

INTERNATIONAL  
TRANSPORT WORKERS' FEDERATION

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REPORT

OF THE INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS  
HELD AT GENEVA IN THE GRAND HALL  
OF THE "BOURSE DU TRAVAIL",  
FROM 18th TO 22nd APRIL, 1921

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PHK 0-15174

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1922

INTERNATIONAL TRANSPORT WORKERS' FEDERATION  
VONDELSTRAAT 61, AMSTERDAM (HOLLAND)

## **Agenda.**

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1. Opening Address by the President of the I. T. F.
  2. Election of the Bureau to act during the course of the Congress.
  3. Examination of Credentials.
  4. Drawing up of Agenda.
  5. Report of the activities of the Executive Committee.
  6. Financial Report.
  7. Proposals submitted.
  8. Headquarters of the I. T. F.
  9. a) Selection of the countries, the representatives of which shall form the General Council and the Executive Committee of the I. T. F.  
b) Election of the Members of the General Council.  
c) Election of the Members of the Executive Committee.  
d) Election of the International Secretary.
  10. Designation of the country and city where the next Congress shall be held.
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## List of Delegates.

Country	Names of the Organisations	Names of Delegates	Number of Members
Austria	Allgemeiner Rechtsschutz- und Gewerkschaftsverein der Eisenbahner für Oesterreich (Railwaymen)	J. Tomschik J. Smeykal	91,994
	Verband der Handels-, Transport- und Verkehrsarbeiter und -Arbeiterinnen Oesterreichs (Transportworkers)	A. Forstner K. Weigl	52,553
Belgium	Syndicat National du Personnel des Ch. P. T. T. M. (Railwaymen)	E. Malien S. Nicaise	84,000
	Belgische Transportarbeidersbond (Transportworkers)	P. Somers G. Bessemans C. Mahiman H. van Eiken	30,000
Czecho-Slovakia	Unie Zeleznichnich V Ceskoslovenské (Railwaymen)	J. Kriz W. Brodečky	66,598
	Verband der Eisenbahner im Bereiche der tschechoslowakischen Republik (Railwaymen)	E. Grünzner A. Mirsch	30,000
Denmark	Dansk Jernbaneforbund (Railwaymen)	R. Kants Chr. Vejre	10,200
	Dansk Transportarbejder Forbund (Transportworkers)	M. Darup A. Jørgensen	3,000
France	Fédération Nationale des Travailleurs des Chemins de Fer de France, des Colonies et Pays de Protectorat (Railwaymen)	M. Bidegaray G. Toulouse Le Guen	100,000
	Fédération Nationale des Ports, Docks, Transport et Manutentionnaires de France et d'Algérie (Dockers)	A. Demey P. Mamessier L. François R. Guéna E. Vignaud	20,000
	Fédération Nationale des Moyens de Transports (Transportworkers)	J. Guinchard Mazand J. Mollard Monin	20,000
Germany	Deutscher Eisenbahnerverband (Railwaymen)	F. Scheffel Kaufuss H. Jochade M. Hermann H. Hage	503,000

Country	Names of the Organisations	Names of Delegates	Number of Members
Germany	Deutscher Transportarbeiterverband (Transportworkers)	O. Schumann O. Ortmann G. Hähnel H. Rudolph Peter Müller J. Döring L. Brunner	582,000
Great Britain	The National Transport Workers' Federation	E. Bevin J. Cofter B. Smith J. Jones F. J. Maynard J. Sexton	400,000
Holland	Nederlandsche Vereeniging van Spoor- en Tramwegpersoneel (Railwaymen)	P. Moltmaker N. Nathans W. van Delft	20,784
	Centrale Bond van Transportarbeiders (Transportworkers)	J. Brautigam F. A. Hof A. Kievit W. Drop	20,550
	Nederlandsche Federatie van Transportarbeiders (Transportworkers)	A. Langkemper T. Bouwer	9,000
Luxemburg	Fédération Nationale des Cheminots Luxembourgeois (Railwaymen)	M. Hack M. Leick	6,700
Norway	De Norske Jernbaneforbund (Railwaymen)	A. Alberti J. Skaarvold	8,950
	Norsk Lokomotivmandsforbund (Engine drivers)	E. Sandberg	1,699
	Norsk Transportarbeiderforbund (Transportworkers)	O. Olsen	10,000
	Norsk Matros- og Fyrbøterunion (Seamen)	O. Nilsen	5,000
Sweden	Svenska Järnvägsmannaförbundet (Railwaymen)	A. Forslund F. W. Franzén H. J. Olsson	30,554
	Svenska Transportarbetareförbundet (Transportworkers)	Ch. Lindley A. Olsson	13,179
Switzerland	Schweizerischer Eisenbahnerverband (Railwaymen)	P. Perrin V. Lang W. Allgöwer G. Beck R. Bratschi	40,000
	Verband der Handels-, Transport- und Lebensmittelarbeiter der Schweiz (Transportworkers)	A. Büchi	2,880
	International Transportworkers' Federation	Edo Fimmen, Secretary	

First Day.  
Monday, April 18th, 1921.

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Opening of the Congress.

*Döring* (Germany, Vice-President of the I. T. F.) took the chair at 9.30 a. m. He was sorry to have to announce that the President, Robert Williams (Great Britain), was detained by the miners' strike in Great Britain. Robert Williams had sent a letter to the Congress.

Thereupon the Chairman welcomed the delegates and declared that this Congress should prove that the International Transportworkers' Federation was ready for the great social struggles which were impending. Not only the workers but also the employers and governments are watching the decisions of our International Congresses; they will, when taking their decisions, consider our discussions.

Everywhere attempts are being made to reduce the wages of the workers, especially in the former neutral and Entente countries where there are large supplies of goods which cannot be exported in consequence of the high rates of exchange, whilst the workers of Central Europe are suffering from the impoverishment of their countries. The former are out of work whilst the latter have got to work for wages upon which they cannot exist. The transportworkers will be the first to suffer as the transport industry is above all connected with international trade. It is not because there is overproduction that goods cannot be sold, but it is only due to lack of purchasing power of the common people that the depression has set in. The Chairman stated that he would not go further into this matter because there would be ample opportunity to discuss the consequences of the Peace Treaties.

Since the war various international conferences had been held with a view to discussing labour problems including those which specially concerned transportworkers. For instance, the International Labour Office held the Genoa Conference for the purpose of discussing the introduction of the 48-hours week for seamen and for the settlement of certain other problems, the solution of which had been the object of seafarers' organisations for many years past.

But it had not been possible to carry through a Convention or Recommendation in regard to the 48-hours week because of the opposition of the employers, who, supported by a great many Governments, succeeded in rejecting the proposals made. It will therefore be necessary that the workers in those countries bring more pressure to bear upon their governments so as to compel these to adopt another attitude. The International will have to back up the organisations in these countries because their weakness jeopardises the position of transportworkers internationally. (Applause)

*Morard* (Switzerland) welcomed the delegates on behalf of the Reception Committee which was composed of the organisations of Transportworkers and Railwaymen at Geneva. They considered it a great honour that the Congress was held in their country.

*Fimmen* (Secretary of the I.T.F.) then read the list of delegates. He further announced that the Italian Dockers had intimated that they would attend the Congress, but so far their delegates had not arrived. The letter received from Robert Williams, President of the I.T.F., who was unable to be present because of the British Miners' strike, ran as follows:

To the Delegates to the International Transportworkers'  
Congress, Geneva, 1921.

*Comrades and Friends,*

I sincerely regret that very heavy responsibilities will prevent me from attending the International Transportworkers' Conference which is being held at Geneva. There seems a remote possibility that some of my colleagues of the Transport Workers' Federation and the National Union of Railwaymen may be able to be present at the Conference. As you are doubtless aware, the British railway workers and transport workers are partners with the mine workers in the Triple Industrial Alliance. A grave conflict is taking place in England in which the Government, acting in collusion with the mine owners, are trying to force a very serious decrease in the wages of the mine workers. They are trying to destroy national negotiations and a national adjustment of wages and to compel the workers in certain areas to submit to a fifty per cent reduction in their earning powers. The great attack on the Miners' Federation was aimed to take place at a time when the employing class and the Government imagined that our morale had been undermined by a tremendous trade slump and the fact that a million and a half workers had been thrown out of employment. As allies with the Miners, transport workers and railway workers have manifested unprecedented solidarity in pledging their support; support which, I am positive, will be forthcoming as circumstances may direct. So much for our national position here in Great Britain.

Our position internationally is that we want more and more to strengthen the ties which bind us in our respective industries. The International Transportworkers' Federation was one of the first industrial secretariats to

reorganise itself immediately after the Armistice period. The seamen and dockers and waterside workers of all countries are united as no other industry can be united. Tremendous organising has taken place during the war and since the war and in most countries our numerical strength has grown enormously. With our additional numerical strength, we naturally have more bargaining powers to obtain from the employing class a higher standard of life, but now, more than two years after the Armistice, the old system of capitalism is passing through the most trying ordeal. The Peace Treaties, like the insane war of which they were the outcome, reflect the grasping mind of capitalism and of landlordism. Greed, rapacity and exploitation are the watchwords of the capitalist system. The workers in the defeated countries have had their conditions forced down to and even below the starvation point. The New States have learned nothing from the experiences of the war. Poland, Hungary, the Baltic States and other newly born states are pursuing the old paths of militarism and imperialism and suffering and privation are forced upon the workers of these countries.

We are able to see more and more clearly that, if the workers internationally combine, and they permit a serious reduction in the economic status of one or more countries, this reduction gradually but definitely will undermine the conditions of life of the workers in every other nation. International solidarity must be more than a phrase. It must be a living guiding principle to transport workers, railway workers, and, in fact, to the working class in general throughout the world.

Your Executive Committee has had a very trying period since the Christiania Conference, but you will agree that the re-created International Transportworkers' Federation has justified many of the confidences reposed in it. The Acting Secretary, Comrade Fimmen, although not a transport worker himself, has grappled with the multifarious details of our organisation in his characteristically able manner. His linguistic attainments, his native shrewdness, and his knowledge of the general working class movement has been invaluable to us since he has assumed his present duties. The International Transportworkers' Federation has, with a considerable measure of success, intervened against efforts to crush the workers' organisations, and, especially the Transport Workers' organisation, in Poland, Finland, Hungary and other countries. It has pledged itself to help the British Miners and Transport Workers in the present conflict which is taking place in Great Britain. It may be safely said to be the pioneer of the International Industrial Secretariats.

The devastating effects of the Peace Treaties are preventing the normal resumption of trade and the free interchange of commodities, which must be the foundation of an abundance of employment for transport workers. The pursuit of impossible indemnities is paralysing trade and threatens the foundation and edifice of the entire system of private ownership of the means of life. How we can assure that the transition from unrestricted capitalism to socialism will take place without wholesale bloodshed and destruction remains to be seen. Every

reasonable man instinctively hopes that the social transformation from Capitalism to Socialism will be conducted in a peaceable and orderly manner, but if force is used against us, we shall be compelled to retaliate with greater force. The returning soldiers are exhausted by the sufferings and sacrifices of the great War. They will not consent to be used by the forces of reaction to intimidate and overawe the Trade Unions; they are trade unionists themselves with a belief in the principles of Trade Unionism. We have to see to it that the logical and the common-sense reasons which we have offered to the International Seafarers' Council shall render the separate existence of that body untenable and unnecessary. The Seafaring Workers of all countries must realise that their proper place is in the International Transportworkers' Federation. In a great seafaring dispute, the active co-operation of the Dock and Waterside workers as well as other grades of transport workers is absolutely essential to them. If a ship is allowed to leave any port, she can only be stopped effectively by the sympathetic action and display of solidarity at the port at which she is to arrive. Every dictate of commonsense demands that there should be active co-operation between seafaring workers and the shore transport workers. We will not admit the right of the Seamen's organisation to call upon other sections for their assistance unless those Seamen's organisations will take their proper place within the International Transportworkers' Federation.

The Transport workers of the Allied and Neutral Nations must make a supreme effort to raise the economic status of the workers in the Central Powers, whose conditions to-day are well-nigh desperate. It has been computed by statisticians that the skilled workmen of Germany have to give two hours' labour to buy a 4lb. loaf whereas skilled workers in the Allied countries have to give only half an hour's labour to secure the same commodity. How to improve the real wages of the German workers and the workers of other countries whose plight is equally deplorable is the acid test of international solidarity amongst transport workers and, in fact, workers in every other industry.

You will have many duties to attend to during the forthcoming week. You are all alive to the grave responsibilities which rest upon your shoulders. You realise, as I realise, that the interests of the workers of all countries are identical. To improve the conditions of the workers, to fight for and secure an ever increasing share of the wealth which their labour creates and to supersede the existing system of capitalism by a more equitable order of brotherhood and co-operation, I and my colleagues of the British Transport Workers' Federation and the National Union of Railwaymen will contribute our fair share of active support to the International Transportworkers' Federation.

Long live the International Transportworkers' Federation; long live International Solidarity and long live the Workers' Republic!

Yours fraternally,  
*Robert Williams.*



*Fimmen* (International Secretary) then stated that the English Railwaymen were not in a position either to take part in the Congress owing to the critical situation in Great Britain. The Irish Transport Workers communicated that they were sorry not to be able to send representatives whilst from the Bulgarian and Polish Railwaymen's Unions fraternal greetings were received. The Spanish Railwaymen and the Hungarian Railwaymen could not come to Geneva because of the bad situation in their countries. Similar letters were received from the Yugo-Slavian Transportworkers, the Swedish Railway Clerks and the Dockers of Brazil.

The Congress was further attended by :

J. Oudegeest, representing the International Federation of Trade Unions,  
Tom Shaw, representing the International Textileworkers' Federation,  
L. Maier, representing the International of P. T. T. Employees.

Also the International Secretariats of Metalworkers, Food and Drink Trades and Stone Cutters had intimated that they would send representatives. The International Federation of Woodworkers, Public Services and Glass workers had reported that they were unable to come.

#### *Election of the Bureau.*

*Döring* (Chairman) : The General Council decided to propose the election of a Congress Bureau consisting of five members, viz :

as Chairmen :

E. Bevin (Great Britain)  
M. Bidegaray (France)  
J. Döring (Germany)

as Secretaries :

N. Nathans (Holland)  
W. Allgöwer (Switzerland)

The officers were unanimously elected.

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#### *Examination of Credentials.*

*Döring* (Chairman) proposed that each country should examine the credentials of its own delegates, the final examination to be carried out by a committee consisting of three members.

The General Council proposed to appoint :

H. Jochade (Germany)  
Ch. Lindley (Sweden),

and a secretary.

*It was decided to examine the credentials during the interval whereupon the Congress was adjourned until 2.30 p. m.*

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Afternoon Session.  
Monday, April 18th, 1921.

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*Drawing up of the Agenda.*

*Döring* (Chairman) proposed that the Congress should assemble from 9 a. m. to 1 p. m. and from 3 p. m. to 6 p. m.

*Adopted.*

*Döring* (Chairman) proposed to postpone the discussion on items 5 and 6 of the Agenda because all delegates had not yet received the Report on Activities whilst with regard to item 6 a commission consisting of three members should be appointed which would have to submit its report to the Congress.

*Döring* (Chairman) moved that one representative from France, Germany and Great Britain be appointed.

*Adopted.*

These three countries nominated:

G. Toulouse (France)

J. Tomschik (Germany and Austria)

F. J. Maynard (Great Britain).

The Congress confirmed these nominations.

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*Proposals submitted.*

*Döring* (Chairman) said that it was decided to hold special conferences of Dock and Road Transportworkers, Rail- and Tramwaymen and Seamen.

We believe that the best course to be pursued would be to have the general questions dealt with by the Congress during the sessions of to-day and to-morrow, whilst special items should be laid before the special conferences to meet on Wednesday.

These conferences may appoint a rapporteur who has to submit to the plenary sessions the motions adopted by the special conferences.

The General Council was of the opinion, that the following members should form the Bureau of the various Sectional Conferences :

Dock and Road Transportworkers :

E. Bevin (Great Britain)  
A. Forstner (Austria)  
E. Vignaud (France)

Rail- and Tramwaymen :

M. Bidegaray (France)  
H. Jochade (Germany)  
P. Moltmaker (Holland)

Seamen :

J. Brautigam (Holland)  
J. Döring (Germany)  
Ch. Lindley (Sweden)

He proposed to have numbers 11, 12, 14 and 15 of the proposals submitted dealt with by the Dock and Road Transportworkers' Conference. Numbers 3, 16, 17 and 18 by the Seamen's Conference and number 19 by the Rail- and Tramwaymen's Conference.

