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REPORT

OF THE
INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS
HELD FROM 7 TO 12 AUGUST 1924
IN THE LARGE HALL OF THE
GEWERKSCHAFTSHAUS
BESENBINDERHOF
HAMBURG



A M S T E R D A M 1 9 2 4

INTERNATIONAL TRANSPORTWORKERS' FEDERATION

Int. Instituut
Soc. Geschiedenis
Keizersgracht 264
Amsterdam-C.

Agenda.

- (1) Opening Address by the President of the I. T. F.
 - (2) Election of Bureau of the Congress.
 - (3) Examination of Credentials.
 - (4) Order of Business.
 - (5) Executive Committee's Report.
 - (6) Financial Report.
 - (7) Report on the International Situation by Edo Fimmen.
 - (8) Report on the Maintenance of the Eight Hour Day by J. Döring.
 - (9) Report on the Socialisation of the Means of Transport by M. Bidegaray.
 - (10) Discussion of Proposals submitted.
 - (11) Affiliation Fees.
 - (12) Headquarters of the I. T. F.
 - (13) a) Selection of the Countries from the representatives of which the General Council and the Executive Committee of the I. T. F. shall be elected.
 - b) Election of the General Council.
 - c) Election of the Executive Committee.
 - d) Election of Secretaries.
 - (14) Selection of Country in which the next Congress is to be held.
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List of Delegates.

Country	Names of Organizations	Member- ship	Names of Delegates
Argentina	Confraternidad Ferroviaria (Railwaymen)	44 000	Emilio López Emilio B. Firpo
Austria	Freier Gewerkschaftsverband Österreichs (Transport Workers)	36 290	August Forstner Karl Weigl Emmanuel Haim
"	Allgemeiner Rechtsschutz- und Gewerkschaftsverein der Eisen- bahner (Railwaymen)	80 000	Johann Smeykal Karl Winter Bertold König Heinrich Zwenk
Belgium	Belgische Transportarbeiders- bond (Transport Workers)	24 800	C. Mahlman J. Chapelle P. Somers H. van Eijken L. Venesoën
"	Syndicat National du Personnel des Chemins de Fer, P. T. T. M. (Railwaymen)	55 000	P. de Bruyn
"	Centrale belge du Personnel des Tramways et Vicinaux (Tramwaymen)	12 000	Henry van Ballaer Alfons Chalmet
Czecho- slovakia	Unie Železničních Zaměstnanců V Československé Republice (Czech Railwaymen)	38 250	Wilhelm Brodečky Franz Staněk Wenzel Fialka Karl Beran Josef Foff Franz Rambousek Franz Němec Adalbert Relich Josef Cisař

} Guests

Country	Names of Organizations	Member-ship	Names of Delegates
Czechoslovakia	Verband der Eisenbahner im Bereiche der tschechoslowakischen Republik (German Railwaymen)	18 894	Ernst Grünzner Eduard Paul
"	Verband der Handels-, Transport- und Verkehrsarbeiter im Bereiche der tschechoslowakischen Republik - (German Transport Workers)	5 068	Josef Nase
Denmark	Dansk Jernbaneforbund (Railwaymen)	9 694	R. Kantsø.
"	Dansk Arbejdsmands Forbund (Transport Workers)	20 497	Niels P. Hansen V. Pedersen Chr. Mikkelsen
"	Søfyrbødernes Forbund i Danmark (Firemen)	2 000	E. Jacobsen A. Götttsche
France	Fédération Nationale des Travailleurs des Chemins de fer de France, des Colonies et Pays de Protectorat (Railwaymen)	35 000	P. le Guen Coudun Boirie Bruge Badinot
"	Fédération Nationale des Moyens de Transports (Transport Workers)	12 450	M. Grosset Lambert J. Guinchard
"	Fédération Nationale des Ports, Docks, Transports et Manutentionnaires de France et d'Algérie (Dockers)	12 000	E. Vignaud
"	Fédération Nationale des Syndicats Maritimes (Seamen)	10 000	F. Chachuat E. Ehlers
Germany	Deutscher Verkehrsbund (Transport Workers)	368 240	O. Schumann F. Berner A. Reitz H. Rathmann O. Ortmann W. Gaack H. Seiffert G. Hähnel H. Höbel H. Rudolph A. Schultz F. Köhler J. Murer Carl Lindow

Country	Names of Organizations	Membership	Names of Delegates
Germany	Deutscher Eisenbahnverband (Railwaymen)	200 000	Hermann Jochade Franz Scheffel Louis Kauffuss Hans Jahn Fritz Gückel Lorenz Breunig Paul Krüger Wilhelm Feddern
Great Britain	The National Transport Workers' Federation	102 035	J. T. Clatworthy R. H. Farrah George Parker James Henson Joseph Cotter Th. Lewis J. McKinlay
"	Transport and General Workers' Union	165 000	Ben Tillet H. Kershaw W. B. Modley T. McCoffrey S. Hirst
"	Railway Clerks' Association	60 000	T. H. Gill W. E. Williams W. Burgess A. G. Walkden L. Bottomley
"	The National Union of Railwaymen	363 230	John Marchbank C. T. Cramp F. N. A. Humphreys M. J. Stapleton
"	Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen	60 000	J. Bromley D. S. Humphreys
Holland	Nederlandsche Vereeniging van Spoor- en Tramwegpersoneel (Railwaymen and Tramwaymen)	20 701	W. van Delft G. Joustra
"	Centrale Bond van Transport- arbeiders (Transport Workers)	17 720	A. Kievit J. van 't Hoff G. Zieverink
Italy	Sindacato Tramvieri Italiani (Tramwaymen)	15 000	G. Sardelli
"	Sindacato Ferrovieri Italiani (Railwaymen)	10 000	G. Sardelli

Country	Names of Organizations	Member-ship	Names of Delegates
Latvia	Latvijas Dzelzceļnieku Saveenība (Railwaymen)	1 691	Peter Zeibolt
Luxemburg	Fédération Nationale des Cheminots Luxembourgeois (Railwaymen)	5 200	P. le Guen
Norway	Norsk Jernbaneforbund (Railwaymen)	5 200	Alfred Waatvik
"	Norsk Transportarbeiderforbund (Transport Workers)	4 836	Hans Fladeby
"	Norsk Matros- og Fyrbøterunion (Seamen)	2 000	E. Jacobsen
Palestine	Railwaymen's Union	500	I. Goldin
Poland	Związek Zawodowy Pracowników Kolejowych Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej (Railwaymen)	69 930	Stanistas Sonda Casimir Katchanovsky Adam Kourittowitch Charles Maxamin
Roumania	Uniunea Muncitorilor Manuali si Cârâusi din Porturile României (Dockers)	4 242	Staica Michalcea Lazăr Maglasi
Spain	Sindicato Nacional Ferroviario (Railwaymen)	6 000	T. Gómez
"	"La Velocidad". Asociación de Chauffeurs y Aspirantes de Madrid (Motor Drivers)	2 700	T. Gómez
Sweden	Svenska Järnvägsmannaförbundet (Railwaymen)	33 921	F. W. Franzén Axel Löfgren
"	Sveriges Lokotivmannaförbund (Locomotivemen)	4 892	Anders Borgstedt
"	Svenska Transportarbetareförbundet (Transport Workers)	13 290	Axel Olsson
"	Svenska Eldare-Unionen (Firemen)	2 500	Sven Lundgren Knut Elmén
Switzerland	Schweizerischer Eisenbahnerverband (Railwaymen)	36 293	Robert Bratschi J. Kägi
"	Verband der Handels-, Transport- und Lebensmittelarbeiter der Schweiz (Transport Workers)	1 834	Alois Büchi
United States	International Longshoremen's Association	20 000	Anthony J. Chlopek
		2 012 898	

FRATERNAL DELEGATES AND GUESTS.

Germany: Zentralverband der Maschinisten und Heizer Deutschlands (Inland Waterway Engineers' and Foremen's Union). *Hugo Scholte*.

Finland: Transport Workers' Union. *Jochela*.

Sweden: Svenska Sjömansunionen (Seamen). *W. Eliason* and *N. Olson*.

United States: International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen, Oilers and Railway Shop Laborers. *Tim. Healy*.

* * *

L. Jouhaux, Vice-President, International Federation of Trade Unions.

G. Hähnel, Representing Hamburg Trade Council.

G. Käppler, Secretary, Building Trade Workers' International.

Dr. Matthaei, Member of Hamburg Corporation.

Dr. Lampl, Member of Altona Corporation.

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MEMBERS OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

Robert Williams, President

Johann Döring, Vice-President

Marcel Bidegaray

Charles Lindley

Josef Tomschik

Edo Fimmen, General Secretary

N. Nathans, Assistant Secretary.

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MEMBERS OF MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE.

P. Moltmaker

J. Brautigam.

**INTERNATIONAL
TRANSPORT WORKERS' CONGRESS**

HAMBURG, AUGUST 1924



Proposals submitted.

(1) Contributions.

That from 1st January 1925 onwards all affiliated organisations shall pay contributions on the basis laid down in the Constitution (Article XII).

(General Council.)

(This reverses the decision of the Vienna Congress that organisations in countries with depreciated currencies should pay on the basis of one tenth of an hourly wage per member and per annum.)

(2) I. T. F. Year Book.

That the Secretariat examine the possibility of issuing during 1926 an I. T. F. International Year Book, and be authorised to publish same if deemed advisable.

(General Council.)

(3) Representation of Dockers and Road Transport Workers on General Council.

That Congress decide to give Dockers and Road Transport Workers special representation on the General Council of the I. T. F.

Fédération des Ports et Docks, France (French Dockers).

(4) United States of Europe.

The National Council of the French National Federation of Seamen's Unions (subordinate seamen of all ratings), in view of the instability of the Peace, which is being daily rendered more precarious by the ambitions, greed and scheming of European capitalism, and by the reactionary intrigues of the Governments of European countries; resolves that the possibility should be examined of constituting the "United States of Europe"; and calls upon all the organisations affiliated to the International Transportworkers' Federation to exert every effort to spread this idea in the circles where their influence is felt, with a view to its eventual realisation.

*Fédération Nationale des Syndicats Maritimes de France
(French Seamen).*

(5) Ratification of Washington Conventions, and Maintenance of Working Conditions.

That after consideration of the recommendations of the Washington Convention of the International Labour Office, with regard to the 48-hour working week, this biennial conference of the I. T. F. recommends all affiliated organisations to press upon the Governments of their respective countries the necessity of applying the aforesaid recommendations in such a manner as will best meet the requirements of the organised workers concerned. This conference recognises that in some countries conditions have been secured by sections of the workers which would be worsened if the Washington recommendations were carried out without any regard to the existing facts. It is, therefore, necessary for affiliated organisations to be vigilant in retaining such conditions in the various countries which by reason of custom or usage are considered valuable by the various sections.

National Union of Railwaymen (Great Britain).

(6) Maintenance of the Eight-hour Day.

That the I. T. F. shall take, in agreement with its affiliated organisations, all useful measures to safeguard the eight-hour day in the transport world.

*Fédération Nationale des Travailleurs des Chemins de Fer
(French Railwaymen).*

(7) The Eight-Hour Day.

That Congress consider the problem of the promotion of the legal introduction of the eight-hour day in all countries, and the consequences which attempts to evade it will have for the international working class.

Deutscher Verkehrsbund (German Transport Workers).

(8) Special Conference of Inland Navigation Workers.

That Congress arrange to hold during the period of its sessions a special Conference of representatives of continental Inland Waterway Workers, so that the special problems of this group of workers may be considered in greater detail.

*Magyarországi Szállítási és
Közlekedési Munkások Országos Szövetsége
(Hungarian Transport Workers).*

(9) Special Conference of Motor Drivers.

That Congress arrange during the period of its sessions for a Special Conference of Motor Drivers, the agenda for which shall include the following points :

- (1) National or International legislative regulation of motor vehicle traffic.
- (2) Registration and Information Bureaux for professional chauffeurs.
- (3) International badge for chauffeurs.

*Freier Gewerkschaftsverband Österreichs
(Austrian Transport Workers).*

That Congress arrange during the period of its sessions for a Special Conference of Motor Drivers, the agenda for which shall include the following points :

- (1) National and International legislative regulation of motor vehicle traffic.
- (2) Registration, Employment and Information Bureaux for professional chauffeurs.
- (3) International badge for chauffeurs.
- (4) Trade union and legal protection for chauffeurs abroad.

Deutscher Verkehrsbund (German Transport Workers).

That Congress arrange for a Special Conference of Motor Drivers to be held during the period of its sessions.

*Verband der Handels- Transport- und Lebensmittelarbeiter
(Swiss Transport Workers).*

(10) Non-Recognition of Sectional Organisations.

That Congress decide that all transport and allied workers in each country shall belong to a single organisation, and that if and when individual sections form separate unions, such unions shall be recognised neither by the International nor by the national trade union centre in the country concerned.

*Magyarországi Szállítási és Közlekedési
Munkások Országos Szövetsége
(Hungarian Transport Workers).*

This Congress of the International Transportworkers' Federation, realising the changes and development of the various means and methods of transportation, and the conditions under which organisation of the various unions has taken place, calls upon the affiliated unions in the various countries to take such steps as are necessary and desirable to promote national co-ordination as a preliminary to amalgamation on an industrial basis and thereby prevent the employers from exploiting sectional differences now existing between grades of transport workers.

The Congress calls upon the General Council and the Executive Committee to assist the affiliated Unions in all countries in respect to the foregoing suggestions.

*Amendment submitted by National Transport Workers' Federation
(Great Britain).*

(11) Right of Combination and Assembly for Railwaymen.

The International Congress of the I.T.F. observes that in certain countries the Railwaymen do not enjoy, in the same measure as their fellow-workers in other industries, right and freedom of combination and assembly. The Congress considers that it is the duty of the International Federation of Trade Unions to render every possible assistance to the Railwaymen's

unions in all countries in their struggle to secure parity of rights with other workers.

Savez Željezničara Jugoslavije Zagreb
(Jugoslavian Railwaymen.)

(12) Work to Rule.

That the Congress define its attitude towards "Work to Rule" as a fighting method for Railwaymen.

Fédération Suisse des Cheminots.
(Swiss Railwaymen).

(13) Shelter for Brakesmen on Goods Wagons.

That the I. T. F. should endeavour to secure the provision of shelters for brakesmen on goods wagons used in international traffic.

Fédération Suisse des Cheminots.
(Swiss Railwaymen).

(14) Electric Heating on International Trains.

That Congress consider the necessity of electric heating being applied to all passenger vehicles used in international traffic.

Fédération Suisse des Cheminots.
(Swiss Railwaymen).

(15) Automatic Coupling.

That Congress instruct the Executive Committee and General Council of the I. T. F. to make every effort to secure the introduction of automatic coupling on railways.

Fédération Nationale des Travailleurs des Chemins de Fer
(French Railwaymen)
and *Fédération Suisse des Cheminots*
(Swiss Railwaymen).

(16) Repetition of Signals.

That the Secretariat of the I. T. F. be instructed to endeavour to secure the introduction on railways of a system of repetition of signals with compulsory record on speed indicators.

Fédération Nationale des Travailleurs des Chemins de Fer
(French Railwaymen)

(17) Continuous Brakes.

That the I. T. F. endeavour to secure the introduction of a system of continuous brakes on all trains.

Fédération Nationale des Travailleurs des Chemins de Fer
(French Railwaymen)

(18) Railway Electrification.

That Congress appoint a Committee to report to next Congress on the effects of railway electrification on the working conditions of the staff, and the attitude that should be adopted towards electrification.

Nederlandsche Vereeniging van Spoor- en Tramwegpersoneel
(Dutch Railwaymen and Tramwaymen).

(19) Relation between Different Means of Transport.

That an enquiry be made into the relations between different means of transport, arising out of the development of motor transport, and with special reference to the legal protection of the staff.

Nederlandsche Vereeniging van Spoor- en Tramwegpersoneel
(Dutch Railwaymen and Tramwaymen).

In connection with the above the Dutch Railwaymen offer the following suggestions:

- (1) The cheaper and more efficient means of transport should be favoured, as this is in the general interest.
- (2) That the relative cheapness and efficiency of the different means cannot be estimated unless the charges to be borne by transport are equitably distributed over the different means of same.
- (3) That Motor Bus and Motor Lorry services should therefore contribute in the same measure as railways and tramways to the maintenance of roads.
- (4) That the same safety measures should be required from these enterprises as in the case of railways and tramways.
- (5) That the staffs of motor bus and motor lorry services should have the same conditions of employment and work, provision in case of sickness, etc. as those of the railways and tramways.

(20) Minimum Wage for Dockers.

That Congress define its attitude towards a guaranteed minimum wage for port workers.

Deutscher Verkehrsbund (German Transport Workers).

(21) Accident Prevention and Insurance.

That Congress consider the problem of measures for preventing accidents, and insurance against accidents, with special reference to port workers.

Deutscher Verkehrsbund (German Transport Workers).

(22) Maximum weight of packages.

That Congress decide that the maximum weight of packages of whatever kind to be carried by single dockers and other transport workers shall not exceed 75 kilogrammes.

Deutscher Verkehrsbund (German Transport Workers).

(23) Loading and Discharging by Ships' Crews.

That Congress consider the problem of the participation by ships' crews in the loading and discharge of vessels.

Deutscher Verkehrsbund (German Transport Workers).

First Day.

Thursday 7 August 1924.

Opening of the Congress.

The President, *Robert Williams* (Great Britain), declared the Congress open at 10.30 a. m., and stated that Comrade Haehnel, representing the Hamburg Branch of the German Traffic Union, and the German Federation of Trade Unions, Senator Dr. Matthaei, representing the Hamburg Senate, and Dr. Lampl, representing the city of Altona, were present as guests. He welcomed them in the name of the Congress.

Addresses of Welcome.

Haehnel (German Traffic Union (Hamburg) and German Federation of Trade Unions): On behalf of the Hamburg Branch of the German Traffic Union, as well as the German Federation of Trade Unions, I bid the delegates of the transport workers' unions affiliated to the International Transportworkers' Federation a very hearty welcome to Hamburg. Hamburg is a town of great historic interest to transport workers. Unions for the protection of the rights of the workers have existed here since an early date, but the movement did not attain any real power until the strike of the Hamburg dockers on 21 November 1896 laid the foundations of the present organization of the transport workers. It was an English comrade, Tom Mann, who played an important part in the strike, who called upon the workers to organize themselves. The Government, who feared his activities, forced Tom Mann to leave the country, but this did not prevent the workers from following his advice and founding powerful unions. The strike also led to the foundation of the Hamburg Co-operative Wholesale Society, which has since developed into a very great undertaking indeed.

The German unions are at present passing through a very critical period. The great mass of the workers has become apathetic, while the employers are taking advantage of this to make a concentrated attack on Labour. In spite of this, however, it may be stated that the

unions have stood their ground and are on the high way to recovery. The organized workers in Hamburg are gratified that the International Transportworkers' Federation should have chosen their native town as the place of meeting for its Congress, and wish the delegates every success in their work.

Senator Dr. Matthaei (Hamburg Senate) : In the name of the Free City of Hamburg I extend a very cordial welcome to the representatives of the transport workers' unions. It is a great pleasure to us to be able to entertain them in our old seaport and commercial city. The city of Hamburg itself is a big employer of the kind of labour you represent, and is immediately concerned in the deliberations of your Congress. The Council of the Hamburg Senate will therefore follow with the greatest possible interest your work and your decisions on the important points which figure on your agenda, among which I might mention the questions of the eight hour day, the establishment of a minimum wage for casual workers, insurance against accidents, etc.

The Congress is being held at an exceedingly critical moment. For ten long years the world has been rent by the Great War and its consequences. At last we perceive a faint glimmer which leads us to hope for the definite return of peace. As you know, at the present moment there is being held in London a Conference of representatives of the nations that were at war. May the efforts of the statesmen be crowned with success, and may they succeed in laying the foundations of real and permanent peace. This is a matter of the greatest importance to the workers. The ghost of unemployment will not be laid until we reach some friendly agreement, and not until then will the world have time and opportunity to settle down to serious social work. I sincerely hope that the work of the Congress will leave the delegates some time free to enjoy the beauties of our old city, and also that the foreign delegates present will take back with them a realization of the fact that Germany sincerely wishes for peace.

Senator Dr. Lampl (City of Altona) : In the name and on behalf of the neighbouring Prussian city of Altona I have the honour to bid the International Transportworkers' Federation a very hearty welcome. It has not always given the German authorities pleasure to receive members of the International Transportworkers' movement. I can remember the time, in 1896, when British delegates who wished to address the Hamburg workers were prosecuted and deported. At that time every effort was made to prevent the workers of different countries from coming to an understanding. The new German People's State willingly opens its frontiers for their conferences. The presence of official representatives testifies to the good relations that now exist in Germany between the authorities and Labour. The New Germany, in contrast to the old Police-State,

recognizes the importance of trade-unionism to the common interest, and I hope that it will also be possible in other lands to make it an important and influential factor in the community. The International Transportworkers' Federation, if it is united, can have a powerful influence over the future development of the question of War or Peace. I have been particularly pleased to see, among the many proposals on the agenda of the Congress, one which has been submitted by the French Seamen's Federation. I see in this evidence of a very earnest love for peace, and I feel sure that it will be looked at in this light throughout Germany. The International Transportworkers' Federation has attained historical significance. May the results of this Congress help it to fulfil its mission in the interests of its members.

Robert Williams (President) : The International Federation of Trade Unions is sending its President, A. A. Purcell, and Vice-President, L. Jouhaux, as fraternal delegates to our Congress. Both are on the way and will address the Congress later on. On behalf of the Congress I thank our comrade Haehnel, and Senators Dr. Matthaei and Dr. Lampl for their friendly wishes, and would ask the delegates to show their agreement by rising from their seats.

Presidential Address.

Fellow Delegates,

In the name of the Executive Committee and of the General Council I welcome you all to this Congress in the great shipping centre of Hamburg. Since our Meeting at the Congress of Vienna in 1922, transport workers, together with other sections of the working class, have passed through numerous and varied trials. The brunt of the battle for the maintenance of those advantages which we secured either during the War or immediately following the Armistice has fallen upon our German comrades and colleagues.

Germany, at the conclusion of her political revolution in 1918-1919, undoubtedly exhibited a will towards political and industrial democracy. Left to her own resources, and without undue interference from outside, she would have unquestionably made some great contribution to real social and economic reconstruction. The so-called "Peace Treaty" of Versailles, inspired by hatred and desire for unrestricted power on the part of sections of the "victorious" Allies, forced a contract upon Germany that was in no sense a "Treaty", which we all know now is impossible of fulfilment.

The fantastic reparations claims, if possible of fulfilment, would have left Germany, inside twenty years, as the dominant industrial power in Europe. In Great Britain, much of the unemployment which we have suffered and are suffering, is due to the absence of real peace and a confraternity of nations each contributing to the well-being of the others. The Reparations Commission, dissatisfied with the deliveries of reparations in

kind, decided early in 1923 upon a military occupation of large centres of German industry and transport. Attempts were made by the French, Belgian, and Italian military authorities to coerce the German proletariat into submission, and to make them grind out reparations with tanks, machine guns and bayonets surrounding them on all sides. The German financiers and capitalists are just as blameworthy as the Allied militarists and Jingoists, for the reason that they have exploited to the fullest the fluctuating value of the German mark for their own advantage and to the disadvantage of the German workers. The British delegates derive some small satisfaction from the fact that their various Governments were restrained—largely by working-class propaganda and action—from taking part in the unwarranted and illegal occupation of the Ruhr, Rhineland, and other centres of industry and transport.

The I. T. F. has done at least as much as any other international Secretariat in vehemently protesting against the systematic efforts to destroy the morale of the German working-class, the eight-hour day, the rights of combination, and the general influence of the trade union movement. As internationalists, we should realise that a serious reverse to the trade union movement in one country, especially a great country like Germany, must have far-reaching effects upon the trade union movement as a whole.

The process of disillusionment which has gone on steadily since the Versailles Peace Treaty has brought into being a Government in France as well as in Great Britain, both of which now—under the pressure of realism—know that a limit must be placed upon Germany's capacity to pay. Many of us are by no means enthusiastically in favour of the Experts' Report or the Report of the Dawes Committee. The whole substance of these reports reflects the views, not of the overwhelming mass of the peoples of the respective countries, namely, the working-class, but of bourgeois economists, financiers, and capitalists. The Governments of Mr. Ramsay MacDonald in Great Britain and of M. Herriot in France are undoubtedly correct in working for the stabilisation of European affairs; but, on the other hand, this stabilisation may be bought at too high a price. For instance, I am sure that the I. T. F. can in no way agree with the principle of denationalising the German railways, and placing the administration in the hands of alien capitalists and financiers. The international working-class movement cannot admit the justice or the necessity of putting a limit to the wages of German railwaymen, or of taxing the necessaries of life for the German people in order to fulfil economic and financial obligations of the world's capitalists and financiers. Any reparations exacted from Germany should be borne by those great industries which made formidable fortunes out of the war and since the war by exploiting the diminishing value of the German mark. Germany, by the cancellation of her internal debt should be able to restore the devastated regions of France and of Belgium, and when this has been done—in my opinion at least—it would be better to cancel all question of further reparations, together with inter-Allied debts. Experience has proved to us that such reparations in kind as Germany has already made have resulted first of all in a lowering of the economic status of the

German workers, and afterwards in the growth of unemployment and a worsening of the economic status of the workers in Allied and neutral countries.

The Dawes plan, if carried into effect, will further lower the real wages of the German workers, and possibly increase the working hours. This will have a further deadly effect upon the working-class of all countries in Europe, and probably in America and the more distant countries. One wonders why the leaders of the international working-class movement should have so enthusiastically supported the Dawes Report, which is admittedly a financiers' report, rather than make an exhaustive enquiry from the working-class point of view regarding Germany's capacity to pay and the question of reparations and inter-State war debts. We appear to be rather too anxious to accept the advice and tutelage of bourgeois economists and financial advisers instead of taking our own independent working-class line upon matters so vital to the workers and the women and children dependent upon them.

The I. T. F. has done as much as was possible in order to maintain the German working-class organisations during the trials through which they have passed. Money has been contributed according to the capacity of the various organisations in order to assist the German Unions in the hour of their direst need and peril. As a consequence of the treatment meted out to Germany since the Armistice, the German Nationalist movement makes headway, and in pursuance of a gospel of despair large sections of the organised workers are going over to the Communist Party on the political side, and to the Red International of Labour Unions on the industrial side. It is therefore our duty to render all the assistance in our power in order to strengthen the I. T. F. and its affiliated organisations in Germany and elsewhere.

In regard to the question of membership we have been faced with reductions here and there, first of all because of splits and dissensions on matters of policy, and further by unemployment in our ranks, but generally speaking the I. T. F. is making tremendous strides forward, chiefly in respect to the new affiliations which have been made from time to time. Without special reference to any particular organisation, I desire in the name of the I. T. F. to welcome all the newly-affiliated bodies. We hope that contact with us will convince them of the desirability of maintaining international relations now that they have come amongst us. Without egotism, we may claim that the I. T. F. is easily the first among the international secretariats. It has the largest staff, publishes far and away the most periodicals and documents, and generally speaking is pre-eminent in the general line of its activities and the militancy of its propaganda.

Amongst our various sections in the respective countries we have had setbacks here and there, although improvements have always been effected where the economic conditions have been favourable and where the workers are counter-attacking their employers and trying to win back the concessions which have been taken from them during the past two or three years.

Regarding the question of affiliation fees, the Executive Committee is asking you to accept a recommendation which is only an equitable one. Since the re-establishment of the I. T. F. in 1919 we have been generous—sometimes perhaps too generous—to those countries with badly-depreciated rates of exchange. At Vienna we tried to introduce a system which would apply a corrective to unsatisfactory payments. This expedient, however, has not proved of great satisfaction and therefore affiliated organisations in all countries will be called upon to pay their affiliation fees by purchasing the appropriate quantities of Dutch currency or paying their own country's monetary equivalent thereof. It should be remembered that the headquarters of the I. T. F. are in Holland and the bulk of the Management Committee's expenditure has to be borne in a country where prices are high. The salaries of our officials, the rent of the offices, the general charges of administration, must therefore be met by contributing upon a basis which will permit of this expenditure being properly met. It is hoped, therefore, that the affiliated organisations in all countries will accept the Executive Committee's recommendation and will loyally carry out the decision when it has been arrived at.

The printed report of the activities of the I. T. F., together with the financial report, is before you. The report contains charts, maps, and statistical data which will be of great help to all our affiliated bodies. I am sure that I speak for you all when I say that much praise is due to the staff of the Bureau for the manner in which this document has been prepared. It justifies all that I said earlier on in reference to the admirable work carried on by and through our organisation. The report deals with many matters, some of which perhaps are highly contentious. For instance, in the report reference will be found to the Conference held at Berlin between delegates from the I. T. F. and the Russian Transport Workers' Unions. This conference was for the purpose of discovering what efforts might be made in order to counteract the imminent dangers of war, to engage in a fight against Reaction and Fascism on the basis of a United Front of all Transport Workers. A tentative agreement was reached which in its turn was to be recommended to the General Council of the I. T. F. The Russian delegates, together with their allies, the Red International of Labour Unions, were seemingly more disposed to engage in a policy of propaganda than to employ constructive efforts to overcome the dangers of Counter-revolution, War, and the development of Fascism. The General Council were of the opinion that if there was to be collaboration with the Russian trade union movement the initiative should come first through the International Federation of Trade Unions and an agreement between that body and the Council of the All-Russian Trade Union Movement. In pursuance of a resolution reached at Vienna and proposed by the British delegation, it seems reasonable to hope that we are within measurable distance of some working agreement which first of all will bring the Russian trade union movement into actual contact with the movement in Western Europe and which would prevent the development of that dissident feeling and the extension of splits on the question of the rival policies of Moscow

and Amsterdam. At the recent meeting of the Executive Committee held in London a communication was received from the Red International of Labour Unions suggesting an all-in Conference here at Hamburg in order to discover whether unity could be reached between our own organisations and the Russian transport workers' organisation, and whether unity could be re-established in those countries where splits had taken place. Unfortunately the Executive Committee was unable to come to any agreement on the matter, but speaking individually, I am profoundly convinced that whether it is one year hence or ten years hence we shall eventually have to work in harmony and co-operation with the Russian trade union movement. In many countries we have seen our membership decline, in some cases to less than one-fifth of the numbers organised so recently as five years ago. Tens of thousands of trade unionists refuse to associate either with the sections accepting the policy of Moscow or of Amsterdam because they say in effect, we will have nothing to do with either until you organise on the principle, not of the doctrines you believe in, but of usefulness to the working-class which you claim to represent and for whom you desire to speak. We must indeed have an inclusive International. For the moment the major portion of our efforts are confined to Western and near Eastern Europe; but the I. T. F. must become more and more a real international world-wide movement. Already we are making headway in the American continent, and we shall have amongst us at least one American delegate during these proceedings. Even the inclusion of the organisations in the whole American continent is not sufficient. There is the question of the Far East and the so-called subject races, who by their low standard of life remain a standing menace to the standards we have secured by generations of working-class effort in the countries of Western Europe.

During the week we shall divide ourselves into three sectional conferences: (1) railway and tramway workers; (2) seamen; and (3) dockers, road transport workers, and inland waterway workers. While agreeing thoroughly with giving an opportunity for these three main sections to discuss sectionally and report upon their own sectional affairs, we must protect ourselves against the dangers of over-sectionalism. As an example, the railwaymen's conference might easily sub-divide itself and consider the question of locomen, traffic grades, clerical workers, and so on *ad infinitum*. The same might easily happen with the other sections. It is quite proper that chauffeurs, commercial road transport workers, dockers, and inland waterway workers should want to know the economic conditions of similar workers in other countries, but that is more a matter for statistical research and the publication of replies to questionnaires than for frequent meetings in international conferences. One of the difficulties which always confronts the office is that when detailed questionnaires are sent out to the various organisations the replies are in many cases not forthcoming, and in a large number of cases unsatisfactory. The bureau of the I. T. F. cannot publish any more information of an authoritative character than is given to it by its affiliated organisations.

Proposals stand in the name of the British Delegation to establish methods of consultation within the respective countries. The more active spirits in our movement are working towards the creation of effective industrial methods of organisation; not that we hope to see the establishment of an unwieldy and bureaucratic organisation destroying the initiative and autonomy of the various sections; but the question of more effective grouping for fighting purposes is forced upon us more and more by the development and consolidation of capitalism in the transport and railway world.

All these questions, I feel convinced, will be discussed broadly and fairly during the sessions of the Congress, and I trust that my duties will be made as easy as on other occasions by the forbearing spirit, the goodwill, and the tolerance of every one of the delegates here assembled.

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Announcements and Election of Bureau of Congress.

Edo Fimmen (General Secretary) : I regret to have to inform the Congress that comrade Bidegaray, who was to report on the question of the Socialization of the Means of Transport, was taken ill shortly after his arrival in Hamburg. The Committee will take steps, however, so that the question shall not be dropped. I further have to announce that the following unions have advised that they are unable to send delegates :

The Irish Transport and General Workers' Union,
The Italian Railwaymen's Union,
The Norwegian Locomotivemen's Union,
The Luxemburg Railwaymen's Union, and
The Norwegian Sailors' and Firemen's Union.

Most of these organizations have encharged their representations to other delegates who are present.

As regards Item 2 on the Agenda, "Election of the Bureau of the Congress", it is proposed that the Bureau shall be chosen from among the members of the Executive Committee, as this will facilitate the work of the Congress.

This proposal was agreed to.

Election of Credentials Committee.

Williams (President) : I suggest that *H. Jochade* (German Railwaymen's Union), *J. Brautigam* (Dutch Transport Workers' Union), and *C. T. Cramp* (National Union of Railwaymen of Great Britain), be chosen to constitute the Credentials Committee. (*Agreed*)

Order of Business.

