the fishing industry and the regional programme for inland navigation, for the Rhine system more particularly. Many international conferences have been organized in connection with this sectional work. They have resulted in the elaboration of international programmes of action, which thanks to solid co-operation with the International Labour Office, through the Inland Transport Committee, Joint Maritime Commission, International Labour Conferences and other international agencies, are on the way towards realization.

Here is the place where, on behalf of the Executive Committee, I should render warm thanks to our affiliated unions in Britain, Holland, Belgium, Scandinavia and many other countries in Europe. Here it is also fitting to recall that during the period I am reviewing a number of them have celebrated their 50th anniversary, indeed a notable milestone in the life of any organization, while one of them has commemorated what is no doubt a unique achievement in trade union history. Friends and comrades, I ask for a special round of applause for the Swedish Engineers' Union, which can look back on a century of existence.

Among the matters coming up for discussion at this Congress is that of the World Federation of Trade Unions and its plans for superseding International Trade Secretariats such as the I.T.F. by International Trade Departments strictly subordinate to the central body. This is an unfortunate chapter in trade union history, of which a full account is contained in the reports of the Secretariat. It would not be fitting for me to make a pronouncement on the subject at this point, and I will confine myself to remarking that the Secretariat and the governing bodies of the I.T.F. have strictly conformed to the instructions of the Zurich Congress in both the letter and the spirit, but that in spite of our best endeavours it has proved impossible to reach an acceptable agreement.

The gap in international trade union structure consequent upon the failure to solve the question of the relations between the W.F.T.U. and the I.T.S. is a serious one, and how to overcome it should be a major concern of the movement. Meanwhile the I.T.F. is trying to meet the immediate situation by entering into consultations with other International Trade Secretariats on matters of common interest.

As far as its own structure is concerned, the I.T.F. is resolved to develop it to the extent required by the tasks that demand to be done. I.T.F. activity is fast assuming proportions where the creation of sub-secretariats, with a proper balance between central and delegated functions, is an urgent necessity. A memorandum on the subject is on the agenda of this Congress. It shows that the New York office has been working

satisfactorily since 1941, but that it must be developed as soon as possible into a sub-secretariat for the North American Continent. An I.T.F. envoy has recently toured the countries of Latin America for the purpose of exploring the possibility of establishing a sub-secretariat for that part of the world, while a special commissioner of the I.T.F. has been stationed at Singapore and is preparing the ground for a Far Eastern Secretariat. At present he is promoting the formation and consolidation of trade unions for seafarers in the region—an important phase of the plan to prevent the exploitation of Asiatic seamen from becoming a menace to the conditions of other seafarers.

The goal of the I.T.F., as I have said, has always been world wide organization of the transport workers. Great progress has been made towards it, but more remains to be done. Many unions of transport workers in the Near, Middle and Far East, in Australasia, Africa and Latin America, are still outside the I.T.F. From this Congress I wish to address an urgent appeal to these unions to join our ranks and add their resources to ours in order that the goal which is at last in sight may soon be attained.

This concludes my rapid survey of the position in which the I.T.F. finds itself on the eve of the Oslo Congress of 1948. Looking back, it has no reason to feel dissatisfied with the accomplishments of the past. Fortified by the knowledge that it enjoys the allegiance of a growing number of unions in a growing number of countries, that it embodies the hopes and aspirations of millions of transport workers of many languages and races, it can face the troubled future with complete confidence that it can make its full contribution towards solving the problems of the people it represents.

#### COMPOSITION OF CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE

*The PRESIDENT proposed, on behalf of the Executive Committee, that the Credentials Committee should consist of five persons, one representative each of the United States, Great Britain, Scandinavia, Austria and Belgium.*

*The Congress agreed to this proposal, and the following were nominated :*

United States: Eric Peterson (Railway Labor Executives' Association)

Great Britain : J. G. Baty (Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen).

Scandinavia : J. Christensson (Swedish Transport Workers' Union).

Austria : Andreas Thaler (Austrian Railwaymen's Union).

Belgium : R. Dekeyzer (Belgian Transport Workers' Union).

*The Congress then adjourned.*

**Monday, 19th July, 1948**

**AFTERNOON SESSION**

The PRESIDENT : In my address this morning I referred to a number of I.T.F. veterans who attended our first Oslo Congress, after world war number one. I did not mention another veteran who was not present at the time. He has since arrived, and I should like to refer to him as also one of those who attended that Congress. He is Brother Karl Weigl, President of the Austrian Transport Workers' Union. He is attending not as a guest, but as a regular delegate.

I have a few announcements to make. We have received a telegram from the Chinese Railroad Workers' Union, which reads as follows :

“ On behalf of 300,000 Chinese railroad workers we cordially congratulate the inaugural session of the International Transport Workers' Congress, symbolizing the unity and co-operation of world transport labourers. Regret failure to attend this meeting. We assure you of our participation in the next.”

This telegram is signed by Pei Ting Siang, of Nanking, on behalf of the Executive Council of the Chinese Railroad Workers' Union.

And here is another message from Brother Mungat, of the Maritime Union of India, the organization of the Indian ships' officers. He says :

“ Wish Conference all success.”

Finally I want to draw your attention to the invitation you have received to a dinner offered to delegates and their wives by the City Council of Oslo, tomorrow evening at 6 o'clock.

I will now call upon Mr. Bratt, of the International Labour Office, who wants to address the Congress.

**FRATERNAL ADDRESSES**

Mr. T. BRATT (International Labour Office) : The Director-General of the International Labour Office was very glad to accept the invitation of the I.T.F. to send to this important Congress a representative of the Maritime Section and a representative of the Industrial Committees Section, which deals with all forms of inland transport.

Mr. Fano and I deeply appreciate the opportunity of being here and of discussing with you the international aspects of your problems, which are the aspects that most closely concern the I.L.O., although at the same time we study with the greatest interest the progress which you make through your national efforts in your respective countries.

The Director-General has instructed me to convey to you his congratulations on the steady growth in membership and influence of the I.T.F. and his best wishes for continued success in your work. There has for a long time been close co-operation between the I.T.F. and the I.L.O., and we for our part hope that this co-operation will be continued and developed. The I.L.O. fully realizes that at times the I.T.F. shows a certain impatience at the delays of our procedure. This is entirely right and natural:

it is the duty and prerogative of the trade unions to stimulate the I.L.O. in its activities, and the I.L.O. welcomes the pressure, but the unions for their part must appreciate that the office is subject to tripartite pressure, and that it must take account not only of the legitimate desires of the workers, but also of the wishes of the other two groups that go to make up most of the organs that control its activities.

Many of you were at the Seattle Conference, and you may remember that Mr. Phelan pointed out there that the I.L.O. is not a super-State which can force Governments to take action : once a convention has been adopted by the Conference all that the I.L.O. can do is to see that States comply with the obligation to submit it to the appropriate legislative body. The I.L.O. cannot force States to ratify. That is the point at which we rely on the trade unions in the various countries to bring as much pressure as they can to bear on the governments.

In the next few days you will doubtless be discussing this question in connection with the Seattle conventions. The Joint Maritime Commission last December criticized the delay in ratifying these conventions, and if the seafarers had had their way the criticism would have been much stronger. Believe me, the office is just as anxious as you are to see ratifications rolling in. You and we shared in the preparatory work : you drew up the International Seafarers' Charter embodying your demands ; we prepared the draft texts which would give effect to those demands so far as it seemed possible to obtain the agreement of the Governments. Once the conventions were adopted—and they are in the main good and valuable conventions in spite of certain defects due to haste, and certain provisions which fall short of your expectations—once they were adopted, I say, they became *our* conventions. We want to see them ratified and applied, not only because our aim is to raise standards of employment for seafarers as for all other workers, but also because unratified or unworkable conventions are harmful to the prestige of our organization.

We have now convened the autumn meeting which was demanded by the J.M.C., at its December session, for the purpose of considering the replies of Governments stating the difficulties in the way of ratification.

The report containing those replies will be issued by the office in a few days. According to the latest information I have from Geneva, 20 Governments have replied, including a fair proportion of the more important countries. But the number also includes several which have no shipping worth mentioning, others which state they are still examining the conventions, and others which state they hope to ratify several of the conventions once they have amended their legislation. Of course there are several which have already authorized the ratification of some of the conventions or have bills pending which should permit ratification in the near future.

I have dwelt upon the Seattle conventions because I know this is one of the important subjects you are going to discuss at this Conference.

The I.L.O. will be attentive to any other questions you might raise here which may need its co-operation. Within the framework of the I.L.O. you have the Joint Maritime Commission and the Inland Transport Committee, which constitute appropriate international machinery for the consideration of most of your problems.



Action is being taken by Governments and by the office to implement the resolutions adopted at the second session of the Inland Transport Committee of the I.L.O.

The I.T.F. made a great contribution, not only towards the drawing up of these resolutions but also towards the very creation of the Inland Transport Committee. If I am right, it was the I.T.F. Congress which met in Luxemburg in 1938 which first asked for the creation, within the I.L.O., of special machinery to deal with particular problems affecting inland transport. I can assure you that the I.L.O. will co-operate with you in the great task of improving the lot of the working people.

The PRESIDENT : I want to thank Mr. Bratt for his address to the Congress and for the valuable information he has given about the activities of the I.L.O. as far as the transport workers are concerned. As Mr. Bratt has said, we have indeed always tried to co-operate as closely as possible with the International Labour Office, and the I.T.F. has indeed had many services from the I.L.O. We are confronted with many difficulties, and just as the I.L.O. can only act through the machinery at its disposal, so do the results which we can achieve through that body largely depend on the strength the labour movement can command. I am sure the I.L.O. will lend us its help in the future more than ever before. I should like to ask Mr. Bratt to convey our best greetings to the Director of the I.L.O., Mr. Phelan.

#### **REPORT ON ACTIVITIES FOR THE YEARS 1946 AND 1947**

A. VERCRUYCE (Belgian Tramwaymen's Union) : I have nothing but praise for those who drew up this Report. What it says about the negotiations between the W.F.T.U. and the I.T.F., in particular, is for us a document of capital importance, as it throws clearly into relief the bad faith of the leaders of the W.F.T.U.—the result of their complete subordination to the orders of a political party.

Before going into this matter, however, I should like to recall the report on full employment which I submitted to the Zurich Congress. Unfortunately no results can be registered in this respect, and crisis and unemployment are already threatening the workers throughout the world. I want to draw attention to this for the purpose of emphasizing the responsibility which devolves upon the W.F.T.U., for the problem of full employment is one to which it should have given preferential attention ; and I recall that it was to that organization in particular that my report was addressed.

But the question of full employment is only one among the many raised by the working class since its liberation. Unfortunately the W.F.T.U. has done absolutely nothing at all about any of them, and the so-called civilized peoples are still at the mercy of capitalist exploiters, while those which are called uncivilized have not only failed to secure a little more freedom, but are still exploited to the point that they constitute for Europe a very real danger, which will to-morrow find its expression in dumping. The case of our coloured brethren in South Africa, mentioned on page 20 of the Report, is a proof of this.

I think the moment has come to denounce those who are responsible for this painful and unhappy state of affairs, intentionally provoked by politicians in the pay of a certain political party.

The first setback the workers suffered was the ideological breach which first split the working class and then led it from defeat to defeat, for in so far as reforms of economic structure are concerned little or nothing has been achieved. The fact that the leaders of the W.F.T.U. are claiming purely and simply to absorb the international trade secretariats, for very obvious purposes, illustrates the truth of this assertion. Is it necessary to explain in detail the reasons why these leaders, lackeys of a political party, are demanding this absorption? I think you will agree that it is not, as you must all be convinced that the aim has been to make of the W.F.T.U. an instrument of political pressure for the exclusive benefit of Russia.

The first victims of these so-called "revolutionary" tactics were the workers of France. Yes, that France that might have been the first to get on its feet again, and that should have been the first to bring in the perfect law providing for social security, has allowed itself to be beaten by England—and still knows what hunger is.

At the beginning of 1948 the Communist Party tried to apply to us in Belgium the unhappy methods it had used in France. Our Belgian workers soon realized that the aim of the strikes they provoked was to create economic chaos, because the reconstruction of Europe does not suit the interests and imperialist aims of that Russia in which religion is no longer "the opium of the people."

But fully to appreciate the twisted and servile spirit which inspires the leaders of the W.F.T.U., who are trying to defend a "cause" which is far from being that of the working class, it will suffice to read the correspondence exchanged between the I.T.F. and the W.F.T.U., which reflects an authoritarian spirit which no free and independent trade union leader could think of tolerating. And the schemes issuing from the W.F.T.U. have followed one upon another, and all of them have been so many essays in duplicity. And all these discussions, which are still continuing, what have they brought us? Nothing whatsoever: integration, pure and adulterated, is still the aim. And to cap it all the national trade union centres are to be given more power than the international trade secretariats, while the W.F.T.U. will generously return to the latter one quarter of their contribution. It is easy to see what kind of a role the W.F.T.U. envisages for the international trade secretariats.

The I.T.F. has turned down this endeavour to place it under tutelage and I congratulate it, And as a result the W.F.T.U., which might have played a more important role in the world than the United Nations Organization, has lost all influence in the trade union movement, because the whole world knows that it is nothing but a branch of Moscow.

I rather regret that those who drew up the Report should have wasted so much time and paper on a man like Garcias—that Garcias who after the Zurich Congress called me a Fascist because I had opposed the sinking of our International in the W.F.T.U. As against what he has done for the French workers I can point to the real trade union work we have done, and the advances we have secured, as evidenced by our schedule of working conditions.

I must apologize for having spoken at some length, but I think the moment has come to speak clearly to the workers. We prefer freedom,

real freedom, to the Bolshevik mirage, because without freedom the emancipation of the working class is impossible. But let us be true to ourselves, and be equally determined in our opposition to Western imperialism.

Before I end let me say how glad I am to see our French comrades at this Congress. I know they are having a hard struggle to rally their forces, and I hope and believe that in this they will be able to count on the assistance of the I.T.F.

G. J. JOUSTRA (Dutch Railwaymen's and Tramwaymen's Union) : It was not my intention to speak on the Report, because as a member of the Executive Committee I am, with others, responsible for its contents. When we discussed the Report in my own National Executive, my friend and co-delegate Brother Landskroon was instructed to convey our views to this meeting, but unfortunately he fell seriously ill on his way to Oslo, and had to return to Holland. He gave me his notes and asked me to speak on his behalf.

The Dutch Railwaymen's Union has always appreciated the work of the I.T.F. very highly, and we are satisfied with what has been done during the last two years—especially the stand taken to safeguard the autonomy of the I.T.F.

In our view it has been the main task of the I.T.F. in the post-war period to support the measures taken towards recovery by the countries which suffered as a consequence of the war. We wanted positive measures to restore prosperity where it had been lost, and to improve the living standards of the working class.

The danger which faced us at the end of the war was complete economic collapse, and this would have occurred if our trade union movement had not lent its support to the efforts being made towards a speedy recovery, a recovery which was in most cases the result of the economic policies of governments in which Labour is a determining or preponderant factor.

But we also found in our countries a section of the working class trying to do everything possible to destroy the foundations of our economic recovery and increased prosperity, and either wittingly or unwittingly they were endeavouring to force our standards down and promote the economic distress which is fatal to democratic development but a fertile soil for totalitarianism. But we want dictatorship neither of one kind or the other.

Ever since 1945 the I.T.F. has given a clear lead and has set a splendid example to the rest of the international trade union movement. I need only remind you that the I.T.F. was the first international trade union organization to recognize the importance of the Marshall Plan and to support it. As a result the Communists accused us of being the lackeys of American imperialism. But we can take it, and we shall not give way to the protests of those who are fully aware that they are losing the hold they had, and whose only hope lies in causing or perpetuating economic disaster. There are times when it is necessary to speak out, and in my opinion it has now come to say very bluntly and quite plainly that the Communists are the tools of Soviet imperialism. We are the tools of no

imperialism, American or other, but free and independent men who think for themselves and who judge plans for economic recovery on their merits.

It is very gratifying that in the I.T.F. we have managed to achieve a very considerable degree of agreement, if not complete unanimity, as to the road we ought to travel.

I refer with a good deal of reluctance to the miserable picture which the W.F.T.U. has so far presented to the world. Ought we to sacrifice our independence, our constructive work, our friendship, our solidarity, to the incoherence, indecision and intrigue which has marked the W.F.T.U. ? It may be that in 1945 there seemed to be a chance of integrating the efforts of all the international trade union organizations, but I submit that there is no longer any basis for such hopes. This is not the time to consider giving up the independence of the I.T.F. and chase a will-o'-the-wisp. If you have read the Report you cannot escape the conclusion that the Russians and their satellites want to destroy our International, to get it out of the way because it is a stumbling block on their road towards total control. We shall never fall for that kind of thing.

I must cut my speech short, but there are two or three further remarks that I should like to make. First of all we have noted with considerable satisfaction that the I.T.F. has been dealing with a number of technical problems connected with the railway industry. We brought this matter up in 1946, and although there is still a good deal to be done, we have every reason to be grateful for what *has* been done, which has been of considerable importance to affiliated organizations. We are aware that financial considerations have prevented the Secretariat from doing more in this field of activity, and we are prepared to give our support to any proposal to improve the economic position of the I.T.F.

Then there is the work of the Inland Transport Committee of the I.L.O. That was a useful initiative, but it will be necessary to expand this work and make it possible for the several branches of the transport industry to take an active part in it. This can only be done by decentralization. Each country can only send two representatives to these meetings, and that is not enough. The Dutch railwaymen for instance, have so far had no representation.

We feel that more should be done to carry into effect the decisions or recommendations of the Inland Transport Committee. Perhaps the first step should be to give these decisions the same force as the recommendations adopted at International Labour Conferences, so that governments would be compelled to report to the I.L.O. what they have done to put the decisions into practice, or the reasons why they have not done anything.

In conclusion I want to say that we shall vote for the Report, and that we earnestly hope that the I.T.F. will carry on and keep its flag flying.

M. I. ZEIN EL DIN (Egyptian transport workers) : You may be interested in hearing something about the trade union movement in the Arab world. Well, I can assure you that in that part of the world there is a good sound movement, headed by honest and devoted leaders. It has not, of course, reached the same stage of development as the trade union

movement in Europe and America, but it is making good headway towards organization and solidarity, thanks to the practical support and guidance of the I.T.F. and the growing consciousness of the Arab trade union leaders. It is, of course, a hard job, but the I.T.F. is prepared to do all it can for these organizations, and we are sure that we shall succeed.

During the summer of 1947 I made a second tour on behalf of the I.T.F. through a number of countries in the Near and Middle East, and I can say that I noticed a good deal of progress in social and labour conditions and legislation since my previous trip in 1944. Transport workers' unions were making earnest endeavours to increase their membership, and they are very keen about affiliation with the I.T.F. During the trip I visited a tramwaymen's union in Damascus which wanted to affiliate and later sent me a small affiliation fee. They could not afford more on their membership of only 300, but it shows co-operation with the I.T.F. on the part of the Arab world.

Among the Arab countries Egypt is the most advanced as regards social conditions and labour legislation, and such matters as health centres, social centres, etc. Two good measures that came into force recently are the Industrial Diseases Act and a new Arbitration Act, while Parliament has before it at the present moment a Social Insurance Bill and a Collective Bargaining Bill, which I hope will become law shortly.

There are a couple of small matters I should like to mention in connection with the W.F.T.U. That organization claims that it has secured affiliations in Egypt. I deny the truth of that claim. What is true is that the W.F.T.U. is in touch with a few individuals who have plenty of money to spend but who instead of doing constructive work are merely trying to cause trouble. The more inexperienced workers sometimes fall victim to this, and the effect is to undermine the young trade union movement and demoralize the workers.

The W.F.T.U. are also proposing to investigate the trade union position in Egypt. One cannot help wondering why Egypt. Why does the W.F.T.U. not give its attention to countries such as Czechoslovakia, Poland and Hungary, where as far as I can see there is a complete lack of trade union freedom?

The transport workers' unions in my country are anxious that Egypt should be represented on the Inland Transport Committee of the I.L.O. And I should like to take this opportunity to say that at the I.L.O. Regional Conference at Istanbul the three groups—governments, employers and workers—should have participated, instead of the governments only.

I have proposed to the Executive Committee of the I.T.F. the publication of an Arabic journal, and I hope that this will materialize at an early date. I feel some embarrassment at making this proposal, but unfortunately we lack at present the means to finance a journal to propagate the democratic principles of the I.T.F. We believe, however, that once the journal has been started we shall soon be able to obtain a sufficient number of subscriptions to meet the cost. I may mention in this connection that the Transport Workers' Union in Damascus has been paying £4 an issue for the translation of the I.T.F. journal.

As you know, the I.T.F. has under consideration a plan to hold in Cairo a Regional Conference for the Near and Middle East, and I can

assure you that all the Arab transport workers' unions I visited showed great delight when I discussed this proposal with them. Such a conference would greatly strengthen the ties between the Arab transport workers, and be a great encouragement to them to co-operate with one another for their common good.

This Regional Conference will, I hope, be followed in a few years' time by an I.T.F. Congress held in the East, where we hope we shall meet the leaders of the I.T.F. from the different countries of Europe and the United States, so that we may profit from their wide knowledge and experience in connection with problems such as unemployment and labour legislation, which we can combine with the wisdom and philosophy of the East, so that we can have an I.T.F. which is truly representative of all transport workers. For the East still keeps to its ideals, its wisdom and its philosophy. If the West co-operates with the East on the basis of justice and equality we shall soon have a world better worth living in, a world of humanity, love, friendship and peace.

I should like to end my speech with a few words of appreciation to the Norwegian trade unions for what they have done for us, and in particular Brother Haugen. I have tried to find a few suitable words, and I have found a very beautiful poem. I wish you could all speak Arabic so that you could share with me the sweetness of this verse, said by an Egyptian who journeyed to Iraq. He felt very lonely there until he met a couple of friends. His words were (Brother Zein el Din spoke them in Arabic, and then gave a translation) : "Since I met you my loneliness has fled and my happiness has come back to me, and your Iraq has become my Iraq too." And so I should like to say to brothers Sönstebj and Haugen, who have given this Congress such a great reception : Since I met you my loneliness has fled and my happiness has come back to me, and your Norway has become my Norway too."

The GENERAL SECRETARY (J. H. Oldenbroek) : I have an announcement to make. We have with us an American delegate who has come all the way from America to celebrate his birthday here today. He is Mr. George Harrison, of the United States Railwaymen. He does not want to be lonely tonight, so he invites you all to a cocktail party at the Continental Hotel, which will last from 6.30 to 8 p.m.

R. HELGESSON (Swedish Transport Workers' Union) : The Swedish Transport Workers' Union has asked me to enquire of the Secretariat what it proposes to do for the benefit of the personnel employed in civil aviation. There is very little in the Report about the matter. In Sweden we had a conflict with the Aerotransport line during the winter of 1947-1948, and it threw into high relief the necessity of some kind of international agreement for the civil aviation personnel. I had hoped that we should have an opportunity at this Congress to meet delegates of this personnel from America and learn something from them about conditions there. We have been in contact with the Dutch organization and as a result have gathered that other countries are also feeling the need for something to be done. I should be glad to learn what, if anything, the I.T.F. is planning in this connection.

GEORGE HARRISON (U.S. Railway Labor Executives' Association) : This is the first Congress that the American railwaymen have had the privilege of attending since our affiliation with the International Transport

Workers' Federation, which has so far been only of short duration. We have enjoyed our experience, and we look forward to learning much from the exchange of view we shall be privileged to have with our brothers in the European trade union movements at this Congress.

Secretary General Oldenbroek has announced that we will have a little cocktail party tonight to celebrate my birthday, but I want to say that this cocktail party is being given by the American delegation as a whole. It so happens today is my birthday, and I appreciate my American brothers having used the occasion as an opportunity to extend their good wishes to all delegates who are attending this Congress.

I want to discuss briefly the question of the future status of the I.T.F. in relation to the World Federation of Trade Unions. I was happy to hear the views expressed by the delegates from Belgium and Holland against the association of this Federation with the W.F.T.U., and I endorse generally all they said about it.

This problem of association with the W.F.T.U. is not a new one to the American railway unions, and I am unable to escape from the position I occupy as one of the Vice-Presidents of the American Federation of Labor. I tell you that now because it may perhaps be said later on that some of the views I hold as representative of American railway labour are somewhat influenced by my dual capacity in the A.F. of L. and the R.L.E.A.

When the question of affiliating with the I.T.F. was first presented to the American railway unions, we could not but concern ourselves with the future of this great organization, because we were aware of the development of the W.F.T.U., and its efforts to embrace the I.T.F. as a department of itself. When the W.F.T.U. was still in the development stage, and under consideration by some of the leaders of the European trade unions, Sir Walter Citrine paid a visit to the United States, conferred with the International Relations Committee of the A.F. of L., and put forward the proposition that we should join in the creation of the W.F.T.U. After very deliberate consideration of the question we reached the conclusion—and advised Sir Walter accordingly—that we were unable to subscribe to the W.F.T.U., since it was clear that the Soviet “unions” were to participate in that organization. So the A.F. of L. declined to become a member of the W.F.T.U., and since sixteen of the twenty unions that make up the R.L.E.A. are also affiliated with the A.F. of L., it was doubly certain that the matter would be of concern to us when the proposition was submitted to affiliate the American railway unions with the I.T.F. I do not believe that this great and constructive international labour force of the I.T.F. is going to be persuaded to give up its independence, and its opportunities for serving, by becoming associated with the W.F.T.U. To us in the United States affiliation with the W.F.T.U., whether directly or indirectly, would be incompatible with our status as free trade-unionists. We just cannot understand that free trade unions, believing in democracy, can be prepared to associate with a body which comprises elements entirely opposed to all that we, as free trade-unionists, believe in, and to all that we strive to attain.

And so I want again to endorse the Report of the Executive Committee and to appeal to the delegates to this Congress to definitely determine that this I.T.F. shall maintain its independence, and shall insist on

continuing its opportunities to be of service and to carry the torch of free trade-unionism throughout the world. We in America have been a long time in coming to the point of accepting our responsibility in international affairs, but I believe that those people in our country who have finally reached that conclusion are determined to make their contribution.

We are here affiliated with the I.T.F. because we seek to be of assistance to you in the solution of your problems. We did not come here to get anything : we are here to help and give of our influence, if we have any, and make our contribution to a united world. We had a delegation from the I.T.F. over in the United States some time ago, and when I expressed some views on this subject at a dinner one night one of the executives of the Board stated that I had called a spade a spade. Well, I believe that is the only way to talk. I do not believe that the free trade unions can live with the totalitarian influences that are prevalent in the W.F.T.U. I believe that in world affairs we have reached the point where we must either fish or cut bait, as we say in America. In the far-reaching conflict between the ideologies followed by the free trade union movement and the totalitarian forces influenced by Soviet Russia and its satellite world there are no two ways in which we can preserve liberty and the dignity of man : we must marshal the forces of free trade-unionism. I do not believe that free trade-unionism can do two things at the same time : either we must freely express our ideas or we must give in and say we are going to quit the fight.

R. LAAN (Dutch Transport Workers' Union) : First of all I want to pay a hearty tribute to the Secretariat of the I.T.F. for all the work it has done during the past two years. The reports which have been submitted to delegates show that it can be said without exaggeration that the I.T.F. has proved to be the most active of all the international trade secretariats. Certainly it has made a very good impression upon our movement in Holland. I should like also to express my union's appreciation of the action of the I.T.F. in organizing the Road Transport Workers' Conference it held in Utrecht, and the important general conference it arranged in Luxemburg to consider the Marshall Plan. We are especially grateful for the help it gave us to secure the adoption, at Luxemburg, of the resolution put forward by the Belgian and Dutch transport workers' unions asking for the return to Antwerp and Rotterdam of the traffic which has recently been diverted to Hamburg and other German ports.

We also appreciate the fact that Brother Becu, of the Belgian Transport Workers' Union, is now holding the office of President of the I.T.F. We have already had an opportunity of convincing ourselves, at Luxemburg, that he is a very worthy successor of our friend Charles Lindley. On behalf of my colleagues I should like to express the hope that Comrade Becu may continue to hold the office until he has reached the same advanced age as Comrade Lindley.

I want also to endorse the remarks made by Brother Joustra about the Inland Transport Committee. Holland is in the unfortunate position that its trade union movement is divided into three different camps, and this is a handicap in getting agreement as to their representation in the Committee.

I should not like to let this opportunity go by for thanking the Executive Committee of the British Transport and General Workers' Union, in particular, for what they did on behalf of the Dutch children.



No less than £3,500 was contributed altogether to enable the Dutch Transport Workers' Union to send its members' children to spend a few weeks in England. I would like to ask Bro. Deakin to convey our thanks to his Executive Committee.

In so far as the W.F.T.U. is concerned I can only say that I entirely endorse the remarks of our American friend. We in Holland have had some experience of Communist tactics. When liberation from the Nazi occupation came in 1945 and we were experiencing tremendous difficulties, when 20,000 people were still in hospital as a result of malnutrition, and had to be artificially fed, the Communists followed a policy of calling one strike after another, adding enormously to our difficulties and clearly proving that they were determined to take advantage of the misery of the workers to make them more receptive to Communist ideas. It is obvious that political motives only are behind these practices, and we are convinced that Stalinism is nothing but a mask for Russian imperialism.

We are very happy indeed that we are now having the co-operation of our American friends in the form of the Marshall Plan. If we had not received this help in April of this year the standard of living of the Dutch people would have been 25 per cent lower than it actually is. This shows how tremendously significant it is for our people, though this does not prevent the Communists from saying that in accepting it we are placing ourselves at the service of American imperialism.

Their motives, are of course, purely political. We have the fate of Czechoslovakia and the death of Masaryk as a warning of what would happen if the workers were to listen to them. We are therefore the more grateful to the Executive Committee of the I.T.F. for the manner in which they have conducted the negotiations with the W.F.T.U. : they at any rate have not given way to Communist imperialism, and I hope they will continue along the same lines as they have followed up to now in this matter.

I hope also that this Congress may make its contribution towards the peace for which millions of workers throughout the world are anxiously yearning.

HANS JAHN (German Railwaymen's Union) : May I begin by thanking our President for the kind words he addressed to the German delegation. In reply I can say that we are proud to be affiliated once more to the I.T.F., and will put forward every effort to do what is expected of us. I should also like to thank our comrades in Norway, Sweden and Denmark for their help in making it possible for us to take part in this Congress ; and last, but not least, our friends in America for the large quantity of clothing which they have sent to be distributed among the German railwaymen.