*Mahlman* (Belgian Transportworkers) did not agree with the proposals of the General Council, because it was almost the same countries which were to form the commissions. We realize that large organisations such as Germany, France and Great Britain should have representation, but I fail to see why Holland for instance should be represented on two of the groups whilst no Belgian is nominated at all. So far as the Seamen's Conference is concerned we are not satisfied because it is absolutely necessary that a person be appointed who is conversant with the prevailing conditions, especially with regard to the relations between the I.T.F. and the I.S.F.

*Fimmen* (Secretary) wanted to point out to *Mahlman* that he misunderstood the proposal of the General Council. In 1919 at the Amsterdam Conference it was already proposed that the I. T. F. should convene special conferences for the three main sections it comprises, viz. Transportworkers, Railwaymen and Seamen. This idea was supported by the Christiania Congress by adopting § 30 of the Constitution, wherein it is laid down that members of the Executive Bodies of the I. T. F. should preside over these Sectional Conferences. Of course the organisations of *all* countries should take part in the conferences.

This Congress will have to elect the General Council and I may disclose the fact that in the session of the General Council it was felt necessary that for the group of countries : Holland, Belgium and Luxemburg a Belgian comrade should be elected. Because of the fact, however, that no Belgian is a member of the General Council, there is no possibility that a Belgian is elected President. That would be contrary to § 30 of the Rules.

*Lindley* (Swedish Transportworkers) seconded *Fimmen's* view and declared that *Mahlman* had misunderstood the purport of the motion of the General Council. It is not the three persons nominated by the General Council who will have to decide what platform the I. T. F. should stand for, but it is the conferences themselves.

*Bevin* (Great Britain) asked that the countries should elect their representatives as soon as possible in order to avoid confusion.

*Döring* (Chairman) regretted that some delegates did not quite well understand his proposal. Perhaps he had not put it as clear as necessary. Of course the three nominees of the General Council are only the men under whose chairmanship the conferences will assemble.

*It was then decided, after a vote had been taken, to act in accordance with the proposals of the General Council.*

*Döring* (Chairman): Before dealing with the next proposal it is necessary to appoint a commission on affiliation fees in connection with proposal No. 22 which says "that all those countries where the exchange rates are at present below 50% of the current Amsterdam rates shall meet separately and agree among themselves to make such payments as shall equitably discharge their liabilities to the I. T. F."

There is an amendment from the Austrian Transportworkers saying, that affiliation fees payable by organisations in countries whose currencies have sunk below half the rate prevailing on the 1st July 1914 shall be three times the sum of 6 cents calculated at the rate of exchange as on the first July, 1914. These countries would be: Belgium, Germany, Austria, Czecho-Slovakia, France, and Luxemburg. In accordance with the proposal of the Executive Committee these 6 countries should each appoint a representative who will together form the Commission on Affiliation Fees.

*Adopted.*

*Döring* (Chairman) opened the discussion on the 1st Resolution reading as follows:

### *Resolution re Reaction and Militarism.*

"That this Congress endorses the action of the Secretariat and the Executive Council in the measures they have adopted to give effect to the declarations of the Christiania Congress against Imperialist War and Militarism.

The Congress congratulates and warmly approves the action of all organisations in the various countries which delayed and prevented the transportation of munitions and materials of war for the use of Poland against Soviet Russia.

It further congratulates the organisations which by the systematic blockade of Hungary materially lessened the rigours of the White Terror used against Socialists and Trade Unionists in that country.

The Congress declares that the most effective weapon against Militarism and Imperialism in every country is the organised strength of the Trade Union Movement, and instructs the Secretariat, the Executive Committee and the General Council to exercise all their vigilance and energy either on the part of the I.T.F. alone or in co-operation with International Labour in general, in order to thwart and overcome all efforts and designs of Militarism, Imperialism or International Capitalism to precipitate Reaction, Counter-Revolution and War."

*Fimmen* (Secretary) remarked that before the war the objects of the Trade Union Movement were limited and he reminded that the war had shown the necessity of a more extensive action from the Trade Union Movement.

The I.T.F. did already support these views at its Christiania Congress, and he believed we should go on in this direction and continue our fight against Militarism, Imperialism and Capitalism.

*Fimmen*, continuing, pointed out that reaction was rampant in almost every country. In Hungary as well as in Spain, in Finland and in Bulgaria, in France and in Great Britain, everywhere the Governments were by coercive measures trying to crush the labour movement. It is the transportworkers and railwaymen who form a mighty power in the struggle against Capitalism and Militarism. They had shown their anti-militarist spirit by boycotting Hungary, by refusing to handle munition destined for Poland.

The Capitalist governments are again preparing for war. There is but one power that will be able to prevent war, it is the internationally organised working class. Therefore the General Council asks you to adopt the resolution. In the last paragraph we underlined that "War against War" must be the slogan of all trade unions.

The political movement of the workers is being split up. Therefore unity among the trade unionists is all the more essential. I therefore hope, that you will unanimously adopt our resolution and thereby continue the work we commenced in Christiania. (Loud applause)

*Schumann* (Germany) proposed to adopt the resolution without discussion. The unanimous adoption of this resolution would manifest the firm and determined will of the I.T.F. to combat militarism.

*Guinchard* (France) wanted to alter the last paragraph, viz. in stead of "together with international labour in general", to read "the international political labour movement".

*Fimmen* (International Secretary) could not see his way to support *Guinchard's* proposal as it would only open discussions on the question whether the 2nd, 3rd or 2½ International is referred to.

*Döring* (Chairman): We shall take a vote on *Schumann's* proposal: "that resolution No. 1 be put to the vote without further discussion".

*Adopted.*

*Döring* (Chairman) then took a vote on Guinhard's amendment. With the exception of the French delegates and some Belgian delegates the Congress declared itself against the alteration of the resolution, thereby rejecting Guinhard's motion.

*Döring* (Chairman): May I take it that the resolution is unanimously carried?

*Adopted.*

*Fimmen* (International Secretary): The General Council proposes that a sum of 10,000 guilders be placed at the disposal of the Executive Committee for the struggle against reaction and militarism.

*Nicalse* (Belgian Railwaymen) seconded and declared that the Belgian delegation was fully in accord with the spirit and the wording of Resolution No. 1. He hoped that all delegates would vote in favour of this credit thereby expressing their aversion of reaction and militarism.

*Bevln* (Transportworkers Great Britain) proposed to postpone the discussions, as the Congress had decided not to sit later than 6 p. m.

*The Congress decided to continue the discussions.*

*Lindley* (Swedish Transportworkers): I am against *Fimmen's* motion. If we are going to vote 10,000 guilders we must know how we are going to spend them. Are we going to hold demonstrations and meetings against militarism? Militarism no longer exists in Austria and Germany. (Interruptions) It would therefore be ridiculous to hold meetings there. Also in France they would laugh at you if you wanted to hold meetings there. (Interruptions and laughter)

I do not believe that this is the only important and necessary thing we have got to do. *Fimmen* is a somewhat religious idealist, but I believe we want practical men in the trade union movement. *Fimmen's* reports are not real trade union reports, but anti-militaristic propaganda brochures. First of all we ought to be Trade Unionists and not anti-militarist propagandists. In France, Greece, etc. the Trade Unions are very weak and find themselves in difficult circumstances. We could better use the money for the purpose of supporting these countries, not for undertaking an eternal propaganda against militarism. I hold the problem of militarism should be solved nationally. In my opinion there are a great many other questions which we should review rather than maintain an everlasting struggle against militarism.

*Forstner* (Austrian Transportworkers) attacked *Lindley's* statements vehemently. We should avail ourselves of the present opportunity; capitalism finds itself in a severe crisis. In no country the people, the proletariat support war. With us in Austria it is hardly possible to form an army of thirty thousand men, which we are allowed to do according to the Peace Treaty.

It is the working classes who suffer from the war. There is only one party that loses a war, that is the working classes. The time has now come to put our resolution into practice. Therefore I want to urge you strongly : Do not let this opportunity go by without doing all that is in your power to abolish this plague on mankind. I invite you to adopt the resolution of the General Council and to reject Lindley's views. (Applause)

*Bidegaray* (French Railwaymen) : I cannot agree with Lindley. Lindley voted in favour of the resolution that means he accepts the theory ; but does he not want to put it into practice ? We should no longer act in a Quixotic fashion, because that would be the position if we would refrain from taking action, all possible action, against militarism and war. Lindley does not know what war means, but we who have experienced the horrors of war, we are in a position to judge about the "importance" of this question. It was the workers of France, England and Belgium, who brought such a pressure to bear upon their governments that these raised the blockade against Russia. It is not always the governments in the first instance who are against disarmament, but it is the employers who want to produce munition and make profits out of it.

The only thing I regret is that we cannot put a hundred thousand instead of 10,000 guilders at the disposal of the I.T.F. Nevermore should we make the mistake of wanting to work according to a national scheme and afterwards on an international basis. Let us all vote in favour of the proposal of the General Council in order that we may put into practice what is laid down in resolution No. 1. (Loud applause)

*Bevin* (British Transportworkers) declared himself against Fimmen's proposal and particularly against the manner in which this matter was dealt with. Everybody in Europe will laugh at the fact that the I.T.F. wants to smash militarism by forming a fund of 10,000 guilders. In Great Britain we spent 20,000 guilders on one day for the action to prevent the transport of lethal arms to Poland. Can we finance a great international action with 10,000 guilders ? Besides, is it certain that we are going to collaborate with the Amsterdam International ? Is it the intention to send Fimmen, Williams, Bidegaray and others to various countries in order to make fine speeches there and is that going to be all we do ? So far as England is concerned I may say that any action can only be successful if it is conducted by Britishers.

Before granting the credit a practical programm should be drafted.

*Döring* (Chairman) : It is 7.30 now, and I believe we should adjourn the Congress and leave the matter over till to-morrow.

*Adopted.*

Meeting adjourned.

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Second Day.  
Tuesday, April 19th, 1921.

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*Bidegaray* (French Railwaymen, member of the Executive of the I. T. F.) took the chair at 9 a. m.

*International Co-operation.*

*Bidegaray* (Chairman): We shall now deal with resolution No. 2 and afterwards take a vote on the proposal of the General Council which we discussed yesterday.

*Fimmen* (International Secretary) asked for a unanimous vote for the resolution of the Executive Committee with regard to International Co-operation. This resolution read as follows:

*Resolution re International Co-operation.*

"That this International Congress of Transportworkers held at Geneva on the 18th April 1921 and following days,

in consideration of the struggle which the working class has to conduct nationally and above all internationally against reaction throughout the world and in order to secure the greatest possible co-operation between existing international organisations,

expresses itself in favour of the formation of a working agreement between the I. T. F. and the International Miners' Federation and authorises the Executive Committee of the I. T. F. to take steps for the fulfilment of this object by entering into negotiations with the Executive of the International Miners' Federation.

Any agreement entered into shall be reported to the affiliated organisations and to the meeting of the next Congress."

It is only the intention to enter into negotiations with the Miners' International. A report will then be submitted to the next Congress, which will have definitely to decide whether and to what extent co-operation between the two Internationals is possible. It is not enough to adopt a resolution as we did yesterday, but it is also necessary to make an agreement with the Miners' International with a view to common action.



*Toulouse* (French Railwaymen) considered that it was not enough to try and open relations with the Miners' International only. He for one thought that through the medium of the International Federation of Trade Unions relations with all International Trade Secretariats should be entered into. It is of paramount importance for instance that the munition workers take part in the action against war.

*Bidegaray* (Chairman) remarked that the Amsterdam International Federation of Trade Unions would of course have to co-ordinate the action. In concluding an agreement with the Miners we are commencing the work in this direction.

*The resolution was then unanimously adopted.*

### *Request for admission from the Provisional International Council of Trade Unions of Moscow.*

*Bidegaray* (Chairman) read a telegram from the Provisional International Council of Trade Unions of Moscow saying that a certain Mr. Murphy had been appointed to attend the Congress. This telegram was signed by the General Secretary Tomskey and by a member of the Executive Committee of the 3rd International, Rosmer (France).

The General Council of the I. T. F. did not want to take a decision itself and therefore left it to the Congress to decide.

*Rudolph* (German Transportworkers) is against admission. The representatives of the Soviet-International have up till now taken up such an attitude against the I. T. F. and the I. F. T. U. that it is impossible for us to accept their greetings.

*Cotter* (British Transportworkers) also opposed the admission. We may expect the Russians to send at least a Russian to our Congress when they want to be represented. Last year we allowed two "American representatives" to attend our Christiania Congress and it appeared afterwards that they were no trade unionists at all. The only thing they did, was to circulate pamphlets and borrow and collect money from others. This Murphy has a wonderful Irish name. Let him go to Ireland and work for the Irish cause. They want him more than we do.

*The Congress decided, with the exception of two votes, not to hear the delegate from Moscow.*

*Bidegaray* (Chairman) then opened discussion on the proposal which had not been fully disposed of the day before.

*Lindley* (Swedish Transportworkers) declared that he could not second the proposal of the General Council. Why have not the French, who are supporting this resolution so fervently, combatted militarism in their own country? I hold that the masses should above all have confidence in their leaders and it is dangerous when we are adopting proposals as this because that would undoubtedly shatter their confidence. If we should

continue this kind of things it might mean that after some time we were to vote a sum in favour of converting the Chinese to Christianity. There is another point I want to raise. This proposal was not on the Agenda and therefore it could not be discussed by the affiliated organisations and their members.

*Fimmen* (International Secretary) protested emphatically against Lindley's and Bevin's arguments. Some people seem to imagine that Williams, Bidegaray and myself are out for pleasure trips in order to combat militarism. I want to say that during the last year I have been abroad for 160 days and it is certainly not with pleasure that I undertake all these journeys.

As regards the argument that the Congress cannot deal with resolutions which were not on the Agenda I want to refreshen the memory of my two comrades. At the Christiania Congress, Guinchard for instance submitted two resolutions which were enthusiastically adopted though they were not on the Agenda and even not discussed. Bevin said: It is questionable whether we will collaborate with the I.F.T.U. May I draw his attention to the Rules wherein it is stated under § 4 (k) that we shall enter into and regularly maintain relations with the I.F.T.U. and the International Secretariats of other Trades and Industries. As long as this Rule is not deleted or altered, we will work together with the I. T. F. U. (Applause)

If the Congress is of the opinion that we should not hold meetings in various countries, then it may indicate what other methods should be adopted. We might for instance publish pamphlets of an anti-militarist character. At all events I am convinced and hope this Congress is, that we have to employ all means against capitalism and militarism. (Loud applause)

The British delegation proposed: "that the question be now put".

*Adopted.*

*With the exception of seven votes (Lindley and the British delegation) the proposal of the General Council was adopted.*

*Franzén* (Swedish Railwaymen) remarked that the members of the other Scandinavian delegations did not support Lindley's views. Though militarism is not so powerful and arrogant in Sweden as in many other countries, particularly because Sweden did not take part in the world war, we fully realise the consequences of war for the International Working Class. We therefore voted against Lindley and in favour of the proposal of the General Council. (Applause)

After resolution No. 3 having been referred to the Seamen's Conference,

*Bidegaray* (Chairman) opened the discussion on resolution 4 and 5, reading as follows:

*Resolutions re Social ownership of the means of Transport.*

4) "That this Congress of the International Transportworkers' Federation, believing that freedom of transport and communication is essential to the

peoples of all countries, hereby declares in favour of the social ownership of the means of transport—road, rail, air, and water—and of the means of production ancillary thereto: provision of light, heat, power, etc. It also declares in favour of joint control by the State or Municipality and the Workers' organisations of such means of transport and ancillary productive organisations."

5) "That this Congress appoint a Commission charged with the task of ascertaining whether and to what extent measures can and ought to be taken with a view to bringing about Socialisation of the Means of Transport in the various countries."

*Resolution No.4 was unanimously adopted.*

*Moltmaker* (Dutch Railwaymen) in recommending resolution No.5 said that a commission should be instituted which was to study the question of the socialisation of the means of transport. A report should be submitted to the next Congress.

*Mahlman* (Belgian Transportworkers) said: We are all in favour of socialisation of the means of transport but before this can be carried through internationally it is indispensable that the means of transport of some countries are socialised.

*Cotter* (Great Britain): I propose that the two resolutions be sent to the various organisations in order that in every country this matter be discussed. Only in that way it will be possible to receive the necessary information. Further they should not only be forwarded to the I.F.T.U. and to the National Federations of Trade Unions, but also to Statistical Bureaux etc. Only when we are conducting an enquête on a large scale we shall succeed in accomplishing something tangible.

*Bidegaray* (Chairman) supported *Cotter's* and *Mahlman's* views and therefore moved to alter the resolution so that it would read as follows: "That this Congress charges the General Council to enter into relations with the various organisations and the International Labour Office with the task of ascertaining whether and to what extent measures can and ought to be taken with a view to bringing about socialisation of the means of transport in the various countries."