Williams (President) : The Executive Committee proposes that the Congress shall sit from 9.30 a. m. to 1 p. m. and 2.30 p. m. to 5.30 p. m. (*Agreed*)

Williams (President) : I propose that we first take Item 5, Executive Committee's Report, in conjunction with Item 6, Financial Report, and then follow on with Item 7, Fimmen's Report on the International Situation, taking this in conjunction with Resolution No 4, relating to the United States of Europe, submitted by the French Seamen. Resolutions 5, 6 and 7, all relating to the eight-hour day, might be considered together with Item 8 on the Agenda, Report on the Maintenance of the Eight-Hour Day; while Resolutions 11 to 23 should first be dealt with by the separate group conferences to which they belong.

We are endeavouring to meet the wishes of the Inland Waterway Workers and Motor Drivers as regards the holding of special conferences for these groups.

Guinchard (French Transport Workers) : I propose that we postpone consideration of Items 5 and 6 on the Agenda until the representatives of the International Federation of Trade Unions are present.

Williams (President) : We are of course willing to co-operate with the International Federation of Trade Unions as far as possible, but I must point out that we are an independent organization, and our work must follow its course. The representatives of the International Federation of Trade Unions attend as guests, and not as delegates.

Le Guen (French Railwaymen) : I wish to support *Guinchard's* proposal. I think it desirable that the Congress should hear the opinion of the International Federation of Trade Unions representative with regard to the Executive Committee's report on activities.

Cramp (National Union of Railwaymen, Great Britain) : I wish to support the President's view. The Congress has only the wishes of the transport workers' delegates to consider, and although we regard the representatives of the International Federation of Trade Unions as friends, we must not let our actions be influenced by them. As regards the President's suggestions for dealing with the resolutions, I wish to point out that one of them, submitted by the National Union of Railwaymen, and relating to the eight hour day, is of great importance to us. After a long struggle we have been able to secure working conditions which would be seriously impaired by the enforcement of the Washington Conventions. On these grounds we wish the Congress to declare positively that the application of these Conventions must involve no worsening of

existing conditions. We would therefore like our resolution to be dealt with specially.

Scheffel (German Railwaymen) : The German delegation think that the French proposal should be given due consideration. It is true that the representatives of the International Federation of Trade Unions have no right to dictate to us. We will take good care of that. But that is not the intention of the representative of the International Federation of Trade Unions, and we consider that it would be an act of courtesy to discuss the report in the presence of their delegates. We see no objection to dealing with some other matter first.

Ben Tillett (British Transport and General Workers' Union) : The wishes of the German and French delegates are incomprehensible to me, but if it were possible to comply with their request, I think it would be desirable to wait until the International Federation of Trade Unions delegates arrive.

Fimmen (General Secretary) : The Executive Committee is of the opinion that the decision on the Report is a matter for the Congress itself. We have invited the other International Trade Secretariats to send delegates as well as the International Federation of Trade Unions, and, however much we may wish to show our friendship towards the International Federation of Trade Unions, there is no reason to await the arrival of their representatives. However, to meet as far as possible the wishes of the delegates who have spoken, the Executive Committee proposes that we deal with some other item on the Agenda this afternoon, and leave the discussion of the Report until tomorrow morning. (*General acquiescence*)

Williams (President) : I wish to announce that the British delegates are opposed to Resolution No. 10 on Non-Recognition of Sectional Organizations, submitted by the Hungarian Transport Workers, and have drafted an amendment which will be circulated among the delegates in the course of the afternoon. We will now adjourn until the afternoon.

Thursday 7 August 1924.

Afternoon Session.

Williams (President) : We will now take Item No. 7, Report on the International Situation. *Fimmen* has the floor.

Report on the International Situation.

By Edo Fimmen.

Comrades,

This Congress of the I. T. F. is being held at a moment when it is, for more than one reason, important that we should study together the world situation and the prospects which it opens out before us. For are we not meeting here as representatives of the vast majority of the transport workers ; meeting at a time which forcibly brings back to us the memory of those days, ten years ago, when the world was put to blood and fire by a ruling class whose representatives, meeting at this very moment in London, are now making a serious effort to solve that most urgent of all problems which was left to us as a legacy of the world war—the payment of reparations—and trying to find that final solution on the basis of the so-called Experts' Report.

When, two years ago, I gave at the Vienna Congress an exposition of the world situation as it then was, the prospects which lay before the working class were far from brilliant. Reaction had commenced its triumphant forward march in both the political and economic worlds. In nearly every country the working class was the victim of the most relentless persecution. In the Balkan States ; in Greece, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and Roumania ; in the countries on the Russian border ; in Finland, Esthonia, Latvia, and Lithuania as well as in Hungary, Spain, Italy, Poland and Germany—everywhere you went the bourgeoisie was wreaking its vengeance on the working class—here by legal enactments : there by open violence. They were getting their own back for the anxieties and fears they experienced during the last few months of 1918 and the first half of 1919 ; when it seemed that the workers' hour had struck—the moment (in other countries as well as in Russia) for settling accounts with their oppressors.

Reaction in the industrial world was developing on parallel lines with that which was raging in political circles. Everywhere the capitalist classes were using their national and international weapons to force the workers' standard of living down to the pre-war level—or lower. Wage cuts of 10, 15, 20, 25 per cent, and even more, were things of every day, in every country, and in nearly every industry; and nowhere did the resistance of the workers seem strong enough to repel the attack. Unemployment was rife in practically every country—especially in those whose exchange was good—paralyzing the working class, and reducing them in most cases to virtual impotence.

The triumphant assaults which the bourgeoisie made on the wages went hand in hand with equally strong attacks on other working conditions. Every effort was made to sabotage social legislation, and the main objective was the one and only real conquest made by the workers since the war—the eight-hour day. It is true that at the time of the Vienna Congress this attack was still in the opening stages. At the beginning the employers were only trying, by a judicious and carefully prepared propaganda which had the support of the Governments, to arouse public opinion against the eight-hour day. The assault itself had not yet been launched.

Two years have since passed. I don't suppose I will find, in the whole of this assembly, one single person who will challenge me when I assert that the general situation is hardly better today, and that it is even worse in many respects. If we confine ourselves to the political situation, it might perhaps seem that the dark and threatening clouds which obscured the political firmament show here and there a tendency to break. Especially, perhaps, the elections which have been held in some countries towards the end of last year and the beginning of this one might afford justification for a glimmer of optimism. But against these bright spots—and after all the brightness is only relative, as I shall show later—we have to set the fact that during the two years which have elapsed since the last Congress the working class has been constantly persecuted and oppressed in nearly every land, and in this respect at any rate the situation is getting worse rather than better.

If we review the situation in the different countries separately we find a state of affairs which is anything but encouraging. The position in the countries on the Russian boundary shows no real change for the better; while the situation of the workers in Poland has actually become worse during the past two years. As evidence of this I have only to recall the startling legal proceedings which followed the fight of the Cracow workers.

In Hungary Horthy still holds sway. Neither the political nor the industrial movement can develop unhampered. The rose-coloured pictures of present-day Hungary which we find in the bourgeois press take another hue in the light of the fact that trade union meetings may only be held with police authority and under police supervision; while comrades from other countries who may attend these meetings may not even make a speech unless it has previously been submitted for police approval.

In Roumania, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia and Greece the position is, if possible, even worse. Everywhere the working class is rigorously persecuted. The prisons are overflowing with workers whose only crime is that they stood up for their rights. The merest nothing is sufficient to place the workers under the ban of "society", and to expose them to prosecution by special courts.

For the Italian proletariat the last two years have been a veritable Via Dolorosa. When we met at Vienna in October 1922 Fascism was already practically all-powerful in Italy. Robbery, murder, pillage and incendiarism by roving bands of Fascisti were things of everyday occurrence. But we were still on the eve of the march of the Fascist hordes on Rome—that coup d'état by Mussolini which was to give a regime of blood and violence the sanction of the Constitution. After this march on Rome, which took place in November 1922, the persecution and oppression of the Italian proletariat and its organizations were raised to the rank of a system of government. Working class leaders are imprisoned; trade unionists are maltreated, tortured and murdered. The property of the trade unions is confiscated and destroyed; their newspapers are suppressed; their printing presses are smashed; their members are dispersed. And while we are on this subject let us recall one fact: and that is that not a single government, not even those who with pride and self-satisfaction call themselves "really democratic", and who for many years held up their hands in horror at the very idea of getting in touch with Soviet Russia; not one of these Governments, I say, dreamt for a moment of protesting against Mussolini's regime of blood and tears, or of refusing him diplomatic recognition.

Spain—where two years ago there was reason to believe that reaction was decreasing—has been the scene of an imitation of the Fascist coup d'état in Italy, and of persecutions of the same kind. General Primo de Rivera's rise marks the advent of the dictatorship of the sword and the suppression of the "freedom" of the labour movement.

The position in Germany is hardly better. At the end of 1918 and beginning of 1919 there was reason to believe that the German working class had really won political and industrial liberty. Today the strength and influence of the labour movement is decaying month by month, in exactly the same proportion as the strength and influence of the reactionary forces is growing. The very same workers who a few years ago witnessed what was thought to be the dawn of their emancipation, to-day watch impotently the rise, under what they believe to be the freest and most democratic constitution in the world, of two systems of "justice": one severe and implacable—"injustice" for the worker; the other benign and indulgent—for the possessing classes. The situation may perhaps not yet be quite so bad in Germany as in Italy or the Balkan countries; but at best the difference is only one of degree. In Germany the bourgeoisie are also wreaking a bloody vengeance on the workers for having thought for a moment of breaking their shackles and upsetting the bourgeois ascendancy. Armed bands of reactionaries are terrorizing the movement with the tacit approval,

and often under the open protection of the Government and the judicial authorities. And it seems that the German working class has neither the strength nor the energy to force its way out of its almost unbelievable predicament.

In the other countries of Europe and the rest of the world the political situation has not come to quite such a pass; but in many of them—in France, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Holland, Switzerland, Austria, the Scandinavian countries, Great Britain, and the United States—reactionary and Fascist elements are growing in boldness day by day, and while the danger of a Fascist bid for power is perhaps less threatening, it would be a serious mistake on the part of the labour movement in those countries to underestimate it.

In any case the workers who ten years ago flocked to the war which was to bring them "liberty", "justice" and "democracy", have not very much either of liberty, justice or democracy to show for their pains.

I know that my point of view is not universally held. There is an important section of the movement which is inclined to take a much more optimistic view. Some of the scouts of the labour movement are reporting that the worst part of the journey is now over, that the time of the more violent forms of reaction is past, and that democracy can now resume its onward march to victory. It is thought that justification for this more optimistic view may be found in the fact that of late parliamentary elections in some countries have been favourable to "democracy"; that conservative, reactionary and bourgeois members of parliament have been beaten and replaced by men who not only have advanced ideas, a conciliatory spirit and goodwill for the workers, but who have in many cases come from our movement and from among ourselves. In France the Poincaré Cabinet has been overthrown and replaced by the Herriot Cabinet—supported by the socialist group because of its programme. In Denmark the recently-formed government is composed exclusively of Social Democrats. In Sweden and Belgium it is thought that there is a good chance that the coming elections will put into power Socialist Governments. But above all, evidence of the re-born influence of the labour movement is found in the fact that the powerful British Empire is governed by a Labour Cabinet, that the fortunes of the great world empire are guided by representatives of the working class.

It would be a great mistake, and a foolish one, to pretend that the changes in the governments of these countries are devoid of political interest to the labour movement. It would be a great mistake, and a foolish one, to deny that the Herriot Cabinet guarantees the labour movement greater freedom of action than the Poincaré Cabinet, and that a Labour Government in Great Britain is more favourable to the working class than a Baldwin or Lloyd George Government. But it would be equally a mistake, and equally a foolish one, to conclude that the recent "slide to the left"—which may go even further—is proof that the worst is over and that the hour has struck for a new forward march of the whole labour movement. And it would not only be a mistake; it would not only be a foolish mistake—it would be dangerous.

Such an attitude would be a mistaken one because the liberty, happiness and well-being of the proletariat do not depend primarily on its real or apparent influence in Parliament; it would be foolish because capitalism, the origin and source of all the sorrows of the proletariat, is more powerful and more influential than it has ever been, notwithstanding the political gains of "democracy"; and finally it would be dangerous because the working class, dazzled by political appearances, would be inclined to close its eyes on economic realities and, taking glittering stones instead of bread, slacken in the fight against capitalism.

For after all these Governments, whether they be half, three quarters or entirely Social Democrat, are nothing much more than screens, splashed with red, behind which the real masters—the bankers, big manufacturers and big landowners in all countries—scheme and lay their plans for more complete international exploitation and enslavement, while the workers stand open-mouthed at the apparent glory of the "democratic" governments.

The Reparations Conference in London should serve better than any verbal warning to damp any over-optimistic hopes that may have attended the recent "democratic" parliamentary changes. But before touching on the question of reparations let us pass rapidly in review the economic situation of the working class.

The assault on wages, launched two years ago with such startling results, has been followed up along the whole line. The workers in all countries have been compelled to give way foot by foot. In many cases, owing to the rise in the cost of living, real wages are actually below pre-war level. It is only this year that the working class has been able to check the attack here and there; particularly in Great Britain where by extensive and powerful strikes the trade unions have been able to raise wages.

And everywhere, also, social legislation is attacked. The employer's main attack is on the eight-hour day—an attack which was threatening two years ago, and which today has developed in every land, too often successfully. Notwithstanding the Washington Convention, notwithstanding its ratification by some countries, and notwithstanding the solemn promises made by governments and bourgeoisie to the workers, in most countries the eight-hour day exists "in principle" only, and on paper. In fact it is gone.

In this connection I must draw attention to the shameful machinations of international capitalism in general, and in particular its German, French and Belgian representatives, who united to trick the German working class, under cover of the occupation armies in the Ruhr.

The Entente had many times threatened to occupy the Ruhr, on the pretext of forcing Germany to fulfil the reparations obligations she had undertaken when she signed the so-called Peace Treaty of Versailles. Finally the French and Belgian governments put their threats into execution at the beginning of January of last year. French and Belgian troops in full war equipment invaded the Ruhr territory. The international trade

union movement had many times before expressed its determination to lead the mass of the workers to take international action to prevent any occupation of the Ruhr, or at any rate to impede it, but when the moment came, and such action was required, the movement was not strong enough. The German proletariat, disappointed in its hopes of international support, again trusted in the fair words and promises of their own bourgeoisie, and declared their readiness to form a national united front with the bourgeoisie against the "foreign invader". And once again they were tricked by the bourgeoisie, and used as a tool to attain its selfish ends. For months the workers in the Ruhr wasted themselves in passive resistance to French and Belgian militarism. Dozens of workers paid with their lives; thousands were sentenced and thrown into prison; and tens of thousands were deported. And the bourgeoisie who had incited the workers to passive resistance, and the employers in whose interests and to whose applause the workers had taken up the fight, showed themselves in their true colours when the moment came to abandon passive resistance because the German Government had not sufficient funds to finance it. The very employers who had stimulated the nationalist instincts of their workers, and had exhorted them to desperate resistance, hastened to meet the French generals as soon as passive resistance was dropped, in order to conclude with them agreements sanctioning the abolition of the eight-hour, and introduction of the ten-hour day; while appealing for the help of French and Belgian bayonets in case the workers should not be willing to give up the eight-hour day without fighting for it. It is worth while recalling the letter which the Government representative in Düsseldorf sent to a representative of the Commander in Chief of the occupation troops, in which this good German patriot asked for the help of the French soldiers to break any possible resistance of the German workers. In justification he quoted the example of Bismarck, who in 1871 placed the French prisoners of war at the disposal of the Versailles Government so that they might drown the Paris Commune in blood.

As the French generals refused to join in the pet schemes of the German employers, these employers closed the factories and mines, throwing on to the streets tens of thousands of workers, saying that work would only be resumed if the workers gave up the eight hour day and consented to work ten hours. And all this was justified by the pretext that it would otherwise be impossible for German industry to meet its reparations obligations.

Shortly after the Ruhr occupation I suggested that this occupation might very well not have taken place if it had not been for the consent of the German industrial magnates; that is to say that it had its origin in schemes hatched between the German and French industrial barons—schemes directed in the first place against the German working class, and in the second place against the workers' movement in general. It is well known that from November 1922 onward the big man of German industry—Hugo Stinnes, who died recently—acting as the ambassador of the big

German 'industria' interests, asked the German Economic Council to abolish the eight-hour day for ten or fifteen years. In putting forward this demand Stinnes was voicing the desires not only of the German industrial interests, but also those of similar interests in other countries. "Le Temps", the French Government newspaper, declared that it was on all points in accord with the statements and wishes of Stinnes, and ended its comments with the significant words:—"This is the Gospel according to Hugo Stinnes—and it is the only one that is really international." In view of this remarkable unanimity of views, there is nothing very much to be surprised at in the fact that the first grand assault of the employers against the eight-hour day was launched at a point where the German employers could count on the support of French bayonets. There is not the faintest shadow of doubt that the manufacturers of all countries are united in their fight against what the workers have won, and that they give one another mutual support in this fight. It is equally certain that in this fight reparations are only a pretext, and that the crushing of the power of the German proletariat was not the least of the objects it was hoped to attain by the occupation of the Ruhr.

The united French and German capitalists have, to a great extent at least, attained their object. In Germany the eight-hour day has been preserved "in principle" alone, and on paper. In reality it has been abolished in a great majority of industries; and working hours have been increased. The bourgeoisie and the Governments who want to abolish the eight-hour day in other countries are not slow to quote the example of Germany as a means to secure the same objects. Poland recently furnished us with a typical example. Almost at the same moment as the Government was ratifying the Washington eight-hour convention, the metal workers and miners in Polish Silesia were being forced to work ten hours, on the pretext that longer hours were being worked in Germany, and that Polish industry was therefore being handicapped in the market. An enquiry undertaken by the German Trade Union Federation has furnished us with full particulars of the position as regards the eight-hour day in Germany. The enquiry covers 46,122 undertakings employing a total of 2,453,523 persons in seven principal industries, and gives the full particulars of the actual hours worked, including overtime. The figures show that during the week from 12 to 17 May the number of persons working more than 48 hours was 11% in the Building trades, 49.4% in Printing; 44% in the Chemical industry; 21.4% in the Wood-working industry; 63.5% in the Metal-working industry; 14.5% in the Shoe industry; and no less than 82.4% in the Textile industry.

The example given by Germany is stimulating imitation in most other countries.

Apart from those groups of workers—such as agricultural workers, seamen, shop assistants, etc.—who are excluded specifically from the benefits of the Eight Hour Act, we find a continual increase in the number of exceptions allowed under the terms of the Acts that assert the principle of

the eight-hour day. In practice we find that the workers are putting in, not 48 hours, but 54, 60 and even more.

As unemployment is raging in most European countries, and as the efforts of the employers seem to tend to the limitation of production rather than its increase, we are left in little doubt as to the real intention of the employers in trying to abolish the eight-hour day. By squeezing more and more work out of the workers they hope to force them to bear an ever-increasing part of the burden which the world war has imposed on every country, without exception, both victors and vanquished, and not sparing even the neutrals. Everywhere it is proposed that the working class shall bear the cost of the destruction and reconstruction. The Governments of the victor countries realise quite well that it is impossible to make the vanquished pay the full amount of reparations laid down. The occupation of the Ruhr, and the weakening of the working class that was the result of it—which means indirectly the weakening of the power resistance of the proletariat the world over—was, if not the first, at any rate the most important of the schemes of international capitalism that were to establish for all time its domination over the working class.

The second scheme, which is if possible even more important, is being put into operation at this very moment.

I have already mentioned in passing the fact that our Congress coincides in point of time with the London Conference, where the representatives of the international bourgeoisie are seeking a definite and final solution of the reparations problem, on the basis of the Dawes Report.

This Report of the Experts has been hailed with satisfaction in certain working class circles, and attempts are being made to find in the discussions in London a source of hope and confidence. Such is the satisfaction expressed, the confidence in the future, and so joyful are the voices raised, that one might be excused for regarding this report as one of the marvels of the twentieth century.

I therefore feel that it is necessary to give some explanation of the real significance to the working class of this Experts' Report. It would be a serious mistake of this Congress of transport workers, seamen and railwaymen to give the sanction of its approval, or even to pass in silence, these discussions in London, whose importance is certainly not less than that of the Treaty and the negotiations of Versailles.

Now, what is, briefly, the tenour of the Dawes Report, and what would be the consequences of its acceptance for the German and international workers?

Let us first of all examine the burdens the adoption of the report would place on Germany's shoulders.

For the first year the amount would be one milliard of gold marks; this is raised to one and one fifth milliards in the second and third years; again to one and three quarter milliards in the fourth; and finally from the fifth year, which is regarded as the first "normal" year, the amount is to be two and a half milliards a year.

These amounts do not include the proceeds of the sale of the bonds which are to be issued and handed over to the Reparations Commission or its agents. These bonds are :—

11 milliards of gold marks in first mortgage railway bonds ;

5 milliards of gold marks in industrial debentures.

The sources of the payments to be made are to be the Budget, the German State Railways, and Industry in general.

On the Budget the taxation revenue is to be levied to the extent of 110 millions of gold marks, up to the financial year 1926/1927 ; 500 millions the fourth year, and from the fifth year onwards 1250 millions of gold marks.

During the first two years foreign loans are to be allocated to the payment of reparations.

The German State Railways constitute the second category of these sources of reparations. As I have already said, the Reparations Commission will issue 11 milliards of first mortgage bonds, bearing interest at 5%, plus 1% for sinking fund. The full amount of interest and amortization will only be payable from the financial year 1927/28 onward, and will amount to 660 millions of gold marks. During the year 1924 it will be 330 millions ; during 1925 465 millions, and during 1926 550 millions.

To these amounts that are to come out of the railways must be added, starting with the financial year 1926/27, 290 millions of gold marks to come out of a Transport Tax.

The burdens on industry in general are relatively much smaller. The industrial debentures to be issued and handed over to the Reparations Commission or its agents amount to 5 milliards of gold marks, bearing the same interests of 5% and 1% to a sinking fund. The full burden of interest and amortization, amounting to 300 million marks, starts from the financial year 1927/1928. For the first year (1924/25) nothing is payable, for the second year the amount is to be 125 millions of gold marks, and for the third year 250 millions.

Formidable as these burdens appear to be, even at first sight, the really damnable part of the report is less easy to understand. Far worse than the annual payments to be made are the conditions attached thereto on the pretext of guaranteeing the execution of the scheme.

To start with there is a clause which at first glance would actually seem to lighten the burden to be imposed on Germany. I mean the clause which makes the payments variable and adapted to the degree of economic development of Germany. The cloven hoof hidden under this apparently harmless clause has already been laid bare by Poincaré. In a speech in the Senate on the 10th of July he described this clause as an integral part of the Report. He declared that on the most conservative estimate the payments of Germany, under the clause in question, would amount to three milliards in 1936, three and a half milliards ten years later, and after a further ten years four and a half milliards. And as Poincaré himself emphasized, these figures are probably very much below the reality.

Let us take a glance at the principal other features of the Experts' Report.

It is proposed to set up a Bank of Issue under the control of the Reparations Commission; to transfer all the State Railways to a joint stock company, and to place them under the control of a commissioner to be appointed by the Reparations Commission; and finally to place a lien on the proceeds from certain loans.

This will mean that Germany and all German Governments, so long as the provisions of the Dawes Report hold sway, will be deprived of its sovereign rights in the two spheres where they are perhaps of the greatest importance:—finance and transport.

These provisions are not by any means accidental. They are not to be regarded as an incidental feature of the "recovery of a debt", as alleged by the Experts. Together with the clause providing for variable payments, which I have already mentioned, they constitute the very kernel of the Report, and apparently also an expression of the real intentions of the bankers and industrialists who have been appointed as experts by the Reparations Commission. Germany must on no account be allowed to get on her feet again. Every obstacle must be placed in the way of her reconstruction, which is only to be permitted in so far as it serves the interests of her creditors, and the limit of which it is not hard to guess—the point where Germany threatens to be a competitor in the world market.

Nobody who reads the Experts' Report without any preconceived ideas can avoid the impression that its essential clauses are inspired by the fear of German competition. There can be no other explanation of conditions which will reduce Germany to a state of absolute dependence for many decades; and there can be no other explanation of the fact that the Report omits to fix a date when the annual payments are to cease. If due account is taken of these impositions and omissions it is not so difficult to find an explanation of Mr. Poincaré's enthusiasm for the Report; because in view of the possible—though still uncertain—evacuation of the Ruhr, it provides the means, in certain circumstances, for the even more complete strangulation of Germany. The financial burdens are mere secondary considerations compared with these stipulations. After all what does an annual sum of two and a half milliards of marks mean to the Allies, when it is considered that according to the calculations of the Italian statistician Bongart the war has cost Great Britain 44,029 millions of dollars (170 milliards of marks); and France 25,813 millions of dollars (105 milliards of marks). Even if the whole of the reparations payments went to France they would not suffice to pay one half of the interest on her war costs. At the outside the two and a half milliard marks would only cover the interest on the nine and a half milliard dollars, or forty milliards of marks which represent the Government loans placed in the United States by Great Britain, France, Italy and Belgium. This amount does not include the other Government debts contracted abroad by the creditor nations. There are also loans made by Great Britain to France, Italy and Belgium amounting to 1137.2 millions of pounds sterling, or 25 milliards of marks.

Even for Germany these charges are quite bearable, as the old Government bonds as well as fixed interest bearing industrial obligations have been practically wiped out by the depreciation of the currency.

As a matter of fact the extinction of Germany's old internal debt is the starting point for the provisions of the report. The creditor nations are afraid that Germany may gain enormous advantages from this financial unburdening, in the competition with countries which have hesitated to go in for inflation, or have not dared to do it to the same extent, or who have heavy obligations abroad as a result of the high rates of exchange. The efforts of the Experts are almost exclusively directed to deprive Germany of the advantages of the situation she has created. That is the reason for making her burden a variable one, for the control of German finances and transport, and, last but not least, the silence as to the term within which the payments must be completed.

Nevertheless, it should not be concluded that the Experts want to make things particularly hard for the German bourgeoisie. It is clear that they quite realize that the depreciation of the currency has had quite varying effects on the different layers of the German population. In this respect the Report makes some very just remarks; but the recommendations and practical proposals of the report, as far as fiscal questions are concerned, are in flagrant contradiction with these remarks. The only fiscal recommendation which can really touch the possessing classes is that relating to the death duties, and it may be mentioned that the report states that "there is considerable room for increased taxation under this head". Apart from the imposition of a mortgage debt on German industries, there is no proposal in the report seriously affecting German capital. There is therefore not only a danger, but actually a practical certainty that the greater part of the proposed burdens will fall on those layers of the German population at whose expense the State has extinguished its debts and the wealthy have become wealthier. The principles of social justice which one finds scattered here and there make no essential difference. They are only put there to hoodwink public opinion in general and the working class in particular. The real tendency of the Report is directly opposed to these principles. The conclusions scrupulously and cleverly avoid any attempt to involve capital, directly proving once more that dog does not eat dog.

The recommendations as to taxation take no account of the reduced capacity for taxation of the working and middle classes which has been a consequence of the currency depreciation; and neither do they allow for the increase of this capacity for taxation among the possessing classes.

But these are not the only facts which justify our point of view. It finds even more justification in the premisses upon which, for example, the estimate of the profit making capacity of the railways is based. I am thinking particularly of the opinion of the two railway experts about railwaymen's wages. They look upon the proposed raising of railwaymen's wages to an average of 93% of the pre-war rates, as "eminently reasonable", and also regard it as final.

If we consider that the cost of living is from 60% to 70% higher than it was before the war, it can only mean that the experts regard as normal a *real wage* which is only a fraction over half what real wages were before the war. And as experience has abundantly proved that the fact that railwaymen live scattered more or less over the whole area of a country, has a very powerful influence over the general level of wages, the implication is that real wages of 60% to 70% of those usual before the war are regarded as the normal and proper wages for Germany.

Of late years manufacturers in all countries have pointed out and complained on many occasions of the dumping of German goods, manufactured on the basis of starvation wages. The Experts had an opportunity to sow the seeds of a new policy in this respect, but instead of doing so they have based their reparations proposals on wages very much lower than a reasonable standard of living requires.

Not only the German proletariat, but the whole international working class, has good reason to regard this part of the Experts' report with considerable uneasiness; for it concerns not only the German railwaymen, and after them the German working class in general; but it is also a serious threat for the workers in other countries. The existence and maintenance of so unfavourable a wage level in a country of the importance of Germany cannot but have an unfavourable influence on the wage level in other countries. But a still more serious result will be its weakening of the fighting spirit of the German working class in their struggle to reconquer and preserve the eight-hour day. The prevailing distress has forced many groups of workers to give up the eight-hour day, and this makes it very much more difficult to maintain in other countries.

And this danger of the permanent oppression of the German working class to workers in other countries is not by any means counterbalanced by the possible increased revenues of the victor States. Whatever may be got out of Germany will not lighten financial burdens and taxation, especially as the possibility of transferring such large sums to other countries seems to be a little uncertain—even to the Experts. The report does not contain a solution of this question of transfer. As a provisional measure it is suggested that the amount be transferred to the Bank of Emission which is to be established, to be credited to the account of the agent of the Reparations Commission, who, together with five Currency and Financial experts from the Allied and Associated Powers, will decide how the money is to be disposed of.

It is quite clear that there are only two possible ways in which the money can be used so as to benefit the creditors:

- (1) The purchase of Germany's exportable surplus of manufactures;
- (2) The purchase of German property in Germany itself.

The second of these could be effected by the agent of the Reparations Commission buying with the money at his disposal German industrial shares, to be sold later abroad. In the long run this would result in a

preponderant foreign influence in German industry, and it is clear that to avoid this danger every effort will be made by Germany to make it possible for the creditor nations to dispose of the reparations payments abroad—in other words she will increase her exports as much as possible, and limit her imports to what is strictly necessary. This would mean more intensive German competition in the world market, while the importance of Germany as a market for foreign products would decline considerably. These two factors would result in an increase of unemployment abroad.

From whatever point of view one considers the Experts' Report, and whatever the political consequences of its adoption and carrying into practice may be, there is no doubt that economically speaking it will lead to the strengthening of the international foundations of the capitalist system, to the injury of the German and international working classes. It shows lack of judgement and even blindness to greet the experts' report and its reparations proposals with joy and satisfaction. On the contrary, the working class should do all it can to prevent the carrying into effect of a report which means a further step to slavery. If it cannot be prevented it means the opening up of a new era for international capitalism—the colonization of Europe and the international exploitation of the workers of all lands, who will provide the coolie labour for this colony.

It is my firm conviction that it is the duty of this Congress to declare unequivocally and unreservedly against the acceptance of the Experts' Report, and against the solution of the reparations question on the basis of that report. The Congress should take up this attitude firstly in the spirit of international solidarity towards the German workers, who, as I think I have demonstrated sufficiently clearly, will otherwise be delivered, bound hand and foot, to the exploitation of international capitalism; and secondly in its own interest—for our own sakes and for that of the workers in all lands, upon whose heads will inevitably recoil the enslavement of the German proletariat.

I will go further, and say that this Congress would do well to declare openly that the representatives of the transport workers are definitely opposed to all payment of the so-called reparations, and that they regard the Peace Treaty of Versailles as a lie and a mockery. The stipulation that Germany should pay reparations only means in practice that the German working class, and with it the working classes of all lands, must be bled white, and pushed down into misery. We should be making a great step forward if the international trade union movement would not only decline all responsibility for the Treaty of Versailles, but actually refuse to have anything to do with it, and refuse also to be any longer a tool—a kind of conciliatory instrument for the "pacific" enforcement of the payment of reparations.

In the past the international trade union movement has tried everything possible to solve the reparations question. Times without number has it suggested ways and means for a solution that would entail a minimum of economic difficulties. But it is becoming more and more clear that it is

not reparations in themselves that interest the ruling classes and their governments. They are cleverly turning the Versailles Treaty, that declaration of guilt extorted by force from the vanquished, into a weapon to be used for further depressing the working conditions and standard of living of the proletariat.

Germany has been carefully chosen as the point where the international working class front is to be pierced. Just remember the meeting of the International Labour Office in January 1924, when the French and German employers' delegates supported one another, and described the abolition of the eight-hour day in Germany as a *sine qua non* for the solution of the reparations problem.

It is precisely incidents of this kind that should convince the trade unions of the necessity of insisting on the abrogation of the Versailles Treaty in general, and its reparations requirements in particular. Any other attitude, any support given by the working class to the reparations policy and the enforcement of the Experts' Report, only means, both nationally and internationally, the perpetuation of the truce concluded with the bourgeoisie during the war.

I have already said that in present circumstances the labour governments are hardly more than red or pink screens behind which the capitalists of all lands lay their plans for a hitherto unprecedented exploitation and enslavement of the workers of the world.

All this may not have a pleasant sound. But this is not the time and place for saying pleasant things; we must see things as they really are and not as we want them to be. If a further proof of what I have said is wanted I need only point to the London Conference, which is—as we are in danger of forgetting—a conference of governments, although it is entirely under the dictatorship of British and American bankers.

Every time during the past few years that I have drawn attention to the tendencies of political and economic development, some of my very good friends, both of the right and left, have thought it necessary and sufficient to qualify my opinions as pessimistic. They have accused me of seeing only the dark side of things, and have stigmatized my attitude as dangerous or impotently tearful. I think, however, that I may say with all due modesty that events have unfortunately shown that what I said was only too true, and that my predictions have been only too often accurate.

There is nothing of pessimism or danger or sentimentalism in the things I say. I state things as they are, and it is none of my fault if the horizon does not become brighter.

How can the working class most effectively dispel the dangers that beset it and that threaten it in the future?

It is needless to say that an organization as compact and powerful as possible is the first essential for a victorious defence against the assaults which national and international capitalism is directing against the standard of living and relative freedom which the workers have won for themselves.

That has been said so often that it is in danger of becoming trite. It may however, be useful to define what is meant by a compact and powerful organization. All will agree to the statement that it does not consist solely in the assembling of as large a number of workers as possible in the trade unions, but that it is necessary that the aggregation shall be effected on such a basis and in such a manner that the organization shall be able to fulfil its purpose, which is to defend the interests of the workers and eventually to secure their complete emancipation.