We are working in Germany in extraordinarily difficult circumstances. On the one side the new German trade union movement has to face the manoeuvres of its old enemies, the Nazis, who are once more beginning to creep out of their holes. They do not need to set up any underground organization : they already occupy leading positions in public administration and industry. The fact that they are in Germany already better off than their victims is a serious barrier to reconstruction and a great danger for the future. Another danger comes from the East. The German Communist Party has had little political success in the western zones, and they are now saying that the political ground they have lost must be won

back by the conquest of the trade unions. If they should succeed in this the "action committees" which played such a decisive role in Czechoslovakia would no doubt come into play in Germany.

But we have made up our minds that we will have neither brown Bolshevism nor red Fascism. We want freedom, peace, justice and bread for everybody, and that is what we are fighting for in Berlin. The situation in Berlin is very grave indeed.

I have been asked to speak to the Congress on behalf of the 16,000 Berlin railwaymen belonging to the independent trade union opposition, and I also represent 410,000 organized railwaymen in the Bizonie and 54,000 in the French Zone. I know, also, that 150,000 railwaymen in the Eastern Zone are with us here in spirit. They have been condemned to silence since 1933, and I can assure you that though Hitler's concentration camps were no paradise, the Russian ones are even worse. Those of our people who are sent to the Russian concentration camps never come back. The Berlin workers are fighting for the freedom of Europe, in the hope that they may thereby restore the honour of the German worker and the German trade union movement.

Let us look at the facts of the case. Traffic over the railway lines from Western Germany to Berlin has been interrupted on the grounds that the lines need repair, though as an old locomotive driver I would still undertake to run a 2,000 ton train at forty miles an hour from Helmstadt to Berlin. Tomorrow the air corridor to Berlin may be blocked. During the war the Soviets were unable to realize the centuries-old dream of Czarist Russia, a gate to the Atlantic, and what they failed to secure by military power they are now trying to get by political means. Berlin is the political and strategic centre of Russia's imperialist and expansionist plans, and she will stick at nothing to capture it. It may be that a few tens of thousands of brave German workers will have to pay toll with their blood in Berlin to maintain the peace of the world. Let us hope that it may not be so, but as anti-Fascists we have seen too much not to know that the struggle for freedom demands of us the greatest sacrifices ; and we are prepared to make them if necessary.

And this question brings us to another. We want peace : we want peace above all with our friends in France. We are faced with the problem no longer of nationalization but of making a unit of Europe. We want to get out of the national way of thinking and become good Europeans, or better still good citizens of the world ; and this is the great task of the I.T.F., the I.T.F. that during the years of oppression so successfully helped the oppressed. The I.T.F. must be the standard bearer for all who stand for peace and understanding between the peoples. This was the only reason why I wanted to speak : to ask the I.T.F. to unfurl its banner and cry to the world that we want peace, because we hate war.

#### ANNOUNCEMENT.

The PRESIDENT : We have received a letter from Brother J. van der Meulen, representative of the Dutch seamen, who regrets that he has had to interrupt his journey to Oslo owing to his wife having fallen ill. He expresses the wish that our Congress and all our endeavours may be successful.

*The Congress then adjourned until the following morning at 9.30.*

# Tuesday, 20th July, 1948

## MORNING SESSION

### REPORT ON ACTIVITIES FOR 1946-1947 (continued).

*The President opened the session at 9.30 a.m. and called upon R. Lapeyre to continue the discussion on the Report.*

R. LAPEYRE (French Public Works & Transport Federation) : To commence with I should like to make it clear that I am not speaking on behalf of the French delegation as a whole. Comrade Lafond can do that with greater authority as he is Secretary of the Force Ouvrière C.G.T., and he will tell you what the French delegation thinks of the I.T.F. and all the help we have received from it. I want to deal with trade and technical matters.

The French Public Works and Transport Federation has applied for affiliation to the I.T.F. for two reasons, one of a purely trade and occupational character and the other connected with trade union policy. To deal with the first of these, it should be borne in mind that most of our members are not exactly what you would call transport workers. A very large number of them are civil servants, people responsible for supervising economic, technical and social matters. They would be very glad, in case of need, to furnish the I.T.F., or its affiliated organizations, with much of the considerable amount of important information to which they have access at the Ministry of Transport. But I have come here above all to tell you of the very great interest we have in civil and commercial aviation. Yesterday our Swedish comrade Helgesson expressed regrets that more had not been done for the workers engaged in this kind of transport. We have in our Federation not only the ground staff but also the personnel of the Air France Company. We have succeeded in our country in bringing into the Aviation Cartel the whole of the personnel concerned with civil and commercial aviation. This imposes on us the obligation to make our contribution to the work of the I.T.F., and we are disappointed to find that in the information given in the Secretariat's Report France is not mentioned. But we realize that the French civil aviation personnel must play an active part in international trade union affairs, and that is one of the reasons why you find me on this rostrum. Within our Aviation Cartel in France we are meeting the same difficulties which the I.T.F. has to face internationally. We also find that air pilots are very cautious where trade union organization is concerned. But there is a tendency to forget that civil aviation personnel is not composed exclusively of the men who pilot the planes, but the whole of those concerned with the industry.

The difficulties we have encountered have not prevented us from continuing our efforts, and at the end of last month we organized a big conference of French civil and commercial aviation personnel. We invited the I.T.F. to send a representative, and we very much regret that a mission to Germany prevented Comrade Strauss from coming, as had been arranged. He would have seen that we had brought together some 200 of our members working in civil and commercial aviation ; and I am sure that this conference found an echo in all circles concerned with aviation.

I should like to say to our comrades of the Executive Committee and the General Council that it is not enough to deal with the rates of pay and working conditions of the personnel ; we want to see within the I.T.F. a real spirit of commercial aviation. It is already railway-minded and sea-minded ; let us make it also air-minded. It is necessary not only to collect information and study working conditions : we must also undertake enquiries into safety questions and the repercussion of other means of transport on the living standards of the personnel engaged in civil aviation.

It is a mistake to think of the pilots only : in the case of the railway-men you do not deal only with the locomotivemen, and in the case of civil aviation you should also give thought to the whole of the personnel, and to matters concerned with control and safety in flying. It is desirable to set up within the I.T.F. a full-scale organization comprising the whole of the personnel engaged in aviation, but I do not think we should try to include the men employed in building aeroplanes : that is not a transport service, and I think they should remain outside.

I do urge that this Congress should give the assurance that a secretariat shall be set up for civil aviation. This is absolutely necessary, particularly when we see that the pilots have already taken steps to set up an international of their own.

I will now explain to you the reasons of trade union policy which has led our Federation to join the I.T.F. Our Comrade Lafond will tell you why the French delegation as such has come to this Congress, but personally I should like to say that we have had the courage to break with the C.G.T. because it was clear to us that the French trade union movement was in the tow of a political party and a foreign country. And our action has certainly had its repercussions in Belgium and Holland. It was in November, when the strikes were on, that we decided to take the jump. And now, if we are not yet strong, we have at any rate the assurance that we are on the right track. It is unthinkable that the country of Montaigne, of Montesquieu, of Proudhon ; the country of the Charter of Amiens of 1906 ; should not take its place within the International.

We have come to the I.T.F. because we saw that it refused to be turned into a colony. The W.F.T.U. was endeavouring to set up trade departments within which the international trade secretariats would have lost their freedom. We came to you because we wanted to belong to an independent international organization, and we feel sure that the I.T.F. will know how to keep its independence and defend the rights of the transport workers who belong to free organizations in free countries.

A. DEAKIN (British Transport & General Workers' Union) : First of all I should like to congratulate the Secretariat of the I.T.F. on its Report. There is no doubt that the volume of work it has done has not been equalled by any of the other international trade secretariats, and I think it would be wrong if this Conference did not express its appreciation to those responsible for carrying out the day to day work of the I.T.F.

Having said that, I want now to be somewhat critical of some of the comments that have been made from this rostrum during the course of the discussion. I want to bring the discussion back to reality, because it seems perfectly clear to me that there is a complete misunderstanding of the intentions and the work of the W.F.T.U.

Now I am perhaps in a position of being able to speak with a special interest in international trade union organizations. It is well known to the delegates here that I am the President of the W.F.T.U. I am also a member of the Management Committee of the I.T.F. and General Secretary of an organization that has been a fairly active affiliate of the I.T.F. right from the commencement. So I think I can claim some knowledge of the course of events and the motives which have inspired the international trade union movement over a long period of years and brought about the close co-operation that exists between the national trade union centres and the international trade union organizations. It is with that experience behind me that I feel entitled to say that there is a good deal of misunderstanding prevailing at the present moment with regard to the work of the W.F.T.U.

I want to start my criticism of the comments that have been made with the statements of Brother Vercruyce. He said that there has been a breach of faith on the part of the W.F.T.U. Well, he may think that, but I want to say that I am not aware of it, particularly in relation to the question of integrating the trade secretariats in the W.F.T.U. as trade departments, as I hope to be able to prove. Vercruyce went on to say that it was a *demand* of the leaders of the W.F.T.U. that this integration should take place. I want to strongly deny that assertion, because it is not true.

In the first place, when the idea was projected of setting up a world organization of trade unions, it was purely in a general sense and with no particular desire on the part of the national trade union centres concerned, including that of the U.S.S.R., that the international trade secretariats should be incorporated. The suggestion was discussed, however, by the constituent assembly on the basis of the requirements of the British T.U.C., which was only prepared to agree to affiliate with the W.F.T.U. if within that body the trade departments would be free to carry on the work of the trade secretariats. For a long period of time it was quite clear that notwithstanding that requirement, and notwithstanding the decision of the 1945 Paris Conference, in the main the people of whom it is said that they now constitute the Communist block within the W.F.T.U. were not at all anxious to take any steps by way of applying the conditions contained in Article 13 of the Constitution of the W.F.T.U. However, the British T.U.C. said in an unmistakable way that it was necessary to get down and engage in a discussion with the international trade secretariats for the purpose of determining whether conditions could be arranged which would be acceptable to the trade secretariats. Now I want to put this point as strongly as I can : during the whole of the time that the W.F.T.U. has been in existence and considering this question of trade departments the British T.U.C. has taken a very definite line, namely, that under no circumstances whatsoever would it be prepared to agree to any pressure or coercion in so far as the trade secretariats were concerned. If they came in, then they must come in under conditions that were completely acceptable to them.

After Lord Citrine retired from the presidency of the W.F.T.U. I took his place and was principally responsible for the conduct of the negotiations with the trade secretariats. While it may be said at this time that the conditions offered them cannot be regarded as satisfactory, I am telling you this morning that there would have been no progress had it not

been for the very definite line taken by the British representatives. There were other people who were interested but to a lesser extent ; they had no background in so far as the work of the trade secretariats was concerned ; they were very far removed from the scene of activities ; they knew nothing of the value placed upon the work the trade secretariats have done in conjunction with the International Labour Office. Those of us who have been much longer in this movement said very definitely that under no circumstances at all would we be prepared to sacrifice that knowledge, that experience and the very great value we attach to the International Labour Organization by reason of its collaboration with the trade secretariats.

By arguments of that character we drew a very clearly established line, and a very substantial improvement was made in the proposals for the integration of the trade secretariats within the W.F.T.U. I do not want to say that the conditions now offered can be regarded as satisfactory. I know they fall short of the requirements of the trade secretariats, but I believe it is the duty of the I.T.F. to carry on the negotiations in partnership with the Joint Committee which was set up in Paris for the purpose of continuing the discussions with the W.F.T.U. In the Report reference is made to the Conference which will take place in Paris some time in September. Now unless this Congress reverses its decision then I say, notwithstanding what my friend George Harrison from the United States said yesterday, that the Secretariat and the Management Committee of the I.T.F. are obliged to carry out the decision of the Zurich Congress.

Let there be no misunderstanding about that decision. It accepted in principle the possibility of integrating the trade secretariats within the W.F.T.U., always provided that conditions could be arranged which were acceptable, and it said that in the event of it becoming necessary a special congress of the I.T.F. should be convened to consider the position. Now it would be stupid of me today to suggest that conditions have not altered since that decision was come to, but I do want to say this : that if we should at this particular moment strive to divide the trade union movement of the world into two divisions, a Communist and a non-Communist one, we should not be making, as trade unionists, the contribution that we ought to make toward the solution of the difficulties confronting the world at the present time.

I have no doubts about where I stand in this connection. Within the W.F.T.U. I am regarded as a trade-unionist opposed to the Communists. I make no bones about where I stand. I am out to fight Communism because I do not believe in it. I believe that the Communist philosophy is completely and unalterably opposed to the principles for which we stand and to those upon which our free trade union movement has been built. But I have got to be a realist. It is by no means true that the leaders of the W.F.T.U. have become servile. I don't accept that. I was sent there to put the point of view of the national trade union centre to which I am responsible, and the broad principles I stand for. But if we find some time or other that we cannot work within that organization we shall have to say so.

Do not be under any misapprehension : it is not, at this moment, merely a question of one form of trade union organization or another. My friend George Harrison suggests that where there is a national trade union centre pursuing a different policy from our own we should have

nothing to do with them. I do not agree. I could quickly find several national centres holding other points of view than my own, the Trades Union Congress. That would get us nowhere. If the contention put forward by our American friend, that we should not sit down together with representatives of trade unions having other views than our own, is a good one, it would apply equally as well to political parties and governments ; it would be as good as to say that representatives of the governments of Britain, the United States, France or any other country should not meet representatives of the U.S.S.R. That just does not make sense. That is not the way ; and I feel sure that in time we shall find a solution to our difficulties.

After all, what was our purpose. When we established the W.F.T.U. in Paris in 1945 three main principles were laid down. It was established firstly to provide means of co-operation ; secondly to fight for freedom ; and finally to provide aid for the reconstruction and rehabilitation of the devastated areas of the world.

I am not saying for one moment that we have lived up to expectations. We have not been able to reach agreement on the European Recovery Plan. There was first a clash of opinions between the national trade centres of those countries where there was a national centre. The fourteen countries accepting the principle of American aid were opposed by those countries associated with the Soviet block. We said definitely : all right, if we cannot get a discussion on the matter within the W.F.T.U. we will go outside to make a definite stand. At the end of last year we said that if we could not get agreement by a given date we would go outside ; and go outside we did. We went into discussions with the trades unions of the Benelux and other countries, and asked them to send representatives to a conference in London. At least we did try to get the results we desired.

As far as this Report is concerned I am in a difficulty. The General Secretary, will, I am sure, have something to say about where the Management Committee and the Executive Committee of the I.T.F. stand with regard to this matter. On page 101 of the Report there is a suggestion by the General Secretary that there was no reason for the I.T.F. to continue the discussions with the W.F.T.U.—I hope this view will not be maintained—since little more had been offered at that time than previously. That may be true, but before any conclusions are drawn from that fact I want to remind the General Secretary that the General Council of the T.U.C. has decided that under no circumstances whatsoever will it agree to any pressure or coercive action in so far as the international trade secretariats are concerned. This is a very material consideration that should affect the decision. At the recent meeting of the Executive Bureau of the W.F.T.U. in Rome it was said that there was a continued refusal on the part of the trade secretariats to come into the W.F.T.U., and we were asked whether we would support a proposal to bring pressure to bear of this character. It was suggested that if they refused we should proceed forthwith to the setting up of the trade departments of the W.F.T.U., bring in affiliates from those countries that were prepared to come in, and leave the international trade secretariats to go their own way as they thought fit. Some people talked about liquidating the trade secretariats. We made our position perfectly clear, that under no circumstances at all would we agree to any step of such a character being taken, but that

**when the negotiations should be resumed in September there should be the fullest opportunity for the trade secretariats and their Consultative Committee to meet and come to their decisions, and that afterwards the conference should be recalled for the purpose of continuing the discussions and finding out whether agreement could be reached. I have a pretty shrewd idea what is likely to be the outcome of any further discussions in Paris, as I know pretty well how the stage is set, and I should therefore like to make the suggestion to the General Secretary that any refusal on the part of the I.T.F. to stand by the rest of the international trade secretariats in their discussions with the W.F.T.U. would—to say the least of it—be misunderstood ; and I personally would regard it as a betrayal of the loyalty expected from this organization toward the other trade secretariats.**

I have one more point to raise, and I address it in particular to my American friends. The international trade secretariats are important bodies, but they are not concerned with general principles, not charged with the shaping of an international trade union policy ; it is their task to deal with the immediate day to day problems which affect the welfare of the millions of people we represent. I would agree without any hesitation that there is no more effective international trade secretariat than the I.T.F., but having made that point I should like to make the further one that this trade secretariat cannot, by reason of its constitution, by reason of its historic background, by reason of the fact that it is representative of transport alone, become the all-inclusive representative international organization. That would be a bad idea to gain currency as far as this organization is concerned. I do not know what the future holds in store, but I am perfectly sure of this : that whatever forms the organization of trade unions may take, we have got to forge an organization which will express freely and effectively the collective view of the organized workers throughout the world, and it should not centre round one particular trade secretariat. It is all right to come along and put ideas before us. I am not reproaching anything to our friends of the American continent, but I should like to point out to them in the kindest possible way that they stood on the side-walk for a long period of time without becoming associated with any international group, and that there are a lot of pitfalls associated with the work. We should like to have a free unfettered trade union organization that would give us an opportunity to co-operate, one nation with another, in achieving the high ideals and purposes we are out to establish : freedom of every possible kind. But in our pursuit of freedom do not let us cloud the issue by prejudice, let us learn from the experience of the past. Let us not create a division of the same character as exists in France between the C.G.T. and Force Ouvrière, between Communist and non-Communist. And we see the same trend developing in the Italian trade union movement—the establishment of rival organizations. Our American friends know the clock has been set back in their country by similar difficulties between the A.F. of L. and the C.I.O. The right path is one of tolerance, of clear thinking. This is no time to take impetuous action which we may regret as the days go by.

I hope that this Congress will do nothing more with regard to the question of the W.F.T.U. than it has done up to now, that it will reaffirm the decision of the Zurich Congress and allow its representatives to



participate in the further discussions, with the safeguard, the safety valve, of reporting back and convening a special Congress of the I.T.F. to discuss the whole question if that is found necessary.

I should like to say one final word. This Congress has just welcomed a number of new affiliates. But remember : it is just as easy to lose the old organizations as to welcome the new. This is by no means a threat : it is a statement that I feel called upon to make having regard to the policy of the British T.U.C. We all owe allegiance, loyalty, to our own national centre. Sometimes we find ourselves in difficulties by our adherence to that loyalty. That is why I should like to say to you : take your time, pause and consider the direction in which you are travelling, and above all go into this question in the thorough manner it deserves and in full understanding of all its implications. We are passing through a testing time : a revolution is taking place from day to day under our very eyes. If we can read the signs that show us the direction in which we are travelling, if we rid ourselves of our likes and dislikes, we shall create conditions which will have far-reaching effects on the future of our movement.

R. DEKEYZER (Belgian Transport Workers' Union) : As General Secretary of the Belgian Transport Workers' Union, which comprises nearly all Belgian seamen, dockers, tramwaymen and inland transport workers, I have great pleasure in conveying to this Congress our most hearty fraternal greetings. Our Executive Committee has carefully considered the Report on the I.T.F.'s activities during the years 1946 and 1947 and we want to congratulate the Secretariat on the fine work it has done. The I.T.F. is constantly growing in prestige, and it is with unbounded pleasure that we see the steady increase in the number of unions affiliated.

Our congratulations also extend to the Executive Committee, the General Council, and not forgetting the Management Committee, who, with the Secretariat, have faithfully carried out the work laid down by our Zurich Congress.

We should like to address a special word of praise to Brother Oldenbroek, the General Secretary of this International, who has worthily followed in the footsteps of his great predecessor Edo Fimmen. In most of our international conferences, be it in Seattle, Geneva, Brussels, London or elsewhere, he has been the soul and spirit of the workers' delegations. We are confident that he will keep on in the same way.

We should be failing in our duty if we did not also pay a great tribute to Brother Charles Jarman, the late General Secretary of the British National Union of Seamen, who died on the field of honour. He was a sincere friend and we deeply regret his far too early departure.

We have to express our thanks to the General Council for having chosen Becu to succeed Brother Benstead as President of the I.T.F. As a Belgian I should like to say that we are proud that such an honour should have fallen to our little country.

And now I should like to say a few words on the Report itself. Most of the tramwaymen are already affiliated to the I.T.F. in one way or another, but in some countries they are organized with the civil or public services. We should like to appeal to all of them to join the ranks of the I.T.F. instead of the Public Services International. They are transport workers in the first place, just as much as the seamen, dockers or railway-

men, and we are therefore very glad that the I.T.F. should have held this year, at Utrecht in Holland, a conference at which the trade interests of this group of transport workers were thoroughly discussed.

We fully understand the difficulties the Secretariat has had to face in connection with the publication of the I.T.F. journal and Press Report. They are very useful, and we can assure them that we regularly reproduce in our publications many of the items they contain. We should like to suggest a yearly or two-yearly meeting of the responsible editors of the different transport workers' national trade union journals, in order to discuss ways of giving more publicity to the activities of the I.T.F. Our members have full faith in the I.T.F. but it is a fact that more should be said about what it is doing for us. We do it occasionally, but not systematically. There is not enough co-ordination, and more publicity in the Labour press is desirable.

The I.T.F. has displayed great activity in its work for the different industrial sections, and there is no doubt that the culminating point has been reached in the Seafarers' Section with the securing of the Seattle conventions, which has set an example for the work to be done for the other sections.

At the last Congress attention was drawn to the situation of the fishermen. Today, thanks to the I.T.F., we have an International Fishermen's Charter. We hope that this Congress will agree to the setting up of a special Fishermen's Section within the I.T.F., and that in the not too distant future, at the request of the Secretariat, the I.L.O. will convene a special conference for them, enabling us to secure, for the first time in history, international conventions applicable to the fishermen. We hope, also, that the efforts which are being made on behalf of the workers engaged in civil aviation will be continued.

In conclusion I should like to say a few words on the subject of the relations with the W.F.T.U. We fully agree with the position taken up by the I.T.F. about its integration in that organization, and we published in extenso the resolution which the General Council of the I.T.F. adopted at its meeting in London from 25 to 27 November, 1947. We do not want to go beyond what was agreed at the Zurich Congress.

We read with a good deal of indignation, on page 113 of the Report, about the attitude taken up by Garcias, the leader of the French Road Transport Workers' Federation—an organization which has not only failed to comply with its financial obligations, notwithstanding that during the war and at the liberation it received substantial subsidies from the I.T.F., but which had the impudence to borrow money from the I.T.F. at the Zurich Congress and then refuse to refund it, and which in reporting to its National Committee about that Congress alleged that some delegations there, including the Belgian, "were of a distinctly Fascist and Rexist character." The Communists think they have a monopoly of democracy, and for them any other workers' representatives who do not fully agree with their view-point, and who dare to say it, are Fascists.

In connection with the relations with the W.F.T.U. may I add that at the meeting in Prague in June 1947 the Belgian Federation of Trade Unions refused to agree to the General Regulations adopted for the international trade departments.

In the past I.T.F. has always taken the lead in the international struggle against Fascism and for the betterment of the workers' conditions. We have full confidence that it will continue on the same lines, and in the struggle it will always be able to count on the Belgian transport workers.

S. CHRISTIANSSON (Swedish Railwaymen's Union) : The delegates to this Congress, and the workers they represent, upon whom the whole machinery of transport depends, are fully aware of the importance of international trade-unionism, and when the W.F.T.U. was set up in Paris in 1945 they believed, with the leaders of the trade union movement throughout the world, that a step had been taken towards mutual understanding between the peoples. It was expected that the newly created International would very soon prove to be an effective means to prevent war, to restore what had been destroyed by the war, and to rebuild the organizations that had been wrecked by the Nazis ; and that the organized workers throughout the world were therefore facing a happier future.

But what has been the result of all this promise? Nothing at all. What have the Executive Committee and General Council of the W.F.T.U. done since this organization was established on 3 October 1945? As far as I can see they have done nothing but to try and spoil our work and stir up trouble against the international trade secretariats generally, and force upon them regulations which we cannot regard as democratic.

General Secretary Oldenbroek has prepared a Report on the negotiations which took place in Paris at the end of 1946, and what has happened since, and as this is before you I do not need to go into details, but I do want to submit to you that an organization such as the I.T.F., an organization of world-wide scope and enjoying high prestige with the International Labour Office and with all the governments in the United Nations which are not under Communist influence should not be compelled to obey the W.F.T.U., or be absorbed by it, while it is under Communist leadership, particularly on the terms which have been proposed.

Throughout the fifty years during which it has carried on its activities the I.T.F. has never been the tool of any other organization, and we must see that this does not happen now. It has always maintained its independence, and should not give this up ; this is of vital importance to the millions of workers it represents.

I have every respect for my very good friend Mr. Deakin, of Great Britain, and for his work as President of the W.F.T.U. and member of the Management Committee of the I.T.F. and the General Council of the British Trades Union Congress, but I should like to remind him of what has happened at the meetings we have had so far with the W.F.T.U. How was it at the meeting in Paris in December 1946? On the first day the Russians had not arrived. On the second day they arrived in Paris, but did not attend the meeting. It was not until the third day that they turned up, but they were obviously very well posted with what had happened during the first two days of the meeting. They bluntly declared that they could not agree to what had already been decided, and they wanted to confine the number of trade departments in the W.F.T.U. to four only. They wanted to prevent the trade departments from choosing their own secretaries. They wanted to force on the trade departments a completely inadequate budget. They did recognize the necessity of the work the

international trade secretaries were doing, however, and if they had been honest about it they should have been willing to continue the negotiations. But apparently this was the last thing they wanted.

The only tangible result of the Paris meeting was that, after heated debates, we managed to secure the appointment of a Consultative Committee of the international trade secretariats to help the W.F.T.U. in drafting regulations for the trade departments. I can assure you that we were very willing to reach an agreement, but everything has been wrecked as a result of the behaviour of the W.F.T.U.

When it was apparent to the W.F.T.U. that they would not succeed in forcing through their aims in this way they tried another, and at the Prague meeting its Executive Bureau adopted regulations for the trade departments which were completely unacceptable to the international trade secretariats. It was clearly an attempt to dictate to them.

As a member of the Executive Committee of the I.T.F. I want to say that I am quite prepared to take the final step and break off the negotiations with the W.F.T.U., but if it is possible to carry them on in such a way that the I.T.F. does not sacrifice in any way its position as a free and independent organization I am willing also to continue them. In entering into new discussions, however, it must be made quite clear that the object aimed at is one which will preserve our autonomy, and that this will be the basis for the discussions.

**P. DE VRIES (Dutch Mercantile Marine Officers' Union) :** Speaking on behalf of the masters and officers of Netherland's merchant marine, I should like first of all to associate myself with previous speakers who have paid tribute to the magnificent Report which gives such a clear view of what the I.T.F. has done during the past two years.

Coming from a union which only became affiliated within these two years, I feel some hesitation in taking part in a discussion on the Report, but the fact that we have been closely co-operating with the I.T.F. for a long time during the period of industrial activity of the International Mercantile Marine Officers' Association gives me a feeling that I have really been one of you for many years.

This co-operation between the I.T.F. and the I.M.M.O.A. developed during the recent war into an ever-growing understanding of the necessity of the closest possible unity between the seafarers of all ranks, resulting finally in the decision of the I.M.M.O.A. to cease functioning as an industrial organization and to invite its member organizations to apply for direct affiliation with the I.T.F. There is no doubt that this was a very good decision which I am quite sure will prove that only by the closest possible unity can the working class uphold its rights and interests. In this connection I read with very great satisfaction, in the Report, that so far seven of the member organizations of the I.M.M.O.A. have joined the I.T.F., and I was also very pleased to learn, from our President's address this morning, that the French Mercantile Marine Officers' Union has also been admitted to membership. I hope that the time is very near when all mercantile marine officers' organizations will have found their place in our midst.

It may interest delegates to know that a Congress of the I.M.M.O.A. held at Stockholm last month adopted new rules which give the organiza-

tions functions of a purely technical character, and speaking as the newly elected President of that body I want to make it quite clear that the I.M.M.O.A. does not intend to go beyond these new rules, though we hope that the international contacts for which they will still afford an opportunity will enable us to convince the member-organizations of the I.M.M.O.A. which are still outside the I.T.F. that they ought to take their place in the international trade union movement which is also for officers—that is to say in the ranks of the I.T.F.

In recognizing this fact may I, speaking once more for my own Union, refer for a moment to one of the most important items with which this Congress has to deal, and of which the Report of the General Secretary has given us such an excellent review, namely, the negotiations of the international trade secretariats with the W.F.T.U. about the establishment of international trade departments under the auspices of that body. The outcome of this matter is of particular interest for ships' officers, and as far as I can see still more for the position of the officers' unions with regard to their affiliation with the I.T.F.

In saying this I am not thinking in the first place of the particular difficulties which will have to be overcome before some of these unions will be prepared to join the I.T.F., although this is a factor which cannot be neglected, and which will certainly not be served by the activities of the W.F.T.U. which are described in the Report. But apart from that I want to make it quite clear that in my opinion it would be the greatest mistake ever made in the history of the trade union movement if we as seafarers—officers and men—should agree to an arrangement that would only lead the I.T.F. into a position very much like that of a wingless bird. The history of the Seafarers' Section of the I.T.F.—which is now composed of both men and officers—proves that we need to be able to deal directly with matters which affect us directly, for which opportunity can only be given by a body such as the I.T.F. in its present status. I am convinced that the other sections of the I.T.F. will have had the same experience, teaching that the trade union movement has also to deal with highly technical matters, and can only do so effectively when working through separate groups enjoying the greatest possible autonomy.

Of course, there is also need for international trade union action of a general character, and it is our duty to lend such assistance as we can in setting up a powerful general international federation of trade unions, but this should never lead us to neglect the special branches which need special treatment in social and economic matters. This will undoubtedly be the case if political influences, such as are at work within the W.F.T.U. are allowed to interfere with matters which should only be dealt with in the real spirit of free trade-unionism. I therefore suggest that this Congress decide not to enter into further negotiations with the W.F.T.U.—at least not so long as the political influences to which I referred just now continue to play a major part. I am sure that this is in the interest not only of the I.T.F. but of the whole international trade union movement, as it will also give the other international trade secretariats an indication of our feelings towards this problem.

