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REPORT

OF THE INTERNATIONAL TRANSPORT WORKERS'
CONGRESS HELD AT VIENNA IN THE GRAND
HALL OF THE KAMMER FÜR HANDEL,
INDUSTRIE UND GEWERBE FROM
2nd TO 6th OCTOBER, 1922



INTERNATIONAL TRANSPORTWORKERS' FEDERATION
AMSTERDAM (HOLLAND)
MAY 1923

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

Agenda.

1. Opening Address by the President.
 2. Election of the Bureau of the Congress.
 3. Examination of Credentials.
 4. Order of Business.
 5. Report on the Activities of the Executive Committee.
 6. Financial Report.
 7. Report on the International Situation. Reporter: *Edo Fimmen*.
 8. Report on Standardisation of Working Conditions. Reporter: *J. Döring*.
 9. Report on the Socialisation of the Means of Transport.
Reporter: *M. Bidegaray*.
 10. Proposals submitted.
 11. Affiliation Fees.
 12. Headquarters of the I. T. F.
 - 13 (a) Selection of the Countries from the Representatives of which the General Council and the Executive Committee of the I. T. F. shall be elected.
 - (b) Election of the General Council.
 - (c) Election of the Executive Committee.
 - (d) Election of International Secretary.
 - (e) Other Elections.
 14. Selection of Country in which the next Congress is to 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 F. Somitsch J. Smeykal R. Müller F. Lill K. Hofbauer B. König R. Weigl J. Decker K. Winter H. Innerhuber	109 088
	Verband der Handels-, Transport- und Verkehrsarbeiter und -Arbeiterinnen Oesterreichs (Transport Workers)	K. Weigl F. Geiger A. Hofbauer F. Schindler M. Janda H. Schoissengayr E. Zumann J. Schmiedek (visitor)	57 500
Belgium	Syndicat National du Personnel des Ch. P. T. T. M. (Railwaymen)	Petit Malien	69 230
	Belgische Transportarbeidersbond (Transport Workers)	P. Somers H. van Eyken J. Chapelle E. van Vlaanderen M. Colart (visitor) A. v. Pottelsberghe (visitor) J. Wynands(visitor)	30 000
Bulgaria	Bulgarian Railwaymen's Union	N. Issaieff	965
Czecho-Slovakia	Unie Zelezninich V Československé (Railwaymen)	F. Stanek J. Foff K. Beran	53 000
	Verband der Eisenbahner im Bereiche der tschechoslowakischen Republik (Railwaymen)	E. Grünzer E. Paul	24 700

Country	Names of the Organisations	Names of Delegates	Number of Members
Czecho-Slovakia	Verband der Handels-, Transport- und Verkehrsarbeiter und -Arbeiterinnen im Bereiche der tschechoslovakischen Republik	A. Pragerl	7 000
		J. Nase	
Denmark	Dansk Jernbaneforbund (Railwaymen)	R. Kantsø	10 000
	Dansk Arbejdsmands Forbund (Transport Workers)	N. P. Hansen A. Olsen A. Petersen	21 000
	Sø-Fyrbødernes Forbund i Danmark (Firemen)	E. Jacobsen	1 500
France	Fédération Nationale des Travailleurs des Chemins de Fer de France, des Colonies et Pays de Protectorat (Railwaymen)	G. Toulouse P. le Guen J. Jarrigion Montagne	36 000
	Fédération Nationale des Ports, Docks, Transport et Manutentionnaires de France et d'Algérie (Dockers)	E. Vignaud R. Guéna	12 000
	Fédération Nationale des Moyens de Transports (Transport Workers)	J. Guinchard E. Molard E. Jaccoud Bardollet E. Millet Lesouple } visitors	20 000
Germany	Deutscher Eisenbahnerverband (Railwaymen)	H. Richter E. Prawitz L. Steinberg R. Wirth	450 000
	Deutscher Transportarbeiterverband (Transport Workers)	W. Nordmann E. Riedel H. Seiffert F. Köhler H. Rathmann P. Wertmann	566 447
Great Britain	The National Transport Workers' Federation	E. Bevin J. Cotter G. I. Gillespie S. Warren S. Hirst H. Kershaw	300 000

Country	Names of the Organisations	Names of Delegates	Number of Members
Great Britain	The National Transport Workers' Federation	F. J. Maynard H. Gosling Th. Stillwell B. Tillett J. Davenport J. Sexton B. Smith	300 000
	The National Union of Railwaymen	C. T. Cramp J. C. Allen J. Marchbanks P. H. Black J. Gore W. T. Foot D. Race W. H. Bunnett W. L. Brunson	
Holland	Nederlandsche Vereeniging van Spoor- en Tramwegpersoneel (Railwaymen)	P. Moltmaker N. Nathans W. van Delft G. Joustra	22 659
	Centrale Bond van Transportarbeiders (Transport Workers)	J. Brautigam A. Kievit H. Overst G. Zieverink	22 075
Italy	Sindacato Tramvieri Italiani (Tramwaymen)	G. Sardelli G. Canini R. Prez	20 000
Luxemburg	Fédération Nationale des Cheminots Luxembourgeois (Railwaymen)	M. Hack M. Leick	6 200
Poland	Związek Zawodowy Pracowników Kolejowych w Polsce (Railwaymen)	J. Odrobina Ch. Maxamin	83 750
Spain	Sindicato Nacional de la Industria Ferroviaria (Railwaymen)	A. F. Quer	7 000
	La Velocidad, Asociación de Chauffeurs y Aspirantes de Madrid (Motor Drivers)	J. Dias A. F. Giot	2 000

Country	Names of the Organisations	Names of Delegates	Number of Members
Sweden	Svenska Järnvärgsmannaförbundet (Railwaymen)	F. W. Franzén	34 794
	Svenska Transportarbetareförbundet (Transport Workers)	O. Erikson	11 689
Switzerland	Schweizerischer Eisenbahnerverband (Railwaymen)	V. Lang	38 500
Yugoslavia	Verband südslawischer Seeleute (Seamen)	Glavan Abdon	1 500

Members of General Council.

Robert Williams, President

J. Döring

M. Bidegaray

W. Brodečky

A. Forstner

T. Gómez

H. Jochade

Ch. Lindley

C. Mahlman

J. H. Thomas

Edo Fimmen, Secretary

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J. Brautigam } Members of Committee
P. Moltmaker } of Management

Fraternal Delegates and Visitors

- K. Seitz President of the National Assembly. Representative of the Social Democratic Parliamentary Group and the Austrian Social Democratic Party.
- J. Reumann . . . Burgomaster of Vienna.
- F. Hanusch . . . Austrian Federation of Trade Unions and the Chamber of Labour for Lower Austria.
- Dr. Palla Secretary of the Chamber of Labour for Lower Austria.
- P. Richter Vienna Social Democratic Party.
- K. Hofbauer . . . Social Democratic Group of the Vienna Corporation.
- Dr. L. Maier . . . International Secretary of the Post, Telegraph and Telephone Employees' International.
- H. Holek Editor of the organ of the Austrian Transport Workers' Union.

INTERNATIONAL
TRANSPORT WORKERS' CONGRESS

VIENNA, OCTOBER 1922

First Day.
Monday, October 2nd, 1922.

Opening of the Congress.

The President, *Robert Williams* (Great Britain), opened the Congress with the following observations :

This is the second time that the Congress of the I. T. F. has assembled at Vienna and in the same Hall. The number of delegates in attendance here today is 129, representing 32 organisations in 18 countries. As soon as the full details can be ascertained, a complete list of delegates will be distributed, from which you will be able to gather further particulars. There are also fraternal delegates in attendance, to whom I should like to extend a very hearty welcome. These fraternal delegates are :—

Dr. Karl Seitz, President of the Austrian National Assembly, and Ferdinand Hanusch, Member of the National Assembly, who represent the Executive Committee of the Social Democratic Party and the Parliamentary Group of that party. (Ferdinand Hanusch is also representing the Austrian Federation of Trade Unions and the Vienna Chamber of Labour).

Jacob Reumann and Councillor Hofbauer, representing the Vienna Corporation.

Paul Richter, Member of the National Assembly, representing the Executive Committee of the Vienna Social Democratic Party.

Dr. Palla, representing the Chamber of Labour.

Dr. L. Maier, representing the Postal Workers' International.

Before I deliver my opening address, I should like to call upon the fraternal delegates to address the Congress.

Addresses of Welcome.

Dr. Seitz : On behalf of the Executive Committee of the Austrian Social Democratic Party, and the Group of Social Democratic Members in the Austrian National Assembly, I extend a very cordial welcome to this

International Transport Workers' Congress. International Congresses of Trade Unions have developed far beyond the stage of being mere demonstrations in furtherance of certain social interests, and are now attaining an ever-increasing significance in the struggle of the workers for political ascendancy, the improvement of international relations, and world peace.

Unemployment, misery, and poverty, have long since taught the workers how the war and the so-called peace treaties have sinned against the economic life of the world. The hypocrisy of the phrase "victor and vanquished states" has long since been revealed: there are no victor and vanquished states: there is no longer a horizontal division of mankind into states: but only a vertical division into classes. The vanquished in all countries are the downtrodden proletariat.

The workers of all countries are therefore making strenuous endeavours not only to gain power but also to prevent any recurrence of such wars. We welcome this congress as a manifestation of this desire. As the instruments of international intercourse, you are destined to play a very important rôle in this movement. Your will and your resolution will help to determine whether capitalism can again embark upon an insane imperialism and embroil the world in a catastrophe similar to the one we have just had to endure. The vocabulary of the Austrian people does not contain the words Hate and Enmity, and even during the most terrible period of the war these terms were used only by the despots in power. We are not only welcoming you here as subjects of the Austrian State, but also as class-conscious fellow-workers.

It is said that Vienna is a poor city and that Austria is a poor country. Comrades, we are not poor. We have only been robbed of our freedom and our right of self-determination. We have been cut off from a rich economic area; and we have been prevented from linking ourselves to an economic unit which would have brought us salvation and to which we ought to belong according to every precept of reasoning. Violence was done to our desires and we were forced to form a new and isolated economic organism.

Subsequently, we were promised at St. Germain the means of consolidating our new economic system, but we have been waiting for three years for the fulfilment of this promise. It now appears, however, as if they are indeed desirous of keeping their word, but only on conditions which are unacceptable to us. Although the bourgeoisie may not yet appreciate what it means to be subjected to foreign supervision, the workers are fully alive to the shame and dishonour to which we are to be subjected, a dishonour more humiliating than that which Turkey was ever called upon to endure. In the struggle for our liberty, we hope to secure the support of the workers throughout the world, for *they* will not tolerate the suppression of any nation. We give you our word that, as loyal partisans of the International, we shall devote all our efforts to assisting the workers in their struggle to emancipate themselves from the yoke of capitalism. (*Applause*)

Hanusch : On behalf of the Austrian Federation of Trade Unions and the Vienna Chamber of Labour, I extend a welcome to this Congress.

Though the delegates present here number scarcely more than a hundred, they nevertheless represent a tremendous power, a power so great, that, if used wisely in the interests of the workers, it will prevent rulers from waging new wars. Transport is the main artery of economic life, and it is for this reason that the power represented here is so great. Past history has, indeed, shown that this power has not been as effectively used as it might have been. We need but call to mind the boycott against the Hungarian Government, whose hands are soiled with the blood of working men and women. Unfortunately the boycott did not, in the end, achieve the success with which it would have been crowned if the transport workers' organisations of other countries had taken part in it as whole-heartedly as did the Austrian Unions. For this reason, every trade union should realise how necessary it is to develop the I. T. F. The Austrian Labour Movement does realise the importance of the transport workers' movement ; it realises that, in certain circumstances, the transport workers' organisation can act not only on its own behalf but also on behalf of other branches of industry. The workers in these industries have to struggle month after month to improve their position, whereas the transport workers can terminate a dispute in a very few hours. On the other hand, the power in the hands of the transport workers calls for a tremendous sense of responsibility, lest this power should be mobilised on the slightest provocation, instead of being reserved for issues of vital character. Proud though you may be of the successes hitherto attained, you must nevertheless do everything at this Congress to develop the international organisation.

It is in this spirit that I welcome you and wish this congress every success. (*Applause*)

Weigl (Austrian Transport Workers' Union) : On behalf of the District Committee of the Transport Workers and Railwaymen, I wish to welcome the delegates to this Congress. In Vienna we have had to contend with years of poverty and misery, but we have also had a well-organised class-conscious proletariat which thoroughly appreciates the holding of an International Congress in Vienna. When the decision was taken to hold the next congress in Vienna, both the Austrian organisations were gratified, inasmuch as they regarded this decision as a recognition of their organisational work. The Vienna Committee has endeavoured to render the stay of the delegates in Vienna as pleasant as possible. Various arrangements have been made to afford you a few hours' enjoyment after the day's work. We hope that these will be a success and that the delegates who have come to Vienna for the first time, as well as the others, will carry away with them pleasant memories of their stay. (*Applause*)

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Presidential Address.

Comrades and Fellow Delegates :

We are meeting here in Vienna, the capital city of a country which has been stricken probably worse than any belligerent country as a direct result of the war and the treaties of peace which followed the war. All of us must sympathise deeply with the plight into which our Austrian comrades have been thrust. No more loyal section of the Transport Workers' movement can be found in any country than that of our Austrian comrades, and it behoves us to use our influence, internationally as well as in our respective countries, in order to hasten the return towards a more stable and an improved economic status for the workers in this stricken country. Our presence here is a challenge to the diplomatists, the so-called statesmen and the financiers, whose ignorance, greed and incapacity has brought the workers' conditions to the appalling levels which now exist throughout Europe.

The solidarity of the workers in all countries can be made manifest and effective only by means of international organisation, first of all in their trade or industrial secretariats, and, secondly, through the International Federation of Trade Unions.

The I. T. F. has grown numerically stronger by the affiliation of country after country and section after section in the principal countries, and today the overwhelming majority of Transport Workers and Railway Workers are part of the I. T. F.-Comrade Fimmen, and the Secretariat at Amsterdam, have submitted to you a Report on the activities and on the financial position for the year 1921, and it is not my purpose to duplicate what he and his colleagues of the Bureau have already submitted for your observation.

A small and almost negligible section of Transport Workers attempted to promote an International Transport Workers' Federation under the guidance and auspices of Moscow. This organisation claimed to be revolutionary in character and connected itself directly with the Red International of Trade Unions. In the name of militant working-class organisation, they have sought to create divisions in the ranks of the internationally organised Transport Workers, and, although claiming to be militants and zealots, the total result of their efforts has been practically of no consequence except to cause suspicion and a little misunderstanding. There is still room for the Russian Transport Workers and Railway Workers in the International Transportworkers' Federation, provided our Russian fellow workers would accept the platform, policy and principles which we have laid down in our constitution. Despite all the pronouncements and declarations of policy made by Moscow, we see Russia gradually drifting from the communism originally aimed at, and the admittance into her midst of concessionaires and foreign capitalists through the medium of financial and economic treaties. We deem it essential that under these conditions the Russian Trade Unionists employed on the railways and in

the general means of transport, should be allowed to unite with their fellow transport workers of Western Europe. We do not object to working-class militancy and revolutionary zeal in the interest of the working-class, provided it is honest and sincere, and intended to hasten the creation of the Co-operative Commonwealth of Labour.

We have passed through very difficult times since you assembled together at Geneva, but it can be said truly and honestly that the International Transportworkers' Federation has acquitted itself at least as well as any other International Secretariat in the Trade Union Movement. The Executive Council and the General Council have both sought to give effect to the instructions they received at the Geneva Congress; and resolutions will be submitted for your approval proposing to set up definite departments for:—

- (1) International Seafaring Workers;
- (2) International Railway Workers; and
- (3) International Transport Workers of other grades.

It must be borne in mind that our Comrade Fimmen is not only the Acting Secretary of the I. T. F., but he is also Joint Secretary of the International Federation of Trade Unions. Under the guidance of Fimmen we have been able to carry on our multifarious duties, but today the General Council suggests to you that no longer can it be expected of Fimmen that he can fill the two offices to the satisfaction of the organisations of which he is Secretary. The present European situation renders it more and more essential for us to departmentalise our work under one supreme head, allowing at the same time for the sections to enjoy that measure of autonomy which is consistent with inclusion and organisation in the I. T. F. itself.

The Executive Council and the General Council, observing the international situation going from bad to worse as far as the workers' standard is concerned, has called upon the Governments in the respective countries to hasten real world peace. At the Stockholm Meeting, your General Council formulated a policy without which, in their judgment, there is no hope of the world recovery of trade, the restoration of currencies, and that measure of well-paid employment which our membership in every country it entitled to expect. The following resolution was unanimously adopted at that Meeting:—

The General Council of the International Transportworkers' Federation, considering the facts regarding the growing volume of unemployment and the steadily falling wages among the Transport Workers, Railway Workers, and Seamen in the various countries, views with alarm the tendency to undo the previous work of many years of organising efforts to improve the standard of life of the masses.

The General Council condemns the policy of the employing class which seeks to lower the real wages of the workers and consequently to lower the effective demand for commodities and further increase the ranks of the unemployed.

The General Council, moreover, determines to resist any and every attempt to increase the hours of labour of all grades and sections of Transport Workers, knowing that any interference with the 8-hour day will intensify the problem of unemployment.

The General Council calls upon the statesmen and diplomats about to assemble at Genoa to realise the impending insolvency of Europe and to adopt all essential measures to repudiate their previous insensate blunders embodied in the various Peace Treaties.

The General Council, however, expresses the conviction that world wide political power should be removed from the hands of the nominees of the Landlord and Capitalist class, and placed to an ever-increasing degree in the hands of the representatives of the Labour and Socialist Parties.

The General Council calls upon the organised workers to promote an international campaign for :

- (1) The repudiation of all punitive indemnities ;
- (2) The cancellation of the debts of one nation to another arising out of loans issued during the war ;
- (3) The creation of credits to all nations impoverished as a direct result of the war and the treaties ;
- (4) Measures to secure stabilisation of currencies and exchanges ;
- (5) The full and uninterrupted flow of commodities, and the cancellation of duties, protective tariffs, and artificial barriers which impede trade and commerce ;
- (6) The establishment of permanent Peace between the nations, and disarmament, especially including Russia, and the cessation of all open and furtive military preparations and operations which retard economic reconstruction ; and
- (7) The creation of a united Working Class Movement, industrial and political, which is the one sure means of advancing the interests of the workers in all countries.

The statesmen and politicians at Geneva, living in a world of make-believe, have met, discussed, and resolved upon various matters, without bringing any tangible improvement whatsoever to the overwhelming mass of the people they claim to represent. It remains for Labour, internationally organised, and speaking closely and coherently, to formulate a world policy calculated to bring about material improvement. During the past few days we have been threatened with yet another world war, which, were it to break out, would in all probability be more ruinous than the war which terminated in 1918.