*Adopted.*

Meeting adjourned.

Afternoon Session.  
Tuesday, April 19th, 1921.

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*Bidegaray* (France) took the chair.

*Resolution re Peace Treaty.*

The following resolution was submitted by the Executive Committee :

6) "That this International Transportworkers' Congress held at Geneva on the 18th April 1921 and following days, taking into consideration the wanton destruction of machines and material necessary for production and transport which has taken place in the application of the Versailles' Peace Treaty in the defeated countries and in consideration of the fact that indefensible economic injury will be caused to the people of all nations through this destruction, expresses its emphatic protest against procedure of this kind on the part of imperialist governments which at present constitute themselves rulers of the world."

*Forstner* (Austrian Transportworkers) declared that he was in favour of the destruction of war material but not of the destruction of buildings, of aeroplanes and machinery used for peace industries, as had been done in Austria by the Entente Commissions, though experts had declared that these machines could not be used for war purposes.

In Germany, for instance, the well-known Diesel Motors were destroyed. The Austrian workers could only prevent the destruction of these motors by defending them with their own bodies.

I want to propose that the heading of the resolution be put in the plural because the Versailles Treaty affects only Germany. The Treaty of San Germain was concluded by Austria.

I am convinced that the workers of the Entente countries do not wish that we should be deprived of the opportunity to work. We declare ourselves in favour of the reconstruction of the areas devastated by the war. But how is this reconstruction to take place? Should it be by allowing the capitalists of the victorious states to exploit the workers of the conquered countries, thereby making them liable to statute-labour? Then the position of the workers in the victorious and neutral countries will also be jeopardised.

I only want to refer to the consequences of German reparation coal being delivered to France: it causes unemployment among the British, Belgian and even among the French miners. But of course it is necessary to find a solution of this problem. We are in favour of rightful reparation but we do not support a policy of exploitation animated by a spirit of revenge and profiteering.

The I. F. T. U. has already in an Executive meeting and in a special conference held on March 31st and April 1st, 1921, dealt with the question of reconstruction and reparation. The proposals elaborated by that conference have been published. I believe we should support these demands and I therefore propose to add an amendment to resolution No. 6, reading:

"That this International Transportworkers' Congress recognises the decisions of the I. F. T. U. taken at its meeting of the 14th and 15th March as well as of the International Trade Union Conference of the 30th and 31st March and 1st April 1921 in connection with the Reparations question."

*Guinchard* (French Transportworkers): We are against the destruction of war material that can be used for peace purposes, but a resolution dealing with the Peace Treaties should contain some paragraph indicating in what way the devastated areas of France and Belgium should be restored.

Would you permit the German Government to evade its duty towards the people of these districts? We voted in favour of the resolution against militarism; only if our German comrades indicate in what way and to what extent they will bring pressure to bear upon their government in order to reconstruct the ruins caused by the war shall we be in a position to gain influence with our government.

I therefore propose to form a commission which will go into the matter thoroughly and which will investigate and consider all the difficulties connected with the solution of this problem.

*Schumann* (German Transportworkers): I am in agreement with *Guinchard* when he insists upon the German comrades making a declaration saying what they will do in order to enforce the reconstruction of the districts devastated by the war. I want, however, to remark that the German workers have already proposed a scheme which was laid before the International Trade Union Conference at Amsterdam.

Similar proposals have for some time past been submitted to the Entente governments but they were rejected and no reason was given why the Entente governments could not agree. Obviously it is the French capitalists who want to make profits out of the work of reconstruction. Many a proposal has been made which proved that we were prepared to do our duty. Therefore we cannot make any proposal; we only refer to the Amsterdam decisions wherein it is said that all workers, including the German, should do all that is in their power in order to bring about the reconstruction of the devastated areas on the basis of the Amsterdam decisions.

*Bidegaray* (Chairman): I believe the question has not been placed in a proper light, neither by Guinchard, nor by Schumann. As a matter of fact the views of these two comrades are identical. Guinchard is wrong, when he believes that the German workers did not endeavour to bring about the reconstruction of the devastated districts, but Schumann is wrong if he believes that the French workers did not influence public opinion in favour of a mutual scheme. We want the German Federation of Trade Unions to submit practical proposals for reconstruction, thus obliging the German Government to put forward a well considered practical plan. It is not only a question of principle we have to decide upon; we are dealing with a question of how to provide homes for 8 million people.

*Schumann* (Germany): It was not my intention to make any reproach to our French comrades. I know that the French workers just as the German workers did advocate reconstruction by mutual understanding. Bidegaray and Guinchard now want us to exercise pressure on the German government. This has been complied with. Since the conclusion of Peace we have done so, but we cannot go beyond a certain limit. I want to repeat that the German Government has many a time laid practical proposals before the French government, but as a rule they received no reply at all. It seems as if the French Government is not prepared to accept these proposals as they do not wish to see French and German trade unions co-operating.

*Malien* (Belgium): Guinchard, Schumann and Bidegaray have all defended the point of view of their own country, but I believe, when dealing with this matter we should look at it from an international point of view. We all know that we have to join hands in our struggle against reaction and against those capitalistic and nationalistic profiteers who stand behind the governments.

The damage caused by the war must be repaired. We know how much the German workers have suffered and are suffering, but don't forget that we are also suffering. Therefore we should work together in this matter in order to exterminate the spirit of revenge. (Applause)

*Bidegaray* (Chairman) then presented the following resolution on behalf of the French delegation:

"The Congress taking note of the agreements concluded between the German, French, Belgian and British National Trade Union Federations under the auspices of the I. F. T. U. for the reconstruction of the devastated regions, calls upon the organisations of the countries concerned to take all necessary steps with their respective governments and in their respective countries to assure that these agreements shall be put into operation at the earliest possible date."

*Thereupon the resolution together with the French amendment and the alteration proposed by Forstner (i. e. to read instead of Versailles Peace Treaty—Paris Peace Treaties) were unanimously adopted.*

### *Auditors' Report.*

*Bidegaray* (Chairman): The Auditors have submitted the following statement:

"We have to report that we have examined the accounts of the Federation for the year 1920 and that we have examined all books and vouchers and certify that same are correct. Further we have verified the cash balance.

F. J. Maynard (Great Britain),  
G. Toulouse (France),  
J. Tomschik (Austria).

#### *Adopted.*

*Fimmen* (International Secretary) proposed to send a reply to the letter addressed by the President, Robert Williams, to the Congress. The secretary submitted the following wire:

"The International Transportworkers' Congress held at Geneva on 18th April and following days regrets that you yourself cannot be in our midst to conduct the proceedings but thank you most heartily for the message conveyed to them in your letter. More than 2½ million railwaymen, transportworkers and seamen are represented at the Congress united in their determination to continue the struggle for the liberation of the working classes and to prepare the way for socialism.

For the Congress: Edo Fimmen, Secretary."

#### *Unanimously adopted.*

*Fimmen* further announced that delegates from the following organisations were now attending the Congress:

A. Bratschi on behalf of the Swiss Federation of Trade Unions.

R. Kolb on behalf of the Stone workers' International.

A. Büchi on behalf of the International Secretariat of Workers in the Food and Drink Trades.

A wire had been received from the Secretary of the International Metal Workers' Federation, Comrade Ilg, reading as follows:

Dear Comrades,

I regret very much that I am unable to attend your Congress. This is due to the threatening outbreak of a conflict in the Swiss Metal Industry in connection with the attempts of the employers to reduce wages.

I send you fraternal greetings on behalf of the International Metalworkers' Federation. A great humane and social task devolves upon the international working classes. The transport workers may rest assured that the 3½ million metalworkers which our Federation embraces are animated by a strong spirit of international solidarity and are firmly decided to carry on the great struggle for emancipation of the working classes. Good success and fraternal greetings,

Ilg, Secretary, International Metal Workers' Federation.

The Secretary was instructed to thank comrade Ilg for his message.

The following telegram was dispatched :

Dear Comrade,

On behalf of the International Transportworkers' Congress I heartily thank you for your greetings. In the name of the representatives of 27 organisations of transport workers, railwaymen and seamen, I send you, the representative of our fellow-workers from the metal trade, my fraternal greetings and kindest regards. We hope that our Swiss comrades may succeed in successfully terminating their conflict.

Yours for Internationalism, on behalf of the Congress :

Edo Fimmen, Secretary.

### *Report of Commission on Credentials.*

*Jochade* (German Railwaymen) : The Commission on Credentials has to state that of the 37 organisations affiliated with the I. T. F., with a membership total of 2,768,000, 26 organisations from 12 different countries are represented by 75 delegates on behalf of 2,171,591 members. Two of these delegates are not allowed to vote, viz: the 4th delegate of the French Transportworkers' organisation and one delegate of the Danish Transportworkers' Union, as according to the Rules these two organisations are only entitled to 3 and 1 votes respectively. Further are present Edo Fimmen as secretary of the I. T. F. and as fraternal delegates H. Molin on behalf of the Swedish Engine Drivers, J. Oudegeest for the International Federation of Trade Unions, T. Shaw for the International Federation of Textile workers, L. Maier, for the International Federation of Post Office, Telegraph and Telephone Employees. The latter organisation which was only recently founded now counts more than half a million members and we are especially delighted to have this delegate in our midst as we have many interests in common with the organisation he represents.

*The Report was unanimously adopted.*

*Bidegaray* (Chairman) : We shall now deal with resolution No. 7 reading as follows :

### *Resolution re Free-Trade.*

7) "That this Congress of the International Transportworkers' Federation, believing that artificial restrictions by Protective Tariffs, Embargoes, Controls, and Prohibitions upon the free exchange of commodities between country and country diminish the volume of employment for transportworkers, hereby declares in favour of the removal of all such restrictions by the institution of universal free trade, thus promoting the extension of the interchange of commodities, the prevention of artificial monopolies, and the stabilisation of prices ; and also removing economic factors making for trade and tariff wars and militarism."

*Bevin* (Great Britain) spoke in support of the resolution. Though the British, in consequence of the high rate of exchange, seem to have no



reason to propose this resolution we still hold that free-trade is essential. Tariffs lead to war, and commercial rivalries and tariff walls have always badly influenced the relations between the peoples.

If the International Transportworkers' Federation will stand for the free exchange of commodities between country and country this would undoubtedly be of advantage for international solidarity and in the interest of mutual understanding and better relations between all peoples.

We should not only demand free trade ; at the same time we should advocate the removal of the barriers which still exist in international traffic.

*The resolution was unanimously carried.*

### *Resolution re extension of the I. T. F.*

8) "That this Congress defines its attitude towards the question of admitting organisations of Post-Office, Telegraph, and Telephone employees to the I. T. F., if desired as "separate group".

#### *Note.*

The Post-Office, Telegraph and Telephone services are closely connected with the railways and this tendency, in our opinion, will show itself to an ever increasing extent especially in countries where these services are under State control (economic considerations also demand the closest possible co-operation between the two services). We think that also the I. T. F. should devote its attention to the matter with due regard to both employees and the service.

*Nathans* (Dutch Railwaymen) : I think it is necessary to try and bring about close relations, and if possible amalgamation, between the Federation of Post Office, Telegraph and Telephone Employees and the I. T. F. It cannot be denied that our interests have much in common with those of the P. T. T. employees. This is felt in various countries. For instance, in Germany the Employees have a working agreement with the Transportworkers and Railwaymen by means of the so-called "Verkehrsbund" (Transport- and Traffic Federation). In Belgium the Post Office Employees are organised together with the railwaymen in one organisation, viz. the Syndicat National du Personnel des Ch. P. T. T. M.

In the event of strikes the services of one of the sections of transportworkers may be used to smash the strike movement. The growing influence of all the organisations concerned makes it necessary to look to the future and try to avoid difficulties which might arise from forthcoming conflicts.

Therefore I believe that the I. T. F. should also cater for the Postal Employees and if necessary form a separate section for this group of workers such as exist for the railwaymen, seamen and transportworkers.

*L. Maier* (Secretary of the P. T. T. International) thanked for the interest shown in his young organisation. From the very beginning we have deemed it desirable to maintain relations between the I. T. F. and our International. The necessity for co-operation between these two sections

of workers manifested itself during the boycott against Hungary. But still we believe that amalgamation cannot be brought about immediately. I think a young girl as we are should not marry an old and experienced man. We should be given the opportunity to develop ourselves and strengthen and extend our organisation. Though we have much in common, there exist some technical differences between us.

In fact we are transportworkers, but the material we transport is of another nature. We transport human mind, be it in letters, telegrams or the spoken word by telephone. We realise that those belonging to our trade together with those who are working in the various operations of transport form an indispensable part of modern states. But we want time in order to consolidate our movement and I firmly believe that some time we will take our place within the I.T.F. as an autonomous section, as suggested by comrade Nathans and I suppose that all those present will hold the same view.

*Bidegaray* (Chairman) proposed to refer the resolution to the General Council, which would have to decide when and to what extent it might be desirable to open up negotiations with the P. T. T. International.

We should not precipitate developments.

If the P. T. T.-employees should decide to affiliate with the I. T. F., they may be sure that we shall receive them with open arms and welcome them as brothers-in-arms within our ranks. (General applause)

Meeting adjourned.

Third Day.  
Wednesday, April 20th, 1921.

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### Special Conference of Railwaymen

*convened by the Congress of the I. T. F., held at Geneva on Wednesday  
20th April 1921.*

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Comrade *Bidegaray* (France) took the chair and opened the proceedings by stating that in the first place an automatic coupling (system Boirault) would be demonstrated on the goods road at Geneva-Cornavin Station. This system, he said, "was tried for 6 months in 1913 in France and fitted to 7000 carriages. During 1914 a credit of 8 million francs was sanctioned by the French Chamber to apply this safety device generally, but this could not be carried out owing to the outbreak of the war shortly afterwards. At present this automatic coupling is being used on the Paris—Invalides—Versailles Line and it would be very desirable that the railwaymen of other countries, who have the greatest interest in the introduction of this appliance, would co-operate for the standardisation and international introduction of the Boirault System. All delegates present were urged to attend the demonstration of this system.

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After Comrade *Bidegaray* had demonstrated the system recommended by him to the railwaymen's delegates at Geneva-Cornavin Station the Conference re-assembled at 11 a. m.

*Nathans* (Holland) thereupon moved the resolution standing in the name of his organisation.

"That the Secretariat of the I. T. F. be instructed to conduct an investigation with the object of ascertaining the extent of co-determination secured by various grades of railway workers in matters affecting conditions of employment and management of the railway system of various countries; and that affiliated unions be notified of the results thereof."

This motion, he said, scarcely needs further explanation as its terms and purpose are quite clear, everyone present must certainly be convinced of the importance of this question. In Holland the government has great influence with the management of the railways which are still owned by private companies, upon which however the government is able to exercise a certain control owing to financial participation. Since the railwaystrike of 1903 the working conditions of railwaymen in Holland have to be approved by the Government. As stated in our report in No. 1 of the I. T. F. Documents issued by Fimmen, all additions to or alterations in the rates of wages must be first submitted to a committee whose chairman is appointed by the Government Department affected i. e. the "Ministerie van Waterstaat" and on which committee the management and trade unions are jointly represented by an equal number of representatives. Every time the wage and working conditions are changed the opinion of the Wages Committee has to be first obtained.

The government has drafted a Bill according to which all shares of the Railway Companies are to be bought up and a Committee is to be formed 5 members of which are to be appointed by the companies and 6 by the government.

Our union is fighting for complete co-management and as a palliative measure demands the right to send delegates to this committee.

We regard it as both useful and interesting to ascertain to what extent co-determination for railwaymen has been introduced in other countries, not only in respect of railway management but also in the fixing of working conditions. This would also be useful for us in our campaign for socialisation.

*Scheffel* (Germany) also emphasised the need for ascertaining the extent of co-management by railwaymen in the various countries. Like the question of standard working hours, he said, standardisation should also be brought about in this direction. Up to a short time ago the railwaymen did not have the right to combine. Only after the war was this right fully recognised. Between the German organisation and the Minister of Railways an agreement had been concluded which covered all the most important points affecting the workers. The salaries of officials are regulated by a Civil Service Salaries Act whilst the wage and working conditions of the lower grades are regulated by a collective agreement.

The working hours for travelling grades are 208 hours per month viz. an average of 8 hours per day. The 8 hours working day is prescribed by the collective agreement but attempts are being made to make the men work longer hours. The difficulties of the entire economic situation and the tremendous deficit in railway exploitation are being referred to and attempts made to snatch the hard-won gains from us on these grounds. But we shall not allow ourselves to be deprived of the 8 hours day; we shall not allow ourselves to be robbed of the reforms for which we have fought so hard.