To this end it is above all necessary that our organizations shall at all times openly and definitely sustain the point of view of the class struggle; that they should break nationally and internationally with anything that might lead to collaboration with the bourgeoisie; and that they should drill their members individually and collectively as fighters. The workers in the unions must understand that their duties as trade-unionists do not end with the payment of their contributions, with attendance at meetings, and with the perusal of their trade union journals; but that they must see to it that their organizations become fighting organizations, and that they themselves become fighting members, ready to make any sacrifice in the fight against capitalism and for socialism.

I intentionally dwell on these points, because we are witnessing in our movement a rebirth of the tendency to limit the sphere of action of the trade unions within the bounds set before the war; that is to say to regard it as their sole duty to improve the working conditions of their members within the limits of the capitalist order of society, and to leave to the political parties all that has the slightest bearing on politics.

Before the Restoration in France the Bourbons were reproached with having forgotten nothing and learned nothing. I am afraid that we have in our movement many persons who are even worse than the Bourbons—for they have forgotten *everything* and learned nothing. I am afraid that they have forgotten all that the war years and after-war years have meant to the workers. I am afraid that they have forgotten all the falsities and trickery of the bourgeoisie. I am afraid that they have forgotten all the past and present sufferings of the working classes, born out of the errors of the past. I am afraid that they have forgotten that parliamentary methods have shown themselves powerless to prevent war. I am afraid that they have forgotten that the bourgeoisie only respect the power of the labour movement when it makes itself felt by practical action. And I am afraid, finally, that they have not yet learned the one fundamental and all-embracing lesson that the emancipation of the workers can only be won by the workers themselves, and that they have nothing—absolutely nothing—to expect from the bourgeoisie.

And an organization, to be powerful, needs still one thing more: not only must it be numerically as strong as possible; not only must it have a clear and definite idea of its duties in the struggle. The structure and form of the organization must be as far as possible adapted to the performance of those duties.

It is as well not to lose sight of one important requisite. As the international organisation of capital becomes more effective, and as capital tends more and more to act internationally, so must the workers' organization become increasingly international in character, and be ready and willing to attack capital not only nationally, but also internationally. I think my ideas in this respect are well known. As time goes on it will be found that the centre of gravity of the class struggle will be transferred to an ever-increasing extent from the National Trade Union Federations to an International Trade Secretariats. Whether you agree with that view or not, you cannot deny that working conditions in a given industry tend to depend more and more on working conditions in the same or similar industries in other countries. Obviously such a state of affairs must lead to continually closer collaboration, and consequently to an increasing number of joint international actions by the workers in the industry. This makes it necessary that the workers' realization of the fact of the international community of working class interests shall constantly grow in strength; and that the International Trade Secretariats shall develop into real all-inclusive fighting organizations.

It is not necessary for me to explain to you what I mean by "all-inclusive". In the interests of the struggle of the working classe against its oppressors the closest possible international unity is indispensable, and ways and means must be found to unite the unions in all countries in one single international federation. This is necessary, not for sentimental reasons, but because the interests of the workers the world over demand it, and because without the union of all those who really want to fight international capitalism, the battle cannot be waged actively and to a successful finish.

Let us pass from these more or less general considerations to a brief exposition of the special aims of the I. T. F. and the organizations affiliated to it.

I think we can say without boasting or exaggeration that the I. T. F. is one of the most effective of the International Trade Secretariats. Its membership, its structure and the spirit which animates its component unions place it at the top of the list. Whenever international action has been necessary—I need only remind you of the boycott of Hungary and the stoppage or hindering of the transport of munitions of war to Poland—the I. T. F. has proved not only that it had the will to use the power of its members for international action, but also that it was able to translate that will into deeds. But we also must be on our guard against too much self-satisfaction. We have only taken the first steps along the path which all the transport workers in the world must follow in common: the path of the united international struggle to preserve and improve our working conditions, and to fight and overthrow the capitalist system.

Our biennial report shows that the number of organizations affiliated to the I. T. F. is growing, but the number of organizations that still remain outside is large, whether on account of differences of opinion and tendency,

or whether—and this particularly applies to the extra-European organizations—the necessity of international unity is not yet clearly realized. During the new period of activities we are now entering, it must be one of our chief duties to make every effort to induce the transport workers, railwaymen and seamen in the over-seas lands to affiliate to the I. T. F. And at the same time we must make no less strenuous efforts, and leave no stone unturned, to bring unity to the labour movement in general, and more particularly so within the ranks of the I. T. F.

And also, to a greater extent than we have done hitherto, we must try to strengthen the conviction of the community of interests which exists between the transport workers of all countries, so that we shall be able to conduct international movements successfully. The Conference of representatives of North Sea ports which we held in Antwerp this year is a further step in this direction. This conference considered, and showed both the necessity and possibility, of joint and simultaneous international action to preserve the eight-hour day, while preparatory measures with this end in view were also begun.

If the I. T. F., however, is to become, and to remain, the International of all the transport workers, we must consider whether in the future we shall not have to make some changes in the structural form of the organization. To begin with we shall have to give greater attention to the Dockers' Section, so that it may grow side by side with those of the Seamen and Railwaymen. We shall further have to consider whether it would not be advisable, in case a large number of organizations outside of Europe should join us, to make special arrangements for each separate part of the globe, within the structure of the I. T. F. Thus each different part of the world might have its own centre, and hold its own biennial congresses to frame proposals to be submitted to an I. T. F. World Congress, to which delegates would be sent. I know this is not a matter for the immediate future; but it is useful to face all possibilities of development, and to foresee future requirements in due time, so that we may effectively accomplish our world task.

I have come to the end of my exposition. My views of the world situation and of future prospects for the labour movement are not optimistic in the ordinary sense of the word. I do not think, however, that I have painted the situation darker than it really is; but even if I should have done, it is far better to overestimate the dangers and difficulties than to underestimate them. The labour world has had only too much experience of the results of undue optimism, and confidence out of season.

The situation is still serious. It may be that capitalism is in its concluding phase, but nobody knows how long that phase will last. There is at any rate no evidence that its end is very near. The extraordinary ability of capitalism to adapt itself to changed conditions, and the very clear realization by the capitalists of their community of interests, rather furnish evidence to the contrary. It is true that national capitalist groups are still in conflict with one another, even today. Each is trying to shut the other out from the means of production, both material and human, but these

conflicts will be followed by a reconciliation at the expense of the working class. We have had an example of this in the Ruhr conflict; we find another in the Experts' Report, which carefully avoids anything that might harm German capital.

Experiences of this kind should convince the proletariat that all these conflicts, whether or not accompanied by military operations, are always in the interests of international capitalism. War itself is only a commercial transaction, as a result of which quotations for industrial shares rise in proportion as more workers' corpses are added to the heap. It has been irrefutably proved that, even during the war, material was mutually supplied to enemy states, so that they might be able to keep the war going. It is a mistake to regard this as accidental; the aim was to delay the moment when the new source of profits should dry up. If we take these things to heart, there can be no doubt what the attitude of the workers should be; they should refuse to join in such conflicts, which are not inspired by the interests of nations or of peoples, and still less by the interests of the worker, but solely by the desire for dividends. And if any of these disputes threatens to develop into a war we must not be content to fold our arms and offer passive resistance. The labour world must put up an *active* resistance, and if necessary there must be a war of the peoples against capitalist war.

It is necessary therefore that our campaign against war, which was undertaken after our first post-war Congress, should be sustained without any signs of slackening. We must continue to enlighten the masses of the workers as to the real meaning of war, and to sow in their hearts a realization of the fact that there is never—and still less in time of war—any community of interests between themselves and the bourgeoisie.

And what holds good in the fight against war also holds good in the fight for the emancipation of the working class. There will be no freedom from the present slavery so long as the workers are not willing to wage ever more effectively and with ever growing stubbornness the war against capitalism; and so long as they do not show themselves capable of the effort. Only a relentless and untiring struggle on a revolutionary basis, which means a stubborn refusal to co-operate with the representatives of the capitalist system, will enable the labour movement to acquit itself of its task. The only question that remains is whether we—the working class—are ready for the sacrifices which our emancipation may require: ready to pay the price, even though the price be high.

Workers of the world, unite! You have nothing to lose but your chains—but you have a world to gain!

Officially we still believe in the truth of the words of the great champion of the working class. Can the I. T. F. prove that these words respond to an inward conviction, and that the profession of faith which they contain, which calls for the unity of the workers of all countries, means to us something more than a mere catchword? Let us exclude no land from our Federation; let us be ready for all sacrifices. And let us imbue all those whom we represent with this spirit. Then, and only then, shall we be able

to accomplish our mission. Then, and then only, will the workers of Europe, and of the whole world, win back their freedom and lay the foundations of a new world, making a reality of the ideal we all profess—the Socialist Commonwealth.

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Guinchard (French Transport Workers) : I wish to make a few remarks on Fimmen's conclusions, especially those relating to the Experts' Report and the London Conference. We had a right to expect that Fimmen would look at the international situation from the standpoint of the special interests of the transport workers ; but instead of this he has hardly considered the transport workers' movement, but has made a report that should never have been given from the platform of a transport workers' congress. The questions raised by Fimmen are matters for the International Federation of Trade Unions to deal with, and as this body has already defined its attitude, Fimmen's report in effect sets the International Transportworkers' Federation up in opposition to the International Federation of Trade Unions. The fact that this Congress has stated that it will not be dictated to by the International Federation of Trade Unions should debar us from trying to influence the attitude of the latter.

Williams (President) : Fimmen's report must be regarded as an expression of his personal views. It has not previously come before the Executive Committee, who have now heard it for the first time. I must ask the delegates, in discussing this subject, to consider only the resolution which is to be submitted by the Executive Committee.

Schumann (German Transport Workers) : I cannot agree with the President's view of the matter. Fimmen has spoken as Secretary of the I. T. F., and as such his conclusions must be a subject of discussion. Should this report be published without due discussion it will quite wrongly be regarded as being in accordance with the views of the Congress. But I agree that the Congress should not discuss the matter until the Executive Committee has met and drafted a resolution.

Ben Tillett (British Transport and General Workers' Union) asks whether the manner of treatment proposed by the President is to be interpreted as disapproval of Fimmen's report.

Williams (President) : Whether I approve or disapprove is quite beside the question.

Cotter (British National Transport Workers' Federation) : I also disagree with the President's view of the matter. We are not dealing with a report submitted by a private person, but the report

of the General Secretary of the I. T. F., and the Congress must accordingly decide whether to adopt it or amend it.

Fimmen (General Secretary) : As regards Guinchard's criticism that my speech on the international situation is too wide in its scope, and does not view the matter from the transport workers' standpoint, I can only say that my report is cast in the same mould as the one I submitted to the last Congress, and to which none of the delegates raised any objection. As for the fact, which has been mentioned, that the Executive Committee was not acquainted with the contents of my report, I must say that this was due to the large amount of translation and other preparatory work which a Congress like this involves, and which prevented it from being ready in time.

Williams (President) : I don't want to influence the delegates in any way, or prevent them from following any course they may have decided upon. Those who are opposed to the report have only to submit a resolution embodying their own views on the matter. I do suggest, however, that you wait until you have the Executive Committee's resolution before you. The Executive Committee will meet to draft this resolution immediately after the end of this session.

De Bruyn (Belgian Railwaymen) : I support the President's proposal, but at the same time I must object to certain passages in Williams' presidential address, as well as in Fimmen's report. Williams said, for example : "We appear to be rather too anxious to accept the advice and tutelage of bourgeois economists and financial advisers instead of taking our own independent working-class line upon matters so vital to the workers and the women and children dependent upon them". And in Fimmen's speech I would draw attention to the statement, which repeatedly occurs, that the existing democratic governments "are nothing much more than screens, splashed with red, behind which the real masters—the bankers, big manufacturers and big landowners in all countries—scheme and lay their plans for more complete international exploitation and enslavement". In view of that passage, I should like to know whether our English comrades are really of opinion that MacDonald's government only serves the interests of the international bourgeoisie. It appears to me that some of the delegates to this Congress are seizing the opportunity to defend, not the policy of the I. T. F. or Amsterdam, but that of Moscow.

Williams (President) : The feeling of the Congress appears to be in favour of my proposal to postpone further discussion until the Executive Committee's resolution is before you. I will now call upon

Chachuat to support resolution No. 4, submitted by the French Seamen's Federation.

Chachuat (French Seamen's Federation) : The feelings of the Congress appear to have been running a little high. I therefore want to ask the delegates to forget for a moment the report, and to give their consideration to a matter of much wider importance. You have before you the resolution put forward by my Federation. I think it speaks for itself, and that there is no need for me to add a lengthy commentary. What we aim at is to assure peace on the basis of close co-operation between the peoples, and the grouping of the nations into a single organism. It is unnecessary for me to point out to you why the proposal should come from a seamen's organization. More than any other occupation, that of the seamen is international. I have, however, been pleased to observe that the idea of a United States of Europe is also making headway in other circles. There is nothing new about our proposals. Victor Hugo has already said : "I represent a party which does not yet exist. This party will make the twentieth century: from it will arise first the United States of Europe and later the United States of the World". I fully realise that the mere adoption of our resolution in itself will not bring us much nearer to the realization of this ideal, but I want the Congress, in adopting it, to bring it to the notice of the working class. The oppressed of all lands must lend their support to intellectual movements which are working for a United States of Europe, for they cannot remain indifferent to it.

Henson (British National Transport Workers' Federation) : This resolution should never have been put before the Congress. The workers have no use for it, and even the French delegate who has brought it forward has been unable to give it any real and definite meaning. He does not even tell us what countries are to belong to this United States of Europe, nor what kind of government it is to have, monarchy or republic, nor even what language its people are to speak. It is far too early to discuss such a proposal at a Congress in 1924. 19,024 would be a far likelier date.

Guinchard (French Transport Workers) : The last speaker appears to have completely misunderstood the purport of the proposal of the French Seamen's Federation ; it was intended as a simple wish. In reply to his ironical question as to what language the inhabitants of the United States of Europe are to speak, I need only point out that he is a citizen of an extensive empire whose inhabitants speak very many different languages indeed.

Ben Tillett (British Transport and General Workers' Union) : I am of opinion that this is not the kind of resolution that should be treated sarcastically. We must bear in mind that if we are met here

to-day as representatives of many different countries, it is because we are inspired by a conviction of the brotherhood of the workers of all countries. It is our main duty to encourage international thought. I was one of the founders of our International, and I remember quite well what the papers wrote about us forty years ago, and how they poked fun at our activities. I cannot help feeling that comrade Henson is not quite himself today. He should remember that he is here today as delegate to the congress of an organization which aims to unite the workers of different countries in spite of language difficulties. There is no reason why we should confine ourselves to the internationalization of wages and working conditions only. Even the capitalists are well organized internationally and co-operate with one another. The Dawes Plan furnishes us with an excellent example of this. Hearing Fimmen speak made me feel forty years younger. That is the way I used to speak at the time, and my only regret is that it is necessary to say again today what was already said forty years ago. I am getting old, and shall not live to see a "United States of Europe", but I welcome the resolution with joy as an expression of real international feeling, and I support it both as an idealist and as a practical trade unionist.

The resolution was then put to the vote and adopted, there being one dissentient vote.

Affiliation Fees.

Tomschik (Austrian Railwaymen) : It has fallen to me to speak in the place of comrade Bidegaray, who is kept away by illness, on the question of affiliation fees. It is, above all necessary that we keep the I. T. F. solvent. A glance at the proposals submitted will show that the Secretariat is about to have a great deal of work placed on its shoulders, and it cannot be expected to do it properly unless it is provided with the necessary funds. So far the I. T. F. has done very useful work, and we all hope that it will continue to do so. As you know, the Vienna Congress adopted a resolution allowing countries whose currency was depreciated to depart from the general rule which provides for affiliation fees at the rate of six cents Dutch per member and per year, and to reckon their contribution on the basis of one tenth of an hourly wage. The General Council now puts forward the following proposal :—

"The Congress is asked to decide that the rate of contribution laid down in Article XII of the Constitution shall again apply to all affiliated organizations as from 1st January 1925."

This proposal, if adopted, will cancel the decision of the Vienna Congress. In the name of the General Council I ask delegates to vote for it.

I represent here a union in a country where the exchange is still very low, and whose financial position is anything but prosperous. In spite of this, however, we have paid our contributions for the current year at the statutory rate, and have not taken advantage of the latitude which the Vienna resolution allows us. We have done this because we do not like to do less than other countries are doing, and we want to bear our share of the expenses of the Secretariat. We believe that other countries must feel the same as we do, and we are convinced that what has been possible for Austria must also be possible for other countries. I will end by urging delegates to adopt this proposal unanimously.

Williams (President) : In view of the lateness of the hour the debate on this proposal will be deferred until tomorrow morning.

'Second Day.
Friday 8 August 1924.
Morning Session.

Williams (President) : We will now discuss the proposal put forward by comrade Tomschik yesterday, relative to affiliation fees.

Guinhard (French Transport Workers) : The proposed increased affiliation fees are impossible for the French organizations. Our unions are still in a weak condition, and we cannot ask our members to pay a larger contribution than they do at present. The last increase we decided upon cost us the loss of 4,000 members, or at the very least largely contributed to it. If the proposal of the General Council is adopted it will mean doubling our affiliation fees to the I. T. F. In addition this proposal make no allowance for a possible further depreciation of our currency. It is not possible to make affiliation fees uniform until the exchanges have been stabilized.

Cotter (British National Transport Workers' Federation) : We have got to come to some decision about this question of affiliation fees. Up to now the British unions have borne a very large proportion of the financial burdens of the I. T. F. We cannot allow some countries to go on indefinitely claiming poverty, and leaving the others to bear all the expenses : we are not a charitable organization. I was very pleased indeed to hear one of our Austrian comrades supporting the proposals of the General Council, for if there is any country that has had to struggle against financial difficulties, and has suffered from depreciation of her currency, it is surely Austria. Yet we find that the Austrians have on their own initiative and good will paid the full amount laid down in our rules. It seems to me that what is possible for the Austrians cannot be impossible for the others. It should also be remembered that in voting the number of members, and not the amount of contributions, is what counts.

Chalmet (Belgian Tramwaymen) : We all realise the need of the I. T. F. We also willingly and gratefully admit that the British unions have hitherto borne the greater part of the expenses of the I. T. F. But it must not be thought that other organizations, the Belgians, for instance, have not done their duty. For us Belgians the adoption of this proposal would also mean doubling the affiliation fee. If it is intended to justify the proposal by pointing to the heavy expenses the I. T. F. has to bear, I should like to remind you that at Vienna it was shown that the heaviness of the expenditure is largely due to the high cost of living in the country where the I. T. F. has its headquarters. It would therefore seem to me time to consider whether it would not be desirable to transfer the I. T. F. to a country where living is cheaper.

Forstner (Austrian Transport Workers) : The Austrian Transport Workers will support the proposal, in spite of the difficulties they will have in raising the full amount. We are still feeling in Austria the consequences of inflation, and the contributions we receive from our members are still less than 50% of what we received before the war. But we do not want to feel that we are a second-rate organization; we want to contribute as much as anybody else to maintaining the I. T. F.

Cramp (British National Union of Railwaymen) : I support the proposal of the General Council. The British organizations will continue to fulfil their obligations towards the I. T. F., but it makes it much more difficult for us to do this if the unions on the Continent do not pay their share. I would like to remind our French comrades that there are other countries on the continent of Europe that are in much greater difficulties than they are. During the past few years there has been practically no unemployment in France. The unions in Germany have lost thousands of members, but the German Railwaymen's Union has paid up its arrears of contributions to the I. T. F. If our French comrades are so full of enthusiasm for the idea of a United States of Europe, they should surely be prepared to give practical support to the International. The I. T. F. is the most active of the international trade secretariats; and if the British and other unions are prepared to maintain its activities, we have a right to expect the same from the French.

Grünzner (Czech Railwaymen) : It seems to us that we have discussed this question long enough, and as we still have a long agenda to deal with I suggest that the debate be closed. I would add that our union will support the proposal.

Le Guen (French Railwaymen) : We are in favour of standardization of affiliation fees, but we are also in favour of standardization of the rates of exchange. If the latter is impossible, the same

applies to the former. We have many other difficulties to contend with also. As a result of the split in our ranks we have practically speaking had to found a new union. Our Federation has paid up to now about 6,000 francs a year: if the proposal is adopted we should have to pay 14,700 francs, which we are not able to do. The financial report states that the I. T. F. is spending more than it receives, owing to the fact that many organizations do not pay their contributions. If this is really the case at present, it is to be feared that if we return to the statutory rate the number of unions in arrears will be still greater. It seems to me that it should be possible to practice a little more economy. If we were still in the position we were in prior to the strike of 1920 we would raise no objections, but the difficulties we have to face at present make it impossible for us to vote for the proposal. We are in favour of standardization of contributions, but not on the basis proposed.

Williams (President): We will now close the discussion and take the vote.

The proposal was then put to the vote and adopted by an overwhelming majority.

Williams (President): We will now take Item 8 on the agenda. Comrade Döring will report.

The Maintenance of the Eight Hour Day.

By J. Döring.

For a long time past the thoughts of the workers have been concentrated on one point: *the attainment and the maintenance of the 8 hour day*. Of all the workers' demands, there is none which is so deeply rooted in the hearts of the working classes all over the world as that for the 8 hour day. In order to trace its beginnings, one must go back rather far in history. As early as the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the forerunners of the present trade unions—not only in Europe, but also in other parts of the world—demanded and fought for the 8 hour day.

It was in *Australia* in 1858 that these demands were first formulated. In 1880 a movement for the regulation of the hours of labour began in the United States with the result that the eight hour day was granted to a few civil servants. But, as the legal sanction for industrial workers was indefinitely postponed, a powerful demonstration for the 8 hour day took place in 1886 in all large centres. During the succeeding years an enormous number (it is said 1200) of strikes took place, nearly all of which were in connection with the eight hour day. In Europe the English trade unions—if one might call them "unions"—were the first to formulate a united

demand for the eight hour day, and to fight for same. Later on similar demands were made in France, Switzerland, Germany, Denmark, etc.

These demands, however, did not bring about a powerful international action until after the International Socialist Congress in Paris in 1889 had resolved "that, in future, in all countries, the first of May shall be a holiday and that demonstrations shall be held for the eight hour day."

This resolution established a general international basis for the demand and roused a general interest over a wide area. It is obvious that the 1st of May demonstrations—with or without a suspension of work—could not ensure the eight hour day for the workers, especially in those countries where the organisations were not properly developed or where they only existed in the embryo state. They had nevertheless two very important results: firstly the attention and the interest of the working class in general were directed towards the problem, secondly the steadfast and resolute determination of the working classes demonstrating year by year to governments and capitalists that they were united over the whole world fighting for the 8 hour day.

When the International Federation of Trade Unions was established in 1901 and the trade union conferences reaffirmed the resolutions of the socialist congress, the movement extended considerably as all the trade unions set down the demand for the 8 hour day in their programs. These trade unions have had to fight hard, they have had to make great sacrifices,—and in all fights they have had many disappointments. But little by little they gained the upper hand over the capitalists; by their own efforts and their resolute fight several trade unions had already not only won the eight hour day but had gone even further, so that, in 1914, the results of the formidable movement could really be called satisfactory.

The outbreak of the world war in 1914, however, broke up the unity in the movement and made international action impossible. All the governments participating directly or indirectly in the war, desirous of making the workers in their respective countries more docile, made great promises of protection for labour, social institutions and particularly the regulation of the hours of labour. Taught by previous experience the workers were mistrustful, and would not be lulled into a false sense of security.

In 1916 the trade unions of several countries met at Leeds in order to draw up a program of demands which would be exacted without reservation from all governments.

This Conference was followed by another, which was held at Berne in the latter part of 1917, and which dealt with the same questions. It is a pity that not all trade unions were able to send delegates to these conferences, as the world was divided into two camps.

In November 1918 the People's Commissars legally established the 8 hour day in Germany. In December 1918 the eight hour day was lawfully decreed in Austria by the National Assembly. A start had been made. In February 1919 another Conference of trade union delegates, composed as

in 1917, was held at Berne. "The hours of labour shall not exceed 8 per day and 48 per week"—such was the formula on the program.

The Treaty of Versailles also took up the problem, for article 427 (Section II Part XIII) states in the 4th paragraph "The adoption of the 8 hour day or of the 48 hour week wherever it is not yet in force". By virtue of this same Part (XIII) it was only logical that the International Labour Office should take up the hours of labour question. The first conference of the International Labour Office held at Washington in October/November 1919 also took the hours of labour question as the first subject and agreed on a convention. It is needless to say that the employers' associations fiercely opposed the attempts of the workers' delegates and, let us add, those of the delegates of the I.L.O. The trade unions were at this time in an advanced state of development and more powerful than ever, otherwise who knows but what the principle of the 8 hour day might have gone up as a balloon never to return again; and that in spite of the recent promises.

This agreement was therefore, at any rate, a result, a first result for which great efforts and many sacrifices must naturally be made before it becomes a complete success.

After the Labour Conference at Washington had passed the resolution nothing more remained but to persuade the governments to ratify it. A certain number of governments had legally regulated the hours of labour long before the conference at Washington: Sweden in October 1917, Czecho-Slovakia in November 1918, Switzerland in June 1919, Norway in August 1918, Holland in October 1919, Yugo-Slavia in September 1919, France in April 1919, Poland in December 1919, Bulgaria towards the middle of 1919, Austria in December 1918 and Germany in November 1918.

Except in the two last named countries the stipulations concerning the hours of labour were either very incomplete or very limited as regards their period or as regards the categories of workers included.

After the Washington Conference the hours of labour were regulated by law in the following countries: in Belgium in October 1921 and in October 1923; in Italy in August 1923 and in Luxemburg in December 1922. Up to this time the hours of labour in England were not regulated by law but an eight hour day had been adopted by the principal branches of industry—including the transport industry—by agreement between the employers and the workers.

As for extra-European countries, a few unimportant ones—from the point of view of international economy—adopted a legal regulation of the hours of labour during or even before the War, namely Mexico, Ecuador, Uruguay and Panama.

The fact that the Washington Convention has only been ratified by five countries (Bulgaria, Rumania, Greece, India and Czecho-Slovakia) proves either the non-fulfilment of the promises made by the governments during the War or the preponderant influence of the employers, who fix the limits to the governmental measures.

None of the large industrial states carrying on a world trade have ratified the conventions, although five years have passed since the Washington Conference was held. Five precious years have passed by without our being one step nearer the solution. On the contrary several governments have at times perceptibly aggravated the conditions of labour by not carrying out the stipulations laid down in their laws.

Let us recall the case of France, where the lawful 8 hour day for seamen was abolished, and where in spite of fierce resistance and a prolonged strike they were forced to accept debased conditions of labour. The same applies to the other countries, and especially to Germany where reaction has taken the upper hand and is doing all in its power to suppress the 8 hour day. One can easily imagine that the employers do not regard the problem enthusiastically and do not make the slightest attempt to understand it. With few exceptions they are only anxious about one thing—their own profits. This was the case before, and this feeling only increased during the War and the succeeding years. Their reasons are invariably the same. They are represented in similar arguments by the Belgian employers in Belgium, the French employers in France, and by the German employers in Germany. Everywhere the workers are being asked to renounce their demands for an eight hour day and the 48-hour week, or at least not to oppose the governmental measures in view of the prevailing distress, and in the interests of national economy. To this end the employers over the whole world support each other by publishing false reports in the newspapers which they own, in order to cause trouble amongst the workers and their unions.

The principal argument of the employers and of the governments is that the eight hour day causes a decline both in the quantity and in the quality of those commodities which would otherwise be sufficient to meet requirements.

Let us remember that in industry as well as among the transport workers both at sea and on land there are a large number of unemployed struggling month after month and year after year for existence, and who are only too willing to obtain work.

Quite indifferent to the welfare of the workers, the employers desire a larger production, while they, on their part, are curtailing their costs of production. They would all be disposed to negotiate on the 8-hour day if the workers would declare themselves prepared to work for the half of their wages. In the countries where they have to contend with a certain resistance on the part of the government, the employers either impudently closed down their works or allowed the workers to work shorter hours at greatly reduced rates. By doing this they artificially caused a semblance of a crisis in order to gain over to their views the thoughtless purchasing public, and what is still worse—the workers who do not think. The danger which menaces the workers in this case is extremely serious and calls for full attention, the more so as the absurd political economy of the so-called great powers, and the consequent uncertainty in industry has, in certain

countries, caused a great crisis influenced and aggravated by the rates of exchange, and by the vile destructive behaviour towards the trade unions on the part of the apostles of the world revolution, reared and sent out by Moscow.

The following fact demonstrates the unscrupulous way in which the employers over the whole world pursue their object and also proves their lack of conscience in utilising every possible opportunity to retard the solution to the problem in the hope that the number of their supporters will increase. In January of this year the Governing Body of the I. L. O. met in Geneva. The workers' delegates had submitted a motion charging the director :—

"(1) to continue his efforts to obtain in all countries the ratification of the Washington Convention concerning the 8 hour day and 48 hour week ;

(2) in particular, to recall to the attention of the Governments of all countries the Washington Convention and the reasons for which it was adopted ;

(3) to draw attention to the reasons for which the Washington Convention was adopted by means of suitable publications and communications to the Press, and to attempt to secure its ratification by informing public opinion of the experience already gained in the application of the 8 hour day and the 48 hour week."

The employers' delegates as one deliberately opposed, not only the proposal but also the whole problem. There was then no question of "international hatred". This was in the interests of Holy Profits, and the Priests of Mammon prostrated themselves as one man before their god.

In view of the situation outlined above the duty of the trade unions is to find suitable ways and means to attain their object in spite of all. The 8-hour day and the 48-hour week will not be sent by Providence. Nothing is attained without effort !

The ancient pre-war methods must again be adopted, that is to say, the trade unions will once more have to make a resolute and united attack. They will have to weed out of their ranks those elements which, under false colours, weaken and undermine their fighting power, thereby aiding the employers and reaction. That which the trade unions have won after a great struggle must be secured and preserved. The trade unions will find in the I. L. O. an active supporter if they form, in their respective countries, an organisation inspiring the respect of the employers and of the government.

It is therefore absolutely necessary to form *international* federations of workers employed in the same industry. They will have to seek and gain the support of the labour members of parliament. They will have to take advantage of all possible ways and means to attain their object.

The closest unity between the workers and the central organisations of their respective countries, and, internationally, unions in their trade secretariats, is a condition on which the winning of the fight depends. In order to break through the united front of the employers and the governments, and

thereby of all the forces of reaction, we need a compact organisation of all workers in the same trade. Only then will their efforts be crowned with success.

* * *

The above report was submitted in writing.

Döring (German Transport Workers) adding the following remarks : Since that report was written the prospects for the workers have improved somewhat. The question of the eight hour day was raised again at the last International Labour Conference at Geneva, and the representatives of France, Great Britain, Belgium and Italy expressed the willingness of their governments to ratify the Washington Conventions provided the German Government would do the same. The German delegate stated that his government would first have to await the result of the London Conference, but that in any case it reserved the right to decide independently the question of the eight hour day. That appears to me to be a very impertinent reply.

I think that the great industrial countries intend to ratify the Convention. The German trade unions have decided to hold a referendum on the question of the eight hour day, and the Government regards this as a serious threat.

The seamen hold a place apart in so far as this question is concerned. The Genoa Conference turned down a proposal to introduce a 48 or 56 hour week on board ship, but the question will be raised again at the next Conference. The conference of the Seamen's Section of the I. T. F., held on Monday and Tuesday of this week, decided to approach the International Labour Office on this question. If we can secure the ratification of the Convention by the different governments we can flatter ourselves on having done something.

I now come to resolutions 5, 6 and 7. Resolution 6, which reads as follows :—

"That the I. T. F. shall take, in agreement with its affiliated organizations, all useful measures to safeguard the eight hour day in the transport world"

and resolution 7 which says :—

"That Congress consider the problem of the promotion of the legal introduction of the eight hour day in all countries, and the consequences which attempts to evade it will have for the international working class" may be regarded as embodied in my Report and in the resolution which I have myself drafted. I should like, however, to give a few moments to resolution No. 5, submitted by the British National Union of Railwaymen :—

"After consideration of the recommendations of the Washington Convention of the International Labour Office, with regard to the 48 hour working week, this biennial conference of the I. T. F. recommends all affiliated organizations to press upon the Governments of their respective countries the necessity of applying the aforesaid recommendations in such a manner as will best meet the requirements of the organized workers concerned. This conference recognizes that in some countries conditions have been secured by sections of the workers which would be worsened if the Washington recommendations were carried out without any regard to the existing facts. It is therefore necessary for affiliated organizations to be vigilant in retaining such conditions in the various countries which by reason of custom or usage are considered valuable by the various sections."

This resolution has been inspired by a fear on the part of the British railwaymen that the adoption of the Washington Convention might impair their present working conditions. The Washington Conventions, however, only lay down minimum conditions. I do not think, therefore, that there is any occasion for the British railwaymen to insist on other organizations coming forward as the champions of special conditions. In such important matters we must go a step at a time. I would advise our British friends to withdraw their resolution, and to ask the Congress to declare expressly that the ratification of the Washington Conventions must not adversely affect existing working conditions.

How are we to reach our goal? One way is to fight, but I do not consider that a suitable method at the present time. We have in the I. T. F. large and powerful organizations, but we also have smaller and weaker groups that could not keep up a fight on their own. Another method consists in taking full advantage of all opportunities that offer. First of all we must make use of parliamentary action. It would also be a mistake to ignore the assistance of the International Labour Office, whose work is not so well known as it deserves to be. Most of us have formed quite a false idea of the activities of this Office. Personally I am convinced that we cannot afford to neglect the International Labour Office if we wish to secure the universal introduction of the eight hour day, for abundant proof has been given of the influence this Office can exert over the governments, both in Europe and elsewhere. The resolution which I am submitting is as follows :

This Congress declares that the universal introduction of the eight hour day or the 48-hour week, and their legal enactment, is the most important objective of the affiliated unions. The conventions regarding the eight hour day adopted at the International Labour Conference in Washington must be regarded as the minimum demand.

Instead of ratifying these decisions, the ruling classes are endeavouring, by all means at their disposal, to defeat the tendency to regulate the hours of labour wherever it is making itself felt. By doing this they give proof of their inability to recognise and abolish the intolerable economic conditions which they have caused in the world by their insatiable greed for profit.