In conjunction with my colleagues, Döring, Bidegaray and Brodecky, of the General Council, I attended the Conference of the International Federation of Trade Unions, held at Rome, to seek to give effect to the anti-militarist policy to which we are all pledged. The resolutions are before you in printed form, and I sincerely hope that what we have done and said in your name will be fully endorsed by the delegates at this Congress.

Attempts have been made, but without immediate success, to link up the Transport Workers of America, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa with the International Transportworkers' Federation, but the distance

is so great as to render difficult personal contact between our overseas comrades and ourselves. I am, however, confident that despite these difficulties something can be done in the near future to bring the workers in the above-mentioned countries into more intimate relationship with the Transport Workers of Europe.

Your General Council has adopted all the means at its disposal to maintain the eight-hour day. Faced with world-wide unemployment as we are, it would be a disaster for us to permit the employers to impose additional hours upon us, remembering as we do that if we are lured into the acceptance of increased working hours, it will mean a practical reduction in our economic status.

Grants have been made to the French Dockers' organisation, first of all to place that body upon a sound financial basis, and secondly to encourage them in offering the most strenuous resistance to the French employers, who have sought to break down the eight-hour day. Your Executive Council and your General Council have taken serious notice of the plans of the international employing class, first of all to reduce the wage of the workers in the productive industries, chiefly, as they allege, on the grounds of international competition; and secondly, when in the respective countries they have forced reductions of wages on the workers engaged in productive processes, to claim a reduction in wages from the workers employed in the Railway and Transport industry, because, as it is put, wages in the productive industries have been forced down to "economic levels". This, therefore, renders it essential for us to promote and maintain solidarity, not only amongst the industrial secretariats, but also amongst our national groups in the respective countries.

In pursuance of the decisions of the Geneva Congress, the Executive Council has held two International Conferences of the Seamen's Section, and now that the French Seamen have definitely withdrawn from the International Seafarers' Federation, the latter body has ceased to exist, except in name. Your Council has given every support to the Amalgamated Marine Workers' Union, which organisation has valiantly struggled to organise the Seamen of Great Britain in a Trade Union based upon sound economic and industrial principles. Havelock Wilson, the pampered darling of the British shipowners, is the living embodiment of a "yellow" Trade Unionist. You have all heard of the infamous letter to Herr Hugo Stinnes, in which Wilson, with crawling sycophancy, addresses the former gentleman as "Honoured Sir", and in which, over the heads and behind the backs of our German colleagues, he sought to make an agreement with Stinnes which was *not in the interests of the workers so much as in his own and that of his co-officials of the National Sailors' and Firemen's Union*. The majority of the European Seamen's organisations are now actively co-operating with the International Transportworkers' Federation, and your Council hopes soon to appoint a Secretary to the Seamen's Section of the International Transportworkers Federation, which appointment will have the effect of rendering effective service to the Seamen of the world.

At the Inaugural Conference of the newly-constituted International Transportworkers' Federation, held in Amsterdam after the signing of the Armistice, I made myself responsible for a proposal that our colleagues in those countries suffering from an adverse rate of exchange should not be obliged to bear the results of the deflated value of their particular currencies, and it can be truly said that the Bureau of the International Transportworkers' Federation has worked patiently to avoid undue punishment of a financial character upon those countries which are in a bad way, but no satisfactory solution can be found unless things are placed upon a more equitable basis. Your Council, at this Congress, will submit proposals in which, while we do not desire to inflict any hardship upon those countries adversely affected by the rate of exchange, at the same time we will call upon them to make their periodical payments in a manner which will be fair and equitable all round and will not have the effect of imposing the burden of maintaining the financial soundness of the International Transportworkers' Federation entirely upon those countries whose currencies are in a relatively good position.

A difficult time lies immediately ahead for one and all. I trust that this Congress will be marked by feelings of fraternity and goodwill. It ill becomes us to allow our efforts and energies to be employed in destructive criticism between one another. Never was it more urgent than at the present time and in the immediate future that we should pull together as at no other time in our history. Real wages in most countries have fallen below the pre-war level, and everything possible must be done to improve the present position of affairs in so far as the workers' conditions are concerned. There are those, who, acting mistakenly upon the assumption that the increased misery of the masses will bring revolution, await with economic fatalism and folded hands while the position grows worse and worse. My conviction, however, remains that revolutionary possibilities and opportunities for material improvement come better from a well-conditioned working-class than from a working-class driven by misery and starvation. Again I appeal to all the delegates to work individually and collectively for the restoration of economic and financial stability, especially in the country in which we are meeting today, and in your name, I would pledge the Congress to use its united influence in this direction. Our responsibilities are great and grave, and it is my deeply-felt conviction that this Congress will register another advance in the international solidarity of the Transport Workers of all countries. (*Loud Applause*)

Address of Welcome by the Burgomaster of Vienna.

Williams (President) : The Burgomaster of Vienna, who was prevented from coming earlier, will now address you. (*Applause*)

Burgomaster Reumann : My first duty is to welcome this Congress in the name of the majority of the Viennese Corporation. For a long, long period, this Corporation had never had a single working-class representative

among its members. Not only has this been altered, but the majority of the Corporation is now Social Democratic. In these circumstances, it naturally devotes great attention to the growth of the Labour Movement. We know what severe conflicts the Transport Workers have passed through, and we are also familiar with the struggles of the Railwaymen's organisation, in which I myself took part. I may add that I myself took part in the early struggles of these organisations. Glancing back at those early efforts and the vast achievements of succeeding decades, we are reminded of the enormous amount of personal self-sacrifice which was necessary to raise the organisation to its present lofty position. But, despite all the political and economic persecutions which had to be suffered, thousands upon thousands of comrades perseveringly continued their difficult task until the organisation of the working-classes attained that pre-eminent position which it now occupies. These efforts were, of course, not confined to Austria. Workers everywhere, and especially the transport workers, can look back upon some severe fighting; and looking forwards, I earnestly hope that this Congress may serve to strengthen the Organisation and, through the Organisation, the proletariat of the whole world. (*Applause*)

The President: We have now to consider item 2 on the agenda, namely,

Election of Standing Orders Committee.

Fimmen (Secretary of the I. T. F.): In the name of the General Council, I wish to move that Comrade Robert Williams, President of the International Federation of Transport Workers, be elected Chairman, and the following comrades as Vice-Chairmen: Comrade August Forstner and Comrade Josef Tomschik, Presidents respectively of the Austrian Transport Workers' Union and the Austrian Railwaymen's organisation, whose guests we are.

The motion was adopted.

Election of Credentials Committee.

On the motion of *Robert Williams* (President), H. Jochade (Germany), M. Bidegaray (France) and J. H. Thomas (Great Britain) were appointed to form the Credentials Committee.

Hours of Session.

It was then decided to fix the hours of work as 9 a. m. till 1 p. m. and 3 p. m. till 6 p. m.

The sitting then adjourned.

Monday, October 2nd, 1922.

Afternoon Session.

Robert Williams occupied the chair.

*Manifesto of the International Propaganda Committee for the Formation
of a "Red" Transport Workers' International.*

The President, *Robert Williams*, informed the Congress that every member had received a copy of a manifesto issued by people who believe themselves entitled to speak in the name of the International of Transport Workers. Comrade *Fimmen* will report to you on the information obtained by him from various organisations as to how far they had identified themselves with this manifesto, which contains a whole string of calumniations and insinuations concerning alleged malpractices on the part of the German, French and British organisations.

Subjoined is the text of the manifesto.

Manifesto.

To the Transport Workers of the World.

On October 2nd next, there will be held at Vienna the Congress of the International Transportworkers' Federation, an organisation which proudly declares that it has affiliated with it 2½ million transport workers.

What have the transport workers, railwaymen and seamen, whose wages are being cut and whose working hours are being lengthened in all lands, to expect from this Congress?

Will this Congress bring us merely empty tosh, or the genuine beginnings of international action?

To these questions you will find the best reply in the resolutions passed at the former congresses, held at Amsterdam, Christiania and Geneva.

One of these resolutions demands the *8-hour day for all seamen*. But at the Washington Conference, convened by the International Labour

Office, with which the International Transportworkers' Federation is on such friendly terms, the contrary was decided.

The 8-hour day was everywhere rendered ineffective.

Another resolution talks of an "anti-war campaign" but in every country the leaders of the International Transportworkers' Federation are working hand in hand with their respective governments, although they know perfectly well that capitalism is the cause of all wars.

Another resolution deals with the measures which should be taken to check unemployment among the dockers, yet the number of unemployed dockers increases from day to day.

On the burning question of how you are to defend yourselves against a wages cut and prevent the workers of one country from being stabbed in the back by the workers of another country, these Congresses have said absolutely nothing.

What is the use then of the resolutions of these International Congresses?

Empty words, to deceive the workers!

On the very day that the Congress meets, i. e. on October 2nd, the wages of the English dockers will be reduced by 1/- a day, and further reductions are to be expected before June of next year. The agreement accepting these reductions was signed by Messrs. Bevin, Gosling etc.

Against the wage cuts of the English dockers, and of the German, French and Czech railwaymen, Messrs. Fimmen, Bidegaray and Scheffel have done nothing. Now we might ask, what have they done, what real deeds can their International point to?

They broke the strike of the American Miners.

Bevin, the leader of the English dockers, wrote on August 10th to the Secretaries of the International Federation of Miners that the sending of 3 coal vessels to America was *blacklegging*, but during the week of August 19—26, 150,000 tons of coal were actually shipped, at a time when the American miners were fighting for their lives.

And what was the real action of the International Transportworkers' Federation? *Nothing*. By their silence they gave their sanction to this blacklegging.

What else could be expected from an International which systematically blocks the way to the formation of a united front of the Transport Workers?

The International Transportworkers' Federation maintains the best of relations with the League of Nations, that is to say, with the Entente Governments, which it supports politically.

What is the real spirit of their policy?

Still greater enslavement of the workers of Central and Eastern Europe, the application of the scourge of hunger in the countries which are oppressed by the Peace Treaty of Versailles.

Just as the ruthless employers steal millions from the people, flinging them alms as compensation, so also the hypocritical policy of the Inter-

national Transportworkers' Federation is first to ruin the workers in order subsequently to offer them alms.

It was not the leaders of the International Transportworkers' Federation who prevented the transport of munitions against Russia, but the spontaneous will of the workers, to which they had to yield. Is there anyone who seriously believes that the selfsame Thomas, who "in order to avoid the creation of a revolutionary situation" was unwilling to support the English miners in their recent conflict by means of a solidarity strike of the railwaymen, is a friend of the Russian Revolution? A reactionary at heart, he is a revolutionary in the International Transportworkers' Federation.

But the International Transportworkers' Federation does still more. *It excludes the Russians, Bulgarians and Finns from the International*; most of the French, Dutch, and Czechs cannot associate with them.

In Germany the best of the leaders are being expelled from the Railwaymen's union; in Czechoslovakia the International Transportworkers' Federation is continually trying to split up the Railwaymen's union.

All the organisations whose names are here subjoined have united to form an *International Propaganda Committee*, in order to create a real united front.

It is our desire that the International should include all the transport workers of the world, that the 8-hour day should be secured and maintained, that assaults on wages should be repulsed, that no country should intervene to break the strike of any other country, and that all friendly relations with the capitalists, with the League of Nations and with any of the organisations connected with them, should be broken off.

When the gentlemen of the International Transportworkers' Federation come to you with talk of unity and other things, when they come with all their congress tosh, demand of them that they shall combine with us, the revolutionary transport workers organisations specified below, in all ports, on all railways, in fact everywhere, in order to defend your wages and standard of living by means of international action.

We are one powerful army, if only we have the will and the unity of purpose!

Yours fraternally,

Russian Railwaymen's Union.
Russian Transport Workers' Union.
German Seamen's Union.
French Railwaymen's Federation.
Czech Railwaymen's Union.
Netherlands Federation of Transport Workers.
Bulgarian Transport Workers' Union.
Finnish Railwaymen's Union.
Norwegian Railwaymen's Union.
Norwegian Transport Workers' Union.
Norwegian Seamen's Union.

Bevin (British Transport Workers) asked the chair to inform the delegates that the foregoing was just a plain copy of the manifesto sent by their opponents to Amsterdam; translated and stencilled there.

Fimmen (International Secretary): It is a manifesto which we found in the Press; it was disseminated by the so-called Propaganda Committee of the "Red" Transport Workers' International, and contained the usual abuse of the I. T. F. We should not have had reason to devote any great attention to the manifesto, but that, in addition to the signatures of the so-called Russian Transport Workers' Union, the Russian Railwaymen's Union, the German Seamen's Organisation, a Czech Railwaymen's Union (founded, I believe yesterday or the day before), a Bulgarian Transport Workers' Union and the Finnish Railwaymen's Organisation, it bore those of the unions of the Norwegian Railwaymen, Transport Workers and Seamen. These three Norwegian organisations being affiliated with us, we have good grounds for bringing the matter forward in order that the Congress may not only determine its attitude towards this rag of a manifesto, but also obtain a clear insight into the position of the Norwegian organisations. In a telegram to the Norwegian organisations, I have asked for explanation of the fact that their names appear under a manifesto addressed through the Communist Press to the transport workers of all countries, and containing an attack upon the I. T. F. In reply I received from the Norwegian comrades the following telegram:—

"The Seamen's Union and the unions of Railwaymen and Transport Workers have entered a written protest against the misappropriation of their signatures under this manifesto. We are opposed to this manifesto. Letter follows to-morrow."

We subsequently received from the Norwegian comrades a letter containing this telegram and containing the following passage:

"On September 1st, our three unions received the draft of a manifesto directed against the I. T. F. and signed with their names. On the other hand, however, the Organisation of Locomotive Enginemen and Firemen which is also affiliated with the I. T. F., received no such communication, and its name does not appear under the manifesto. We were requested by the Executive of the "Red" International to subscribe to this manifesto. We unanimously decided to protest against this procedure and forwarded a letter of protest to the "Red" Trade Union International. The "Red" Trade Union International nevertheless published our names under the manifesto."

In this letter from Norway, it is stated that the Norwegian comrades are unfortunately prevented from taking part in the Congress at Vienna. The Organisation of Transport Workers is not in a position to send a representative. The Norwegian Railwaymen had cherished the intention to do so, but are prevented by the illness of their president. The Union of Norwegian Seamen and Firemen is holding its own Congress, and is consequently prevented from sending a delegation to Vienna. The Locomotive Enginemen and Firemen are obliged to abstain from doing so on financial grounds. Nevertheless, all these organisations are prepared to support the I. T. F. and to co-operate with it; they express their indignation at the so-called "Red" Executive having adopted such an incorrect attitude (Almost literally

translated, the words used in the letter are : "has acted in such a sordid manner"). They send their most cordial greetings to all comrades and hope to be able to attend the next Congress. The letter concludes with : "Long live the I. T. F."

From all this it is evident that, so far as the signature of the Norwegian comrades is concerned, the whole manifesto is a swindle, and that the Norwegian comrades, who are one with us in spirit, desire to remain in our ranks. In the Communist press I have also read an assertion that the Norwegian comrades sent a telegram to a Communist Conference held at Hamburg early in August. In regard to this, again, the Norwegian comrades declared that they had forwarded no telegram. I think it was necessary to clear this matter up. Moreover, we shall take care to have, not only the Norwegian protest, but also their covering letter to us, translated into all languages so that we may expose the swindle in the Press, and exhibit to the workers the manner in which the Communists carry on their agitation. It is an instructive incident, inasmuch as this fraudulent use of signatures suggests in what other ways cozening is carried on in order to make people believe that a large number of organisations have joined the "Red" International.

Cramp (British Railwaymen) thereupon moved next business. These people, he said, thrive on the talk to which their pamphlets give rise. It would be best to take no notice of them, but just to accept these explanations and pass on.

Rathmann (German Transport Workers) : We fully agree with what has been said, but we consider it necessary to demonstrate through the medium of the press the methods employed by the Communists, although we need not make too much fuss about the affair.

Fimmen (International Secretary) : I think the best solution would perhaps be the publication of a short notice in the News Letter of the I. T. F., leaving it to the executives of the affiliated unions to take such action as they please. (Adopted)

Report of the Executive Committee.

Williams (President) : We are making progress with the agenda. The Credentials Committee has met. As to the Report of the Executive Committee, we have before us a printed report of the International Secretariat.

Jarrigion (French Railwaymen) asked why the Greek Union of Transport Workers was not mentioned in the report.

Fimmen (International Secretary) announced that for some time letters were forwarded to the Greek organisation, which remained unanswered ; then a letter was returned by the postal authorities marked "Addressee unknown". If the French comrade is aware of the present address of the organisation, we shall be pleased to re-open relations.

Bevin (British Transport Workers) would like to know what support had been given to the French dock workers of Marseilles in their struggle, and asked if *Fimmen* could provide any information concerning the outcome of the strike.

Fimmen (International Secretary), in reply to *Bevin*, pointed out that the support which the I. T. F. had given to the Marseilles dock workers in their strike for the maintenance of the eight-hour day did not fall within the period covered by the report. The assistance was given in the year 1922. As to the outcome of the strike, *Fimmen* had received a report from the Secretary of the French Dock Workers' Federation to the effect that it had ended completely in favour of the dock workers. As the Congress would remember, the I. T. F. had issued an appeal for support for the dock workers; and although, on account of the general economic situation, the results were not exactly magnificent, still we were able to collect 35,000 to 40,000 francs. The British Railwaymen contributed £ 100, the Irish Transport Workers likewise £ 100; the Dutch Transport Workers 1000 guilders; the Czech Transport Workers 1000 francs; the Dutch Railwaymen 2000 francs; the German Transport Workers 200,000 marks. If the amount cannot be regarded as very large, still it had undoubtedly been of some assistance to the French dock workers in their struggle.

The strike ended in an agreement inhibiting any amendment of the eight-hour working day before 1st January, 1924; and a clause was incorporated providing that, if the Government should attempt to repeal the Eight-hour Working Day Act, no such legislation on the question should be applicable to dock labour. This means that if the Government should abolish the eight-hour day for other workers it would still remain valid for the dock workers. It may therefore be said that the action of the Marseilles dock workers has been completely successful. (*Applause*)

Vignaud (French Dock Workers) stated that *Fimmen's* report was in perfect harmony with the facts, and consequently did not require supplementing, but, on behalf of the Marseilles workers, he wished to express the most cordial thanks to those who had helped them in their efforts.

Cotter (British Seamen) wished to hear whether the Executive could make any statement with regard to the strike of the French seamen.