In conclusion I should like to express my appreciation of the lead the I.T.F. has given in all matters of importance for seafarers. I will not go into details now as there will certainly be an opportunity of doing so in the

meeting of the Seafarers' Section. I only want to express the hope now that some of the decisions of this Congress may be conducive to the speedy ratification of the Conventions adopted by the Maritime Conference of the I.L.O. held at Seattle in 1946, which are of such paramount importance to the seafarers. Confident in the international solidarity of my fellow delegates I will end by recommending this matter for their special attention.

*Discussion on the Report on Activities was then interrupted to hear the report of the Credentials Committee.*

### **REPORT OF THE CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE**

J. G. BATY (Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen of Great Britain) : It is my privilege and pleasure to move on behalf of the Credentials Committee the report which I will now read :—

The Credentials Committee met yesterday and was composed as follows : A. Thaler (Austria), R. Dekeyzer (Belgium), J. G. Baty (Great Britain), J. Christensson (Sweden) and E. Peterson (United States). They elected Mr. Baty as their Chairman.

They examined the credentials of all the delegates and are pleased to report that all the unions represented at the Congress have duly complied with their financial obligations except for a very few cases where they have been prevented from doing so by circumstances beyond their control, more particularly by existing currency restrictions. Therefore the Committee consider the credentials which were submitted to them to be in order, and the delegates entitled to exercise their full rights as such.

There are at present at the Congress 148 delegates and 26 substitutes, representing 57 unions with an aggregate membership of 2,950,368, and a total voting strength of 242.\* The Secretariat will endeavour to issue a list of the organizations represented with an indication of their voting strength.

The Committee are further pleased to report the presence of some fraternal delegates. There is Mr. Dennis Follows, of the International Federation of Airline Pilots. The Committee express the hope that this is only the beginning of a fruitful co-operation, and that before long the proud craft of airline pilots will take its place in the I.T.F. alongside other categories of transport workers.

We extend a cordial welcome to Mr. Rusterholz, representing the Swiss Federation of Public Service Employees, who is more particularly interested in the consideration to be given at this Congress to the constitution of a Civil Aviation Section of the I.T.F.

Then Mr. J. Christensson, in addition to being an official delegate of his own union, the Swedish Transport Workers' Union, is attending in a fraternal capacity on behalf of the Federation of Transport Workers' Unions of the Scandinavian countries.

Finally we have pleasure in welcoming in our midst Mr. George Lascaris, former leader of the Greek railwaymen in the days when they were allowed to have a free and democratic trade union. We express the hope that Mr. Lascaris' attendance at this Congress may contribute in some way or other to bringing about normal trade union conditions in that unfortunate country, which has given so much to Western civilization and could give still more if peace could reign again within its borders.

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\* See Supplementary Reports on pp. 217 and 256.

Among the distinguished persons attending without the power to vote is Mr. J. Binks, who is a member of the Audit Committee of the I.T.F.

The Committee were pleased to note that a number of unions, particularly among the smaller ones, have included substitutes in their delegations, thereby adding to the number of persons gaining first-hand knowledge of I.T.F. activities.

Two unions only have availed themselves of the right provided under I.T.F. rules to appoint another union as proxy in the event of not being able to send delegates themselves. The Committee express the hope that in future more unions, especially those in countries remote from the venue of the Congress, will avail themselves of this provision of the Rules in such circumstances.

The above remarks conclude the report of the Credentials Committee, who therefore recommend that all delegates present be seated with their full rights under the Rules.

I move the adoption of the Report.

*Mr. E. Peterson seconded, and the Report of the Credentials Committee was then adopted.*

### **RULES COMMITTEE**

The PRESIDENT : I have to ask you, on behalf of the Executive Committee, to agree to the setting-up of two more committees this morning : one for Affiliation Fees and one for the Rules. The Executive Committee suggest that the Rules Committee should be composed of ten representatives of seven different countries or groups of countries : one for Latin America, one for the Benelux countries, two for Scandinavia, one for France, two for Great Britain, two for the United States of America and one for Germany. Can Congress agree with this suggestion of the Executive Committee?

*The Congress agreed.*

The PRESIDENT : Will the delegates from these countries or groups of countries make their nominations and hand them in to the Chairman this afternoon at 2.30?

### **AFFILIATION FEES COMMITTEE**

The PRESIDENT : The Executive Committee suggests that an Affiliation Fees Committee be set up composed of twelve members : one for Latin America, one for Austria, two for the Benelux countries, two for Scandinavia, one for France, two for Great Britain, one for Switzerland and two for the United States.

A. DEAKIN (British Transport & General Workers' Union) : I should like to know what the purpose of this Affiliation Fees Committee is.

The PRESIDENT : The Executive Committee is putting forward a proposal to alter the Rules with regard to the affiliation fees, and in order to avoid a long discussion on the matter it is suggested that this Committee be set up.

A. DEAKIN (British Transport & General Workers' Union) : What is then the purpose in the Executive Committee putting forward proposals? I should have assumed that the representatives of the affiliated societies

would have come with a clear mandate, having made up their minds what they are going to do. If you appoint a Committee it will serve no purpose unless you invite everybody to make their recommendations to that Committee.

The GENERAL SECRETARY : The reason why the Executive Committee propose to set up a special committee to deal with the question of affiliation fees is that we may expect other suggestions and proposals from affiliated organizations. If you are going to have a full debate here on these proposals nobody will know where we are, Other suggestions will then be put forward and it will be necessary to consider what their precise effect would be, and if this is done in full Congress we shall all get confused.

Not only are we putting forward a new sliding scale of affiliation fees, but we want one that will provide the I.T.F. with more money. These are the two points which have to be taken into consideration. It is not merely a question of voting for or against the Executive Committee's proposals : there will be a chance of considering other suggestions. I would like to suggest that representatives of unions that have a particular point to make should appear before the Committee and state their views.

A. DEAKIN (British Transport & General Workers' Union) : I should like to carry this question a little further. From the statement of the General Secretary it would appear that the Executive has made up its mind how much more money it wants to get, but is not quite sure how to get it. In referring the question to the Committee it will be possible to satisfy the organizations that have proposals for varying the amounts to be paid, but the total specified in the Executive's proposals is the bottom limit. Is that what it means?

The GENERAL SECRETARY : It is not for the Executive Committee to come to a decision in this matter, but the Congress. The Executive Committee does not say you must adopt this proposal. It is quite possible for the Congress to adopt a proposal to increase the affiliation fees above the amounts we propose : we should never object to that. The purpose of the Committee would be to go into any proposals that might be put forward find out what their effect would be, and then report to Congress, where there could still be a full discussion on the matter if it is desired.

A. DEAKIN (British Transport & General Workers' Union) : In connection with the statement of the General Secretary and the proposal to appoint a committee composed of representatives of the countries mentioned by the President, to consider the question of affiliation fees and make proposals, I should like to put forward an amendment to the effect that in no case shall proposals be put forward to increase the amount specified in the Executive's report. If you like to refer the matter to the Congress you may do so, but our position in this matter is very clear, and I am sure I am expressing the view of the British section when I say that we are instructed to support the Executive's proposals, but this is the extent to which we can go. We will not accept any proposal which exceeds in total the amount proposed by the Executive Committee.

The GENERAL SECRETARY : I for one do not expect that the Committee will come forward with any proposal such as Brother Deakin fears might be the case. But the discussion shows how complicated the matter is. Brother Deakin says : " We are going to vote for the proposals as they



stand, and we have instructions to do so." But there might be another scheme put forward that would give the I.T.F. the same total amount of money but would still mean an increase as far as his particular union is concerned. Let us not have this general discussion now or you will place the Committee in a very awkward position. It is not much better to leave the matter to the wisdom of the Committee? I have no doubt that the Committee's report will be on the lines that Brother Deakin has suggested, but I do not think there is any need to give them that direction.

The PRESIDENT : I understood that Brother Deakin agrees with the procedure proposed. Is that the feeling of the Congress too?

*The Congress signified its assent.*

A. LAFOND (French Railwaymen's Federation) : It is a very great pleasure to me to convey to this Congress the best wishes and greetings of the French delegation. It also gives me very great personal satisfaction to know that it is being held in Oslo, as there are so many bonds which unite us to our Norwegian friends, who have known and shared with us the same dangers and difficulties. Allow me, therefore, on behalf of the French delegation, to thank you for the welcome you have given us, which will help us to draw tighter the knots of friendship and brotherhood which unite us.

There has been talk of the "return" of the French trade unions to the I.T.F., but I do not think the term is a happy one. If it is a fact that for a short period the French transport workers' unions ceased to belong to the I.T.F., it is because the bonds were broken without any of us being consulted or told why. Things were in such a turmoil within the French trade union movement that men holding responsible positions in the trade unions were coming to important decisions without any reference whatsoever to those who had appointed them to those positions.

The presence once more of the French transport workers' unions within the I.T.F. is the continuation of a long tradition, because ever since the I.T.F. was first established there have always been French transport workers associated with the life of their International. We are not new friends, we are the same old friends of always, come back to take once more the place of which they had been deprived. And in coming back it is our firm determination to keep faith with the tradition of those of our comrades who took part in the foundation of the I.T.F. We want you to know that there are still in France men who rose against the Garcias—against all those whose one desire was to play the game of a certain political party.

And I think, in this connection, that we owe it to you to give you some explanation. The French are often regarded as "enfants terribles." The reasons which carry them into opposition or to engage in splitting tactics often seem incomprehensible to the outsider. The reasons for the recent split in the French trade union movement are very deeply seated. Nobody regrets the split more than we, because leaving the C.G.T., which was our C.G.T., has meant giving up a very great inheritance which belonged to the French working class and beginning again at the bottom in very difficult circumstances indeed.

Some people will say that the origin of the split lies in the traditional opposition between revolutionaries and reformists. But in talking of

revolutionaries today it is necessary to know to what camp they belong. This split finds its causes in very profound differences between the two groups as to their conceptions of the development of the trade union movement. There are some who think that the trade union movement is nothing but an instrument to be placed at the service of a certain political party for the purpose of ensuring its domination ; others that it is above all a weapon to defend the fundamental principles of freedom and democracy. There are moral and philosophic frontiers which we French trade-unionists refuse to cross because on the other side there is no more trade-unionism. We must find once more the path of freedom and independence ; a path which is steep and difficult.

In that France which has held so high the torch of liberty there now reigns an atmosphere of fear and we are witnessing the collapse of the bourgeois forces who are terrified of Communism but who are as cowardly in the face of the occupation from inside as they were yesterday when confronted by that from outside. That is why we have to fight on two fronts.

Let our comrades from other countries who are represented at this Congress cherish no illusions. Our struggle is their struggle, even though they may think they will never have to face the danger that is threatening us today. It may very well be that you will encounter at home the same difficulties, and perhaps even worse ones. It is only natural that we should shift the centre of trade union organization from the national to the international plane, and to expect to find beyond the frontiers of our country the friendship and support that will help us to achieve our highest aims ; for we should not, I am convinced, limit our purposes to the enforcement of the immediate industrial demands of the working class, but rather apply ourselves to the defence of freedom and democracy. For we know that where freedom and democracy are no longer respected there is no chance of economic claims being satisfied.

This is the spirit which has brought us back into the I.T.F., and we have heard the echo of its real accents in our President's opening address. The I.T.F. is the very expression of international trade-unionism, and within its ranks and through it we can promote peace and defend the freedom of the peoples by establishing economic conditions that will provide a stable basis for their lives.

It is necessary to be clear as to what we mean by internationalism. Internationalism is not for us a metaphysical concept devoid of meaning but a living reality that can be the medium by which free peoples find expression, and above all, in the trade union movement, the expression of the working class of the free peoples.

There has been some discussion, in the Congress, of the question of relations with the W.F.T.U. I can tell you that our new confederation of trade unions has applied for admittance to membership of that body, but the application has not yet been accepted and the recent meeting of the W.F.T.U. in Rome had no time to consider it. But for we French transport workers there is only one international trade union organization that counts for anything, and that is the I.T.F., in which we are always sure of finding what we seek.

Nevertheless we have the right to be astonished that our application for affiliation with the W.F.T.U. has not been accepted, and we wonder—

though without rancour—who they think they are who have taken it upon themselves to decide that the new French trade union centre shall not be admitted to the international movement.

An article published recently in the Austrian trade union press asked what the W.F.T.U. had done for Austria. I think there are many national trade union centres that could ask the same question. How can they condemn the regime which exists in Spain and at the same time abstain from criticizing what is being done in Bulgaria, Rumania and Czechoslovakia ? At certain assizes recently we have heard men declaring that they were proud of being Stalinists. Well, if they have the right to be fanatics, we also have the right to tell them that they are the very negation of democracy, and to refuse to join their church. We are not interested in knowing whether there is a difference of degree between the Nazi and Russian concentration camps : what we want is that there shall nowhere be any more concentration camps in which men are interned solely because they do not share the ideas of those who are in the seat of power, or refuse to agree to a new dictatorship. We are no longer prepared to tolerate concentration camps for the human spirit. Let us extend our hands, underneath the barbed wire, to those who are languishing in these camps. In that way we shall prove the humanity of the I.T.F. We cannot be expected to agree that all the accumulation of values that the I.T.F. represents in its present form should be thrown away.

In saying this it is by no means my intention to set up the I.T.F. in opposition to the W.F.T.U., but should the W.F.T.U. collapse tomorrow in consequence of the mistakes it has made it is necessary that we should at least have at our disposal the international trade secretariats, whose existence will enable us rapidly to set on foot a real international trade union movement.

I should like also to reply to what comrade Jahn has said about the German question. We have already said that internationalism knows no frontiers. We know no frontiers between France and Germany, but we have the right to ask for guarantees that the political regime set up in Germany shall be a truly democratic one, that the trade union movement shall be strong and free, and that its leaders shall be able permanently to carry on their work in defence of the regime. It has been pointed out to us that a good number of Nazis have been placed once more in key positions, and we have the right, and the duty, to demand an account from those of our governments which have allowed this to happen.

There is no doubt that friendship and understanding between France and Germany will afford further guarantees of peace with Germany and with the rest of the world. Since we can only have limited confidence in our own governments it is our duty to assure the continued existence of great international trade union organizations like our own and make them the vanguard of those who are working to build up a lasting peace, who believe that internationalism is not an empty word, who not only believe it but are determined that their beliefs shall find expression in realities.

## Tuesday, July 20th, 1948

### AFTERNOON SESSION

#### REPORT ON ACTIVITIES FOR 1946-1947 (continued).

*The President opened the session at 2.30 p.m. and called upon J. Christensson to continue the discussion on the Report.*

J. CHRISTENSSON (Swedish Transport Workers' Union and fraternal delegate of the Scandinavian Transport Workers' Federation) : I should like to add my congratulations, to those responsible for this Report, on an excellent piece of work.

Of the questions with which it deals perhaps the one of the greatest interest to all of us is that of our relations with the W.F.T.U. It is important to bear in mind that the criticisms of the W.F.T.U. which it contains cannot be regarded as criticisms of the work of Brother Deakin, but of those who have had to deal directly with the matter, particularly the General Secretary of the new International. We are well acquainted, in our country, with the results of this work. In 1947 we had a conference, in Stockholm, of representatives of the transport workers of Sweden, Finland, Denmark and Norway, and we unanimously decided that we could not agree to the provisions of Article 13 of the Constitution of the W.F.T.U. which relates to the establishment of trade departments of the W.F.T.U. We were agreed in demanding the fullest freedom for the international trade organizations : if they were not given this within the W.F.T.U. they would be reduced to completely subordinate instruments of that International and knowing the work the I.T.F. has done in the past, and the splendid results it has achieved, we could not agree to such an arrangement. Nor do we think that it would necessarily be a good thing to have the headquarters of the trade departments at the same place as those of the W.F.T.U. : we must insist on freedom to choose the place for ourselves.

I am of the same opinion as Sture Christiansson : we should not refuse to enter into further negotiations, but they should be real negotiations and not a meeting where one party dictates to the others, whose only function is to sign the supposed agreement. If we cannot have negotiations on that basis then we might as well discontinue them ; and I doubt whether the General Secretary of the W.F.T.U. will change his attitude.

As regards the Marshall Plan, the Scandinavian Transport Workers' Federation discussed this question some months ago, and our opinion was that we should do all we can to bring it to fruition. It is a fact that many parts of the world have suffered a severe economic setback from the war, and why should they refuse the help towards recovery offered them by a country which also took part in the war but did not suffer so severely ? It would be illogical to refuse this help. The claim is made, by those who for reasons of their own are opposed to the Marshall Plan, that it is merely a trick of American dollar imperialism to gain domination over other countries : that there are all sorts of strings attached to it, and that only the Americans will benefit. I do not believe for a moment that this is true and as a matter of fact we have a guarantee against this in the fact that representatives of the countries interested have been entrusted with the implementation of the Plan. So there is every reason to accept the help

offered. This does not exclude acceptance of any help that might be offered from other quarters. Let these other people offer their help and we will back them up.

J. MCGUIRE (Canadian Brotherhood of Railway Employees and Other Transport Workers): First of all I want to extend our congratulations to the General Secretary, the Assistant General Secretary, the Executive Committee and the Management Committee on their excellent work in preparing for this Congress, and for what they have done during the past two years for the organizations affiliated to the I.T.F. The Report is indeed a comprehensive one, and it shows what an excellent job can be done by an organization of this kind in the international field. The I.T.F. has during past years been built up into one of the most effective of the international trade secretariats, and has made a great contribution towards co-ordination with other organizations pursuing similar objects.

I must apologize for my late arrival at this Congress : I reached here late yesterday afternoon, as I was only able to leave Canada on Saturday evening. The Canadian railwaymen have been engaged in a big struggle to improve their working conditions, and it was only at the eleventh hour, on Wednesday evening, that the issue was settled with the Government and the railway companies. We obtained a 17 cent an hour increase for the railway workers all over Canada, as from 1 March 1948.

Our Canadian Brotherhood of Railway Employees has been affiliated with the I.T.F. for over a quarter of a century, and I think it can be fairly said that during that time we have played our part, in a small way, by sending delegates to meetings and congresses such as this, by performing duties assigned to us and by making contributions to help other organizations in less favourable circumstances than ourselves.

We did not come into the I.T.F. with the idea of getting something out of it : we entered with the object of making our contribution in the international field of action. During the 25 years we have been in the organization the policy declared and pursued by the I.T.F. has been a policy acceptable to our whole membership, and we believe that if the I.T.F. will go on keeping its feet on the ground, and will steer straight ahead, it will have the support of the transport workers throughout the world.

During the same period of 25 years we have been following the same policy as the I.T.F. in respect of reactionary forces on the one hand and Communism on the other. We have consistently fought both of them. We were tolerant of Communism as a political philosophy, but as time went on and we found that it was a secret society rather than a philosophy and that its aim was to dominate or destroy, we were forced to dissociate ourselves from anything and everything influenced by the Communist Party. I am happy to say that there is no Communist on any council within our Brotherhood or the Canadian Congress of Labour to which we belong. The moment they seek to impress their will on us we tell them to mind their own business. The Taft-Hartley Law in the United States recently drove a lot of them out of that country into the Dominion of Canada, but we drove them back. We do not accept them no matter what country they come from. We are trying to build up real workers' organizations to improve the working conditions of those who are entitled to it.

We believe in and subscribe to true international co-operation, such as can be secured through organizations like the international trade secretariats, and in particular the I.T.F. as far as we ourselves are concerned. We do not believe that co-operation in the true sense can be secured by the workers of one country imposing themselves on those of another. We resent any attempt at interference in our affairs by either imperialistic communism on the one hand or imperialistic capitalism on the other.

We organized in 1927 the All-Canadian Congress of Labour, quite a small organization at the time but we have since developed it into the largest organization in the Dominion of Canada, now known as the Canadian Congress of Labour. Through it we played our part in setting up the W.F.T.U., and we shall continue to play our part in building up a well-integrated international trade union movement. We sent our delegates to the meeting in London which led to the setting up of the W.F.T.U. I was one of them. It was clear that we were starting a world organization that had every possibility of influencing the trade union movement of the world to a far greater degree than the former I.F.T.U. had done. We hoped that the W.F.T.U. would set about building up organization throughout the world, and do a really brilliant piece of work. Unfortunately the General Secretary of the W.F.T.U. has set himself to the task of absorbing the international trade secretariats, and we do not feel that the W.F.T.U. has yet reached that point of development where we can afford to sacrifice or submerge any one of them. We do not believe that the integration of the international trade secretariats in the W.F.T.U. should be forced, nor should it be brought about before the unions of which they are composed are prepared to accept it, on a basis that is satisfactory to both parties.

I should like to say, with all respect, to those who have assumed office within the W.F.T.U., that we want to have the American Federation of Labor with us—we want it to help to make the W.F.T.U. what we want it to be. We feel that the W.F.T.U. should be given a chance first to prove its effectiveness as a world-wide labour organization. When that is accomplished, and if we are satisfied and feel that it can do its job, then we can give consideration to the integration of the international trade secretariats as trade departments of the W.F.T.U. We do not believe in throwing away the substance for the shadow. Through the Canadian Congress of Labour it is our intention to continue to make our contribution to the W.F.T.U. We are certainly not led by the Communist Party nor by labour organizations in any other part of the world, but you will agree with me that we shall not improve any international labour organization by staying outside of it. So I hope, ask and appeal, as representative of an organization that is only a small one, that the big mass organizations, that are capable of exercising a powerful influence within the W.F.T.U., will continue to co-operate with it on all things of common concern. In those matters on which agreement cannot be reached immediately let us be tolerant and patient. Maybe we shall find that in the near future the difficulties of today will be resolved. Maybe by that time we shall be more experienced and more capable of dealing with the problems which confront us. So let us go together in the World Federation and play our part in an effective manner, so as to make of it the kind of organization

it should be, so that it will effectively do the job for the workers of the whole world, regardless of colour, creed or the country from which they may come.

I hope that nothing will be done by this Congress which will force any international trade secretariat to decide either to go into the World Federation or to stay outside. I would rather see this matter stood over for a couple of years to enable educational work to be done to bring people to a mutually satisfactory basis. We do not believe in coercion of any kind to bring about international co-operation. Let us hope that in time the workers in the countries behind the Iron Curtain will have thrown off their shackles and in the light of their experience will be able to co-operate with us in a real world-wide free trade union movement. If you will be patient for a while you may find that the greater organizations, particularly the transport workers' organizations, which are in the vanguard, will come forward of their own free will and co-operate with the organizations of Europe, Asia and other continents to bring about a real World Federation of Trade Unions.

In the meantime let us try to make our own international organization, the I.T.F., what it should be, and when we have accomplished that let us give mature thought and consideration to the question of becoming a department of the World Federation when that organization proves capable of doing its job on the world front as it should do.

N. WÄLLÄRI (Finnish Seamen's Union) : At yesterday's session reference was made to the so-called Eastern Satellites, or countries within the Soviet sphere of influence. As Finland has often been classified as one of these satellites, and some friends here may believe that we in Finland do not enjoy freedom of speech, press and organization, I feel it my duty to state briefly how things are.

Since the armistice of 1944, when Finland at last turned against Nazi Germany, our workers have for the first time in history enjoyed full liberties. Only Fascist elements have been deprived of legal status. Our trade unions have complete freedom to elect their own leaders and decide upon their policy. As a result some unions have a Social-Democratic majority in their executive committees and others a Communist or left wing majority : it depends upon the support the various political groups have among the delegates to their congresses. There are also unions—and the Finnish Seamen's Union is one of them—that do not allow party politics. Our Finnish Confederation of Trade Unions, to which all the Finnish trade unions represented here—except the Marine Engineers' Union—are affiliated, is working on the basis of an agreement between Social Democrats and Communists. They have agreed upon the number of representatives each group shall have on the Executive Committee and they try to compromise on the general line of policy the Confederation shall follow.

Parliamentary elections in Finland are free. The last one took place three weeks ago, with the result that Labour lost seven seats, dropping from 99 to 92 out of 200. The Social Democrats gained five seats but the Communists and Left Socialists together lost eleven. This has to a certain degree encouraged the reactionary elements, and it certainly makes it more difficult for Labour to advance socially and economically. But our trade union movement will certainly take action should the reactionaries

try to regain power or make essential changes in Finnish policy. We have 350,000 members in our Confederation of Trade Unions and it may be taken as definite that Finland cannot be ruled in opposition to organized labour. The Seamen's and Transport Workers' unions have already declared that any move in a reactionary direction in Finland will be met with a strike. We do not intend to give up any one of the positions we have gained since 1944.

The I.T.F.'s Report gives special attention to the Seattle conventions. We are very grateful to the I.T.F. not only for drawing up the Seafarers' Charter that provided the basis for these conventions but also for the energetic efforts it has made to get them implemented in the various maritime countries. As we have been in Finland in a position to point to this international document embodying the seafarers' demands we have succeeded in getting some of the most important conventions put into practice. We have secured for the seafarers a paid annual holiday of from three weeks to one month, the eight-hour day without spreadover in the near trades, and full compensation for all work performed on holidays. Only the annual holidays, however, are provided for in an Act of Parliament : the other reforms are based on Government regulations and they can be annulled by any Government after 1948. Our Seamen's Union is therefore bound to support our present Government, which is composed of eleven Labour men and seven belonging to the bourgeois parties. With the support of our Union and the direct action we have taken the Government has been able to push through these reforms against the will of the bourgeois majority in Parliament. And the Union is prepared to fight to keep all these gains.

As regards relations with the W.F.T.U., at the I.T.F. Congress in Zurich in 1946 I expressed, on behalf of the affiliated Finnish unions, the wish that efforts should be made to reach an agreement between the two international bodies. Before I travelled to Zurich I was told by the Social-Democratic President of our Confederation of Trade Unions that we ought to stand for unconditional affiliation of the I.T.F. with the World Federation, but I refused to take that line. Our Union is now satisfied with the efforts the I.T.F. has made to come to an agreement, and so long as the World Federation demands subordination, so that the I.T.F. could not preserve its independence, the Finnish Seamen's Union stands for keeping it outside the W.F.T.U., independent and free to determine its own policy. We should prefer to see fraternal co-operation between the two bodies, but if we are placed before the alternative of choosing between the World Federation or the I.T.F., our choice will be an independent and active I.T.F. As we are affiliated with the Finnish Federation of Trade Unions we are indirectly connected with the W.F.T.U., but it is the business of the Confederation, not ours, to keep up the relations. The I.T.F. is indispensable to us, and we should like to keep our relations with it intact.

I have been authorized by the Finnish Railwaymen's Union, the Finnish Locomotivemen's Union, and of course by the Seamen's Union, to make this statement on the relations between the I.T.F. and the World Federation.

K. WEIGL (Austrian Transport Workers' Union): Although it has been said several times today already, I must say it again. The Austrian



unions, both of railwaymen and transport workers are glad to see that the activity of the I.T.F. has not declined in any way since the Zurich Congress—on the contrary, its fighting power has become even greater. I think I may say that the Austrian Railwaymen's Union and the Austrian Transport Workers' Union can be counted among the most faithful members of the I.T.F. : we have never been satisfied with the mere payment of our affiliation fees, but have regularly acted upon the decisions of the International, even when it meant making great demands upon our members, as in the case of the boycott of Hungary after the first world war. It is not surprising, therefore, that we always closely follow the work of the I.T.F. and are always interested in the position it takes up with regard to questions affecting the working class. So we were somewhat concerned, in connection with the negotiations with the W.F.T.U., lest it should have to sacrifice some of its authority and independence. We are glad and proud to know that this is not to be the case, and that it intends to remain a real transport workers' international and to continue its fruitful activities on their behalf in the future. I may say that this is the wish not only of the two Austrian unions affiliated to the I.T.F. : the Austrian Confederation of Trade Unions has also taken up the position that the independence of the international trade secretariats must be preserved.

And now a few words about the Marshall Plan. We have naturally gone into the question of whether this Plan might not make our country politically or economically dependent to an extent incompatible with our freedom ; and we are rather sensitive on this point. It is true that Austria has been freed, but it is far from being free yet, as you will know. We are longing for the day when the occupying powers will at last withdraw, when we shall be free to develop our industry and production, and when our trade unions will be able to attend to their work unhampered. And after studying the Economic Recovery Plan for Europe we have found that we have every reason to welcome it, but we associate ourselves with the decision come to in March last by the national trade union centres of the countries affected by the Plan, that the trade unions should do all they can to secure an effective voice in its implementation. We are also fighting for this in Austria, and have managed to secure for our national centre a fairly considerable influence. The Austrian Confederation of Trade Unions has, out of some 1,800,000 employed persons—manual and clerical workers, male and female—about 1,250,000 members. It has become a power in the land, and it will be able to ensure for itself a voice in the implementation of the Plan. Attempts have already been made to keep out of it both the Confederation of Trade Unions and the Chamber of Labour (which is the legal public representative of workers' interests), and the Government department concerned has already entrusted the implementation of a very important part of the Plan to the Chamber of Commerce, which is the legal public representative of employers' interests. The Confederation of Trade Unions and the Chamber of Labour have lodged a protest with the Government and I feel sure that we have the power to secure recognition of the right of the workers to participate in the carrying out of the Plan. That we should meet with a certain amount of resistance is not to be wondered at. No person or organization willingly surrenders anything of a position he or it holds, and this also applies to the employers, who are not keen on the workers having a peep at their cards.

Circumstances might arise in which the Austrian workers might need the help of the International, and we feel sure that in such a case the I.T.F. and the other international trade secretariats will take the necessary steps to impress on the American authorities the necessity of seeing that the organized workers are not kept out of things.

We are convinced that it is very necessary that the trade unions of the world should be linked together internationally. The ideal would be that all workers, whatever their religion, colour or political convictions, would act together whenever it was necessary that their interests in industry should be represented and defended ; but we see that the organizations that have joined the W.F.T.U. cannot march unitedly, and that political influences are still active within it. We must therefore be on our guard lest the international trade secretariats should sacrifice something of their independence and receive in exchange something far from being so strong and capable in defending the workers' interests as the I.T.F. is.

We hope, therefore, that the prospective further negotiations between the W.F.T.U. and the international trade secretariats will make it possible that old and experienced organizations that have passed the test—particularly our I.T.F., of which it can be said without boasting that it is marching in the van of the international trade union organizations—shall preserve their autonomy, in the interests of the workers throughout the world.

*The Congress then adjourned, it being 4.45 p.m.*

**Wednesday, July 21st, 1948**  
**MORNING SESSION, 8.30 a.m.**

The PRESIDENT : It is our intention to start this morning our sectional meetings, and the Executive Committee propose that we hold five of them : one for Road Transport, one for Seafarers and Fishermen, one for Railway men, one for Dockers and Inland Navigation Workers and one for Civil Aviation. The times will be announced later : they will depend on how much longer the discussion of the Report lasts.