The joint attacks of the governments and of the employers on the 8-hour day and other rights of the workers, clearly prove that they are not only indifferent to the rise of the working classes but that they also wish to oppress the workers.

This offensive of the ruling classes makes it necessary for the workers to begin a counter attack in order to extend their rights, especially the right to a voice in the management of industry and above all the unrestricted application of the 8 hour day or the 48 hour week.

The I.T.F. will pay its utmost attention to these struggles of the affiliated organisations and will afford its most energetic support.

Bromley (British Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen) : Certain passages in Döring's speech, and especially his statements with regard to the International Labour Office, lead me to ask whether the International Transportworkers' Federation is going to be identified with the International Labour Office and whether this exposition is made in the name of the Executive Committee.

Williams (President) : It was the Executive Committee that asked Döring to prepare a report. No instructions were given to him as to how it was to be done, as we were of the opinion that Döring had a right to express his own personal opinions.

Cramp (British National Union of Railwaymen) : I think it might be useful to enlarge a little on the resolution submitted by my union. If we lay stress on the reservations it contains, it is because we have good reasons for so doing. It is necessary to draw a clear distinction between proposals which come from the trade unions themselves, and those which, as in the present case, are originated by an outside organization. That is why we must insist that the rights we have so hardly won shall be rigorously and scrupulously respected, and that no loophole be left for the employers to make an attack on existing conditions. We want to help other railwaymen to secure and keep the eight hour day ; but in England we go further—we are asking for a six hour day. Apart from this, however, there is a great deal of difference between a forty eight hour week and an eight hour day. A forty eight hour week would afford the employers a pretext for requiring Sunday work. It is therefore absolutely necessary to insist that the working week shall be restricted to the six working days, and shall not extend over into Sunday. We have a special right to put forward this demand, and to ask for shorter working hours, inasmuch as there are few classes

of workers who have to put in so much night work as the railwaymen. We English railwaymen do not want in any way to obstruct the international introduction of the eight hour day. On the contrary, we are whole-heartedly in favour of it; but it should not be allowed to injure those who have by their own efforts won better conditions than they would have if the Washington Convention were rigidly enforced.

Scheffel (German Railwaymen) : We are all rejoiced to learn that the British railwaymen have secured better conditions than those existing in most other countries. In Germany the eight hour day has been provided for in the collective agreement, but it is in reality a dead letter, and actually more than eight hours have to be worked without compensation. The British railwaymen are today in the van of the labour movement, and I quite understand their fear that the ratification of the Washington Convention might injure them. I do not, however, think that this fear is justified. As Döring has pointed out, the Convention provides for minimum conditions, which need not cancel out more favourable ones. We also understand that in many cases the rigid enforcement of the eight hour day is hardly possible. The ratification of the Washington Convention not only interests the German railwaymen, but also the workers in other industries. With us it is a question of either eight or twelve hours—the two shift or the three shift system. The German workers, alas, have not been able to keep the eight hour day; the majority at present work anything up to twelve hours. The ratification of the Washington Convention would serve the German trade unions as a jumping off point to win back the eight hour day.

We quite realize that the Washington Convention is not an ideal arrangement. It is far from satisfying us, particularly as it allows so many exceptions, and places their regulation in the hands of the governments. That is why we asked ourselves whether it would not be better to put forward a special draft bill as a basis for the referendum to which Döring has referred, but with a view to getting as much general support as possible we decided to abstain from putting forward special claims, and only consider the general desire.

I should also like to ask our British comrades to withdraw their resolution. They can lose nothing by it, and most of the other organizations will gain. I think also that our English friends might be in rather a difficult position if a Bill were brought forward in the British Parliament to ratify the Washington Convention. Would they vote against it?

(The Congress then adjourned.)

Second Day.

Friday 8 August 1924.

Afternoon Session.

Walkden (British Railway Clerks' Association) : I wish to support the views put forward by Cramp. It is very necessary that Döring's resolution should expressly insist that the application of the Washington Conventions should safeguard the interests of the workers, and that no impairment of existing conditions is admissible. Our comrades probably do not realise that in England all laws are interpreted in their literal sense. We are therefore convinced that if the proposals were adopted as they stand the railway companies would immediately insist on their literal enforcement, which would substantially worsen present conditions, especially as regards Sunday work. As Sunday work has at present to be paid for at higher rates, the employers try to limit it to what is strictly necessary.

Döring (German Transport Workers) : I must again point out to the British delegates that my resolution specifically states that the Washington Conventions on the eight hour day must be regarded as the *minimum demand*. This qualification in itself implies the intention to secure or maintain better conditions. I am, however, prepared to emphasize this more expressly in the resolution, and suggest therefore the following addition after the second sentence :

"The ratification of the Washington Conventions must not, however, result in any impairment of existing working conditions, and the 48 hour week must not include any work on Sunday."

(The resolution, as amended, was then put to the vote and adopted unanimously.)

I. T. F. Year Book.

Williams (President) : The General Council is submitting the following resolution :—

"That the Secretariat examine the possibility of issuing during 1926 an I. T. F. International Year Book, and be authorised to publish same if deemed advisable."

The utility of such a work is obvious and does not need enlarging upon. The Biennial Report which is before the delegates already contains the beginnings of a work of this kind, and it is proposed in future to extend it.

Non-Recognition of Sectional Organizations.

Williams (President) : The Hungarian Transport Workers' Union has sent in the following resolution :—

"That Congress decide that all transport and allied workers in each country shall belong to a single organisation, and that if and when individual sections form separate unions, such unions shall be recognised neither by the International nor by the national trade union centre in the country concerned."

The British National Transport Workers' Federation has submitted the following amendment to this resolution :—

"This Congress of the International Transportworkers' Federation, realising the changes and development of the various means and methods of transportation, and the conditions under which organisation of the various unions has taken place, calls upon the affiliated unions in the various countries to take such steps as are necessary and desirable to promote national co-ordination as a preliminary to amalgamation on an industrial basis and thereby prevent the employers from exploiting sectional differences now existing between grades of transport workers.

The Congress calls upon the General Council and the Executive Committee to assist the affiliated Unions in all countries in respect to the foregoing suggestions."

As no delegate of the Hungarian Transport Workers' Union is present, we cannot discuss either the resolution or the amendment of the National Transport Workers' Federation.

Report of Credentials Committee.

Williams (President) : Comrade Jochade will now read the report of the Credentials Committee.

Jochade (German Railwaymen) : The Credentials Committee has examined the credentials of the delegates to the 4th Congress of the International Transportworkers' Federation, and has found all documents to be in order. According to the membership roll of the I. T. F. 62 organizations with a total membership of 2,080,467, in 28 countries, are affiliated. 44 organizations from 20 countries, with a total membership of 2,012,898, are represented at the Congress by 114 delegates. The countries represented are : Argentine, Austria, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, France, Germany, Great Britain, Holland, Italy, Latvia, Luxemburg, Norway, Palestine,

Poland, Roumania, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland and the United States. Eight countries are not represented: Australia, British India, Bulgaria, Canada, Hungary, Iceland, Ireland and Yugoslavia. 18 organizations, with a membership of 67,569, are not represented. 4 organizations—the Luxemburg Railwaymen, Norwegian Sailors and Firemen, Italian Railwaymen, and “La Velocidad” Chauffeurs of Madrid—are represented respectively by the French Railwaymen’s Union, the Danish Firemen’s Union, the Italian Tramwaymen, and the Spanish Railwaymen’s Union. Seven delegats attend the Congress in a fraternal capacity: four comrades from the Czech Railwaymen’s Union, two from the Swedish Sailors’ Union, and comrade Timothy Healy of the United States.

A representative of the International Labour Office is also present. If it is considered that 2,012,898 members out of 2,080,467 are represented, it will be seen that representation is practically complete; thus showing that the international organization of transport workers is growing in importance.

(The Report was adopted.)

Edo Fimmen (Secretary): Since the Credentials Committee finished its report the following further fraternal delegates have joined us: *Käppler*, secretary of the Building Workers’ International; *Jochela*, of the Finnish Transport Workers’ Union; and *Hugo Scholte* of the German Inland Waterway Engineers’ and Firemen’s Union.

I may also mention that we have received telegrams of congratulation from the Metal Workers’ International; the Food Workers’ International; and the Post Office, Telegraph and Telephone Employees’ International.

A. A. Purcell, President of the International Federation of Trade Unions, has telegraphed his regret at being unable to attend the Congress, as he is detained in London by important work, principally connected with the negotiations for an agreement between Great Britain and Russia. The other representative of the International Federation of Trade Unions, comrade *Jouhaux*, has notified us that he will arrive tomorrow morning.

Biennial Report.

The Congress then considered the Biennial Report of the I. T. F., which was taken chapter by chapter.

Bromley (British Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen): referring to Chapter III, Section B (Information Service), pointed out that the I. T. F. book on *Working Conditions of Railwaymen in Different Countries*, page 83, gives the daily wage of the British drivers and motormen, from the 5th year onwards, as 14 shillings, instead of 15 shillings as it should be.

Cotter (British National Transport Workers' Federation) : referring to Section C. (The Secretaries, Staff and Office) of the same chapter, drew attention to the fact that Comrade Fimmen, while he had been in charge of the offices of the I. T. F. since April 1919, as General Secretary in an honorary capacity, was appointed paid secretary of the Seamen's Section by the Seamen's Conference held in October 1923, taking over his duties on 1st November following. He pointed out that this was an anomalous position which could not be allowed to stand, and proposed that Fimmen be appointed paid General Secretary.

Williams (President) : I thank Comrade Cotter for raising this question. Both the Executive Committee and the General Council are of opinion that the present position cannot continue, but as they retire from office after the Congress is over they preferred not to raise the question, and abstained from putting forward any definite proposal. We have already previously maintained that Fimmen should be appointed paid secretary, but at that time he was still secretary of the International Federation of Trade Unions. We might find a solution to some of our difficulties by making the appointment a paid one, as we would then have a right to expect him to devote his full time to the responsibilities and work of the I. T. F. instead of theorising so much about the class struggle.

Schumann (German Transport Workers) : I suggest that we do not carry this discussion any further for the moment. Item 13 on the agenda covers the election of the secretaries. It will be better to discuss the matter when that comes up.

Williams (President) : I agree. We will continue our consideration of the Report.

The only other part of the report which gave rise to any discussion was Chapter 5, Section D.

The Berlin Conference.

Guinchard (French Transport Workers) : We gratefully acknowledge our appreciation of the work done by the Secretary, and we approve both the Report on Activities and the Financial Report. Last year, however, we were caused much uneasiness by the holding of the Berlin Conference with the Russian transport workers' unions. The report states that the initiative for this conference was furnished by the manifesto issued by the General Council urging the workers of Europe to exert their utmost vigilance to prevent a war between Poland and Russia in the spring of 1923, and that it was in view of this manifesto that the Russian transport workers' Unions asked us to organize a joint conference. Now at that conference Williams and Fimmen seem to have signed an agreement

which is remarkably comprehensive in its scope. In my opinion the General Council should have first been consulted. This was not done, and we therefore have a right to know whether this was a move for which the men who are at the head of our movement are personally responsible. But however that may be, the General Council's manifesto to which I have referred has been interpreted in a manner quite foreign to the intentions of the General Council, and which the situation at the time did not in any way justify. This, after all, was not a question which only affected the transport workers. It concerns the trade union movement as a whole, and appertains therefore to the International Federation of Trade Unions, and not the International Transportworkers' Federation. In any case the General Council of the I. T. F. did not confirm this interpretation. They rejected the agreement and disavowed its authors, thus exposing our trade unions more than ever to the attacks of the Communists. It is imperative that we have an assurance that the policy of the I. T. F. shall be dependent not on personal opinions, but on the resolutions of its Congresses, carried out by those who are authorised to do so.

Marchbank (British National Union of Railwaymen) : The question of the United Front is an exceedingly important one. I think that no difference of opinion can exist as to the desirability of bringing the transport workers' unions of all countries into the I. T. F. In considering the Russian labour movement it is necessary to draw a clear distinction between the Russian trade union movement proper and the paid communist agitators whose aim is to destroy the unions. I am of opinion that the Russian trade unions are entitled to a place in our Federation, but I do not say the same of the communist minorities that have broken away from their parent unions. The latter must first of all rejoin their national organizations. The Russian trade union leaders have clearly seen the necessity of this. I am therefore of opinion that we should accept the affiliation of the Russian trade unions on the same conditions that we lay down for other affiliated organizations.

Sardelli (Italian Tramwaymen) : If there are to be any complaints against the Berlin Conference they should be directed at the whole of the Executive, and not against Fimmen personally. Fimmen did not go to Berlin in his private capacity, and he did not go alone. Bidegaray, Williams and Döring also took part in the negotiations. In any case, the Vienna Congress adopted a resolution in favour of friendly relations between the Russian trade unions and ourselves. Since we adopted that resolution, we should act upon it, and neglect nothing that might lead to an understanding. I therefore think we should continue on the lines we have taken ; and I would particularly warn the Congress against the danger of

turning the Berlin Conference into a personal question against Fimmen.

Brodečky (Czechoslovakian Railwaymen) : I cannot help feeling that the criticisms of the Berlin Conference that we are now hearing are based not on the report that has been laid before the Congress, but on the reports published by Losowsky, and that the latter are regarded as the more correct. In the course of the discussion on another subject yesterday, Ben Tillett remarked quite rightly that all great causes originate in an idea. That also applies to the United Front. I refuse to regard what was done at Berlin as a crime, though the affair may perhaps have been badly handled. I do not want to discuss whether it is really thought that the present split in the working class must be a permanent one. I think it is our duty to do all we can to heal the breach. We have no right to leave anything undone that might re-establish the unity of the working class. I am saying nothing new when I say that so long as the Red International of Labour Unions keeps its tentacles on Europe there is no hope of any real advance for the working class. Reaction has a sturdy ally in their unions. Two years ago I declared at our own Congress that the formation of Communist unions was the beginning of the end of the Russian communist policy. While the Communists were interested in creating disquiet in different countries, to weaken the capitalists and prevent them from interfering with Russia, they had some purpose in organizing unions. But now that the danger of intervention is past, other interests take the first place in the communist programme. What they now want are trade agreements with other governments, and that is why they encourage the setting up of labour governments, or working class participation in governments. The last Congress of the Red International of Labour Unions clearly showed this change in tendency, although we cannot of course expect the Communists to acknowledge openly that their trade union policy has failed. If, however, the Russians are now trying to get their supporters back into the old unions, it can only be because they have not been successful in building up a movement of their own. This fact is very imperfectly camouflaged by their declarations that their real intention is to capture the old trade unions. Only a child could believe that story, for once the schismatics are back in our unions they will have to toe the line, knowing quite well that they are quite powerless to establish a movement of their own. The unity of the working class must and will come.

As far as the criticisms of Fimmen are concerned, I have only this to say : I know that Fimmen is often a victim of his own temperament, and that he is rather a stormy petrel in his actions ; but we cannot do without him, because there are other kinds of birds

by this side that otherwise simply will not move at all. It will be no disgrace for the I.T.F. to show the way to the international movement. If the delegates are afraid that Fimmen moves too fast they can set other comrades beside him who can be trusted to see that he moderates his speed.

Jochade (German Railwaymen) : Sardelli has expressed the wish that the Berlin Conference should not be turned into a personal affair of Fimmen's, as other members of the Committee were also present. But Sardelli forgets that it was expressly agreed that the report of the Conference should be confirmed prior to publication, and that this was not done. Fimmen and Williams are deserving of the severest censure for this. As a member of the General Council I personally take exception to the account of the Berlin Conference which figures in the Biennial Report. I read on page 34 :

"The majority of the General Council appreciated the fact that an all-embracing alliance of the world proletariat to combat reaction, militarism and the threat of war, was thus offered, but thought that the first move towards such an alliance should come from the I.F.T.U., which should enter into negotiations with the All-Russian Trade Union Federation and the Red Trade Union International, in order to lay the foundations and to test, with the consent and co-operation of the Trade Secretariats, whether the time were not already ripe for unity in certain trades.

We offer no opinion as to whether the General Council would have come to a different decision, if Losowsky had not written an article shortly after the Conference, in which he saw fit to ridicule the representatives of the I.T.F. at the Berlin Conference by playing off their statements one against the other. This much, however, is certain, that it made the worst possible impression on members of the General Council, nor could it be taken as evidence in support of those who held that the intentions of our Russian comrades were also sincere."

This makes it appear that the members of the General Council allowed themselves to be influenced by the publication of Losowsky's article. I strongly oppose this suggestion, and I disapprove of its insertion in the Report.

Fimmen (Secretary) : I will confine myself to the clearing up of a few points. First of all the suggestion that the Berlin Conference was a little private affair of my own. One or two delegates have already pointed out that several members of the Executive Committee were agreed about having an interview with the Russians. When the opportunity presented itself last year I was very pleased indeed that the Vienna resolution authorised us to meet them, in accordance with Article IV of our Constitution. The Executive Committee having approved of the step—all except Lindley, who

abstained, as he did not expect any useful results—, we were fully authorised to meet the Russians ; and not only had we the right—it was also our duty. And I may add, not only were we entitled to meet them, but we were also anxious to do so, because we all agreed with the opinion of one of the members of the Committee (not Williams or myself) that whoever succeeded in reuniting the working class would deserve the gratitude of the whole movement. Even now I do not regret that we went to Berlin.

You know the rest : I do not want to go into details. I do, however, want to reply to a suggestion of Jochade. He stated that Williams signed the agreement, and suggested that he was responsible for the fact that Losowsky published it. Williams was responsible for none of this however. He had already left with Bidegaray. The drafting of the agreement was left to Losowsky and myself. Therefore I alone am responsible if the document contained anything that had not been agreed.

Then we come to the passage in the report to which Jochade takes exception. I can only say that it is the Executive's report, and not mine. The proofs were submitted to the members both of the Executive Committee and the General Council, but until today Jochade has raised no objection to the passage in question. I make these remarks not with the idea of clearing myself, but of showing where the responsibilities lie.

Williams (President) : We have now dealt with the item in the report which it was expected would give rise to most discussion. I now propose that we adopt the report as a whole. As regards the Financial Report, I might point out that it has been audited by an accountant and by the Dutch Committee of Auditors.

Chapelle (Belgian Transport Workers) : The Belgian Transport Workers' Union have instructed me to declare that they protest against the meeting of the Executive Committee with the Russians.

Schumann (German Traffic Union) : In the name of the delegations of the German Railwaymen's Union and the German Traffic Union I have a duty to perform towards the other organisations affiliated to the International Transportworkers' Federation. I note with great pleasure that our International has been able to overcome its difficulties, and that it was not in vain that we appealed for the help of its affiliated organizations at a time when economic conditions made it impossible for the German unions otherwise to continue their activities. Help came to us from all sides, to an extent far exceeding our hopes, and we were thus able to keep our unions going. Old comrades will remember that in the past the German unions have always come forward when help was required for their sister organizations. We are indeed happy that other

countries have been able to develop organizations sufficiently strong to be able to give us like help in our need. It is therefore with very great pleasure that I perform the duty of heartily thanking the organizations affiliated to the International Transportworkers' Federation for the assistance they have given us. I would add our assurance that our help will not be withheld when it is needed. It is pleasant to know that the feeling of solidarity is still alive among the workers. Let us encourage these feelings, and we shall be able to stand firm against the international organization of the employers. Again I thank you for the help afforded to the German unions.

Williams (President) : On behalf of the Congress I thank comrade Schumann for his statement.

(The Congress than adjourned until the following day.)

Third Day.

Saturday 9 August 1924.

Morning Session.

Williams (President) welcomed *L. Jouhaux*, representative of the International Federation of Trade Unions, and invited him to speak.

Address of Léon Jouhaux, Vice-President of the International Federation of Trade Unions.

L. Jouhaux : It is with the greatest pleasure that I bring to the delegates of the organizations affiliated to the International Transportworkers' Federation the good wishes of the International Federation of Trade Unions. Whatever one may think of the present positions of the working class, it is unquestionable that their prospects and opportunities would have been much less favourable if the International Federation of Trade Unions had not been reconstituted on the morrow of the war, and if the workers organizations in the different countries had not immediately reknitted the broken ties. And if today we see for the first time a gleam of hope which seems at last to foreshadow the return of peace, it is not the untiring activity of the organizations affiliated to the International Federation of Trade Unions to which least thanks is due. It is they who have dispersed the feelings of hate which artificially divided the peoples, and who have substituted the idea of social brotherhood. I will abstain from enumerating here all the actions undertaken by the International Federation of Trade Unions. If the signs do not deceive us the dark clouds that were gathering over our heads are about to break, giving place to a healthier atmosphere. There is a reasonable hope of peace. I will not go so far as to say that it is assured ; but I will definitely say that there is hope of a development in this direction. If the International Federation of Trade Unions has been necessary to secure the results we have obtained, it is no less necessary if we are to improve upon them.

I will not go into details about the declarations and discussions to which the London Conference has given rise. I will confine myself to pointing out that if it had not been for the growth of the power of the workers that Conference would not have been possible. For five long years we have been trying, in the interests of the community, to find a solution of the Reparations problem. If the decisions come to in London do not in all respects come up to our wishes, it is still true that the present solution of the Reparations problem has been largely influenced by the trade union movement.

It is of the greatest importance that the working class should have confidence in itself. That is one of the factors that will lead to tomorrow's victory. The working class must fully realize the aims to which its efforts are directed. Peace must be its first demand, for without peace all progress is an illusion. We must therefore carry on our Peace movement with untiring energy. The desire for Peace among the working class is not the least of the factors upon which its realization depends. Resolutions are not of themselves enough.

The voice of the proletariat is growing stronger every day. Every day, and in ever-increasing measure, governments are being forced to take into account the will of the workers. Let us not be led astray by false hopes, but let us nevertheless realize the power which is represented by a strongly organized and internationally united working class.

Williams (President) : I think I reflect the wishes of the Congress in thanking Comrade Jouhaux not only for his address, but also for his untiring activities in the service of the brotherhood of the peoples.

We will now pass on to Item 9 on the Agenda :

Report on the Socialization of the Means of Transport.

By M. Bidegaray.

At its meeting in January 1923 the General Council of the I. T. F., acting on the decisions of the International Congress of Transport Workers held in Vienna in October 1922, confirmed the mandate then given me to submit to the next congress a report on the socialisation of the means of transport.

In order to obtain material and data as comprehensive as possible, the I. T. F. sent to all affiliated organisations, at the beginning of 1923, a questionnaire bearing on the present position of transport undertakings in the various countries. Unfortunately the leaders of the unions, whose time is very largely taken up with the many problems of their own organisations, have been unable to reply to most of the questions asked. Two very full reports, however, one from the Dutch and the other from the German-Railwaymen's Union, deserve special mention.

As the reports received were in the nature of criticisms of the regime operating in the particular country from which they came, and proposals for its reform, I have, much to my regret, been unable to embody them in my own report, which must be strictly international in character. In consequence, I have been obliged to rely on such books, articles, reports, and documents as were available, in order to determine the broad principles upon which the workers' unions must come to some agreement to carry out the necessary changes.

The war has completely altered the structure of Europe. The territory of nations such as Germany and Austria has been considerably reduced. Others like Poland and Czechoslovakia have recovered their ancient territories. Some nations have been expanded by the return of lost provinces such as Alsace and Lorraine, Schleswig, Trentino and Trieste. The dismemberment of the Empire of the Czars has given rise to new states such as Latvia, Lithuania, Esthonia and Finland. Roumania has expanded over Bessarabia and Transylvania, Serbia over Croatia and Slavonia. These territorial changes inevitably reacted profoundly on the regime of the railways of Europe, especially on the mileage under a particular management; the number of passenger and goods vehicles; the number of locomotives; and the diversion of traffic routes, involving readjustments and the construction of many new lines. Moreover, the rails as well as the rolling stock have been enormously overworked during the war. In some countries thousands of miles of permanent way, stations, workshops, storehouses, and material of all description have been completely destroyed.

An examination of the budgets of the various transport enterprises reveals a deficit in almost all of them. There can be no doubt that the war has had a direct bearing on this state of affairs, and the increase in the cost of upkeep and in the price of coal has been the principal cause of the deficits. The railway companies have no remedy to offer for this state of affairs other than the increase of rates. The increases over the pre-war rates for passengers and goods, particularly the latter, have reached considerable proportions. According to the official figures they amount to 75% (passengers) and 112% (goods) in England; 80% and 275% in France; 120% and 200% in Belgium; 100% and 200% in Denmark; 929% and 6000% in Austria.

The effects of the war have also fallen very heavily upon river and sea transport. The ports and canals have suffered enormously, and a considerable tonnage was destroyed during the submarine war. Freights are still much above the pre-war level.

These increases have, naturally, a very direct influence on the cost of living, and it is principally the working classes who have to bear the consequences.

The problem is, in fact, so acute that the various governments could not remain indifferent. Several international conferences have been held under the auspices of the League of Nations, statistics have been published, voluminous reports have been compiled showing the danger and the gravity

of the situation ; but these conferences have not produced a single effective remedy. This is no doubt because the reforms involved clash with vested capitalist interests and have also to contend with a spirit of selfish nationalism, each country seeking to turn as much as possible of the stream of traffic in a direction profitable to itself.

However, despite the helplessness of the powers that be, despite the inertia of international organisations, and the vagueness and insufficiency of schemes of action, the problem of the socialisation of the larger industrial enterprises, long a subject of purely theoretical discussion, has since the war become a matter of practical politics and concrete achievement.

In Germany and in Austria legislation tending towards the socialisation of certain industries has been introduced. In Great Britain, at the instance of the trade unions, joint commissions have been set up in order to lay the whole matter before public opinion. The recommendations of these commissions have been published. The literature on the subject is extensive. It is enough to mention the principal authors in order to indicate its importance : Otto Bauer and K. Pick in Austria ; Stroebel, v. Goering and v. Goldscheid, R. Wissel in Germany ; Fr. Varga in Hungary ; F. Hodges, A. E. Davies, Sydney Webb in Great Britain ; Urbensky and Pohl in Czechoslovakia ; Edgard Milhaud in France. In addition to the standard works on the subject mention should be made of the reports of the German and Austrian Parliamentary Commissions, the Social-Democratic Party in Holland, and the Economic Council of the General Confederation of Labour in France, as well as all the documents concerning the Russian revolution.

The case for the socialisation of the means of transport, at least as far as the underlying principles are concerned, is stated in the majority of these publications. In addition to these general data, which for the most part present the fundamental aspect of the case, more detailed schemes have been presented, but these are almost invariably intended to remedy conditions prevailing in the country where they have been formulated. Under the inspiration derived from my study of the standard works on the subject, I have endeavoured to select the main principles upon which the workers may proceed towards co-ordinated effort, based on a common programme, and to indicate the lines upon which the reorganisation of transport should be carried out. This reorganisation lies at the very foundation of the economic reconstruction of Europe, and would be a powerful contribution towards the re-establishment of peace among the nations.

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The workers' unions have found themselves face to face with a crisis in transport undertakings due to the post-war dislocation of trade, and have sought to find the best means of remedying the situation. A universal demand has been expressed for a complete reorganisation of administration, not with the idea of transferring the control of all the operations of transport to the State, but of transferring control to the whole of the people of the particular country in question through the trade unions. Resolutions to this

effect have been adopted by the Congresses of the International Transport-workers' Federation (Geneva, April 18—22, 1921; Vienna, October 2—6 1922). In some countries definite schemes have been elaborated by the trade unions.

In Great Britain two schemes were put forward in 1920, one by the Railway Clerks' Association, the other by the Railway Nationalisation Society. In France a programme drawn up at the beginning of 1920 by the Economic Council of the General Confederation of Labour was championed in Parliament by the socialist group. In Germany a programme (published in the "International Trade Union Movement" for July—August 1922) was drawn up by the Railwaymen's Union in collaboration with technical experts. In the United States a number of schemes have also been published.

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In countries where the State administers the railways, the unions have had to put up a strenuous resistance against attempts to return to private enterprise. In Italy the Fascist Government has since the beginning of 1923 been preparing plans to hand back the railroads to private companies. In France a similar plan has been brought forward for disposing of the State railways. In Switzerland a campaign is being waged against the Federal railways. The supporters of these plans attempt to justify them under the pretext that administration by private enterprise guarantees the State against possible losses from the public administration of transport. This would be true if the State had adequate control, but it is very often the case that the State has entered into agreements with concession-holding companies, involving the payment of subsidies, occasionally of very considerable amounts, particularly in the case of lines which from the purely business point of view are unproductive.

On the other hand, experience proves that the pretended superiority of private railway administration has none of the advantages claimed, even from the strictly business point of view. The comparative studies published for the last 15 years in the "*Annales de la Régie Directe*" furnish conclusive evidence on this point. In 1905, the Italian Government bought up, with few exceptions, all the lines which had been up till then been run by private independent companies. If it be said that the present disorganisation of the Italian railways is due to State administration, it is sufficient to refer to the favourable results of State control during the years 1905—1913, in order to demonstrate the falsity of such an assertion. During that period, rates were decreased, while material was increased and improved. The spending of large sums of money for this purpose was rendered imperative by the deplorable state in which the railroads and the rolling stock were handed over to the State.

The same holds good in the case of Germany and Switzerland. The results of public administration of the railways before the war were very favourable. Not only was the income equal to the expenditure, but the railways were run to the public satisfaction. There were even considerable reductions in rates.

In Belgium public administration has introduced very considerable improvements in the organisation of the service in the interests of the public, and in the general working conditions of the railway operatives and clerks. The budget, which during the war showed a deficit, has soon been made to balance. In 1921 the railway balance sheet showed a surplus of over 4,000,000 francs. The surplus for 1922 had increased to 100,000,000.

In Czechoslovakia there are 11,000 kilometers (6875 miles) of railways of which 7000 (4375 miles) are worked by the State and 4000 (2500 miles) by private companies. The latter section falls into three groups, of which one is guaranteed by the State, a second by the provinces, while the third has no guarantee whatsoever (Slovakia). Rates on the private railways are considerably higher than on the State railways, while their balance sheets show a deficit, the excess of expenditure over income attaining a considerable sum.

The Minister of Transport is entering into negotiations with a view to purchasing these privately owned railways. In spite of the sum involved (120,000,000 crowns per annum) and the sacrifice it would cost the State, the measure would have a very fair chance of success by reason of the economic advantage to the Nation.

The nationalisation of the railways in Russia has many special features, and is coloured by the special circumstances and peculiar difficulties under which the country was suffering at the time when the order was carried out, and by the imposing on the administration of a political control, which has several times had to be revised. In addition to this the information published on the subject is not sufficiently complete to allow of any definite conclusions being drawn. However, in spite of all this, it seems to us of interest to give particulars of the manner in which the railways have been run since they were taken over by the Soviet State.

In Russia the whole of the railways being worked or under construction have been nationalised, as a result of the decree of June 20th 1918 of the Council of People's Commissars on the nationalisation of the principal industrial and trading concerns of the country. A new system for the administration of the railways was created. One of the People's Commissars, appointed by the Central Executive Committee of the Soviets, was placed, with one colleague as assistant, at the head of the Commissariat of Ways and Communications. A supreme Council was created and charged with the administration of works, ways and communications, and with the direction of transport policy. Advisory bodies were also instituted, such as the Technical Council, the Council for new lines, the Council of Economics and Finance, the Passport Council and the Council of Tariffs, to deal with important questions in their various departments.

A new decree, that of September 1918, abolished the Boards of the old private railways, now become the property of the Federal Soviet Republic. A Liquidation Commission was created for each line, including representatives of the workers' and peasants' soviets in the province or town in which the head offices of the railway company were situated. The Liquidation Commission had as its aim the effective transfer of the railways, the

examination of their financial situation, and the revision of the accounts and expenditure of the old companies.

On May 31st 1922 an important decree was issued on the reorganisation of the railways, which sought to substitute for the political control exercised since 1918 an administrative and technical control. The Railway Commissars who were appointed at the beginning have been replaced by Railway Boards which have either one single line or a group of lines committed to their charge. The local technical administrations have had to be reorganised. They now function as technical executive adjuncts to the Boards. The latter are charged with the economic and commercial administration of the railway under their control, the preparation of plans for their reconstruction and economic improvement, the submission of these plans to the Commissar of Ways and Communications, and the ratification of collective agreements made with the staff of the railways. They have unlimited control over the financial and material resources of the railways under their management. They determine and regulate all passenger fares and goods rates. They constitute the accredited representative body of the Commissariat of Ways and Communications, to which they are alone responsible. All properties belonging to the railways and all undertakings ancillary thereto are subject to their jurisdiction.

The president and the individual members of the boards are chosen from among persons whose competence in matters of transport, agriculture or commerce is recognised. The president is nominated by the Council of Labour or of Defence on the recommendation of the Commissariat of Ways and Communications. The Councils are authorised to engage and to discharge workers according to the requirements of the moment, and to determine their salaries, daily wages, rewards, and bonuses, within the limits of their respective budgets.

The new railway policy, inaugurated in 1922, is an attempt of the Government towards decentralisation, in the hope that the transference of administrative power to local centres would stimulate the local activity of the railways. According to *Ekonomitcheskaya Jizn* (Economic Life) it will take another two or three years to restore the railways to their pre-war condition.

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The Unions must incessantly demand the expropriation of such railway systems as are administered by companies holding a state concession or by entirely independent bodies. The first point to determine should be the conditions under which such dispossession is to be carried out. For a long time it has been maintained that this would involve nothing but restoration of the means of transport to the community. From this arises the question as to whether such devolution should be subject to compensation. For very obvious reasons the proposal of expropriation without compensation has always met with very vigorous opposition particularly in countries where railways shares are owned by the middle and lower middle classes. Recent

tendencies seem to be decidedly against expropriation without compensation. Nor is there any generally accepted method of determining the amount of compensation to be paid to the present owners. It is, however, impossible to form cut and dried theories on a subject such as this, which depends so much on the particular working conditions operative in the various countries, the contracts and agreements entered into between the State and the various companies, and concessions granted to the latter.