Fimmen (International Secretary) stated that on the Sunday of the previous week he had discussed the whole French situation with *Rivelli*, who had then forwarded a letter to the Executive informing them that the strike, which was general throughout the French ports, was proceeding well; there was only one difficulty, namely, that if the French Government were to endeavour to man the ships, they would be discharged by workers in foreign ports. *Rivelli* appealed to the comrades to help their French fellow-workers, and asked them above all to give their moral support by refusing to load or discharge ships cleared from French ports by blacklegs. This request for moral support had been received by the I. T. F. and a similar appeal had been forwarded to the International Federation of Trade Unions through the French Federation of Trade Unions. On receipt of the request, the

Secretary of the I. T. F. had made it known to the affiliated organisations of Belgium, France, Great Britain and Scandinavia. The letter containing this appeal had been circulated only a few days before. It was for the Congress and the affiliated unions to decide what course should be adopted.

In reply to questions concerning the affiliation of the French seamen with the I. T. F., Fimmen informed the Congress that, according to Rivelli's own statement his organisation had separated from Wilson because in August the latter was not prepared to assist in the action taken by the French Seamen. Wilson had declared it to be impossible for the British organisation to insist upon the eight-hour day in Great Britain, because it would mean an effort on the part of the shipowners to enforce a reduction of wages. For these reasons Rivelli had severed his relations with Wilson. The French seamen have decided to affiliate with the I. T. F., but, on grounds of delicacy, they desired to postpone their application, as they did not wish it to look as though they were affiliating in order to get assistance.

When the French seamen come over, Wilson will be left with his own organisation and one Danish union. Then there is, it is true, also Furuseth, who, however, has now no following at all among American seamen. Fimmen concluded by an expression of his conviction that morally the French seamen were already affiliated, and that Havelock Wilson and his organisation were isolated.

Köhler (German Seamen) : We, of the Seamen's Section in Germany, have received a communication from Rivelli calling our attention to the position of the French seamen, and appealing to our sense of solidarity, upon which, of course, he may fully rely. We have addressed the following communication to our various branches.

"Dear Comrades,

The French seamen are at present engaged in a struggle for the eight-hour day, which has statutory force in France, but which, by an act of violation, the shipowners there are endeavouring to subvert.

In view of the imminent danger, the French seamen have applied to the sailors and dock workers of all countries to give their support by refusing to man, bunker or load French ships. Ships, however, in respect to which the eight-hour day is duly observed, are to be excepted.

A special watch is to be kept upon the vessels of the P. L. M. Company which, besides bearing this name, are numbered from 1 to 30.

Some of the shipowners have already given way; their ships are provided with special passes.

Ships' officers and ships' crews stand firmly shoulder to shoulder in this struggle.

Since the German seamen are struggling and striving to get the eight-hour day placed upon the Statute Book, this conflict of the French seamen is also our conflict and, as seamen and dock workers, we must do our duty by assisting in every possible way. The German shipowners constantly cite the examples of foreign countries, and point especially to the coming abolition of the eight-hour day in France. Consequently perfect solidarity is as essential in our support to France as it would be if we were conducting the struggle on our own behalf.

The branches are at once to communicate instructions to the Seamen's Sections and to see that they urge the Seamen to carry them out."

The French seamen have not heretofore been affiliated with the I. T. F., but as we are of opinion that they are going to affiliate, we consider it our duty to assist them in their struggle. We know what a hard battle we have to fight for the eight-hour day ; but we know, too, that the struggle will be rendered easier for us if the seamen of every country support one another. (*Applause*)

Fimmen (International Secretary) informed the Congress that he had received a slip of questions from the Italian Comrade Sardelli. Above all, it is asked how it comes about that, on page 19 of the French report, the Italians are stated to have nominated no one for the General Council, whereas it was announced some time ago that the Italian tramwayman Sardelli had been nominated. *Fimmen* explained that other Italian organisations having affiliated it was now necessary for them all to agree upon a joint representative.

Comrade Sardelli had also complained that the report said nothing whatever about the critical position into which the Italian transport and traffic workers had been thrown by Fascist terrorisation. *Fimmen* pointed out that he would present another report upon the international situation, and assured Sardelli that he would then have something to say upon the Italian question ; he believed, too, that the Congress would express an opinion upon the subject. In his note Sardelli also gave utterance to the demand that workers in municipal employment should enjoy an absolute right of combination and, above all, the right to strike. *Fimmen* pointed out that when Sardelli was asked whether he had any points for the Congress, he might have brought forward this one. However, an opportunity would probably arise for the Congress to deal with the matter ; it was for the Congress itself to decide.

Cotter (British Seamen) pointed out that, at the Geneva Congress last year, a pretty considerable sum was placed at the disposal of the General Council. He found no details with regard to the use of the money.

Robert Williams (President) explained that this was a matter for the Financial Report and did not fall within the scope of the present item of the Agenda. He asked for more serious complaints. (*Laughter*)

The report was then passed.

Toulouse (French Railwaymen) moved that the Congress should forward a telegram to the French Dock Workers congratulating them upon the successful issue of their strike. The motion was adopted

Financial Report.

Williams (President) : We have now reached item 6, the financial report. The Congress has to appoint three auditors.

The following were appointed : H. Jochade (Germany), G. Toulouse (France) and Stanley Hirst (Great Britain).

Williams (President) : We will now proceed to Item 7, the report on the international situation. In order to save time, Comrade Fimmen has written his report on this subject, and has had it translated into the various languages, and stencilled. We will therefore go on to the

Report on the Standardisation of Working Conditions.

Döring (Germany) : The question before us to-day is no new one. Various important sections of our organisation have already given it their attention for many years past. They consider, and rightly, that the standardisation of wages and working conditions in the various large ports has become a vital question for transport workers. In accordance with suggestions sent in to the Secretariat of the I. T. F., we of the Executive have taken up the matter. I have been asked to speak on this question here, and my report on the subject is to form the basis of the discussions and explanations which are to take place at the special conferences which it is intended to hold.

I must frankly say that, although I gladly accepted it, I have seldom been set a harder task. I have sought with all diligence to collect the information on which the discussion is to be based, and to point a way which would offer some possibility of standardising wages and work in at least some of the sections, but to my great regret, I must confess that I have not succeeded. My failure is to some extent due to the variety of the working conditions prevailing in the different countries. But it is attributable in an even greater degree to the enormous changes in working conditions due to the war, and to the circumstances in different countries arising out of these changes.

In order to show how great are these differences I should like first of all to call attention to a particular section in which one would have thought it possible to introduce a certain measure of standardisation. This section is that of the railwaymen. The outsider who travels by rail and watches the trains roll by may get the impression that wages and working conditions in railway industries can easily be standardised. But in point of fact conditions differ widely in different countries. These differences are largely due to the fact that in one important country the railways are private industries, in another they are a state enterprise, in a third they are owned by corporations, and in others there are private railway companies existing side by side with the public enterprise. When I said that standardisation ought to be possible for the railways, my reason for doing so was that railway workers, in contradistinction to the other transport workers, hold permanent positions, and often can only be dismissed after a month's notice, or, if they are officials, after a quarter's notice.

Moreover, the train service for each entire railway system is uniformly arranged. In their practical working the systems have been tested in every detail, for the work has been going on for years in exactly the same way. Furthermore, the great railway systems of one country work hand in hand

with those of others, the German National Railway, for instance, has to take into consideration the railway arrangements in Holland, Belgium, France etc.; and, *vice versa*, the railways of these latter must do the same in regard to Germany; so that the great railway systems must be regarded more and more as one vast international concern.

Notwithstanding this fact, there is very little uniformity in the working of these systems. Each state has its own special institutions, chiefly because in the various countries there are special laws regulating the working of the railways. Then, if they are State railways, there is also the question of the preparation and adoption of the Estimates. The administration of the State enterprises, moreover, follows different lines in the different countries. The railway systems vary; and then of course one kind of bureaucrat is not like another kind. (*Laughter*)

To this we must add the adjustment of the enterprise to international traffic, and similar questions.

The many conferences held by the various railway administrations before the war, with the object of establishing uniformity, at least in international traffic, certainly achieved some measure of success, but these conferences did not lead to any standardisation of the working conditions of the staff.

Early in the year, we of the I. T. F. sought to investigate the working conditions and wages of the railwaymen. The work which was formerly undertaken by the Railwaymen's Research Committee, was, as you know, transferred to the secretariat of the I. T. F. Data have been collected concerning Austria, Holland, Sweden, Spain and Belgium, and a special report has been received from Germany. We can understand that wages and working conditions should vary, but it is singular that even the working hours differ absolutely in the different systems, for there is no strict observance of the 8-hour day in the railway industry. Even in such States as, for instance, Austria, where the 8-hour day is firmly established, we see in practice exemptions made for the railway industry. The farther eastward we go, the greater the difference between the actual working hours and the 8-hour day, so that, in point of fact, the 8-hour day does not exist for the railway industry.

It must of course be admitted that the observance of the 8-hour day is by no means as easy on a railway as in a factory. The railway industry is elastic. Not only must regard be paid to the various sections to be traversed, but all sorts of things may happen during service hours—there may be a breakdown in the machinery or on the rails; there may be derailment, or delay; and such accidents mean that the staff is compelled to work longer than 8 hours; it is not feasible for the workers, if a train is late, to stop work on the way and demand an interval for rest before the train has reached the terminus; and there are many other reasons which render strict adherence to the 8-hour day an impossibility. On the other hand, it is peculiar that, in different states, the so-called marginal

time, in which preparation is made for the regular work, is calculated quite differently. This preparatory work—that is to say, the time in which the men are booked on a train, or the time spent in waiting to take over another train—is remunerated in some instances at 50 %, or even 20 % of the full-time rate of wage, whilst in other instances it is estimated at 75 % or 80 %. This marginal time, therefore, is only paid at reduced rates. In other states, as for instance Sweden, an arrangement is still in force whereby this working time, when under 12 hours, is reckoned as half time, while in other cases it is reckoned as full time. Exactly the same thing occurs with regard to wages, where there is even less uniformity. It is impossible to indicate a method of standardisation.

Let us take another section, the dock workers. In most countries of Europe the 8-hour day is an established fact for dock workers. There are one or two exceptions, but the 8-hour day exists in all States of importance. In certain States exemptions are of course allowed, such as overtime work, night work, or Sunday work ; but we still have countries where the 8-hour day is strictly enforced, where Sunday work is prohibited, and where night work is only permitted to a limited extent, such as, for instance, 2 hours. We see, therefore, that in this section there is a possibility of establishing standardisation in this respect. A step has already been taken in this direction, but wages are still absolutely unregulated. I must call attention to one point in particular. In the great seafaring countries of Europe, with the exception of Germany and Great Britain, the 8-hour day is enforced by legislation. In Germany it was established by decree of the coalition government of 1918 : in Great Britain it is established, not by statute, but by means of collective agreements with the employers.

Wages, however, vary so much that there is not a trace of uniformity to be found in them. It is true that after the war there was a considerable reduction of overtime work in all lands. In many countries the question was regulated by statute, in others by collective agreement. The same applies to Sunday work, some countries have neither law nor decree on the subject, but wherever strong organisations exist, the question has been settled by agreement.

I referred earlier to the differences in wages in the railway industry. In the case of dock workers, however, the differences are so great that there appears no possibility of standardising them. I have collected data for four seafaring countries. According to the latest information, which of course refers to a few months ago, and wages have changed somewhat, the state of affairs was as follows : Dutch dock workers earned a daily wage of 6.50 guilders, which, at the rate of exchange on September 1st, 1922, is equivalent to 3,770 German marks. In Great Britain dock workers' wages were 12/—. Originally they were 16/—, but within the last few months they have fallen, so that when this information was collected, dock workers were receiving 12/—, or at the rate of exchange on September 21st, 3,700 marks. The comrades in Belgium had a wage per day of 22 frs., equal, at the rate of exchange on that date, to 2,307 marks : while in Germany

dock workers were at that time earning 760 marks per day. If we compare the situation with that prevailing in Italy, or in the Northern countries, to say nothing of others, the differences will of course appear still more pronounced. Practical identity of wages exists only as between Great Britain and Holland, wages in France and Belgium being very considerably lower.

I will now break off. In order to make it easier to obtain an accurate translation, we have agreed that I am to give the address in 2 or 3 sections. To sum up, I will merely say that, so far as wages and conditions of work are concerned, I have come to the conclusion that a cleverer man even than I am would not be able to find a basis for standardisation or to point out the means essential for the establishment of uniformity.

End of 1st Day's Session.

Second Day.
Tuesday, October 3rd, 1922.

Robert Williams presided.

Fimmen (International Secretary) informed the Congress that a letter had been received from the Hungarian Transport Workers' Union of the tenor that the economic situation and the severe struggles to which it had given rise made it impossible for them to attend the Congress: They stated, however, that they gave their anticipatory endorsement to any decisions arrived at by the Congress, and wished it every success. (*Applause*)

Further, *Fimmen* reported the receipt of a telegram from Comrade Schumann, the President of the German Transport Workers' Union, explaining that urgent business of his Union prevented his being present at the proceedings of the Congress. He tendered the heartiest fraternal greetings and expressed the hope that our proceedings might be inspired by fraternal solidarity and bring us nearer to our cherished goal. (*Applause*)

The International Secretary, continuing, said: "I have also to state that one delegate, Comrade Ben Smith, is rather seriously ill and will probably be unable to attend. I believe I shall have the complete accord of all those present when I say that the Standing Orders Committee will forward to Comrade Smith our sincere wishes for his speedy recovery". (*Applause*)

The next item on the Agenda was:

The Standardisation of Wages and Working Conditions.

The Report on this item was continued by

Döring (Germany) who said: Yesterday I dealt chiefly with working hours and wages. To-day I propose first to give you a brief review of the welfare measures of various countries and then draw some general conclusions.

The same variety exists in regard to welfare measures as is seen in working hours and wages scales. In the United Kingdom, there has been

for some years insurance against unemployment, with compulsory contributions not only from the State but also from the employer and the employee. In Belgium, arrangements are similar; they were introduced after the war under the name of "The Crisis Fund" to which the worker contributes one franc. In Holland unemployment insurance has been introduced, the workers' quota of the premium being 28 cents. In Germany insurance against unemployment has not yet been made the subject of legislation, but it has been temporarily provided for by a ministerial order; an Act, however, is being drafted, and will perhaps be placed before the legislature very shortly; still, for the present, we have to reckon with the fact that unemployment insurance is not on the statute book, and in Germany, therefore, the workers have not yet to pay any contribution.

Thus, both in principle and in practice, insurance against unemployment is very variously handled in the several countries. In general, one would assume that legislators should adopt the principle that the worker, when thrown out of employment, must receive sufficient to save him and his family from starvation, i. e., such a sum as would provide a minimum of subsistence, no matter what the reduction of the standard of living. Now, at the best the notion of minimum of subsistence is very elastic, but in connection with unemployment insurance it has been stretched more than ever. In the United Kingdom the unemployment benefit is 20 shillings a week, in Belgium 18 francs, in Holland 15 guilders, while in Germany the benefit, with its supplementals, amounts to 204 marks a week.

In considering these figures, we naturally ignore the out-of-work benefits provided by the trade unions. We are dealing here only with benefits emanating from State institutions; and, comparing them, we obtain the following proportional results in regard to dock workers. In the United Kingdom, the government benefit being 20 shillings a week and the dock workers' wage 12 shillings per day, the benefit works out at 1.7 days' wages. In Belgium the weekly benefit is 18 francs and the day's wages are 22 francs; which means that, during unemployment, only 0.8 days' wages are paid for a whole week's subsistence. In Holland the figures are 15 guilders benefit, 6.5 guilders daily wage, the benefit being thus 2.3 days' wages per week. In Germany they get 204 marks per week, being 1.2 days' wages. Taking these states together, the mean weekly benefit for an out-of-work is 1.5 days' wages. That it does not suffice to provide a family with the bare necessities of life need not be stated. From the foregoing it is clear what a difference of opinion exists among legislators and administrators as to the minimum which will keep a worker's family from starvation. In Holland it is considered that an out-of-work should receive more than two days' wages, whereas in Belgium he has to manage for a whole week on less than a day's wage. A still greater divergency would be revealed if all the other states were taken into account, as will have to be done if we are to consider the question of standardisation.

In reference to this question of standardisation, I wish to make the following remarks. In the year 1920, there were repeated efforts made throughout Europe, and also in America, to sabotage the eight-hour day,

and, indeed, to abolish the eight-hour day altogether. In support of this it was argued that in Germany no one any longer thought of insisting upon the eight-hour day; that, indeed, people were working ten or twelve hours a day. Foreign capitalists refused to recognise that the low prices of German goods were due to the rates of exchange. They maintained that they were caused by the workers working twelve and fourteen hours a day. Enquiries were repeatedly undertaken, and various governments have themselves instituted investigations. For instance, the Dutch government despatched to Germany a commission upon which employers were represented; this commission unanimously found that, with few exceptions, the eight-hour day was respected everywhere in Germany, and was, indeed, only transgressed where the nature of the work made it impossible to keep within the prescribed bounds.

You see that the capitalists endeavour, by international co-operation, to counteract any improvements in working conditions, and to this end they cite the inferior conditions obtaining in this or that country. If we wish to carry into effect the eight-hour day and to give a better form to social insurance in Germany, France, England, etc., we must make an effort to bring within the movement those contiguous countries which are of any importance industrially, in order to cut away the ground from the employers' argumentation.

In southern countries and in the Balkans—not to mention such a country as Russia—I do not for one moment doubt that the conditions in regard to social insurance are worse than they are even in the countries with which I have dealt.

In reference to social insurance and kindred institutions, I should like to call your attention to a Dutch arrangement, the so-called "Hafenreserve" (Port Labour Registration and Maintenance Scheme). This arrangement between employer and employed has been introduced in Holland as a method of diminishing the over-crowding of our comrades in the harbours. It is an arrangement similar to some that we have in Hamburg and in various British ports, the object being to assure a living to a definite number of dock workers, and to prevent an undue proportion of other workers from drifting to the docks. As dock workers can find employment for a part of the week only, they are registered and guaranteed a weekly wage of 18 guilders if married, 12 guilders if unmarried and living with relatives, and 15 guilders otherwise. If, therefore, a dock worker is unemployed for a whole week, he receives from the "Hafenreserve" (Maintenance Scheme) funds 18, 15 or 12 guilders, or rather less than three days' wages. If he has worked part of the week, he receives, besides his actual earnings during that week, 70 % of any shortage between those earnings and the fixed basic rate of 28 guilders. The arrangement is undoubtedly very deserving of imitation. The great problem in regard to it is this: is it possible to carry out such an arrangement elsewhere, either at the instance of governments or of the organisations? In any case, it remains a fact that the dock workers' standard of living has been very

considerably improved by this arrangement in Holland ; but the lack of such an arrangement in the surrounding countries constitutes a distinct menace to the Dutch institution, for the Dutch employers will not continue to bear the burden which it involves unless other countries also adopt similar schemes : isolation of the Dutch places them in very great danger.