I have a communication to make that gives me great pleasure. We received yesterday a letter from Madrid, dated 10 July, from one of our responsible leaders inside Franco Spain. You will understand that I cannot give the name of this comrade, but he writes : " We express our wishes for a successful Congress. We are heart and soul with you and wish you the best judgment in your decisions."

I will now call upon the General Secretary to reply to the observations which have been made on the Report.

The GENERAL SECRETARY : A number of questions have been raised on the Report and many wishes have been expressed. Several speakers from many countries in all parts of the world have mounted the rostrum and each has excelled the other in bestowing praise on the Executive Committee, the Management Committee and the Secretariat. Speaking on behalf of these bodies, I should be failing in my duty if I did not express my gratitude at the way in which the Report has been handled. Indeed, apart from one remark there has been no criticism whatsoever of the work we have done, and we may therefore assume that both with regard to the technical work and the policy we have pursued there is general agreement within the I.T.F. Even with regard to the question upon which speakers have in the main concentrated, that of our relations with the W.F.T.U., there has been no one to criticize the position taken up by the Executive Committee and General Council during the two years with which the Report deals.

I should rather have had a few knocks as well, as I believe that constructive criticism is the salt of trade union life. On the other hand it is true that we have had many more opportunities of meeting together than other internationals during these two years, so that many of the problems we are considering today have already been fully discussed and agreed upon. Anyhow, I thank you and I want to assure you that your approval of our work will spur us to still greater efforts. We are well aware that the work of the Secretariat can be improved, can still be considerably improved. It is perhaps a good sign that we are ourselves not satisfied with our work and are planning to improve it as soon as the means available allow us to do so.

Our service of publications could undoubtedly do more in the way of keeping affiliated organizations informed, but on the other hand I have a feeling that many affiliated organizations could do a lot more to inform their members of what the I.T.F. is doing, so I think it is a valuable suggestion of Brother Dekeyzer that we should from time to time, either

once a year or every two years, arrange for conferences with the editors of the papers issued by our affiliated organizations, and so get them to give constant attention to the international side of trade union work and make more use of the information we supply, which takes so much time, energy and money to collect. I will therefore lay the suggestion before the Executive Committee at their next meeting and I have little doubt that they will agree to the holding of such a conference. On the result of the conference will depend whether we shall be able to hold more of them in the future. I personally feel that if we can do that it will be a good thing to discuss with affiliated organizations the whole question of research. I believe there are still quite a number of them which could improve their research departments and if we work together, if we try to find a system of collecting and filing information that would be suitable to all of them, it should be possible greatly to improve the services we can render to them, and which they in turn can render to their members and to students of the movement.

A few questions were raised connected with the organization of the I.T.F. We are not surprised that Helgesson and Lapeyre should have come forward to say that it was time we did something about civil aviation. It is not that the I.T.F. has been unwilling to do anything for the workers concerned, but if you will look at the way the people employed in this relatively new branch of transportation are organized you will find so many different unions interested that it is extremely difficult to build up a section of any substance within the I.T.F., in spite of the importance of civil aviation in itself. The setting up of a new section would be a matter for the General Council. It would mean spending money: the I.T.F. would have to advance money to the section to enable it to deal with the international matters it would have to tackle. I am quite willing to make a proposal to that effect, however. I am very glad that we have with us here Mr. Follows, the Secretary of the International Airline Pilots' Association which is in process of formation. He is actually representing here the American Pilots' Association, with whom we are on excellent terms and whose affiliation we expect any day. We do not mind people belonging to two organizations so long as the two organizations' activities do not overlap. The officers of the mercantile marine, for instance, are in the I.T.F. while at the same time maintaining a separate international organization, the International Mercantile Marine Officers' Association. If the I.T.F. is good enough for the masters, officers and ratings of the mercantile marine it should be good enough for the pilots and other employees of the air lines.

The setting up of a section would involve employing someone thoroughly conversant with the problems of the industry. It would fall to the Executive Committee to grant the money, to the Management Committee to make the appointment.

Brother Dekeyzer referred to the Fishermen's Section. This again is a small section, and I have a feeling that some of the unions have not affiliated their fishermen members to the I.T.F. Our American friends have only just done so. In the case of the Norwegian Seamen's Union I am not sure. Before we can be expected to set up a new section may we at least ask of those unions which are interested that they should affiliate that part of their membership. It is always this way. If affiliated organizations bring

a little pressure to bear the Executive Committee is prepared to meet them. It is prepared to do its utmost for every group organized within the I.T.F.

Another question has also been raised by friend Dekeyzer: he pointed out that in several countries the tramwaymen, for instance, who are undoubtedly transport workers, are not affiliated with the I.T.F. Because they are employed by public bodies, by municipalities, they belong to another international. We are on friendly terms with that International, and if there is any question of demarcation to be settled it would be necessary for us to do so in agreement with that organization. The best thing to do would be to refer this matter to the Secretariat and we will consult with the International Federation of Unions of Employees in the Public and Civil Services and suggest to them that all transport workers should be in the I.T.F. It is a matter for negotiation, and I have little doubt but that these negotiations will be carried on in a spirit of friendship and international solidarity.

Although I have taken notes, I can unfortunately not go into all the questions that have been raised here, as that would mean speaking for an hour at least. My friends Dekeyzer, Jahn and Lafond have raised a political question of great importance about which I must nevertheless restrict myself to saying that I sincerely hope that now that the Germans are back in the I.T.F. they will be regarded as our equals, but that they will also be absolutely frank with us. After the first world war nationalism was unfortunately strengthened instead of weakened. The defeated countries had their own governments and systems to blame for their misery, and one would have expected that the new powers emerging would have been able to withstand the urge of nationalism. But what we did see after the first world war was a considerable part of the German population, belonging to all sorts of political parties, aiding and abetting the rearmament of Germany. We do not want to sit here with people who are not prepared to join us, for instance, in promoting the reconstruction of Europe, and if it is true that there are still large stocks of material in Germany they should be aware of it, and they should not try to hide it from us; let them be frank with us. If our German friends want to stand on our side, let Germany make her full contribution, however difficult that may be and however much they may feel that they are in very uncomfortable circumstances. I have no doubt they are, but so are the other countries of Europe that were overrun by the German army, who would have been very glad if the occupation they suffered had been the gentle one which Western Germany is experiencing today. I do sincerely hope that our French and German friends will work closely together within the I.T.F. They should supplement each other and play their part in the great effort toward European recovery to which we devoted our Luxemburg Conference.

I now come to the question of our relations with the International Labour Office and the Inland Transport Committee of that organization. Some speakers have pointed out that, on the one hand, the Inland Transport Committee is not sufficiently representative, and on the other that it is necessary to do something to get the decisions of the meetings of that body implemented. It is very regrettable that the International Labour Organization—or indeed any other international organization, including our own—cannot work more quickly. We ought to see that these organizations are given the power necessary to make their decisions effective. They

need more authority. But who is to build up that authority in the I.L.O. ? Certainly the trade unions can do it : if you want the I.L.O., its International Labour Conferences, the Joint Maritime Commission, the Inland Transport Committee or any such institutions to be successful you must remember that this can only be achieved if the unions bring influence to bear upon their governments to get them to implement the decisions of these bodies, and that if you are able to do that you will be successful. On the other hand we ought to try to change I.L.O. procedure to such an extent that decisions which have been arrived at unanimously, or almost unanimously, can be carried into force without too much ado.

Within the Inland Transport Committee we have managed to create an atmosphere in which it is possible to reach all our decisions unanimously. If that is so, if we can get co-operation between employers, workers and governments to agree to legislative and other measures, I cannot see why they could not be carried out more quickly than is the case now. I therefore think it would be a good thing if this meeting would say, by way of a resolution or otherwise, that it wants the I.T.F. to take the matter up with the I.L.O. We are not asking for anything out of the way, and I suggest that we approach the I.L.O., and also consult the Workers' Group of the Governing Body of the I.L.O., which has just been re-elected at San Francisco.

And now I come to what has been the main issue so far in our discussions, the question of the W.F.T.U. and the integration of the international trade secretariats in that body. While I have been sitting down I have been thinking now and again that perhaps it is just as well that we should, on one occasion, deal at length with this important question, and so get a complete understanding of the situation.

At the Zurich Congress we adopted a resolution in which we declared that we accepted the principle of integration, but that it would depend on agreement being reached on the conditions on which it would take place. That resolution was based on a list of something like 25 conditions which we had in mind, and which would have to be satisfied. There are within the W.F.T.U. some people who have only the faintest notion of what an international trade secretariat is : they have no experience whatsoever in these matters, and yet they thought it would be possible for them to draft rules and regulations, and that everything would turn out as they had visualized it.

We drew up a list of items we wanted to put forward in the discussion, and we made it quite clear that the ultimate decision was one for the Congress of the I.T.F., and the Congress only ; and that it would be the result of the opinions held by the unions affiliated to the I.T.F., whether belonging to any national trade union centre affiliated to the W.F.T.U. or not. It was these unions that would have to decide whether the I.T.F. should be dissolved or whether it should carry on as at present. And I should like to remind you that it is not easy to dissolve the I.T.F., as it is not easy to dissolve any organization that has a large body of members who are anxious to preserve its identity.

I do not propose to go into details of the negotiations and discussions with the W.F.T.U. : the results are explained in the document that lies before you. After the General Council of the I.T.F. had discussed the matter thoroughly at its meeting in London in November 1947 it found

itself to be in full agreement with the position taken up by the Executive Committee, and it adopted a resolution which you will find on page 101 of the Report. That Resolution, among other things, “. . . Authorizes the Secretariat of the I.T.F. to resume negotiations on the issue if approached to that effect by the W.F.T.U., and instructs the Secretariat, should the W.F.T.U. proceed to convene over the head of the I.T.F. a conference of transport workers' unions with the view of forming an International Trade Department, to recommend affiliated unions to refrain from participation in the conference.”

On the same page you will find the paragraph to which Mr. Deakin referred. He wanted to know the view of the Executive Committee as to what it meant. Your General Council entirely agreed with the attitude taken up by your representatives on the Executive Committee. It said : there is a decision of the Congress and that decision implies that you have to negotiate, and you cannot get away from that : the decision can only be changed by another Congress. There was no doubt about the feelings of the General Council with regard to the whole question, but they were not prepared to go further than the Management Committee and Executive Committee had gone : they did not feel that they could overrule the decisions of Congress.

What does the resolution of the General Council mean when it says : “ to resume negotiations on the issue if approached to that effect by the W.F.T.U. ” ? It means that it is of no use continuing any discussions on the same lines as hitherto. The General Council felt that it was no use going over all that ground again, that it was no use sending representatives abroad, wasting money, in order to discuss the same thing over and over again, and then to be told by the W.F.T.U. : “ We cannot do this or accept this point and that. *We* take the final decision.” Well, if they want to take the final decision let them take the final decision, but let them understand that this does not bind the international trade secretariats. The meaning of the General Council's decision was that only if there were new proposals could there be any question of further discussions ; otherwise they would be of no use.

We do not know yet whether the W.F.T.U. is going to put forward new proposals, whether it has changed its original point of view and whether it wants to come to an entirely different decision. That does not seem to be impossible. As Mr. Deakin has said, the Russians, after all, were not interested in setting up trade departments within the W.F.T.U. They would not deal with the international trade secretariats. In 1945 it was my hope that we should succeed in coming to an agreement, though I certainly had my doubts, as many of us had. I had something to do with the whole of the proceedings which led to the setting up of the W.F.T.U. and right from the beginning I made it clear that the time had not come to swallow up the international trade secretariats : that we should have to await the success of the W.F.T.U.'s activities before we could be expected to come to a decision. I said that in 1945 already.

I think Brother McGuire has hit the nail on the head. Let the W.F.T.U. first go ahead and prove its effectiveness as a world trade union organization. We should not refuse to engage in further discussions when there is something to discuss. Let us have them by all means. But would anybody say that nothing has changed since 1945, when the

W.F.T.U. was set up, or since the Zurich Congress of the I.T.F. ? The hope of setting up an all-inclusive World Federation has gone, and we have our own opinions as to why it has not been possible. Don't we see at this moment other international federations springing up ? The World Federation of Trade Unions is no longer the only one in the field.

While I am all for unity, I hope you will forgive me for saying that what I am most concerned about today is the unity of the I.T.F. Brother George Harrison said that he was here in the unenviable position of having a dual capacity ; that he holds views as the representative of his own union as part of the Railway Labor Executives Association and is also influenced by his position as Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor, towards which he has also to be loyal. If everybody belonging to the I.T.F. would be loyal to it alone that of course would be the easiest and most pleasant position for myself, but I cannot deny that affiliated organizations have also a duty of loyalty towards their national trade union centres. On the other hand, if they are free trade unions they will not be prepared to be told by any outside organization that they must do this, that or the other. If some outside body or some government imposes decisions upon you, that means the end of free trade-unionism. We sometimes find that national trade union centres have to revise their decisions because they cannot impose their will on the trade unions.

We have heard several speeches about this problem, and there is no doubt whatsoever what the final decision of this meeting will be, but if the decision come to were one that would lead to dissension because some people within or without the I.T.F. had not been given an opportunity to make their position entirely clear that would create bad blood and might put us back, might drive the unity of the I.T.F. back a quarter of a century or more, So the Executive Committee met on Monday and decided to consider submitting a resolution to this Congress after the matter had been thoroughly discussed. It did not want to come forward with a resolution without knowing what the different delegations would have to say on the matter. I therefore suggest that we now refer the matter to the Executive Committee and ask them to prepare a resolution which while indicating the mood of the Congress will not at this moment propose taking the final step before all avenues have been explored with a view to settling the question. Let us hope that the Executive Committee, in its wisdom, will find a solution which will strengthen and not weaken the unity of the I.T.F., about which I am more concerned than anything else.

The PRESIDENT : This brings us to an end of our discussion on the Report, except, of course, in so far as it may be raised again when considering the Executive Committee's resolution, if you adopt the suggestion made by the General Secretary. I should therefore like to suggest that we submit the Report for your approval except for that part devoted to the relations between the I.T.F. and the W.F.T.U., and that after that you should vote on Brother Oldenbroek's proposal to ask the Executive Committee to submit to Congress a resolution on that question.

A. DEAKIN (British Transport & General Workers' Union) : Surely the adoption of the Report cannot be subject to any reservation. This is a Report on Activities, also in connection with relations with the W.F.T.U. We have to deal here only with statements of fact, with what has happened



during the two years 1946 and 1947. As far as the future is concerned, the Congress will have to decide about it later, when it knows what the attitude of the Executive Committee is.

G. B. THORNEYCROFT (British Railway Clerks' Association) : We should make one thing clear, and that is that in addition to this factual Report you would give an undertaking that the Executive Committee would consider the special question of the relationship between the I.T.F. and the W.F.T.U., with a view to laying before the Congress a special recommendation in the light of the discussion.

G. HARRISON (U.S. Railway Labor Executives' Association) : I believe that since the Report has been submitted as a review of the actual activities of the Executive during the past two years, this sub-question should be acted upon by the Congress at the time the matter is disposed of. The question of future relations between the I.T.F. and the World Federation could be taken up with that understanding. I should promote the Report.

The PRESIDENT : The point made by Brothers Thorneycroft and Harrison is exactly what I meant. So I should like to submit the Report for your approval.

A. DEAKIN (British Transport & General Workers' Union) : Before you accept the Report there is one point that certainly ought to be taken into consideration. I referred yesterday to the paragraph in the Report which says that there is no useful purpose to be served in continuing the discussions with the W.F.T.U. I think we should accept the Report with the exception of that particular paragraph. If we accept it with that paragraph then you will be unable to operate the suggestion that the question of the relationship between the I.T.F. and the W.F.T.U. should be subject to further consideration by the Executive Committee.

The GENERAL SECRETARY : I hope that Brother Deakin's suggestion does not indicate any suspicion on his part that the Executive Committee will not come forward with a resolution on this question. After all the Report only says that on 13 February we wrote a certain letter. That cannot be denied. And now the Executive Committee is to consider what is to happen next.

A. DEAKIN (British Transport & General Workers' Union) : I accept with the greatest good faith all you say : there is no suspicion in so far as I am concerned. But I should like to have the position perfectly clear. This letter of 13 February stated that by reason of the fact that there were no new proposals in the new draft regulations submitted by the W.F.T.U. there was no point in continuing the discussions. Is it now to be said by the Executive—I know, of course, that you cannot anticipate what they say—that before the I.T.F. participates in any further discussions there must be new proposals from the W.F.T.U. ? Did you say that ?

The GENERAL SECRETARY : No ; the question is entirely open.

A. DEAKIN (British Transport & General Workers' Union) : That satisfies me.

*The President then submitted to Congress the Report on Activities, which was adopted unanimously.*

The PRESIDENT : We will now take the suggestion made by the General Secretary to refer the question of the relations between the I.T.F. and the W.F.T.U. to the Executive Committee in order that they may draw up a resolution to be laid before the Congress at a later stage. Can we accept that ?

*The Congress unanimously signified its assent.*

### SECTIONAL CONFERENCES

The PRESIDENT : This brings us to the end of the plenary session in so far as today's work is concerned. The remainder of the day will be devoted to the sectional conferences. The conferences for the Road Transport Workers and the Seafarers and Fishermen will open immediately ; those for the Railwaymen, the Dockers and Inland Navigation Workers and the Civil Aviation Personnel at three o'clock this afternoon. The Congress will meet again in plenary session on Friday morning at 9.30, tomorrow being the day set aside for the excursion.

*The Congress then adjourned, it being 10.45 a.m.*

**Friday, 23rd July 1948**  
**MORNING SESSION, 9.30 a.m.**

**COMMUNICATIONS.**

The PRESIDENT : I have a few communications to make. The Seafarers' Section will meet again directly after the morning session. The Committee on Affiliation Fees and the Committee on Rules will meet this morning at 11 o'clock. The names of those who have been chosen as members of these committees are :—

**COMMITTEE ON AFFILIATION FEES.**

M. Gallardo ... ..	Latin America.
A. Thaler ... ..	Austria and Italy.
M. Leick and G. Devaux ... ..	Benelux countries.
R. Iversen and J. K. F. Jensen ... ..	Scandinavian countries.
R. Clerc ... ..	France.
T. Yates and A. Deakin ... ..	Great Britain.
E. Wyttenbach ... ..	Switzerland.
C. F. May and F. Donovan ... ..	United States.

**COMMITTEE ON RULES.**

M. Pardo ... ..	Latin America.
P. de Vries ... ..	Benelux countries.
N. Wälläri and R. Helgesson ... ..	Scandinavian countries.
R. Lapeyre ... ..	France.
W. T. Potter and G. B. Thorneycroft ... ..	Great Britain.
T. C. Carroll and M. Weisberger ... ..	United States.
A. Kummernuss ... ..	Germany and Austria.

**TELEGRAMS.**

A telegram has been received from Amsterdam which reads as follows :

“ Kind regards and best wishes to I.T.F. Congress from International Building and Woodworkers.”

It is signed by their Assistant Secretary Leliveld.

Another telegram has been received from Berlin, reading :—

“ The Berlin railwaymen who are fighting for their freedom (Independent Trade Union Opposition) send the Congress their heartiest greetings and wishes for a successful meeting.”

It is signed by Bracht, for the Greater Berlin Railwaymen's Industrial Union (Independent Trade Union Opposition).

**FRATERNAL ADDRESSES.**

The PRESIDENT : I will now introduce to you Brother Lascaris, from Greece, who has been known to the I.T.F. for twenty-five years and who is here as our guest.

We have received telegrams from two Greek organizations, one from the Greek Maritime Union, in Cardiff, protesting against the suppression of free trade-unionism and imprisonment of trade-unionists, and the other

from the railwaymen's organization in Greece protesting against Brother Lascaris' presence at our Congress. In introducing him to you I should like to get your agreement to his addressing the Congress. He is unfortunately unable to speak in either English or French, so will address the Congress in Greek, of which a translation will be given.

G. LASCARIS (Greek railwaymen) : First of all I should like to thank the I.T.F. for its kind invitation, which is a recognition of the endeavours of the transport section of our trade union movement, which is opposed to the aims, methods and action of both the extreme left and extreme right, and is fighting to build up a free and democratic trade union movement in Greece. This gesture of the I.T.F., encouraging our present and future efforts, will not be forgotten by the true Greek trade-unionists. For twenty-five years they have closely observed the great interest the I.T.F. has shown in the Greek Transport Workers' Federation.

The trade union movement in Greece has lost its former character. The second world war, which has ended nearly all over the world, is still going on in my country, and this directly influences our lives in all their phases, and consequently also our trade union movement. In all other countries there is a general desire to reconstruct the national economy and improve the conditions of the workers. On the ruins left by the invader new buildings are continually being erected, and the effort pays good returns. Greece, on the other hand, is living in an atmosphere of catastrophe. Railways, bridges and buildings are constantly being blown up. Many people who have seen their homes in flames have fled and overcrowded the cities. The number of these refugees is estimated at up to half a million. In this way the results of the destructive efforts of the enemy are enormously increased. While the blood of our precious youth floods the slopes of our history-laden mountains. Large numbers of three year old children have been torn from their mothers' arms and carried off to foreign countries, where they will be instructed in the ideas and ways of Communism. Civilian production has ceased. Millions and millions which were needed and planned for reconstruction and the restoration of our national economy have been sacrificed for war purposes.

This situation is the result of the antagonism between the Great Powers. Unfortunately Greece is geographically located at the spot where their interests clash. This is the tragedy of the Greek population.

These misfortunes, and the conflicting political ideology of the workers, have also influenced the trade union movement. First of all the extreme left group, the Communists, employed violent means, such as the execution of non-Communists. Then the extreme right group, using undemocratic methods and helped by the reactionary political parties, invaded the trade unions, divided the workers, broke down the spirit of fellowship, and hindered the growth of the unions. As a result the working class has been deprived of the favourable development which its sacrifices deserved. The malicious action of the extreme left stimulated and helped to establish the reaction of the extreme right.

The workers and the mass of the population wish for a third choice opposed to both the extreme groups, which would enable them to work for the satisfaction of their own needs. To establish this we ask for the moral support and assistance of all free and independent trade unions. We

particularly appeal to our British and American friends, who in process of time have had experience of our trade union movement, and could help us with their advice.

We quite realize that this Congress is not able to go into our request in detail, but we think it possible, and believe it to be necessary, if you approve, that the Congress should draw up a resolution sponsoring our views and charging its Executive Committee to enquire into the best means of providing for the third choice to which I have referred. We should, of course, be glad to help the I.T.F.'s effort by furnishing whatever information might be necessary.

The PRESIDENT : I want to thank Brother Lascaris for the interesting information he has given the Congress. He travelled all the way from Greece in order to be with us. I am sure that we shall keep him as a devoted friend of the I.T.F., and I wish him all success in his future endeavours.

### E.C.A. LABOUR ADVISORS' ADDRESSES

The PRESIDENT : I now have the great pleasure of introducing to you two further guests. They arrived recently in Paris for a very important job in connection with the European Recovery Programme, and knowing that we were holding our Congress in Oslo they did not hesitate to travel forthwith from Paris in order to be with us here. I bid them a very cordial welcome. They are our great friends Bert Jewell and Clinton Golden, from the United States of America. They bear the title of Labor Advisors to Administrator Hoffman of the E.R.P., but they are in fact the principal administrative and policy-making officers on matters relating to Labour in connection with the European Recovery Programme. They come from the ranks of the trade union movement in the United States and were nominated for their posts by the trade unions of that country.

Brother Jewell is already very well known to us. He has been up to now a member of our Executive Committee, and he played a very important part indeed at the Conference we held in Luxemburg in April of this year to consider the Marshall Plan. As a former principal official of the railwaymen's unions of the United States and of the American Federation of Labor he has devoted his entire life to building up and serving the railwaymen's movement in America.

Brother Clinton Golden is also a transport worker. He is not as well known to us as Brother Jewell as he is attending an I.T.F. gathering for the first time, but several of the delegates here have met him before. He was a locomotive fireman at one time and he also learned the machinist's trade in a railway workshop. He has filled many important positions, including that of assistant to the President of the C.I.O.

I think it is of great value to us that they should be here in view of the very important job they will have to do in connection with the reconstruction of Europe. I am sure I am speaking for all of you when I say that we should very much appreciate it if both of them would address the Congress.

BERT JEWELL (Labor Advisor, Economic Co-operation Administration) : In one sense I have come home. My association with your Executive, and with officers and individuals in your great organization, has given me a new sense of what trade union fraternity can mean. I must say that I regret the need for interrupting direct participation in your great organization. I enjoyed the opportunity of serving as one of you and I acknowledge with gratitude and appreciation the many kind-

nesses shown to me. My present position as Labor Advisor to the Economic Co-operation Administration, U.S.A., will I hope give me an opportunity to preserve all the old bonds of friendship and to make new ones.

Clinton Golden and I were selected by the three great trade union groups of the United States, totalling fifteen million members, for appointment as Labor Advisors on the Economic Co-operation Administration. We are the visible evidence of the support and co-operation of all the American trade unions in this great joint effort for world peace. Labour's participation in this great enterprise, both at home in America and in each of the co-operating countries, has recently been defined in the Labor Policy statement by the Administrator, Mr. Paul G. Hoffman, when he said, on July 5 :—

“ Labour has a vital part to play in the European Recovery Programme and will be given full opportunity to participate through non-communist labour organizations both here and abroad. My awareness of the valuable contribution Labour can make toward the success of the E.R.P. is evident from the fact that I have named to my staff, as top Labor Advisors of equal rank, Clinton S. Golden (C.I.O.) and Bert M. Jewell (A.F. of L.). It is my intention to appoint other competent leaders in the labour movements as advisors to the chiefs of E.C.A. missions in the participating countries in Europe.”

Mr. Hoffman explained that his two Labor Advisors will assist him in (1) the formulation of policies ; (2) the selection of competent personnel to serve as Labor Advisors to E.C.A. country missions ; (3) maintaining, continuing liaison between E.C.A. and American labour organizations ; and (4) in solving economic, social, technical and other problems affecting the European workers and their trade unions.

The Labor Advisors to the country missions will be given the opportunity to utilise to the utmost the practical experience and skills they have gained in the American trade union movement. Among their responsibilities will be to (a) establish and maintain contacts with non-communist European trade union leaders. (This is a particularly vital responsibility because the non- Communist labour groups in the participating countries constitute a well organized and influential democratic, political, social and spiritual force in each such country ; (b) serve as links between European trade union leaders and the chiefs of the country missions, and channel pertinent information obtained from these trade union leaders, together with advice on matters affecting the Recovery Programme, through the country mission chiefs to the U.S. Special Representative in the Paris headquarters and to the Labor Advisors in the Washington E.C.A. headquarters.

That is a statement of the labour policy by Mr. Hoffman. We are trade unionists chosen by the American trade unions, and we are offering you and all non-Communist trade unions an opportunity to participate in the administration of this important Recovery Programme. Those of you who were at the Luxemburg Conference will remember that when I spoke of the development of the Plan I said that the American labour movement had insisted from the beginning that Labour should be adequately represented in the administration and execution of the Programme, and that this had been conceded by our authorities. The

sixteen nations which have agreed to the Plan have set up an organization, the O.E.E.C., with headquarters in Paris, for the purpose of carrying it out. It has an Executive Committee composed of seven national representatives, from the United Kingdom, France, Italy, the Netherlands, Sweden, Switzerland and Turkey. Among the special commissions set up for the purpose there are two in which you will be specially interested: the Inland Transport Committee and the Maritime Transport Committee. Whether the I.T.F. should seek participation by the appointment of its nominees on any one of these committees is, of course, a matter for you to decide. We do not purpose here nor elsewhere to tell you what you should do. What we do say to you—and I have just read an announcement of the policy of the American Government on the subject, announced by the spokesman for the 140 million people of America—is that we would welcome the participation of the type of labour union in which we believe, and which is the only type of trade union that would seek such participation in such matters in which it can be done within the proper functioning of our organization. We are here to seek your co-operation, and we offer our help wherever we can help.

It is no mean distinction to be a member of the I.T.F. This is probably the greatest international labour organization in the world today—four million members in 45 countries reporting and getting action on momentous matters. Such a tool involves great responsibility. I can almost say with accuracy that as the transport workers go so the world goes. I find in your minutes of a recent meeting food for thought in what you said of the European Recovery Programme. The success of this enterprise in co-operation depends upon the devotion, intelligence and team play of all of us. Mr. Golden and I are not here to tell you or even suggest to you what you should do. We are here to assist you and co-operate with you in making this programme a success. Above all we are not here to ask you to consider any change in your government or trade union policy. That is strictly your business, but we do want to emphasize the fraternal spirit in which we ourselves and our colleagues come to work with you. This policy holds good for Washington headquarters, Paris headquarters and all the country missions.

This organization has declared for two vitally important activities, vital to the success of the E.R.P.: you have declared on several occasions your belief in the soundness of what you call economic unification, and your determination to promote it; and you also believe in, and have declared for, the unification of transport. This organization, acting in support of these policies, can make a really worth-while contribution.

The entire Economic Co-operation Administration approaches its problems not with the idea that labour is a commodity but with the idea of labour as human beings, and that the workers with hands and brains constitute the very real and only worth-while total of the populations of the several nations. If E.R.P. is to be a success it must be thought of not in terms of so many dollars spent, contributed or used, but in terms of what material and really worth-while benefit comes into the lives of the workers.

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

CLINTON S. GOLDEN (Labor Advisor, Economic Co-operation Administration) : First of all I should like to express my appreciation of the fine reception of Brother Jewell and myself, and the generous hospitality that has been extended to us. I do not need to tell you of my pleasure at being in attendance here at a world conference of trade unions in a country which has blood ties with the United States as well as bonds of freedom, friendship and liberty. I have come four thousand miles to speak but briefly to you about matters which seem to me of utmost importance. I do not think I paint too highly coloured a picture when I say that the fate of Western democracy, perhaps of the whole world, depends upon what we trade-unionists of the Western world do in the next five years. The war gave us only a short reprieve : the real struggle lies ahead—a struggle that demands much hard thinking and much team play.

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

As long as we stay close to the democratic tradition, as long as we adhere to those principles stated in the Bill of Rights, and as long as we invest in freedom and liberty, we shall move nearer to you and strengthen the bonds of friendship, solidarity and faith in the democratic process. I do not believe that we are far apart in our views. Just the other day I was reading an article by your distinguished General Secretary, Brother

J. H. Oldenbroek. Among many good things he said : " The Marshall Plan stressed the need for planning, and this aspect we consider even more important than the immediate assistance which it will bring, valuable and vital though that assistance will be in the coming year."