If the right of the present proprietors to compensation be admitted, it must next be determined who is to furnish the necessary capital to pay such compensation. No doubt the State should provide these sums, but the net result of such transactions would merely be the substitution of one creditor for another. At the present moment the holders of railway bonds even if these are guaranteed by the State, are the direct and actual creditors of the concession-holding companies. When the railways become socialised, the bond-holders will become the creditors of the State. It is impossible to think that future budgets must be for ever burdened with such a debt. Some plan must therefore be evolved for its gradual amortization.

Question of this kind involving financial policy are of very great importance, specially because they are likely to determine the attitude which public opinion will adopt towards socialisation in such countries as have not yet had their revolution.

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The handing over of all transport enterprises to the nation constitutes the first step towards socialisation.

Does this mean to say that administration by the State is infallible and above criticism, and that beyond this no other action is necessary?

This is a conception which was for a long time upheld even by the workers' organisations themselves.

In particular it was affirmed that all the claims of the railway workers on the moral and material planes would be realised by the simple act of transferring control to the State. All practical efforts were directed towards the attainment of this end. The opinion of the workers on this matter, however, has undergone a change. The experiences of the last few years have often disappointed those who had put their whole confidence in this system. Public administration has doubtless brought many considerable advantages to the workers on the score of wages, permanency, and pensions, but in view of the present crisis, the workers, realising the part which they have to play in the scheme of things, demand the right to share in the control of the organisation of production. They no longer confine their demands to the mere satisfaction of their immediate interests, because they know that the conditions of life of the working classes depend upon a raising of their status, which governments have been incapable of effecting. They know, too, that the power of capitalism is upheld in most countries by the existing political institutions, and that the action of the State in

the realm of economics is not completely separated from its political and administrative action, since in the enterprises that it itself administers it has not broken with bureaucratic traditions.

From the workers' point of view, in other words, the State is a power subservient to the interests of the possessing class, which has shown itself powerless to deal with the economic disturbances resulting from the war, and has demonstrated its incapacity to organise production, to overcome financial difficulties, and to stabilise the cost of living.

A second plan giving entire control to the workers themselves, has also been advocated.

This attempts nothing more than the substitution of group interests for capitalist interests. A mere transfer of power, especially in matters economic, will not suffice to create a new social order. It is essential that the changes accomplished should be of such a nature as to further the interests of the whole community.

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These old-time conceptions are gradually giving way to the idea of a change brought about through a "régie". Several types of *régies* are to be distinguished, notably three fundamental types—profit making *régies*, subsidized *régies* and financially independent *régies*. Among profit making *régies* special mention must be made of those which aim at a maximum of profit, and which are virtually a special means of imposing taxation. Such are fiscal *régies*.

Fiscal *régies* are of the the old dying order. They may at any given moment constitute a necessary expedient, but they can be nothing more.

Subsidized *régies*—as for example certain municipal services, the provision of cheap houses for large families or the provision of food at reduced prices—are also *régies* of an exceptional nature. Either because they burden the consumer, or because they burden the State they cannot be developed beyond certain narrow limits.

The *régies* of the future; those which of their very nature are susceptible of almost unlimited development, and which are as a matter of fact the most common today; are those which make no demands on the State budget, but which at the same time have not as their aim, at least not as their principal aim, a contribution to it. One may assert that in this last group, the type of *régie* which is coming more and more to the fore is that which is financially independent; a communal enterprise, run for account of the community, but outside its general administration, demanding nothing from the State, and contributing nothing to it.

Every effort towards socialisation to-day appears to be dominated by this new tendency, which has inspired the conclusions of the Report on the Socialisation of the Mines drawn up in February 1919 in the name of the majority of the German Commission on the Socialisation of the Mines.

The Commission on Socialisation of the National Assembly of Austria has adopted the same principle. Otto Bauer, president of the Commission,

in his examination of the means of realizing socialism, an admirable statement of the arguments in favour of a programme of immediate action, writes :

"Who will administer industry under socialism? Will it be the government? Not at all! If the government were to administer all industries without exception, it would become too powerful in comparison with the people and the parliament. Such an acquisition of power on the part of the government would be a danger to democracy. And at the same time the government would administer badly, for no body administers industrial enterprises worse than the State. We socialists have never believed in nationalization, but rather in the socialisation of industry.

But who, then, will direct socialised industry if not the government?

Now-a-days big industrial enterprises are governed by a Board of Directors elected by the shareholders. In the future each branch of socialised industry will also be governed by its Board of Directors, but this Board will be elected not by capitalists but by the representatives of the different social groups whose needs this particular branch of socialised industry must satisfy. Now, who are the people who are interested in the control of any particular branch of socialised industry? They are: (1) Operatives, employees and officials engaged in it, (2) Consumers who have need of its products, (3) The State as representing the whole community. It follows that the Board of Directors of each branch of socialised industry would be composed more or less in the following manner: one third of its seats will be allotted to the unions of workers and employees engaged in this branch of industry; another third to representatives of the consumers; and the remaining third will be reserved for representatives of the State, chosen partly by the Minister of Finance, so that the interests of the State as such shall be represented, and partly elected by Parliament, in the general interests of public economy. The representatives of the workers and employees on the one hand, and those of the consumers on the other, will be out to defend opposing interests, the one group demanding high wages and the other lower prices. The representatives of the State will mediate and arbitrate as between these two parties."

Objections have, however, been made to this system of management. *Régies* are said to be always bureaucratic. Their budgets, incorporated in the national budget, have neither the clarity nor the elasticity indispensable to the smooth working of industrial enterprises. Their methods of book-keeping are those of government services and are not suitable to business undertakings. They treat the consumer as a taxpayer, as a person subject to their administration and jurisdiction, rather than as a customer. They cannot protect their staff from political influences.

Very frequently these objections are well founded. They are however not valid against the principle of public administration, but only against certain of its aspects. The only conclusion to which they point is that public administration must be freed from these defects. As the field of communal enterprise grows wider, one realises better how ridiculous was the attempt to fit the economic organism of the new industrial State into the rigid framework of the old State with its worn-out civil, military and judicial institutions.

Parliament should demand greater clarity in the accounts of the State's industrial undertakings. It should be possible to know exactly what each service costs, and how much it brings in; and for this end there is but one

method, that is, to detach all expenses and all receipts connected with it from the sum of the expenditure and the revenue of the State, and to make a separate account of which only the net result, profit or loss, will be entered as a separate item in the State budget. This is the principle of segregation as applied to the finances of the various services.

There is another principle, the application of which becomes more and more general: the principle of equality of burdens. Each undertaking should have the same obligations, whatever these may be, as the law imposes on private undertakings of a similar nature. The railway *régie*, endowed with an absolute autonomy both financial and administrative, and so constituted as to represent the interests of the whole community, would be governed by a Central Board, composed of representatives of the railwaymen and of technical experts, representatives of trade unions in the principal industries, delegates from Industrial and Agricultural Associations, delegates from Co-operative Societies and representatives of Public Authorities. A permanent Committee elected from this Board would assume the responsibility of management. A most important characteristic of this body would be that all its members would be representatives of collective interests, and not of private or vested interests. In the case of a deficit in the budget, the collective interest should always weigh above the financial interest. In such an eventuality, the possibility must be provided of securing from the State the money necessary to balance the budget. But even in such a case, the railways should preserve their autonomy, for even if demands have to be made upon the public funds, the money would be well spent if it resulted in a general increase of well-being following on a more intensive economic development.

These formulas are equally applicable to the management of the mercantile marine, which would be placed in charge of a financially autonomous *régie*. The Central Board would be composed of representatives of the officers and seamen, of technical experts representing the technical bodies, of representatives of associations of users (shippers and consignees), and delegates of Co-operative Societies representing consumers. With this Central Board would be associated local organization in the ports, so constituted as to ensure the participation of the officers and men in the actual management and control at each step in the operations.

* * *

The problem of the railways, however, cannot be considered apart from the greater problem of transport in general, and in the immense programme of economic reorganisation which presents itself, this question must be considered in its relations to transport by water. The navigable waterways and the railways should not compete against, but rather supplement each other, and there is a natural division of their functions and usefulness. The railways offer a means of transport for the more valuable and less bulky goods, which must be delivered quickly and can best afford the higher

rates of transport ; while the waterways claim the bulkier and less valuable goods which cannot afford a high rate of freightage, and which would encumber the railways more than they would benefit them.

This principle has been resolutely put into practice in Germany, which may therefore be regarded as the country with the best developed waterways.

A question worth attention is the parallel development of waterways and railways. The fact has been well grasped in Germany that these two methods of transport ought to supplement each other. The co-existence of water and rail transport in the interior of the country effects a most useful classification of the goods to be transported. It also forms a safeguard against the periodic overcrowding of the railways. The railways are reserved for goods requiring speedy transport. The waterways supersede the railways for the transport of heavy raw materials which can stand long delays.

The lowering of transport costs is the chief reason for the progress of the German ports, and this is in a very large measure due to the development of inland navigation. In Hamburg an equal tonnage of goods destined for export arrives by rail and by water, while of imported goods the tonnage arriving by water is three times that by rail.

The same holds good in Belgium. The development of inland navigation, the excellent organization of railway transport, the combined rates for transport by sea and land, have rendered excellent service to the interests of the country. In addition to this, Belgium carries a mighty stream of through traffic. The Belgian lines of communication form the most closely-knit system in the world.

A totally different state of affairs is found in countries where the railway service is in the hands of capitalist companies. The latter see in waterways a competitor and sworn enemy, and oppose them by all the means at their disposal. The railway companies put up a strong fight to prevent the construction of canals or the rendering navigable of streams and rivers, offer an obstinate resistance to all co-operation with the waterways, and maintain unduly high tariff rates in order to discourage any possible scheme of combined rail and water transport. This resistance is all the more ruthless for the fact that the railway companies exercise considerable social and political influence, and that it lies in their power to exercise a veto on the passing of laws which are distasteful to them, or to evade their practical application, because they have the virtual control of the press—and this implies all the rest.

The socialisation of the means of transport should abolish such strife. Under a scheme of socialisation, the harmonious development side by side of the railway, canal, and road systems would be ensured ; all communications between the ports and the centres where raw materials are made up, and those serving the centres from which manufactured goods await transport to the same ports, would be regulated so as to ensure the maximum of smoothness. This would be accompanied by schemes for furthering inter-communication between regions served by different transport systems, for

developing electrification of the railways, where this is practicable, and finally for the creation of new and more direct commercial routes between America and the countries of Central Europe by the linking up of the ports and the hinterland by new transverse routes.

But before all these results may be realised to the full, four essential conditions must be fulfilled. The waterways must be developed unhindered to the full extent determined by necessity; the great arteries of water transport must be connected to the fullest extent possible, so as to form a veritable network, in the literal sense of the word; thirdly, rail and water transport must be linked as closely as possible to the mutual advantage of both; and finally, this alliance should be cemented by a system of tariffs permitting of easy transference from the one to the other.

* * *

In order to carry out these reforms, participation by the workers' organizations in the administration of transport enterprises should become operative in all countries. During the last few years, the idea of control by the workers has made considerable progress, but generally in the sense of participation of the staff in craft questions only. In certain countries the principle has been adopted of following the workers' representatives to sit on Joint Councils charged with settling any disputes which may arise concerning wages, compensation, etc. Certain joint bodies, the constitution of which is representative of various interests, have the power of determining questions of general policy, sometimes even administrative and technical details in the management of affairs.

In Germany, the Decree of December 23rd, 1918 introduced the principle of control by the workers. The Act of February 4th, 1920 relating to Works Councils, together with the Decree of April 14th, 1920, determined more exactly the scope of the former Decree. These Works Councils have been set up by decree in agreement with the workers' unions, on the whole of the railways managed by the State. In every office or workshop where at least twenty workers are employed, a Council consisting of from three to twenty elected members has been set up. These Councils deal with questions of management, economics and control, as well as working conditions etc. They keep in touch with the representatives of the management.

In addition to these local councils which deal with affairs in their own district, higher councils have been created with powers extending over a larger area, which represent the workers in the administrative district in more important matters beyond the scope of the Works Councils.

The first election of Works Councils took place at the beginning of 1920.

Independently of these bodies special Committees of Arbitration have been set up. A Bill providing for representation of officials, applicable to the employes of the central administrative departments, has been formulated and discussed in the trade unions. This plan provides for the setting up of local and central committees.

Works Councils have likewise been instituted by law in Luxemburg (Decree of October 8th 1920), in Norway (Act of July 23rd 1920), and in Czechoslovakia (Act of February 23rd 1920 relating to mines). In Austria, a decree of the Minister of Transport concerning the staff of the railways, issued in pursuance of Article II of the Act of May 5th 1919, provides that questions affecting the staff in general or certain grades, and matters relating to working conditions or wages, shall not be finally determined until a mutual agreement has been reached between the higher officials and the staff. Staff representation is provided for in three categories: manual workers, higher officials, and lower officials. A central commission representing the staff has been instituted at the Ministry of Transport, on which are to be found representatives from the three categories quoted above. It is the duty of this Central Commission to examine all decisions and all regulations of general import concerning the personnel. Controversial matters may also be referred to it. During the last three years a large number of questions affecting the workers have been laid before it.

In France, a Supreme Railway Council composed of 18 members from the Boards of Directors, 30 representatives of the general interests of the nation, and 12 representatives of the railways staff (2 for each line) has been established by the Act of October 29th 1921 relating to the new railway regime. This Supreme Council, set up for the purpose of assuring the co-ordination of the various railway systems and departments, has advisory powers in technical, commercial, administrative and financial policy; especially questions such as concessions for new lines, changes in any given system and the constitution of the same, the finances of the various systems, the relations between one railway system and another and with the ports and waterways, the acquisition of rolling stock, the standardisation of types of material, operating and signalling regulations, the revision of rates, the contraction of loans, as well as questions relative to the rights of the staff, working conditions and wages, superannuation and pensions.

Thus the principle of participation by the workers in the control of the railways has been both recognised by law and realised in practice. The presence of delegates representing the workers on the Supreme Railway Council has enabled them in the course of the last few months, acting on the instructions of their trade unions, to offer a vigorous opposition to rate increases.

The representation of the workers on the Supreme Railway Council is supplemented by elected delegations from each line, provision being made for all grades and departments.

Finally, in the case of disputes of a general nature arising between one or more of the railways and their operatives, especially in matters concerning the status of the workers, working conditions, wages and pensions, the Act of October 29th 1921 has made provision for the setting up of an Arbitration Court composed of 2 representatives of the directors, 2 representatives of the workers and a fifth independent arbitrator chosen from outside the Supreme Council.

In Great Britain, the following were set up at the end of 1919 under pressure from the trade unions: a joint committee of workers and employers (National Wages Board); a central committee to determine wages (Central Wages Board), comprising employers, workers, and representatives of the consumers; and an advisory committee to the Ministry of Transport consisting of 12 employers and 4 workers.

At the present moment, the British organizations are directing an active campaign in their country in favour of the socialisation of the railways, and the workers' representatives have exerted a steady pressure, in the Committees mentioned above and in Parliament, for the attainment of their demand. Inspired doubtless by the scheme which had just been drafted for the nationalisation of the mines, the Government plan which followed these deliberations compelled the railway companies to amalgamate into a limited number of groups. Each group is governed by a Board of Directors which includes workers' representatives. In March 1921 a further scheme was put forward by the Labour Party, aiming at the purchase of all the railways and the constitution of a single managing body, which should include representatives of the trade unions. The lengthy discussions held throughout this period were finally brought to a close by an agreement between the representatives of the railway companies and the trade unions, and by the adoption of the scheme for amalgamation. The Act of August 19th 1921, which instituted the new regime on British railways, has preserved the two central bodies created in 1919, the Central Wages Board and the National Wages Board. In addition to these, district and Railway Councils have been set up on the lines of the Whitley Councils. The Central Wages Board is composed of 8 representatives of the companies, and 8 workers' representatives nominated by the three great railway unions.

The National Wages Board includes 6 representatives of the users of of railways chosen as follows:—

- One representative by the General Council of the Trades Union Congress;
- One representative by the Co-operative Union;
- One representative by the Association of Chambers of Commerce.
- One representative by the Federation of British Industries.

Thus the action undertaken in the cause of socialisation has borne fruit in the form of a reorganisation of the entire railway system tending towards unification, and in the institution of workers' control in all questions directly concerning labour.

These are very important concessions, which must be developed in a progressive manner, for a slow and continuous evolution is the surest guarantee of the permanence of the reforms accomplished. The practical applications of the principle of workers' control already carried out should be taken as the point of departure for subsequent victories.

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Countries ¹⁾	Comparative Table of Railways Open in 1912 and 1920														Motor Vehicles ²⁾	
	Length of Lines Open						Locomotives		Passenger Carriages and Vans		Goods Wagons and Vans		Postal Vehicles		1914	1922
	Normal Gauge		Narrow Gauge				1912	1920	1921	1920	1912	1920	1912	1920	1920	1922
	kilom.	1912	kilom.	1920	kilom.	1920	1912	1920	1921	1920	1912	1920	1912	1920	1914	1922
Argentina	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	10,000	90,000	
Australia	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	20,000	97,189	
Austria	22,880	6,236	1,457	785	8,400	2,900	2,900	16,430	5,375	166,000	11,409	5,000	5,000	5,000	17,000	
Belgium	6,580	6,918	4,720	4,134	4,534	5,425	5,425	10,986	8,979	96,921	108,099	—	—	10,000	45,388	
Bolivia	—	2,239	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	400	
Brazil	—	1,638	—	26,289	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	5,000	27,500	
Bulgaria	1,931	2,203	—	346	196	240	240	164	159	4,486	3,131	1,378	1,513	—	670	
Canada	30,795	38,896	—	—	5,447	5,879	5,879	4,624	4,997	204,190	217,258	—	—	46,000	487,099	
Chile	—	9,000	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3,500	8,000	
China	—	10,918	—	—	629	653	653	1,280	1,231	254,070	243,065	—	—	1,800	7,481	
Czechoslovakia	—	13,594	—	—	3,572	2,973	2,973	7,347	—	—	47,172	—	—	—	9,350	
Denmark	2,198	2,206	—	—	629	651	651	1,606	1,732	9,664	10,812	444	513	8,000	20,100	
Egypt	—	3,181	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Estonia	—	651	—	340	—	209	209	—	—	—	6,567	—	—	—	370	
Finland	—	3,984	—	—	—	549	549	—	956	—	13,233	—	—	—	1,725	
France, Algeria, Tunis	44,500	46,713	25,700	26,000	13,754	18,314	18,314	48,082	46,907	364,454	473,365	—	—	—	308,253	
Germany	62,734	58,041	3,217	1,983	29,170	30,000	30,000	82,600	60,000	671,000	546,800	—	—	57,300	126,902	
Great Britain and Ireland	—	36,727	—	—	—	26,637 ³⁾	26,637 ³⁾	—	76,614	—	816,837	—	—	245,000	554,443	
Greece	1,061	2,125	1,746	1,246	135	142	142	413	409	1,397	1,609	—	—	1,500	3,450	
Guatemala	—	1,030	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	550	
Haiti	—	252	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	450	
Holland and Colonies	5,905	6,003	2,300	2,390	1,326	1,460	1,460	4,508	4,992	25,543	32,090	—	—	3,000	10,750	
Hungary	19,642	11,106	—	192	3,900	1,700	1,700	8,070	2,246	84,000	17,070	3,500	—	—	3,200	
India	34,636	36,735	—	—	8,019	8,982	8,982	22,381	24,704	170,444	194,636	—	—	7,000	54,415	
Italy	13,640	16,118	—	4,700	5,305	5,734	5,734	—	—	116,789	146,650	—	—	12,000	65,000	
Japan	6,568	8,213	—	—	2,500	3,120	3,120	6,440	7,250	42,614	51,065	—	—	2,000	8,801	
Latvia	—	1,875	—	972	—	280	280	—	392	—	6,020	—	—	—	—	
Lithuania	1,621	1,920	—	—	595	173	173	782	466	15,143	1,517	20	6	—	458	
Luxembourg	507	507	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Norway	3,043	3,077	112	109	—	—	—	—	3,175	—	—	—	—	3,000	13,340	
Paraguay	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Peru	—	32	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	500	
Poland	—	15,829	—	2,582	—	4,405	4,405	—	9,444	—	82,904	—	—	1,200	3,600	
Portugal and Colonies	3,889	3,894	—	1,344	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2,000	13,000	
Roumania	3,789	11,678	352	1,272	1,072	1,072	1,072	1,497	1,487	23,736	23,736	153	153	2,000	9,600	
Spain	10,972	10,972	—	4,702	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	8,000	6,198	
Sweden	9,600	9,635	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	5,000	55,000	
Switzerland	5,077	5,345	355	493	1,634	1,541	1,541	5,070	5,081	19,300	24,223	—	—	5,000	29,478	
United States	—	82,397	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1,000,000	12,364,377	
Uruguay	—	1,759	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3,700	13,500	
Yugoslavia	1,144	7,955	454	1,000	365	308	308	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2,200	

¹⁾ It has not been possible to secure reliable statistics for the countries which have been omitted.

²⁾ Figures for motor vehicles in 1914 are only approximate. Figures for 1922 were extracted from the publications of different Finance Ministries. It has not been possible to distinguish between passenger and commercial vehicles. For some countries no statistics have been published. It is estimated that there were 1,836,790 motor vehicles in the world on 1st January 1914. On 1st January 1922 the total in use had reached 14,728,615.

³⁾ This figure includes electric motor cars.

The dispossession of the capitalist, pacific or revolutionary, with or without compensation according to the circumstances, marks the first step in the establishment of the economic order of the future. The old methods of bureaucracy and red tape must be superseded by the new formulas of progress, which allow for the association and balancing of the forces of labour and of consumption in order to achieve production under the best possible conditions for the producers, with the lowest possible prices for the consumers and the maximum of general well-being. The largest measure of responsibility will devolve upon the technical experts, and labour will have its share of control. Standardisation of methods and of plant, and uniformity of working conditions for the staff will be pursued under the control of the workers' unions, which will, moreover, be able to participate on equal terms in the determination of such conditions. Regulations framed with the assistance of the unions will stand some chance of being observed. It will no longer be possible to take advantage of the position of the workers, who will have the means of defence in committees of enquiry, disciplinary committees, improvement committees, etc. Not only will the men whose business it is, the technical experts and professional men, support the adoption of various appliances; but by the institution of workers' safety delegates their proper working will be assured and any modifications which experience may suggest noted. The new organisation, the result of the collaboration of every department and of all the forces of production, will lead to a maximum of yield for a minimum of effort, resulting in a lower cost price.

Naturally, such a change as I have indicated could not be brought about in a uniform manner or on a uniform plan in all countries. Rather will it come as the result of a combination of means, efforts, and initiatives. This much, however, is certain, that a common agreement on general principles and essential features should render all future national and international action on the part of transport workers more vigorous and more effective.

* * *

Resolution on the Socialization of the Means of Transport.

Whereas the reorganisation and development of the means of transport is a fundamental requirement for the economic reconstruction of Europe; and whereas such organization should be carried out solely in the general interests of the community, based on common principles and programme;

This International Congress of Transport Workers, meeting at Hamburg from 4 to 9 August 1924, requires its affiliated organizations:—

To oppose in every way the transfer to private enterprise of transport systems at present run by the State;

To carry on an active propaganda for the restoration to the community of transport enterprises at present run by concessionaries.

The Congress considers that all efforts towards socialisation should aim at a total transformation of present methods of administration, whether bureaucratic or capitalistic.

To achieve this aim socialised transport enterprises should be run by representatives of the workers, technicians and users, under the control of the State, and through independent bodies enjoying complete financial and administrative autonomy.

Whereas the socialisation of the means of transport will not have been completely brought about until the workers have the guarantees to which they are entitled in equity and justice, the Congress affirms the necessity of following up the efforts already started in most countries to institute and develop workers control, which should in the first place be exercised in regard to the observance of trade union agreements, terms of engagement, wages, working hours, discipline, penalties, and the enforcement of social legislation.

To facilitate the drafting of concrete schemes which should be laid down and adapted to the peculiar conditions obtaining in each country, the Executive Committee of the I. T. F. should secure, through the intermedium of the national organizations and the International Labour Office, all necessary information relative to the organization of transport; working conditions on the railways, in the mercantile marine, and in the ports; and methods of exercising workers' control; as well as reports, memoranda and miscellaneous publications bearing on the problems of socialisation.

Gill (British Railway Clerks' Association) challenged a passage in the report which stated that the railwaymen were represented on the Board of Directors of the British railways, and suggested that the assumption of its correctness might possibly account for a good deal of *Bidegaray's* optimism.

Bidegaray (French Railwaymen) replied that if the statement was incorrect the fault lay with the organizations that had not responded to the request for information.

(Bidegaray's Report and the associated resolution were then adopted.)

Headquarters of the International Transportworkers' Federation.

On the proposal of the Executive Committee the Congress decided that the headquarters of the International should remain in Amsterdam.

Selection of Countries from among the representatives of which the Members of the General Council and Executive Committee shall be chosen.

On the proposal of the Executive Committee the Congress decided to maintain the existing grouping of countries and the respective number of their seats on the General Council, while empowering the General Council to co-opt a representative for the extra-European countries should the affiliation of a large number of organizations in such countries render it desirable.

Executive Committee Resolution on the International Situation.

Williams (President) : The day before yesterday the Executive Committee was instructed to draft a resolution on the International Situation. That is the resolution you have now before you. I would particularly request the delegates to confine themselves to that resolution in the debate that will no doubt follow, and not to bring up the question of Fimmen's report again. The Committee regards the report submitted by Fimmen as a personal expression of opinion by the Secretary, and holds that anyone asked to submit a report has the right to defend his own views. The members of the Executive Committee have been unable to express, on all points, their agreement with Fimmen's declarations, and their own opinion is embodied in the resolution which is before you, which has been adopted almost unanimously by the Executive Committee. The resolution reads as follows :

The Congress of the I. T. F. meeting in Hamburg and having under review the international situation brought about by the war, the Peace Treaties and the capitalist offensive, cannot avoid remarking the possible effects of the Report of the Financial Experts appointed to enquire into and report upon the capacity of Germany to fulfil the obligations imposed upon her under the reparation clauses of the Treaty of Versailles.

The Congress, realising fully the claims of France and Belgium for the restoration of their devastated areas, desires to point out the inevitable results of forcing upon Germany such reparation demands as will compel a further worsening of the conditions of the German proletariat and will threaten a departure from the eight hour day.

The Congress while recognising the efforts of the Labour Government of Great Britain, the Herriot Administration of France, and the Belgium Government to arrive at some formula to overcome the disastrous results of the Ruhr and Rhineland occupation ; and further realising the willingness of organised labour in Germany to agree to extreme concessions in order to secure the termination of the hated military regime established in the occupied territories ; makes the following observations upon the inevitable results of the application either in full, or in part, of the Report of the Financial Experts :—

- (1) Standing as we do for the Socialisation of the Means of Transport, we emphatically protest against the sinister proposals to denationalise the well-organised German State Railways under the control of alien capitalists.
- (2) We protest against the amounts to become payable by Germany year by year as being based on fantastic claims and on the false assumption that Germany alone was responsible for the outbreak and continuation of the War.
- (3) We realise that payment of the sums suggested by the Dawes' Report will provide reasons for German capitalists, closely allied and in cooperation with Allied capitalists, to demand the cancellation of the

eight hour day in Germany as the first step, afterwards extending to allied and neutral countries.

- (4) We are of the opinion that in countries the burden of paying for the cost of the war, should be placed upon those responsible for the war namely the capitalist, financier and landlord class.

We call upon transport workers to rouse themselves for the struggle against Fascism, Counter-revolution and Reaction in all countries, and appeal especially to those fractions which have broken away from their parent organisation in consequence of the propaganda conducted from Moscow, to establish unity with the organisations affiliated to the I. T. F.

Schumann (German Traffic Union) : The German delegation has asked me to give expression to its regrets that the limited duration of the Congress prevents the different organizations from defining their attitude towards Fimmen's statements, and the general tendency and conclusions of the report he has submitted. We submit to the inevitable, however, and will confine ourselves to the handing in of a declaration.

We regret, however, that Fimmen has neglected to do what one has a right to expect from anyone occupying one of the highest positions in an organization like ours. If Fimmen is of the opinion that a change of tactics is necessary, he should first of all have explained this necessity to the Executive Committee. Judging by his statements, Fimmen wants to put us in opposition to the German political and trade union movement. We reject any such attempt. In addition we are opposed to any attempt to change our tactics, as we believe there is no occasion to depart from our old principles. The fact that capitalism dominates the world will not force us to do so, as we know very well that this is only a stage in its development ; and we also know—and this is what Fimmen omits to mention—that the division which at present exists in the German trade union movement has largely helped to reduce the working class to impotence. Today the dangers have been to a large extent averted. It is not true that there is any present tendency to limit the scope of trade union activities. All this talk of class war to the knife is only words. The trade unions are waging the class war every day. As far as the Experts' Report is concerned, we declare that we accept it. It is an evil we cannot avoid. We are not of opinion that the present French and British governments are to be regarded as the bulwarks of the international bourgeoisie, and nothing more ; we are convinced that these governments are really trying to free the world. At any rate, we commend the attempts that are being made, and quite realize that the British government cannot afford to risk everything on a single throw. We also realize quite well that the best of political democracies is no substitute for economic democracy. We refuse, however, to be content with words and phrases. The solution we recommend is a concentration of forces

on national and international bases. We are in agreement with the resolution submitted, but would like to add at the end the words: "on the basis of our own time-honoured trade union principles".

To prevent any misunderstanding I repeat : we are by no means enchanted with the Dawes Plan, but we look upon it as an unavoidable evil. We know that it is full of dangers for us ; but we are nevertheless convinced that the co-operation of the working class is the best guarantee of the realization of our aims.

López (Argentine Railwaymen) : We have in our country thoroughly discussed the problem of reparations, and I should like to give expression to the conclusions we have reached. We are fully in agreement with the part of Fimmen's report which contains an exposition of this problem, and we are glad that this exposition has been made. If any one of the delegates does not agree, he would do well to put himself the question : "who is really responsible for the war?" I cannot imagine how the French trade unions can declare in favour of the payment of reparations by Germany, seeing that it is the German working class that will have to bear the burden ; and this cannot be to the advantage of the French workers. The fact that they are international socialists should alone be enough to make the French trade unionists hostile to such a solution of the reparations problem.

The Argentine delegation makes important reservations, however, with regard to the point of view developed by Fimmen with respect to Moscow. Our own experiences have not been such as to enable us to share Fimmen's hopes with regard to co-operation. The general opinion in the Argentine Republic is that Moscow's partisans are lacking in trustworthiness.

I take advantage of this opportunity to convey to you the greetings of the Argentine workers. I am happy to have the privilege of meeting here, for the first time, the representatives of the transport workers of other countries. You may rest assured that in the Argentine we are fighting towards the same goal which is the object of your own efforts.

Third Day.

Saturday 9 August 1924.

Afternoon Session.

Sardelli (Italian Tramwaymen) : Fimmen's Report should be judged not from the point of view of particular countries, but from the international point of view. Neither, however, should we regard it simply as a personal expression of opinion; we should rather look upon it as the Report of the Secretary of the International Transportworkers' Federation. I think it is the duty of the Secretary of the International Transportworkers' Federation to have an opinion, and equally his duty to express it. The passages in the report which deal with the Dawes Plan, and show what its practical effects are, seem to me to be particularly valuable. It must be recognized, unfortunately, that the bourgeoisie has succeeded in placing the burden of the war on to the shoulders of the working class. Comrade Jouhau in his speech unwittingly supported Fimmen when he declared that the London Conference had been made possible by the power of the working class. If this is the case, and if the working class has such power and influence, it should be able to impose some kind of solution other than the Dawes Report.

Williams (President) : All the speakers seem to be talking about Fimmen's Report, whereas it is the Executive Committee's resolution that is under discussion. I must ask delegates to confine their attention to the resolution.

Somers (Belgian Transport Workers) : The resolution submitted does not satisfy us. It represents the conclusions of Fimmen's Report. We see in it an attempt to introduce a new policy for the International Transportworkers' Federation, and therefore we must reject it. We are submitting to the Congress another resolution, which reads as follows :—

"Having thoroughly studied the international situation, the Congress of the International Transportworkers' Federation at Hamburg decides to support energetically, and in co-operation with the International Federation of Trade Unions, all efforts tending to world peace.

The Congress expressly and unanimously declares that it will not suffer any solution of the problem of reparations to injure the working conditions of the German workers ; and urgently calls upon the transport workers of the world to affiliate to the International Transportworkers' Federation, on the basis of the old traditions, with a view to attaining this aim at the earliest possible moment."

I ask that that resolution be put to the vote.

Le Guen (French Railwaymen) : The resolution submitted by the Executive Committee satisfies nobody. The international situation has been considered very many times since the war ended, particularly by the International Federation of Trade Unions. The International Federation of Trade Unions is the organization to deal with that question, and it is inadmissible that the International Transportworkers' Federation should express an opinion independently. The International Transportworkers' Federation should be a complement of the International Federation of Trade Unions, and when the latter pronounces in favour of a particular solution it is the duty of the International Transportworkers' Federation to defend it. We are quite in agreement with the addendum proposed by Schumann, but we should like to make a few other amendments as well. We wish to amend the second paragraph, after the words "devastated areas", to read as follows :—

" German and international capitalism should not be permitted to take advantage of the reparations problem to worsen the working conditions of the German working class or to endeavour to abolish the eight hour day."

Delegates will see that this is merely an alteration of the wording.

As a second amendment we wish to delete the passage :—

"We protest against the amounts to become payable by Germany year by year as being based on fantastic claims and the false assumption that Germany alone was responsible for the outbreak and continuation of the War."

and to substitute the following :—

"The Congress protests against the too considerable financial burdens that might be imposed upon Germany. It thinks it advisable to point out that, according to the decisions of the International Federation of Trade Unions, pensions should be excluded from reparations debts, and the problem of inter-allied debts should be bound up with that of fixing the total amount of reparations, because they are only different aspects of the same problem."