Now, just a word about the seamen. The difficulties in the way of standardising wages and working conditions, noticeable in regard to railwaymen and transport workers, are even greater in regard to seamen. In certain countries we have, through the organisations, achieved arrangements which at least form some basis for national standardisation, but there is great difficulty in finding a common standard for the different countries. Comrade Fimmen has already spoken of the French seamen's struggle for the eight-hour day. The French Government has made the eight-hour day legally compulsory for navigation. At the International Labour Conference in Genoa, the seamen, the shipowners and the governments discussed the question, and a motion to introduce internationally the eight-hour day for seamen was lost by a fraction of a vote only. The government representative of some such state as Liberia turned the scale ; only two-thirds of a vote was wanting to make up the two-thirds majority prescribed by the articles.

After this, it has clearly become necessary to put pressure upon the governments in favour of the eight-hour day. We have not yet achieved our aims in Germany. In Great Britain the difficulties are even greater. Havelock Wilson has openly stated in a letter that the introduction of the eight-hour day could not be thought of, because it would endanger the wage standard. For him the eight-hour day is only a means of bargaining for wages. In Belgium the position is quite similar. We now see our French comrades battling for the preservation of their statutory eight-hour day, which is threatened by a parliamentary resolution aimed at the eight-hour day in navigation. If the effort to abolish the eight-hour day should succeed in France, it will, of course, become all the more difficult to get it introduced in other countries.

The obstacles in the way of the standardisation of wages are much greater than in the case of working hours. During the war, the International Seamen's Federation endeavoured to fix a common wage standard for all countries. At that time, the Federation exercised great influence because the shipowners were dependent upon it for carrying out the war transports. When, after the close of the war, free competition was re-established, all arrangements lapsed, and if we wished to revive them to-day the task would be much more difficult.

I should now like to say a few words on the general aspects of my topic. My efforts to discover some road by which we might approach the core of the question have only been partially successful. Still, in the special conferences, we must endeavour to find some common starting-point from which to attack the question of standardising working conditions. There

are two ways to which I will point. The first of these is through the trade unions : sooner or later these organisations will have to co-operate in this work. I have pleasure in making special reference here to our I. T. F. as one of the most exemplary of all the international workers' organisations. There may be other groups of workers with more firmly-rooted organisations in individual countries, but these do not possess the broad international fundament which we enjoy. This strong international position of the I. T. F. specially adapts it for furthering the co-ordination of the working conditions of the various countries, and we therefore expect it to do everything possible for the attainment of this aim. By means of resolutions to be sent as models to the various national organisations, and by the pressure which the International Secretariat can exert, we are already in a position to urge each union affiliated with us to endeavour to co-ordinate the working conditions of its own country with those of the surrounding states. But the question will present insurmountable difficulties in countries which do not possess well-organised trade unions, so that this course is anything but perfect, and we cannot arrive at a final solution through the I. T. F. alone.

But there is, I think, another course open. The articles of the Peace Treaty of Versailles provide that, in all states which are members of the League of Nations, something shall be done for the improvement of wages and working conditions ; and, as you are well aware, an International Labour Conference was held at Washington in pursuance of the Treaty articles, at which conference the eight-hour working day was decided upon. In June, 1920, a conference at Genoa was to deal specially with seafaring, fishing and inland navigation. Last year another conference took place in Geneva to deal with the question of Sunday rest in commercial establishments, and similar reforms. The centre of this whole movement is now the International Labour Office at Geneva, which was founded to carry into effect the decisions arrived at by the congresses.

Unfortunately, we have not so far heard much concerning the practical materialisation of these decisions through the medium of the International Labour Office, but I hold that, the International Labour Office having been established, we cannot stand aloof, but must endeavour to gain and extend our influence there as an organisation. If, as I suggested, we cannot realise the co-ordination of working conditions through the trade unions alone, then we ought to add another string to our bow and exercise our influence with the International Labour Office in order to make sure of our quarry. If, therefore, it is possible to gain any advantages through the International Labour Office, I consider that we should not hesitate to do so. I am aware that in France no great sympathy is felt with that Office, and in Germany the attitude is much the same. This attitude of ours is perhaps due to the fact that during recent years in Germany—and doubtless also in Austria—the terrible economic situation caused by the Peace Treaty has made it easy to regulate the wages and working conditions of our comrades. There was a time in Germany when the threat of a strike by the workers sufficed to send the authorities to the employers with instructions that such extremities must be avoided and that the workers demands must

be granted. Doubtless many had imagined that this could go on indefinitely, but we already see a change coming. As soon as the prices in Germany approach the level of the international market, the conflict between capital and labour will recommence, and there are organisations of employers who, without a scruple and with no sort of consideration for the people, will, if they get a chance, destroy our trade unions. Hence we have made up our minds that we shall have to face severe economic conflicts in Germany, and if the International Labour Office provides us with any sort of source from which to gain help, I consider that when occasion arises we should not fail to draw from it. Our comrades in the various countries would also do well to ponder whether it might be advisable to make use of this institution, notwithstanding all its deficiencies.

I do not propose to detail the various decisions come to at Geneva. As an illustration, however, of the position in regard to working hours, I desire to lay before you a statement received a few weeks back from the German government. In Germany we are urging the legislature to introduce the unqualified eight-hour day, and the German government has accordingly had enquiries made into the conditions prevailing in the different European countries. The results of this investigation are particularly interesting for our foreign comrades, and I commend them to your careful attention.

In Germany, the eight-hour day is at present provided for only by a ministerial order, but parliament already has under consideration a bill dealing with the question. In Holland the eight-hour day was introduced by an Act of 1st November, 1919, and a Supplementary Act of 1920, but a bill has been drafted to make it possible to extend the hours of work in factories to eight and a half. In Belgium the eight-hour day is in force. In France and in Switzerland they have not the eight-hour day but the forty-eight hour week, so that the days may be averaged out. In Czechoslovakia the forty-eight hour week become law with the Act of 19th December, 1919. In Austria the eight-hour day is valid with the proviso that young people shall not work more than 44 hours per week. In Poland the eight-hour day is in force with the qualification that if on any day it should be exceeded, the total working hours for the week shall not exceed 46. In Norway the working hours in factories are limited to 8½ per day and 48 per week. In Sweden the eight-hour day was established by the Act of 21st June 1921, though, with special permission, nine hours may be worked in the week is limited to 48 hours.

A most interesting point about these details is that in almost all countries an exception to the rule is recognised, even in industries for which it is not necessary. True, the permission to work overtime is made dependent upon the local authorities, but we know, of course, that it is easy to get the permission. In Germany we shall press for the permit to be issued not by the authorities, but by the works' councils or the workers' organisations. It will be seen that, as matters stand, the eight-hour day, wherever

established by law, is in danger of being neutralised and ultimately subverted altogether by the efforts at gradual dilution on the part of the employers. It is, therefore, essential that we should spare no pains to meet this situation; it is imperative for us to present a united front, if we wish even to prevent a deterioration of the present working conditions.

In bringing my report to a close, I must confess my regret at not being able to place before you any positive proposals; though, indeed, I never regarded this as falling within my task. It will be more advisable for the special conferences to ascertain at what point, within their sections, the standardisation of wages and working conditions should begin. I have called your attention to the difficulties that lie in our way, and to the impossibility of formulating a definite resolution; and I have pointed out the ways and means of which we can make use in order to attain our cherished goal.
(Prolonged Applause)

Williams (President) expressed the opinion that the Report should be forwarded to the three sections, and that the Railwaymen's Section should concern itself with the proposals to be made by the railwaymen, while the Seamen's Section should deal with those of the seamen, and the Transport Workers with those of the transport and dock workers.

Cramp (British Railwaymen) asked whether the Congress should not deal with the general questions of the Report, leaving the special questions to be sent to the sections. As an example of the general questions, he instanced Social Insurance.

Williams (President): The Standing Orders Committee would be only too glad to welcome a discussion on these general questions, particularly if Comrade Cramp would express his views upon them. On the other hand, Comrade Sexton wished to speak on the decisions of the Washington Congress, especially on the question of woman and child labour, which he considers has not been adequately handled by the different governments. To this the Standing Orders Committee would also agree.

Cramp (British Railwaymen) asked whether the Congress should not find some way of assuring to the workers in the various countries, not merely a nominal wage, but a real and effective one, and whether it would not be possible to bring more to the fore the question of the minimum of subsistence for the worker. It was clear, said he, that two things stood in the way of the stabilisation of real wages: the one obstacle was the fluctuation in currency values, the other was the increasing price of foodstuffs. The British railwaymen have their wages calculated on the basis of the cost of living index figure for the year 1914, on the understanding that wages may not sink to a figure lower than 100% above the pre-war wage standard. During the rise in the price of foodstuffs, wages rose correspondingly; while, as prices fell, the fixing of a minimum secured wages from falling below a certain standard. Speaker was not sufficiently

informed to say whether the General Council had busied itself with the question; but he considered it a matter for the Congress. In England the topic had been discussed and people had come to the conclusion that the workers of such branches as had not hitherto been in a position to adopt this index figure would remain unable to do so for some time, since the British employers see what it means and will oppose it energetically.

Bevin (Transport Workers of Great Britain): Since 1920, people have been trying to settle the question of casual labour in Great Britain, but the government declares that it will not deal with the matter; it must be arranged by industry itself; workers and employers must bear the responsibility. Negotiations concerning the settlement of wages for permanent workers have now been completed in England; but no settlement has been reached as to the casual worker. The Government has now appointed a Commission which is to deal with this question within the next few months.

As to the question of a "Harbour Reserve" as it is called in Holland, and as recommended in the report, it would be impossible to create such a thing in such a form in England. England already has a Port Labour Registration Scheme. In the Port of London in June 1920, 56,000 men were registered, of who about 70 % were at work. But since August, when the great unemployment set in, the number of employed has grown less and less and, at present, not more than 36,000 out of the 56,000 men are at work. In Liverpool the position is that there are about 32,000 dock workers working about three days a week. The situation in other ports is similar, from which it is evident how difficult it is to reach a settlement in the big British ports.

The situation is worst in the East Coast ports. The British organisation has concluded a wage agreement which will remain in force till 1924. Consequently they have sufficient time to handle other questions (such as registration); and during this time every attention will be given to this matter. But it must not be forgotten that unemployment is a serious factor; for although minimum wage rates have been arranged, and although actual wages are 15 % higher than this minimum, still the wages actually earned are small because many men work only two or three days a week. So it comes about that the agreements do not interpret the real situation of the workers. In the negotiations difficulties always manifest themselves. When we get to the tariffs, our employers point to our wages and compare them with the rates of Rotterdam, which makes the negotiations more difficult. It is not always possible to inform comrades abroad of every change of wages, while the tariff agreements fail to give a correct picture of the real situation. It would be well if information were published concerning the actual conditions.

As to the institution of the "Harbour Reserve" in Holland, there is always a danger attached to these funds to which the employers contribute. When times are bad, attempts are made to bind the men by means of these funds,

so that the fighting capacity of the organisations is reduced. Then the men begin to think they no longer need the organisation. Experience teaches us to proceed cautiously, so as not to create institutions which while they apparently help the workers, actually weaken the organisations and thereby in reality harm the workers.

Jarrigion (French Railwaymen) thanked Comrade Döring for his report, but wished to point out that it did not cope with the great complexity of the question. It was therefore not possible simply to adopt the report. That would mean agreeing to the view that the eight-hour day was not everywhere workable because the conditions varied too much in the different countries. (Cries of: "He said nothing of the sort"). The best thing would be for the reports that are to be read here to be circulated beforehand among all the organisations. That ought to have been done in the present case. If it had been, the organisations could have examined this report and have given their delegates definite instructions on the matter. We have to decide here what action is to be taken, for it cannot be the duty of the I. T. F. to adopt a passive attitude towards this question. The eight-hour day is threatened everywhere. In France this is very clearly to be seen in regard to the seamen. But the danger to the dock workers and the railwaymen is just as great. Moreover, we must not forget that every attack upon the eight-hour day is at the same time an attack upon wages, for if the working hours are increased without increasing the day's pay, then wages are *de facto* reduced. It would have been best if a full discussion of this important question had taken place here to-day. For this, however, the report does not suffice, and consequently cannot be adopted. I am of opinion that the Congress ought to instruct the General Council to call the immediate attention of all affiliated organisations to the great dangers threatening the eight-hour day, and to appeal to those organisations for combined action. Either a resolution of this purport should be passed by the Congress, or it ought to indicate some other method of conducting the struggle.

Lindley (Swedish Transport Workers) wished to say a few words, especially with regard to the dockworkers. He agreed with Döring as to the necessity for standardising working conditions. This must be patent to anyone who knows how the employers constantly cite the conditions of labour in other countries, and always adopt the worst. It is remarkable how thoroughly informed the employers are in the matter. It shows how necessary it is that we should realise standardisation in working conditions. But I have objections to raise against the Dutch system of the "Harbour Reserve". This contains elements of danger to the organisation, not merely for the reasons already stated, but also because it divides the workers into various groups, namely, one group of fully employed, one of half-employed but insured, and one consisting of casual labourers without any sort of insurance. That is a thing which may seriously cumber the organisations. These objections have to be borne in mind, and it should be considered whether the comrades would not do well to discuss the question in the special conference.

Brautigam (Dutch Transport Workers) confirmed Comrade Döring's description of the huge obstacles which lie in our way to-day, and agreed that the divergences existing in the working conditions of the various countries really are as great as stated. We see too, he continued, that the differences are in constant fluctuation. For instance, prior to the war, Rotterdam was known as one of the cheapest ports in Europe, whereas to-day it is one of the dearest, so that very few ships now come to Rotterdam and most imports for Germany pass via Hamburg. It is a fact that, when negotiations are conducted in London by the organisation, references are constantly made to Rotterdam and Antwerp and *vice versa*.

There is also among the employers of the various countries a movement in favour of the co-ordination of working conditions; but its object is to co-ordinate on the lowest standard. This movement must be met by a counter-movement on our part to co-ordinate on a higher standard. A corollary to this task should be the endeavour to obviate competition between the workers and to render impossible the employers' references to less favourable conditions in other ports.

This, above all, will have to be dealt with by the special conference of the dock workers. So far as the "Hafenreserve" is concerned, Comrade Lindley's views on the danger of dividing the workers into three groups are not correct. If the first and second group manage to get better working conditions, this will react in favour of the third group. If groups one and two have work for a great part of the week, the organisation is in a position to pay out better benefits to the third group than when the other groups have no work and therefore pay no contributions, but possibly even have to draw benefits themselves.

On the other hand the sympathies of the workers with this system are flagging. The employers contributions to the fund are based upon the tonnage. Consequently, as unemployment increases, the employers' contributions to the fund decrease. The relations between unemployment and this fund are so obvious that the interest taken in the question by the workers is naturally on the wane. The employers are endeavouring to make distinctions between married and unmarried workers, and the benefits have been reduced from 27 guilders to 18 guilders.

At this Congress, it is not possible to deal thoroughly with this question; it will be the task of the special committees of the dock workers and seamen to handle the matter.

The session then closed.

Tuesday, October 3rd, 1922.

Afternoon Session.

Robert Williams (President) who occupied the chair, informed the Congress that two speakers had put their names down to speak on Comrade Döring's report. He pointed out that the special questions could be brought forward in the Special Committee, whereas matters of general purport alone could be discussed in the plenary sittings.

Sexton (British Transport Workers), while not wishing to touch upon the special questions, desired to bring forward a few points which ought to be discussed in the Congress. He was grateful, he said, to Döring for having portrayed so vividly the great differences obtaining in working conditions in the various countries and for having presented such a clear picture of the chaotic disorder prevailing in regard to them. In a few days he and his friends had had an opportunity of seeing for themselves how divergent and disorganised matters were in Central Europe. They had been astounded, for instance, at the hotel charges having suddenly risen by 50 %. That was an indication for them of the incertitude of Continental conditions.

Speaker regretted that nothing had been said in the report concerning the employment of women and children. He himself had been a delegate to the Washington Conference, and he reminded his comrades that a resolution was adopted there restricting the employment of women and children in industrial undertakings; little, however, had come of the decision.

Not only do those divergences prevail in the application of the 8-hour day, to which Comrade Döring referred in his report; there is, despite the Washington decision, equal divergence in regard to the employment of women and children. The only state that has ratified the Washington convention is Czecho-Slovakia; though in Great Britain a bill for the purpose has passed through Parliament, and speaker believed that its provisions are being strictly enforced.

In other states things were quite different. Thus, whereas in Great Britain the employment in Docks of persons under 16 years of age is prohibited, enquiries showed that in Holland children below 13 years are employed. Speaker suggested that the Washington decisions, especially

those concerning women and child labour, ought to be strictly enforced and that representatives from the individual countries should make a greater effort to see that this was done.

Robert Williams (President) : Before I call upon Comrade Döring to make a brief reply, I should like to draw your attention to the fact that it would be a good thing if the Bureau were to proceed to formulate the resolutions suggested in the course of the discussions. This has special reference to the explanations and proposals made by Jarrigion, Bevin, Cramp, Brautigam and Lindly. The Bureau would also be glad to receive statistics and information from the different countries regularly. The different countries are always applying to the Secretariat asking that information may be sent without delay on such and such subject, but when the Secretariat in its turn applies to them, they neglect to send any information at all. They must be reminded that affiliation with the I. T. F. carries with it not merely rights but also duties, and one of these duties is to send early information. The Secretariat can only give information, if, in its turn, it is kept regularly posted. I should therefore like to make an appeal to the delegates present and especially to the secretaries of the organisations, to see that this is done.

Döring (Germany) : Owing to mistakes in interpreting it is often our fate to have to discuss something which in reality was never said at all. At the beginning of my remarks I stated explicitly that I did not look upon it as my task to lay down here principles intended as a guide to the standardisation of working conditions. My remarks were only meant to serve as the basis of discussion in the special conferences, it being for these conferences to make actual proposals. One French comrade, however, remarked during the discussions, that he thought my statements were imperfect and inadequate and that the Congress would for that reason be unable to accept my report. The German conception of the duties of a "rapporteur" differs from that current in France. I do not give an address in order to win over the Congress to express its agreement with it, and then to consider the matter settled : the address is merely intended to keep the discussion within certain limits, and to prevent all manner of topics being dealt with which are not relevant to the question. I have no desire at all, therefore, to bring the Congress to my point of view. I did not express the opinion that we should be unable to maintain the 8-hour day. On the contrary, I explicitly stressed the point that we must leave no stone unturned to see that the 8-hour day is enforced for all grades of transport workers, and I called attention, by way of example, to the strike of the French seamen, observing that the chief difficulties in the way of the 8-hour day occur in respect of this group of workers. If French capitalists succeed in abolishing the 8-hour day, we in other countries may well despair of its general introduction into the seafaring industry. This is proof of the importance which I attach to our doing all in our power to make it possible for the seamen to retain the 8-hour day. I should be no genuine trade unionist if I were willing to abandon the 8-hour day as my gospel, and as the

supreme object of our campaign so long as we are to put up any fight at all. There may be differences of opinion concerning wages, but there can be no two opinions among trade unionists about the 8-hour day.