For this reason we are opposed to overtime, on principle, — even overtime which is paid for at special rates — although under present time con-

ditions overtime is scarcely to be avoided. We desire *stable* rates of wages and *sliding* scale allowances based on the cost of living and the number of dependent children in each family. These allowances must obviously be adjusted in accordance with the general cost of living.

The solution of the economic question must remain the work of the trade unions and more attention must be given to the Works Councils than hitherto. The Works Councils above all things should ensure that the provisions of the agreements are not evaded; they should also supervise and control all other managerial and administrative matters. For instance, the workers should have a voice when materials are being purchased, because the danger exists that in placing large orders a few persons are enriched at the cost of the nation. With contracts of this kind great abuses often occur, because in spite of all complaints against the unprofitability of the railways, the management cannot be prevailed upon to centralise their buying department to a greater extent than is the case at present. It therefore often happens that the various departments buy goods at prices which differ very considerably, not to mention the fact that in this way orders for too large quantities are placed. All these defects could be easily remedied by co-ordinate management and supervision.

These uneconomic methods, due to lack of co-ordination, explain why the rates and charges — which among other factors, depend on the cost of materials — are quite different on the various lines.

Most of the important German lines are at present state-owned and only a few are run by private companies.

In the case of the privately owned lines the charges for the most part are higher than the rates and charges of the state railways.

It is absolutely necessary for us to obtain co-management in important matters like these. Nowadays the workers have a determining influence in so far as their own conditions are concerned; on the other hand the Committees for the Higher Grades i. e. men regarded as Civil Servants have practically no influence at all. Nevertheless these Committees are being gradually transformed into Works Councils for Railwaymen who are classified as Civil Servants.

We are issuing a separate newspaper for the information of Works Councils, which will also advise the councillors on all questions of management and administration from time to time.

The practice of exchanging trade union publications for those issued in other countries should be more and more extended. I am of opinion that this practice should not be confined to an exchange of newspapers, rules, etc. but that all decrees and laws, in fact all data giving information on the legal status of the workers and on social or safety measures etc. should also be exchanged by the trade unions.

Much attention is also given to the organising of young workers. We issue a special newspaper for apprentices and it is the duty of our Works Councillors to see that the apprentices obtain a thorough training both

technically and practically. All these questions, I am convinced, are of very great importance, because we shall have to become thoroughly versed in all the details of railway working and administration before proceeding in the direction of socialisation. Only at the right moment can we take over the railways and work them with success in the real interest of the workers."

*Allgöwer* (Switzerland) was in agreement with both the previous speakers and referred to the developments in Switzerland where co-management was being extended step by step. The General Strike of 1918, which was called off after it had lasted three days without securing any positive result, nevertheless produced various great advantages for the men. For example, closer relations were established between the organisations and the management; and since the strike the organisation has sent its representatives to the Staff Committee and they now have a voice in the National Committee and in the Management Boards of the Swiss Railways.

Great difficulties have been experienced in the application of the 8 hours day to Switzerland. The Confederal Council adopted a resolution according to which the introduction or maintenance of the 8 hours day would depend upon a National Referendum fixed for October 1920.

Our organisation most vigorously opposed the attacks of this kind upon the achievements made by the trade unions in the face of great difficulties. It was also opposed to paid overtime, which is always a threat and evasion of the Eight Hours Day as well as to the exemptions for various categories by which the maximum turn of duty can be extended to 9 hours, and which consequently sabotage the 8 hours day.

A joint committee has been appointed to safeguard the rights of the men and to supervise the application of the 8 hours day. The employers and men each have 7 votes and enjoy equal rights. Up to a short time ago our influence was inadequate owing to the fact that the men were organised in a large number of separate organisations. However, since the amalgamation of the sectional unions the organisation has been strengthened and extended.

In conclusion Comrade *Allgöwer* strongly urged that the resolution should be carried into effect as soon as possible in order that the results of the enquiries could be put to the best practical use.

*Jochade* (Germany): Various particulars have been already collected to-day which will certainly be of use to us if these are compiled and studied. We should, however, not confine ourselves to the resolution before us (No. 19) which is framed in somewhat too general terms. I should rather like to suggest that we issue a questionnaire on this subject as soon as possible and to advise the organisations of various countries of the result. Furthermore it would be of advantage if each country nominated a special delegate to take charge of the information service between the various countries, which delegate would have to deal specially with international matters.

The Conference unanimously endorsed the resolution and decided to recommend the acceptance of *Jochade's* suggestion.

In conclusion Comrade *Ortmann* (Germany) referred to the position of the private tramway companies in which the right of co-management had been applied extensively. At present, when the trams are being taken over by the municipalities, attempts are made by these bodies to abolish these concessions.

I express the hope that the I. T. F. will support the demands of the tramwaymen.

This completed the agenda of the railwaymen's conference whereupon Comrade *Jochade* took the opportunity to thank the chairman, Comrade *Bidegaray*, for the instructive demonstration he had given of the automatic coupling.

The conference appointed Comrade *Jochade* to report the results of the conference at the plenary meeting of the congress next day.

The President, Comrade *Bidegaray*, then declared the conference closed.

**N. Nathans,**

Secretary to the Special Conference of Railwaymen.

**Special Conference of Dock Workers and Road Transport Workers**  
*convened by the Congress of the I. T. F., held at Geneva on Wednesday,*  
*20th April 1921.*

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President *Mr. E. Bevin*.

The *President* proposed that the conference be divided into a special conference for Dock Workers and a special conference for Road Transport Workers.

*Vignaud* supported this proposal which was opposed by *Hof* and *Schumann*. The proposal was rejected.

*The President*: Resolution 11 re the Standardisation of Working Conditions submitted by the Central Union of Transport Workers (Holland) will now be discussed.

*Hof* gave further particulars with reference to the proposal.

*Bevin* observed that not only Europe but also Australia and America should be taken into consideration. The important groups of transport-workers in those parts of the world must be won over for the I. T. F. He therefore proposed to hold an international conference of dockworkers on Vancouver Island, at Cape Town or at other favourably situated places.

*Hühnel* emphasised that dock workers' delegates in various countries had now less touch with each other than formerly. International discussions are very desirable. The employers in Germany assert that working conditions cannot be improved because lower wages, etc. are prevailing in England. International discussions may do a lot of good.

*Demey* stated that generally the usefulness of international dock labour conferences is recognised. However, regional conferences are to be preferred to a general international conference. A dock workers' conference had already been held for the Mediterranean ports. If necessary a general international conference could be held at a later date.



*Hof* further explained the purport of the proposal of the Dutch Central Union of Transportworkers.

He stated that they were not against special conferences of representatives of those ports which are economically dependent on each other. There was no objection to *Bevin's* suggestion of convening a general international conference. Both proposals need not necessarily rule each other out. He proposed that in the first place regional conferences of dock workers be held, as was indicated in the footnote to resolution 11, and afterwards a general international conference.

The resolution of the Dutch Central Union was unanimously adopted after it had been amended to read that a general international conference shall be arranged and that the regional conferences be held immediately.

The resolution as adopted reads as follows:

The Commission reports that it accepts Resolution 11 proposed by the Central Union of Transport Workers (Holland), together with the Note appended, and in addition reports that the following resolution has been agreed:

"This Conference endorses Resolution 11, and recommends the Congress to instruct the General Council to call a special conference of dock and water-side workers either at Vancouver, San Francisco, or Cape Town or other suitable rendezvous, and to invite representatives from North and South America, Australia, New Zealand, and other Eastern countries as well as from Europe for the purpose of promoting mutual assistance. Countries not able to bear the expense to be asked to arrange to combine with other countries for representation. The General Council shall also invite all countries to formulate proposals for consideration by this Special Conference."

#### *Note to Resolution 11.*

"It is intended that effect shall be given to Resolution 11 immediately, and that correspondence shall also be entered into forthwith for the purpose of arranging the proposed World Conference of Dock and Waterside Workers."

At the suggestion of *Forstner* the President (*Bevin*) was appointed to report to the plenary sitting of the congress and to urge the acceptance by congress of the recommendations formulated at this Special Dockworkers' Conference.

Discussion then turned to Resolution 12 dealing with the 8 hours working day, working conditions, and social legislation, submitted by the Swedish Transport Workers' Union.

*Lindley* explained the resolution. He gave a summary of social legislation in Sweden. He was of opinion that the motion as contained in the Agenda should be substituted by another motion reading as follows:

"The Eight Hours Working Day can be extended to 8½ hours during the first five days of the week, under the condition that working hours on Saturday shall not exceed 5½ hours, and provided

that the working hours shall extend from the normal commencement of work in the morning to the normal completion of work.

Workers who commence their duties during the course of the day may not extend their working hours.

Overtime may not exceed 2 hours per day, or more than 8 hours per week, or 150 hours per annum.

Where shift work has been introduced in any port no overtime may be worked."

*Langkemper* opposed the motion of *Lindley*. He was of opinion that in view of its general scope the proposal should not be discussed at this special conference. It was desirable that this matter should be discussed by the congress in plenum. Evasion of the 8 hours working day must be strongly resisted.

*Weigl* stated that in Austria the 8-hours day is strictly observed and that it is impossible to entertain *Lindley's* proposal.

After the interval the President submitted a new resolution to substitute the *Lindley* resolution. *Bevin's* resolution read as follows and was adopted unanimously :

"That this congress urges the workers of all countries to resist the efforts of capitalists, whose aim is to increase the number of working hours or to introduce unnecessary overtime. The congress in particular urges those workers whose working hours exceed 48 hours per week or 8 hours per day to effect a reduction of working hours.

The General Council is urged to do everything in its power to abolish overtime work.

The congress requests the I. T. F. to assist as much as possible those workers in all countries who resist an extension of working hours or who endeavour to accomplish the 8 hours working day.

As regards all other wage increases and improvements of working conditions which have been introduced, the congress urges the workers to withstand most energetically any capitalist attempts either to cancel those improvements of working conditions which have been conceded and introduced, or to reduce the general standard of living.

The General Council is urged to circulate questionnaires for information on the following points of interest to Dock and Waterside Workers :

- (1) Number of Working Hours.
- (2) What are the normal working hours per day?
- (3) What is the extent of overtime and what rates are payable for overtime work?
- (4) What percentage increase is given in the case of piece work in comparison with normal rates of wages?
- (5) What is the average daily wage of piece workers?
- (6) Is there any difference in the amount of wages or conditions of overtime work in the Coastwise, Short Seas and Deep Seas Trades?
- (7) Wages? Per hour? Per day?

- (8) Is there any guaranteed period of engagement, either per day or per week?
- (9) State the difference in the conditions of engagement where men are taken on permanently and casually.
- (10) What is the period of validity of agreements and when do these expire?
- (11) What bodies or methods exist in affected countries in order to give effect to rules and agreements in respect of either the number of working hours or the working conditions?
  - a) Is the carrying out exclusively in the hands of the Trade Unions?
  - b) Or by joint bodies of employers and employees?
  - c) Or by Government-Departments, by Officials and Inspectors?"

The President then opened discussion on Resolution 14 submitted by the Dutch Central Union of Transport Workers. This resolution was adopted unanimously after some discussion.

After some discussion, Resolution 15 as submitted by the Dutch Central Union of Transport Workers was amended at the suggestion of the President. The footnote was allowed to stand.

The modified proposal as submitted by *Bevin* was adopted unanimously. This reads as follows:

"The Commission has considered Resolution 15 and recommends that the following be substituted:

That this congress is of opinion that measures should be taken in the interest of casual workers whose livelihood depends upon employment at the ports, but who are only employed during a part of the year. This Congress instructs the affiliated Unions of the I. T. F. to enter into negotiations with the employers' organisations of their respective countries to introduce measures which will provide for port labour registration schemes and payment to the men when no work is available, or during sickness; and further to foster the development of all such institutions and invest them with a greater utility for the needs of casual workers. Copies of every such scheme should be sent to the Bureau of the I. T. F., which shall circulate them to the affiliated organisations."

This completed the discussion of the items intended to be dealt with by this sectional conference.

The President then declared the conference closed.

**F. A. Hof,**

Secretary to the Special Conference of Dock Workers and Road Transport Workers.

## Special Conference of Seamen

convened by the Congress of the I. T. F., held at Geneva on Wednesday,  
20th April 1921.

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### Present:

*J. Cotter* (Great Britain); *J. Döring* and *Peter Müller* (Germany); *Charles Lindley* (Sweden); *O. Nilsen* (Norway); *J. Brautigam* and *W. Drop* (Central Union of Transportworkers, Holland) and *T. Bouwer* (Netherlands Federation of Transportworkers, Holland); *R. Guéna* (France) had been requested by the French Seamen's Organisation to attend this conference and he accordingly applied for admission.

The bureau of this special conference, in accordance with the decision of the Congress comprised Messrs. *J. Döring*, *Charles Lindley* and *J. Brautigam*. The first-named was appointed President, whilst *W. Drop* was asked to compile the conference report.

After the conference had assembled *R. Guéna* (France) stated that the French Seamen's Organisation was not represented at the Congress of the I. T. F. because this union was affiliated with the I. S. F. He had been instructed by Rivelli, however, to make application for admission to the special seamen's conference, in order to report on the business transacted there. It was the intention of the French Seamen's Organisation to break away from the I. S. F., because the French were unable to endorse the attitude of the leaders of the I. S. F. especially the President, Mr. Havelock Wilson and the Secretary Mr. C. Damm.

*Cotter* (England) wanted to know whether Guéna had been authorised by his own organisation to represent French Seamen.

*The President* was of opinion that the declaration of Guéna was quite clear and that the delegates present would raise no objection to the presence of Guéna. The communications made with regard to the intentions of the French Seamen should be cordially welcomed.

*Cotter* (England) was of opinion that the special conference was a waste of time. The matters to be raised had already been discussed repeatedly by the I. S. F. at various conferences, including the Brussels conference. It would therefore be much better not to proceed with this conference.

*Döring* (President): Cotter has made his observation too late. The congress has already decided to have a number of items on the agenda affecting seamen discussed by a Special Seamen's Conference.

We must simply carry out this decision. It is therefore better to discuss the items instead of the question whether this conference can produce any result. We have to discuss items 3, 16, 17 and 18 of the agenda.

*Cotter* (England): I desire to make some observations at the outset. In the first place the question arises as to whether seamen are in attendance here. Secondly, Belgium is not represented, and as far as the French are concerned, I do not agree that Guéna has the right to take part in the voting. The Netherlands are represented by three persons. This does not seem to me to be in proportion with the position of the organisations at all.

*Lindley* (Sweden): This conference is a part of the Congress, and the observations of Cotter are out of order.

*The President*: I am also of opinion that it is immaterial to us how many persons are in attendance from any one country. The only question is whether they are delegates to the congress of the I. T. F. This is the case with every one present, and in consequence Guéna had also the right to vote at this conference.

*Guéna* (France): I should like to say that in France there are separate organisations of dockers and seamen. The relations between the two are very cordial. I am in attendance at the congress of the I. T. F. on behalf of the dockers, but surely no objection can be raised if I carry out a friendly mission on behalf of Rivelli in the interest of the seamen's organisation; all the more so because it is quite evident that the French Seamen realise the necessity of one Transportworkers' International and take up the standpoint that the I. S. F. is redundant.

*The President*: I am of opinion that all the outstanding matters have been thrashed out, and now rule that we proceed to the discussion of item 3 of the Congress agenda which is a resolution submitted by the National Transportworkers' Federation (Great Britain). This resolution reads:

### *Resolution re "Subject Races".*

"That this Congress of the International Transportworkers' Federation congratulates the workers of the "Subject Races" upon their increasingly manifest desire to embrace trade unionism. It declares that all the efforts of native races in their struggle to emancipate themselves from the domination of Imperialism and Capitalism must react to the advantage of the workers in western countries and urges all workers to give these efforts all possible support.

Believing that the raising of the standard of life and status of the lowest paid workers is necessary for the maintenance of the standard of life of

organised labour everywhere, this Congress urges all workers to ignore the barriers of race and creed, which are used by the capitalist class to divide the workers and keep them in subjection, and to pledge themselves to do all in their power -- while resisting the competition of underpaid Asiatic and coloured labour -- to raise the status of the members of the "Subject Races" and to unite with them for the abolition of class domination throughout the world."

*Lindley* (Sweden) recommended that this item be discussed by the Special Seamen's Conference because the resolution mostly affects seamen. There is nothing against this resolution being adopted and recommended to the Congress. We shall have to be on our guard against the engagement of workers of another race for the purpose of creating competition with Europeans. If the resolution means that a uniform standard of living shall be demanded for all races, we must give it our support.

*Peter Müller* (Germany): The resolution can also be accepted by us, but I would like to draw attention to the fact that certain members of the crew of the S. S. "Carolina" which came from Bremerhaven to South Shields were taken off the ship and imprisoned by the English authorities. Seven Germans were affected. If we desire to protect black races we should not act in this manner towards each other.