In my own country I happen to be the Chairman of the Labor Committee of the National Planning Association and I have worked therein for ten years to gain acceptance of the idea of more orderly development for our economic institutions.

I find in this address of Mr. Oldenbroek another interesting statement : " Properly planned, the Western European countries ought to be able, while maintaining and strengthening the democratic institutions which we regard as a condition for satisfactory development, to expand their economic activities on a very great scale and thereby bring about a speedy recovery and a general improvement in the standard of living of the common people." I can assure you that we are behind such a programme and I can tell you that I know of nothing within the Economic Co-operation Administration which will militate against such a programme.

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

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

THE PRESIDENT : I am sure you will join me in thanking Brothers Jewell and Golden for their inspiring and instructive addresses on the important question of the European Recovery Programme. I should like to ask them to convey the best wishes of this Congress to Administrator Hoffman, and to assure him that we in the I.T.F. are heartily with him in his endeavour to promote the recovery of Europe and help the working classes of the devastated continent. I may recall that the I.T.F. was the first international body to back up, at its Luxemburg Conference, the European Recovery Programme, and to make a very clear and definite stand on the matter.

We are very happy indeed to learn that the whole of the American trade union movement is supporting the Programme, and that it is playing such an important part in carrying it out. It will certainly be your wish that the Executive Committee of this International should meet these two gentlemen in order that we may discuss ways and means of securing representation for the I.T.F. on the bodies concerned with the Recovery

Programme in which we are interested ; and that we should make a very strong appeal to all affiliated unions that they should do their utmost to see that they are represented, nationally, on the bodies which are being set up in this connection in their respective countries. We want the Programme to be fully successful and we wish Brothers Jewell and Golden good speed in all their endeavours, from which we feel sure all the labour movements of Europe will derive great benefit.

And now I have a very welcome task to fulfil. Brother Jewell has relinquished his office as a member of the Executive Committee of the I.T.F. on taking up his very important job with the Economic Co-operation Administration, and in recognition of the very great services he has rendered to the I.T.F. as a member of our Executive, and in connection with our Luxemburg Conference, I have been asked to present to him this knife, which has been specially made for him and is engraved with his initials. You have conquered our hearts, Brother Jewell, and I am sure we have conquered yours. We wish you every success in the future.

B. M. JEWELL (Labor Advisor, Economic Co-operation Administration) : If anyone is superstitious it is me, Mr. President, so may I say that I have already contributed a penny towards the cost of the knife. I appreciate very highly this present, which I shall always treasure as a token of your friendship. I value very highly the opportunity I have had of working among you. Nobody could have had a more rapid and broadening education than that which you have given me during the few months I have been privileged to serve you. All my life I have been a railway worker in my own land, so I have had little opportunity to become acquainted with international problems, but under your tutelage and the pressure of requirements I have learnt very rapidly and now I have a full appreciation of all the problems with which the international trade union movement is confronted. I thank you for your little present, which I shall treasure as a reminder of the pleasant time I have spent among you.

#### **SUPPLEMENTARY REPORT OF CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE.**

J. G. BATY (British Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen) : The Credentials Committee met this morning in order to deal with a telegram received from Indianapolis, from the American International Brotherhood of Teamsters, which reads as follows :—

“ This is to advise you that we have authorized George M. Harrison to represent the International Brotherhood of Teamsters at your meeting. (Signed) Daniel J. Tobin, General President, International Brotherhood of Teamsters.”

This organization should now be added to the list of organizations represented, indicating their voting strength, which has been handed out to the delegates. The organization has 50,000 members, and accordingly Mr. Harrison would have six votes on behalf of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters.

The Credentials Committee considers that the request of the American Teamsters should be accepted, and I beg therefore to move this.

*The Congress accepted the supplementary report of the Credentials Committee.*

## FINANCIAL REPORT.

*The Financial Report was adopted unanimously without discussion.*

## AUDITORS' REPORT.

*The Auditors' Report was adopted unanimously without discussion.*

## REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON AFFILIATION FEES.

A. DEAKIN (British Transport & General Workers' Union) : I have to submit to Congress the Report of the Committee on Affiliation Fees. The Committee has given careful consideration to the proposals put forward by the Executive Committee and as a result of that consideration recommend them for your acceptance subject to a slight alteration. That alteration is to the effect that the scale should stop at the figure of £3 for the twelfth and subsequent 50,000 members; leaving out, therefore, the rates of £2 for the thirteenth and £1 for the fourteenth and subsequent 50,000 members that the Executive Committee proposes. This shortens the proposal by two stages, and your Committee is of the opinion that this is a fair and equitable arrangement for all the affiliated societies. It will provide the I.T.F. with some additional finance which, in the light of the Auditors' Report, will be necessary if we are to keep up the work of the I.T.F. and maintain its efficiency.

I recommend that the Congress adopt the Executive Committee's proposal with this alteration.

*The Congress adopted the recommendation of the Committee on Affiliation Fees unanimously and without discussion.*

The PRESIDENT : That means that as from the first of July of the current year the rate of affiliation fees per thousand members and per year will be :—

£14 or \$56 on the first	50,000
£13 or „,52	„ second
£12 or „,48	„ third
£11 or „,44	„ fourth
£10 or „,40	„ fifth
£9 or „,36	„ sixth
£8 or „,32	„ seventh
£7 or „,28	„ eighth
£6 or „,24	„ ninth
£5 or „,20	„ tenth
£4 or „,16	„ eleventh
£3 or „,12	„ twelfth and
	subsequent „

## REGIONAL ORGANIZATION.

The ASSISTANT GENERAL SECRETARY : The Report on Regional Organization that has been submitted to you is a document of an essentially administrative character. Since the question was first raised by our late Comrade Edo Fimmen at our Stockholm Congress in 1928 we have gained in experience and we now know that the regional secretariats in different

parts of the world will be very different in character, that they cannot all have the same functions or attributes. I do not want to go into details of this, however, but will confine myself to trying to explain to you why we ought to try to do what the report proposes.

First of all there are what I might call the technical reasons. If an international secretariat is to do its work well it must know the whole world. But the world is anything but uniform, and to understand fully what is going on in any part of it, to grasp the requirements of its trade union movement and to interpret in local terms the policy of the I.T.F. and international trade union affairs generally it is necessary to be well acquainted with the peculiarities of that part.

In proposing to you the measures indicated in the report we are also guided by strategic reasons. Differences in the economic structure of far distant countries are becoming accentuated and more complex as a result of technological progress. At the same time the economic interdependence of the world is also becoming more marked. An American manufacturer has pointed out that the United States would be unable to manufacture aeroplanes if they were unable to import from other countries a whole series of raw materials required for the production of vital parts. And if America is dependent on the rest of the world, a large number of other industrial countries are doubly so. And this economic interdependence makes it imperative for the workers to organize their trade union action on a world scale.

There is very rational justification, therefore, for international solidarity. We must help one another if we are to protect our interests, which are very closely intertwined however great the distances that separate our countries. But mutual help implies that the strong must support the weak, and it is incumbent upon us to give close attention to the weaker unions in backward and exploited countries.

Reasons for supporting the weak are not always purely altruistic. We must watch that the workers whose unions are weak are not exploited, as otherwise the advantages we have won by the power of our own unions may be undermined. If the workers in any country with which we have economic relations are exploited there may be unfavourable repercussions on our own conditions.

It might be claimed that this does not apply specifically to the transport workers, that it is only true in terms of general trade union policy. Perhaps so, but there is no international trade union organization of a general character which is taking suitable action and organizing mutual trade union support. We must therefore act on our own in our own field—the field in which we are able to do something. We must seize any opportunity that presents itself and do pioneer work. We must practice what we preach. Transport workers' trade unions are by their very nature leaders in many national trade union movements and they should also take the lead in the international field. Until such time as a general international trade union organization capable of doing the work appears on the scene the international trade secretariats must pave the way for that work.

The task of the pioneer is always a hard and thankless one, but the fact that we are the greatest of the international trade secretariats imposes on us great obligations. Noblesse oblige ! So let us play our part fearlessly

and nobly. We must strengthen and consolidate our position against the danger of it being undermined by that of the weaker. This is in our own interest. But let us also keep in mind the needs of these weaker ones ; let us act with generosity. Let us consider the needs of these workers, do our best to help them in their efforts to set up and awaken to action the trade unions without which they cannot emancipate themselves. We know from experience that the weak trade unions in the backward countries, especially in the colonial countries, need not only our financial help but also technological assistance from experts who can help them to develop and strengthen their organizations. We must teach them the use of the trade unions as an instrument to emancipate their members from ignorance and servitude, and to improve their living conditions.

It is this grand gesture of solidarity that the report submitted to you asks you to make. But in adopting the report do not forget that the ordinary budget of the I.T.F. is not large enough to cover the carrying out of the ideas it contains, and that you will be called upon to make special supplementary contributions. The I.T.F. has prospered morally and even materially because it has been founded on the principle of brotherhood and mutual help, and I want to ask you to do your best to apply this principle of solidarity in a new field of trade union activity.

M. ZEIN EL DIN (Egyptian Transport Workers) : I am very grateful for this excellent report on regional organization, which shows that the I.T.F. is not only interested in America, but also in the prosperity and progress of the transport workers in the Middle East. Many of their unions have existed for several years, but the plan of regional organization which is proposed, by setting up a secretariat, will help to bring these unions together and will be at the same time a continual source of information for the I.T.F. We often get into touch with the Secretariat of the I.T.F., and we get very excellent guidance, help and advice, but the setting up of a sub-secretariat for the Near and Middle East will help to get many more transport workers affiliated with the I.T.F. and also make it possible to educate those trade-unionists who are already in the movement. They are badly in need of education and guidance, and for this purpose we need to have an I.T.F. journal in Arabic.

I need hardly say that I am at the disposal of the Executive Committee when it wishes to give its attention to developments in the Near and Middle East. Finally I must thank this Congress for the interest it has shown in the question of regional organization.

*The Report on Regional Organization was then adopted unanimously, and the Congress adjourned until the afternoon.*

# Friday, 23rd July, 1948

## AFTERNOON SESSION

### REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RULES.

W. T. POTTER (British National Union of Railwaymen) reported that the Committee on Rules, after giving careful consideration to the alterations of the Constitution of the I.T.F. which were proposed by the Executive Committee, had decided to recommend adoption of the whole of them, with one slight amendment, i.e., that the two sentences of the proposed alteration to Rule IV, Paragraph 8, third sentence, should be fused into one, and linked by the word "and." With this amendment, the alterations proposed by the Executive Committee and recommended by the Rules Committee read as follows :—

That the third sentence of Subsection 8 of Rule IV should be replaced by the following :—

"If requested by the delegates of at least five organizations a card vote based on affiliated membership shall be taken and for this purpose the voting strength attributable to the membership of the several organizations shall be scaled down proportionately to the scale of affiliation fees in force at the time."

That Subsections 1 and 2 of Rule VII should be replaced by the following :—

"1. There shall be a Management Committee composed of four representatives of the affiliated organizations in the country in which the Federation is domiciled, chosen as far as possible from different organizations by the delegations of such organizations attending the Congress. Should more than four candidates be put forward by the organizations concerned, the four representatives shall be elected by the said delegations, for which purpose the delegation of each organization concerned shall have as many votes as it is entitled to have delegates at the Congress under Rule IV, Subsection 4.

"The names of the persons so chosen shall be submitted to the Congress for its approval.

"2. Should any vacancy occur on the Management Committee between two ordinary sessions of the Congress, it shall be filled in like manner by the organizations in the country in which the Federation is domiciled. Should there be more than one candidate for the vacant seat the organizations concerned shall proceed to elect one of them, for which purpose each such organization shall have the same number of votes as under Subsection 1 of this rule.

"The name of the person chosen shall be submitted to the Executive Committee or General Council for its approval."

That the following Rule VIIA be added to the Constitution :—

"1. The President of the Federation shall be elected by the General Council, from among the members of the Executive Committee, for a period which shall end with the close of the next following ordinary session of the Congress.

“ He shall be eligible for re-election.

“ 2. The President shall preside over all ordinary and extraordinary sessions of the Congress and over all meetings of the General Council and Executive Committee.

“ 3. The President shall be entitled to attend all meetings taking place under the auspices of the I.T.F., for which purpose his travelling expenses shall be borne by the Federation.”

*The Report of the Committee on Rules and the proposed alterations to the Constitution of the I.T.F. were then unanimously adopted by the Congress.*

#### **INTERNATIONAL TRADE UNION TRAINING SCHEME (Proposal No. 5).**

R. DEKEYZER (Belgian Transport Workers' Union) : I do not think I need say very much about this proposal, which speaks for itself. Delegates have had an opportunity of seeing the Norwegian school, and I think they will agree on the advantage of having something of the kind on an international scale. We have already discussed in this Congress, and in previous ones, the desirability of having people in different parts of the world whose task it would be to promote the expansion of the international trade union movement. But the men employed for this work will need to have the knowledge and training necessary to tackle it successfully ; so we are asking the I.T.F. to set up some kind of a centre where suitable men could be trained in the I.T.F. idea and methods of organization. I suggest that it would be better to leave it to the Executive Committee or General Council to work out the best way of putting the idea into practice.

*The Congress approved the proposal without further discussion.*

#### **TRANSPORT AND HANDLING OF PETROLEUM AND RELATED PRODUCTS (Proposal No. 9).**

T. SMEDING (Dutch Transport Workers' Union) : The transport and handling of petroleum is an international trade, and there are big international organizations engaged in it. The conditions under which the workers have to fulfil their duties, however, are apt to differ from one country to another in so far as wages, pensions, etc., are concerned, and it is necessary that we should try to equalize them as far as possible. That is our reason for putting forward the first part of the proposal.

As regards the second part, a very large proportion of the workers in the oil trade are engaged in transporting it in one form or other either by sea or by road, and we consider it very desirable that the I.T.F. and its affiliated unions should seek to safeguard the interests of these workers by co-ordinated activity through the United Nations and the International Labour Organization. My union has approached the Dutch Government for this purpose, and it is highly desirable that similar efforts should be made by the unions in other countries, so that they may be able to represent this group of workers when legislation affecting their social and economic status is being considered.

A. DEAKIN (British Transport & General Workers' Union) : Does not this proposal come up for discussion on the report of the meeting



of the Road Transport Workers' Section ? I understand also that it has been considered by the Dockers' Section and the Seafarers' Section, so that it will also be covered by their reports.

**THE PRESIDENT :** That is true, so if anybody wishes to speak on this subject he can do so when we deal with the reports of the conferences of these sections. The report of the Conference of the Road Transport Workers' Section has just been laid before me, so I propose to take it now. I will call upon Brother Fryer to introduce it.

**E. E. FRYER** (British Transport and General Workers' Union) moved the report of the Conference, of which the following is the text :

#### **REPORT OF THE CONFERENCE OF THE ROAD TRANSPORT WORKERS' SECTION.**

The Road Transport Workers' Section met twice, under the chairmanship of Mr. E. E. Fryer (Great Britain), and considered proposals 7, 8 and 9. A resolution on the 40-hour week, adopted in May 1948 by the International Tramway and Bus Workers' Conference, was considered in connection with proposal No. 8. In addition the Secretary put forward a proposal relating to the work in the Inland Transport Committee of the I.L.O.

Proposal No. 7, put forward by the Swedish Transport Workers' Union, aimed at manning with two drivers motor coaches running through more than one country. The Section considered that the principle inspiring the proposal was worth consideration, but thought that the criterion should be the distance of the run rather than the number of countries traversed. It was further of the opinion that the matter should also be considered in relation to goods vehicles.

The discussion revealed that there were a number of technical aspects of the question that would have to be gone into in detail, and at the request of the Secretariat it was decided to set up a Committee of Experts, composed of five members, appointed one each by the Scandinavian group, the Benelux group, the German-speaking group, Great Britain and France. As soon as this committee has finished its work the Secretariat of the I.T.F. is to prepare a memorandum which will be sent to affiliated organizations with recommendations with regard to the action to be undertaken in each country. The memorandum will also be brought to the notice of government departments responsible for road transport. It will further serve as a guide to the representatives of the I.T.F. in their relations with the Inland Transport Committee of the Economic Council for Europe, and for their action within the I.L.O. in connection with the proposal.

Proposal No. 8, of the Dutch Transport Workers' Union, aimed at action to secure the regulation of working hours in international road transport. The Secretary pointed out that in this connection it was hardly possible to make a distinction between national and international transport. The 1939 Draft Convention on hours of work in road transport was intended to apply to the kind of transport referred to in the Dutch proposal. The International Tramway and Bus Workers' Conference, however, had declared that the 1939 Draft Convention was in need of revision in many respects, particularly with reference to weekly working hours. That

Convention provided for a 48-hour week, and the Conference referred to had adopted a resolution calling for the reduction of the working week to 40 hours by stages.

The proposal evoked a lengthy debate, but all speakers favoured the maintenance of the demand for a 40-hour week, since technical progress had made it possible while maintaining a volume of production adequate for modern life. The reduction was further considered necessary for social and cultural progress. One speaker declared that the danger of unemployment was once more looming ahead, and that the struggle against it would make it necessary to reduce working hours, possibly very soon. But nearly all speakers were agreed in considering that present economic conditions would render it impossible to reduce working hours for some time to come.

The Section finally decided to support the resolution adopted by the International Tramway and Bus Workers' Conference in May 1948, but left it to the Executive Committee of the I.T.F. to decide when action should be undertaken to secure the adoption of an international convention providing for a 40-hour week in road transport. In the meantime affiliated organizations were expected to endeavour to reduce working hours to the extent compatible with economic conditions in their own countries.

The Committee of Experts was to give careful consideration to the 1939 Draft Convention with a view to determining whether it was desirable to try to revise it for the purpose of adapting it to the changes in road transport since it was adopted, or whether the endeavour should be to secure its ratification in its present form and thus benefit those transport workers whose working conditions are still substantially inferior to those laid down in the convention. The result of the experts' work will be submitted to a meeting of the Section to be held next year.

As regards Proposal No. 9, relating to the transport and handling of petroleum and related products, the Section considered that it would be better to wait and see what other Sections interested decided about the matter. The Committee of Experts will consider the relative proposals of the Seafarers and Dockers and decide whether, and how, they should be expanded to safeguard the health and safety of road transport workers required to transport and handle such products.

Finally the Secretary proposed that the Section should put forward for the agenda of the next meeting of the Inland Transport Committee of the I.L.O. the question of equalizing working conditions in the different transport industries as part of the problem of the co-ordination of the means of transport. The proposal did not meet with immediate and unanimous approval and as time was too short to go into it fully it was decided also to refer it to the consideration of the Committee of Experts.

A. DEAKIN (British Transport & General Workers' Union) : We want to congratulate the Road Transport Workers' Conference for doing a really effective job of work. They have given consideration to all the questions which are of immediate importance to the people engaged in road transport, both passenger and commercial. They have faced up to the pressing problems in a most constructive way, and their report covers not merely the operation of passenger transport, but commercial transport equally.

With regard to the 40-hour week, the report points out very properly that at this time it would be unprofitable to present a request to the I.L.O. for a Convention providing for a 40-hour week. In many countries of the world today road transport is operating on the basis of a 44-hour working week by collective agreement. That position has been made reasonably secure. In addition it has been possible in certain countries to arrange for hours of work which are even less than 44 hours. We were working on the general principle of fixing maximum hours at 48 by international convention ever since 1919, though it was not until 1939 that we were able to secure a Draft Convention providing for 48 hours in road transport. The Sectional Conference has given consideration to the desirability of taking steps to secure a 44-hour week convention for road transport as an interim arrangement, but on reflection it was thought not to be the best step to take at this time. It would be much better to wait until economic circumstances, in Europe in particular, are more favourable for measures to secure a 40-hour Convention, and that was the conclusion to which the Conference came. I am perfectly sure it was the right one.

As regards Proposal No. 9, relating to the transport and handling of petroleum, it was thought it would be better to wait and see what other Sections interested will decide about the matter, after which the Committee of Experts can take such steps as it may consider necessary or possible.

Having said that I should like to support all the recommendations of the Conference. I think they mark a substantial step forward in dealing with the interests and practical problems that arise from day to day in the Road Transport Section of this organization.

*The Conference then unanimously adopted the Report of the Conference of the Road Transport Workers' Section.*

#### **NEAR AND MIDDLE EAST TRANSPORT WORKERS' CONFERENCE (Proposal No. 12).**

M. ZEIN EL DIN (Egyptian Transport Workers) : When I made my second tour of the Arabic countries, discussing various matters connected with the affiliation with the I.T.F. of the transport workers of these countries I asked them whether they thought it would be a good idea if the I.T.F. should organize a regional transport workers' conference for the Near and Middle East. They liked the idea, and they all supported it. They thought that such a conference would help the transport workers' unions in the region, similar as they are in language, religion and way of thinking, to solve their many problems. They thought, too, that it would be very good propaganda for the I.T.F. if it could bring out a journal for them in the Arabic language. At present they know very little about the activities of the I.T.F.

It is for these reasons that I am submitting to this Congress a proposal to hold such a conference for the Near and Middle East. I first proposed this to the General Secretary, and he supported the idea, realizing that the transport workers' unions in the region have many problems to deal with. They were agreed that the first regional conference should be held in Cairo, but that later conferences should be held in the capitals of other Near and Middle East countries.

The affiliated unions in the East would be very proud to attend such a conference under the auspices of the I.T.F., and I am sure it would be a

great success. We should, of course, invite the transport workers' unions in the region that do not yet belong to the I.T.F. They would thus get to know what kind of matters we discuss, would realize the need for changes in the legislation in their own countries, and they would be likely to decide by themselves to become part of the I.T.F.

If you agree to the suggestion we will go on working in that direction. We should be very pleased to see the members of the Executive Committee, and all our friends from other countries, coming to our part of the world and sitting down with us in such a conference. I am sure it would be a success, and help us to the time when we shall no longer say that "East is East and West is West" since all will be united under the banner of the I.T.F.

*The Congress unanimously expressed its agreement with the principle of holding such a Conference, but decided to leave the date open, to be decided by the Executive Committee.*

### REPORT ON ACTIVITIES FOR 1946-1947.

#### RELATIONS WITH THE W.F.T.U. (continued).

THE PRESIDENT : You will recall that the day before yesterday it was understood that the Executive Committee should draft a resolution on relations with the W.F.T.U., in the light of the discussion which has taken place here, and lay it before the Congress. You now have the draft before you, and I will call upon Brother Bratschi to introduce it to you on behalf of the Executive Committee.

*The following is the text of the draft resolution proposed by the Executive Committee :—*

#### DRAFT RESOLUTION ON RELATIONS WITH THE W.F.T.U.

" The Congress of the I.T.F., meeting in Oslo from 19 to 24 July, 1948, and attended by 148 delegates representing 58 trade union organizations with 2,910,368 members,

" Has given careful consideration to the report of the Secretariat on its relations and negotiations with the World Federation of Trade Unions.

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

" The Congress is satisfied that the negotiations between the international trade secretariats and the W.F.T.U. have shown conclusively that co-operation as envisaged in the resolution adopted by the Zurich Congress is not possible. It therefore places on record that the prerequisites for consideration of the integration of the I.T.F. in another organization are absent.

" The Congress declares that in the circumstances, and in view of developments in the international trade union movement during the past two years, the interests of the transport workers would best

be served by maintaining the independence of the I.T.F. and concentrating all endeavours on developing it on the same successful lines as during the past fifty years.

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

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

R. BRATSCHI (Swiss Railwaymen’s Union) : I have been asked by the Executive Committee to make a few remarks about the draft resolution that has just been distributed. I will say in advance that the resolution has not been unanimously approved by the Executive Committee, but only by a majority, that is to say by six of the members. In view of a decision of his union, the British National Union of Railwaymen, Brother Figgins was not able to back it in its present form.

I regret very much indeed that it has not been possible to lay a unanimous resolution before you ; and I regret still more that apparently our British friends—or not all of them at any rate—are not able to support the draft proposed by the majority of the Executive Committee. I quite understand the difficulties with which our British friends are faced, and particularly the awkward position in which our friend Arthur Deakin is placed in being at the same time one of the most prominent members of the I.T.F.—he is a member of our Management Committee—and President of the W.F.T.U. We all realize that this is a very uncomfortable position. We hope, however, that he will understand that the position taken up by the majority of the Executive is one that they are convinced is in the interest of the workers as a whole, and the transport workers in particular.

We stand before a very important decision. We are all aware of the hopes which the establishment of the W.F.T.U. awakened in the hearts of millions of workers ; hopes that the workers organized internationally on a trade union basis would be able to rise above the political differences which divide the working class, and that the organization would fulfil the great task of bringing peace to the world, or at least greatly facilitate the performance of that task. But the difficulties have proved to be greater than these millions of workers expected and today we have regretfully to admit that the W.F.T.U. has not yet furnished the proof that it is capable of fulfilling the great task that was entrusted to it.

But besides the main task to which I have just referred the W.F.T.U. had other tasks allotted to it which were of a more particular nature. One of these was that of co-operating with the international trade secretariats. This was by no means a new task ; indeed it is a very old one. It was gone into very thoroughly when the International Federation of Trade Unions still existed, and it was never found possible to reach a completely satisfactory arrangement. The W.F.T.U. has taken the matter

up again, but has tackled it from an entirely new angle. The I.F.T.U. tried to find a solution in free co-operation, but the W.F.T.U. has been trying to dissolve the international trade secretariats and transform them into departments of the W.F.T.U. itself.

Our Zurich Congress went into the matter and laid down conditions under which co-operation with the W.F.T.U. would be possible. For us the chief condition is, and always will be, that the I.T.F. shall remain free—that it shall be free to decide how its governing bodies shall be composed, free to choose these governing bodies, and above all free to decide how it shall tackle the tasks it has to do. Subject to this most important condition the Congress instructed the Executive Committee and General Council to enter into negotiations with the W.F.T.U. There is no doubt whatsoever that there was at Zurich an honest desire to co-operate with the W.F.T.U., and that the way to do so has been honestly sought. What has happened, how the negotiations were conducted and what the results have been is fully laid out in the Report which lies before you. The Congress has already gone thoroughly into this Report, and has approved it. It is now no longer a question of whether the I.T.F. shall have a little greater or a little lesser powers ; of whether this or that question shall be left to the W.F.T.U. to solve ; of how the tasks can reasonably be shared : it is the question of whether the I.T.F. is prepared to abdicate, to dissolve itself and leave everything to the W.F.T.U., in the belief that the W.F.T.U. will in future be able, through its “ departments,” to perform satisfactorily the tasks the I.T.F. has set itself. Only if this were the case would agreement be possible on the lines which the W.F.T.U. has so far proposed.

In Zurich two years ago we celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of the foundation of the I.T.F., and on that occasion we pointed with justifiable pride to the work the I.T.F. had done in the international trade union movement. In 1920 we celebrated, here in Oslo, its resurrection after the first world war. Now, as then, we are faced with the question whether the Congress is prepared to agree to the direct or indirect dissolution of our International. That is what it all boils down to, and I hardly think there is a single delegation here prepared to pronounce sentence on the I.T.F., though I quite realize that no organization can really be judge in its own case.

If we could feel sure that there was another organization available that could do the I.T.F.'s work better than the I.T.F. itself, then it would be our duty to dissolve without further ado and hand the work over, as has happened more than once before with working class organizations. But we certainly cannot feel sure in this case. We have no guarantee, no proof, that the tasks that have been given to us to perform can be done better by another organization, or that that organization would be able to perform them with the freedom to which we have been accustomed in the I.T.F., and which we wish to preserve.

The Executive Committee is laying before you a draft resolution. As the President has already pointed out, it is the result of a long discussion. The Executive Committee met several times, and is finally submitting to you a draft which adequately reflects the situation which emerges from the discussion which has taken place in this Congress on the Report, from the negotiations between the I.T.F. and other inter-

national trade secretariats with the W.F.T.U., and from the unilateral steps which have been taken by the leaders of the W.F.T.U. I am thinking now more particularly of the decisions arrived at by the Prague meeting of the W.F.T.U. and subsequently submitted for ratification by its affiliated national trade union centres without first coming to an agreement with the international trade secretariats.

We point out in the draft resolution that it has unfortunately not proved possible, in the course of the last two years, to achieve by free negotiation between the international trade secretariats and the W.F.T.U., the aim set us by our Zurich Congress. The Executive Committee was—and the Congress is—faced with the problem of what is to happen next. The Executive Committee proposes that the Congress shall take cognizance of the fact that it has not been possible to act on the resolution of the Zurich Congress, and that in its place it shall adopt the new resolution which is now laid before you. It says in effect that there is no possibility of the Congress deciding to dissolve the I.T.F. or even considering such a step, but that in view of the result of the negotiations its opinion is that there is only one course for the I.T.F. to follow, and that is to continue working in the same way as hitherto. The Executive would like the Congress further to urge affiliated organizations to remain true to the I.T.F., and with it to continue trying to solve the great problems with which the transport workers' international is faced, since we see no other way of fulfilling our task. In addition we want to make an appeal to organizations not yet affiliated to join the I.T.F. and help to build it up into a still more powerful organization.

I hope that the British affiliated unions, or at least the greater part of them, will find it possible, in spite of their difficulties, to support the resolution. It would have been highly desirable that our resolution should be adopted unanimously, but we cannot accept unanimity at the cost of freedom or at the cost of the truth. We must state the facts in our resolution and I still hope that the British unions will support us in doing so, or that at least they will not vote against the resolution. I should be particularly grateful to my good friend Arthur Deakin if he would, as President of the W.F.T.U., use his great influence in favour of the aims which the I.T.F., is laying down in this resolution—the maintenance of its independence so that, since all negotiations have come to nothing, it may continue in freedom to do its great work of solving the international problems of the transport workers.

So on behalf of the Executive Committee I ask you to adopt the resolution which lies before you, so that the I.T.F. may go on with its work. I hope that all the organizations that today belong to the I.T.F. will as a matter of course continue to give it their support, and that as a result of the work the Secretariat is doing in all parts of the world many more will join us who are still outside our ranks, so that the I.T.F. may face its tasks more firmly knit than ever.

A. DEAKIN (British Transport & General Workers' Union) : As we expected, we have had from our good friend Bratschi a very well reasoned statement of this problem. But having listened with very great care I feel unable to offer any suggestion, so far as the British unions are concerned, that we can accept this proposal.