I have, moreover, read in a newspaper that I said that the 8-hour day was not enforced in practice on the railways in Austria. How anyone can have put this interpretation upon my words is a thing which, to express it mildly, I simply do not understand. I did make mention of conditions in the railway industry ; but what I said on the subject was that in Austria, where the 8-hour day is generally strictly enforced, it cannot be applied as strictly in the railway industry on account of the circumstances inherent in the latter ; and I went on to explain that a breakdown or other accident might occasionally occur to prevent its enforcement. I have here with me the regulations for the 8-hour day on the railways. It is stated therein that "the hours of station service shall be so distributed that the working hours which fall to each man in turn shall not exceed 48 hours per week".

May I say a few words on the remarks made by Sexton about the employment of women and children? This is a matter to be dealt with by the Special Conferences, since women and children are not employed in all three industries. It is also suggested that I have not proposed any resolution which could be accepted. It would of course have been easy to introduce a resolution to the effect that we demand the strict observance of the 8-hour day, that the arrangements for the comfort of the staff must be improved, and that we must compel our governments to take the necessary steps to raise wages to the level prevailing in Great Britain and Holland. And if you had passed a resolution to that effect, we should have had one resolution more, but we should have been no nearer the fulfilment of these demands. That is the reason why I introduced no resolution. We will discuss these questions in the special conferences, and will see what can really be done, and in what way. Having come to an agreement on these points, we will draft a resolution, and propose it to the Congress. We shall thus be able to see that the resolutions passed by us are carried into practical effect. I have to-day pointed out two ways in which useful work can be done to promote these objects : we will, with the help of the secretariat, apply these methods. We shall then have done more useful work than if we had passed a resolution here. (*Cheers*)

Toulouse (French Railwaymen) was of opinion that the use of the French term "rapport" as a translation of "Referat" had caused the misunderstanding as it had given the impression that the address was a definite report. But even if the address were only intended to furnish a basis for the discussions of the special conferences, he was still of opinion that the speaker had not supplied them with adequate information. The address should first have been sent to the organisations of the various countries and there discussed : after that had been done fully it might have been brought up for discussion here. As it was, it would not serve its purpose and he and the French comrades therefore opposed it.

Fimmen (International Secretary) stated that the difficulty arose out of a misunderstanding. For the other items on the agenda, too, they had neither translated reports nor resolutions, and the present matter must not be considered as such. On the other hand, the French delegation had submitted a resolution which, however, would have to be translated first.

Bidegaray's Report on Socialisation.

Mahlman (Belgian Transport Workers) was of the opinion that the item of the agenda on the subject of Socialisation might be omitted as there was no immediate prospect of practical socialisation; and now that the employers were attacking the 8-hour day he considered it a matter of greater importance that they should discuss this latter question.

Robert Williams (President) speaking on behalf of the General Council, announced that Bidegaray had been requested to make this report and had accordingly done so. The report would be of a similar nature to that of Döring. It was intended to furnish information, and when it had been printed, it would be of great value in that respect. He would therefore ask *Mahlman* not to object to the presentation of Bidegaray's report.

Cotter (British Marine Workers' Union) thought that, as it was getting very late, the commissions ought to be sitting to consider the details of their chief task. He had the greatest respect for Bidegaray and his report, but it would certainly take up a good deal of the time of the Congress, and they would scarcely be able to begin their practical work in the commissions. If they heard both Bidegaray's and *Fimmen's* reports, they would barely have finished by Friday. Several delegates were obliged to leave on Friday, as they had to be back at work again on Monday. If they went on as they were doing now, they would not have finished before Friday week. He proposed that the report should not be read until the commissions had finished their work.

Robert Williams (President) appealed to *Cotter* not to delay their work by such proposals. Bidegaray's report would be as brief as possible, and *Fimmen's* would not take long either, as they had it before them translated and printed. Unfortunately it had not been possible to get this done for the other reports, as the Bureau had not had time. He now asked that Bidegaray might be heard.

Bidegaray (France) said that, as the General Council had asked him to supply a report of this kind, he had consented to do so, but that it was impossible for him to base his report on full scientific data. The object of his brief report could only be to give a general indication of the methods of procedure in the different countries. He could not give them any detailed information as to the state of the means of transport in these countries. He had too few data to be able to do this, although he had made applications to many sources, including the International Labour Office. A report on socialisation must, above all, be based on really detailed documents and

complete information. Here, however, only general principles could be laid down, and the Congress, when it discussed the subject in the special conferences, could give its opinion as to whether it would not be best to appoint then and there a "rapporteur" who would submit a detailed report to the next Congress, and would at once set to work to collect from the organisations of the various countries all the relevant material. This rapporteur would also, before the next Congress, communicate with the organisations of the various countries, in order that the latter might have an opportunity of studying the question in advance. It would then be the task of the next Congress, not merely to hear this report, but also to decide how far it could go in accepting a resolution in favour of concerted action, on the initiative of the I. T. F., in order to effect the practical socialisation of the means of transport.

Such concerted action for socialisation could never take the form of the drafting of a uniform scheme. On this point Comrade Mahlman might make his mind easy. There was of course no idea of any such universal socialisation. Socialisation, like every other action, was dependent upon the economic, geographical and cultural circumstances of the various countries, and any attempt to realise it must take due account of these circumstances. The methods of socialisation would of course vary in the different countries. The impossibility of any uniform method of procedure was manifest from the fact that the present day conditions in the various countries were totally dissimilar. In some countries they found the railways the property of the State. In Germany the railways were State property before the revolution and they have remained State property since, and the same, with few exceptions, also applies to Belgium. In Italy and Switzerland they were likewise administered by the State. In other states, again, they belonged to private companies. If they asked themselves to what extent it would be possible to construct a system of uniform socialisation and what part could be played therein by the I. T. F., the reply must be that there could be no uniform system for all countries, but that it must be the task of the I. T. F. to make a very thorough study of conditions in the various countries, in order to come to the aid of the national federations of trade unions, when the question arose of taking action in support of socialisation. Thus, the Confédération Générale du Travail (the National Federation of French Trade Unions), for instance, had already undertaken to study the question of the socialisation of the means of production, in especial connection with the railways.

Socialisation did not merely affect the question of the ownership of the means of traffic, it was also closely concerned with the methods and nature of the administration. In view of past experience there could be no doubt that the management would not be entrusted to the State alone, but that there would be joint control by representatives of the State, the employees, the consumers and other persons who are interested in the administration of the transport industry (especially of the railways). There were other questions to be examined besides ownership and the form which the industry would take, and one of the most important of these questions was that of

technical progress ; it was a matter of vital importance that socialisation should go hand in hand with development from the technical side. Their aim being to economise in human labour, every technical improvement in the domain of mechanics would promote the interests of socialisation.

The French railwaymen's union had at the Geneva Congress been instructed to study the question of automatic coupling, and it had fulfilled these instructions. They now had 1200 automatic couplings on the French railways. The value of these had been proved, and they furnished us with additional evidence of what socialisation would be able to do in the realm of technical progress. Other questions were the prevention of accidents (including the steps to be taken in case of fog), and matters connected with hygiene.

They knew that, important as were these questions, capitalists neglected them, because they do not pay in the capitalist sense of the word. These, too, were questions which would have to be studied in detail if their socialisation were to be of the right kind.

Another important question for socialisation was that of working conditions. It was true that railwaymen travelling from one end of the continent to another came into contact with other railwaymen but that was not enough.

It was necessary that the different grades in the service should have a greater knowledge of their common conditions. They had heard from Döring how capitalists cited as precedents the sporadic cases in which conditions were inferior ; it was equally necessary for the staff to cite as precedents those cases where conditions had been in any way improved.

Next day's commission would therefore have to consider what action the I. T. F. should take with regard to this question.

He (Bidegaray) was of opinion that, at the Congress, they ought to appoint a rapporteur to deal thoroughly with this question, that the various organisations ought to undertake to send this rapporteur the necessary information, and that it should be the task of the rapporteur to submit a report to next Congress and to call upon it to take action in favour of socialisation. He was therefore merely giving a brief outline of general principles, and he hoped the Congress would be minded to make the question of the socialisation of the means of transport one of the most important and outstanding tasks of the I. T. F. (*Cheers*)

Williams (President) asked if the Congress did not consider that the special questions that had been dealt with here ought to be referred to the various Conferences. Thus the question of automatic coupling should be submitted to the railwaymen's conference, other questions to the seamen's conference, etc. Did they not think that only general questions should be discussed here ? (*General agreement*)

Riedel (German Transport Workers) : Bidegaray's remarks have shown that there is much difference of opinion on the subject of socialisation, even in the case of the individual comrades of the various countries. From his

remarks I conclude that he considers socialisation to consist merely in participation in enterprise by workers, consumers, and the other parties concerned. My standpoint, and that, I believe, of my friends, is that by the Socialisation of the transport industry is meant the transfer of the means of production to the entire community, and not, as has been done in Russia, to the working class. By that I mean that all sections of the population would participate in enterprise. This, I think, must be our view of the question of socialisation, and this the foundation which we must lay. But we can scarcely prescribe in advance the definite form which socialisation should take in any particular country ; rather we must leave to the various countries themselves the decisions regarding their course of action in the matter of socialisation, and regarding the pace to be adopted. The foundation itself, however, must be laid at the Congress in committee. I hope therefore that there will be no beating about the bush, but that the fundamental principle will be laid down that if socialisation is necessary and desirable, this socialisation must be the transfer to the community of the means of transport.

Fimmen (International Secretary) : I think we can all accept Bidegaray's proposal that the General Council and the Executive Committee of the I. T. F. should be instructed to compile for the next Congress a written report, and that, as the French comrades propose, the report should be sent in good time to the Bureau in order that it may be translated and printed, and that the delegates may discuss the matter previously among themselves and may come to the Congress with definite instructions. This we can do on condition that the rapporteur sends the report in early and I am sure that Comrade Bidegaray would already have done so, if his organisation had not claimed so much of his time.

Williams proposed to postpone *Fimmen's* report on the international situation until the translations were ready, and to proceed straight to Item 10.

Discussion of Proposals submitted. Resolution concerning the Peace Treaties.

Ben Tillet (British Transport Workers) considered that the item "Discussion of the Peace Treaties" was the most important to be considered at the Congress. It was becoming more and more manifest that the Peace Treaties afforded no solution of a critical situation which, although primarily due to the war, was approaching a climax as a result of the treaties themselves.

It is rumoured that the bankers of the whole world are endeavouring to stabilise the rates of exchange and to establish a genuine peace. We see how the whole world suffers from the differences in the rates of exchange and realise that so long as these differences exist, order cannot be re-established. But we also know that, both during the war and since, many

people have acquired enormous fortunes, and that these people control not merely the banks, but even the peoples, and oppose all attempts to stabilise the rates of exchange. So long as this state of things continues, there can be no remedy for the present world-wide depression of trade.

It is a remarkable thing that even to-day, when all this is as clear as daylight, there are still persons to be found in various camps who are anxious for the complete prostration of Germany. And yet they cannot but know that if Germany is ruined, other countries will be ruined with her, for the economic world is so closely knit together that it is impossible for Germany to be prostrated without the distress of the workers in London and Paris being intensified. We see the new military menace in the East and know it for a result of the fatal peace treaties. Thrones may have fallen, but imperialism still threatens us with new wars.

All we foreign delegates cannot but be deeply impressed by the Austria of to-day, especially when we compare this city of Vienna as it now is with the city which we once knew. It is an object lesson for us of what war really is. Neither Lloyd George nor anyone else can find any remedy for the evils of the present situation. The remedy will only be found when at last the workers have a real grasp of the situation, and, sad to say, they have at present no such grasp. The world takes too little interest in the economic facts with which it is faced. It sounds like the merest platitude to say that the most important thing is international solidarity, and yet it should be hammered into the head of every child till he knows it as well as he knows his morning prayer, that the only thing that can save us is international solidarity—the sense of the brotherhood of man.

If the English workers were to decide, they would abolish all the reparation demands and all the international debts, for they know that the deeper the abyss into which Germany is plunged the keener will be the suffering which they themselves have to undergo. We see that the capitalists feel too weak when isolated in their various countries, therefore it is that they unite in international associations, knowing that thus united they are strong. Unfortunately there are still many workers who have not yet fully recognised the truth of this fact.

We know that there ought to be no more wars, but that there will be war so long as the workers do not recognise either the danger or the possibility of its prevention. It must therefore be the task of the Congress to make this clear to the workers, and to take up the fight against capitalism and for the reconciliation of the peoples and the revision of the Peace Treaties. (*Prolonged Cheering*)

End of 2nd Day.

Third Day.

Wednesday, October 4th, 1922.

President : Robert Williams.

Fimmen (International Secretary) : We have received a telegram from the Railwaymen's Union of Yugoslavia, greeting the Congress and wishing its proceedings the best of success in the interests of the international proletariat.

We have also received a letter from the Swedish Engine Drivers' Union, informing us that their two delegates are unable to come, on account of a railway strike which is now going on in Sweden. They, too, wish us all success and extend their fraternal greetings to the delegates.

Resolution concerning the Peace Treaties.

Bevin (British Transport Workers) was of opinion that during the last 2 or 3 years the trade unionist workers had left the question of the revision of the peace treaties far too much to the political organisations. To-day we must give special attention to the economic side of these peace treaties, and look at their devastating effects in the economic sphere. These treaties are the outcome, not so much of the passions excited by the war, as of the eager desire of certain dominant individuals to maintain their supremacy in the world. The enforcement of these treaties derives its strength from the appeal to nationalist passion finding an echo to-day throughout a large part of the world. The real motive underlying this imperialism is the hope of acquiring districts possessing iron, coal and oil.

When we come to the attitude of the trade unions to the treaties, we see that, in France, both trade unions and socialists are seeking to find some just method of inducing Germany to pay her reparation debts. We in England, however, think that the slogan "Make Germany pay" is a great mistake. We know that every recurrence of it means more hunger and more unemployment in England itself, and therefore the British Workers' organisations are to-day refusing to heed or to base their future policy upon it.

The most terrible results of the Peace Treaties are making themselves felt, especially amongst English workers. They taste the bitterness of poverty and unemployment, knowing all the time that in reality it is impossible for France or any other country to make Germany pay. Thanks to the policy of the ruling classes, therefore, the economic position is growing steadily worse and worse.

A Safeguarding of Industries Act has been passed in Great Britain, which raises the price of goods brought into the country from Germany, while Germany, on the other hand, has imposed export duties to prevent goods from being exported to us at exorbitantly low prices. The result is that the international German and English syndicates, which are already in co-operation, are still making abnormal profits, while the sufferer is the consumer, especially the British consumer, who has to pay higher prices for the goods.

That is only one instance; but we could quote many such. The Peace Treaties have completely destroyed the balance of power in Europe and we know that, so long as this haggling over payments continues, there can be no restoration of it. As Socialists it is now our task to combat this, and to see that incessant disturbances of the economic life of the world are prevented. We are of course very well aware that, if Germany had won, and German militarism were now supreme, German imperialists and militarists would not act one whit better, but would likewise take full advantage of their military supremacy. But this conviction should not prevent us, as socialists, from always ranging ourselves against those who are pursuing this imperialist policy. On us, as transport workers, it is especially incumbent to combat with all means at our disposal the placing of obstacles in the way of free traffic between country and country. This incitement to nationalist feeling in the various states is in reality a monstrous crime. Despite the differences of nationality, there is almost as much economic interdependence between many of these small states created in Central Europe as between the inhabitants of Wales and of the Midlands. Between the Welshman and the Englishman of the Midlands there does exist an actual difference of nationality, but it would never occur to anyone to play off one against another.

It is of course the policy of the ruling classes to use national feeling for the purpose of inciting the peoples one against another, in order that their own rule may be the more easily established. What the peoples need, therefore, is the creation of genuine internationalism.

The resolution before us advocates the resumption of commercial relations between the various countries. The chief hindrance to the re-establishment of the world economic system is the erection, day by day, in every country, of new barriers—barriers which owe their origin, not to customs duties alone, but also to the different rates of exchange and to protectionist legislation. If we have a genuine desire to combat the peace treaties, we can best do it by making an appeal to the workers of the

whole world against protectionist tendencies. Our demands for the improvement of working conditions can only meet with success if all impediments to commercial intercourse are removed. So long as these impediments exist, our efforts to obtain these demands will be crowned with but little success.

Although perhaps you will not all agree with me, I must nevertheless point out that the three years of peace which have just elapsed have been especially terrible because they have witnessed a demoralisation even greater than that of the four years of war.

It is also a regrettable fact that certain sections of Socialists are themselves not wholly untainted by nationalism: and by this means nationalism has succeeded in penetrating even into the working classes of the various countries. That, too, is another kind of demoralisation which we have to combat.

Socialist policy must aim at preventing any further possibility of war; it must take care that "the last war" shall really be the last. To achieve these ends we need very energetic propaganda. We have first to teach the worker this real internationalism, and to show him that, looked at from this point of view, all nationalism is mistaken, and real internationalism alone takes the right view. Hence we must to-day adopt a resolution to combat the Treaty of Versailles with all the means at our disposal, and, by pursuing this policy, to see to it that the working classes of the various countries secure true peace. (*Prolonged applause*).

Thomas (British Railwaymen) declared that the resolution before them would of course be supported by the British delegates.

He thought it necessary, however, to add a word or two. Hitherto the Treaty of Versailles had been condemned in general terms alone. It was of course very easy to draft a resolution declaring the treaty to be mischievous. Everyone now knows it to be so. But it would be much more useful not merely to adopt general resolutions of this description, but to specify definitely the individual points in the treaties which are wrong, and which must therefore be combated by us, in order to get them amended. Here, in Vienna, we foreign delegates have seen plenty of practical evidence of the results of the Peace Treaties. Every one of us English comrades feels ashamed when he changes money here; he cannot but say to himself: "No doubt the German and Austrian comrades think we English and French are rolling in money". Nevertheless, I can assure them that for 50 years past distress, starvation and unemployment have never been so great in England as they are now. The English workers are suffering directly from the results of these peace treaties.

The much-abused "Yellow International", of which Fimmen is the esteemed secretary, has recognised that the time for merely general declarations has gone by, and that it is not enough to describe the Versailles

Treaty as bad, and to let the matter rest there. It has now appointed a commission (on which the Socialist Internationals are represented) whose task it will be to arrive at a clear idea as to which points in these Peace Treaties should be resolutely combated. This commission will probably make known its decisions in a few weeks' time, and will appeal not only to the workers, but to the whole world, including the governments. It will then say that such and such a clause in the Peace Treaties is a mistake and must be combated. In this way the working classes will help to deliver the world from its present distress. I repeat that we must no longer confine ourselves to empty resolutions, we must determine with exactness what it is that we oppose in these peace treaties. Not till this has been accomplished shall we do really useful work and we therefore associate ourselves in advance with the decisions which will be formulated as the result of the enquiry instituted by the International Federation of Trade Unions.