*Cotter* (England): Seamen are internationalists. According to British law, however, Germans may not land in England, without having obtained special permission. The incident mentioned by Müller was due to the fact that the German Seamen came ashore without permission.

Furthermore it should be remembered that hatred against our former enemies has not yet died out altogether in England.

Twenty-five per cent of British seamen died during the war, and the percentage of the membership of the Seamen's Organisations' casualties amounts to as much as 12%. When I spoke against the treatment of German seamen in England I was flung off the platform. This resolution refers chiefly to Asiatics. At British ports there are at present no less than 10,000 coloured men who are unemployed, many of whom are married and will not leave England again. The importation of Chinamen from Hongkong has been promoted by the employers because the coloured men work for less wages and under much less favourable social conditions. In view of present conditions, British seamen and also a part of the dockers dare not strike because they know that their places will be taken by coloured men. Repatriation, even with a considerable amount as compensation, has been refused by these men. This is a problem which has come to the fore especially in America and Great Britain. We can only alter this condition of affairs by securing the same standard of living for the coloured men as for Europeans.

I am in favour of adopting the resolution and having it sent to the unions, including non-affiliated organisations in various countries. We shall then obtain moral support.

*Peter Müller* (Germany) : At the request of the President I shall not press the question of the S. S. "Carolina" any further although I deny that the seamen came ashore in England. There was all the less reason for the attitude of the British because the ship was destined for America. As far as the resolution is concerned, I wish to say that the matter is not entirely a British one. When trade is restored, the Nord-Deutscher Lloyd, the Hansa and Hamburg-America-Lines will undoubtedly attempt to employ Asiatics.

*Guéna* (France) : In France the law permits that 10% of a ship's crew may be coloured men provided the general provisions in force are adhered to. The matter is, therefore, not of great significance in the case of France.

*Lindley* (Sweden) : For this very reason we must not only speak of coloured men. We shall, however, have to alter the translations to some extent in order that the meaning is made perfectly clear.

*The President* : If I have properly understood the discussion, the British desire to demonstrate that this class of workers should be made to organise before they leave the colonies. The difficulty indicated by Lindley I fully appreciate. In the German translation of the resolution the meaning, however, is quite clear. I would like to propose that the following title be substituted.

*"Resolution re subject races and cheap coloured and Asiatic labour"*.

This was adopted.

*The President* : We shall therefore recommend this resolution to the Congress with a rider that it should be brought to the notice of all organisations of seamen and transportworkers.

We will now proceed to item 16, which is a proposal of the Central Union of Transport Workers of Holland that negotiations with Ships' Officers' organisations be entered into for common action in the matter of working conditions. The motion is as follows :

"That this Congress is of opinion that for the determination of working conditions in International Shipping, it is more and more desirable that consultations be held between Ships' Officers and Seamen's organisations.

The Congress therefore instructs the Executive Committee to approach the international organisations of ships' officers and, where necessary, the respective national organisations with the object of establishing national and international relations."

*Cotter* (England) : I do not see how such negotiations are possible. There is, as far as I know, no international organisation of ships' officers.

*Brautigam* (Holland) : This item has been placed on the agenda because our experience in Holland has been that during important movements the officers are always affected and almost invariably involved. We are of opinion that in the long run this can only lead to estrangement between the officers and the lower ratings although both have to fight against the

same employers. I am informed that attempts have been made to form an international organisation of ships' officers. In any case associations of ships' officers are in existence in practically every country. In certain countries — Holland for example — relations have been opened between the lower ratings and ships' officers through the medium of committees. The Dutch committee repeatedly takes up questions of social enactment etc. for all seafarers. If the resolution is adopted the I. T. F. will perhaps be able to arrive at an understanding with national organisations of ships' officers, and take the initiative for more regular consultation on a national and international basis.

*Lindley* (Sweden) : I shall not oppose the resolution, but I do not believe in the possibility of co-operation with officers. The captains nearly always uphold the ship-owners' interests.

*Nilsen* (Norway) : In Norway we have also a national committee. The mates, however, have now left this committee. The engineers are still represented. In this committee not only matters of a general character are discussed, but also measures with regard to strikes etc. I am in favour of the resolution and would add that the Scandinavian organisations of officers have received invitations to attend an international conference at Antwerp next August.

*Guéna* (France) : The conditions in France do not form any obstacle to acceptance of the resolution. There are separate organisations of captains, engineers, pilots etc. but these organisations more and more consult each other and act jointly.

*Cotter* (England) : In England repeated attempts have been made to confer with ships' officers. This has led, for instance, to the formation in 1918 of the Joint Seafarers' Council. In practice, however, the ships' officers' organisations only approach us when they want our help. Last year they came to the conference at Genoa, but they did not wish to affiliate with the International of the Lower Deck. I will not oppose the resolution, but wish to express the opinion that little can be expected from attempts to promote closer co-operation with ships' officers.

*Peter Müller* (Germany) : In 1918 we attempted to get into touch with ships' officers of the mercantile marine. Captains, navigation officers and engineers are organised in separate organisations. There is now practically regular consultation with regard to wage conditions, on the amount of wages, and working conditions. When the officers of the mercantile marine returned from Genoa last year they pronounced themselves in favour of one organisation. This, however, has not been carried into effect. The skippers and mates in the deep sea fisheries are organised in our union. We shall have to proceed cautiously, as in this instance, the skippers also want to secede from us in order to form a separate organisation which can separately affiliate with the General Federation of German Trade Unions.



*The President :* No great objection has been raised against the resolution during this discussion. I believe that we can regard it as adopted unanimously. We shall submit the general views expressed in this conference to the Congress asking it to instruct the General Council to approach the officers' organisations with a view to arriving at an understanding. This was agreed to.

We will now take item 17 on the agenda which is a motion submitted by the Central Union of Transport Workers (Holland) reading as follows :

"That this Congress is of opinion that international and uniform working conditions should obtain in International Shipping.

It therefore instructs the Executive Committee :

- a) To institute an investigation into the legal obligations of seamen belonging to seafaring nations ; to submit a report thereon and to draft a programme and an outline of proposed legislation to be considered at a future conference.
- b) In the foregoing outline of proposed legislation it shall be provided, that seamen shall not be liable to imprisonment for violation of ships' articles nor be compelled forcibly to fulfil their engagement.
- c) To enter into negotiations with the International Organisation of Shipowners and the International Labour Office with the object of introducing the 48 hours working week at sea as well as in port.
- d) To take the necessary steps for the opening of negotiations with the International Organisation of Shipowners for the introduction of a uniform standard wage.
- e) To institute an enquiry for the formulation of a standard of accommodation on board with a minimum of square and cubic space for each member of the ships' crew. For ships to be laid down it shall be prescribed that accommodation for the crew shall be installed either amidships or astern with proper separate mess room, bath and washing accommodation, proper conveniences, sick bay, library space and adequate lighting. For ships already in commission, transitional measures are to be stipulated.
- f) To initiate a movement in favour of a uniform regulation with regard to a minimum and maximum freeboard and the carrying of deck cargoes ; an international legal regulation prescribing the minimum number of qualified seamen to be carried a crew per ship ; the stipulation to be made that 7/8 of the ships' crew must understand the language of the nation under whose colours the ship sails.
- g) To initiate a movement in favour of an international regulation for the adoption of wireless telegraphy on ships carrying a crew of 40 hands or more.
- h) To initiate a movement in favour of indemnification in the event of unemployment and/or destitution caused by shipwreck, in accordance with the decision of the Genoa Conference, and moreover for insurance against sickness, accidents, disablement and old age."

I propose that we take this resolution clause by clause.

*Brautigam (Holland)*: In submitting this motion our organisation has been moved by considerations which I shall endeavour to indicate. The Seafarers' Conference at Genoa was unable to arrive at a definite decision with regard to international working conditions, especially with reference to the 48 hours working week. The matter was afterwards brought up by the International Seafarers' Federation. Only a very small number of seamen's organisations are affiliated with this body and consequently this very important seamen's question has not been dealt with adequately. Our Union is of opinion that it is the task of the I. T. F. to exert its power for the realisation of those aspirations expressed at Genoa. I need not say much in regard to any of the items. They are based entirely on the unanimous demands brought forward at the Genoa conference.

*Cotter (England)*: All the questions raised in this motion have been already discussed by the Seamen's Conference, and thereafter by the special conference of the I. S. F. at Brussels. In England a Bill has been presented in Parliament for the enforcement of these international decisions. As long as all seamen's organisations are not represented — for I again repeat that even the Belgians are not here — we are simply wasting our time. I understand, moreover, that towards the end of 1920 a joint conference was held of the I. T. F. and I. S. F. with regard to this and other matters. Williams and Fimmen, however, did not issue any report of this conference. If this had been the case, then undoubtedly it would have been possible to discuss the matters raised in this motion. If I may say something on each separate item, it will illustrate the accuracy of my remarks. The matter dealt with under (a), for instance, has been dealt with at Genoa. We devoted 48 days to the discussion of this question there. In England the matter has been arranged. Item (b) has already been discussed with the shipowners in London. The French, however, have submitted a scheme for payment of overtime and consequently have jeopardised the 48 hours working week. The international rate, as decided by the I. S. F., is £15. I admit that the rate has not been introduced everywhere, and attribute this to the international secretary of the I. S. F., Mr. Damm, whom I do not regard as capable of being secretary of a garden-party, let alone secretary of an international organisation. I am fully convinced that the seamen as a body will obtain nothing without the assistance of the other transport workers. The I. S. F., however, is an organisation recognised by the Labour Office of the League of Nations which makes its position pretty strong, and I am afraid that Havelock Wilson will simply take no notice whatsoever of the decisions arrived at by this congress. I think it would be much better if the Executive Committee of the I. T. F. got in touch with the I. S. F.

I am not against this resolution, but as we shall not obtain anything its adoption will be of no value.

*Guéna (France)*: I can endorse much of the statement made by Cotter in regard to the position of the I. S. F. and also as regards the capabilities of its secretary, Mr. Damm. The opinion of the French Seamen's organisation in regard to the happenings in England is revealed by a statement

dealing with the seamen's conference at Brussels which was inserted in the Bulletin of the National Federation of Seamen dated 2nd February, 1921, as follows :

"Our English friends have completely abandoned the attitude which was taken up by the International Seafarers' Congress in August 1920, as well as by the meeting which was held in London on September 3rd 1920, concerning the principle of arbitration in connection with international legislation on the question of the 8 hours day and the 48 hours week.

We have not been successful in our efforts to induce our English comrades to reconsider their attitude and to fall in with the international decisions that have been taken.

An agreement has now been come to with the English shipowners in accordance with which two commissions are to be appointed within a month. One of these commissions is to be entrusted with the task of ascertaining what steps should be taken with a view to the reduction of working hours for deck hands and engine-room staffs.

The other commission is to deal with the same questions for the cooks, stewards and similar grades engaged on ocean-going liners.

As soon as these commissions have issued their reports the Director of the International Labour Office will make arrangements for the holding of another conference at a date which will be fixed later on.

We, however, do not consider this mode of procedure as being calculated to expedite a settlement of these questions. It strikes us as rather strange that the English seamen, who at the Genoa Conference criticised the system of compensation for the legal rest day which has to be spent at sea, should by their present conduct endorse the French legal enactment on this question."

In the course of the next few days the French Seamen will probably decide to secede from the I. S. F. They will then undoubtedly affiliate with the I. T. F. Moreover, conferences are to be held in France with regard to this matter. The date for these conferences is not yet fixed.

*The President* : I would recommend the proposal on condition that the Executive Committee gets into touch with the I. S. F. for the purpose of carrying out its terms. As regards the recognition of the I. S. F. by the League of Nations and the International Labour Office, I should like to observe that the exclusion of a number of seamen's organisations from the Brussels conference has been discussed with Albert Thomas. Thomas, however, presided at the seamen's conference as a private individual, and had no influence upon the composition of that conference.

*Guéna (France)* : The attitude of Thomas is not at all clear. I am not under the impression that he presided at the Brussels conference as a private individual.

*Cotter (England)* : I endorse the remark of the previous speaker and should like to pursue this matter further. Perhaps this matter could be discussed at the conclusion of the agenda.

*Bouwer (Holland)*: I should like to state that as far as Holland is concerned only an insignificant organisation of seamen took part in the Brussels conference. This was a mere local organisation which broke away from the Netherlands Federation of Transportworkers in July last. It cannot be asserted that Dutch seamen were represented at Brussels.

*Brautigam (Holland)*: I would like to add that the permanent Seafarers' Committee of Holland has conducted a lengthy correspondence with the International Labour Office, in which the Director of the Labour Office informed us that he would preside at the Brussels conference as a private individual; he had no influence on the composition of the Conference.

*The President*: I suggest that we discuss the part played by the International Labour Office in this matter later on. As regards the resolution itself, I should like to say that only pious wishes and no decisions were formulated at Genoa. Some countries have regulations in regard to the working conditions of seamen, in other countries the shipowners' and seamen's organisations co-operate in view of the statements made at Genoa. British shipowners, for example, have engaged themselves to further negotiations with the seamen. In France, legal measures are in course of preparation for the protection of seamen. The matter is consequently of the utmost importance to seamen. I am therefore of opinion that the resolution can be accepted and recommended to the Congress on condition that negotiations with the officials of the I. S. F. be opened for the application of its terms.

*Cotter (England)*: I would like to go still further. It seems to me that the carrying out of this resolution should be an item of discussion between the full Executive of the I. T. F. and the I. S. F. and I desire that the Executive Committee should be instructed in that sense.

This was agreed to.

*The President*: We now come to item 18 of the Congress agenda reading as follows:

"That this Congress is of opinion that the treatment of seafarers for venereal disease is a matter requiring most urgent attention and instructs the Executive Committee:

- a) to initiate a movement in favour of international legislative measures,
- b) to enter into negotiations with the International Organisation of Shipowners with the object of giving effect to the recommendations made in the resolution under this heading adopted by the Genoa Conference."

*Submitted by the Central Union of Transportworkers (Holland).*

*Brautigam (Holland)*: This resolution only requires a few words of explanation. The desirability of energetic measures against the terrible consequences of venereal disease amongst seamen need not be expounded by me. The Congress at Genoa has expressed itself in favour of international co-operation in this matter. Every country is doing something

In this respect. In Holland we hope to secure effective treatment of venereal disease through the Central Council of Health, and if possible to open public clinical institutions in the various sea-port towns.

*Guéna (France)* : My French friends will heartily endorse this proposal.

*Cotter (England)* : I would like it to be considered whether we should publish the whole of the Genoa resolution with the proposals before us. It is true that nothing is more necessary than to combat this evil which has assumed such frightful proportions in England. The governments must devote great attention to this subject and make financial sacrifices, if great sections of the population are to be protected from the frightful consequences of these diseases in future.

Cotter then related some instances showing the necessity of stringent measures being taken against the spread of venereal diseases amongst sailors.

*The President* : I fully endorse all that has been stated and will heartily recommend this resolution to the Congress with due consideration for the remarks of Cotter. In this connexion I would also draw attention to the report which was handed to us on behalf of the International Labour Office. Perhaps this report contains an indication of the measures to be taken in this matter.

No further items are on the agenda, and I would now like to open discussion on the attitude of the I. S. F. and the part played by the International Labour Office in the matter of the Seafarers' Conference. At the outset I should like to say that a conference was held under the auspices of the International Labour Office in October, where the possibility of proceeding further with the demands formulated at Genoa was to be considered. I took part at this conference. The Director of the International Labour Office announced that the International Labour Office could not convene a seafarers' conference on its own initiative, and that the most the International Labour Office could do was to send an invitation to an international seamen's organisation and an international shipowners' organisation. If these were accepted it would be of prime importance to secure the largest representation possible.

The object in view was that all those seafarers' and shipowners' organisations which had been delegated by their governments to Genoa should also attend a subsequent seafarers' conference. After the conference with the Director of the International Labour Office it appeared that the Director had invited the International Shipping Federation as representative of the shipowners, in response to a request of the I. S. F. addressed to the International Labour Office to convene a meeting for the purpose of taking measures for the further application of the 48 hours working week.

It had been arranged with the Director that British, French, German, Dutch, Belgian, Greek, Italian and Scandinavian seamen should have met in conference for the discussion of this matter. The German organisation

should have been invited by the secretary of the I. S. F., Mr. Damm. Later on we were informed that only the organisations affiliated with the I. S. F. could take part at the Brussels Conference.