Scheffel (German Railwaymen) : The German delegation recognizes that the statements of the speakers of other nationalities have been inspired by feelings of brotherhood and solicitude for the German working class. It is inadmissible, however, that the

Congress should come to decisions differing absolutely from decisions come to by the International Federation of Trade Unions on the same questions. The problem is one which interests all workers without exception, and not only the railwaymen and transport workers. Anyone would think that in the opinion of the Congress the German workers are overjoyed at the adoption of the Experts' Report. We know perfectly well what it means for the German workers as well as for those in other countries. We know that we shall have to fight desperately for an equitable apportionment of the burden provided for. We also know how difficult it will make it for us to win back the eight hour day and to get other social improvements. But all this notwithstanding, we railwaymen cannot support the point of view of those who would reject the Report, even though we know that it means that for many decades the German railways will be handed over to international capital. Neither do we hide from ourselves the fact that it means strengthening the power of capitalism ; but the question is whether we can afford to refuse. Accept or die—those are the alternatives we are offered. If this Congress decides for refusal we shall be putting a terrible weapon into the hands of the Nationalists. It would be quite another thing if the International Transportworkers' Federation could make concrete proposals as to what is to be done if we do refuse. But nobody is able to do that. We want the International Transportworkers' Federation to follow a policy of cool reason and common sense, and to work in conjunction with the International Federation of Trade Unions to further the forward march of the working class.

Cramp (British National Union of Railwaymen) : I should like the Congress to accept the resolution of the Executive Committee as it stands. It is quite unnecessary to state expressly that we are in agreement with the International Federation of Trade Unions, because that is not a matter about which any doubt exists. Scheffel has just pointed out what consequences the adoption and carrying into effect of the Dawes Plan will have for the German working class. If what he says is true we have every reason to protest, because the danger of similar steps being taken in other countries is not by any means absent. I cannot accept the amendment proposed by Schumann. Every day we are being forced to change our methods, and it is quite impossible for us to allow ourselves to be bound to traditions in matters of trade union tactics. I think that the French and the Belgians should also be in agreement with the text of the resolution. In defining our attitude towards Moscow we must draw a clear line of distinction between the Russian workers and those who are the paid agents of the Communist International.

Bromley (British Locomotive Engineers and Firemen) : I think it is a great mistake to be always running down the Communists. I have a great many of them in my union, as much as 20% or 25%

of the membership perhaps, and I can tell you that I have found them very valuable allies when it comes to fighting. They may perhaps occasionally criticize the Committee, but when the Committee calls for their help it can always count upon them. I also want the resolution to be adopted without amendment. We do not want to waste our time drafting resolutions against the Communists. If we want to be an International in the real sense of the word we cannot afford to keep out the left.

Lindley (Swedish Transport Workers) : I support the resolution which is before us, although I cannot see any objection to incorporating the amendment proposed by our German comrades. I am sorry that we are wasting so much valuable time discussing such a point. The Scandinavian delegation is not in agreement with everything Fimmen has said, but that is no reason for talking about it the whole day long. As far as the amendments submitted by the French and Belgian delegations are concerned, I cannot see that they are justified in any way.

Williams (President) : In view of the work we still have before us, I am obliged again to ask delegates to limit the discussion to what is strictly necessary. Fimmen, who had put himself down to speak, has withdrawn his name for this reason.

Fladeby (Norwegian Transport Workers) : In view of what comrade Lindley has said, I want to make it clear that the Norwegian delegation does not support in any way the criticisms levelled against Fimmen, and particularly objects to any personal attack. The trade unions in Norway are of opinion that all transport workers, whether reformists or communists, should be admitted into the International. We are in favour of the resolution as it stands, and we agree with Cramp in rejecting Schumann's amendment.

Schumann (German Transport Workers) : I quite understand the difficulties which the Bureau of the Congress has to meet. The German delegation merely wishes to say that in principle they are in agreement with the amendments put forward by the French, as they are not contradictory to the resolution of the Executive Committee. We even rather prefer the French reading of the second paragraph to that of the Executive Committee, but to cut the discussion as short as possible, and in deference to the wish of the Chair, we will not insist on our amendment. I would beg our French and Belgian comrades to take the same course. As we are essentially of the same opinion it should not be difficult for us to adopt similar attitudes towards the resolution.

Bidegaray (French Railwaymen) : The French delegates cannot accept the resolution. The reparations question is an exceedingly important one for France. I would like to remind you that France

was mainly the scene of the War ; that among others 19,000 French workers' houses have been destroyed, while Germany and Great Britain were spared all this devastation. The International Federation of Trade Unions has expressly recognized the right of France and Belgium to the reconstruction of their devastated areas. The French unions have always practised international solidarity. I will only remind you that they opposed, to the extent of their power, the occupation of the Ruhr. Twenty thousand railwaymen refused service on the lines of the French Régie. The resolution we have before us comes from Fimmen, and not from the Executive Committee. If Fimmen had submitted his report to the Executive Committee prior to the Congress we should have been spared all this discussion. I propose the appointment of a Committee to examine the resolution and the amendments submitted, and to draft a new resolution. If this is not done, then the French delegation will have to vote against the resolution.

Williams (President) : Bidegaray has stated that the resolution emanates from Fimmen. I positively state that this is not the case, and that Fimmen has not even helped to draft it.

Cotter (British National Transport Workers' Federation) : When I heard Bidegaray I thought I was listening to Poincaré. The war ended in 1918, and I think it is about time we forgot the past. If, however, our French comrades insist on harping upon the suffering the war caused to them, I should like to inform them that the suffering of the British workers has been no whit less. For years now we have had two million unemployed with us. The housing crisis has reached fearful proportions. Taxes are crushing the working class. One of the reasons, and not the least, for this heavy burden is that Great Britain has to pay a million pounds sterling a day in interest on loans granted to France, and upon which up to date France has not paid us a penny in interest. All the countries that took part suffered equally in the War, and it should not be necessary to talk about it. Williams has definitely told us that the resolution was drawn up by the Executive Committee, and not by Fimmen. If Bidegaray believes otherwise, I can tell him that I would rather accept the President's statement than Bidegaray's. I think it is about time we got down to the practical work we shall have to do in the sectional conferences, and I therefore propose that the question be now put.

Ben Tillett (British Transport and General Workers' Union) : I should also like to say a few words in reply to the French delegate. It would be much better if the French delegates had not always so much to say about their devastated areas, because the British workers also had sufferings in consequence of the war. The unemployment and the housing shortage which are causing so much

misery in our country are the direct consequence of the war. The crushing financial burdens are also nothing but consequences of the war. In spite of this, however, the British workers are opposed to France being required to pay the interest or the principal of the money that has been loaned to her by Great Britain. The German workers have declared very definitely that they are willing to work for the reconstruction of the devastated areas of France, and this declaration in itself should be a reason for the French delegates to abandon opposition to them. All this reparations problem is in the ultimate analysis nothing but a capitalist manoeuvre. The French working class will get nothing out of the reparations imposed upon Germany. They will get nothing, and for this the German working class must pay. Let us beware how we awaken the spirit of vengeance. I am for adoption of the resolution in the form in which it has been submitted by the Executive Committee. It is exceedingly moderate in its wording.

The resolution was then put to the vote ; there being 1,780,384 votes for the resolution, 52,000 against, and 263,014 abstentions.

The following voted against the resolution : La Confraternidad Ferroviaria (Argentine Railwaymen) ; Sindicato Nacional de la Industria Ferroviaria (Spanish Railwaymen) ; La Velocidad (Spanish Chauffeurs).

The following abstained from voting : Centrale Belge du Personnel des Tramways et Vicinaux (Belgian Tramwaymen) ; Syndicat National du Personnel des Chemins de Fer de Belgique (Belgian Railwaymen) ; Union Belge des Ouvriers du Transport (Belgian Transport Workers) ; Fédération Nationale des Ports, Docks, Transport et Manutentionnaires (French Dockers) ; Fédération Nationale des Syndicats Maritimes (French Seamen) ; Fédération Nationale des Travailleurs des Chemins de Fer (French Railwaymen) ; Fédération Nationale des Moyens de Transport (French Transport Workers) ; Nederlandsche Vereeniging van Spoor- en Tramwegpersoneel (Dutch Railwaymen and Tramwaymen) ; Latvijas Dzelceļnieku Saveeniba (Latvian Railwaymen) ; Fédération Nationale des Cheminots Luxembourgeois (Luxemburg Railwaymen) ; Fédération des Cheminots de Pologne (Polish Railwaymen) ; Roumanian Dockers and Carters.

Fourth Day.

Sunday 10 August 1924.

It had been previously decided to devote the whole of this day to sectional discussions. The Congress therefore divided up into the following Special Conferences :

- Railwaymen's Conference. Chairman : Bidegaray.
 - Seamen's Conference. Chairman : Döring.
 - Motor Drivers' Conference. Chairman : Lindley.
 - Inland Waterways Conference. Chairman : Mahlman.
 - Dockers' Conference. Chairman : Williams.
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Fifth Day.

Tuesday 12 August 1924.

Election of the General Council.

Williams (President) : The following nominations have been handed to the Bureau of the Congress :

Germany :	<i>J. Döring</i> for the Transport Workers ; <i>H. Jochade</i> for the Railwaymen.
Great Britain and Ireland :	<i>C. T. Cramp</i> for the Railwaymen ; <i>R. Williams</i> for the Transport Workers.
France and Luxemburg :	<i>M. Bidegaray</i> .
Belgium and Holland :	<i>C. Mahlman</i> .
Austria, Hungary and Switzerland :	<i>A. Forstner</i> .
Italy :	<i>G. Sardelli</i> .
Spain, Portugal and South America :	<i>T. Gómez</i> .
Scandinavia :	<i>C. Lindley</i> .

As no other nominations have been handed in for these groups of countries, the delegates whose names I have read out may be regarded as elected. This is not the case for the Poland and Czechoslovakia group, however. The Czechoslovakian organizations have nominated *W. Brodečky*, the retiring member, while the Polish representatives have nominated *Maxamin*. The Congress will therefore have to make its choice between these two.

Forstner (Austrian Transport Workers) : It seems to me that it would be better that the Congress should not intervene in the dispute between the Polish and Czechoslovakian delegates. I move that we defer the election of their representative until they have come to an agreement.

Williams (President) : The Bureau of the Congress also deems it better to defer the election until the delegates concerned have agreed among themselves. I would therefore ask the Czech and Polish representatives to meet again and try to come to an agreement. In the meantime I will give *Le Guen* an opportunity to make a declaration.

Le Guen (French Railwaymen) : On behalf of the delegates from France, Spain, Argentine Republic, Belgium, Roumania and Luxemburg I have to make the following declaration :—

Declaration with regard to the Resolution on the International Situation.

The undersigned organizations declare that their attitude during the voting on the resolution which ended the discussion on the international situation was due to the fact that the resolution in question is regarded as contrary to all the resolutions on the same subject unanimously adopted by all the trade union and political congresses of the internationally organized working class.

The undersigned organizations, anxious for working class unity and careful for trade union discipline, have refused to accept a point of view opposed to that adopted by their national central trade union bodies, their membership of which takes precedence over that of the I. T. F.

The undersigned organizations declare that they will continue to act in the future, as they have acted in the past, in agreement with the International as a whole, against all tyranny and injustice, whatsoever their source, against all capitalist oppression, even when it takes a political colour, and for the establishment of real peace and the emancipation of the proletariat of all countries.

France : P. le Guen.

Spain : T. Gómez.

Argentina : E. López.

Belgium : P. Somers.

Roumania : J. Maglasie.

Luxemburg : P. le Guen.

Williams (President) : The resolution on the international situation was adopted by an overwhelming majority after the delegates had fully understood what it meant. For this reason the Congress cannot accept the declaration which has just been read. I am not going to discuss its contents, and will confine myself to affirming that the resolution we have adopted only confirms previous decisions. The statement that its standpoint is in opposition to the attitude of the national trade union centres is also untrue. In England, I may say, the national centre supports a point of view identical with that outlined in the resolution we have adopted. I also protest against a small minority asserting a right to protest against a decision come to by an overwhelming majority, and endeavouring to reopen a discussion which has already been closed.

Le Guen (French Railwaymen) : Our intentions have not been in any way those attributed to us by the President. Our declaration is not intended as a protest, and we do not wish to reopen the debate. We only wished to express our regret that it has not been possible to reach a unanimous decision on so important a matter.

Williams (President) : We will now hear the reports from the Special Conferences of the different sections.

The Secretary, Edo Fimmen, then read the report on the Seamen's Conference. As this, together with the other reports of the sectional conferences, is reprinted as an appendix, we only give below the resolutions submitted by the sectional conferences to the full session of the Congress.

Resolution on the Eight Hour Day, submitted by the Seamen's Conference.

In view of the fact that the eight hour day or forty-eight hour week figures in Part XIII of the Treaty of Versailles ; that seamen of all classes and ratings have the same right to decent conditions as land workers ; and that the general introduction of the eight hour day or forty eight hour week on vessels of the contracting countries cannot be regarded as a burden upon the shipowners ; the representatives of the Seamen, meeting at Hamburg from 4 to 12 August 1924, under the auspices of the I. T. F., decide and undertake to demand from their respective Governments the enforcement of the eight hour day, and to make every effort and use every means at their disposal to create around this question such an atmosphere as will lead to its prompt and international realization.

Resolutions submitted by the Dockers' Conference.

The report on the Dockers' Conference was read by *Robert Williams*, who submitted the following resolutions :

Advisory Council.

The Congress of the I. T. F. meeting in Hamburg instructs the Executive Committee to set up an Advisory Council which shall cooperate with the Bureau in order to deal with dockers' and waterside workers' questions. The Advisory Council shall in conjunction with the Bureau take all steps necessary to improve the wages and economic status of Dockers and Waterside Workers.

The representatives appointed by the various countries shall receive their expenses from the countries which appoint them.

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Dockers' Programme.

(1) This Congress of the I. T. F. declares in favour of a standard living wage upon a weekly basis for Dockers and Waterside Workers, who have suffered too long from the evils of casual employment. Wages in all countries should be such as to assure a full family life with educational opportunities for children and adequate housing accommodation.

Registration schemes should be established to protect the Dockers from the overflow of labour from other occupations, and the Dock Workers registering for employment should be guaranteed a maintenance wage when work is not available.

(2) The Congress further declares in favour of the adoption by the various Governments of all possible preventive measures against accidents and industrial diseases arising from the handling of certain cargoes, viz. skins, hides, lead and spelter ores, pitch, etc.

Where, however, accidents do take place the incapacitated workers should receive compensation equal to their wages and be safeguarded from the exploitation of private insurance companies.

Measures shall also be adopted to secure proper sanitary and hygienic conditions, first aid and ambulance arrangements around and about all docks, wharves and ports where dockers are employed.

(3) The Congress declares further that the maximum weight of bags, packages, cases etc. to be carried by single dockers and other transport workers shall not exceed 75 kilogrammes, and urgently calls upon the dockers themselves, under piecework or time work, to refuse to carry and handle excessive weights calculated to bring about serious bodily injury.

In order to give effect to the foregoing the Congress instructs the Bureau, in conjunction with the Advisory Council referred to in the Resolution (1), to request the active and immediate co-operation of the I. L. O. so as to give effect to the demands of the Dockers' organisations affiliated to the I. T. F.

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Handling of Cargo by Seamen.

The Congress declares that the handling of cargo by seamen and inland waterway workers when in port is for many reasons inadmissible; calls upon dockers' groups and organisations to make every effort to secure the incorporation, in their agreements, of stipulations providing that the employers shall not cause port work to be done by seamen; notes with satisfaction the efforts of the seamen's groups to secure the abolition of legal and contractual stipulations obliging the seamen to perform dockers' work; and decides to lend its full support in this direction.

Resolution submitted by the Motor Drivers' Conference.

The report on the Motor Drivers' Conference was read by *Charles Lindley, who submitted the following resolution:—*

The Special Conference of motor drivers is unanimously of opinion that the motor drivers' group will in the future develop into an important part of the Transport Workers' Section of the I. T. F.

In view of the importance of this group the conference requests the I. T. F. Congress to instruct the General Council to institute as soon as possible a special subsection for the motor drivers.

The Conference also proposes that the I. T. F. shall recognize the special interests of the motor drivers by devoting adequate space in the News Letter to the publication and discussion of Acts relating to motor traffic in the different countries.

With a view to the very necessary internationalization of motor traffic legislation it is desirable that the I. T. F. lay down for the use of affiliated organizations a uniform programme embodying the following items :—

- (1) State or municipal schools for motor drivers.
- (2) Minimum age of 21 years for motor drivers.
- (3) Compulsory insurance of professional motor drivers by employers.
- (4) Inclusion, in Acts relating to motor transport, of provision for specified rest periods for professional motor drivers.
- (5) Safeguarding of motor drivers' rights during occasional periods spent abroad in the course of their work.
- (6) a) Provision of internationally recognized warning signs at dangerous spots on all roads.
b) Improvement of prescriptions relating to international distinguishing marks for motor vehicles, as well as signals and lights.

The conference calls upon the General Council of the I. T. F. to convene as soon as possible a further conference of representatives of all affiliated organizations catering for chauffeurs and motor drivers, for the purpose of formulating more definitely the above points, as well as any others that may be deemed advisable ; such conference also to consider the question of an international badge and identification card.

Resolutions submitted by the Railwaymen's Conference.

H. Jochade reported on the Railwaymen's Conference. He stated that the Conference had had insufficient time to deal with the many items on the agenda, and had therefore expressed the hope that the General Council would call a further Railwaymen's Conference, in the early part of 1925, to deal, among other things, with (a) the Eight Hour Day ; (b) Freedom of association ; (c) Work to rule ; (d) Electrification ; (e) Safety ; (f) Motor transport. He submitted the following resolutions :—

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Right of Combination and Assembly for Railwaymen.

The International Congress of the I. T. F. observes that in certain countries the Railwaymen do not enjoy, in the same measure as their fellow-workers in other industries, right and freedom of combination and assembly. The Congress considers that it is the duty of the International Transportworkers' Federation to render every possible assistance to the Railwaymen's unions in all countries in their struggle to secure parity of rights with other workers.

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Support for Oriental Labour Movement.

In view of the economic development of the Orient and the ever increasing expansion of certain traffic undertakings, the Railwaymen's Conference of the I. T. F. deems it necessary that the European trade unions

should whenever possible assist and declare their solidarity with the workers of the East.

The Conference requests the Bureau to examine the possibility of establishing a special secretariat for the expansion of the I. T. F. in the countries of the East, for strengthening the labour movement in those countries and for fostering its class-consciousness.

The Conference calls upon the trade unions of the great European countries to assist the oriental workers, particularly in the colonies of their countries, and instructs the Executive to support with all available means the struggle of the oriental workers to improve existing social legislation or to have such legislation introduced in those countries—for example Palestine—where it does not already exist, and to promote the recognition of the railwaymen's trade unions.

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I. T. F. Publications.

This Railwaymen's Conference, believing that as wide a distribution as possible of the publications of the I. T. F. relating to the activities of the International and working conditions in different countries would help to promote international feeling among the members of affiliated organisations, and to strengthen the position of each organisation in its own country when conducting negotiations, by giving it a better grasp of the position in other countries, calls upon affiliated organisations to encourage subscriptions to the News Letter and to undertake the distribution of other publications of the I. T. F.

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Information Service.

This Railwaymen's Conference, realizing the paramount importance of a well-organized international information service, especially for the railwaymen; congratulates the Secretariat on what has already been done in this direction; declares that it is the duty of affiliated organisations to assist the Secretariat in every way to extend this service; and urges all organisations to reply always and as promptly as possible to all requests for information, and to appoint, if they have not already done so, a member of their National Committee who is able to act as correspondent and to undertake to furnish regularly and promptly reports suitable for publication in the News Letter or in the Press Report of the I. T. F.

Resolutions submitted by the Inland Waterways Conference.

The report on the Inland Waterways Conference was read by *H. Rudolph*, who submitted the following resolutions:

International Labour Conventions.

This fourth Congress of the I. T. F. declares that the Conventions of the International Labour Conferences of Washington and Genoa, in so far

as they relate to inland waterway workers, have not yet been put into force.

The Congress therefore calls upon the International Labour Office to work for the enforcement of these provisions by the signatory governments.

The Congress calls upon the International Labour Office to convene an international conference for the inland waterway workers. In this connection it would appear to be necessary to ascertain what are the existing wages and working conditions, and legal provisions with regard to insurance against illness, incapacitation, superannuation, accident compensation, labour protection, sanitation, etc., for this group of workers. The Congress therefore also calls upon the I. L. O. to undertake an enquiry into the situation in this respect in different countries, and to submit the results to the conference aforementioned.

In view of the fact that in several countries Bills are being drafted to regulate conditions in water transport, the Congress calls upon the I. L. O. to use its influence with the different governments to ensure that such Bills shall not contain provisions contradictory to the Washington and Genoa decisions.

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Enquiry into Working Conditions.

The 4th Congress of the I. T. F. requests the Executive Committee to invite the more important organisations to prepare as soon as possible a detailed statement of working conditions on the inland waterways, and to send same to the E. C.

This statement should particularly bear on:—

- (1) Working hours on loading and discharging work ;
- (2) Rest at night ;
- (3) Sunday rest ;
- (4) Manning scale ;
- (5) Handling of cargo ;
- (6) Social legislation and protection of labour.

The Congress considers that it is the duty of affiliated organisations to convene special conferences for the workers on the inland waterway systems. The statements above mentioned should be submitted to these conferences, and decisions taken accordingly that will facilitate the securing of as much uniformity as possible in the working conditions of the workers on the different inland waterway systems, and support National Trade Union Centres in the matter of social legislation, with special reference to the inland waterway workers.

The Congress recommends the most important organisations on certain inland waterway systems to come to an agreement with the other organisations and to call conferences, if necessary.

All the above resolutions submitted by the sectional conferences were adopted unanimously.

Comrade Nase was given leave to speak on the report of the Railwaymen's conference.

Nase (German Transport Workers of Czechoslovakia) : All questions leading to railwaymen and tramwaymen have up to now been discussed jointly. This has acted to the detriment of the tramwaymen. It is therefore necessary that the tramwaymen should have their own special conference on the occasion of the next Congress. Among the many things that will have to be dealt with I need only mention the question of the one-man-car, which is becoming more serious every day. Next month the tramway companies' international will meet, and will deal with this question.

Attempts to introduce these cars on a general scale are becoming all too frequent, both on municipal and private lines.

Therefore the tramwaymen's unions wish that material on the subject be collected, so that they may be able to put up a proper face to the employers.

Williams (President) : I do not think that there is any justification for the reproach that the International Transportworkers' Federation is neglecting tramwaymen's questions. A reference to our publications will show that these questions are receiving all due attention. A glance at the last number of the *News Letter*; for instance, will show that the Secretariat is closely following up the one-man-car question. There is, however, no objection to the tramwaymen having special conferences if they so desire.

Election of the General Council (resumption).

Döring (German Transport Workers) : We have suggested to the Czechs that they should give up their seat on the General Council to the Poles, but they have refused. On the other hand they have expressed their willingness to let the Poles appoint a substitute member of the General Council, and to bear half of the cost; but this the Poles refuse. It has therefore not been possible to arrive at an agreement, and I would suggest that as Congress cannot find a solution, the seat on the Council be left vacant until they can come to an agreement, or until next Congress, when a new grouping of the countries might be decided upon.

Williams (President) : Congress is the supreme authority in the International Transportworkers' Federation, and it is one of its functions to elect the General Council. We cannot leave it to the different countries to decide whether they will elect their representatives or not. I therefore propose that Congress shall vote on the two candidates nominated.

Grünzner (German Railwaymen in Czechoslovakia) : As the decision is to be left to the Congress, I am asked to declare that the

German transport workers' and railwaymen's unions in Czechoslovakia are not parties to the dispute. In principle we are in favour of alternating nationalities. The representatives of our two organizations will abstain from voting.

* * *

On the question being put 862,238 votes were cast for Brodečky and 630,140 for Maxamin ; Brodečky being therefore elected representative for Poland and Czechoslovakia. Three organizations abstained from voting. The delegates from several other organizations had already left Hamburg without appointing proxies.

Election of Secretaries.

Williams (President) : The Executive Committee proposes that Fimmen be elected General Secretary, and Nathans Assistant Secretary. As you know, so far Fimmen has not been appointed in a permanent capacity, as at the time of the last elections he was secretary of the International Federation of Trade Unions. Since that time he has resigned the secretaryship of the International Federation of Trade Unions. At just about the time that this took place we held the Seamen's Conference which was to appoint the Seamen's Secretary. I had originally been nominated for the position, but I withdrew my name when Fimmen's was put forward, as I considered him better qualified for the job. At present, therefore, Fimmen is permanent secretary of the Seamen's Section and Honorary Secretary of the I. T. F. That is a situation which cannot be allowed to continue, and Congress will have to come to some decision in the matter. On behalf of the Executive Committee I therefore move that Fimmen be elected General Secretary and Nathans Assistant Secretary. Nathans will at the same time act as secretary of the Railwaymen's Section.

Now as regards the criticisms levelled by some of the delegates against Fimmen, we have no right, of course, to prevent anybody from expressing his opinion. We have a right, however, to expect of a permanently appointed and paid secretary that he shall co-operate with the Executive Committee and General Council in such a way that friction shall not arise. I do not want to go into details, but I may say that the General Council will immediately meet and discuss this question. The International Transportworkers' Federation has important work before it, and we have a right to demand that our members shall direct all their efforts towards the realization of our aims and the accomplishment of our task.

Scheffel (German Railwaymen) : On behalf of the delegates of the German Traffic Union and the German Railwaymen's Union I wish to make a declaration, which need only be a brief one after what our President has said. We have criticised Fimmen's attitude, but our criticism has been based on purely objective considerations.

We have nothing against Fimmen as a person. We fully appreciate his good qualities, but we wish that in so far as he is secretary of the International Transportworkers' Federation he shall carry out his duties in perfect agreement with the Executive Committee. It is therefore necessary that in certain circumstances he shall be prepared to curb his imperious desire for action. This desire for action is always inspired by good intentions, but unfortunately it sometimes leads to evil results. I do not wish to dwell on his brilliant qualities, any more than on his weaknesses ; I will just state that the German delegation also proposes the re-election of Fimmen and Nathans, and asks the Congress to vote for them. But occurrences like that at Berlin must not be repeated. When dealing with questions of principle absolute agreement between the Secretary and the Committee is essential. Only thus can the International Transportworkers' Federation be sure of accomplishing its task.

Chachuat (French Seamen) : In making the declaration you have just heard, the German delegation has made my task a considerably easier one. The French delegation also thinks it necessary to make a declaration on the occasion of the election of the secretary, and particularly of Fimmen ; and this declaration coincides in all points with the views expressed by the German delegation. I have only to add a wish that Fimmen will make a statement on this subject. I hope that Fimmen will be able to satisfy this wish, and that Congress, on the basis of this statement, will unanimously elect him General Secretary, in the interest not only of the seamen, but of the working class as a whole, and the International Transportworkers' Federation in particular.

Moltmaker (Dutch Railwaymen) : I wish to say that I am in agreement with the declarations of Williams and Scheffel. If I have asked to be allowed to speak, however, it was merely to put forward again a proposal already made to the Executive Committee : that Nathans be elected with Fimmen as joint secretary with equal powers. I submit that motion to the Congress.

Fimmen (Secretary) : I quite understand that the election of the General Secretary cannot and should not take place until the person in question, who has been responsible for the management hitherto, and who has therefore been subjected to some criticism, has had a word or two to say himself. Several things have been said about me personally, and it would appear that while there is a desire to keep me as Secretary of the International Transportworkers' Federation, there is also a wish that I should confine my activities to prescribed limits. My views on the political and economic development of the past two years have led me to follow tactics which differ from those which the majority of trade-unionists have considered, and still consider, opportune. I think that is a right that

I should not and cannot forego. The last few years have seen me at the head of the international movement. I have worked for the International, and I think that, thanks to certain abilities that nature has endowed me with, I have been able to contribute to the development of the international movement. These abilities are an integral part of my personality. Now what is objected to, and perhaps rightly, is also a part of my personality. One comrade has called me a stormy petrel—perhaps too poetical a description. But in any case I have not the soul of a bureaucrat, and it is difficult for me always to adapt my opinions to my job. I admit that during the course of the past two years I may occasionally have gone a little too fast. I may say right away that in future I will make every possible effort to find the correct line of demarcation between my personality and my position. I cannot do more than promise that I will try to keep this line of demarcation intact. Knowing myself, I know that the effort will sometimes be beyond me. You know my opinions: they are as dear to me as his own are to any other person. If you want me to do my duty, to be what I am and what you want me to be, someone with a little initiative and a desire to do something, then you must not clip my wings. Of course if a majority comes to a decision I must submit to it. Perhaps I have not always done this lately, but—I repeat—I will do my best in this respect. But I must keep the right to express my own opinions, and to defend them, even though I am taken for a communist or a bolshevik. My opinions and my actions appear to have created an atmosphere of distrust around my person. Questions are asked about my intentions, and it is even suggested that I want to hand all our organizations over to Moscow. If you think that, then you had better not elect me. I can do nothing without the confidence of the unions.

These are my views. From the point of view of organization I think our present position is the only proper one. It is true I think there is room for criticism in many respects. I think that we should be more prone to keep to the left, and that is why I have considered the criticism of certain unaffiliated organizations as in some respects well-founded. But today as formerly I hold the opinion that it is necessary to bring about unity to make it possible for our organization properly to accomplish its work on behalf of the workers. I am working to this end, and you must allow me this freedom if you want to re-elect me as secretary. I should be happy if you do, but I cannot do without your trust.

Allow me to say just a few more words. Not that I think that any permission is necessary, but just to prevent any misunderstanding. For a long time past I have been feeling the need of getting a proper grasp of the position in Russia. I want to see with my own eyes, at my own expense, and in my own time. That is a right I have. You could not deny me the right to spend my holidays

where I wish, and I can therefore spend them in Russia. As I have said : if I have informed this Congress of my intention, it is for the purpose of preventing any misunderstanding.

I remain with our organization, because I think it is the only real one. On the other side there are only tendencies, but no organization. What I want, however, is that within certain limits these tendencies should see the light in our organization. I repeat—I will submit to the decisions of the Executive Committee, but I ask you to let me be myself, and not to try to make a eunuch of me.

I hope that nobody will vote for me for personal reasons. If I am to be elected it must be because I deserve your confidence, and because I possess the energy and abilities required to guide the destinies of the International Transportworkers' Federation.

Williams (President) : The Scandinavian delegation has asked me to tell you that they are in agreement with Scheffel's declaration. We will now vote on the election of the secretaries.

Edo Fimmen was thereupon unanimously elected General Secretary, and *Nathans* Assistant secretary.

Election of Executive Committee.

A proposal to re-elect the retiring Executive Committee, subject to the substitution of Forstner for Tomschik, was adopted.

Selection of Country in which next Congress is to be held.

Bidegaray (French Railwaymen) : The French delegation moves that the next Congress be held in France. The town could be decided later, but the choice would probably fall on Paris. (*Agreed*)

Closure of Congress.

Williams (President) : We have come to the end of the Congress. I feel sure that I speak on behalf of all the delegates in thanking our German comrades for the excellent arrangements made for the Congress, as well as for their cordial hospitality. I also wish to thank the management of the *Gewerkschaftshaus* for putting their magnificent building at our disposal. The debate has sometimes been brisk, but I think I can state without fear of exaggeration that it has been marked by a spirit of fairness, and that our Congress has been a success. The Secretariat of the International Transportworkers' Federation has been entrusted with a great deal of new work, which will have to be undertaken as soon as possible. The Executive Committee will meet without delay to put in hand what has been decided upon. I think that the work we have done while the Congress has lasted will be of great importance for the

transport workers. Finally I wish to thank the delegates for the way in which they have helped to get the work of the Congress done smoothly.

Francén (Swedish Railwaymen) : The discussions at the Congress have covered a wide field, and have included many questions which only indirectly affect the transport workers. One of these which I particularly wish to recall is that relating to the United States of Europe. It is very regrettable that so many of the delegates are unable to take part directly in the discussions, owing to the fact that they do not understand the languages spoken. At all international congresses translations take up a great part of the time, though they often cannot adequately render the speeches. It would therefore be very useful if the working class would encourage to a greater extent the use of Esperanto at its congresses. Before we break up I should like the Congress of the I. T. F. to pronounce in favour of the adoption of Esperanto.

Moltmaker (Dutch Railwaymen) : As Esperanto has not yet been used in our Congresses, we have had to avail ourselves of the services of translators, for whose co-operation I should like to express my most cordial thanks.

Williams (President) : I declare the Congress closed.

Proceedings then ended with the singing of the Internationale.

**REPORTS
OF THE SPECIAL CONFERENCES**

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International Railwaymen's Conference

held at Hamburg, 10 August 1924.

Chairman : *Bidegaray* (France).

Conference Secretary : *Jochade* (Germany).

The questions for discussion were Proposals 11 to 19 annexed to the Agenda of the Congress, and submitted by the Secretariat in French, English, German, Spanish and Swedish. Before the discussion of these questions was started —

Moltmaker (Holland) proposed that another railwaymen's conference should be held in eight or ten months time, to deal adequately with important questions for which the present Conference had no time. This was particularly the case with proposals 18 and 19. He therefore proposed that a further conference be held later, and that the General Council be asked to arrange for this.

Bromley (Great Britain) disagreed. He considered that we should try to clear up the work on the agenda, and discuss all the resolutions submitted, so that a further conference should be unnecessary.

Bidegaray (Chairman) suggested that discussion of the proposals be started immediately, so that those the conference could deal with might be got out of the way. It would always be possible to discuss later whether a further conference were necessary.

Walkden (Great Britain) asked that delegates should deal as expeditiously as possible with all proposals which did not need discussing at great length.

Brodečky (Czechoslovakia) suggested that a further conference should be held to consider questions of general interest, such as denationalization, staff councils, workers' control, form of management, etc., and that the other questions be dealt with immediately.

The Conference agreed.

Bidegaray (Chairman) proposed that the Conference should first take the resolution of the Palestine Railwaymen, reading as follows:

In view of the economic development of the Orient and the ever increasing expansion of certain traffic undertakings, the Railwaymen's Conference of the I.T.F. deems it necessary that the European trade unions should whenever possible assist and declare their solidarity with the workers of the East.