Bidegaray (French Railwaymen) : The English comrades have given expression to their views on the world situation. But would it not be well to take into account the special circumstances in each country ?

We remember how in London in November, 1920, and again in 1921, at the joint conference of the Amsterdam International with the London and Vienna Socialist Internationals, resolutions were adopted which always insisted that the reconstruction of the devastated area was a matter of primary importance. I am much surprised, *Bidegaray* went on, to find so sudden a change of front in the English comrades. I am of opinion that the reconstruction question is also an international matter which must take precedence of national questions. Mention has been made here of the abolition of reparations. This can mean nothing more or less than the jettisoning of the principle that the devastated area must be reconstructed. If this is so, not only France but Belgium and Italy also will be exposed to the utmost danger. When the English comrades speak of the great unemployment in England, we in our turn may say that there are equally as many people in France who have not even yet a roof over their heads, and are therefore greater sufferers from the war than even the unemployed. Reparations include reconstruction of the devastated area.

The International Federation of Trade Unions itself has exerted its influence in favour of agreements for the reconstruction of the devastated area. I need only remind those present that the very text of the Wiesbaden Agreement was approved by the International Federation of Trade Unions. The French and Belgian delegates must therefore offer determined resistance to any view of the position that would militate against reconstruction.

If there is to be any genuine spirit of internationalism amongst us, we must retain first and foremost a sense of justice. It is true that reconstruction is not to be effected by Germany alone. According to the resolution of the International Federation it is to be accomplished by means of an international loan, to which contributions are to be made primarily by the countries which took no part in the war and have been enriched by it.

But the important thing is that every trace of the destruction should be wiped off the face of the earth. Those who seek to solve the problem must do so in agreement with the International Federation of Trade Unions. For as long as the devastated area remains, like a black hole on the face of the earth, so long it will be impossible to attain any genuine peace.

We must of course range ourselves on the side of disarmament, for, as we now see from events in the East, without disarmament there will always be new wars.

Bidegaray then asked the German comrades to say which side they took, whether they were of the opinion of Bevin and Tillett, or if they considered that the compacts made with the approval of the International Federation of Trade Unions for the reconstruction of the devastated area should be upheld.

Weigl (Austrian Transport Workers): I cannot find in the words of the English speakers the meaning which Bidegaray attributes to them. I believe the matter has been quite settled, and that all socialists are agreed that there must be a reconstruction of the devastated area, and I do not think there was anything to the contrary in the remarks of the English comrades. No doubt the point will easily be settled.

But as for the peace treaties themselves, they furnish an illustration of the lengths to which the madness of capitalist society will go. In dealing with Central Europe the Supreme Council has been like a bull in a china shop. Everything is smashed to atoms. And not only is this the case in the vanquished countries: in the victorious countries, also, poverty and distress have made their appearance. In this criminal war plotted by the criminals of the Austrian Foreign Office, the standards of the victors bore the inscription "The Nations' Right to Self-determination!" And what is the end? Slavery and distress! Regardless of the iron laws of economics, in defiance of all reason, new States were carved out at the green Council table and we in Austria could tell you some fine tales about these states! This disregard of and contempt for all economic necessities brought into existence this abortive State of ours, that can neither live nor die! The Austrian proletariat has paid for these creations in hunger and wretchedness. We can not even set our hopes on the future, and trust that things will improve in time, for our country is without the most important raw materials and almost entirely without coal. We are also suffering from a lamentable shortage of rolling stock. After our defeat we were robbed of the most important means of transport. The engines and trucks formerly used to bring us food have been kept by the neighbouring states, and even to-day there is great scarcity of means of transport. As to the conditions in our country resulting from these causes, I will only give you a few figures which will suffice to illustrate the present situation of the Austrian proletariat.

The area of the republic comprises 84,000 sq. Kilometres, of which only 4.5% is flat country, while 3.2% is moderately hilly and 92.3% is

mountainous. The inevitable result is that the cultivable land is very small in extent. Even if we utilise every available foot of ground, we can only till 22.9 %. If we turn to the coal supplies, the statistics show that last year we were only able to produce 2,440,000 tons, most of which was brown coal (lignite) of inferior quality, although the annual requirements of Austria are not less than 15,923,000 tons of pit coal, as we need the coal for our factories and gas-works. Owing, moreover, to the depreciation of our currency and our deficiency in means of transport, we were even last year unable to obtain anything like the quantity we required. In 1921, we consumed only 8,244,000 tons, and these figures include our home output.

With the exception of timber and a little iron, we have no other raw materials in the country at all. This means, that the people cannot be fed on what they produce themselves. On account of the small quantity of arable land, we can only raise enough corn to meet one-third of our needs; the remaining two-thirds must be imported from abroad. Owing to the shortage of coal, industry, if it had plenty to do, could not work intensively. True, the low status of the Austrian krone puts a premium on export, so that industry would have no lack of occupation, if it had but the raw material necessary; but the scarcity of coal prevents the execution of orders. If you walk through the streets of Vienna to-day, you will find more dismantled street-lamps than lighted ones. This is due neither to slovenliness nor to accident. These street-lamps have had to be dismantled, because coal cannot be obtained in sufficient quantities to manufacture the amount of gas required for lighting the city.

Let me say a few words more on the subject of our trade balance. These are the figures which show most clearly the wretchedness of the country in which we are compelled to live. The quantity of goods imported in 1921 was 81,685,000 metric cwts, while the exports totalled only 14,274,000. The official statistics for the values have not yet been issued by our Government: apparently they dare not appear before the public with the huge adverse figures. But Stolper, the well-known economist, has estimated the adverse trade balance at from 900 to 1,200 million gold kronen, and a few days ago the head of the Statistical Office stated in a lecture that he estimated it at 783 millions of gold kronen. Stolper's estimate was therefore very near the truth. You must not forget that a gold crown is worth 15,000 Kronen of our paper money. A country whose finances are in this state is doomed to perish, and the condition of the people can only grow worse as time goes on.

This position of affairs is the result of the ever-increasing speed with which the currency is depreciating. As late as October, 1921, the exchange was 1,880 to the dollar, whereas yesterday it was 74,000. This depreciation has of course led to a still more rapid issue of uncovered notes, and this issue has in its turn caused a further depreciation of the currency; we are caught in a vicious circle which can only involve us in deeper misery. On September 23rd, the Austro-Hungarian Bank had in circulation notes to the value of 1,960 milliards. In one week—that of September 15th to

23rd—the circulation rose by 259.4 milliards. This depreciation of the currency depresses real wages, and the utmost efforts of the really well-organised proletariat of our country to put some check upon it fail utterly to prevent their continued fall. I am keeping well within the truth when I say that our wages to-day are one-third of what they were before the war. If you could see with your own eyes the destitution of the proletariat here, you could not help realising that, even with the nominally high wages ruling, the working classes of the country are unable to obtain even the most common comforts, it being all that they can do just to keep body and soul together. With a currency depreciating so rapidly, it is quite impossible for the worker, however economical he may be, to save up enough to lay in any stocks. If, two months ago, we had to pay 500,000 kronen for a good suit of clothes, to-day we should have to pay 1,500,000 kronen for an inferior one. The worker, of course, cannot pay any such sum out of current wages. He must save it up. But if he had started saving up two months ago, and had accumulated 500,000 kronen in the two months, in order to buy himself a suit, he would now find that, even during this short period, the price of the suit had risen threefold. Thus it comes about that the Austrian workers scarcely possess any underlinen, not to speak of a decent suit of clothes.

And are things appreciably better in the victorious countries? We have heard to-day, as we had already learned from other sources, how acute is the unemployment and distress in England, and how much the French workers have to suffer.

We find in these countries cuts in wages, and attacks on the 8-hour day and on the other legislative gains of the workers; because capitalism, strengthened by the great distress and by the existence of great armies of unemployed, feels itself strong enough to make these attacks with success. The effect of the Peace Treaty will be the ruin of the Central States, and in this ruin, even though it were that of little Austria alone, the victor states also will inevitably be involved; they too will be dragged down to chaos, for the economic system of the world is to-day so inextricably intertwined that the ruin of even so small a state cannot leave the others unaffected. Our legislative gains are also menaced. Thanks to a strong trade union and political organisation, we in Austria succeeded, after the collapse, in securing our rights as workers by means of a series of socio-political laws, which all foreign countries would do well to imitate. Hitherto we have been able to hold our own under present conditions. In our total population of a little over 6 millions, we have in Austria, if we include the officials employed in public enterprises, domestic servants and landworkers, about 2½ million wage-earners and salaried employees. Of these 2½ millions, 1¼ million are organised in trade unions adopting the Amsterdam platform—a number, surely, which bears witness to the impossibility of disregarding the organised workers of this republic. But, despite this fact, we regard the future with keen anxiety, knowing as we do what the growing distress must gradually destroy the fighting stamina of the proletariat and

that a great army of unemployed always constitutes a standing menace to the employed, and imperils the maintenance of trade union organisation. And as we watch the spread of unemployment and distress among the working classes of the whole world, we are seriously alarmed lest the day should come when reaction, whose energy has long been reviving, should at last feel strong enough to deprive the workers of their hard-won rights. Therefore we must not relax in our efforts. We see a new menace of war in the East, we know not what may come of it, whether proletarian may not again be forced to march against proletarian, in order to turn the balance between the conflicting interests of capitalists. Once more there is danger lest other states shall be drawn into the conflict, and new miseries be heaped up upon those of the present. We are therefore of the opinion of Comrade Thomas, that not merely should resolutions be adopted, but that unceasing fight should be waged against the criminal machinations of the capitalists of all countries. Here in our own little country, we would fain defend our strongholds to the last drop of our blood. We know, however, that it will be impossible for us to do this if the positions of the workers who live round about us are shaken. We must therefore make it our aim to break the power of capitalists and imperialists of all nations. We must see to it that the dictates of the treaties are abrogated, not only because they oppress us in this country, but because they are bringing destitution to the proletariat of all states. We must prevent new wars, and we must see to it that the organised proletariat shall attain sufficient power and influence to be able to cry to the capitalists of all countries: "Have done with your machinations. There must be an end to your irresponsible proceedings, to your using the peoples of this earth as pawns in your game. The workers of the world will now see to it that a better society is established than you were ever able to set up". (*Prolonged applause*)

August Forstner (President of the Austrian Transport Workers' Union) now succeeded to the chair.

Döring (German Transport Workers): Since, Comrade Bidegaray raised the question whether the German working classes are prepared to recognise their obligations in respect of reconstruction, I have very carefully re-read the resolution proposed by the English comrades, and I am unable to discover anything in it which would release the German workers from their obligations. On behalf of the German delegation, I hereby declare that they will vote for this resolution and will therefore take upon themselves the obligations voiced by this resolution. As to the question of reconstruction, I should like to point out that the German trade unions and, in particular, the organisations represented at this Congress, have in their responsible meetings repeatedly pledged themselves to work for reconstruction, in association with the organisations of the countries concerned. In these meetings we voted for the acceptance of the obligations which were set forth by the International Federation of Trade Unions. Only a few weeks ago the General Congress of German Trade Unions took up the matter, and this Congress, which represented the whole of the German

Trade Unions, voted unanimously for the resolution of the International Federation of Trade Unions. This, in my opinion, removes all doubt as to our attitude towards the reconstruction of the devastated area. There are no differences of opinion in Germany on the subject. The only exceptions amongst us are the members of the Communist Party, who adopt the standpoint that the fulfilment of the obligations in respect of reconstruction is superfluous. A reference was made here to the agreements which our Government, through the intermediary of Minister Rathenau, concluded with the French Government. The German organisations adopt the position that they take upon themselves the whole of their obligations in respect of the reconstruction of the devastated area. But we demand the revision of the Peace Treaty, because it deprives us of all possibility of co-operating in reconstruction.

There is no sense in insisting that a man shall carry some article, if his feet and hands are bound. We wish to promote reconstruction in association with the workers' organisations of France and Belgium, and not in association with capital. We consider it inadmissible that international capitalism, which during the war made its profits out of the flesh and blood of the peoples, should again, as it recently has done, seek to make profit out of the distress of the people living in the devastated areas. This it is that we are fighting. We want reconstruction to be accomplished under the guarantee of the governments, and, if it is in any way possible, under the guarantee of the trade unions. We desire to fulfil, in association with the organisations of the other countries, the obligations which we took upon ourselves when we accepted the resolutions of the International Federation of Trade Unions, and we desire only the amendment of the peace treaties which hinder us from fulfilling these obligations. *(Cheers)*

Forstner (President): No one else is listed to speak, and the debate is therefore closed. The Bureau proposes that the words "commercial relations" in the last paragraph of the resolution shall be replaced by the words "political and economic relations".

With this amendment the resolution is unanimously adopted. It now reads as follows:—

"That this International Conference of Transport Workers observes with alarm the continued decline in world trade bringing more unemployment to the men usually engaged in the various operations of transport.

The Conference is convinced that the uncertainty in the rates of exchange between the respective countries is slowly but definitely paralysing that interchange of goods and services which was found so essential before the war.

The Conference warns the workers in the various countries against the appalling but certain results of the steady decline in the standard of life forced upon the workers, first in Central Europe and afterwards in the other countries, by the monstrous effects of the Peace Treaties. In the competition for trade in what remains of a world market, the economic servitude of the peoples of Central Europe must inevitably compel the workers in other countries to accept a reduction in real as well as nominal wages.

Every effort is therefore called for from all the organised workers, and especially those in the Entente countries, to secure a drastic revision of the Peace Treaties which have been proved to be economically unsound, and morally objectionable.

The Conference further expresses its conviction that no real recovery of world trade can be brought about unless Russia is brought within political and economic relationship with the other parts of the world."

Augmentation of the Secretariat.

Robert Williams again took the chair.

Fimmen (International Secretary): The General Council and the Executive Committee have on several occasions discussed the way in which the work of the Secretariat can be—not increased, for it is already very extensive, but adequately performed. You know that I was originally asked if I would take the Secretariat temporarily. I was subsequently appointed secretary of the International Federation of Trade Unions, whereupon I handed in my resignation to the I. T. F., but was asked to retain both posts. I consented to do so. The matter was brought up again at the Congress at Christiania, and I was again requested to continue in my office as secretary. I did so, coping with the work of the I. T. F. as best I could, with the aid of the staff which for the last 6 months I have employed in my capacity as Secretary of that body. And it is chiefly owing to the unpaid assistance rendered by the staff of the I. F. T. U. that it has been possible for the I. T. F. to develop in the way it has done. I think I may say that if we look, not only at the membership of the I. T. F., but also at its energy and capacity, we have not done so badly.

But the demands made upon our International Secretariat are steadily increasing. It is no longer possible for me to treat this work as of secondary importance: it requires my whole energies. At the meeting of the General Council held at Stockholm, therefore, I said that in my opinion the time was now come for me to resign, and that the Congress could appoint my successor. For various reasons, however, the General Council was of opinion that it was desirable for me to retain the general secretaryship for the present, but that for routine work and in order that there might always be some one at the Office when I am away—I frequently have to travel—another secretary should be appointed as my assistant, who would be able to devote all his energies to the I. T. F., while I should retain the management. The General Council was, moreover, of opinion that the time had come for the further development of the sectional groups of the I. T. F. It is of course impossible for every section to have a secretary of its own at present. Our I. T. F. does not advance by leaps and bounds, but slowly and surely. The general consensus of opinion was that a beginning might be made by giving the Seamen's Section, whose need is the most pressing, a Secretary of its own. That the choice should fall on the Seamen is due, in part to the fact that the seamen had—and

Williams (President) considered that the questions were difficult, but that the Congress should regard them as a whole. In respect of the objections raised by *Bevin* in the matter of the general secretaryship, no doubt they all felt that the I. T. F. had reason to congratulate itself on having *Fimmen* as its secretary. If the I. T. F. could find a man to-day who had *Fimmen's* knowledge of languages and possessed his energy and international standing, *Fimmen* himself would be glad to give up the work. But at the moment they had no such person. They all knew that *Nathans* would make an excellent assistant secretary. Working with and under *Fimmen*, he would have an opportunity of acquiring knowledge which he would be able to turn to good account later, when he became general secretary.

As regarded the Secretary of the Seamen, no group stood in such dire need of an international rallying-point as the seamen. Hitherto the group had always felt that, in comparison with the railwaymen and the transport workers, they were neglected: and at their conference they had complained that railwaymen and dock-workers could not handle their (the seamen's) affairs for them as efficiently as they themselves would have been able to do. Even should this view be to some extent mistaken, the possession of a secretary of their own would cut the ground from under their arguments. An international seamen's organisation, co-operating with the other transport workers within the I. T. F., could not but be a valuable accession to both. In respect of the dispatch of a representative to America, Australia and New Zealand, the speaker, having himself corresponded with the organisations in these countries, was well aware of the importance of going beyond friendly correspondence and winning them over to join the I. T. F.

He hoped the Congress would adopt this motion unanimously.

The discussion was then closed, but the voting was postponed to the afternoon in order that the representatives might discuss the matter further amongst themselves.

End of the Morning Session.

Wednesday, October 4th, 1922.

Afternoon Session.

Report of Credentials' Committee.

Jochade (German Railwaymen): The Committee has examined the credentials and found them in order. Of the affiliated organizations in 19 countries (with about 2,450,000 members), 29 organizations (with a membership of 2,318,907) from 16 countries have sent 99 delegates; besides these, the members of the General Council and 9 delegates of the affiliated organizations will take part in the discussions, though without voting powers. By the rules, the delegates in attendance have a total of 172 votes. Eight fraternal delegates are also present.

Two organisations had given notice of attendance, but have failed to appear, namely, the Irish Transport Workers' Union, and the Union of Locomotive Men in Sweden.

The Norwegian organisations regret their inability to send delegates. The Norwegian Seamen's Union is holding its own congress; The Norwegian Railwaymen state that their delegate has suddenly been taken ill and his deputy can get no leave of absence. Its own business prevents the Norwegian Transport Workers' Union from sending a representative. The Swiss Transport Workers' Union has transferred its vote to the representative of the Railwaymen.

We request you to adopt the report and to endorse the credentials. We should also be glad if you would point out any errors that may have crept into the list of delegates which you have before you.

The report was adopted.

The motion of the General Council for an augmentation of the Secretariat was then passed.

Chairman: The various committees will now meet. Comrade Jochade is the chairman of the Railwaymen's Conference; Comrade Mahlman of the Transport Workers' Conference; and Comrade Lindley of the Seamen's.

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The reports of the special conferences will be found at the end of these minutes.

Fourth Day.
Thursday, October 5th, 1922.