*Cotter* (England): In parliamentary language a lie is not a lie but a mere misunderstanding. It would appear from what the President has stated that Thomas, the Director of the Labour Office, has played a double game in this matter. I want this to be more thoroughly cleared up. I have no reason to doubt the statement of the President of this conference. I was sorry that all seamen's organisations were not represented at Brussels. This latter conference has had very little result, and the work we have done here to-day will be all to the good in effecting improvements. I myself had a long dispute with Mr. Wilson and Mr. Damm and advocated sending invitations to *all* shipowners' and *all* seafarers' organisations. I was also told that only the affiliated organisations of the I. S. F. and the International Shipping Federation would be invited to take part at the Brussels Conference, and that Thomas would only preside as a private individual. Completely at variance with this, however, is the report of the Conference in the January number of the International Labour Review reading as follows:

#### *"The First Case of International Conciliation.*

The Genoa Conference nevertheless provided by its partial failure a most remarkable illustration of the possibilities of the International Labour Organisation. Hitherto the warmest supporters of the Organisation had regarded its functions as limited only to the furthering and accelerating of national legislation by means of international agreement, and the promoting of a better understanding among the nations about each other's difficulties and progressive achievements in the labour industrial field. Few, if any, would have ventured to suggest that international conciliation was practicable at the present time. Nevertheless, the dead lock which came about at Genoa on the question of hours of work at sea led directly to the first attempt at conciliation between employers and workers on an international scale.

Before it dissolved, the Conference appointed a Joint Maritime Commission to assist the International Labour Office regularly in its work connected with seamen. This Commission consisted of 5 shipowners and 5 seamen.

To these representatives chosen by the Conference were added *Mr. Fontaine*, Chairman of the Governing Body, as presiding officer, *Mr. Robert Pinot*, chosen by the employers' group, and *Mr. Oudegeest*, chosen by the workers' group of the Governing Body.

After the Genoa Conference the International Seafarer's Federation held their annual Conference at Brussels from August 5th to 12th. A resolution was proposed in favour of an immediate international agitation with a view to arranging a general seamen's strike, because the Genoa Conference had failed to secure the forty-eight hour week

for seamen. An amendment was moved, however, and adopted unanimously, appointing a delegation to interview *the Director of the International Labour Office* and to ask him to arrange for arbitration between the shipowners and seamen. Failing such arbitration, a strike of forty-eight hours was to be called in all ports. If after this manifestation the seamen's demands were not granted, a Strike Committee was to be created by the Federation to fix the date of a general strike and to carry it out.

The Delegation, consisting of Mr. Damm, Secretary of the International Seafarer's Federation, Mr. Chambers (Great Britain) and Mr. Rivelli (France), accordingly met the *Director* in September, who undertook to bring about a meeting between the shipowners and seamen. Though fully aware of the immense difficulty of bringing about an agreement, *the Director* felt that every effort must be made to prevent the disastrous consequences which must follow from a seamen's strike, however short its duration. He communicated with the International Shipping Federation, who, after careful consideration, finally agreed by a majority vote to meet representatives of the International Seafarer's Federation to discuss hours of labour on board ship and to ascertain whether any ground of agreement could be found. This decision was taken immediately before the first session of the Joint Maritime Commission on November 8th at Geneva. This meeting gave an opportunity for the principal leaders of the shipowners and seamen to discuss the proposed conciliation conference in detail. It was agreed that the International Shipping Federation should attempt to secure the presence of the shipowners of all the countries represented at the Genoa Conference, and that the Conference should take place towards the end of January, probably at Brussels. The Commission agreed unanimously to invite *the Director* to preside over the proposed Conciliation Conference, and both sides expressed satisfaction at the possibility of conciliation being brought about by the *International Labour Office*.

At a subsequent meeting of the International Seafarer's Federation, both Mr. Havelock Wilson and Mr. Rivelli strongly voiced their satisfaction at the result of the negotiations. Mr. Rivelli said: "It is a most important event because without calling upon Governments and Parliaments, the two powerful federations of owners and of workers, whose economic strength is indisputable, and who can either of them stop the life of the world by stopping sea traffic, were meeting to study in common the methods of application of the regulation of labour." Mr. Wilson stated that "to have succeeded in bringing together the international seamen and shipowners was a veritable tour de force".

Europe is still in desperate need of food and raw materials to save it from physical, moral and economic collapse. A seamen's strike would cost the world more in a week than the Labour Office is likely to cost it in a generation. The meeting between the International

Seafarer's Federation and the International Shipping Federation took place at Brussels on the 25th January, 1921, under *the chairmanship of the Director*, and as result commissions were appointed to consider the main questions at issue. A further meeting of the shipowners and seamen will be convened *by the Director* at an early date, and if this meeting succeeds in averting such a catastrophe as a general strike and brings about an international collective agreement, the first of its kind, a most important step in the world's international life and the most important achievement thus far reached in the relations existing internationally between capital and labour will have been attained."

You will have noticed that in this report no mention is made of "Mr. Thomas" but of the "*Director of the International Labour Office*". We must be on our guard against a repetition of such duplicity, and in my opinion the position of the Labour Office has not been strengthened by this whole episode. If the Labour Office desires the co-operation of other organisations it will have to regain their confidence by a straightforward policy.

I do not wish to say anything further.

*The President*: I can fully endorse all what Cotter has said. The discussion has been useful in clearing up misunderstandings.

Those matters to be brought before the Congress will require the appointment of a rapporteur for to-morrow's session.

*J. Döring* was thereupon elected rapporteur unanimously.

Proceedings terminated.

**W. Drop,**

Secretary to the Special Conference of Seamen.



Fourth Day.  
Thursday, April 21st, 1921.

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*E. Bevin* (Great Britain) in the chair.

*Bevin* (Chairman) proposed to have the reports of the Sectional Conferences dealt with immediately and afterwards discuss the remaining items on the Agenda.

RESOLUTIONS OF THE RAILWAYMEN'S CONFERENCE.

*Jochade* (Germany) speaking on behalf of the Railwaymen's Special Conference reported that the railwaymen's conference had decided to lay the following resolution before the Congress :

*Resolution re Co-determination.*

19. "That the Secretariat of the I. T. F. be instructed to conduct an investigation with the object of ascertaining the extent of co-determination secured by various grades of railwayworkers in matters affecting conditions of employment and management of the railway-systems of various countries; and that affiliated unions be notified of the results thereof."

In addition to this resolution which was submitted by the Dutch Railwaymen's Union, the Railwaymen's Conference urges the E. C. to send out a questionnaire in connection with this problem, whilst the desire was expressed that in each country a comrade be appointed to maintain relations with the I. T. F.

*Unanimously adopted.*

RESOLUTIONS OF THE SEAMEN'S CONFERENCE.

*Döring* (Germany) rapporteur of the Seamen's Conference reported that various resolutions had been adopted by the Sectional Conference of Seamen. He now requested the Congress to sanction these decisions.

*Resolution re Subject Races.*

3. "That this Congress of the International Transportworkers' Federation congratulates the workers of the "Subject Races" upon their increasingly

manifest desire to embrace trade unionism. It declares that all the efforts of native races in their struggle to emancipate themselves from the domination of Imperialism and Capitalism must react to the advantage of the workers in western countries and urges all workers to give these efforts all possible support.

Believing that the raising of the standard of life and status of the lowest paid workers is necessary for the maintenance of the standard of life of organised labour everywhere, this Congress urges all workers to ignore the barriers of race and creed, which are used by the capitalist class to divide the workers and keep them in subjection, and to pledge themselves to do all in their power—while resisting the competition of underpaid Asiatic and coloured labour—to raise the status of the members of the "Subject Races" and to unite with them for the abolition of class domination throughout the world."

(Submitted by the National Transportworkers' Federation of Great Britain.)

*Döring* remarked that the Seamen's Conference wanted to alter the heading as follows :

#### *Resolution re Subject Races and Cheap Coloured and Asiatic Labour.*

The resolution was then unanimously adopted.

*Döring* (Germany) : The second resolution our Conference had to deal with was sent in by the Dutch Transportworkers' Union.

#### *Resolution re Agreement between Ships' Officers and Seamen's organisations.*

16. "That this Congress is of opinion that for the determination of working conditions in International Shipping, it is more and more desirable that consultations be held between Ships' Officers and Seamen's organisations.

The Congress therefore instructs the Executive Committee to approach the International organisations of Ships' Officers and, where necessary, the respective National organisations with the object of establishing National and International relations."

*Adopted.*

*Döring* (Germany) : The 3rd resolution we had to discuss was submitted by the Dutch Central Transport Workers' Union re Unification of working conditions in shipping.

In this respect it may be recalled that the I. S. F. of which Mr. Havelock Wilson, the President of the National Sailors' and Firemen's Union of Great Britain, is the leader has also taken action in this direction. The same programme was dealt with by the Genoa Conference of the International Labour Office. In order to attain something for the seamen it will be necessary to bring about some understanding between the three bodies which are now occupying themselves with these questions, viz. the I. S. F., the I. T. F. and the International Labour Office. Attempts have

already been made to get into closer relation with the I.S.F. and it was understood that the I.S.F. should send representatives to this Congress, but up till now nobody has turned up. Still we hold that the I.T.F. should try to open up negotiations with the I.S.F. again, so as to establish co-operation between the two Internationals and in order to ensure proper representation on the negotiations to take place in the future for the organisations affiliated with the I.T.F. If, however, the I.S.F. should not be willing to form a united front then we will have to go our own way. This is the text of the resolution, which can be considered as the platform of the I.T.F. for the seafarers.

### *Resolution re Unification of Working Conditions in Shipping.*

17. "That this Congress is of opinion that international and uniform working conditions should obtain in International Shipping.

It therefore instructs the Executive Committee :

- a) To institute an investigation into the legal obligations of seamen belonging to seafaring nations ; to submit a report thereon and to draft a programme and an outline of proposed legislation to be considered at a future conference.
- b) In the foregoing outline of proposed legislation it shall be provided, that seamen shall not be liable to imprisonment for violation of Ship's Articles nor be compelled forcibly to fulfil their engagement.
- c) To enter into negotiations with the International Organisation of Shipowners and the International Labour Office with the object of introducing the 48 hours working week at sea as well as in port.
- d) To take the necessary steps for the opening of negotiations with the International Organisation of Shipowners for the introduction of a uniform standard wage.
- e) To institute an enquiry for the formulation of a standard of accommodation on board with a minimum of square and cubic space for each member of the ship's crew. For ships to be laid down it shall be prescribed that accommodation for the crew shall be installed either amidships or astern with proper separate mess room, bath and washing accommodation, proper conveniences, sick bay, library space and adequate lighting. For ships already in commission, transitional measures to be stipulated.
- f) To initiate a movement in favour of a uniform regulation with regard to the minimum and maximum water freeboard and the carrying of deck cargoes ; an international legal regulation prescribing the minimum number of qualified seamen to be carried as crew per ship ; the stipulation to be made that 7/8 of the ship's crew must understand the language of the nation under whose colours the ship sails.
- g) To initiate a movement in favour of an international regulation for the adoption of wireless telegraphy on ships carrying a crew of 40 hands or more.

- h) To initiate a movement in favour of indemnification in the event of unemployment and/or destitution caused by shipwreck, in accordance with the decision of the Genoa Conference, and moreover for insurance against sickness, accidents, disablement and old age."

The resolution was unanimously adopted.

*Guéna* (French Dockers) informed the Congress that the French Seamen were fully in sympathy with the International Transportworkers' Federation. They realised that it was for no small part due to the attitude of the I. S. F. that the 48-hour week was not adopted by the Genoa Conference. The French Seamen had therefore decided to withdraw from the I. S. F. and to affiliate with the I. T. F.

*Döring* reported that resolution No. 18 proposed by the Central Transportworkers' Union was adopted by the special Seamen's Conference. This resolution was in the following terms :

### *Prevention and Treatment of Venereal Diseases.*

18. "That this Congress is of opinion that the treatment of seafarers for venereal disease is a matter requiring most urgent attention and instructs the Executive Committee :

- a) to initiate a movement in favour of international legislative measures,
- b) to enter into negotiations with the International Organisation of Ship-owners with the object of giving effect to the recommendations made in the resolution under this heading adopted by the Genoa Conference."

It may be desirable to remind the Congress of the text of the resolution adopted during the Genoa Conference.

It was as follows :

"The International Seamen's Conference, recognising the importance of taking active international measures for the prevention and treatment of venereal diseases in the mercantile marine, desires to urge upon the Health Section of the League of Nations the need for immediate attention to this subject.

They would recommend for special consideration :

- (1) the provision of adequate facilities for the prevention and treatment of venereal diseases at all the principal ports ;
- (2) the inclusion of venereal diseases among the conditions for which free drugs and treatment are provided for members of the mercantile marine ;
- (3) the dissemination of appropriate information on the subject to seafarers, and especially to those at training establishments ;
- (4) the provision of adequate facilities for recreation at all large ports under the administration of representatives of owners and seafarers.

They desire, in addition, to call the special attention of the International Labour Organisation to the importance of the recommendation concerning facilities for recreation."

*Döring* (Germany) further informed the Congress that the International Red Cross was combating venereal diseases amongst seamen in the way indicated by the resolution.

*The resolution was then carried whilst the Congress also approved the resolution adopted during the Genoa Conference.*

### *Decisions of the Dockers' and Road Transportworkers' Conference.*

*Bevin* stated on behalf of this Conference that the Central Union of Transportworkers (Holland) had sent in a motion to the effect that conferences of dockers should be held in various ports. This resolution, he said, was of great importance as the meeting of representatives from the various harbours under the auspices of the I.T.F. would strengthen the ties of solidarity between the dockers of all countries. When the men in one country are out on strike their fellow-workers in other ports should not touch the goods which the strikers refuse to handle. Difficulties have particularly presented themselves with regard to distant countries such as Australia and the Far-East. The workers of these countries do not yet belong to the I.T.F. When trying to convene conferences for neighbouring ports in various parts of the world it will be possible to bring about their affiliation. The resolution reads as follows :

11. "That this Congress is of opinion that movements of Dock and Waterside Workers against their employers are impeded seriously by the fact that shippers, brokers and shipowners attempt to forward goods immediately a dispute occurs through neighbouring and/or foreign ports.

Realising that attempts by labour organisations in the direction of improved working conditions are also thwarted by the allegations of employers that they are not able to keep pace with the competition of neighbouring ports, this difficulty being increased under the present circumstances by the very great differences in the rates of exchange,

Recommends the Executive Committee of the I.T.F. to convene special conferences of Dock and Waterside Workers of those ports which can be regarded as having special common interests.

#### *Note.*

The movers are of opinion that special consideration should be given to self-contained and independent shipping routes and trades, for instance ;

- (1) The Scandinavian and Baltic Ports.
- (2) The British and Continental North Sea Ports.
- (3) The Mediterranean Ports.
- (4) The Atlantic Ports.
- (5) The Southern Hemisphere.

In addition, the Transportworkers' Conference submits the following statement :

"This Conference endorses resolution No. 11 and recommends the Congress to instruct the General Council to call a conference of Dock- and Waterside workers either at Vancouver, San Francisco or Cape Town or

other suitable rendez-vous and to invite representatives from North- and South-America, Australia, New-Zealand and Countries in the Far-East, for the purpose of promoting mutual assistance.

Countries not able to bear the expense to be asked to arrange to combine with other countries for representation".

The General Council shall also invite all countries to send proposals to submit to the conference.

*Note.*

It is intended, that effect be given to resolution 11 immediately and that correspondence shall be commenced immediately for the purpose of preparing for the world conference proposed for Dock and Waterside workers.

*The resolution together with the recommendation of the transport-workers' conference was adopted.*

*Bevin* (Chairman) then welcomed Mr. Albert Thomas, Director of the International Labour Office and thanked him on behalf of the Congress for the documents the International Labour Office had been good enough to place at the disposal of the delegates.

*Mr. Albert Thomas* (International Labour Office) declared that the International Labour Office is always prepared to assist where possible all who are aiming at the fulfilment of the Labour Charter of the Peace Treaty. The International Labour Office is always prepared to provide documents etc. etc. to the organisations applying for them.

The meeting was then adjourned.

No afternoon-session took place as the delegates, on the invitation of the General Council, made a boat-trip to Creux-de-Genthod.

Fifth Day.  
Friday, April 22nd, 1921.

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*Döring* (Germany) in the chair.

*Döring* (Chairman) proposed to continue the discussion of the report of the Transportworkers' Conference.

*Bevin* (Great Britain) pointed out that the Swedish Transportworkers' Union had submitted a resolution concerning the eight-hours day. The conference, however, did not support this resolution but decided to draft another one to be put before the General Congress. This was in the following terms :

*Resolution re 8 Hours Day.*

"That this congress urges the workers of all countries to resist the efforts of capitalists, whose aim is to increase the number of working hours or to introduce unnecessary overtime. The congress in particular urges those workers whose working hours exceed 48 hours per week or 8 hours per day to effect a reduction of working hours.

The General Council is urged to do everything in its power to abolish overtime work.