First of all let me make it perfectly clear that this is not a question in connection with which the British trade unions are completely free. We are obliged to give consideration to the policy determined by the Trades Union Congress, though we have never surrendered our sovereignty to that body and are perfectly free to continue in affiliation with the I.T.F. or any other international trade secretariat, notwithstanding the terms of the policy decided upon by the T.U.C.

Having said that I must emphasize the fact that the British unions, without exception, have subscribed to the policy of bringing the international trade secretariats into the W.F.T.U. as trade departments; though I want also to emphasize that it was on the understanding that it would be possible to arrange conditions that would maintain the freedom and opportunity of the trade secretariats within the World Federation.

Now it seems to me that the Executive have not fully understood the approach that has been made to this matter by the W.F.T.U. At the Zurich Congress the I.T.F. laid down, as a trade secretariat, a number of conditions—conditions which we thought necessary to maintain a full degree of independence for the secretariats as trade departments. Article 13 of the Constitution of the W.F.T.U. makes it perfectly clear that the greatest measure of autonomy and freedom must be given to the trade departments. I am not for one moment suggesting, at this time, that complete satisfaction has been secured by the trade secretariats for the event of their integration in the W.F.T.U. as trade departments. But let us look back and see what progress has been made. The first submission made by the international trade secretariats was that the trade departments, if and when constituted, should be permitted to establish their headquarters in any place they decided upon. If you will read the reports that have come from the I.T.F. from time to time you will not disagree with me when I say that this is now possible. It does not follow as a matter of course that integration into the W.F.T.U. carries with it the obligation to cease forthwith our activities as an I.T.F., with headquarters in London, and transfer them to Paris. It can be decided, in conjunction with the Bureau of the W.F.T.U., that the Transport Workers' or any other trade department can continue its work and administration at some other place; and I am going to suggest that it would still be possible to continue and administer the work of the I.T.F. from London.

Then we sought assurances with regard to the finances. On the basis of an affiliation fee of £4 per thousand members, with an allocation of only 50 per cent of that amount for the work of the trade departments, it has been perfectly clear to anyone who has any knowledge and experience of the work of the trade secretariats that they could not do it satisfactorily on such a small amount, notwithstanding the fact that with the setting up of the trade departments there would be a larger affiliated membership. Well, we looked at that and decided, by way of meeting the demands of the trade secretariats, that they should be allowed to collect additional money by means of levies. I want to suggest that by reason of that concession we went a very long way toward meeting the financial needs of the trade secretariats when they would be operating as trade departments.

Now the third point, which I think caused the I.T.F. at its Zurich Congress more concern than any other, was whether the right was to



rest with the trade departments to choose their own officers. Here again the point has been met, and subject to formal ratification by the W.F.T.U. of the appointments made, the right rests completely with the trade departments.

There are, it is true, a number of other questions which are outstanding, but they are of no considerable importance in my view : the representation at the constituent conferences ; the question whether or not the Executive of the W.F.T.U. shall have the right to participate, through its officers acting in an *ex-officio* capacity, in the conferences of the trade departments. Well, that has been met to a very considerable degree and the principle has been established that there shall be no interference with the work of the trade departments when dealing with the matters which fall within their competence.

Having regard to all this, I do not think it is at all in accordance with the facts for my good friend Bratschi to say that no progress has been made. We have had a difficult job to do. It is not easy to sit down and negotiate with people who do not want to negotiate. I say this not in a challenging way. I had the most difficult job in my life when I sat down as Chairman of the Executive Bureau and guided the discussions and negotiations with the representatives of the international trade secretariats, because there was no disposition to negotiate. They said in effect : we have not come here to negotiate conditions, we have come here to tell you what we want. That was clear evidence. On the other hand I will be perfectly frank and tell you that it was a difficult matter to get some of the representatives of the Executive Bureau of the W.F.T.U. to negotiate either ; very difficult indeed. It is quite true, as was mentioned earlier in this discussion with reference to the first conference in Paris, that we could not make progress because the representative of the Soviet unions had not arrived ; and we had a most abortive conference by reason of that fact. But I think I was not unsuccessful on that occasion in starting on a course which enabled us at least to continue something that resembled negotiations.

At the Prague meeting of the Executive Committee of the W.F.T.U. in 1947 the results of our discussions with the trade secretariats were reported, and it was decided to accept the new draft constitution for the trade departments. But then, after a number of the representatives of the national centres had reported back to their own organizations, a further suggestion was made that we should make further concessions ; that, if the W.F.T.U. Executive Committee would give further consideration to the proposals that were coming from the international trade secretariats it might still be possible to do the things that Brother Bratschi says we all started out to do in 1945, namely, to arrange for a relationship with the trade secretariats that would make for the emerging of the trade departments ; but unfortunately when you are dealing with questions of this character it is difficult to get people to understand the process of amalgamation. In Britain we know what amalgamation is—perhaps we are forward in this respect—but it does not mean what our good friend Bratschi says : dissolution. Nobody today—at any rate nobody speaking for the British trade unions, nor, I believe, for any other trade unions affiliated with the I.T.F.—nobody is saying that we must dissolve the I.T.F. ; that we must go unconditionally into the new Trade Union

International. What I *am* saying is that it ought to be possible to continue these discussions, even at this time, and enable an arrangement to be reached which would satisfy the desire for freedom on the part of the trade secretariats. Our purpose is not by any means to effect a sale of the trade secretariats to the trade departments.

I suggest that we cannot possibly go back on the Zurich decision. It was taken at a moment of comparative calm, at a time when conditions in the world were different from what they are now, and I am not suggesting that things are easier today. But it seems to me that this Congress cannot revise its previous decision until the conditions associated with that decision are satisfied.

I repeat the suggestion that I made on Tuesday : that the Congress should decide to continue the negotiations to find out if it is possible to reach an agreement. If it is not possible, all right, nothing happens, but if the Management Committee or the Executive Committee find it possible to negotiate conditions that might be acceptable to the I.T.F., then whether or not we shall go into the World Federation shall not be decided by them, but the Congress shall be called together again for the purpose of deciding whether or not the conditions are acceptable. There is a safety valve, and for some time we have been sitting on that safety valve. We have at any rate for a very long period of time been trying to maintain relationships and an understanding of the problem with which we were confronted so that if it were at all possible to maintain co-operation and establish unity nothing should be left undone on our part by way of making our contribution toward it.

Brother Bratschi said that he hoped that if the British representatives could not support the resolution they would abstain from voting against it. Well, we have not put our heads together for the moment, but I will risk a prophecy. I anticipate a decision on the part of the British unions—and it is no risk, because I know perfectly well where my colleagues here, Figgins, Baty, etc., who are members of the General Council of the Trades Union Congress, stand. They know how clear our British policy is, and in this respect we can only carry out the policy of our own national centre : we cannot change that policy at this time though I do not know what the future may hold—we meet again in September.

Comrade Bratschi went on to say that he hoped I would use my influence in the direction of changing the policy of the British unions. Well, may be I have some influence, but that influence must of necessity be used in such a manner as not to hinder the extension of relationships within the international trade union movement. That influence is used, in conjunction with the representatives of the Benelux countries, toward shaping policies which would maintain the greatest unity of policy that it is possible to get.

The task is a difficult one : let us be under no illusions as to that. It would be a great mistake, a calamity of vast magnitude, for the Congress to accept this resolution ; and I hope that saner counsels will prevail. I am not asking you to commit yourselves finally and irretrievably to integration within the W.F.T.U. as a trade department. All that I ask you to do is to consider carrying out what I regard as an obligation to the international trade secretariats as a whole. I am perfectly sure that if the I.T.F. accepts this resolution and leaves the trade secretariats to

continue the negotiations alone it will be regarded as a very definite betrayal of that loyalty to the trade secretariats which they have shown to the I.T.F. I am jealous of the reputation of this Federation. Mention has been made of its fifty years' history : I do not want that history to be blemished by betrayal. I want this Federation to continue the negotiations until it is found definitely possible or impossible to bring about the amalgamation.

Emphasis has been laid on the suggestion that it is possible for the W.F.T.U. to continue on its way and allow the trade secretariats to continue on theirs. I do not think that is quite honest. If the people who are arguing this way would really say what they think it seems to me that they would be saying that this is a cleavage between people of one political persuasion and those of another. We may come to that : let us not disguise the fact. I am sufficiently well aware of the direction in which we are travelling at this time, and it may resolve into that. But I suggest that a better way for that to happen—if it has got to happen—would be as a consequence of a pronouncement on a broad international basis rather than by a proposal of this character. There is also another consideration. Do not let us go astray ourselves. If the W.F.T.U. is to do an effective job of work in the international field it can only do it by mobilizing its resources, by developing a policy which will serve the broad trade union movement on an industrial basis ; and it can only do that if it has a job to do through the medium of the trade departments.

The only reason—and there is no deep-rooted plot behind this—the only reason that the W.F.T.U. at any time thought to bring into existence an all-inclusive international was because of a policy put across by the British Trades Union Congress. We know this, and I would say to our American friends in their opposition—and they are quite entitled to express their opposition ; and I am in accord with them with regard to the question of free trade-unionism as opposed to trade unions operated under the conditions that exist in totalitarian states like the U.S.S.R.—that if they want to deal with an issue of this character it will not be disposed of, the problem will not be solved, by setting up a world federation of trade unions with no work to do in the industrial field ; by creating conditions that will enable it to function only as a political organization. If you look at this and reason it out clearly you will appreciate the fallacy in the suggestion.

We shall have to do a lot of things, to put our backs into a number of cases, and say : World Federation ! You have got to review your relationship with the United Nations Organization, you have got to review your relationship with the Economic and Social Council of U.N.O. But if we say now : No, that is wrong : all that has been tried in the past has been wrong and we must abandon it : if we say that there is no future for the W.F.T.U. other than as a political organization, then we shall be promoting and strengthening the position of those countries which, like the U.S.S.R., are desirous of doing the things that we are opposed to. I ask you to pause, to consider, where we shall lead to if we go in this direction. I had thought, or I had hoped at least, that wiser counsels would prevail, and I still hope that at the eleventh hour we shall be able to avoid the impasse in which we find ourselves.

Well ; the Executive may or may not be able to carry this resolution. It is not so important to me whether you carry this resolution by a majority or not : what is important is that you should maintain the unity of this international trade secretariat. You have nothing to lose by the suggestion that I make. Let the Zurich resolution stand : let the negotiations go on ; let the General Secretary go on with the Consultative Committee, continue his association with the representatives of the other international trade secretariats : let the Congress appoint several other members from the Executive to attend the meeting in Paris in September. And when you feel you have done all you can to get the conditions which you regard as pre-requisite for the amalgamation nobody will be able to blame you ; nobody will be able to hold his finger up and say you have not tried.

Let there be no mistake about it ; if there is a failure to establish a relationship between the W.F.T.U. and the international trade secretariats, the trade secretariat that will be blamed for that failure will be the I.T.F. Let there be no mistake about that. You ought to know that the suggestion has been made—perhaps I am speaking here out of schedule, and I might even get punched as a consequence—that we should confront the international trade secretariats without the I.T.F. To this I have said : No ! There is no secret about that. I felt that the experience and the background of the I.T.F. would be helpful in the discussions, that it would be in the interests of the trade secretariats as a whole, and that this would work in the interests of trade union unity. I do not think that as time goes on my estimate of that possibility will prove to be without foundation. Therefore I would say : Do not vote this resolution ; let us stand for the time being on the basis of the Zurich decision and see what the outcome of that policy may be. If this resolution is taken hastily we may find out in time that it will result in disaster.

T. YATES (British National Union of Seamen) : I am mounting the rostrum to make two points quite clear as a British delegate representing the seafarers of Great Britain who are affiliated to the British Trades Union Congress, and who belong to the National Union of Seamen, the Navigators' and Engineer Officers' Union and the Radio Officers' Union. One point arises out of Mr. Deakin's statement ; the other is a definite declaration of my own Executive Council. Mr. Deakin innocently felt that he spoke for the whole of the British delegation. I am somewhat surprised, as I thought he knew where the seafarers stood. I believe my predecessor has always taken the same line as myself, even in the Trades Union Congress meetings, when this particular issue was raised.

The other point I want to make, and make it quite definitely, is that of my own Executive Council. After consideration of this matter, immediately following the Zurich Congress—and this is not a threat, it is a promise—they decided that the day the I.T.F. became submerged in the World Federation we, as British seafarers, together with our American friends in maritime transport, would endeavour to set up a separate Seafarers' International.

That is all I have to say : just those two points.

T. VUORELA (Finnish Transport Workers' Union) : I wish to make a brief statement, on behalf of the Finnish Transport Workers' Union, with regard to the draft resolution which has been submitted to us. With due respect to the majority of the Executive Committee and the officers, we

cannot help being disappointed with this resolution. We are wholeheartedly in accord with the stand which Brother Deakin has taken on this matter. He has given an excellent and very thorough exposition of the situation we are in so far as relations between the I.T.F. and the W.F.T.U. are concerned, and we think it necessary to explain to the Congress the views of our organization. We are very anxious that the negotiations with the W.F.T.U. should be continued, and I should therefore like to support Brother Deakin's suggestion that the resolution should not be put to the Congress. We feel that it will not promote unity in the trade union movement as a whole, and may perhaps close for a long time the possibility of again reopening such negotiations, which may be necessary to unite the trade union movement all over the world. We should therefore be very cautious and not take the step that the resolution proposes.

**THE GENERAL SECRETARY :** It was not my intention to intervene in the debate so late in the day, but since we shall not now be able to finish our discussion on this matter tonight, and it will be as well to think things over carefully, I think I had better say a few things about it.

First of all let me say that if Mr. Deakin thinks, as he suggested, that all the members of the Executive Committee except one were unaware of what they were doing, that they did not know what the issues were, then he is mistaken. They knew very well what they were doing. Personally I am quite prepared to go on talking with the W.F.T.U., whether or not this resolution is accepted, but when I saw that all the members of the Executive except the one who has had least experience of our negotiations with the W.F.T.U. thought the time had come to make a courageous stand, I gave up all idea of putting forward a milk and water resolution. Mr. Deakin has mentioned a few concessions made by the W.F.T.U., all of which are in themselves not so very important, but he omitted to refer to the fact that all the proposals which came from the World Federation, right from the beginning, aimed to place all the international trade secretariats under the tutelage of the Executive Bureau and Executive Committee of the W.F.T.U. It may be that they have superior wisdom, but no independent organization could surrender to the superior wisdom of the Executive Bureau, even though confident that they were trying, in all their decisions, to promote the interests of the workers. But I feel that many among them cannot be considered to possess the wisdom and tolerance necessary to make a success of the World Federation of Trade Unions.

Mr. Deakin says that the trade secretariats can choose for themselves where they want to have their headquarters ; but that is only if the majority of the Executive Bureau approves of it. Mr. Deakin says that we want the trade departments in the place where they can do the most effective work ; but what did the W.F.T.U. say about it when drawing up their regulations ? They said that they shall be established in the place where the World Federation has its headquarters. No doubt it *may* be in another place if the Conference of the trade department so recommends. But I should have to make a very long statement to show how much trouble we had to avoid accepting the World Federation's views on the matter, and to get its Executive Bureau to make even so unsubstantial a concession. And their approval would always be necessary ; that is the fly in the ointment. Would Mr. Deakin, or any autonomous trade union in the United

Kingdom, agree that the Trades Union Congress should have the veto on the question of where its offices should be ?

As to the affiliation fees, it was understood at the beginning that the trade departments would get one half of them, but article 6 entitles them to only 25 per cent. of the affiliation fees paid during the year. I want to draw particular attention to that. Mr. Deakin spoke of 50 per cent, but when and how do we get it ? This is another example of the way in which this almighty power is to reign over us. In cases where the conference of a trade department decides that the income from the 25 per cent is not sufficient it can request the Executive Bureau to consider, jointly with itself, ways and means of raising supplementary funds, which *may* include an additional allocation from the general funds of the W.F.T.U. not exceeding the basic allowance of 25 per cent. But to obtain the supplementary allowance under this article the trade department will have first to justify its needs by submitting to the Executive Bureau of the W.F.T.U. its proposed programme of activities and its proposed annual budget.

In addition or as an alternative the administrative committee of a trade department can apply to the Executive Bureau of the W.F.T.U. for authority to raise a special levy, accompanying its application, of course, with a budget and plan of activities. If the Executive Bureau agrees to the request the levy must then be approved first by the Trade Conference of the department ; and after that it must still be ratified by a two thirds majority in a referendum among the organizations affiliated.

Well, you have all been associated with some of the work of the I.T.F., so you know something about it. Knowing what you want, could you accept such tutelage from the World Federation ? There is no other word for it but tutelage. Look at the trade union situation in countries like Czechoslovakia, Hungary and some others. There you have national federations of trade unions which are all-powerful, which decide what the affiliated unions must do and how much money they shall receive ; and it is clear that that would be the position of the trade departments inside the World Federation.

How did all our troubles start? They started because the national trade union centres came together and decided, against the opinion and wishes of the international trade secretariats, to set up trade departments within the W.F.T.U. They had no justification whatsoever for doing so. All this happened at a time when Western Europe was still partly occupied by the enemy. Consequently important trade union centres were later faced with an accomplished fact, otherwise they would have resisted the decision, but since the matter had been decided they were prepared to go on with it.

I do not need to dwell on the strange methods adopted by the Prague meetings of the W.F.T.U. when no effort was made to negotiate with the trade secretariats but the World Federation tried instead to impose its wishes upon them through the national trade union centres. I am sure that was not the intention of the British and Scandinavian national centres but I suppose—I was, of course, not there—that it was a compromise that came about between the two parties, at our expense, while we were not there.

Now I do not want to be too hard on my good friend Deakin, who is in an awkward situation as President of the W.F.T.U., coming here as representative of the Transport and General Workers' Union, but I suggest to him that if I were in his place, that is to say as President of the W.F.T.U. I should ask myself: Are we today in a position, is the state of the organization such, that we are justified in taking the responsibility—for that is what it means—of allowing these other international organizations, that are actively engaged in doing useful work, to dissolve themselves? Brother Deakin calls it amalgamation—but I will deal with that later. At this moment when, to say the least, all is not roses and sunshine inside the World Federation, would it not rather be their duty first to see what they can do with other tasks more proper to a general international trade union organization?

If the integration of the I.T.F. into the World Federation were to take place it would naturally mean the loss of a considerable number of organizations and members of the I.T.F., and if I may prophesy, many of the unions that were members of the trade departments through their national centres would take very much less interest in international affairs than they have in the past, when as members of an independent I.T.F. they have been used to work and deal with one another—not by using the veto, not by bringing their voting strength to bear, but by agreement and by convincing one another.

Is it not the case that in the W.F.T.U. the job of the Chairman is largely one of counting votes all the time? My experience of international organizations tells me that when you come to that stage you will not do very much practical work, and I am afraid there has been a lot of voting within the World Federation.

As to the question of whether integration would mean amalgamation or dissolution, as I see it you have an amalgamation when you bring together two organizations fundamentally similar in make-up and purpose. In this case they are not and there can be no question of simple amalgamation, since the I.T.F. would simply be absorbed into the W.F.T.U. You could not reach a decision on the matter in the case of the I.T.F. unless you had a vote on it at a Congress, and that vote would clearly be a vote not on amalgamation but on dissolution, and you would in any case not be able, in my opinion, to find the majority which is needed.

Another point. Mr. Deakin says we must get together again and talk, that if we do not do so it will be a betrayal of the other international trade secretariats. Now betrayal is a very strong word, and it is certainly misapplied in this case. All through the long time the negotiations have taken place I have been in touch with the general feeling of the other trade secretariats with regard to this matter. I have seen some who were originally prepared to accept integration gradually become cool. Only a few days ago I received from the International Secretariat of the Metal Workers a letter in which they express their opinion about the question. According to them the only solution now is to delete the whole of Article 13 from the Constitution of the W.F.T.U. Now the Metal Workers are rather important as a trade secretariat, and that is their opinion.

Now in my dealings with the other international trade secretariats—I want to be very definite about this—I have never at any time tried to impose my opinion on any of them, and I have never had any secret

dealings with them about the W.F.T.U. It has been suggested that while I have on occasions been representing the international trade secretariats, the opinions that I expressed did not represent theirs, which were quite different, and that they have been resisting what I have been fighting for all the time. Well, we have now reached the stage where I can say truthfully that I know of very few trade secretariats that at this juncture want to talk any more of integration. I do not want to mention any names, but there is one secretariat that had originally come to a decision in favour of integration, which was not, however, carried into effect, and I understand that it has now changed its tune and its opinion with regard to this matter. So I do not think that there is any ground whatsoever for accusing us of betraying the other international trade secretariats.

I think if you would put this matter to anybody who is prepared to look at it impartially he would agree that at the present stage in the international trade union movement it would not be wise for us to make any further move. Our friend from Finland said that if we do not continue the negotiations we shall not achieve what we are after : the unity of the workers of all countries. Well, it may be that in Finland they do not get reports of what is going on everywhere, but I am revealing no secret when I say that in the different parts of the world the World Federation of Trade Unions is very much on the decline. That is a fact that cannot be denied. Our British friends themselves have never believed in the very remarkable figures of membership that were quoted by the W.F.T.U. right from the beginning of its existence. Lord Citrine and yourselves, like myself, very much doubted their veracity at the time, and we have very much more reason to do so today. I do not think, therefore, that we should be too much influenced by the views of those organizations that feel themselves bound—too much bound, in my opinion—by what their national federation of trade unions happens to have decided. When they find that different opinions are held in other organizations to which they belong I believe they should be free to act independently and in accordance with their own views. And that is the position in the international trade secretariats today.

I am fully convinced that we shall declare today that it is our intention to remain independent, otherwise the position would be a very difficult one, and I fear we might lose a great deal of our influence and membership, as we should bar our further access to parts of the world where we are now making progress. It is therefore clear to me that we ought to continue as a free and independent International. For that reason I support the resolution.

*It being then 6.20 p.m., the Congress adjourned until the following day at 8.30 a.m.*



**Saturday, 24th July, 1948**  
**MORNING (Final) SESSION, 9.10 a.m.**

**CHINESE DELEGATES**

**THE PRESIDENT :** In opening this last session of the Congress I want to introduce to you two Chinese friends, L. S. Wong and Wang Chia Sun, representing the National Chinese Seamen's Union, who only arrived in Oslo last night, after having been more than five days on the way. Fortunately they are at least in time for the final session. I am sure you will want to hear from them, so I will call upon Brother L. S. Wong to address the Congress.

**L. S. WONG (National Chinese Seamen's Union) :** Today is the last day of the Congress, but I should like to say a few words on behalf of the National Chinese Seamen's Union. We regret that we were unable to arrive in time for the opening of the Congress, but the distance was great and our plane was delayed.

The Chinese transport workers, who include 150,000 seamen, 100,000 motor drivers, 500,000 dockers and 250,000 railway workers, a million altogether, are heartily in favour of the I.T.F., and although we are very poor the National Chinese Seamen's Union considered that it ought to send a delegation to Oslo, to have an opportunity to get into touch with its brothers from other countries.

During the second world war the Chinese transport workers fought against Fascist aggression, often sacrificing their lives and performing many heroic acts, because the Chinese workers, like the workers everywhere, want peace, freedom and democracy. At present, as we know, there is an atmosphere of war all over the world, and the Chinese workers hope to join forces with the world's workers to prevent a third world war by abolishing its potential causes.

Since the victory over the Japanese China has once more been suffering under a disastrous civil war, because the Communists are keeping a large army to attack the Government forces. As a result social life and the country's economy have been broken up and there are thousand upon thousand of homeless refugees. But the Chinese workers are a peace and freedom loving body and steadily opposed to the Communists, who only enslave the workers.

Finally, the Chinese delegation wishes the Congress every success in its endeavours to promote social justice and peace throughout the world, and on behalf of the Chinese workers promises you their constant support.

**THE PRESIDENT :** On behalf of the Congress I want to express our hearty thanks to Brother Wong for his message. I would like to suggest to our Chinese friends that they come to the meeting of our Seamen's Group which will probably be held during the lunch hour, as we should like to meet them and have them take part in our discussions.

**COMPOSITION OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL.**

**THE PRESIDENT :** Before we resume the discussion on relations with the W.F.T.U. I think it would be as well to make up our minds in which way we consider the General Council should be composed, in order that

the different national delegations or groups of delegations may decide what nominations to make. The Executive Committee has prepared a short report embodying its suggestions about the matter, and this is now before you. Do you agree to the proposals contained in this report ?

*The Congress signified its agreement. The following is the text of the report :*

The Executive Committee, in submitting the following proposals for the Composition of the General Council, wishes to assure the Congress that every effort has been made to assure representation for all affiliated organizations, and has taken advantage of all good advice offered to it.

The Executive Committee desires to point out that at the moment the matter of the composition of the General Council is in a fluid state, as a considerable increase in affiliations may be expected in the near future. For this reason Congress is asked to agree that if new organizations should affiliate and duly meet their financial obligations they should become automatically entitled to representation on the General Council.

On the other hand the Executive Committee feels that the time has come to revise the scale of representation provided for by Rule V of the Constitution, particularly with reference to countries with large memberships, and Congress is therefore asked to instruct the Executive Committee to prepare proposals on the subject for submission to the next Congress of the I.T.F.

After carefully considering the position of the countries and organizations concerned, the Executive Committee proposes the following composition of the General Council :

<i>Individual Countries.</i>	<i>Number of Members</i>
Austria ... ..	1
Canada ... ..	1
France ... ..	1
Germany ... ..	2
Great Britain ... ..	3
Spain ... ..	1
Sweden ... ..	1
United States ... ..	3
 <i>Regional Groups.</i>	
Belgium, Eire, Luxemburg, Netherlands and Switzerland ... ..	4
Denmark, Finland, Iceland and Norway ... ..	3
Latin America ... ..	2
Near and Middle East and Greece ... ..	1

In accordance with Rule V, paragraph 6, of the Constitution it is further proposed to give representation to the following countries or designate them as special groups :

<i>Special Groups.</i>	<i>Number of Members.</i>
South Africa and Rhodesia ... ..	1
India, Burma and Ceylon ... ..	2
Pakistan ... ..	1
Australia and New Zealand ... ..	1
China, Hong Kong and Singapore ... ..	1
West Indies ... ..	1

The members elected by countries covered by the **Special Groups** will be entitled to attend the meetings of the General Council, but their expenses will not be borne by the I.T.F.

The above proposals involve no change in the size of the Executive Committee, which in virtue of Rule VI, paragraph 3, would have to continue to consist of the minimum number of members, viz., seven, as at present.

## REPORT ON ACTIVITIES FOR 1946-1947

### RELATIONS WITH THE W.F.T.U. (*continued*)

H. JAHN (German Railwaymen's Union) The German trade unions in the Western Zone are very cautious about the W.F.T.U., but we are now affiliated with the I.T.F. and it is our duty to state clearly what our position is. I feel that the discussion has so far been confined to the tactical plane, and I should like to shift it to the strategical. The present World Federation of Trade Unions, in the direction of which the Russian trade unions predominate, has a strategic aim : to span the world with a centralized international organization for the purpose of attaining political aims through the trade unions. We Germans see these political aims constantly before us in the Eastern Zone. The Trade Union Federation there is an instrument of the Socialist Unity Party, which is essentially controlled by the Communists. Now it is for us a fundamental principle that freedom is indivisible; and in the Eastern Zone of Germany there is no freedom : there is forced labour, deportation of workers, but no freedom of association, of meeting, of speech or of the press. And endeavours are being made from that Zone to worm officials into the trade unions in the Western Zone, with the express purpose of subjecting the trade unions and federations there to a political party. We are, of course, fighting this. And since we are of opinion that the W.F.T.U., as at present orientated and dominated, is pursuing the same aims, we are very definitely against the I.T.F. giving up its freedom in any circumstances whatsoever ; and we are therefore in favour of the resolution which is before us.

I repeat what I have said before : we want neither brown Bolshevism nor red Fascism. We are sick of dictatorships, of whatever kind they may be. So I think it is our duty to draw attention to these dangers. We urge adoption of the resolution.

J. B. FIGGINS (British National Union of Railwaymen) : As the member of the Executive Committee who has been named as being in opposition to the resolution before the Congress I think I should make my position perfectly clear. Until now, whenever I have been opposed to the Executive Committee's position, when I have found myself in a minority, I have always agreed to accept the views of the majority, even against my better judgement. But this is an issue of momentous importance, historic in character, and knowing the opinion of the British delegation and of the General Council of the Trades Union Congress—of which I happen to be a member, as are also Brothers Deakin and Baty—I felt I had to put that point of view to the Executive. Our national centre is in favour of continuing the negotiations with the World Federation, in the hope that they will bring about the integration of the I.T.F. as a trade department. I therefore cannot agree with the resolution.

Having said that I now come to the position as far as my own organization, the National Union of Railwaymen, is concerned, which is the single organization with the largest membership affiliated to the I.T.F. After a very careful perusal of the Report one thing is clear to me—and though in the eyes of Mr. Oldenbroek I may be inexperienced I do not think that after 37 years in the British trade union movement, and being general secretary of the largest railwaymen's union, I can really be said not to have experience : all I have to do is to read the Report, the purpose of which is to convey to delegates information which they lack. In view of what transpired during the negotiations, as told in this Report, I am astonished at the failure of the so-called experienced people, both in the I.T.F. and the W.F.T.U., to get down to this matter.

Who is to blame ? Well, if there is anyone who is most to blame—if this Report is a factual report—then the major blame rests with the W.F.T.U. We find that a meeting takes place and it is only after eight months that a consultative committee is set up. How would we stand with the executive committees of our own unions if we waited for periods like that with matters of such great importance ? I for one would not remain for long as general secretary of my organization. And when I come to page 97 of the Report I see that information was asked of the W.F.T.U. as to what would be the financial position of the trade departments, and that the Chairman of the Executive Bureau of the World Federation, Mr. Deakin, ruled that the international trade secretariats were entitled to the information, and that it should be collected without delay. And the Report goes on : “ Up to the time this report is being written another nine months have elapsed, but the information has not been received, so it is not possible to say what would be the financial effect of integration.”

As from the time the information was asked for, and the Chairman ruled that it should be collected without delay, more than nine months have elapsed, and the information is not yet forthcoming from the W.F.T.U. This is an absolute disgrace.