Robert Williams occupied the chair.

Forstner (Austrian Transport Workers) stated that the hall would not be at the disposal of the Congress in the afternoon, as the Chamber of Commerce needed it. A trip through Vienna by tramway car, to be followed by a ride up to the Kobenzl, had therefore been arranged.

Williams: The reports of the different conferences, in so far as they are ready, will now be read. First, Comrade Jochade will present the report of the Railwaymen's Conference.

Report of the Railwaymen's Conference.

Jochade: In the Conference, we have dealt with Comrade Döring's report on the Standardisation of Wages and Working Conditions as well as with Comrade Bidegaray's report on the Socialisation of the Transport Industry. We have also had before us the reports of our comrades from Poland and Hungary.

There is not much to be said on the reports themselves. I have asked the delegates of the different countries to express their views upon them, but they displayed little inclination to do so. It had been arranged that, for the next Congress, a full report should be prepared on the question already handled by Comrade Bidegaray. But at our Conference it became evident that this topic could hardly be done justice to in an oral report, because, for technical reasons, it could not be satisfactorily translated. It would be better if reports were obtained from each of the various countries concerning its own socialisation method, and that someone should be deputed to digest and co-ordinate them and place the results before the next Congress.

Another report was submitted by our Polish Comrades. Poland, as an independent state, is a new thing. Under the old Tsarist régime, it had, at one time, some trade unions, but these were suppressed. Consequently,

most of the unions now in existence in Poland are quite young. But our Polish comrades inform us that their Organisation already boasts 70,000 members, which is a very respectable figure. We have also heard with great pleasure that, not only the Polish Railwaymen, but also other groups in Poland, have decided to affiliate with the I. T. F.

The next report was that of our comrade from Hungary. The descriptions which were given us of the situation there filled us with horror and dismay. Our comrades told us of atrocities that could only make us desire a speedy end of such a government as that now in power; it is really high time that this government was swept away. The railwaymen, in particular, have to suffer terribly. We were horrified to hear that our old representative of the I. T. F., Comrade Cservenka, who was on one occasion a delegate to an International Congress, had been beaten to death. (*Shame!*) The doings of the Horthy bands are of the most shocking character. Our organisation is not tolerated; the railwaymen have no right of combination; if a man is known to read the railwaymen's journal he is discharged or even thrown into an internment camp. Our comrades are therefore forced to conduct their organisation clandestinely, since it is impossible for them to look after their interests in an open and undisguised manner. We have adopted a resolution drawn up by our British and French Comrades and signed by Comrade Thomas. We recommend the Congress to endorse this resolution which reads as follows:

"The Special Railwaymen's Conference held in connection with the International Transport Workers' Congress has heard with horror of the cruel and inhuman persecutions inflicted on their Hungarian brothers. It proposes the following resolution to the Congress of the I. T. F.:

The organisations affiliated with the I. T. F. pledge themselves to take steps in their respective countries to rouse the conscience of the world against these atrocities, to demand their suppression, and to draw the attention of the League of Nations to its most recent Member. Also, to protest against these proceedings throughout the whole of the labour press."

The Conference also decided to send a telegram of sympathy to our Swedish comrades. These comrades are conducting a strike in which about 50% of their members are engaged. It will certainly make some impression if we assure them of our sympathy.

Furthermore, we dealt with some matters affecting our own group, and especially with the question of the technical training of railwaymen, upon which topic investigations are to be made. Attention was directed to the Congress of the employers' International Railway Association at Rome; this Rome Congress has concerned itself with some important matters, and we have recommended the Secretariat to take these up so that influence may be brought to bear upon the railway managements.

One very important point discussed by us was how data were to be obtained concerning wages and working conditions in the individual countries. Comparative tables are to be drawn up, this being desired especially by our British comrades. The Secretariat is desired to prepare

a questionnaire and submit it to the railwaymen members of the General Council, who, with the assistance of practical experts, will make any requisite modifications. It is thought that the comparative tables will facilitate the discussion at the next Congress. Of course it will then be necessary to consecrate not half a day to the question but a whole day or even more.

These special conferences really deserve more careful thought, as they provide a means of doing thoroughly practical work. But it is also essential that the matters to be laid before them should receive greater and closer attention on the part of comrades at home, so that the details requisite for a full consideration of the questions at issue may not be lacking when the time comes.

The railwaymen represented in the I. T. F. total 1,200,000. We have therefore every reason to devote full consideration to them. (*Applause*)

The Congress then approved Comrade Jochade's report and passed the above resolution.

The Chairman, considering it necessary to speed up the work of the Congress, said: "As the Seamen's Conference have not got their report ready, the Transport Workers will now read theirs."

Report of the Dock, Waterside and Transport Workers' Conference.

Seiffert (German Transport Workers): The Conference of the Transport Workers considered it essential to deal thoroughly with the question of wages and working hours. Upon this topic we have to submit to you the following resolution:

That this Conference of Dock and Road Transportworkers strongly expresses itself in favour of uniform working hours being enacted in the various countries. This Conference is of the opinion, that such conditions can only be brought about, if the 8-hours day is realised and complete Sunday rest and the limitation of overwork is carried through.

This Conference expresses its strong disapproval of the laxity on the part of those responsible for the delay in the application of the principle of the Washington and Geneva Conferences contained in the Convention on the eight hours day, limitation of overtime and the employment of women and young persons.

We consider as imperative that the findings of the Convention should be strongly pressed at the forthcoming International Conference convened by the League of Nations at Geneva this month and instructs the Executive to take prompt action.

This Conference charges the organisations affiliated with the I. T. F. to bring all possible pressure to bear upon their governments in order to enforce the ratification of the Conventions of Washington and Geneva.

It requests the secretariat of the I. T. F. to publish data concerning working hours, wages and working conditions of those countries particulars of which have not yet been issued and to continue such publications of the conditions in those countries about which information has already been given.

This is what the Conference considers it absolutely necessary to decide on the subject of working hours. We have not yet come to the end of our discussions, for we consider that a whole group of other questions which affect transport workers must be embodied in a further resolution. These questions include, amongst others ; risk of accident, night-work, the work of women and children, international regulation of the weights to be carried, and the appointment of inspectors. If the Congress approves, we will tomorrow submit to it this additional resolution, which, with the aid of Comrades Vignaud and Ben Tillett, I will undertake to draft.

The resolution was adopted and the Commission instructed to draft a second resolution.

Fixing of Affiliation Fees.

Fimmen (International Secretary) : From the moment when the I. T. F. first began its functions, the question of affiliation fees has always formed one of the items on the agenda. At every Congress, expression has invariably been given to the view that the basis on which affiliation fees are now paid is unsatisfactory. There is great inequality. The affiliation fee is, as you know, fixed at 6 cents. It is not paid in Dutch currency, but in the currency of the country in question, at the pre-war rate of exchange. As in various countries the value of the currency is steadily depreciating, the practical outcome of the arrangement is that some countries continue to pay large nominal sums, whilst scarcely anything reaches the coffers of the I. T. F. Thus, for instance, the whole of the annual affiliation fee for the Austrian railwaymen and transport workers amounts to no more than 4 Dutch guilders. The fees paid by the German organisations are also, in Dutch currency, very small. We can quite understand that the comrades of other countries feel dissatisfied with this state of things. The Executive Committee and the General Council have made several attempts, therefore, to find some other basis on which to fix the affiliation fee. Various proposals have been made, but none have given complete satisfaction. At Geneva it was resolved that countries with a low rate of exchange (at that time Poland and Austria) should pay three times the amount, that is to say, 200% more (making a total for Austria of 36 heller per member). Other countries where the rate of exchange was not so low, such as Germany and Czecho-Slovakia, should pay double, and France, Belgium, and Italy, whose rates of exchange were also unsatisfactory, should pay 50% more. It must be admitted that this system also is unfair. Acting on instructions received from the Geneva Congress, the General Council again took up the question last year and eventually came to be unanimous decision that, for the present, the only fair method would be to fix the affiliation fees on the basis of the wages earned in the different countries.

We may assume that, in countries where wages are high, the contributions paid to the local branches and to the National Union will also be higher than in countries where wages are low. We also know that, in

various countries where the earning capacity of the workers varies, the rates of contribution to the same union vary accordingly. We think similar principles would also be fair for the I. T. F. In countries with a low rate of exchange, the contributions have of course been enormously increased. Where perhaps one mark was formerly paid, the present contribution is, say, 50 or 60 marks, or 200—300 kronen per week. In these circumstances, we think that the affiliation fee for the international organisation should also be increased.

The General Council has come to the conclusion that the fairest thing would be for us to take an hour's wages as the basis for the affiliation fees of the different countries. It would of course be too much to take a whole hour's wages; we think therefore that we should maintain for countries favoured by the exchange the present fixed official fee of 6 Dutch cents (which equals roughly $\frac{1}{10}$ of an hour's wages in countries whose currency stands high); but that for countries with a depreciated currency the contribution should be $\frac{1}{10}$ of an average hourly wage. At the commencement of each year each of these countries would announce its average hourly wage, and one tenth of this amount would be levied as the affiliation fee. According to the status on July 1st of this year, Holland would pay 6 cents, Great Britain the same, Belgium 25 centimes, Sweden 9 Öre, Germany 2 marks, France 22½ centimes, Italy 40 centesimi, Austria 100 kronen, Czechoslovakia 30 heller, Spain 6 cents Dutch, and Switzerland the same. I do not know the exact amount payable by Poland and Bulgaria, as I am not acquainted with their average wage.

I hope the proposal of the General Council will be admitted to be a fair one, and will be adopted unanimously. We cannot deny that the discussion of this question at the meetings has not always been pleasant. There has been no recrimination, but there has always been evidence of the existence of a feeling that only the countries with a high rate of exchange were contributing.

Of course, countries with adverse rates of exchange are not do blame, nor is any credit due to these with a favourable rate of exchange. But we think that the existence of this feeling should be taken into account and that our proposal should be adopted. (*Applause*)

Bevin (British Transport Workers) seconded the motion.

Toulouse (French Railwaymen) considered that there should be no difference in the amount of affiliation fee payable. He had thought that hitherto all the countries had paid the same contribution, namely, 6 cents. His attention was now drawn to the fact that, in view of the present rate of exchange, the French too, were paying much less. They were laying 18¼ French centimes, whereas the proposed increase would works out at 22½ centimes. He thought that this would be felt to press so heavily on the French that they would be unable to raise the money; the local branches would not be likely to agree to pay 15,000 frs. per year extra, when they had no corresponding increase in income.

Fimmen (International Secretary) said that Toulouse had made several mistakes in his calculations, and repeated that, under the new arrangement, the French would pay 22½ centimes per member per year, which for 36,000 members would amount to Frs. 8,100.

Williams (President) urged that the proposal of the General Council should be unanimously adopted. Unless this were done, the British transport workers would insist on introducing themselves a motion of their own fixing the affiliation fee at 6 cents (Dutch Currency), and this would probably impose heavier liabilities upon the other organisations. The British transport workers considered it unfair that the British organisations should pay more than all the other countries put together.

The proposal of the General Council was adopted.

End of the 4th Day.

Fifth day.
Friday, October 6th, 1922.

Robert Williams took the chair.

Report of the Auditors.

Toulouse reported that the auditors had examined the accounts and had found all documents to be in order.

Jochade: As one of the auditors, I wish to confirm that we found everything in excellent order. It was of course impossible to check all the accounts before us, and we have only been able to examine certain papers picked out at haphazard. The accounts must of course be checked, but it has been impossible to do it here, with so short a time at our disposal, and so enormous a number of papers to go through. I therefore propose that in future the General Council should appoint two of its members to examine the documents at the regular meetings in Amsterdam. Then it will not be necessary to transport this mass of material from Amsterdam to the Congress and back again every two years.

The proposal was adopted.

Report on the Seamen's Conference.

Lindley gave a report of the Seamen's Conference. First of all, he said, various comrades had reported on the conditions obtaining in their respective countries, which led to the broaching and discussion of particular subjects, such as the question of the relations of the Seamen's organisations to Wilson's Seamen's International, on the one hand, and to the I. T. F. on the other. Another subject of discussion was the method of establishing an understanding between the seamen and the transport workers, lest, in the event of a transport workers strike at the docks, the seamen, being unaware of its existence, should take over the work. We also discussed a dispute between the Yugoslavian and Italian organisations. The point at issue arose out of the participation of workers who are now Yugoslavian in a co-operative enterprise founded by the Italian co-operative society, and known as the Garibaldi Fund.

The question is a complicated one: certain districts have been transferred to Yugoslavia, and as the Italian government only permits Italian seamen to man its ships, the Yugoslavian seamen are finding it very difficult to get back the money paid in as contributions to the Fund. They are appealing to the I. T. F. to help them to obtain their rights.

Both the report and the resolution proposed by the Conference were adopted. The latter reads as follows:

The Special Session of the Seafaring Workers affiliated to the I. T. F. having received reports from the affiliated organisations, endorses the decision of the full Congress to appoint a full-time official to supervise the Seamen's Section of the I. T. F.

The Session requests the Executive of the I. T. F. to ask immediately for nominations for the Secretary for the Seamen's Section and as soon as practicable to hold a further Conference of the affiliated seamen's organisations to appoint a Secretary in conjunction with the Executive and to place the Seamen's Section on a firm foundation, working in co-operation with the other affiliated sections of Railwaymen and Transport Workers.

The Special Session observes with satisfaction the dissolution of the International Seafarers' Federation which, being a special product of the war, could not deal with the present and future economic situation.

The Session of Seamen's representatives seeing the continued decline in real wages of the seamen of the various countries, and also the difference in the rates of pay of men doing identical or similar work, calls upon the Executive of the I. T. F. to do all that is possible to secure some measure of standardisation of European Seamen's Wages on the level of the highest rates in operation.

The Session emphatically protests against the tactics of Havelock Wilson and the N. S. & F. U. in making arrangements with the English Shipping Federation to boycott members of other unions in British and other European Ports, because those unions believe in a policy of resisting the wage reductions imposed by the International Shipowners, and also advocate the 8 hours day for all seamen.

This Congress calls on all Sailors' and Firemen's organisations to warn their members from allowing themselves to be used by the ship-owners during dock- and harbourworkers' strikes or lockouts, to do such loading and discharging work which during normal conditions is not required to be done by the ships' crews.

Headquarters of the I. T. F.

Robert Williams (President) proposed Amsterdam. (*Adopted*)

Choice of Countries whose Representatives are to constitute the General Council of the I. T. F.

Williams proposed to leave the distribution as it stands in the printed report. According to this arrangement, the United Kingdom had 2 members, Germany 2, France and Luxemburg together 1, Italy 1, Spain, Portugal and South America together 1, Austria, Hungary and Switzerland together 1, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Greece and Poland together 1, Belgium and Holland together 1. (*Adopted*)

Continuation of the Report of the Transport Workers' Conference.

Bevin (British Transport Workers) reported that the commission appointed by the Conference had drafted a resolution, reading as follows :—

In order to secure a better Standard of Life for the Dock and Transport Workers, and to avoid a further worsening of their conditions, this Congress of the I. T. F. demands :

(1) That the General Council shall take the first possible opportunity to promote a movement with the object of securing an advance of wages and the bringing of the standards of the lower paid ports up to the standards of the highest.

(2) Efforts to be made in order to promote movements with the object of obtaining the fullest possible measure of control and management by the workers.

(3) And also to secure for the unions the control of the supply of Labour.

(4) That in view of the casual nature of Dock Employment all countries shall promote schemes to obtain such maintenance allowances as will give an adequate standard of life.

(5) Also adequate payment of unemployment benefits to all workers.

(6) To secure full wages in case of accidents.

(7) Prevention of Accidents :

(a) to secure regulations to prevent accidents ;

(b) prohibition of night work in the case of dangerous cargo ;

(c) prohibition of employment of women, children. All cargo (including driving the winches) to be worked by Dock Labor ;

(d) to secure the limitation of weights to be carried to 75 Kilos ;

(e) to secure the appointment of practical workmen as inspectors to enforce all regulations for the protection of the workpeople.

This Congress charges the General Council and the affiliated organisations to employ every means at their disposal in order to carry through these demands.

The resolution was adopted unanimously.

Election of Secretaries.

Robert Williams (President) asked for written nominations for the General Council. He pointed out that the Executive Committee could not be appointed until the General Council had been nominated, and he also asked the Congress to proceed to elect the International Secretary. He thought that there would be no difference of opinion as to the election of *Fimmen*. He asked that the proposal be agreed to.
(Adopted.)

The Congress having resolved to appoint an assistant secretary, *Nathans* was elected to the post.

Designation of Country in which the next Congress is to be held.

Williams stated that the German delegates had at the General Council meeting expressed the wish that the next Congress, which was to take place in 1924, should be held in *Germany*. The General Council had endorsed the suggestion. The town would be designated later.

The proposal was adopted.

Fimmen's Report on the International Situation.

Edo Fimmen (Rapporteur): Permit me to commence my address by reading a portion of a document which only a few years ago made much impression on the whole world:

"Whereas the League of Nations has for its object the establishment of universal peace, and such a peace can be established only if it based upon social justice;

And whereas conditions of labour exist involving such injustice, hardship and privation to large numbers of people as to produce unrest so great that the peace and harmony of the world are imperilled; and an improvement of those conditions is urgently required: as, for example, by the regulation of the hours of work, including the establishment of a maximum working day and week, the regulation of the labour supply, the prevention of unemployment, the provision of an adequate living wage, the protection of the worker against sickness, disease and injury arising out of his employment, the protection of children, young persons and women, provision for old age and injury, protection of the interests of workers when employed in countries other than their own, recognition of the principle of freedom of association, the organisation of vocational and technical education and other measures;

Whereas also the failure of any nation to adopt human conditions of labour is an obstacle in the way of other nations which desire to improve the conditions in their own countries;

The High Contracting Parties, moved by sentiments of justice and humanity as well as by the desire to secure the permanent peace of the world, agree to the following:"

For the benefit of those of you who perhaps do not recognise the document I have read out, I may state that it is the beginning of Part 13 of the Treaty of Versailles, the famous Part 13 which deals with the subject of Labour and in which the governments of the countries that "won" the world war have sought to gladden the hearts of the workers of all countries by wholesale promises with regard to the coming era of happiness and peace. Following the clause which ends with the words "agree to the following", the joyous announcement is made of the foundation of the International Labour Office and all its appurtenances.

Though the preamble to this Part 13, dealing with Labour, is in itself a thing of conspicuous beauty, the close of the chapter wherein the "General Principles" are expounded is still more beautiful. Once more permit me to read you the extract in question word for word:

"Holding as they do, that labour should not be regarded merely as an article of commerce, they think that there are methods and principles for regulating labour conditions which all industrial communities should endeavour to apply, so far as their special circumstances will permit.