The Conference requests the Bureau to examine the possibility of establishing a special secretariat for the expansion of the I.T.F. in the countries of the East, for strengthening the labour movement in those countries and for fostering its class-consciousness.

The Conference calls upon the trade unions of the great European countries to assist the oriental workers, particularly in the colonies of their countries, and instructs the Executive to support with all available means the struggle of the oriental workers to improve existing social legislation or to have such legislation introduced in those countries—for example Palestine—where it does not already exist, and to promote the recognition of the railwaymen's trade unions.

Goldin (Palestine) spoke on this proposal. He explained that there were three to four thousand railwaymen in his country. The situation in the East was not comparable with that existing in western countries. Racial antagonisms were added to the difficulties which new ideas always had to overcome in backward countries. The management of the railways had given him leave, without pay, thus enabling him to make the twelve day journey to Hamburg to get in touch with his colleagues in other countries. The resolution submitted, which had been read to the Conference, was of vital interest to the railwaymen in Palestine. It aims at the organization of the railwaymen in the East, not only in Palestine, but also in Egypt, Arabia, Syria, and wherever there are railways, with a view to bringing them into the fold of the I.T.F. Social legislation is non-existent in the East. In case of sickness a worker has no right to any allowance. As the region under discussion is practically entirely under British protection, he particularly appealed for the assistance of the British railwaymen in bringing pressure to bear on their government. If this were done it would not be long before the eastern countries enjoyed better conditions.

Marchbank (Great Britain): In general terms the British delegation is in sympathy with Goldin's statement, and it also favours an enquiry being made into the possibility of establishing a Secretariat for the eastern countries. The British railwaymen are prepared to give all the help they can.

Cramp (Great Britain): The British delegation is certainly willing to give its help to the Palestine railwaymen, in the sense of exerting its influence over Parliament. He also agreed with what

Marchbank had said, with the reservation that care be exercised over the financial side of the question, as new languages mean additional publications, which are always costly.

The resolution was then adopted for submission to the full Congress.

The proposal (No. 11) of the Yugoslavian Railwaymen dealing with the Right of Association and Meeting, and reading as follows, was then taken up.

Right of Combination and Assembly for Railwaymen.

The International Congress of the I.T.F. observes that in certain countries the Railwaymen do not enjoy, in the same measure as their fellow-workers in other industries, right and freedom of combination and assembly. The Congress considers that it is the duty of the International Transportworkers' Federation to render every possible assistance to the Railwaymen's unions in all countries in their struggle to secure parity of rights with other workers.

The resolution was adopted for submission to the full Congress.

Proposal No. 12, of the Swiss Railwaymen's Federation, asked the Congress to define its attitude on "work to rule" as a fighting method for railwaymen.

Bratschi (Switzerland) stated that the only object in submitting this proposal was to get information from comrades in other countries where "work to rule" had already been tried. In Switzerland all the main railways are State owned. Negotiations must therefore be with the Government, which has become distinctly reactionary of late years. Its reactionary measures are principally directed against the trade unions, and particularly the Railwaymen's Federation, as 90% of the staff of the Federal Railways belong to that organization. In a referendum in 1922 the Swiss people threw out a Bill directed against the staff. Recently the Government has made a new attempt by submitting a Bill dealing with the rights and conditions of the State employees. Article 13 of this Bill states that it applies to all associations which provide for strikes of civil servants. Article 22 reads: "(1) Officials are forbidden to strike, or to incite other officials to do so. (2) Associations or co-operative societies are forbidden to expel from membership or to cause economic injury to an official for having refused to participate in a strike. (3) All agreements, rules or regulations of associations or co-operatives, which conflict with this prohibition are null and void."

This Act, which forbids unions even to expel blacklegs, naturally makes strikes very difficult. It is therefore necessary to look for other methods of fighting. It would therefore be very useful to study the question of "work to rule", and to hear the opinion of comrades in other countries about this method of fighting. It is

naturally impossible to examine the question exhaustively at this Conference, but it is absolutely necessary for us to have information as to the extent to which work to rule has been used in certain cases, and the results obtained. This might be more fully discussed in a future conference.

Maxamin (Poland) reviewed the recent strike in his country. Three or four thousand railwaymen have been dismissed. The workers won the strike, but the Government, which had agreed to all the demands, failed to keep its word, and 600 railwaymen have been punished. The Polish railwaymen can no longer fight in the way they have done hitherto, and agree with the opinion of their Swiss comrades that work to rule is the only means left. It would be useful to draw up instructions for its application, and place them at the disposal of countries that wish to employ this method.

Nathans held that work to rule is one of the most important fighting methods for railwaymen. Its application, however, involves many difficulties to which a solution must be found. Some of the problems that arise in practice are these: Should work to rule be applied exclusively to goods traffic, or passenger traffic, or to both? What grades of the staff should take part, or should it be the whole staff? We must therefore undertake an enquiry which will provide the necessary material to serve as a basis for a full discussion of the question at a future conference. He stated that he had already secured a considerable amount of material, but it is still insufficient, and it is necessary to add to it by sending out questionnaires. He considered it waste of time to continue with the discussion at the moment. It might be continued at a future Conference.

The Conference agreed, and passed on to proposals 13 and 14; the first dealing with look-out boxes for brakemen on goods wagons, and the second with the necessity of electric heating on passenger vehicles used in international traffic.

Bratschi, of the Swiss Railwaymen's Federation, who had submitted the proposals, considered that they might be agreed to without further discussion. The Swiss climate is remarkable for its great differences in temperature, which are the causes of many maladies. It is therefore necessary that serious efforts be made to secure that only such goods wagons shall be accepted for international traffic as are provided with a closed cabin for the brakemen. The demand for electric heating for passenger vehicles is also well founded. At present a special vehicle with a heating installation, and provided with a fireman, is added. The fearful accident on the Bellinzona railway can be attributed to this practice. The electrification of railways is becoming more extensive every day, and the Swiss railwaymen therefore demand that all passenger vehicles accepted for international traffic should be equipped for electric heating.

Nathans proposed that an enquiry be undertaken into these two questions, the result to be submitted to the next conference.

Proposal No. 15 dealt with Automatic Coupling, and asked the General Council of the I. T. F. to make active endeavours to secure its introduction. It was submitted by the French and Swiss railwaymen's federations.

Nathans proposed that with regard to this question also a careful enquiry be undertaken in different countries, the results to be submitted to the next railwaymen's conference.

Moltmaker (Holland) recalled the decisions of several international congresses which dealt with this question. All these resolutions have proved to be quite useless, as we have not obtained what we wanted. The introduction of automatic coupling is above all a financial question. He had himself raised the matter in the Dutch Parliament, asking for the setting up of a Committee to study the problem. But this was not enough. It is a question that should be settled internationally, and it is therefore necessary to try and secure some influence in the international congresses of the railway managements. If this were not enough we might ask the International Labour Office to take up the question.

Bidegaray (France) : The French delegation agrees with *Moltmaker's* views. In France 12,000 vehicles have been equipped with automatic coupling as a trial, and its application to international transit will shortly take place. It will be seen, therefore, that the problem is of international rather than national character. We must do all we can to hasten the general introduction of the invention, even if only in the interest of the safety of the staff.

Sardelly (Italy) also favoured the reference of the question to the General Council, which could take steps to secure some influence over the International Railways Union. That is the proper way to solve technical problems like this.

Nathans stated that steps had already been taken in this direction, and information on the subject had been published in the News Letter. In a pamphlet he had written he had also mentioned it, and the text had been sent to the International Railways Union. After the trials at La Rochelle he had got into touch with the International Labour Office, while comrade Schürch, of Switzerland, had also made proposals to that body with regard to the introduction of automatic coupling. He considered that it was a question of bringing influence to bear, and it was not likely that the problem would be solved until railwaymen demanded it everywhere.

The Conference agreed to the proposed means to hasten the introduction of automatic coupling.

Proposal No. 16 called for the introduction of a system of repetition of signals with compulsory inscription on the speed indicator.

Proposal 17 called for the introduction of a system of continuous brakes on all trains.

Bidegaray (France) explained the proposals, which had been submitted by the French Railwaymen's Federation. He pointed out that during the last ten years the calls upon the attention and energy of the staff had been continually growing greater. Technical improvement had not always gone hand in hand with these requirements. Both speed and the weight of trains had increased considerably. It was therefore not to be surprised at that the driver was not always master of his train. Accidents are becoming very numerous. The blame is always laid upon the staff, and the speed indicator provides no indication. It is necessary to provide appliances that will limit the number of accidents to a minimum, and make it possible immediately to allocate responsibilities in case of accident. That is the aim of the proposals.

The Conference decided to recommend the proposals to the General Council.

Proposal No. 18, relating to Railway Electrification, asked for the appointment of a Committee to report to the next Congress on the influence of railway electrification on the working conditions of the staff, and the attitude to be adopted towards this question.

Moltmaker explained the proposal, which had been submitted by the Dutch railwaymen. He proposed to set up a Committee to examine the problem and to report to the next Congress. In Holland it was the intention to electrify the railways during the next few years, the cost being estimated at 300,000,000 guilders. Electrification in Holland is purely a financial problem. The engine drivers are particularly interested in this question, as the change over would probably injure their interests. It is our duty to defend the interests of this grade, and to see that they are treated fairly, so the problem is an important one for us. The Committee might be composed of members of the General Council, but that is a matter that might be arranged later.

Nathans referred to articles that had appeared in the News Letter, and considered it advisable that the Secretariat of the Railwaymen's Section should be instructed to undertake an enquiry, the results of which could be submitted as a report to the next railwaymen's conference.

The Conference agreed, and referred the question to the General Council.

Proposal No. 19 asked for an enquiry into the relations between different means of transport in the light of the development of motor

transport, and with a view to the legal protection of the staff, and with particular reference to the following points :

- (1) The cheaper and more efficient means of transport should be favoured, as this is in the general interest.
- (2) That the relative cheapness and efficiency of the different means cannot be estimated unless the charges to be borne by transport are equitably distributed over the different means of same.
- (3) That Motor Bus and Motor Lorry services should therefore contribute in the same measure as railways and tramways to the maintenance of roads.
- (4) That the same safety measures should be required from these enterprises as in the case of railways and tramways.
- (5) That the staffs of motor bus and motor lorry services should have the same conditions of employment and work, provision in case of sickness, etc., as those of the railways and tramways.

The British Delegation proposed the following addition as Point 6 :

Cases of undue limitation of the staff which is a danger to the travelling public and other vehicular traffic, and which is inimical to effective traffic control.

The worker has the duty of observing all stopping places, police regulations, vehicular traffic, pedestrians, safety of passengers carried, picking up and setting down of same, responsibility for vagaries of power used, of either internal combustion engines, of electric and motor vehicles, mechanical defects of car, tram or bus.

Wages being the cost off efficient and economical service, no real financial economy can be organised without sacrificing the safety of the public and employees alike. Further the increased use of mechanically propelled vehicles in public thoroughfares adds cumulatively to

- a) the danger of the travelling public ;
- b) pedestrian traffic and control of same ;
- c) the hindering of traffic by the lack of efficient manning and manipulation by a competent and adequate staff.

Where all driving and conducting is an essential service, it should be adequately assured by a numerically efficient staff in the interest of the workers concerned and of the public.

Moltmaker, delegate of the Dutch Railwaymen's Union, which had submitted the first part of the proposal, declared that there had been new developments in the transport industry which it would be desirable to examine closely. He was therefore of opinion that the question should be referred to the General Council for the necessary steps to be taken. An adequate discussion of the question and proper decisions would only be possible on the solid basis of an enquiry by questionnaire.

The Conference supported this opinion, and referred the matter to the General Council.

All the Proposals on the Agenda having been dealt with, a number of others which had been submitted subsequently were then read. One of these, submitted by the Dutch Railwaymen's Union, reads as follows :

I. T. F. Publications.

This Railwaymen's Conference, believing that as wide a distribution as possible of the publications of the I. T. F. relating to the activities of the International and working conditions in different countries would help to promote international feeling among the members of affiliated organisations, and to strengthen the position of each organisation in its own country when conducting negotiations, by giving it a better grasp of the position in other countries, calls upon affiliated organisations to encourage subscriptions to the News Letter and to undertake the distribution of other publications of the I. T. F.

A further resolution, also submitted by the Dutch Railwaymen's Union, was as follows :

Information Service.

This Railwaymen's Conference, realizing the paramount importance of a well-organized international information service, especially for the railwaymen ; congratulates the Secretariat on what has already been done in this direction ; declares that it is the duty of affiliated organisations to assist the Secretariat in every way to extend this service ; and urges all organisations to reply always and as promptly as possible to all requests for information, and to appoint, if they have not already done so, a member of their National Committee who is able to act as correspondent and to undertake to furnish regularly and promptly reports suitable for publication in the News Letter or in the Press Report of the I. T. F.

The two resolutions were adopted after a brief discussion.

A proposal of the German Railwaymen's Union read as follows :

The Conference is asked to request national railwaymen's unions to notify the secretariat of the I. T. F., as promptly as possible, of any alteration in the regulations relating to working hours, so that the secretariat may immediately communicate the information to affiliated organizations.

Breunig (Germany) explained the proposal, which was adopted.

López (Argentine Republic) proposed that Spanish should be recognized as an official language at the Congresses of the I. T. F.

The proposal was referred to the General Council for examination. The Argentine delegates had also submitted the following request :

The Argentine Railwaymen's federation (Confraternidad Ferroviaria) is anxious to open an office which will undertake the necessary formalities to secure for railwaymen and their families superannuation and other benefits to which they are entitled legally. To assist in the work of organization they would like to have copies of rules, etc. upon which similar offices are based in other countries.

They would also like to receive trade union and other labour journals in exchange for their own. Their address is *Confraternidad Ferroviaria, Alberti 355, Buenos Aires*.

The Conference adopted the proposal.

The Chairman then declared the conference closed, after a decision had been taken to send a telegram of sympathy to comrade Renier, of Brussels, and a number of other comrades who were to be tried by law as a result of the recent railwaymen's strike in Belgium.

The Chairman also thanked comrade Nathans for the work accomplished, and pointed out that the conference had thrown upon the Secretariat a great deal of work in which the co-operation of all organizations was very necessary.

International Conference of Dockers

held at Hamburg, 10 August 1924.

Chairman : Robert Williams.

Williams (Chairman) opened the conference by pointing out the necessity of a common policy for all Dockers and Port Workers. It cannot be denied that different ports are carrying on an active competition with one another, and that the employers are continually using conditions in a given port as a lever to force down conditions in another, and are thus able to bring them down everywhere. These tactics are particularly rife in the North Sea. This made it necessary to hold a special conference of organizations interested in these ports, to examine means to counter as efficiently as possible the efforts of the employers. The existence of common interests is undeniable, and the same applies to other groups of ports, and it is therefore necessary to co-ordinate as closely as possible the activities of the organizations catering for these groups. The Congress had referred the following five items for the examination of the Dockers' Conference :

(3) *Representation of Dockers and Road Transport Workers on General Council.*

That Congress decide to give Dockers and Road Transport Workers special representation on the General Council of the I. T. F. *Fédération des Ports et Docks, France (French Dockers).*

(20) *Minimum Wage for Dockers.*

That Congress define its attitude towards a guaranteed minimum wage for port workers. *Deutscher Verkehrsbund (German Transport Workers).*

(21) *Accident Prevention and Insurance.*

That Congress consider the problem of measures for preventing accidents, and insurance against accidents, with special reference to port workers.

Deutscher Verkehrsbund (German Transport Workers).

(22) *Maximum weight of packages.*

That Congress decide that the maximum weight of packages of whatever kind to be carried by single dockers and other transport workers shall not exceed 75 kilogrammes.

Deutscher Verkehrsbund (German Transport Workers).

(23) *Loading and Discharging by Ships' Crews.*

That Congress consider the problem of the participation by ships' crews in the loading and discharge of vessels.

Deutscher Verkehrsbund (German Transport Workers).

Vignaud (France) explained in a written statement the proposal submitted by his organisation. The specific representation of the dockers on the General Council of the I. T. F. is a necessity, because it is the only way to prompter action and a better information service.

Vignaud stated that not only had the French ports suffered from the competition of other, but in France to a greater extent than in other countries foreign labour, such as Turks and Arabs, is used for port work. This state of affairs necessitates a much greater activity on the part of the Dockers' Section; but while the Seamen's Section has Fimmen, and the Railwaymen Nathans, the Dockers have no representative on the Secretariat. He thought it might be useful to appoint somebody for the purpose, and suggested *Brautigam*.

Seiffert (Germany) hardly thought that such a purpose would be furthered by a special representation of the Dockers on the General Council. The Secretariat attends to all current business, while the General Council only meets a few times a year. It should be considered, also, that a proposal of this kind would lead to other Sections also demanding representation on the General Council, and this might lead to a considerable and by no means desirable increase in the numbers of the Council. A better and prompter information service would be easy to arrange if the organizations would undertake to supply information more promptly to the Secretariat, and if the latter in its turn would see that it were passed on more rapidly.

Brautigam (Holland) stated that he could not agree with the point of view expressed by the French organization. It would make the General Council too large and unwieldy, and there were in any case already several dockers on it. "It appears from *Vignaud's* statement that he really wants something quite other than is asked for in his proposal. I appreciate his suggestion of myself as a suitable person to undertake the work of the Dockers' Section, but it would hardly be practicable for me to do so, as I am already President of the Dutch Transport Workers' Union, and this organization has its headquarters at Rotterdam. The appointment of a special secretary would cost too much. I recommend therefore that we propose to

Congress the setting up of an Advisory Committee for the Dockers, to meet as often as circumstances require ; the expenses to be borne by the organizations sending delegates. I think that by doing this we should be approaching Vignaud's aim much more directly than by any special representation on the General Council."

Maglasie (Roumania) supported Vignaud's proposal, and expressed regret that the News Letter of the I. T. F. devoted so little attention to questions of interest to the dockers.

Williams (Chairman) : I should like to observe that if the Dockers get insufficient information, the fault is not that of the Secretariat. In this matter the Secretariat is entirely dependent upon the co-operation of the organizations concerned, and this very often leaves very much to be desired. The supposition that Fimmen and Nathans have been appointed exclusively for work in connection with the Seamen's and Railwaymen's Sections is quite a false one. They are both in charge of the interests of the other sections as well. Brautigam's proposal seems to me be the best, and I should like delegates to adopt it.

Seiffert (Germany) explained proposals 20 to 23, submitted by the German Traffic Union. As regards proposal No 21 (accident prevention and insurance), he referred to the material collected by his union, which, he stated, clearly shows that preventive measures are quite inadequate. It is absolutely necessary that all organizations without exception should support the initiative and efforts of the German union, and that as far as possible a uniform programme should be prepared and adopted. The German union is of opinion that professional diseases should be regarded as accidents. The insurance should be fixed at a sum sufficient to keep the employee and his family from poverty. Private insurance should be abolished. All insurance should be done by the State, or on a co-operative basis, and the workers should share in its administration.

* * *

The ensuing discussion showed that there was no fundamental difference of opinion with regard to the principles formulated by the German delegate. It was decided that the most important thing was to demand that governments should take adequate measures for the prevention of accidents, and that the question of sufficient compensation should take the second place. The most perfect sanitary conditions should be insisted upon, as well as provision for immediate assistance in case of accident.

As regards the fixing of a minimum carrying load, it was decided to issue an appeal to the workers themselves to take the matter in hand, as the securing of this demand depends very largely upon them. There was perfect unanimity with regard to the

question of the performance of loading and discharging operations by the crews of vessels. Delegates did not, however, lose sight of the fact that the seamen are subject to special laws which in certain circumstances obliged them to perform this kind of work ; and it was therefore considered necessary to give full support to the efforts of the seamen's organizations to secure the repeal of such laws.

On the proposal of the Chairman a Committee was appointed to formulate in three resolutions the demands of the Conference, to be submitted to the full session of the Congress.

First International Motor Drivers' Conference

held at Hamburg on 10 August 1924.

The Conference was opened at 10 a. m., the agenda being as follows :

- (1) National and International Legislation of Motor Traffic.
- (2) Registration, Information and Employment Bureau for Professional Motor Drivers.
- (3) International Badge for Chauffeurs.
- (4) Trade Union and Legal Protection for Chauffeurs when Abroad.

The following delegates were present :

<i>Charles Lindley</i> , member of General Council of I. T. F.	Chairman
<i>Reitz, Rettig and Glöckl</i> (Germany)	32,000 members
<i>W. B. Modley and Stanley Hirst</i> (Great Britain)	50,000 "
<i>M. Grosset</i> (France)	4,000 "
<i>A. Büchi</i> (Switzerland)	800 "
<i>A. Forstner</i> (Austria)	2,000 "
<i>Mikkelsen</i> (Denmark)	4,000 "
<i>A. Olsson</i> (Sweden)	800 "
<i>H. Fladeby</i> (Norway)	500 "
<i>G. Zieverink</i> (Holland)	750 "

Lindley (Chairman) welcomed the delegates on behalf of the General Council. He pointed out the great diversity in the motor transport legislation of different countries, and the consequent necessity of international regulation. He proposed that after the matter had been discussed a resolution should be drawn up requesting the Secretariat of the I. T. F. to further the interests of the motor drivers by undertaking an inquiry into the position in different countries, and by drawing up an international programme.

Reitz (Germany) expressed his gratification at the holding of the Conference. The lack of international regulation of motor traffic was the cause of many accidents and penalties, and lent itself to all kinds of trickery. It was high time that some kind of international legislation should put an end to what was an untenable situation.

German motor drivers crossing the frontier of their country have twelve different systems of legislation and regulations to deal with. The passage from Germany to Austria was the most troublesome, as the rule of the road differed in the two countries. Similar differences exist everywhere. Chauffeurs in Austria, Switzerland, Italy, Spain and elsewhere are exposed to constant danger on their national roads owing to the diversity in the regulation of motor transport. There are also many prescriptions, in the legislation of different countries, of which foreign drivers are unaware, but for which they have to suffer the consequences in case of an accident. The motor vehicle being an international means of transport, all legislation dealing with it should also be international.

He realised that the Conference was not in a position to come to decisions which could be immediately put into practice internationally, but if an agreement could be reached the I. T. F. should undertake the preliminary steps so that the proposals, accompanied by suitable supporting material, could be submitted to the proper authorities, so that an end may be put to the present situation.

At present there are only two international conventions relating to motor traffic : that of 1909, to which 26 countries are signatory, and that of 1910, which mainly regulates international traffic in Germany. The 1909 Convention consists of 15 articles and 4 annexes, and contains among other things prescriptions with regard to the crossing of frontiers, international driving licences, and the marking of dangerous places.

After reviewing the more important articles, and their effect in Germany, the speaker suggested that the following points, at least, should be governed by international convention :

- (1) Apprenticeship of motor drivers ;
- (2) Minimum age ;
- (3) Compulsory insurance of drivers by employers ;
- (4) Resting periods for drivers ;
- (5) Guarantees with regard to the working conditions of drivers when abroad.

The strict enforcement of the Convention regarding the placing of warning signs at dangerous places should be particularly insisted upon. It devolved upon the Conference to decide which of the demands put forward were susceptible of being obtained internationally. Three demands in particular should be concentrated upon. In the first place was the question of responsibility. The German chauffeurs have already submitted to the Reichstag a proposal that owners of motor cars shall not be granted a licence until they had made suitable arrangements for the insurance of the chauffeur. The speaker had learned from the papers that there were actually legal stipulations to this effect, particularly in France and Switzerland. He hoped the delegates from those countries would give some information on the subject.

Another point of the highest importance is international regulation of the resting periods of chauffeurs. In large towns many accidents arise from the fact that motor drivers sometimes have to put in 18 or 20 hours continuous work. In cases of this kind, where the accident is really due to fatigue, the driver is generally prosecuted instead of his employer. The German union has submitted a proposal regarding working hours to the Reichstag.

The control of motor driving schools is also an important question. In 1922 the Reichstag issued a Decree regarding the training of motor drivers, which contained stipulations with regard to driving schools, their equipment, and their instructors. The Motor Drivers' Section of the German Traffic Union succeeded in securing the inclusion of a clause giving professional motor drivers a certain amount of control over the enforcement of the decree.

On behalf of his organization the speaker proposed that the I. T. F. should form a separate Section for motor drivers, who are likely in the future to play a preponderant part in the Transport Workers' Section.

Grosset (France) expressed his agreement with the views and proposals of comrade Reitz, which are of very great interest to the drivers of private cars organized in his union. He proposed that the resolution should also point out the necessity of international driving licences. Formerly chauffeurs were regarded as being part and parcel of their cars, the licence always bearing the number of the car. At present separate licences are issued for the car and the chauffeur.

In France there is no legal stipulation regarding the placing of warning signs at dangerous places. Those which exist have been provided by touring societies. The Touring Club de France, for instance, has placed warning signs 200 metres before steep descents. An international regulation of this question is very important.

Forstner (Austria) explained the position of motor drivers in Austria. There was no class of workers that gave him so much trouble, in so far as working hours were concerned, as the motor drivers. The Union has submitted to the Austrian Government a proposal to guarantee all drivers a full and uninterrupted day's or night's rest after eight hours work, and an hour's rest after two hours uninterrupted driving. In two hours a chauffeur can go very much farther than any horse driver, while a locomotive driver generally stops after two or three hours continuous driving. It should also be taken into consideration that a chauffeur's duties are much more fatiguing than those of a locomotive driver, as he bears all responsibility for the road being free.

The working conditions of Austrian motor drivers vary according to the industry in which they work. Taxi-drivers and lorry-drivers employed by factories are protected, like all other classes

of workers, by the Industrial Act and other labour protection acts. The drivers of private cars are the worst off. At present the Austrian union is discussing with the authorities whether the Domestic Servants Act is applicable to chauffeurs. The union contends that chauffeurs should not be regarded as domestic servants. A chauffeur is a specialised worker who is entitled to longer holidays than the four to eight days that the law at present gives domestic servants. If the chauffeurs do not come under any special Act, they would be subject to the provisions of the Civil Code. The speaker had often proposed in Parliament that they should be brought within the Act relating to commercial employees, which is the most favourable. As, however, the motor vehicle is becoming an increasingly predominant factor, and the profession of chauffeur is growing importance, he had since changed his tactics, and was insisting on special legal provision for this class of workers.

He proposed that the resolution to be drafted should include a demand for international guiding principles governing the working conditions of motor drivers. He also proposed to demand the foundation of public driving schools. The private schools which only aim at profit-making should be abolished, or they should be controlled pending the foundation of State schools. He also proposed that a demand should be put forward for international principles governing the granting or withdrawal of driving licences, as well as some control by the drivers themselves over these matters. In Austria the minimum age for a motor driver has been fixed at 18 years. His union wished that international regulation should fix it at 20 years.

Büchi (Switzerland) considered that the interests of the motor drivers had been neglected by the I. T. F., especially in view of the importance of the profession. It was necessary that the I. T. F. publish the experiences of comrades in different countries, and particulars of existing laws and regulations. The chauffeurs have just as much right as the railwaymen to have the problems relating to their profession dealt with in the News Letter. He also pleaded for the constitution of a Motor Drivers' Section in the I. T. F. He considered that this was the proper way to create sympathy with the International in working class circles. As soon as the workers see that the International is giving them the attention to which they are entitled, they will be more willing to co-operate internationally.

He urged the I. T. F. to give all possible assistance to the trade union journals. This could best be done by placing at the disposal of the editors all material that had been sent in from different countries. These journals could of course apply directly to the organizations concerned, but it would appear to be undesirable that branches should go over the head of the International in this way. It is in the interest of the I. T. F. to make every effort to be the hub

of the international transport workers' movement. This will prevent it from being ignored and from losing its importance. He considered that the following points should form the basis of future activities :—

- (1) Reciprocal relations ;
- (2) Exchange of trade journals ;
- (3) International meetings to cultivate the spirit of solidarity ;
- (4) Inquiries into legislation ;
- (5) Improvement and extension of existing legislation.

It would hardly be possible to secure internationally the fixing of an age limit; this being really a matter for national organizations.

Rettig (Germany) explained the origin of the international convention of 1st October 1909. It was necessary that motor drivers in all countries should devote much greater attention to legislation of this kind. He regretted that the General Council of the I. T. F. had not shown greater understanding of matters connected with the chauffeurs. To all suggestions coming from the German motor drivers the reply is given that a classification into three principal groups has been fixed, and that the motor drivers had to be satisfied with being included in the Transport Workers' Section. The I. T. F. must accustom itself to give proper consideration to the chauffeurs' group, as well as to that of the aviators. Aerial navigation is increasing rapidly, and very soon it will be necessary to consider the international regulation of flying from the workers' point of view. It is absolutely necessary that the I. T. F. should devote very much more attention than has hitherto been done to these newcomers to the transport world, and this point should be brought out in the resolution. It is necessary also to give these groups, by suitable representation, a greater influence in the General Council of the I. T. F. ; as people with no experience in these particular occupations could not usefully busy themselves with the question. It is above all necessary to secure for the chauffeurs' unions as great an influence as possible over international legislation. The trade unions must therefore make efforts to secure representation on the International Committee of Automobile Clubs, in Paris, as the governments all legislate in consultation with this body. Since the war only the German chauffeurs' organization has had occasion to take part in discussions with regard to the different articles of the Convention. The French comrades, in particular, should try and get some influence over the work of the International Committee in Paris.

Hirst (Great Britain) agreed with the statements that had been made, which he considered made the conference an extremely important one. Great Britain, being an island, had nothing to do with transit traffic. It was, however, of very great importance for the British motor drivers, as well as those on the Continent, that these

questions should be settled internationally. There is in Great Britain a private association which deals with all matters affecting motor traffic ; it will, however, some day be necessary to place this institution under State control. He agreed with previous speakers that the I. T. F. should give greater attention in its publications to the particular interests of the motor drivers.

All organizations affiliated to the International should render assistance to motor drivers finding themselves in difficulties abroad, on presentation of trade union card. Most taxi owners and drivers in Great Britain belong to their union.

Glöckl (Germany) pointed out that the compulsory insurance Act in Germany reverses the usual order of things. In case of accident a chauffeur is required to prove that he is innocent, whereas in case of murder or robbery the Penal Code requires that guilt should be proved.

Grosset (France) stated that in France also the chauffeur had to prove his innocence. The French courts generally impose very heavy penalties, and even imprisonment. The union pays a lawyer 12,000 francs a year to defend motor drivers in the courts. As a result during the past year 12 out of 14 were acquitted.

Reitz (Germany) spoke on items 2 and 3 on the agenda. He asked the I. T. F. to induce organizations to keep at their offices a list of the addresses of all affiliated organizations, copies of which could be obtained for a small sum by motor drivers proceeding abroad. The German delegation also suggest that a driver going abroad should be provided with a card entitling him to apply to any local union for assistance and advice. At present he is at the mercy of the authorities or his employer in case of accident or dispute. This could be remedied by giving all motor drivers affiliated to the I. T. F. a special badge and an international identification card issued by his union. We could thus be sure of our members getting assistance and protection wherever they might be.

Lindley (Chairman) pointed out the necessity of a badge, which he suggested should be of small size and good workmanship.

Büchi (Switzerland) supported comrade Reitz, and reviewed the different points to be embodied in the resolution.

All delegates having expressed their agreement, the German delegation was asked to draft a resolution, which after a few slight alterations was adopted unanimously.

**Conference of the Seamen's Section
of the International Transportworkers' Federation,
held on 4, 5 and 10 August 1924 in the Gewerkschaftshaus Hamburg.**

List of Delegates.

Country	Organization	Name
Belgium	Seamen's Union (affiliated with the Transport Workers' Union)	C. Mahlman J. Chapelle
Denmark	Firemen's Union	E. Jacobsen A. Götttsche
France	Federation of Seamen's Unions	F Chachuat E. Ehlers F. Köhler
Germany	Seamen's Section of the German Traffic Union	J. Murer P. Müller Ehlert J. Thielemann Th. Strebe Voss E. Lindow
Great Britain	National Transport Workers' Federation Amalgamated Marine Workers Union	J. Henson J. Cotter J. Lewis J. McKinlay
Holland	Seamen's Section of the Transport Workers' Union	A. Kievit J. Brautigam
Norway	Sailors' and Firemen's Union	E. Jacobsen
Sweden	Firemen's Union	Sven Lundgren K. Elmén
	Sailors' Union	N. Olsson W. Eliason

The Executive Committee of the I. T. F. was represented by :

R. Williams, President ;

J. Döring, Vice-President ;

Ch. Lindley ;

E. Fimmen, General Secretary and Secretary of the
Seamen's Section of the I. T. F. ;

Mr. Yonekubo, representing the Japanese Seamen's Union, attended as
a fraternal delegate.

Monday 4 August 1924.

Morning Session.

Opening of the Conference at 10.30 a. m.

R. Williams (President of the I. T. F.) welcomed the delegates on behalf of the Executive Committee and General Council of the I. T. F. and in particular Mr. Henson, representing the British National Transport Workers' Federation, and Mr. Yonekubo, the representative of the Japanese Seamen's Union; and gave a brief outline of the development of the I. T. F. in general and of its seamen's section in particular. In accordance with the decision of the Seamen's Advisory Committee it was the main task of the conference to deal with the international seamen's code drafted by the International Labour Office. The question of working hours in the mercantile marine was also down for discussion.

Announcements.

Fimmen (Secretary) read out the list of delegates and announced that comrade Waack, who was to represent the German Traffic Union, had been replaced by comrade Voss.

Of the organizations invited, the seamen's unions of the United States, Argentine, Finland, Denmark, Greece, Latvia, Norway and Yugoslavia had not sent representatives. Several had advised that—generally for financial reasons—they were unable to do so, while others, such as the American organization, had failed to reply at all. The Norwegian organization had communicated that comrade Jacobsen of the Danish Firemen's Union would represent them.

Resolution against War.