But if we take the matter really seriously let us get down to it ; let us make up our minds what we do want and let us go out to get it. Brother Deakin said that there is not much disposition to negotiate on the part of the international trade secretariats. That may be so : I do not say it is not true. But there is certain evidence that it is worth while to strive to bring about a satisfactory conclusion to the negotiations. Therefore we should get on with the job and see that integration is forthcoming. If the international trade secretariats cannot get any satisfactory agreement let them come forward and state the reasons clearly and bluntly, and we will determine our stand on the basis of these facts.

The major conditions for setting up the trade departments are outlined on page 98 of the Report, and there is a good deal to grumble at. But if you have a World Federation with trade departments then the trade departments must be subordinate to the General Council of that Federation. You cannot have it otherwise : they must be integrated in the World Federation ; and certain conditions which have been asked from the international trade secretariats in connection with the staff seem to me absolutely reasonable.

This is what I have to say on behalf of the National Union of Railwaymen. This is the correct thing to do : the very thing that Mr. Oldenbroek

himself has suggested to the Congress. In the speech he made he said : " I suggest we refer the matter back to the Executive Committee and ask them to prepare a resolution which on the one side clearly indicates the mood of the Congress and on the other does not at this moment come to a final decision until all avenues have been used in order to settle this question." Brother Oldenbroek declared yesterday from this rostrum that we should be prepared to find a compromise, but in the Executive Committee it has been found that a compromise is impossible, so this resolution has been laid before you. I do not blame Brother Oldenbroek for accepting the point of view of the Executive Committee. But the Report deals with the matter and indicates that there is a possibility of negotiations being resumed in the month of September of this year. This should be done, and once we come to the final position of either agreement or disagreement we should convene a special Congress of this organization, in accordance with the resolution adopted by the Zurich Congress, so that the matter may be referred to it and a definite decision be come to as to whether the integration of the I.T.F. in the World Federation shall take place or shall not take place. But up to the moment when we shall be able to come to a conclusion there should be no question of interrupting the negotiations. On behalf of the National Union of Railwaymen I suggest to this Congress that the only right and proper course to take is to reject the resolution that has been laid before you by the Executive Committee.

G. HARRISON (U.S. Railway Labor Executives' Association) : I apologize for taking the time of the Congress this morning, because I realize that we have much other work to do, but because of the importance of the subject and the fact that those who are opposed to the draft resolution have taken up considerable time, I want to answer specifically some of the statements that have been made by previous speakers.

While it is true that this is the first Congress of the I.T.F. that the United States delegates have attended, I should like to assure the members of the Congress that our delegation embraces experienced trade-unionists with long records in the movement. I have been active during more than thirty years in national and international affairs, but I do not claim for myself any monopoly of intelligence or comprehension of international affairs ; so we of the United States delegation were considerably pained to hear the distinguished delegate from Great Britain assume that no-one in this conference knows anything about international affairs but himself. I submit that since we are presumed to be here to advise and consult one with another, and reach a common accord, it is very inconsistent for their delegate to say : " You are incompetent to tender advice on problems of such great concern as those that are before this convention. So much for that.

It is the position of the United States delegates that we will support the resolution, and we have come to that conclusion because we believe that it provides for a settlement and a final determination of the future status of the I.T.F.

When we were asked to become affiliated with this great international body we were given to understand that it was not affiliated with the World Federation of Trade Unions, and that the matter would come before this Congress for determination ; otherwise we should not be here, because the unions in the United States do not desire to become affiliated

with the W.F.T.U. by way of a back door. We have already refused to go in by the front door, and I tell you now with all candour and for the purpose of honestly presenting our position that should it occur in the future that this great democratic group should become associated with the political aims of the totalitarian Russian Government we shall have nothing more to do with the I.T.F., and we shall leave. The W.F.T.U. is not a matter of new presentation to us. When it was in its embryo stage and the United States unions were asked to become a part of the I.T.F., we asked some of our unions whether they wished to be included in the World Federation, and when they understood that it was to include and comprehend the political arm of the Russian Government they said: No: it cannot be a world-wide federation of free trade unions because there are no free trade unions in Russia.

Is there any delegate in this hall naive enough to believe that what we then said has not proven to be true? Let us look at the matter in some of its important aspects. We were told at the inception of the W.F.T.U.—and only a few days ago by its President—that it was conceived for the purpose of bringing together the free trade unions throughout the world, so that they may marshall their strength and expand the free trade union movement, and so that they might work together for the expansion of freedom and democracy; that they may combine their strength to work in co-operation towards the solution of economic problems and the rehabilitation of the devastation that has come from the war. Well: what has happened? On the formation of the W.F.T.U. Russia was immediately admitted and became a participating member. Is there a free trade union movement in Russia? You know, and I know, and the world knows that there cannot be, by the very nature of things in that country. What has happened to the free trade union movement in many other countries since the launching of the new W.F.T.U.? Rumania has been taken within the Soviet influence. Does anybody contend that free trade unions still exist there, and that democracy is practised as we understand it? What has happened in Czechoslovakia? Has it expanded free trade-unionism: has it enlarged freedom and democracy? You know that it has not. What has happened in Poland? Have they expanded free trade-unionism, and freedom and democracy, with the help of the forces of the World Federation of Trade Unions? You know that this has not been done.

Take another point, Has the W.F.T.U. been used in a spirit of co-operation to expand the well-being of the toilers of the world by rehabilitating economic and physical conditions in the war-devastated countries? When the Marshall Plan was forthcoming, did the World Federation endorse it? Quite the contrary: the free trade union forces, as represented by our distinguished delegate Brother Deakin from Great Britain, were unable to get the W.F.T.U. to endorse the Plan. Has the counterpart in the W.F.T.U., as represented by the Russian group, contributed to economic rehabilitation and reconstruction in the devastated countries? Quite the contrary: that group within the World Federation has done everything it could to carry out the foreign policy of the Russian Government; to destroy freedom and democracy in Italy and France. Only recently, while the Italian Government was struggling to bring about economic recovery and rally the forces of freedom in Italy,

what happened ? The General Secretary of the W.F.T.U. has sent a telegram endorsing the political strife for the purpose of sabotaging the efforts of the Italian Government, and the rest of the freedom-loving governments in the world, to bring about the recovery of Italy and perpetuate freedom and democracy.

We are of the opinion that we have to take a position, because the issues involved are so vital that there can be no compromise. The sixteen nations covered by the Marshall Plan have said publicly that their only hope to preserve their freedom and their independence is to bring about economic rehabilitation and improve the standards of living of their peoples. They have said to America : we cannot do it ourselves ; will you help us ? And the free trade unions in the U.S.A. immediately came forth in support of that request and to extend all the help possible ; because we realize, like you, that there can be no compromise with the forces that oppose the exercise of liberty and democracy. And so it pains the United States delegation considerably to witness here the spectacle of a representative of a free trade union in Great Britain trying to collaborate with the forces that are positively and unalterably opposed to the principles for which we stand.

I appeal to you to take a position in support of your freedom. Do not turn your back on your friends. We are here trying to help you, and we are trying to help you at home, but we cannot help you if you go along with forces that are trying to destroy you. In the United States Marshall Plan dollars do not grow on trees : we get them out of the toil and sweat of the workers of our country. We are carrying heavy war-time taxes, we have foregone a reduction of them, in order to finance the European Recovery Programme. But we are contributing to a futile effort if you do not mean what you have said, that you desire to preserve the free way of life.

Now I have talked very frankly with you, because it is no small issue with us in the United States. I have said these things not because I want to say them, but because we want to help you. But you must also help yourselves. (*The President here indicated to Brother Harrison that his time was running out*).

I think I will leave it at that. Thank you.

H. LUNDEBERG (Seafarers' International Union of North America) : There is no need for me to tell you what our position is : Brother Harrison has explained to you the position that all American trade-unionists take. However, I should like to say a few words as a seaman. If you talk of international trade-unionists, there is no-one who knows more of international trade-unionism than the seaman : in the opinion of myself and the seamen represented here the seamen are the vanguard of the international trade union movement. We know what conditions are everywhere because we sail, at our work, all over the world. We know what it is to be free and what it is not to be free. What the British seafarers' delegate Brother Yates said on this platform yesterday of the position of the British seamen's unions runs quite on the lines of the American seamen, and he is right when he believes that the American seamen are prepared to go into a separate international seafarers' organization in case the I.T.F. should see fit to affiliate with a political arm of the Cominform, which is, in our opinion, what the W.F.T.U. is. Don't you believe, not for a moment, that

we American seamen are going to take dictation from a political commissar. Not on your life : we love our freedom too well. And if you talk of the World Federation, there has not been one speaker on this platform who has told us of anything that the W.F.T.U. has done in the three years of its existence. But everybody has admitted what a great body the I.T.F. is, and how much it has done during the fifty years it has existed. So why should we dissolve this organization and go into an organization like the W.F.T.U., which has been in existence only three years and cannot show us anything it has done during that time, except for sabotaging the free trade unions. We should be cockeyed to accede to anything like that. I believe that some of you delegates should have your heads examined. We are trade-unionists, and we know what we want. Must we free trade-unionists fall back on some feeble-minded commissar to run our affairs ? Are we not big enough to do it ourselves ? The seamen know how the score is. We are seamen, and we take a very determined position.

Finally, I should like to compliment the British seamen for the stand they have taken, and we American seamen are determined to stand behind them.

#### **Scandinavian Amendment**

I. HAUGEN (Norwegian Seamen's Union) : I am instructed by the Scandinavian group of delegates to this Congress to present an amendment to the Executive Committee's draft resolution on relations with the W.F.T.U. We do not think that the time is opportune to close all doors, though we are not interested in an all-embracing trade union International if it does not leave us fully autonomous in a democratic sense. The Scandinavian group of delegates has therefore drafted an amendment which they have asked me to put before you. We want to amend paragraphs 4 and 5 of the English text of the draft resolution proposed by the Executive Committee.

We propose, in paragraph 4, to delete all words after " adopted by the Zurich Congress," and substitute " has not proved possible."

In paragraph 5 we suggest deleting all words after " served by," and substitute the following : " continuing the independence of the I.T.F. until such time as negotiations can be resumed with an all-embracing trade union international which offers sufficient prospects of an appropriate measure of autonomy for the international trade secretariats and guarantees the principles of free and democratic trade unionism."

I ask the Congress to carry this amendment, which is in my opinion a happy compromise with the Executive Committee's draft. Congress must not think that we are prepared to accept anything that would affect our rights. We shall stick to the proviso that before any decision is come to about the integration of the I.T.F. it shall be submitted to a special Congress which would have to decide whether the conditions which are the outcome of the negotiations with the World Federation are acceptable.

I should like to say one word to Brother Harrison. He accuses us who are against the resolution of defending and being prepared to collaborate with people who are opposed to this free trade union movement of



ours. It is nothing of the kind : on the contrary, our wish is that negotiations shall be reopened with an International that offers sufficient guarantees that the principles of democratic trade-unionism will be safe-guarded.

I submit the amendment to the Congress and hope that it will be adopted, as I believe it constitutes a happy compromise.

R. DEKEYZER (Belgian Transport Workers' Union) : I am speaking in the name of the Benelux countries—Belgium, Holland and Luxemburg. First of all I should like to say that we in the Low Countries are somewhat disappointed at the trend of the discussions that have taken place on this subject, and we should like to make it clear just where we stand. We are just as much against totalitarianism as any other country in the world, and we have in our countries taken measures against those who would impose upon us something that is in conflict with free trade-unionism. We have so managed things that we have eliminated all those who are opposed to the free trade union movement, and our transport workers' unions are certainly not dominated by the Communists, whatever may be the position in some other countries.

We are in favour of the amendment proposed by our Scandinavian friends, and on behalf of the Benelux countries I willingly second it. We hope the Congress will be unanimous in this, and that the I.T.F. will carry on, as it has done for fifty years, the struggle for free trade-unionism and a free world.

*The Congress then adjourned for fifteen minutes to enable the Executive Committee to consider the implications of the amendment. On resuming the President called upon Robert Bratschi to make a statement on behalf of the Executive Committee.*

R. BRATSCHI (Swiss Railwaymen's Union) : The Executive Committee has had a short meeting to consider the amendment put forward by the Scandinavian unions, and I can tell you right away that it recommends that the amendment be adopted. In doing so the Executive Committee realizes that it raises questions that will have to be given consideration in the coming meetings of the Executive Committee and General Council, and probably also in a subsequent Congress ; but it recognizes that it affords a means of reaching agreement in this Congress.

Brother Haugen, in speaking for the amendment, said that the eventual integration of the I.T.F. into another International could only be decided by a special Congress. The Executive is fully in agreement with the principle that such a decision must rest with a Congress, but that does not necessarily mean that it must be a special Congress : it can also be an ordinary one. With this understanding I support, on behalf of the Executive Committee, the views of the Scandinavian delegations.

The draft resolution put forward by the Executive has given rise, yesterday and today, to a lively discussion. It is no longer necessary—nor have we the time—for me to go into what has been said, but I believe that the discussion was important and has been useful in throwing light upon the position of the I.T.F. in relation to the W.F.T.U.

On behalf of the Executive Committee I should like to thank the Scandinavian delegations for the trouble they have taken to bring about an understanding. I hope that the Congress will now unanimously adopt

the resolution, subject to the Scandinavian amendment, so that the I.T.F., as is its custom, may continue to work in unity for freedom, democracy and social justice.

*The resolution, as amended, was then adopted nem. con., with seven delegates (representing the U.S. organizations and the Norwegian Mates' Union) abstaining. The amended text is as follows :*

### **RESOLUTION ON NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE W.F.T.U.**

The Congress of the I.T.F., meeting in Oslo from 19 to 24 July, 1948, and attended by 148 delegates representing 58 trade union organizations with 3,000,368 members.

Has given careful consideration to the report of the Secretariat on its relations and negotiations with the World Federation of Trade Unions.

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

The Congress is satisfied that the negotiations between the international trade secretariats and the W.F.T.U. have shown conclusively that co-operation as envisaged in the resolution adopted by the Zurich Congress has not proved possible.

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

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

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

### **NOMINATIONS FOR GENERAL COUNCIL**

**THE GENERAL SECRETARY :** All nominations for the General Council have now come in except those for Latin America, whose delegates wish to leave the matter in suspense until they return to their country and can consult the other affiliated organizations.

In the case of Great Britain four nominations have been received : Messrs. Figgins, Deakin, Beardsworth and Tennant. Either the British group will have to come to an agreement to choose and put forward three of these jointly, or the Congress will have to decide.

**THE PRESIDENT :** Perhaps the British delegations will be able to agree among themselves and thus avoid the necessity of the Congress voting.

In the meantime we will proceed with the remaining reports of the sectional conferences ; those of the Seamen, Dockers and Inland Navigation Workers, Civil Aviation and Railwaymen. We will take that of the Dockers' and Inland Navigation Group first. Brother L. Major will introduce it.

### **REPORT OF THE CONFERENCE OF THE DOCKERS' AND INLAND NAVIGATION WORKERS' SECTIONS**

**L. MAJOR** (Belgian Transport Workers' Union) : At the request of the Seamen's Section, the first item dealt with by the Conference was the growing practice of the shipowners in certain countries of registering their ships in Panama, Honduras, etc., with a view to worsening conditions. The meeting agreed unanimously that it was desirable that an end should be put to such unfair practices, and instructed the Secretariat to consult with the affiliated dockers' unions with a view to sympathetic action, simultaneously with action by the seafarers' unions, either on a regional or a world-wide basis.

After discussion the Conference then adopted the Secretariat's Report of the Dockers' Section and decided that a big effort should be made to bring to realization the claims put up by the Dockers' Conference in Antwerp. It transpired during the discussion that the standards thus set internationally had been reached or nearly reached in several countries, but that the trade unions had had to impose certain restrictions upon their claims in countries whose governments were pursuing, with the backing of the labour movement, a policy of controlling wages and prices.

The question of the limitation of the weight of loads to be carried by one man has been on the agenda of I.T.F. meetings year after year. The Conference took cognizance of the memorandum on the subject that had been laid before it, and after discussion decided to ask the Secretariat to give further study to the question and raise it once more with the International Labour Office with a view to including a limitation of loads to 75 kilogrammes in the International Docks Convention should it come up again for revision.

Finally the Conference appealed to affiliated dockers' union to furnish the Secretariat with all the information for which they were asked. It appeared that some of the unions do not regularly answer enquiries, thus seriously hindering the Secretariat's endeavours to bring the dockers' claims to realization.

I hope that the Congress will unanimously accept the report of the Dockers' and Inland Waterway Workers' Conference, so that the Secretariat may set about taking the necessary steps for the dockers' to lend their support to the proposed action against the mercantile marines of Panama and Honduras.

*The report of the Dockers' and Inland Waterway Workers' Sections was unanimously adopted without further discussion. The following is the text of the report :*

The Group met Wednesday afternoon and was attended by representatives from nine countries, viz. : Austria 1, Belgium, Britain 5,

Denmark 2, Finland 3, Germany 1, Holland 2, Norway 1, Sweden 2. The President of the I.T.F. was present on behalf of the Secretariat.

After Brother L. Major (Belgium) had been elected chairman and reporter of the meeting, it was announced that the Seafarers' Group had, during the morning, considered a proposal to declare an international boycott of the shipping of certain countries which constituted a menace to seafarers' conditions generally and that it had appointed a deputation which wished to be heard by the Dockers' Group.

### **International Shipping Boycott**

The spokesman of the seafarers' deputation (Bros. Iversen, Lundeberg, Tennant and Wälläri) explained that the seafarers' action was to be directed against countries such as Panama, Honduras and others, which though their own shipping requirements were very small now possessed growing merchant navies—as a result of the transfer of ships of various nationalities to stooge companies registered in the countries complained of with no other intention than to evade the statutory and negotiated conditions and provisions obtained by seafarers of genuine maritime nations ; which was made possible by the total lack of trade union organization and protective provisions for seafarers in the countries concerned. Organized seafarers were contemplating an international boycott, on the requisite scale, against Panama and such like shipping in order to put an end to this unfair practice on the part of the shipowners concerned. Though the main action would fall on the seafarers themselves, dockers could play a valuable role by sympathetic action against any ships entering their ports manned by blacklegs, and the purpose of the deputation was to enlist the dockers' international solidarity with the seafarers.

The meeting without hesitation declared its willingness to recommend the dockers' unions affiliated with the I.T.F. to take the sympathetic action required in accordance with indications to be given by the I.T.F., pointing out that for the action to be effective it should be concerted and simultaneous in the different countries concerned.

### **Report of Dockers' Section**

The meeting then discussed the Secretariat's Report for the Docker's Section, and recorded its satisfaction with the work achieved and on the road to achievement. On behalf of Belgium reference was made to the programme of international minimum demands agreed at the Antwerp Dockers' Conference of Antwerp. In the meantime the Belgian dockers had secured conditions which conformed to the international standards so far agreed. They were anxious to press for further improvements, but these could only be secured if in other countries conditions were kept in line with those obtaining in Belgium. They therefore hoped that the Dockers' Section of the I.T.F. would be able to formulate decisions aiming at further progress, and that such decisions would be translated into effect with the least possible delay. In particular they wished for generalization of the 7 hour day which Belgian dockers had been enjoying for a number of years.

The Dutch and British spokesmen reported that very considerable improvements had taken place in dockers' conditions, not only in respect of wages, hours, holidays and the like, but particularly in the matter of

guaranteed employment. As far as wages were concerned, owing to the existence of a government control of wages and prices, a policy backed by the labour and trade union movement, coupled with the fact that dockers today ranked among the highest paid skilled occupations, it was not practicable to press for further increases on a general scale. With regard to working hours, the need to step up production temporarily precluded any action to shorten the working day.

The German representative said that the wage and price stop was rigidly enforced as far as wages were concerned, but that there was no effective control of prices. Under the conditions of military occupation the German trade unions have only a limited opportunity of improving dockers' conditions. He reported, however, that at Hamburg a scheme was now in operation which gave 4,000 casual dockers a four-day guaranteed week and 5,000 regular men a five-day week. Dockers worked an 8 hour day, with overtime rates for work beyond that limit, and on 1st May the rate of pay for an 8 hour shift had been increased by 15 per cent. to 8.74 marks, after having stood at 7.60 marks since that rate was negotiated by the trade union in pre-Hitler days. He pointed out that until the currency reform dockers had been working only two to three shifts a week, but now men were reporting for work in increasing numbers. Consequently there would be serious risk of unemployment unless some effective decasualization scheme were introduced.

Speakers from the other countries, Austria, Denmark, Finland, Sweden and Norway—also reported on conditions of employment in the docks industry. It was agreed that they should supply their data to the Secretariat with a view to circulation among the unions interested.

Attention was drawn to a Swedish delegation which had recently visited the dock industry of Belgium, Britain, Holland and other countries to conduct an enquiry into conditions of employment and methods of work. It transpired that this was a government commission which had included representatives of the dockers. It was felt that such a gathering of first-hand information was of value to dockers, and that the example deserved to be followed in other countries.

The Norwegian representative made a special appeal for the discouragement of piece work, which tended to produce inhuman conditions in the industry.

### **Limitation of Loads**

The Secretariat had prepared a separate memorandum on the question of limiting the weight of loads to be carried at one time. The Swedish representative remarked that paper was produced in rolls weighing 220 kilos. Normally these were rolled, but when cargo had been piled to a certain height the rolls had to be lifted, and this was a heavy weight even for two men. Representations made to the paper-producing industry had revealed that the paper could be produced in lighter units, but that at present the parts of machinery needed for the purpose were not available. The meeting endorsed the memorandum of the Secretariat which reaffirmed the demand for a 75 kilogramme limit to the weight of load and proposed its inclusion in the International Docks Convention when it comes up for revision in connection with the other demands formulated under this head and set forth in the Report of the Dockers' Section.

## Report of Inland Waterway Workers' Section.

In the discussion on the Inland Navigation Workers' Section appreciation was expressed at the work of the Secretariat and particularly the programme of demands brought about for Rhine shipping, which had been submitted to the I.L.O. and considered by the second session of the Inland Transport Committee. That further progress had not been made with implementing the programme and that the desired three-party negotiations had not taken place, the meeting attributed to the inadequate activity and co-operation of the governments concerned. Some representatives also raised the question whether the I.L.O. could assist to accelerate finalization of the matter. The increased volume of traffic likely to occur on the Rhine with the carrying out of the Marshall Plan was urged as an added reason for a speedy fixing of minimum standards of wages and other working conditions in this sector of inland shipping.

The meeting decided to ask the Secretariat of the I.T.F. to approach the I.L.O. urging it to promote the holding of the tripartite discussions at the earliest possible date and in addition to call upon affiliated unions in the unions concerned to exert pressure upon their respective governments and so dispose them to participate in the discussions mentioned.

Finally the meeting appealed to the unions concerned to supply the Secretariat of the I.T.F. with the necessary data concerning the manning of large motor ships operating on inland waterways, in order that the International Programme might be completed on this point.

### NOMINATIONS FOR GENERAL COUNCIL

THE PRESIDENT : We will now proceed to the election of three of the four British candidates who have been put forward for membership of the General Council.

H. J. PERKINS (British Radio Officers' Union) : I have to advise you that Mr. Tennant withdraws his nomination for membership of the General Council.

THE PRESIDENT : That is a happy solution of the difficulty that will save us the necessity of voting, since there are now no contested seats.

THE GENERAL SECRETARY : Up to now we have received the following nominations for the General Council (as I have already mentioned, the representative for Latin America has still to be appointed, and the same applies to one or two of the substitute members) :

<i>Countries.</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Members.</i>	<i>Substitutes.</i>
Austria ... ..	1	V. Uebeleis	K. Weigl.
Canada ... ..	1	J. McGuire.	
France ... ..	1	A. Lafond	E. Ehlers
Germany ... ..	2	H. Jahn. A Kummernuss.	J. Hatje. H. Davidsen.
Great Britain ... ..	3	J. B. Figgins. A. Deakin. G. Beardsworth.	D. S. Tennant.
Spain ... ..	1	T. Gómez.	A. Pérez.

<i>Countries.</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Members.</i>	<i>Substitutes.</i>
Sweden ... ..	1	S. Christiansson. A. E. Lyon.	R. Helgesson.
United States ... ..	3	H. Lundeberg. D. J. Tobin.	M. Weisberger. G. M. Harrison.
Belgium	4	O. Becu. G. Joustra R. Bratschi. M. Leick	G. Devaux. T. Smeding. H. Leuenberger.
Eire			
Luxemburg			
Netherlands			
Switzerland	...	M. Leick	
Denmark	...		
Finland	...	P. Poulsen.	L. Olsen.
Iceland	3	I. Haugen.	Th. Laursen.
Norway	...	G. Widing.	J. K. F. Jensen.
Latin America	2	To be appointed.	
Near & Middle East	1	M. I. Zein el Din.	

THE PRESIDENT : Do you agree that the persons whose names you have just heard shall constitute the new General Council ?

*The Congress signified its assent.*

#### ELECTION OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

THE PRESIDENT : We will now proceed to the election of the new Executive Committee. Under our Constitution its elected members must number one fourth of those of the General Council, but may not be less than seven. As there are only 23 members of the General Council, the number to be elected is seven, the same as at present. I call for seven nominations, and draw your attention to the fact that members of the Executive Committee must be chosen from among the members of the newly appointed General Council.

*The following persons were nominated from the floor of the Congress, and there being no further nominations they were, with the agreement of the Congress, declared to be elected :*

O. Becu.  
R. Bratschi.  
S. Christiansson.  
J. B. Figgins.  
T. Gómez.  
G. Joustra.  
A. E. Lyon.

#### REPORT OF THE CONFERENCE OF THE RAILWAYMEN'S SECTION

J. B. FIGGINS (British National Union of Railwaymen) : You all have before you; I believe, the Report of the Conference of the Railwaymen's Section of the I.T.F. You will see from the first paragraph that the Secretariat has been asked to enquire into conditions in railway office premises. The enquiry into periodical eyesight tests on the railways has

not yet been completed, but is in process of being so. The Secretariat is also enquiring into the industrial machinery in existence on the railways of different countries. This is of very great importance, especially in the nationalized industry of Great Britain, where the matter is receiving very close attention,

With regard to the question of automatic coupling, the Secretariat was instructed to secure the carrying out of the resolutions adopted in December 1945 and May 1947 by the I.L.O. Inland Transport Committee. Unfortunately there has been delay in calling the meeting of the sub-committee set up by the I.L.O., but as a result of the action we propose to take we hope there will be an early meeting of this committee, which should facilitate the settling of this long-standing issue.

After considering the question of working hours, the Section found that it would be inadvisable to pursue at this moment the demand for the 40-hour week, though in principle we support it. If, however—in America for instance—there should be a movement for establishing the 40-hour week, then we should support them, because only if we get as near as possible to the 40-hour standard shall we be able finally to secure adoption of an international convention providing for it. When once there are only one or two countries left that for economic reasons are not yet ready for the 40-hour week, there will be nothing in the way of such a convention.

With regard to the setting up of a European Transport Authority, the Railwaymen's group was of the opinion that the railways being in Europe the most important transport industry, it was necessary that the functions and powers of the Authority suggested by the Luxemburg Conference on the European Recovery Programme should be defined on the basis of railway experience ; and the Section decided to set up a committee of five members for the purpose of studying the whole matter in this light. This applies also to the question of the social aspects of the co-ordination of the means of transport. The Secretary of the Section proposed that this question be placed on the agenda of the Inland Transport Committee of the I.L.O., but the Section, while accepting the proposal in principle, decided to refer the matter for further study to the committee of five that it was decided to set up.

It was agreed that an International Railwaymen's Conference should be held some time in 1949.

I beg to move the Report.

*The Report of the Conference of the Railwaymen's Section was unanimously adopted without further discussion. The following is the text of the Report.*

The Section met under the chairmanship of Bro. Figgins (Great Britain) and considered the following questions :

- (1) The part of the Report on Activities concerned with the Railwaymen's Section.
- (2) Two special questions arising from the Report :
  - (a) Automatic coupling ;
  - (b) Reduction of working hours.



- (3) Proposals of the Luxemburg Conference of the I.T.F. (April 6 to 9 this year) in favour of the creation of a European Transport Authority.
- (4) Proposal concerning the work of the I.L.O. Inland Transport Committee.

The Section took cognizance of the report on activities for the past two years. It expressed the wish that the Secretariat should complete its inquiry into the question of periodical eyesight tests on the railways and undertake as soon as possible the inquiry into conditions in railway office premises. An inquiry into the industrial machinery in existence on the railways of different countries was in progress.

In connection with the question of automatic coupling, the Section was somewhat surprised to learn that the I.L.O. Section concerned was intentionally delaying the meeting of the sub-committee set up to take steps to carry out the resolutions adopted by the I.L.O. Inland Transport Committee and was trying to set it to a different task from that provided by the resolutions. The Section considered that the course indicated by the two resolutions in question was the best suited for speeding up the preparations for the introduction of automatic couplings on the European railways, and the Secretariat was instructed to make an appeal for the personal co-operation of the Director General of the I.L.O. to secure the carrying out of the resolutions adopted in December 1945 and May 1947.

Two European railway administrations, it was reported, the Belgian and the Dutch, were already building new wagons capable of being fitted in future with automatic couplings. The representatives of these countries urged that the unions in other countries should exert pressure upon their respective administrations to do likewise.

The question of working hours had been subjected to special study at the International Railwaymen's Conference of March 1947, which had adopted a resolution on the subject. This resolution reaffirmed the railwaymen's demand for a 40 hour week, but at the same time it appreciated the fact that in a number of countries the standard of life of the working class had declined considerably and that in those countries it was not possible, in March 1947, to seek a reduction of hours to 40 a week. Meanwhile the situation had not greatly changed, and as the number of countries in which a 40 hour week was practicable from the economic point of view was very small, the Section concluded that efforts in favour of an International Convention on the subject could not be contemplated for the time being.

On the other hand, though an International Convention was not a practical proposition at present, there was a need for hours of work to be brought as near as possible to the 40 hours standard in all countries, in order to prepare the way for the adoption of an International Convention eventually.

The question of an European Transport Authority had been closely discussed by the Railwaymen's group on the occasion of the Luxemburg Conference on the European Recovery Programme, which had pointed to the complex nature of the issues it raised and to the need for acting with a clear understanding of these issues and for defining the functions and powers of the proposed Authority. As the railways are the principal

inland transport industry of Europe, it was suggested that a definition of the functions and powers of an European Transport Authority should be drafted on the basis of railway experience. The Section accordingly decided to make a study of the matter, and to set up a committee of five members for the purpose, one from the Scandinavian country group, one from the Benelux group, one from the English-speaking group, one from the German-speaking group and one from France. It was agreed to keep the U.S. and Canadian organizations informed and to invite them to send a representative if the need made itself felt.