The congress requests the I. T. F. to assist as much as possible those workers in all countries who resist an extension of working hours or who endeavour to accomplish the 8 hours' working day.

As regards all other wage increases and improvements of working conditions which have been introduced, the congress urges the workers to withstand most energetically any capitalist attempts either to cancel those improvements of working conditions which have been conceded and introduced, or to reduce the general standard of living.

The General Council is urged to circulate questionnaires for information on the following points of interest to Dock and Waterside Workers :

- (1) Number of Working Hours.
- (2) What are the normal working hours per day ?
- (3) What is the extent of overtime and what rates are payable for overtime work ?

- (4) What percentage increase is given in the case of piece work in comparison with normal rates of wages?
- (5) What is the average daily wage of piece workers?
- (6) Is there any difference either in the amount of wages or in respect of the conditions for overtime work in the Coast wise, Short Seas and Deep Seas Trade?
- (7) Wages? Per hour? Per day?
- (8) Is there any guaranteed period of engagement, either per day or per week?
- (9) State the difference in the conditions of engagement where men are taken on permanently and casually.
- (10) What is the period of validity of engagement and when do these expire?
- (11) What bodies or methods exist in affected countries in order to give effect to rules and agreements in respect of either the number of working hours or the working conditions?
  - a) Is the carrying out exclusively in the hands of the Trade Unions?
  - b) Or by joint bodies of employers and employees?
  - c) Or by Government-Departments, by Officials and Inspectors?

As this resolution was more complete Bevin moved to accept it instead of the motion of the Swedish Transportworkers.

*Adopted.*

Bevin then stated that the last two resolutions discussed by the Transportworkers' Conference were those submitted by the Dutch Central Transport Workers' Union, viz. No. 14:

"That this congress is of opinion that Legal Protection of Dock and Waterside Workers is still very inadequate and instructs the Executive Committee to collect information on social enactment of interest to Dock and Waterside Workers and to draft a programme containing minimum demands for the protection of health and life; moreover, for insurance against the consequences of sickness, accidents, disablement and old age."

*Note.*

At Rotterdam and Amsterdam a pension scheme (in addition to the legal institution) is in operation by which the employers pay to permanent and casual hands at the age of 65 years a pension of 50 cents per week for each year of service to a maximum of 10 Guilders per week.

*This resolution was adopted.*

In regard to resolution No. 15 we have to propose that this resolution be replaced by the following:

"That this Congress is of opinion that measures should be taken in the interest of casual workers whose livelihood depends upon employment at the ports, but who are only employed during a part of the year.



This Congress instructs the affiliated Unions of the I. T. F. to enter into negotiations with the employers' organisations in the respective countries to introduce measures which will provide for Port Labour Registration Schemes and payment to the men when no work is available or during sickness; and to foster the development of all such institutions and invest them with a greater utility for the needs of casual workers. Copies of every such scheme should be sent to the offices of the I. T. F. which shall circulate them to the affiliated organisations.

*On the motion of Bevin this resolution was adopted.*

*Döring* (Chairman): The reports of the Seamen's Conference and of the Dock and Road Transportworkers' Conference have now been received. I understand that the Railwaymen's Conference nominated a Committee in order to draft another resolution. I believe we should now continue discussions on the remaining items and afterwards discuss the resolution referred to before.

*Adopted.*

*Döring*: We shall now proceed to the discussion of proposal No. 9 of the Netherlands Federation of Rail- and Tramwaymen together with the amendment proposed by the Belgian Transportworkers' Union. These resolutions read as follows:

#### *Resolutions re Internal Organisation of the I. T. F.*

9) "That the Secretariat of the I. T. F. adopt suitable measures for the internal organisation of the various sections provided for by the I. T. F. (Railwaymen, Dockers, Seamen, etc.) e. g. with regard to forming Sub-Bureaux acting under the general supervision of the Secretariat of the I. T. F.; publication of a periodical; exchange of information, etc.

#### *Amendment to Resolution No. 9:*

"The International Congress decides that it is desirable to appoint secretaries for each main group of the I. T. F.

It decides furthermore to increase, if necessary, the affiliation fees to the Federation in order to meet the expenditure involved by the foregoing.

It determines where the I. T. F. shall have its headquarters and that the Sectional Secretariats, in the event of these being established, shall have their offices in the same town and country."

*Note*: We hold that international relations in the world of Labour ought to be extended and strengthened. We are also of opinion that now, even more than before 1914, it will be necessary to organise international movements. There are, it is true, certain questions which can be solved separately in each country; but it is also true that there are international problems, such as e. g. the introduction of the Eight-Hours Day, Workmen's Insurance, etc.

What is good for industrial workers in general is particularly good for the workers engaged in international transport. Let us take, for instance, the groups of Seamen, Inland Navigation Workers and Railwaymen; the first are continuously in contact with one another internationally, the other two groups have generally relations with the neighbouring countries; the Inland Navigation workers ply between Holland, Germany, Belgium and France; German Inland Navigation workers ply between Holland, Belgium, Poland, Austria, Denmark and Czecho-Slovakia.

Such relations exist in all countries; the Railwaymen also are not always confined to their own country.

With regard to shipping we must also take into account the fact that freights are arranged on an international basis; railway and inland navigation fares are influenced by conditions in the neighbouring countries.

In several respects, therefore, the various branches of the Transport Industry have to consider conditions internationally.

If the I. T. F. desires to become more than it has been heretofore it must take international circumstances into account, and it will become incontestably clear that international action will be necessary; we would even go so far as to say that if the I. T. F. fails to act along the lines indicated above it will fail to fulfil its aims.

After the war the International Secretariat was transferred from Germany to Holland, and Comrade Fimmen was appointed Secretary. Let it be clearly understood that we have no grievance whatsoever against Fimmen; he has done what it was possible for him to do and he has fully acquitted himself of his task. Comrade Fimmen being at the same time Secretary of the International Federation of Trade Unions with its 25 million members, we hold that these two functions cannot very well go together.

More than that, we could go further and say that we cannot imagine any one man being sufficiently competent to conduct alone all the business of the I. T. F. which comprises various groups; though belonging to the same branch, the particular requirements of each of these groups are so varied and so distinct from each other that it will not be possible for one man to acquaint himself thoroughly with more than one of these categories.

Let us point out simply that the demands of the Seamen for example are different from those of the railwaymen. We must likewise bear in mind that the railways are run on different lines in the various countries. In Belgium the railways are owned or controlled by the State; in other countries they are owned by private companies and thus we note essential differences in several branches of Transport.

For all these reasons we hold that the I. T. F. should divide its functions among several secretaries each of whom would have the management of one special department; in other words, one secretary to deal with the Railwaymen, another to deal with Seamen, a third with Dock and Water-

side Workers, a fourth with Inland Navigation Workers and a fifth with Tramwaymen. These secretaries would run their own departments under the supervision of an International Committee.

It might be objected that the finances would not be sufficient to bear the expenses of such Secretariats. In that case the affiliation fees should be increased.

*Mahlman* (Belgium) : This resolution speaks for itself. We are of the opinion that the I.T.F. should extend the scope of its activities. In that event it will be necessary to appoint secretaries for the various groups.

If it should not be possible to bear the increased expenditure thereby involved the affiliation fees should be increased.

*Fimmen* (International Secretary) proposed to refer the matter to the General Council which should investigate in how far the wishes of the Belgians could be complied with.

Of course there is a lot of work to do and it is impossible for one man's brain to embrace all the problems connected with Transport. Therefore it will appear necessary to appoint secretaries for the main groups organised within the I.T.F.

The Congress cannot, however, take a decision now.

*The matter was accordingly referred to the General Council.*

### *Resolution re Automatic Coupling.*

*Döring* (Chairman) : I understand that the commission set up by the Railwaymen's Conference has now finished its work.

In order that we may adopt the reports of the three Sectional Conferences as a whole I would propose to discuss the resolution of the Railwaymen's Conference immediately.

*Jochade* (Germany) speaking on behalf of the Railwaymen's Commission submitted the following resolution :

"In view of the experiments with the Boirault Automatic-Coupling appliance at the Cornavin-Station, Geneva on 20 April 1921 in the presence of the railwaymen's delegates the Congress of the I.T.F. adopts the proposal of the French delegation aiming at the general adoption of this system on all railways."

*Scheffel* (Germany) declared himself in favour of automatic coupling appliances. He could not, however, agree that the congress of the I.T.F. should express itself in favour of any particular system. The Boirault-System is not the only one in existence.

Before a Congress of the I.T.F. could decide in favour of a certain system, more exhaustive experiments should be carried out.

*Bidegaray* (France) was somewhat astonished to see that the German delegation could not accept the resolution which had received a majority in the commission. He further declared that the international adoption of the system in question would effect a considerable improvement in regard to the safety of railwayworkers.

In recommending the French system, we do not mean to suggest that this should be made permanent. If a better appliance were invented later, it should be substituted for the Boirault-System.

*Döring* (Chairman): It seems as if no agreement has been arrived at within the railwaymen's section. Let us therefore refer the matter back to the Commission as otherwise discussions would take up too much time.

After some discussion *Bidegaray* (France) expressed his willingness to meet the wishes of the German delegation. He therefore suggested to substitute the words "This system" by: "an automatic coupling appliance".

*Adopted.*

*Döring* (Chairman): The reports of the three Special Conferences have now been received. I formally propose to adopt them as a whole thereby endorsing the decisions of each of our groups.

*Adopted.*

#### *Affiliation Fees.*

*Weigl* (Austria) reported on behalf of the Commission on Affiliation Fees that the general opinion of the commission was, that affiliation fees should be regulated according to the rates of exchange. We cannot demand from the countries with depreciated currencies that they pay on the basis of the rate of exchange of the country where the headquarters are situate.

*Guinchard* (France) wanted the congress to bear in mind that the French workers did not pay their contributions in guilders, but in francs. As a matter of fact their contributions were not increased to such an extent as would allow of the payment of a larger amount of affiliation fees to the I. T. F. Organisations in countries with a low rate of exchange were certainly not better of than others.

*Bevin* (Great Britain) pointed out that under the existing system the countries with high rates of exchange paid a very substantial part of the total income of the I. T. F.

The contributions paid by some countries were in no way in proportion to the value of the respective currencies at home. Therefore it would seem only reasonable that the countries with bad currencies bear a larger percentage of the expenses incurred by the Federation.

*Brodecky* (Czecho-Slovakia) held that the I. T. F. might expect certain countries to pay more than they did at the present. He therefore proposed that only countries whose exchange was more than 50% below the rates of July 1914 should agree to an increase in their affiliation fees, i. e.,

Austria, Hungary, and Poland an increase of 200%, Germany and Czecho-Slovakia 100%, France, Belgium, and Luxemburg 50%.

All other countries to continue on the present basis.

*Döring* (Chairman): I believe we should no longer discuss this question and I therefore put the Czecho-Slovakian proposal to the vote.

*Adopted.*

*Guinchard* (French Transportworkers) protested against the fact that the President did not first put the proposal of the Committee on Affiliation Fees to the vote.

*Döring* (Chairman) replied that no definite proposition had been put forward by the said commission.

*Döring* (Chairman) opened discussion on Item 5 of the Agenda:

### *Report of the Activities of the Executive Committee.*

The Secretary of the I. T. F., Edo Fimmen, had submitted the following report:

## **Summary of the Activities of the International Transportworkers' Federation during the year 1920.**

As, unfortunately, it has only been possible to draw up in one language the full report of the activities of the I. T. F. during the past year, I hereby beg to submit to the Congress a short extract of the report, stating briefly the activities and achievements of the I. T. F. during the past year.

### *Composition of the General Council.*

At the International Congress in Christiania the following were elected members of the General Council:

Great Britain	Robert Williams J. H. Thomas	(Transportworkers) (Railwaymen)
Germany	J. Döring H. Jochade	(Transportworkers) (Railwaymen)
France	M. Bidegaray E. Vignaud	(Railwaymen) (Transportworkers)
Austria	A. Forstner	(Transportworkers)
Scandinavian Countries	Ch. Lindley	(Transportworkers)

Of those members the following comrades were appointed members of the Executive Committee :

Robert Williams,  
J. Döring,  
M. Bidegaray,  
A. Forstner,  
Ch. Lindley.

Robert Williams (England) was elected President of the Executive Committee and of the General Council and J. Döring (Germany) Vice-President.

The Dutch Management Committee consisted of Comrades :

P. Moltmaker (Railwaymen),  
J. Brautigam (Transportworkers),  
S. v. d. Berg (Federation of Transportworkers).

Edo Fimmen acted as Secretary.

### *Propaganda and Expansion of the I. T. F.*

Above all efforts have been made to make the principles and the new aims of the I. T. F. known to all organisations of Transportworkers, Railwaymen and Seamen and to urge these organisations to affiliate to the I. T. F. The result of the efforts may be gathered from the list laid before you and from which you may see that in the course of the year 1920 the following organisations affiliated to the I. T. F. :

1) The Railwaymen of Great Britain . . . . .	470,000 members
2) The Railwaymen of Belgium . . . . .	84,000 members
3) The Railwaymen of Norway . . . . .	8,900 members
4) The Railwaymen of Luxemburg . . . . .	6,700 members
5) The Railwaymen of Switzerland . . . . .	40,000 members
6) The Railwaymen of Czecho-Slovakia . . . . .	66,598 members
7) The Railwaymen of Yugo-Slavia . . . . .	27,000 members
8) The Transportworkers of France . . . . .	20,000 members
9) The Transportworkers of Denmark . . . . .	3,000 members
10) The Transportworkers of Finland . . . . .	5,012 members
11) The Transportworkers of Switzerland . . . . .	2,880 members
12) The Transportworkers of Czecho-Slovakia (German-speaking) . . . . .	10,000 members
13) The Transportworkers of Ireland . . . . .	15,000 members
14) The Transportworkers of Greece . . . . .	25,000 members
15) The Seamen of Norway . . . . .	5,500 members
16) The Stewards of Norway . . . . .	2,550 members
17) The Firemen of Norway . . . . .	1,699 members

So that in the course of 1920 altogether 17 new organisations with a total membership of 793,839 affiliated to the I. T. F.

If we add the increase in membership viz. 31,443, of the previously affiliated organisations we find that the total membership, which on December 31st 1919, was 1,889,212, amounted to 2,713,403 on December 31st 1920.

Since January 1st (1921) the following organisations applied for affiliation and were admitted :

		Membership
Denmark	Railwaymen	10,200
Czecho-Slovakia (German-speaking)	"	30,000
Spain	"	10,000
Bulgaria	"	1,000
Hungary	"	?
Hungary	Transportworkers	3,500

Negotiations are being continued with a rather considerable number of other organisations, and it is expected that in the course of this year several of them will affiliate to the I. T. F.

### *International Relations.*

In accordance with Article 4 of the Rules, regular relations have been maintained with the other international organisations by means of an interchange of correspondence as well as by the circulation and distribution of all documents published by the I. T. F. Special relations have been maintained with the following :

(a) International Miners' Federation.

The I. T. F. sent a telegram of fraternal greetings to the Congress of the International Miners' Federation held at Geneva in August 1920.

(b) Special relations have also been maintained with the International Federation of the P. T. T. Among the employees organised by this Secretariat the view is gaining ground that sooner or later it will be necessary for this organisation not only to affiliate but also to amalgamate with The I. T. F.

An invitation to attend the congress of the P. T. T. which was held on October 31st 1920 could not be complied with owing to lack of time.

(c) International Seafarers' Federation.

In accordance with the resolution adopted at the meeting of the Executive Committee on July 26th and 27th, 1920, a letter was sent to the President, Secretary and delegates of the International Seafarers' Conference held in Brussels at the beginning of August, emphasizing the importance of co-operation and united action of the Seafarers with the other transportworkers, especially those engaged in docks and harbours. A copy of this letter was sent to transportworkers' and railwaymen's organisations. In reply to this letter a telegram from the I.S.F. arrived at the time when the Secretary was in Austria in connection with the question of the boycott against Hungary. In this telegram the E. C. of the I. T. F. was invited to attend a joint conference fixed for August 14th or 15th in Brussels. The Secretary of the I. T. F. was apprised of this telegram. Owing, however, to the limited time at his

disposal and on account of the strike which was on just then it was not possible to communicate in time with the other members of the E. C., so that the proposed meeting could not take place at that time. On the other hand the E. C. of the I. S. F. was invited to come to Amsterdam on October 20th as the next meeting of our E. C. was fixed for that date.