It being just ten years since the world war broke out, the following resolution, submitted by Fimmen, was unanimously adopted, it being agreed, at Fimmen's suggestion, to print at the foot of the resolution the names of all organizations present :—

“This Conference of representatives of Seamen's organizations; meeting at Hamburg under the auspices of the I. T. F. on 4th August, the tenth anniversary of the day on which, owing to the machinations of international

capitalism, the world war broke out—the war which set the workers of the greater part of the world fighting one another in the interest and for the profit of that same capitalism;

confirms the resolutions of former congresses of the I. T. F. which aimed to prevent, by every possible means, further capitalist wars;

undertakes to do everything possible to organize the seamen, of every country represented, for the fight against the instigators of war—national and international capitalism;

and calls upon the seamen of all countries to affiliate to the I. T. F., so that they may, by every means in their power, jointly wage the battle against war and militarism as an integral part of the daily struggle against capitalism.”

International Seamen's Code.

Fimmen pointed out that at the seamen's conference held the previous year in Amsterdam the Bureau had been instructed to draft an international seamen's code in conjunction with the Seamen's Advisory Committee, and to convene a seamen's conference to consider the draft. Shortly prior to the meeting of the Advisory Committee, in March 1924, it appeared that the Joint Maritime Commission of the International Labour Office was also engaged in drafting an international seamen's code. The workers' representatives on this Commission—set up in 1920 at the suggestion of the I. L. O. in Genoa, and composed of representatives of shipowners and seamen—had been appointed by national seamen's unions without consulting the I. T. F. The I. T. F. had at the time no influence whatsoever over this commission. Only two of the members belonged to organizations affiliated with the I. T. F. Other workers' delegates on the commission represented organizations which at the time were still outside the I. T. F. But since 1920 circumstances have changed, and, to the best of speaker's belief, only one seamen's delegate on the commission did not belong to the I. T. F., the Italian Giulietti, whose organization was expelled from the I. T. F. on account of its Fascist tendencies. The other seamen's delegates, comrades Havelock Wilson, Döring, Rivelli and Nilsen represent organizations affiliated with the I. T. F. These comrades have, however, until now worked independently of the I. T. F., so that the latter has not been kept informed with regard to the activities of the commission in question. The seamen's code drafted by the I. L. O., and submitted to the approval of the Joint Maritime Commission, was forwarded to our Bureau shortly before the meeting of the Advisory Committee in March, and was thoroughly examined by the said committee, which expressed the opinion that under present conditions the draft offered a really useful basis for discussion.

Observations on the draft had been received from the French, German and Dutch organizations, the Amalgamated Marine Wor-

kers' Union and the Danish Firemen's Union. In spite of repeated requests the Norwegian, Belgian, Latvian, and Yugoslavian organizations had failed to respond. The general opinion expressed was that the draft offered a substantial improvement. The Dutch organization only was of opinion that it was based too much upon past and present conditions.

The objections of the organizations against the draft were chiefly directed against the work of young persons on ships. Only one organization, Cotter's Union, was in agreement with articles 3, 4 and 5.

The German seamen opposed article 3 on the ground that even in the case of members of the same family only being employed on a vessel, children under 14 years of age should also have legal protection.

Article 6 stipulates that in cases where no fireman or trimmer is available, he may be replaced by two young persons of 16 to 18 years of age. The Danish organization had also objected to this article on the ground that persons under 18 years should not be employed on this kind of work; this principle being already laid down in § 10 of the Danish Seamen's Code of 1 May 1923, which prescribes a minimum age of 18 years for firemen and trimmers.

The French challenged article 9, para. 3, providing that seamen without a medical certificate may also be engaged in the event of no competent physician being available on board or in the port, or if 24 hours before the departure of the vessel it becomes necessary to recruit one or more seamen. In both cases these men must be examined by a competent medical man in the first port at which the vessel stays for longer than 48 hours.

The French Seamen's Union wished to have this paragraph completed in the sense that seamen who on such examination prove to be carrying an infectious disease or are otherwise physically unfit shall be returned to the port of embarkation at the expense of the shipowner, and paid their wages up to day of arrival in such port.

Article 10 contains a clause stipulating that not less than 75% of the crew should have a sufficient knowledge of the language to understand the orders that may be given to them in the course of the performance of their duties, such language to be the language of the country under whose flag the ship is sailing. The British Union proposed to delete 75% and substitute 90%.

In Article 18 the maximum period of an agreement is fixed at two years. It cannot be renewed until 90 days before the date of expiry. Most of the unions concerned were of opinion that this period was too long. The French wished that it should not extend

beyond one year and not be renewable until 30 days before expiry. It is argued that nobody at the time of signing on can foresee how conditions may change in the following two years. Such a contract would be imprudent and might give rise to serious difficulties.

The German organization wished to have a reduction of the period of agreement from 2 years to 1½, and with regard to the renewal of the contract proposed to modify the relative clause as follows:

“a renewal of an agreement for a definite period is permissible. It may take place not earlier than 30 days before expiry.”

The British Union proposes that paragraph 1 of article 18 be deleted and substituted by the following :

“An agreement with the crew on a ship shall be embodied in a form approved by a Government Department dealing with shipping, and shall be dated at the time of the first signature thereof, and shall be signed by the Master before a seaman signs same.”

With regard to article 19, relating to the rights and duties arising out of the contract, the German union wished the following clause to be added:

“notice of termination and other provisions relative to the termination of the agreement shall be the same for both parties.”

The British organization wished article 21 to be completed as follows :—The Master shall at the beginning of every voyage or engagement, cause a legible copy of the agreement with the crew, to be posted up in such a part of the vessel which is easily accessible to the crew.

The German organization considered paragraphs 6 and 7 of article 25 to be doubtful, but had not yet decided on the attitude to be adopted ; the following additions to articles 24 to 26 being suggested : 1) In all cases when a vessel is in a home port either of the contracting parties shall have the right to terminate the agreement. In such cases the notice to terminate shall be given within 12 hours after the vessel enters port and not later than 24 hours before it leaves.

It is contended that this clause is necessary in case of an economic conflict (strike), or if the dockers should call for the support of the seamen.

2) In any case the seamen shall be allowed to leave the vessel and receive his wages 24 hours after the arrival of the vessel in port. The seamen may demand however payment of ¼ of his wages before leaving the vessel.

The German organization would also like to have article 28 (1 d) and (1 e) altered, the terms “serious breach of discipline” and “felony or misdemeanour” would appear too vague and should be substituted by more exact definitions. The same organization is also

opposed to the supplementary clause "or in general any failure by the seamen to carry out essential obligations under the agreement, without prejudice to the right of the shipowner to bring an action for damages on account of such failure". It also demands that the motives alleged for the dismissal shall be examined by a ship's council ; and with regard to article 28 (2), that the entry of the motive for the dismissal in the list of crew shall be countersigned by a ship's Council (or maritime council) and that a copy be given to the seamen. As regards 28 (4) relating to dismissal of seamen the question of intervention of a ship's council should be examined.

The French organization remarks that article 28 (1) stipulating a legitimate reason for the dismissal of a seaman on account of alleged disability, offers in its present form too many possibilities for abuse. These apprehensions are amply justified by past experiences. Many cases are known in which a seaman who had performed his duties a year or more, was dismissed on the pretext that they were not satisfactory, whereas the real reason was that the man in question was an active trade-unionist. It should therefore be clearly stated who is to determine and how he is to determine, the technical unfitness for service which the seaman is engaged to perform.

With regard to point (d) the French organization desires specification of cases in which serious breach of discipline shall be considered a motive for dismissal ; here again experience has shown cases of abuse of dismissals of this kind as a result of its vagueness. It has often happened that with the assistance of a consul who always believes the statements of captain or officers, a comrade has been dismissed without first being heard.

Concerning article 29, the German union proposes the addition of the following stipulations regulating the seamen's right to terminate his agreement :

(7) When, in case of an engagement for an indeterminate period a year has elapsed since the date of recruitment and the ship has been during this period continually away from its country of register.

(8) When the seaman provides a qualified substitute and there is no resulting delay to the vessel. In case of dispute as to the qualifications of the substitute, the question shall be decided by a competent shipping authority. (Seemannsammt.)

In principle the German Union is in agreement with article 30, para. 1, relative to the entry of a seaman's dismissal in the seamen's discharge book, but objects to the motive of discharge being also entered.

It is also in principle in agreement with para. 2, but would like the article to be expanded as follows :—

"The seamen's discharge book and certificate should be handed out to him on leaving the vessel and before he signs them. If the certificate of

the entries in the discharge book contains statements which in the opinion of the seaman are inaccurate, the authorities shall go into the matter and oblige the captain to furnish a certificate in accordance with the results of the inquiry."

It is also in agreement in principle with article 31 regarding repatriation of dismissed seamen. But it desires a provision to be added providing the continued payment of wages for the period during which repatriation takes place.

As regards article 31, para. 3, the French organization remarked that this paragraph should be supplemented by a clause which will prevent a seaman being punished twice for the same offence, as would be the case with a man disembarked for some alleged crime or offence for which he would later be tried by the competent courts. The seaman should either be dismissed for no legal reason and the expenses of his repatriation be carried by the shipowner, or else the dismissal should have a disciplinary character. Just imagine what a disciplinary dismissal without compensation means for a man who, for instance, is on a vessel lying in a South American or Chinese port, and, besides, is unable to earn anything during his repatriation.

The British seamen's union proposes an addendum to article 31, clause 4, stipulating that where any seaman is discharged or landed in a foreign port through no fault of his own the Master or shipowner shall be responsible for the subsistence of such seaman while in a foreign port, and for any expenses incurred in his transport to the port of his engagement, and his wages to be paid by such Master or Owner up to and including the date of his arrival at his port of engagement.

With regard to article 32 dealing with unemployment resulting from shipwreck the German union proposes not to fix the total compensation at two months, as the repatriation to the home port may take longer. Wages should therefore be paid during the voyage home.

These are, in brief, the observations on the draft international seamen's code sent in by affiliated seamen's unions. For the rest they are of opinion that the draft offers a substantial basis for an international programme for seamen. It is now submitted to the approval of this conference. *Fimmen* expressed the opinion that the I. T. F. should bring pressure to bear upon employers and governments either through the workers' representatives on the joint commission or otherwise, and should not only support the draft in its present form (with the exception of the points objected to), but should also strive, by means of a general propaganda campaign by affiliated seamen's unions, to bring to fulfilment the whole of the seamen's programme.

Monday 4 August 1924.

Afternoon Session.

Cotter (Great Britain) explained that his union considered that boys over 14 years of age should be allowed to work on board, though not at trimming and firing. Referring to the observations of the German organization, he stated that cases did not occur in British shipping in which the whole of the crew were members of one family, and therefore the provision was useless as far as Great Britain was concerned.

As many organizations had asked that the minimum age should be fixed at 16 or 18 years, he pointed out that the school-leaving age should be taken into consideration. A boy leaving school at 14 should be allowed to learn the seamen's trade if he wishes. He considered that it was dangerous to send boys to training ships, as in most cases these ships were filled with boys who had been guilty of misdemeanours, and were therefore largely disciplinary institutions, and likely to be harmful to boys going there to learn the trade.

He emphasized the fact that the conference had met not to draft a national programme, but an international one, and proposed that a committee be appointed to examine and co-ordinate the observations made by the different countries.

In reply to a question asked by Döring, *Cotter* replied that his organization was against the employment of young people under 18 years of age as trimmers or firemen.

Brautigam (Holland) thought that before coming to the Conference delegates should have examined the suggestions sent in by the different unions, so as to have formed a clear judgement with regard to the questions raised. It was for the Conference to decide whether it were ready or not to adopt the draft in its present form. It should then instruct delegates who were also sitting on the Joint Maritime Commission to give their utmost support to the amendments which the Conference might propose. In Holland a Commission was at present preparing a draft maritime code which was in many respects more favourable than the I. L. O. draft. He considered it useless to continue, on the basis of the statement made

by Fimmen, a discussion which could lead to nothing. He proposed that a committee be appointed to go into the details of the questions raised, and to report later to the Conference.

Köhler (Germany) replying to Cotter, said that the German union had no objections whatsoever to boys of 14 becoming seamen. The 18 year limit only applied to engine room hands. As far as other grades are concerned he quite agreed that a boy should be able to go to sea at 14.

As regards children under 14 working on a vessel manned by members of a single family, Cotter had stated that such a case never occurred in Great Britain. It was also exceedingly rare in Germany.

He was not in favour of appointing a committee, but considered that the proposals sent in by the unions should be passed on to the Joint Maritime Commission, upon which representatives of the I. T. F. would collaborate in their examination.

Ehlers (France) said that the proposals his union had sent in made no mention of any age limit for work on board, because this is already fixed by law in France, where young people under 18 may not be employed as firemen. In this respect the French legislation is on the whole more favourable than the draft.

He thought that while the draft was not entirely satisfactory in every respect, it might very well serve as a basis for a programme of demands. To grasp all might be to lose all. By asking too much we might arouse such powerful opposition from the owners and governments that the adoption of the code would be seriously endangered.

He agreed that a committee should co-ordinate the amendments sent in, and that the result of its labours should be submitted to the International Labour Office, and to the workers' delegates on the Joint Maritime Commission.

Henson (Great Britain) observed that no serious objection had been raised to the draft prepared by the International Labour Office. The point that had given rise to most discussion had been that of child labour on board. This question had already been examined from the international standpoint at Genoa in 1920. The countries represented were not only those in which education is compulsory up to the age of 14; there were others in which children left school at 10, 12 or 13 years, and went straight to sea. This was particularly the case in oriental countries, Japan, China and even Greece. A representative of the Indian Government had gone so far as to say that navigation would no longer be possible if children were not instructed by the fathers, at an early age, in the secrets of the trade. It would be difficult to insist on compulsory education up to 14 in every country. Personally he believed that children should

go to school until they were 16 years of age, but we were not likely to get very much nearer to this aim by excluding boys under that age from the sea.

He favoured the reference of the matter to a committee.

Eliason (Sweden) also favoured the appointment of a committee, as without the necessary documents delegates would be unable to arrive at any tangible result. The Swedish delegates are against child labour, and would like the age limit raised from 14 to 16 years. He pointed out that it was also necessary to discuss a number of other important questions, such as working hours, manning scale, boats, etc., although there was not time enough to deal with them adequately.

He regretted that the I. T. F. had not, in accordance with the decisions of October 1923, invited all seamen's organizations to send delegates, as he considered that a real seamen's international should embrace the whole earth.

Fimmen (Secretary) considered that the Conference could soon reach an agreement on the controversial questions, which were mainly that of child labour and articles of agreement, particularly as regards notice to terminate. He also thought it would be desirable to consider the other questions raised by the previous speaker. As there appeared to be no serious opposition to the I. L. O. draft code, he proposed, if the Conference wished to raise no further points, that the draft, together with the observations made by the unions, should be referred to the Advisory Committee of the Seamen's Section which had been appointed at Amsterdam. They could prepare a report embodying the different amendments proposed, and this could be translated into several languages and sent to the International Labour Office and the workers' delegates on the Joint Maritime Commission, with a statement to the effect that it reflected the opinion of the seamen's unions affiliated to the I. T. F.

At the request of the Japanese delegate he announced that it is true that in Asiatic countries boys go to sea before the age of 14; also that the declarations made at Genoa had been made by representatives of the Government, and that the Japanese Seamen's Union fully supported the objections raised by delegates. This union is also endeavouring to secure prohibition of the employment of boys under 14 on board ship, and to secure a minimum age of 18 for workers in the engine room.

Fimmen pointed out that a study of the question of an international seafaring code should be based not on conditions prevailing in Japan, India or China, but rather on those obtaining in Europe, the United States and Australia. If necessary specific exemptions and exceptional provisions could be made for oriental countries.

The Conference then decided that a meeting of the Advisory Committee should be held on the following day, to draft proposals

to be submitted later to the Seamen's Sectional Conference, and later to the full session of the Congress for ratification.

Fimmen announced that the Advisory Committee would be composed of the following delegates :—

- J. Döring*, workers' delegate on the Joint Maritime Commission ;
- J. Chapelle*, representative of Belgian Seamen ;
- E. Jacobsen*, representative of Danish Seamen ;
- E. Ehlers*, representative of French Seamen ;
- F. Köhler*, representative of German Seamen ;
- J. Cotter*, representative of British Seamen ;
- A. Kievit*, representative of Dutch Seamen.

The Conference decided to enlarge the Committee by the inclusion of comrades *Henson*, representing the British National Transport Workers' Federation ; *Eliason*, of the Swedish Seamen's Union ; and *Lundgren*, of the Swedish Firemen's Union.

Tuesday 5 August 1924.

Opening of the Session at 10.00 a. m.

The Advisory Committee of the Seamen's Section met this day to examine the draft International Seamen's Code prepared by the International Labour Office. The following countries were represented:

Belgium, by J. Chapelle,
Denmark, by E. Jacobsen,
France, by E. Ehlers,
Germany, by F. Köhler,
Great Britain, by J. Cotter,
Holland, by A. Kievit.

Also present were comrades Henson, representing the British National Transport Workers' Federation; *Eliason*, of the Swedish Seamen's Union, and Lundgren, of the Swedish Firemen's Union. Comrade Döring, a member of the General Council, was asked to preside.

The Dutch union had submitted the following proposal:

Proposals for the drafting of a resolution calling upon the workers' delegates on the Joint Maritime Commission to endeavour to make the following amendments and additions to the draft International Seamen's Code:

- a) Definite and clearer stipulations prohibiting work on board for young people under 16, and engine room work for those under 18.
- b) Compulsory appointment of Ships' Councils (elected by the crew) to deal with questions of interior order and discipline, that is to say non-technical questions.
- c) Stipulation that the master of a vessel, at the request of a consular official, or failing such official, a local authority, is required, in so far as space may permit, to repatriate shipwrecked or invalid seamen of the nationality of the flag under which his vessel sails, for account of the State, and at a tariff to be fixed by the State.
- d) Provision that desertion shall only be punishable by imprisonment when the circumstances in which it occurred were such that it endangered the vessel or its occupants. Ditto for acts of insubordination.
- e) Provision that when abroad, in view of the language difficulty, appeal against unjust treatment may be made to a consular or diplomatic representative of the country to which the vessel belongs.
- f) Provision giving seamen the right to receive during 26 weeks, in case of sickness, an allowance amounting to 4/5 of his wages, payable in

cash, starting from the day on which the voyage terminated, and on which the sick seaman left the vessel, or from the moment at which he is disembarked in a foreign port for treatment. The full wage to be paid up to that time.

- g) Payment, in case of accident, of 70% of wages (average of wages, food allowance, overtime, etc.) until completely cured. In case of permanent incapacitation, a life pension varying with degree of incapacitation. In case of death, 30% pension to widows and 15% to orphans, to a maximum total of 60%.
- h) Provision that captain may not inflict punishment without consulting with the Ship's Council, and drawing up a formal charge in its presence.
- i) A remark that the draft code gives the captain too much power to dismiss men.
- k) Provisions specifying the cases in which a seaman has the right to break his contract, in which cases the shipowner shall be required to repatriate him or cause him to be repatriated.

After noting these proposals, the meeting decided not to discuss them, but to take the I. L. O. draft item by item.

Age of Seamen.

All delegates took part in the discussion on this point. The Swedish and Dutch unions proposed to raise the age limit from 14 to 16 years, this being strongly opposed by the British. It was decided to keep to the age mentioned in the draft, to embody the points raised by the German and Danish organizations with regard to articles 3 and 6, and to propose the suppression of paragraph (a) of article 5. At the proposal of the Swedes it was decided also to recommend the addition of an article prohibiting women to work on board other than passenger vessels.

Qualifications.

After a brief discussion the French and British proposals with regard to article 9, para. 3, and article 10, para. 1, were adopted. As regards the latter amendment, comrade Eliason remarked that it was not of much use for Sweden, as Swedish officers all speak English and could therefore give their orders to British seamen.

Form and Record of Agreement.

All the delegates considered a term of two years too long. In adopting the French proposal to reduce it to one year, the Committee rejected the German proposal of one and a half years.

As regards article 19, the Committee adopted the German proposal to add the following:—

"If, when in any port, the crew of a vessel is incomplete, the vessel may not sail until the crew is completed.

The period of notice of termination of agreement, and other provisions relating to the termination of agreement, shall be the same for both parties."

As regards article 21, the British proposal to add the following was adopted :—

"At the beginning of each voyage the captain shall acquaint the crew with the tenour of the agreement. A legalised copy of the agreement shall be posted in a part of the vessel easily accessible to the men on board."

Expiry and termination of Agreement.

At the proposal of the German union the following addition was recommended to article 25 :—

"Either party has the right to terminate the agreement when the vessel is in a home port. In such case notice to terminate must be given within 12 hours of arrival in port, and not later than 12 hours before the vessel leaves."

Dismissal.

A full discussion took place over articles 28, 29 and 30 of the draft. The delegates were unanimous in pointing out the necessity of a clear definition of the terms "serious breach of discipline" and "crime or misdemeanour", as the present text is open to arbitrary interpretation on the part of the captain. No definite proposal was, however, put forward.

Some of the delegates proposed that the institution of Ships' Councils should be demanded, to safeguard the crew from unjust acts of their superiors. The British delegates were opposed to the institution of such Councils, attempts on their part in this direction having had unhappy results. They considered that the redressing of injustices was a matter for the unions. The French delegate also stated that experiments of this kind in France had not been very happy, although he did not consider this was sufficient justification for flatly rejecting the principle of crew representation.

Repatriation.

The British, French and German proposals with regard to article 31 were adopted.

Cheap Coloured Labour.

It was decided to recommend the addition of a clause regarding the employment of coloured labour, the following text being approved :—

"We recommend that Chinese and Indian seamen should only be employed under the terms of articles 3 to 39 (excluding 11, 12, 13 and 34), of the International Code of the Joint Maritime Commission.

We also recommend that the demanding or acceptance of payment for securing employment for such seamen shall be regarded as a punishable offence."

The Committee finally decided to submit to the full session meeting on 10 August a resolution on the eight hour day, and to propose that the amendments and additions recommended be forwarded to the International Labour Office.

Sunday 10 August.

Opening 10.30 a. m.

On this day the last session took place with a view to receiving the report of the advisory committee. The following delegates were in attendance :

Country	Organization	Name
Belgium	Seamen's union (affiliated with the Transport Workers' Union)	—
Denmark	Firemen's organization	E. Jacobsen A. Göttsche
France	Federation of Seamen's Union	F. Chachuat
Germany	Seamen's Section of the German Traffic Union	F. Köhler J. Murer Voss
Great Britain	National Transport Workers' Federation Amalgamated Marine Workers' Union	J. Henson J. Lewis J. McKinlay
Holland	Seamen's Section of the Transport Workers' Union	A. Kievit
Norway	Sailors' and Firemen's Union	E. Jacobsen
Sweden	Firemen's Union Sailors' Union	Sv. Lundgren Kn Elmén N. Oisson W. Eliason

Edo Fimmen, Secretary of the Seamen's Section of the I. T. F.

J. Döring, member of the Executive Committee, Chairman.

* * *

Fimmen submits the report of the meeting of the Advisory Committee on the previous Tuesday. The session had lasted the whole day.

Proposed Modifications and Additions to the Draft International Seamen's Code.

Part II.

Chapter I.

Age of Seamen.

Article 3. The second part should be omitted, as it is necessary that the work of children under 14 years of age should also be forbidden on vessels upon which only members of the same family are employed.

In *Article 5*, paragraph (b) should be omitted, and article 4 should also apply to ships propelled otherwise than by steam.

Article 6 should be omitted in its entirety. As article 4 provides that young persons under 18 years of age shall not be employed as trimmers and stokers, we do not see why it should be necessary to depart from the provision in article 6.

A further article should be added providing that women may not work on other than passenger vessels.

Chapter II.

Qualifications.

Article 9, paragraph 3. The following provision should be added:—
If as a result of the examination at such a port a seaman proves to be physically unfit, and has to be discharged, the shipowner shall pay, in addition to wages, the cost of repatriation to port of embarkation."

Article 10, paragraph 1, should read:—

"Not less than nine tenths of the crew of any vessel shall be composed of seamen able to understand orders given in the language of the country under whose flag the vessel sails."

Part III.

Chapter II.

Form and Record of Agreement.

Article 18, paragraph 1, should be altered to read that an agreement for a definite period may not extend beyond one year, and may not be renewed more than 30 days before its expiry.

Article 19 should contain, in addition, the following provisions:

"If, when in any port, the crew of a vessel is incomplete, the vessel may not sail until the crew is completed."

"The period of notice of termination of agreement, and other provisions relating to termination of agreement, shall be the same for both parties."

The following should be added to *Article 21*:

"At the beginning of each voyage the captain shall acquaint the crew with the tenour of the agreement. A legalized copy of the agreement shall be posted in a part of the vessel easily accessible to the men on board."

Part IV.

Article 25 should have the following addition :—

"Either party has the right to terminate the agreement when the vessel is in a home port. In such case notice to terminate must be given within 12 hours of arrival in port, and not later than 12 hours before the vessel leaves."

Part V.

Chapter I.

Repatriation.

Article 31 does not clearly state that in case of repatriation of a seaman the cost of his food, transportation of kit, etc., shall be borne by the shipowners, and that his wages shall continue. It is necessary that these obligations shall apply, especially as regards the continuation of wages, until the date of the seaman's return to his home port.

* * *

We propose the addition of a 40th article of the following tenour :

"The provisions of Parts III to V, that is to say Articles 3 to 39 (excepting Articles 11, 12, 13 and 34) shall also apply to seamen of Chinese, Indian and Somali nationality."

* * *

Resolution on Ship's Councils.

The International Seamen's Conference meeting at Hamburg on 4, 5 and 10 August decided to submit the following proposal to the International Labour Office, with a request that that Office make every effort to bring it to realization.

Proposal.

That on all vessels engaged in maritime navigation a body representative of the crew shall be set up to look after the interests of the latter.

Reasons.

The crew of a ship are in a disadvantageous position compared with that of land workers, because during a voyage, which often lasts several months, they are unable to leave their place of work, and often have no contact whatsoever with the outside world. During the voyage the men on board are placed entirely under the authority and at the will and pleasure of the captain. It is therefore not unreasonable to demand for the crew some means of enforcing their rights against the captain or the shipowners' representative either during the voyage or in port, and to give them in certain circumstances, and within certain limits, some say in the matters which affect them.

This intervention of the workers would bear on the following questions:

- (1) Abandoning of vessel in case of shipwreck ;
- (2) Testing of seaworthiness of the vessel ;
- (3) Control of food supplies on board (limitation of rations etc.) ;

- (4) Reduction in grade of seamen;
- (5) Dismissal for insubordination;
- (6) Searching of a seamen's kit.

In addition to draft rules for the election of the representatives above mentioned, we send you a statement of their proposed duties and powers, and request your favourable consideration of the question.

* * *

Method of Election of Ships' Councils on vessels of the Merchant Marine.

§ 1.

A Ship's Council constituted in the following manner shall be set up on all vessels of the mercantile marine having a crew of 7 or more.

§ 2.

The Ship's Council shall be composed as follows:—

(1) On vessels with a crew of not less than 7 nor more than 50: one representative of the officers, one of the deck hands and one of the engine room hands.

(2) On sailing vessels of whatever tonnage with a crew of 7 or more: one representative of the officers and two of the subordinate ratings.

(3) On steam or motor vessels with a crew of more than 50: one representative of the officers, one of the deck hands, one of the engine room hands, and one of the general service staff, plus a second representative of whichever of these categories is numerically the strongest.

§ 3.

The election of the Ship's Council shall take place before sailing, on the occasion of a general muster of the crew.

§ 4.

As soon as half the crew has come aboard to start work the captain or his second in command shall without delay appoint an election committee. This committee shall be composed in the same manner as the Ship's Council, and shall perform the functions of the latter until it is elected. The election committee chooses a chairman from among its members.

§ 5.

The captain shall give the election committee at least 48 hours notice of the elections. As soon as the election committee is in possession of the notice it shall post a call for nominations in the crews' quarters.

§ 6.

Every seaman of eighteen years of age or over shall have an electoral vote. Any seaman of 24 years of age or over with not less than three years sea service shall be eligible for election. The candidate shall belong to the category by which and for which he is nominated.

§ 7.

Members of the election committee are eligible for election.

§ 8.

Each electoral group shall nominate in writing one candidate and two substitute candidates. The nomination paper shall be signed by two members of the electoral group in question, and shall give the age of the candidates, their sea service and a declaration that they accept nomination.

§ 9.

Voting shall be by name, and not by list. All those whose names figure on the nomination papers above mentioned are eligible. The nomination papers shall be handed, by midday on the day preceding the election at the latest, to the member of the election committee who belongs to the electoral group in question.

The election committee shall meet at midday on the day preceding the general muster. It shall examine the nomination papers to see if they are in order, and shall as far as possible endeavour to complete the nominations if a candidate has to be eliminated. It shall then send the nominations to the Shipping Office.

§ 10.

Prior to the general muster the nominations shall be posted in the place where it is to be held. The election committee shall be represented at the elections by one of its members. The elections shall be held at the time of the general muster, and shall be under the direction of one of the employees in charge of the same. This employee shall hand to each elector an envelope in which to place his ballot paper, which he shall then place in the opening corresponding to his group, in a ballot box divided into three or four separate parts. The employee shall make a list of the electors who have exercised their right to vote.

§ 11.

The employee shall close the ballot as soon as the muster is over. Should the muster be interrupted in the absence of a part of the crew, the employee may close the ballot, provided at least four fifths of the men in each group have mustered. After the ballot the openings in the ballot box shall be officially sealed, and the box shall be taken, together with the nomination papers, on board the vessel by the Shipping Office.

§ 12.

The counting shall be effected by the election committee as soon as possible, in the presence of the captain or his next in command. A notification of the result, countersigned by the captain or his next in command, shall be posted by the election committee.

§ 13.

The office of member of the Ship's Council is honorary.

§ 14.

On vessels having 30 electors or less the employee in charge of the muster shall appoint the election committee prior to the muster, and shall request them to prepare the nomination papers. On vessels having less than 15 electors no election committee shall be appointed, and nominations will be made orally to the employee.

§ 15.

In the cases mentioned in article 14 the employee will count the votes immediately after the muster, and will immediately send a statement of the result to the shipowner.

§ 16.

On vessels registered at foreign ports the elections shall take place, under the abovementioned conditions and under the supervision of the consul.

§ 17.

If the number of the crew is 20 or less a Ship's Council shall be appointed if the number of electors is not less than 5.

§ 18.

New elections shall be held (1) if a member and his two substitutes can no longer fulfil their duties; (2) if more than 60% of the original electors have been discharged, and at least 5 men demand new elections.

§ 19.

The shipowner shall bear the cost of envelopes, ballot papers and ballot box.

§ 20.

Any breach of the above provisions, whether intentional or the result of negligence, and whether by the captain, his next in command, the election committee or the employee in charge of the muster, or any other person, and the unauthorised posting or removal of lists of candidates, shall be punishable.

§ 21.

After the entry into force of these provisions any vessel calling at a port in its country of register shall hold within six months a general muster. If the vessel shall not return to a home port within six months this formality shall be complied with immediately after its return at latest. From the date of entry into force of these provisions, and until the election of the Ship's Council, the committee in charge of the feeding arrangements of the crew shall fulfil the duties of such Council.

* * *

This report was adopted after the representative of the Swedish seamen, comrade *Eliason*, had made the following declaration:

"As regards the age of seamen, my opinion differs from that of the majority of the Committee. The desire that the minimum age for deck

hands be raised from 14 to 16 years is, as far as I know, felt by the older seamen as well as the officers. On account of too low an age limit there would be, the seamen believe, an excess of juvenile labour, thus making the duties of the older seamen, who have to help the young ones, very much heavier. The officers, on their side, consider that the latter do not do enough work, thus endangering the vessel. The proposals do not meet the desire of the majority of the seamen, and that is why we do not think we have a right to support them in their present form. By adopting them we should be recognising, as the owners always contend, that the seamen's trade is one for young men. We consider, on the contrary, that it should be regarded as a trade for adults. I propose therefore that the Conference adopt the demand that the minimum age for deck hands should be 16 years."

Accident Compensation.

After a discussion in which the British, German and Dutch delegates took part, and in the course of which it came out that in so far as accident compensation is concerned the British seamen are in the same position as industrial workers, the following resolution was adopted :—

Right to compensation in case of accident.

That the seamen's representatives on the Joint Maritime Commission of the International Labour Office be requested to submit a recommendation that an international standard for payment of compensation for accidents to seamen, based as a minimum on the British scale of payments, be adopted.

That it be a further recommendation that a seaman shall be entitled to claim compensation from any shipowner irrespective of where the ship is registered.

Penalties.

On the proposal of comrade *Cotter* (Great Britain), the following resolution was adopted :—

Legal Status of Seamen

That with reference to fines and punishments inflicted on Seamen, we make no suggestions on the points discussed by the Joint Maritime Commission of the International Labour Office, as we are of opinion that the ordinary civil law of the country under whose flag the seaman is sailing, should be the law applicable to the seamen.

The Eight Hour Day.

On the proposal of *Chachuat* (France) the following resolution was adopted unanimously :—

Resolution on Eight Hour Day.

In view of the fact that the eight hour day or forty-eight hour week figures in Part XIII of the Treaty of Versailles ; that seamen of all classes and ratings have the same right to reasonable working conditions as land

workers ; and that the general introduction of the eight hour day or forty-eight hour week on vessels of the contracting States cannot be regarded as a burden for the shipowners ; the representatives of the Seamen, meeting at Hamburg on 4, 5 and 11 August 1924, under the auspices of the I. T. F., decide and undertake to demand from their respective Governments the enforcement of the eight hour day, and to make every effort and use every means at their disposal to create around this question such an atmosphere as will lead to its prompt and international realization.

Chachuat recalled that an international conference will meet in 1926 to discuss maritime questions. As the occasion seemed appropriate to start an international movement for the introduction of the eight hour day on board, he proposed that the I. T. F. should insist that this conference be held at an earlier date.

Fimmen pointed out that it was not enough to approach the Governments and the International Labour Office, but the unions in all countries should make efforts to carry out the programme adopted, by bringing as much pressure to bear as possible upon the owners in the different countries.

After *Fimmen* had been instructed to report to the Congress on the work of the Conference, Chairman *Döring* declared the meeting closed at 1 p. m.

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