The Section considered a proposal made by the secretary of the Section that the question of the social aspects of the co-ordination of the means of transport should be placed on the agenda of the I.L.O. Inland Transport Committee with a view of considering the ways and means of bringing about equivalent conditions of employment in the different transport industries and of placing them on an equal footing with regard to their obligations towards the people they employ. The Section accepted the principle of the proposal, but decided to refer it for further study to the committee which had been set up.

Finally the Section instructed the Secretariat and the constituted Committee to make preparations for an International Railwaymen's Conference to be held in 1949 and to consult on the subject with the organizations concerned.

#### **REPORT OF CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE (Supplementary)**

R. DEKEYZER (Belgian Transport Workers' Union) : On behalf of the Credentials Committee I have pleasure in moving the proposal that the delegates from the Chinese National Seamen's Union be admitted to this Congress as delegates in an advisory capacity. I should like to pay a warm tribute to our Chinese friends for having come all the way from the Far East to show us that the seamen in China are interested in the work of the I.T.F. and in the international trade union movement.

I believe the Congress will join me in bidding them a hearty welcome and in expressing the hope that while they are here in Europe they will seize the opportunity of exchanging information about conditions with the free and democratic trade union movement.

*The Supplementary Report of the Credentials Committee was unanimously adopted without discussion.*

#### **ELECTION OF MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE**

*The British delegations nominated for election to the Management Committee the following :*

- J. G. Baty (Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen)
- A. Deakin (Transport & General Workers' Union)
- T. Yates (National Union of Seamen)
- G. B. Thorneycroft (Railway Clerks' Association)

*The Congress unanimously agreed to these nominations.*

#### **REPORT OF THE CONFERENCE OF THE SEAFARERS' AND FISHERMEN'S SECTIONS**

D. S. TENNANT (British Navigators' and Engineer Officers' Union) : In submitting this report on behalf of the Seafarers' Group I will be brief.

We adopted resolutions on the ratification of the Seattle Conventions and on the transfer of ships to the Panamanian and Honduran flags. I should like to make special mention of the spontaneous support which the seafarers have received from the Dockers' Group in this matter, which is of importance for maintaining the working conditions of the seafarers. We also dealt with the question of the transfer of individual trade union members from one country to another, and gave some consideration to the serious problem of the ballasting of ships, in connection with safety at sea. Further we adopted a resolution about the participation of the seafarers in international meetings affecting the maritime industry.

We received a report from the Special Commissioner whom the I.T.F. has appointed in the Far East. It was of an extremely satisfactory nature and the Conference unanimously agreed that the work should be continued : it was decided that the Secretariat should send out a circular to affiliated organizations belonging to the Seafarers' Section outlining the further expenditure that is necessary, and work out a scale for the sharing of the costs by the different unions.

It was also agreed that the Seafarers' Sectional Committee would consider at its next meeting the formal constitution of a Fishermen's Section.

That is a summary of our Report, and I ask you to give it your approval.

*The Report of the Conference of the Seafarers' and Fishermen's Sections was unanimously adopted. The following is the text of the Report :*

The Group held three meetings, on Wednesday morning, Wednesday evening and Friday morning, and 10 countries were represented by the following number of delegates :

Argentina 2, Belgium 2, Britain 9, Denmark 7, Finland 4, Holland 6, Norway 9, Sweden 4, U.S.A. 3, France 1, Germany 1.

In addition the General Secretary of the I.T.F. and a representative of the I.L.O. Maritime Service were present.

The meeting was presided over by the Chairman of the Seafarers' Section, Bro. D. S. Tennant of the British Navigators and Engineer Officers, who was appointed to report on the meeting to the plenary session of Congress.

### **Dangerous Cargoes**

After the meeting had without discussion approved the section of the Secretariat's report relating to seafarers' affairs, it dealt with a memorandum prepared on the question of dangerous cargoes, which summarized the information so far collected on the subject. There was a short discussion in which it was pointed out that the recent International Safety of Life at Sea Conference in London had recognized the importance of the question, and recommended its consideration by the Inter-governmental Maritime Consultative Organization when constituted or by some other international agency that could adopt international regulations on the subject. It was stressed that seafarers' organizations should be fully equipped to take their part in any discussions that took place, with particular reference to the new types of cargoes that were being handled. It was decided that the Committee of the Seafarers' Section should continue to devote itself to the question and that meanwhile the Secretariat should gather more information.

## Seattle Conventions

The next item of discussion was the question of the ratification of the Seattle Maritime Conventions. In this connection particular attention was devoted to the tripartite discussions which seafarers' organizations were seeking under the auspices of the International Labour Organization.

From the discussion it appeared that the seafarers' unions were deeply concerned at the reluctance of many governments to ratify the Seattle Conventions, that they were anxious to deal with the matter by negotiation if possible, but were not willing to resign themselves to indefinite delays. The seafarers' views find clear expression in the following resolution which was carried unanimously :

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

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

" It recalls that at the meeting of the Joint Maritime Commission of December 1947 it was decided to urge that a tripartite meeting representative of the two sides of the J.M.C. and of the governments of the countries most concerned should take place in the very near future, where the governments should explain the difficulties which prevented rapid implementation of the Seattle Conventions.

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

Whilst expressing the deepest concern at the failure of the governments and at the repeated delays, this Seafarers' meeting is willing, in the interests of an effective discussion, to agree to a further postponement of the tripartite meeting until 4 December, 1948, on the explicit understanding that the seafarers will in no circumstances consider any further postponement, and if the tripartite meeting does not materialize by the date mentioned will consider themselves free to take independently the action they deem fit to enforce the pledges given on repeated occasions during and since the war."

In the same connection the meeting considered a resolution submitted jointly by the Norwegian Unions of Seamen, Navigators and Marine Engineers, which emphasized the need of speedy implementation of the Seattle decisions and aimed to lay down a policy of action to achieve that purpose. The action to be taken would depend upon the outcome of the tripartite discussions in which the seafarers were still prepared to engage with government and shipowner representatives, and consequently the resolution before the meeting was amended in the light of the discussion which took place. The amended resolution was adopted unanimously and then read as follows :—

" This Congress of the I.T.F. held at Oslo on July 19 to 24, 1948,

" Deplores the slow progress in implementing the assurances given to seafarers of an improvement in their working and living

conditions and embodied in the International Conventions adopted at the International Maritime Labour Conference held at Seattle in June 1946 ;

“ Hopes that the session of the Joint Maritime Commission of the I.L.O. to be held in the near future will register definite progress in this direction ;

“ Instructs the Secretariat of the I.T.F. to prepare a plan of joint action whereby, if that hope is disappointed, the international minimum claims of seafarers may be realized ; the plan to be submitted to a Seafarers' Conference to be held in conjunction with the meeting of the Joint Maritime Commission to be held this autumn.”

### **Tonnage Transfers**

The next resolution before the meeting was on the issue of tonnage transfers. It deprecated the growing practice of transferring ships to certain registries with the object of evading the standards which seafarers had won for themselves in their own countries, asked the I.L.O. to carry out an investigation into the full extent of the underhanded practice, and reaffirmed the seafarers' determination to resist it.

There was a full discussion on the subject in which it was stated that the non-maritime Republic of Panama at present possessed something like three million tons of shipping, and was manning them almost entirely with seafarers of other nationalities. Though for the present conditions in these ships were perhaps not substandard as far as wages were concerned, ultimately the seafarer in these ships enjoyed no safeguards inasmuch as there was complete lack of trade union organization and social provision of any kind in Panama. Indeed, the purpose of the transfers was clearly to avoid the obligations of taxation, social insurances, etc., and there was no doubt that in the event of a slump in shipping, the Panamanian, Honduras and similar flags would be able to carry on cut throat competition against other countries.

The seafarers' unions represented favoured the strongest possible action to deal with the menace. The representatives of the Seafarers' Union of America and the Finnish Seamen's Union reported that they had forbidden their members to accept employment in ships under suspect flags under pain of expulsion. It was urged that the enquiry proposed in the resolution was not enough and that drastic action was required. Several representatives called for an international boycott of Panama and similar flags designed to prevent these bogus transfers. In this connection attention was drawn to the desirability of co-operating with the dockers of the ports involved in a boycott which should be undertaken. The meeting appointed a deputation consisting of Bros. Tennant (Britain), Wälläri (Finland), Iversen (Norway) and Lundeberg (U.S.A.), which was to visit the meeting of the Dockers' Group on the question and to draft a new resolution in the light of the discussion.

When the meeting reassembled for an evening session the committee of four reported that it had been heard by the Dockers' Section during the afternoon and that they had received the complete assurance of the fullest possible co-operation on the part of dockers' union in the event of a boycott of Panama and such-like ships. Further they had drafted a resolution in

the light of the morning's discussions on the question. This resolution was the subject of a brief discussion and adopted unanimously, reading as follows :

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

Following the adoption of the resolution on flag transfers, the meeting dealt with a recommendation designed to indicate the procedure to be followed in order to ensure a disciplined carrying through of the intended action. Finally it was decided that the Seafarers' Sectional Committee which would be meeting in November in connection with the J.M.C. should be responsible for the timing of the action, for making the necessary preparations and for issuing instructions.

#### **Transfer of Members**

The Finnish Seamen's Union had submitted a resolution designed to prevent seamen expelled from one union from joining another seamen's union at home or abroad. After it had been explained that bona fide members would retain the right to transfer to seamen's unions abroad under the procedures provided, and that a paid-up contributions card would be valid evidence of good standing with the original union, the resolution was unanimously adopted, reading as follows :

“ This Congress meeting in Oslo from July 19 to 24, 1948, Decides :

- (a) That affiliated seafarers' unions should refuse membership to anti-democratic and criminal elements who have been banned or expelled from the seafarers' union of another country.
- (b) That persons of foreign nationality applying for membership of a seafarers' union should be required to produce a membership book or other certificate issued by the seamen's union of their own country.
- (c) That affiliated seafarers' unions should communicate with the I.T.F. when approached by persons coming under the preceding paragraph.”

#### **Ballasting of Ships**

The meeting then considered a resolution presented by the British Navigators and Engineer Officers' Union on the ballasting of ships. The loadline has been a powerful factor in enhancing safety at sea by preventing the overloading of ships. Ships with insufficient loads could also be a danger, to themselves and other shipping, especially in heavy weather when control might become difficult. The matter was clearly one for

international action, and therefore the purpose of the resolution was to cause an investigation to be made into it in the different countries with a view to the formulation of an international policy at a later stage. The resolution, reading as follows, was adopted unanimously :

“ This Congress meeting in Oslo, July 19 to 24 :

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

### **Representation at Official International Meetings**

Finally the Dutch Seamen's and Merchant Navy Officers' Unions had jointly submitted a resolution on seafarers' representation at international consultations. Recent experience at official international gatherings such as the International Conference on Safety of Life at Sea held in London in May and June last, had been that the number of seafarers' representatives included in the national delegations had been insufficient for an adequate participation in the proceedings, when several committees were in session simultaneously. With a view to remedying the situation the meeting unanimously adopted the following resolution on the subject :

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

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

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

“ This Congress of the I.T.F. held at Oslo from July 19 to 24, 1948,

“ Decides to instruct the Secretariat of the I.T.F. to bring this matter once again to the notice of the affiliated organizations of seafarers and to urge them, whenever occasion presents itself, to make to the appropriate quarters the requisite representations to secure participation of representatives of officers and men of the merchant navy, in a manner commensurate with the importance of their role in the shipping industry, in all international deliberations and consultations connected with maritime affairs, so that their voice may be heard and regard had to their views in decisions and measures taken at the international level.”

### **Election of Sectional Committee**

At a resumed meeting on Friday morning the election of the Seafarers' Sectional Committee took place. It was decided to extend the number of countries to be represented on the Committee from six to nine, the countries added being France, Latin America and United States. The following were elected to constitute the Committee : *Belgium*, Becu ; *Britain*, Yates and Tennant ; *Denmark*, Laursen ; *France*, Ehlers ; *Holland*, De Vries and a member to be designated ; *Argentina*, member to be designated ; *Norway*, Johanssen and Haugen ; *Sweden*, Soere and Svensson ; *U.S.A.*, May and Weisberger. It was agreed that the Chairman of the Section should be elected at the first meeting of the Seafarers' Sectional Committee, in October or November next, and that members would be entitled to send substitutes from their own union to attend meetings.

### **Telegram from Greek Maritime Unions**

A telegram had been received from the Federation of Greek Maritime Unions, conveying greetings and complaining of persecution at the hands of the Greek Government, imprisonment of union officials and forcible closing of union offices. It was decided to take cognizance of the telegram, but not to take further action in the matter.

### **Asian Seafarers' Secretariat**

The meeting had before it a full report on the progress made by the I.T.F. Special Commissioner sent to the Far East at the instructions of the Seafarers' Section. The object of establishing a Secretariat in the Far East was to promote the formation and consolidation of seafarers' trade unions in this region, so as to prevent unbridled exploitation of Asian seafarers and the consequent threat to seafarers' standards generally. The report showed that the I.T.F. Commissioner had already done valuable work in India, by promoting the creation of a seamen's registration scheme at Bombay, and that good headway was also being made with such a scheme at Singapore. The meeting agreed that the work should be continued and that the constituent unions of the Seafarers' Section would share in the costs in accordance with a scale to be worked out by the I.T.F. Secretariat after consultations.

### **Fishermen's Section**

The Section's report showed that good work had already been done on behalf of fishermen. It was decided that the next meeting of the Seafarers' Sectional Committee would consider the formal constitution of a Fishermen's Section, so that the work on behalf of the group could be continued systematically, and that an appeal should be addressed to unions which had not yet affiliated their fishermen with the I.T.F.

### **REPORT OF THE CIVIL AVIATION COMMITTEE**

H. J. PERKINS (British Radio Officers' Union) : I have been appointed to introduce to you the report on the meeting of the Civil Aviation Committee which was held on Wednesday. It dealt mainly with the new developments that are taking place within this section of transport. It



was not possible to give detailed reports of conditions in the various countries on account of the changes that are taking place and the very little time we had at our disposal. It was found that most of the problems were common to all countries. The space given to the matter in the Secretariat's Report is very little, but it was understood that more information would be forthcoming in the very near future, and that the I.T.F. will give particular attention to this section, in which conditions to a certain extent also affect those in other forms of transport.

After considering at some length the various matters that are dealt with in the report of the meeting, the Committee decided to place before the Congress a resolution that asks : " That the Executive Committee give immediate consideration to the setting up of a Civil Aviation Section of the I.T.F. so that all circumstances affecting personnel employed in civil aviation be investigated forthwith." As a rider to this resolution, in view of developments, technical and industrial, within the industry, the Executive Committee is also asked to do all in their power to secure representation on the various international technical bodies that are being set up.

I move the adoption of this report.

*The Congress unanimously adopted the Report of the meeting of the Civil Aviation Committee, the text of which was as follows :*

As Chairman of the Committee authorized by this Congress to make a preliminary study of the present position within this Section of Transport I am instructed to inform Congress that Delegates from 9 countries directly concerned in Civil Air Transport were in attendance.

The countries represented were : The United States of America ; Norway ; Sweden ; Holland ; Switzerland ; Austria ; Belgium ; France and Great Britain.

The General Secretary of the I.T.F. also attended. Mr. Harrison was engaged on another Committee and Mr. D. Follows represented both the International Federation of Air Line Pilots Associations and the Air Line Pilots Association of the U.S.A.

Reference was made to the brief summary of the position on page 92 of the Report and it was recognized that the Secretariat had not been able to submit a more detailed report on account of the lack of substantial matter in this comparatively new and developing section of transport.

It is expected that more complete particulars referring to organization and industrial conditions will from now on become available to the Secretariat as development becomes more stabilized.

The special report under reference paper ASC 1\* was also examined in the light of more recent information. It was reported there is definitely a Pilots' Association in New Zealand and in Switzerland there is such an organization operating under the name of Aeropers.

With regard to America and the reference to the organization of stewards, stewardesses, clerical and personnel officers, it is reported they are now organized within the Air Line Pilots' Association.

The report in respect to Holland on page 3 of ASC 1 should read that the pilots, radio-telegraphists and flight engineers are organized in separate unions but are federated within a joint body.

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\* Entitled " Trade Union Organization of Civil Aviation Personnel."

The stewards and air hostesses have recently applied for membership of the Federation.

On page 2 of the paper ASC 1 the number of pilots, navigator and engineer officers is in the region of 2,000 not 4,000 as reported. These figures represent 95 per cent organization of aircrew-officers and the same high percentage also applies in the organization of other aircraft workers within the Transport and General Workers' Union.

The Committee came to the conclusion that the time has not yet come to detail salary and wages rates as applicable in the various agreements now operating. This also applies to the general conditions of service governing employment for both air crew and ground staff.

Particular emphasis is attached to the necessity of immediate and complete organization of all Civil Aviation personnel, firstly on a national basis and then within the I.T.F.

Austria has a special difficulty at the present time in developing an organization as most of the aircraft serving that country are foreign.

Sweden reports difficulty in negotiating agreements subsequent upon the formation of the Scandinavian Air Lines. Following a long conflict and during the dispute on conditions of service for Swedish personnel the planes were sent outside that country to Copenhagen and America for repairs. As a result hundreds of their members were out of work. The employer organizations help each other under these circumstances and it is, therefore, necessary for the workers to have a similar means of protection available to them.

The Committee could not support a proposal made by the French delegate who suggested that civil aviation personnel should be organized under three headings (a) Navigating personnel ; (b) Non-flying personnel and (c) Ground staff (airfield) Commanders (weather personnel), etc., and that the I.T.F. should indicate which unions should cater for the different categories of workers. The interests of other craft unions already in this field of industry had to be borne in mind quite apart from the fact that the I.T.F. would hardly intervene in the set-up of national organizations framed to suit the peculiarities of the various countries.

The Dutch delegates referred to the Federation of Aircrew Officers as mentioned earlier in this report and that the ground personnel are organized in the Central Union of Transport Workers' and also the Metal Workers' Union, and the Clerical Union is organizing the civil aviation clerks. The airline personnel are all employed in one Company, the K.L.M. The Charter Lines in Holland have advised their employees to make a general union of all personnel and the guidance of the I.T.F. will be sought should such an organization request affiliation with the I.T.F.

In Belgium the civil aviation personnel of "Sabena" is organized and affiliated with the public servants' associations. The ground staff are organized with the Metal Workers' and Transport Workers' Unions.

Brother Petersen (U.S. delegate) detailed the position in America stating that the airlines are privately owned and covered by legislation. The pilots, flying personnel and ground staff are organized in different unions and the Governing Board has the final say as to the grouping of the different classes. The influence of the Railroad Labor Act has to be taken into consideration.

Some difficulties are experienced in negotiating agreements on account of the fact that organized employers want to reserve the right to negotiate individually.

Brother Gregory (Great Britain) explained the constitution of the National Joint Council for Civil Air Transport as operating in that country and how the whole of the civil aviation personnel employed by the three nationalized Corporations are grouped for industrial purposes.

Arising from further discussion it became clear that most of the present problems in civil aviation are common to all the affiliated unions. The view was expressed that it is to be hoped that the pilots now forming the International Organization will soon follow the example set by Merchant Navy Officers and affiliate solidly with the I.T.F. Information was also given by the Norwegian delegate (Mr. Leif Olsen) that the new T.U.C. has drawn up plans to organize aircraft workers in the Civil Service Employees' Union.

General dissatisfaction was registered with what appears to be the common practice when airlines are nationalized whereby the personnel are diverted to civil service unions.

It was decided to treat this question as being of serious importance to the trade union movement and request the Executive to guard against this danger by any means in its power.

The following Resolution was then tabled and adopted unanimously :

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

In conjunction with this resolution is made the request that if and when the Section is established every endeavour shall be made to obtain I.T.F. representation on all international bodies—such as I.C.A.O., etc., so as to ensure that the well-being of the personnel shall be protected both in regard to safety as well as industrial affairs.

#### **RESOLUTION ON THE INLAND TRANSPORT COMMITTEE OF THE I.L.O.**

THE PRESIDENT : The following draft resolution has been handed in by the transport workers' unions of Holland, Belgium and France :

“ That this Congress of the I.T.F., taking place in Oslo from 19 to 24 July 1948, after having discussed the report of the Secretariat dealing with the Inland Transport Committee of the International Labour Office, requests the Executive Committee to approach the Director General of the I.L.O. and the Workers' Group of the Governing Body with a view to :

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

*The Congress unanimously adopted the resolution.*

## **ELECTION OF GENERAL SECRETARY**

*Mr. J. H. Oldenbroek was unanimously re-elected General Secretary, and was congratulated by the President.*

## **ELECTION OF ASSISTANT GENERAL SECRETARY**

*Mr. P. Tofahrn was unanimously re-elected Assistant General Secretary, and was congratulated by the President.*

## **ELECTION OF AUDITORS**

*The following were unanimously elected as Auditors :*

J. Howard (British Railway Clerks' Association)  
W. T. Potter (British National Union of Railwaymen)  
H. J. Perkins (British Radio Officers' Union)

## **HEADQUARTERS OF THE I.T.F.**

THE PRESIDENT : I am afraid we have not taken things in quite the right order. We should have decided where the headquarters of the I.T.F. are to be before choosing the Management Committee. If, however, you decide on London there will be no need to change the Management Committee you have already elected. Are there any proposals ?

*London was proposed and, there being no other proposals, was declared to be the place of the headquarters of the I.T.F.*

## **PLACE AND DATE OF THE NEXT CONGRESS**

THE PRESIDENT : Are there any proposals about the place where the next Congress shall be held ? I understand that Brother Wälläri, of the Finnish Seamen's Union, would like to speak on the question.

K. WEIGL (Austrian Transport Workers' Union) : I propose Vienna.

N. WÄLLÄRI (Finnish Seamen's Union) : The affiliated Finnish unions have agreed to invite the I.T.F. to hold its next Congress in Finland. In case it should not prove possible to hold the next Congress there we should like to suggest that it should be the following one, in 1952, when the Olympic Games are to be held in Finland. I think, however, that the General Council of the I.T.F. will have the last say on this question, and I hope they will bear our invitation in mind.

THE GENERAL SECRETARY : The question of the place of the next Congress is always on the Congress agenda, but in practice it is generally left to the Executive Committee to decide where it is to be held, since under present conditions unforeseen circumstances are always likely to arise that may make it difficult to keep to any decision come to by the Congress. But the Executive Committee will consider the friendly invitations we have received from Finland and Austria, and will decide later.

*The Congress agreed that the choice of the place and date for the following Congress should be left to the Executive Committee.*

## **ANY OTHER BUSINESS : VOTES OF THANKS, ETC.**

A. DEAKIN (British Transport & General Workers' Union) : Mr. President : I should like to move that we extend to you our very best thanks for your conduct in the Chair. From the beginning, with your

inspiring Presidential Address, right through the difficult periods of the Congress, you have carried out your duties in a manner which I am sure has met with the hearty approval of all delegates, so that I am speaking on behalf of all of us when I say that we appreciate the courteous and kindly consideration and patience you have shown to this assembly ; and this should be placed on record. We extend to you our very best thanks for all you have done to make the proceedings run as smoothly as possible and the work of the Congress a success.

THE GENERAL SECRETARY : Unfortunately when we draw to the close of a Congress there is generally little time left to finish off our work properly. This is true of the Executive Committee, but it also applies to delegates, who have heard so many speeches that they do not want to listen any more. So I do not propose to detain you very long, but I believe it is my duty, on your behalf, to thank the Norwegian unions for the wonderful way in which they have received us here in Oslo, for the hospitality they have shown. There is no need for me to waste any more words on this, but I can assure them that we of the I.T.F. are grateful to them for everything they have done and will not so easily forget our stay in Oslo.

I want also to thank you most heartily for the confidence you have shown in re-electing me as your General Secretary. I always try to be just and to treat all organizations, both big and small, on the same basis, and to be fair to everybody. I also try to make myself clear, but we are all human, and it has occurred on one occasion at least that exception was taken to something I said, when I referred to the experience of the Executive Committee. I want to apologize to Brother Figgins for having given him the impression that I thought he was less experienced than the other members. What I wanted to say, and thought I had said, was that he had only been on the Executive Committee for a very short period, and therefore could not be expected to be fully acquainted with all the details of the work it has been doing during the past two years.

Having said that. I have a pleasant duty to fulfil on behalf of the I.T.F. A couple of years ago the Norwegian Transport Workers' Union celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of its foundation, and it was our intention on that occasion to give a token of our gratitude towards a union that has been affiliated with the I.T.F. right from the beginning. But I was not able to be present at its Golden Jubilee Congress, so we decided to wait until this Congress of the I.T.F. I want Brother Olsen, for the Norwegian Transport Workers' Union, to step forward and accept this bell, which bears the inscription : " Presented by the I.T.F. on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the Norwegian Transport Workers' Union.

I want to associate myself with the words of appreciation which have been addressed to my friend Becu. He has indeed been an excellent President, and has made a great contribution to the success of the Congress. We also owe a lot to those who have been working here as interpreters and in other capacities. They not only worked during the sessions of the Congress, but when you were off were in the office preparing all the reports for you. We have had a good Congress, but I feel we ought to do better still. To do this I think it would be necessary to extend our Congress by a few days over the usual week. Those who have come here from all the corners of the world in order to attend this gathering will, I am sure,

have made many friends whom they will be anxious to see again at the next opportunity, and will be prepared to stay a few days longer in order to deal properly with the business. This will enable the Secretariat to do the work even better than it has on this occasion.

L. S. OLSEN (Norwegian Transport Workers' Union) : On behalf of the Norwegian Transport Workers' Union I want to express thanks for this beautiful gift. The fiftieth anniversary of the foundation of my union coincided more or less with the fiftieth anniversary of the I.T.F., and we invited the I.T.F. to send a representative to the celebrations. Unfortunately our President was unable to come owing to the pressure of other duties.

I hope and feel sure, that the I.T.F. will continue to fight, in the same way as it has done in the past, to improve the conditions of life and work of the transport workers throughout the world. I hope, also, that the delegates who have come from far away countries have enjoyed their stay in Oslo, and I wish them all a pleasant journey back to their homes.

### CLOSING OF CONGRESS

THE PRESIDENT : This brings us to the end of our Congress. I feel sure you do not want me to deliver another speech, but I should like to say a few words to thank Brother Deakin most warmly for the kind things he has said to me on your behalf. Thanks to you all I have had an easy task, perhaps the easiest of anybody at the Congress, except for the fact that you have all been able to walk round more than I—I had to stay put. I feel very happy at the results we have achieved and the great unity you have shown in all your deliberations ; indeed, I think that this Congress has come to decisions which will be of great importance to the future of the I.T.F. I believe that the I.T.F. stands today stronger than ever, not only numerically but owing to the faith we all have in its future destiny, which is very promising indeed.

Having said this, I want to express my thanks to all who have come such a long way to attend this Congress, and I wish them all a speedy and happy return to their own countries. I bid you all not good-bye but au revoir.

*The Congress then ended.*

# List of Speakers

	PAGE
BATY, J. G. (British Locomotivemen) ... ..	188, 217
BECU, O. (President of the I.T.F.) 154, 157, 158, 165, 167, 189, 201, 206, 208, 209, 211, 216, 222, 229, 239, 253, 266, 268	
BRATSCHI, R. (Swiss Railwaymen) ... ..	227, 247
BRATT, T. (International Labour Office)... ..	165
BULL, B. (Oslo's Deputy Mayor) ... ..	155
CHRISTENSSON, J. (Swedish Transport Workers) ... ..	194
CHRISTIANSOON, S. (Swedish Railwaymen) ... ..	185
DEAKIN, A. (British Transport Workers) ... 178, 189, 190, 206, 207, 218, 220, 222, 224, 229, 266	
DEKEYZER, R. (Belgian Transport Workers and Seamen) 183, 222, 247, 256	
FIGGINS, J. B. (British Railwaymen) ... ..	241, 253
FRYER, E. E. (British Transport Workers) ... ..	223
GOLDEN, C. S. (Economic Co-operation Administration) ... ..	214
HARRISON, G. (U.S. Railwaymen) ... ..	172, 207, 243
HAUGEN, I. (Norwegian Seamen) ... ..	154, 246
HELGESSON, R. (Swedish Transport Workers) ... ..	172
JAHN, H. (German Railwaymen) ... ..	175, 241
JEWELL, B. M. (Economic Co-operation Administration) ... ..	211, 217
JOUSTRA, G. J. (Dutch Railwaymen and Tramwaymen) ... ..	169
LAAN, R. (Dutch Transport Workers and Seamen) ... ..	174
LAFOND, A. (French Railwaymen) ... ..	191
LANGHELLE, N. (Norwegian Government) ... ..	155
LAPEYRE, R. (French Public Transport Employees) ... ..	177
LASCARIS, G. (Greek Railwaymen) ... ..	210
LUNDEBERG, H. (U.S. Seamen) ... ..	245
MAJOR, L. (Belgian Transport Workers) ... ..	249
MCGUIRE, J. (Canadian Railwaymen) ... ..	195
NORDAHL, K. (Norwegian Federation of Trade Unions) ... ..	156
OLDENBROEK, J. H. (General Secretary of the I.T.F.) 172, 190, 201, 207, 235, 248, 252, 266, 267	
OLSEN, L. S. (Norwegian Transport Workers) ... ..	268
PERKINS, H. J. (British Radio Officers) ... ..	252, 262
POTTER, W. T. (British Railwaymen) ... ..	221
SMEDING, T. (Dutch Transport Workers and Seamen) ... ..	222
TENNANT, D. S. (British Mercantile Officers) ... ..	256
THORNEYCROFT, G. B. (British Railway Clerks) ... ..	207
TOFAHRN, P. G. (Assistant General Secretary of the I.T.F.) ... ..	218
VERCRUYCE, A. (Belgian Tramwaymen) ... ..	167
VRIES, P. DE (Dutch Mercantile Officers) ... ..	186
VUORELA, T. (Finnish Transport Workers) ... ..	234
WÄLLÄRI, N. (Finnish Seamen) ... ..	197, 266
WEIGL, K. (Austrian Transport Workers) ... ..	198, 266
WONG, L. S. (Chinese Seamen) ... ..	239
YATES, T. (British Seamen) ... ..	234
ZEIN EL DIN, M. I. (Egyptian Transport Workers) ... ..	170, 220, 225