When present at the English Trade Union Congress at Portsmouth, the Secretary of the I. T. F. had the opportunity of coming to an arrangement concerning this matter with the President of the I. S. F. Havelock Wilson, and the Secretary, C. Damm. Then on September 14th a proposal was made to the I. S. F. to have the joint conference in London on October 15th. Havelock Wilson and C. Damm agreed to this. This conference took place on October 15th in the offices of the I. S. F. in London. Of the E. C. of the I. S. F. the following were present: Havelock Wilson, C. Damm, Cotter, Chambers and Griph (Sweden). The E. C. of the I. T. F. was represented by its President, Robert Williams and the Secretary, Edo Fimmen. In the course of these discussions, which were non-committal in character, it transpired that the E. C. of the I. S. F. regarded a meeting with the I. T. F. as desirable but the representatives then present did not consider that such a meeting could be held just then. It was decided that the two Executive Committees should meet again in 1921 in Geneva at the time of the International Congress of the I. T. F. and go into this matter once more. For an amalgamation of the two bodies the time was not considered ripe.

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A strong protest was sent by the Secretariat of the I. T. F. both to Mr. Albert Thomas, Director of the International Labour Office and to the Secretary of the I. S. F. with reference to the fact that attempts had been made by them to bring about an international agreement with the International Shipowners with reference to conditions of employment of seamen, whereby the seamen organised in unions affiliated to the I. T. F. were entirely excluded.

Should it again occur that the rights and interests of the seamen organised in the I. T. F. are disregarded, strong measures against such conduct will decidedly have to be considered.

(d) International Federation of Trade Unions.

The I. T. F. received an invitation to be represented at the Special Congress of the International Federation of Trade Unions, which was held in London from November 22nd to November 28th. The I. T. F. was represented by its President, Robert Williams.

### *Action against War and Militarism.*

In accordance with the resolutions adopted by the International Congress of Christiania the I. T. F. in the course of the last year developed a vigorous action for the execution of the decisions taken.



Above all the affiliated organisations were urged to carry on, in their own country among their own fellow-workers and among the workers in general, a vigorous propaganda in accordance with the spirit of these resolutions.

The replies received show that not only were the Christiania resolutions enthusiastically endorsed but that also the new tactics of the I. T. F. were adopted by practically all the organisations.

The I. T. F. was called upon in two cases to actually put into practice the principles adopted in Christiania.

### *1. The Boycott of Hungary.*

At its meeting of May 31st and June 1st, the General Council, at the request of, and in conjunction with, the International Federation of Trade Unions, decided to institute a boycott of Hungary as from June 20th in order to combat the White Terror in that country. This boycott was carried out in a splendid manner by various transport workers and railwaymen's organisations, especially those of Austria and of those parts of Czecho-Slovakia where the railwaymen were well organised. In other countries it would seem that the transportworkers and railwaymen were not sufficiently disciplined to carry out the instructions of their organisations with absolute unanimity and solidarity.

It can be said, however, that, although it did not attain its objective, this boycott was the first tangible demonstration of the fact that the working classes in general and the transportworkers and railwaymen in particular were becoming increasingly conscious of the necessity of using their economic power in order to combat effectively the monstrous tyranny of capitalism and militarism.

### *2. Transportation of Ammunition for Poland in its war against Soviet Russia.*

When Poland, incited by the capitalist governments of Western Europe, precipitated a new war in Eastern Europe, thereby creating the danger of a fresh world war, the I. T. F., in conjunction with the International Federation of Trade Unions, once more actively intervened by appealing to the transportworkers and railwaymen to refuse to transport arms and ammunition destined for Poland.

This appeal from the I. T. F. was enthusiastically received by the affiliated organisations, and in a manner which in several instances could be described as heroic, the transportworkers in the various countries carried out the instructions of the General Council of the I. T. F.

If Reaction has not succeeded in overwhelming the Russian people, that is largely due to the heroic struggle carried out by the transportworkers and railwaymen.

### *Various activities of the I. T. F.*

The services of the I. T. F. were called in in connection with various incidents during the past year.

The most important of those was the assistance rendered by the I. T. F. in connection with the serious dispute which broke out in the spring of 1920 in consequence of the strike of the seamen and transportworkers in Holland.

Not only did the English workers boycott Dutch ships during the dispute; the National Federation of Transportworkers, by their gift of £ 1000, proved that for them International solidarity is not a matter of mere words.

The I. T. F. itself intervened in the conflict with a view to effecting a settlement, when the employers refused to negotiate further with the organisations.

The negotiations, which were conducted on behalf of the I. T. F. by comrades Gosling, Döring and Fimmen, did not result in bringing the strike to a close.

Shortly afterwards the strike was called off, and so ended with a defeat for the workers. This result must be attributed in no small measure to the dissension prevailing among the Dutch Dock and Transportworkers themselves.

Furthermore, mention must be made of the efforts of the I. T. F. in connection with the aid rendered to the Hungarian Railwaymen and Transportworkers; in connection with a strike of workers engaged in the fisheries at Bremerhaven, as well as in a dispute of the shippers at Emden; further, in a wages dispute of the Belgian Seamens' Union with the firm Coquerille & Co.; in connection with the boycott of ships belonging to the firm Embrococ of Piräus; in connection with a strike of Dock workers at Dunkirk; in connection with the case of the 10 Hungarian people's commissaries who were condemned to death as well the case of the former President of the Hungarian Railwaymen who was also condemned to death.

### *Special Congress of Railwaymen.*

In accordance with articles 27 to 30 of our Rules the first Special Congress of one of the groups affiliated to the I. T. F. was held in London on November 29th and 30th. This Railwaymen's Congress can be considered a great success in every respect.

For an account of the discussions and the resolutions adopted see the report of the Congress.

### *Internal Organisation of the I. T. F.*

The internal organisation and expansion of the I. T. F. have been vigorously proceeded with in the course of the past year, as far as the available resources permitted.

Under the supervision of comrade Nathans, secretary of the Dutch Union of Rail- and Tramwaymen and substitute member of the Dutch Management Committee, a department for documentation, statistics, etc. was established, and the Executive Committee of the I. T. F. is now in

a position to give to all the affiliated organisations information on all matters directly affecting Transportworkers in particular, and the Trade Union movement in general.

Furthermore, a commencement was made with the publication of communiqués which were sent out to all organisations of Transportworkers, Seamen and Railwaymen known to us, dealing with such matters as may be of interest to them.

For this purpose a News Letter in 3 languages is published. A beginning has also been made with the compilation and publication of data concerning wages and working conditions of the various groups catered for by the I. T. F.

Up to now there have been issued as "I. T. F. Documents" reports on the working conditions of the Railwaymen in :

Austria, Holland, Sweden, Spain and Belgium, and of the Transportworkers of England, Sweden and Holland.

"I. T. F. Documents", No. 4 and 5 will be published shortly and contain a review of the working conditions of the Railwaymen in England and Germany respectively.

Hitherto all publications could appear only in English, French and German; arrangements, however, are being made to have future publications issued also in one of the Scandinavian languages, while at the same time it is contemplated to have the publications also issued in Spanish, i. e. as soon as Spanish-speaking organisations have affiliated to the I. T. F.

Correspondence with the various organisations will be conducted as far as practicable in the language of these organisations, which means to say that in addition to English, French and German, one of the Scandinavian languages as well as Spanish will be employed.

It can be asserted that at the present moment the I. T. F. is the most powerful and most energetic of all the organisations of the proletariat.

The report was adopted without discussion.

*Meeting adjourned.*



Afternoon Session.  
Friday, April 22nd, 1921.

*M. Bidegaray* (France) was in the chair.

*Headquarters of the I.T.F.*

The Chairman opened discussions on item 8 of the Agenda. The Austrian Transportworkers' Union had sent in a proposal to designate Amsterdam as headquarters of the I.T.F.

*Adopted.*

*Election of the General Council.*

*Fimmen* (International Secretary) proposed on behalf of the General Council to select the members of the General Council from the following countries:

Great Britain and Ireland . . . . .	2 members
Germany . . . . .	2 "
France and Luxemburg . . . . .	1 "
Italy . . . . .	1 "
Spain, Portugal and South America . . . . .	1 "
Austria, Hungary and Switzerland . . . . .	1 "
Czecho-Slovakia, Yugo-Slavia, Bulgaria, Greece and Poland . . . . .	1 "
Sweden, Norway, Denmark and Finland . . . . .	1 "
Belgium and Holland . . . . .	1 "

*This proposal was adopted.*

\* The following comrades were appointed by their respective delegations:

- R. Williams, Great Britain and Ireland (Transportworkers)
- J. H. Thomas, Great Britain and Ireland (Railwaymen)
- J. Döring, Germany (Transportworkers)
- H. Jochade, Germany (Railwaymen)
- M. Bidegaray, France and Luxemburg
- Ch. Lindley, Sweden, Norway, Denmark and Finland
- A. Forstner, Austria, Hungary and Switzerland
- W. Brodecky, Czecho-Slovakia, Yugo-Slavia, Bulgaria, Greece and Poland

As the Belgian Railwaymen had left no member could be appointed for Holland and Belgium.

As no representatives were present from Spain and Italy, these countries would be invited by letter to nominate their representative for the General Council.

#### *Election of the Executive Committee.*

*Bidegaray* (Chairman) proposed on behalf of the General Council to re-elect the Executive Committee.

*Unanimously adopted.*

#### *Election of International Secretary.*

On the motion of the Chairman the International Secretary, Edo Fimmen, was unanimously re-elected.

#### *Next Congress.*

On the proposal of Forstner (Austrian Transportworkers' Union) it was decided to hold the next Congress in Vienna, in the autumn of 1922.

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*Bidegaray* (Chairman): There are still some proposals on the Agenda, which have not yet been dealt with. Item 10 of the proposals submitted is now to be discussed. It has been handed in by the Dutch Union of Railwaymen, and is in the following terms:

#### *Resolution re National Unity.*

10) "That this Congress most strongly urges in the case of a country where there are several organisations of Transportworkers catering for one particular category of Transportworkers all of which are affiliated to the I.T.F. that such unions shall confer immediately with the object of effecting an amalgamation of forces within their group as early as possible and further that the Executive Committee of the I.T.F. be instructed to take, if necessary, the preparatory steps towards bringing about this unity and to help to promote the realisation of same."

*Molmaker* (Holland) in explaining the proposal, remarked, that unity in the Trade Union Movement is essential. In some cases, as for instance in Holland, more than one organisation exists, although there is no real necessity for it. The necessity for unity was particularly shown during the dockers' and seamen's strike in the spring of 1920. From a national point of view it may be difficult to bring the organisations together. We believe, however, that the International can do good work in this respect, as men of experience representing an undivided trade union movement may act as intermediaries.

*Langkemper* (Netherlands Federation of Transportworkers) admitted that the disunity between the transportworkers' organisations in Holland was to the detriment of the Dutch workers. But he thought that unity could only be brought on a revolutionary basis. Only if the other union would be prepared to carry on a revolutionary propaganda can we expect some result. I further want to say that though it may be true that owing to dissension among the Dutch Transportworkers our strike was lost, members of the organisation which had submitted this very same resolution on unity, viz. the Dutch Railwaymen, had transported strike breakers to the seaport towns.

*Hof* (Central Transportworkers' Union) said, that his union which had organised a substantial number of transportworkers was entirely in accord with the resolution. They considered unity necessary and were therefore prepared to entrust the General Council with the task of trying to bring about a better understanding and, eventually, amalgamation of the two Dutch Transportworkers' organisations.

It would, however, be wrong to put the question in the way as Langkemper had done. If amalgamation is to come then it cannot be on the programme of the Dutch Federation of Transportworkers only. Though my organisation comprises an exceedingly larger number of transportworkers than the Dutch Federation does, we should not for a moment think of dictating to the Federation on what lines we should fuse. This should be brought about by mutual understanding and we believe that under the auspices of the I. T. F. such understanding can be realised.

*Bidegaray* (Chairman): All of us will realise that unity is an indispensable factor, for trade union action. Where the I.T.F. is in a position to further unity in the various countries by removing existing differences it shall not fail to do so.

*The resolution was then adopted, the Dutch Federation of Transportworkers voting against.*

### *Internal Structure of Trade Unions.*

*Nathans* (Dutch Railwaymen) explained the following motion submitted by his Union:

20. "That the Executive Committee institute an investigation among Transportworkers in all countries in respect of the internal structure of their organisations and to apprise all affiliated unions of the results of same."

*Fimmen* (International Secretary): I take it that we shall apply for particulars to the affiliated organisations.

*Adopted.*

### *Inquiry into Russian Trade Unions.*

The Dutch Union of Railwaymen had submitted Resolution No. 21, reading as follows:

21. "That this Congress instructs the Secretariat of the I. T. F. to approach the Russian Union of Transportworkers with a view to investigating whether and how far the Russian trade unions may be regarded as bona fide trade union organisations, free and independent in their various activities and decisions,

that, furthermore, a report on the results of this investigation be submitted as soon as possible to the organisations affiliated to the I. T. F. in view of probable affiliation of the Russian Transportworkers' Union to the I. T. F. ;

and that a report be drawn up on the social and labour conditions of Russian Transportworkers, about their part in the revolutionary movement in Russia and

finally on the question as to whether and how far the means employed by the Russian working classes may be adopted in countries where social conditions differ from those prevailing in Russia before the Revolution."

*Moltmaker* (Dutch Railwaymen) proposed to refer the matter to the General Council for consideration.

*Adopted.*

### *British Miners' Conflict.*

*Bevin* (British Transportworkers) read the following telegram which he had received from his colleagues *Williams* and *Gosling* :

"Move resolution calling upon European and American Transport and Railwayworkers to refuse all labour services for transport shipment or handling of coal likely to be sent to Great Britain during present lock-out of mineworkers.

Have taken determined action here to refuse any labour operations coaling and bunkering likely to contribute to government's attempt to break miners' stand."

*Williams, Gosling.*

I hope, that this Congress will vote unanimously in favour of supporting the British miners in the strike they have to fight for their very life and existence.

The attempts of the mineowners and the British government to force the miners' wages down to the pre-war level must be resolutely resisted. The mine owners and the government are intending to abolish the National Agreement, which means for the mine workers the greatest victory they ever won.

If the miners should lose their fight, the consequence will be an attack from all sides and in the whole world on the workers' standard of living. (Applause)

*Fimmen* (International Secretary) informed the Congress that he had already sent a telegram to the affiliated organisations concerned, urging them to assist the British miners and the Dutch and the Germans had

replied favourably. He proposed, now that the conflict had actually broken out, to repeat the request to refuse the handling of coal destined for Great Britain.

*The Congress decided with acclamation to appeal to the European and American Transportworkers to help the British miners.*

### *Recognition of Danish Transportworkers' Union.*

*Lindley* (Swedish Transportworkers) stated that the Danish Federation of Trade Unions was not prepared to admit the Danish Transportworkers' Union as a member on account of the fact, that the Danish Union of General Workers was opposed to the admission. In calling upon the Danish Federation of Trade Unions to revise their decision, this Congress would lend a helping hand to the Danish Transportworkers' Union in their organising work. I therefore move the following resolution :

"This Congress of the International Transportworkers' Federation, having been informed that the Trades Union Federation of Denmark refuses to admit the Danish Transportworkers Union to affiliation, hereby manifests its solidarity with the Danish Transportworkers and calls upon the Trade Unionists of Denmark to recognise the right of the Danish Transportworkers' Union to organise such workers into a national Union.

Transport workers in all countries are such an important factor in economic life that no hindrance should be placed by other trade unionists upon any national organisation with international connections and affiliated to the I. T. F.

This Congress pledges itself to render all assistance to the Danish Transportworkers' Union in their organising work."

*Adopted.*

### *Position of the Finnish working classes.*

*Nilsen* (Norwegian Seamen) pointed out that the Finnish working classes found themselves in a very bad position as the White Terror prohibited the re-establishment of trade union organisation. I believe that this Congress should pronounce itself against the Finnish Government.

*Fimmen* (International Secretary) said that various reports had come to hand, showing that the Counter-revolutionaries acted in a shameful way against the workers and the workers' organisations. If these persecutions would not be stopped effective measures should be taken on behalf of the Finnish comrades. He moved the following resolution :

"The Congress expresses its sympathy with the Finnish working classes and is ready to use the forces at its disposal in order to help to alleviate the condition of the working classes of Finland. This Congress imposes upon the Secretariat of the I. T. F. the duty to continue to pay special



attention to the situation in Finland and eventually to proceed to boycott that country in case the present ruling classes in Finland refuse to treat the Finnish working classes in a more just and humane manner."

*Unanimously adopted.*

### *Closing of the Congress.*

*Bidegaray* (Chairman): All items on the Agenda are now dealt with and the Congress can therefore be closed. Before doing so, however, I wish to thank the Swiss organisations, which gave us such splendid proofs of their hospitality.

This Congress is a mile-stone in the history of our International. All the delegates came here with the intention to make this congress a success and they have succeeded.

Let us go on working for the emancipation of labour! (Loud applause)

The Congress then terminated by singing the International.

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