Among these methods and principles, the following seem to the High Contracting Parties to be of special and urgent importance :

(1) The guiding principle above enunciated that labour should not be regarded merely as a commodity or article of commerce.

(2) The right of association for all lawful purposes by the employed as well as by the employers.

(3) The payment to the employed of a wage adequate to maintain a reasonable standard of life as this is understood in their time and country.

(4) The adoption of an eight hours day or a forty-eight hours week as the standard to be aimed at where it has not already been attained.

(5) The adoption of a weekly rest of at least twenty-four hours, which should include Sunday wherever practicable.

(6) The abolition of child labour and the imposition of such limitations on the labour of young persons as shall permit the continuation of their education and assure their proper physical development.

(7) The principle that men and women should receive equal remuneration for work of equal value.

(8) The standard set by law in each country with respect to the conditions of labour should have due regard to the equitable economic treatment of all workers lawfully resident therein.

(9) Each State should make provision for a system of inspection in which women should take part, in order to ensure the enforcement of the laws and regulations for the protection of the employed.

Without claiming that these methods and principles are either complete or final, the High Contracting Parties are of opinion that they are well fitted to guide the policy of the League of Nations ; and that, if adopted by the industrial communities who are members of the League, and safeguarded in practice by an adequate system of such inspection, they will confer lasting benefits upon the wage-earners of the world."

It is scarcely three years ago that all these wonderful things were announced to the world and that — be it said with regret — various sections of the Labour Movement, and certainly not the most unimportant, were of opinion that the working class would in the future not be so badly treated as they had been in the past. The time was just dawning when the promises made during the war were to have been redeemed. Not only England, but all countries were to be made "fit for heroes to live in". After the horrors of the war with all its suffering and pain, with all its tremendous sacrifices of millions of slain and disabled, the millennium of peace, happiness and prosperity was to have been ushered in. At Versailles those who govern the world by the grace of the capitalists, gave this solemn pledge, solemnly formulated, and even more solemnly signed and sealed.

Three years have passed away and the doubts and misgivings expressed at the time by many a labour leader have now been brought home to

practically the whole of the working class. All the promises have proved to be nothing but deception and treachery — the greatest piece of humbug ever perpetrated on the working man and woman. Instead of peace, there is still a state of incessant warfare in various parts of the world: and when the "High Contracting Powers" are not pulling each other by the ears themselves, then they are fighting each other through the medium of their vassal states.

At the very moment this congress assembles a new world war is impending as a result of the rivalry in the Near East between two capitalist and imperialist countries, Great Britain and France, and every nerve must be strained by an alert proletariat to avert fresh butchery.

Instead of the promised prosperity and welfare, the workers are afflicted almost everywhere with unemployment the like of which the world has not witnessed for many decades. Millions and millions of workers, who want work, cannot find it, and they and their wives and children are suffering in bitter want. Those who are fortunate enough to find work are forced to accept reduced wages.

The promised eight hour working day has been sabotaged wherever possible, and the promised social legislation either has not been introduced, or, where introduced, has been evaded and diluted.

Scarcely had capitalist fear of a violent revolution begun to subside; scarcely had they seen that the workers, instead of proceeding to attack the capitalist system on a joint programme inspired by national and international solidarity, were divided amongst themselves, and were persecuting and fighting each other; when the promises made were withdrawn one by one, at first reluctantly and with expressions of feigned regret, but soon after quite openly and even impudently.

It is not necessary to expound in detail to this Congress how, day after day, hour after hour, our organisations are compelled to take up the fight, not to try and raise the workers' standard of living but only for the sake of preventing this standard from being forced down to the level of pauperism.

In all countries and in all trades the attack on wages is in full swing. Reductions of 10, 15, 20, 25 %, and even more, are the order of the day in all branches of industry, and not least in those represented at this congress.

So far the resistance offered by the workers has not been able to prevent these wage reductions from being enforced. Widespread unemployment in every country with a so-called "good" rate of exchange, and a miserably low standard of living in countries with "bad" rates of exchange, are crippling the power of the working class, and the utmost that has resulted from all the fighting conducted up to the present is that the

reductions which have had to be eventually accepted are some per cent lower than those originally proposed by the employers.

Whether better resistance could have been offered to the attacks of the employers if other tactics and methods had been employed is a question to which I shall return presently.

Besides the attack on wages, and consequently on the standard of living of the workers and their families, we are now witnessing a general attack on working hours.

One of the most important gains of the working class after the war—in my opinion the *only* important gain—was the introduction of the eight-hour working day in most industries throughout the length and breadth of Europe. The Washington Labour Conference decided upon its international introduction and passed a pious Draft Convention. This Convention has been ratified by a very small number of governments only, and mainly in countries where it is very difficult to ascertain whether ratification means anything more than a mere declaration on paper. Not one single country of any importance has ratified this Convention. This is a good illustration of the value that can be placed on the solemn declarations of the capitalist class and their governments.

The eight-hour day, however, became a reality in most countries, even in those countries where it is not specified by law; and not merely the rigid eight-hour working day, but in many countries a working week of 45, 43 and 42 hours, or even less for a great many branches of industry, was obtained by using the strength of the working class movement itself.

This extremely important gain for the physical, intellectual and moral development of the working class, is now the object of stubborn attacks by the propertied classes. Up to the present the results of these attacks bear no comparison with the results of the attacks on wages. I mean to say that the employers and governments have so far not succeeded in depriving the workers of the great prize that was won after so much effort and exertion. But it should not be forgotten that the attack on the eight-hour working day is only in its early stage. Carefully thought out and well organised propaganda movements are being conducted by the employers in all countries, with the assistance of their respective governments, in order to incite public opinion against the eight-hour day.

The frontal attack is still to come—a frontal attack which will completely defeat the workers unless better tactics and fighting methods are introduced, for although the attack of the employers on the eight-hour working day in various industries is merely to be regarded as outpost fighting, the workers in some instances are already giving way to the pressure. If the workers recede, the employers will be victorious again, and this applies equally to those sections represented at this Congress.

In this connexion the fight now being waged by the French Seamen's organisations for the maintenance of the eight-hour working day is of particular interest. The French Seamen's Federation, affiliated hitherto, unfortunately, with the so-called International Seafarers' Federation, have enjoyed the benefits of an eight-hour working day for years. They were the happy exception among the seafarers of all nations. The French Government have now issued a decree abolishing the eight-hour working day afloat. The French seamen are not prepared to surrender willingly their proudest achievement, and so have decided to fight for its maintenance.

At an executive meeting, as well as at a subsequent congress of the I. S. F. held in Paris at the beginning of August, our French comrades sought to obtain the moral support of the I. S. F. They were sent away empty handed! Unaided and forsaken by the Wilsonian seamen's organisations, with which they had collaborated internationally for years, our French friends were left to fight their way through alone.

In the principal ports of France the strike has been proclaimed, shipping has come to a standstill and we are justified in hoping that the French seamen will be able to retain their eight-hour day. In extending to our French comrades not only our best wishes for their success, but also by pledging that the I. T. F., when and where possible, will stand by them and render them assistance, we are doing the least that is in the power of this Congress.

Side by side with the reaction in economic life, political reaction is making headway. Just as capitalism, firm in its newly recovered strength, is endeavouring, nationally and internationally, to force down the standard of living and working conditions of the proletariat to below the pre-war level, so the governments, the obedient menials of this very same capitalism, are endeavouring to suppress the workers politically and to reduce them to submission. In some countries openly, in others behind the scenes, the White Guards are pulling the wires of the Governmental apparatus.

In the border states of Russia, Finland, Esthonia, Lithuania and Latvia, the Labour Movement is being persecuted; in one country with powder and shot, and in others with all the rigour of the law. In the Balkan States, in Yugoslavia, in Greece, and in Rumania, the position of the working class is no better or is even rather worse. To the slogan "Down with Bolshevism" every bonafide Labour movement is being hounded down, and, whenever possible, suppressed.

Although the prisons and torture chambers for socialists and trade unionists in Rumania have not yet gained the same evil repute as the concentration camps and "black holes" of Hungary, this is not due to more humane treatment of the Rumanian workers than in the case of our comrades in Hungary during the worst periods of the Horthy regime, but because the martyrdom to which Rumanian workers are being subjected is not so generally known beyond the frontiers of that country.

Although in Hungary the position may be somewhat better than before the boycott was proclaimed and carried into effect by the I. F. T. U. and the I. T. F., the workers are still being smitten with the mailed fist and are still persecuted. The officers' camarilla still dominates the government and parliament of that country and is still a standing menace of murder and martyrdom to all and sundry in the ranks of the workers.

In Spain the political situation may be regarded as better than a year ago—but there also reaction is rampant.

Italy—the country which, so it was said a year or two ago, was on the brink of revolution—is now helpless in the grip of Fascism. In the name of the "sacred interests of the nation"—that is, of the unchangeable sole supremacy of the propertied classes in the State and in the whole economic life of the country—the Fascisti are waging war on the working-classes and on every attempt to extend the right of the workers to take their share in controlling production and in determining home and foreign policy. They are striving to rob the organised workers of their elementary rights, their right to combine and to strike, the unrestricted use of which is for the workers a question of life or death. The Fascisti have put an end to every possibility of free action on the part of most of the trade union organisations of Italy. They have in many towns destroyed and set on fire the Trade Union buildings, which were the centres of trade union life. During the first half of 1921, 120 Chambers of Labour fell victim to them, besides 243 People's Halls, Trade Union Halls and sundry Town Halls belonging to municipalities in which the Socialists held a majority.

The same fate has overtaken the offices and shops of a large number of co-operative societies. The newspapers "L'Avanti", "La Giustizia", and "Il Lavoro", have been compelled to suspend publication on account of the devastation wrought in the offices, and the destruction of machinery by the assaults of bands of Fascisti.

Ten weekly papers of the Socialist Party and of Labour organisations have been suppressed. The reactionary ferocity of the Fascisti has not even spared private houses. The list of those leaders whose houses have been destroyed or set on fire is a very long one. Certain of the local administrations have, in default of the slightest aid from the law, been compelled by Fascisti violence to resign. The best leaders, those especially well qualified both for administration and organisation work, have been banished from their native districts, and forced to live at a distance from their relations.

Still more serious are the threats launched by the Fascisti against the trade union organisations, which they seek to destroy or raze to the ground.

The Fascisti cyclone has destroyed a large part of what the trade union movement has built up during 20 years of strenuous labour. Trade unionism in Italy will have to begin all over again and it will take a long time to recover the lost ground.

Not only in Italy, however, is Fascism making headway, connived at by the governments and propertied classes, in the assault on the Socialist and Labour Movement. From Italy a Fascist crusade is being organised throughout Europe.

Fascist agents and propagandists are being sent to other European countries, and are assisting reaction to entrench itself as the Fascists themselves have done in Italy.

In Hungary, France and Germany conferences have been held between Fascist leaders from Italy and prominent reactionaries in these countries, with the object of organising a frontal attack on the Labour Movement.

In Germany, despite all possible legislative measures in defence of the Republican constitution, the monarchists and reactionaries of every shade are becoming more arrogant than ever. Attacks on the Republic and its representatives, which are suffered to go unpunished, are being committed daily.

The state of mind of the statesmen of France is best illustrated by the fact that the French Confederation of Labour has—at least officially—been dissolved as a consequence of judicial proceedings instituted by the Government, whereas the fact that French trade union leaders are repeatedly refused a passport, so as to prevent them from attending International Congresses, further demonstrates to what petty contrivances the French Government resorts in its attempts to hinder the development of the Labour movement in that country.

In England a Bill has been drafted which aims at preventing trade unions from taking part in political activities unless such activities are approved by a referendum in which 50 % of the members must take part.

In Holland, Switzerland and other small countries the governments are attempting to break down and curtail the liberties of the working people by legal restrictions.

In Russia, the country where the proletariat exercise a so-called dictatorship, but where in reality—as cannot be too often repeated—there is a dictatorship *over* the proletariat, political freedom only exists for those who fully subscribe to the views of the coterie holding the reins of government. The position of socialists and independent trade unionists is not any safer nowadays under the Bolshevik regime than it used to be when Czarism held sway.

Thus we see that, nationally and internationally, an attack of the employers is being launched against the wages and working conditions of the wage-earning class, and that, side by side with these attacks, there is a steadily growing political reaction in all countries. Not only are the workers to be meek and docile beasts of burden and objects of industrial exploitation but they are also to be reduced to a state of servitude in a political sense.

Every one of the promises, both political and economic, in the so-called Peace Treaties of Versailles, St. Germain, or whatever other name they have, have turned out to be idle words. Even the peace which followed the war which was to end all wars is a hollow farce.

As I said before, even after the signing of the Peace Treaties, belligerent operations remained the order of the day in various parts of the world. The Russo-Polish War, the war of the Border States against Russia and of Russia against the Border States, the over-running of Georgia by Russia, the wars against the counter-revolutionaries in Russia herself, the Turko-Greek War—all these are ample proofs for the assertion that, in spite of all the Peace Treaties, there is absolutely no sign of real peace. Armaments, manufacture of munitions, warships, aircraft, poison-gas, are all helping to keep the cauldron of death seething. Despite all the peace treaties and all talk of disarmament on the part of the governments and the bourgeoisie of various countries, the question of a new world-war following the clash of arms between Turkey and Greece —at the instigation of French Imperialists on the one hand and British Imperialists on the other — is as acute as never before. There is no denying the fact that the world situation in general and the position of the workers in particular is more dangerous, more miserable and more precarious than it has been for a long time.

Face to face with this situation, which threatens the very existence of the socialist and labour movement, we find a working class which is not so solidly united as it should be.

The workers of America, which country is now the strongest capitalist power in the world, and which by the policy it pursues is largely responsible for the economic misery now prevailing throughout Europe, are holding aloof from the Labour organisations of other countries. On the other hand, the Labour movement of that other great country, Russia, which holds a place of supreme importance, in a socialist sense, for the future development of the world, is just as hostile to those organisations which the workers of the rest of Europe have formed nationally and internationally.

Every honest attempt to induce the American and the Russian labour movements to join in the fight with the Labour organisations of other countries, on a well considered programme, has so far proved abortive. No useful purpose will be served in voicing our reproaches to the workers, or their leaders, of either of these countries. It should only be mentioned that the position of the working class, nationally and internationally, would be different and better—so much so that reaction would certainly behave with less arrogance and with less success against the socialist and labour movement—if the united front of Labour throughout the world could have been established on real socialist and trade union principles.

But we have to accept the facts as they are. It is left to workers belonging to the Amsterdam International to carry on the fight against

political and economic reaction, against reductions of wages and worsening of working conditions, for the maintenance of the eight-hour working day, and to combat war and militarism with all those forces which they have been successful in mobilising, nationally and internationally, up to the present time.

This also applies to our International Transport Workers' Federation. Neither the Russians, nor the Americans, nor the transport workers, seamen and railwaymen of Australia, have responded to our call. The attempt to induce our fellow workers in these countries to affiliate with the I. T. F. and to establish a world front of all transport workers will have to be continued, but in the meantime the fight against reaction and militarism, with all its consequences, will have to be continued by the I. T. F. and by its affiliated organisations, organised on their present basis and with the resources now available.

That the I. T. F. and its constituent organisations are prepared to fight is a fact which has been repeatedly emphasized by the resolutions adopted by the International Conferences held at Amsterdam, Christiania, and Geneva during the post-war period. That they are both willing and ready to translate these resolutions into deeds is a fact proven by the boycott of Hungary and the stoppage of the transport of arms to Poland during its war against Russia.

The I. T. F., with its affiliated organisations, is the only international force among the transport workers, seamen, and railwaymen, the world over, able and prepared to carry on a real revolutionary movement.

If the International Labour Movement in general, the I. T. F. included, has not yet succeeded in organising the power necessary to achieve lasting and durable results, this is to be ascribed to the tactics hitherto pursued by the workers in their actions—tactics which are the outcome of inadequate international unity. In this connection I want to refer to what I said nearly two years ago, at the Special International Trade Union Congress held in London, on the necessity of a change of tactics and fighting methods for the working class.

"It is the task of the International Trade Union Movement to bring home to the working people of all nations that the Trade Union Movement at this juncture has to follow internationally the same tactics as were employed nationally 20 and 25 years ago.

It was then ascertained that sectional movements for improvement of working conditions were not only of small significance, but were often disadvantageous in the national fight waged by the workers of various trades.

The workers have learnt to subdue sectional interests in the common interest of their fellow workers, and when necessary, in the interest of the whole national Labour movement.

Trade Union tactics as now conceived proceed on the assumption that where necessary the workers of a country must place their sectional, or even national interests in the background in favour of the working class interest in a given industry, or taken as a whole.

The fact that the transport workers, miners, and seamen of certain countries often enter into struggles for wage increases, or for reduction of working hours, independently and without even consulting one another, is deplorable, and is a blunder.

It is absolutely a crime for large masses of men to come out on strike for comparatively small wage advances without previous consultation with comrades at home and abroad; particularly at a time when the national and international working classes must use all their power and endurance to ward off the peril which threatens the very existence of the working-class movement, and the realisation of those lofty ideals for which the working class is struggling.

If the Trade Union movement wants to accomplish faithfully its vast mission; if it wants to take arms to defend the workers against all attacks of capitalistic society, of it wants to conduct in all countries a successful fight against militarism in all its forms; if it wants to prevent fresh wars, and establish the foundations for a new society, the greatest possible unity and co-operation will be necessary."

I have nothing to add to these words, I believe they are plain enough. The dockers, the seamen, and to a less extent also the railwaymen, in the various countries must not continue their policy of undertaking action on their own accord and formulating demands without consulting each other. It is essential, at least if they want to achieve anything durable for the maintenance or improvement of their own working conditions, if they want to undertake successfully their movements for the achievement of the greater and more distant aims of the working class movement, that they should act together and simultaneously in the various countries, agree to a common platform, and fight shoulder to shoulder.

I express the fervent hope that this Congress will not only share this opinion theoretically but that it will also put these views into practice in the future.

The promises and pledges of the governments and the propertied classes have again proved to be all humbug. The hope that the position of the workers can be permanently improved by co-operation with the representatives of the capitalist classes, with the aid of the Governments, have proved to be idle.

More than ever the workers have to rely upon their own strength, and only by means of the strongest possible organisation nationally and internationally, and the greatest unity and fighting power, can the standard of living of the workers of all countries be safeguarded, and the economic and political positions improved.

And again it is only the indomitable will and the readiness of the working classes to undertake vigorous action, and to make the greatest sacrifices, that can succeed in making all wars impossible.

In the struggle against war the I. T. F. and its affiliated organisations may claim to have done their duty. I express the hope that this Congress will be prepared again to demand from all organisations, or rather to impose the duty upon them, to utilise their economic power to an ever greater extent for combating reaction, militarism and war and furthering the emancipation of Labour and the cause of Socialism in all the countries of the world.

You have my report in writing. I hope that for future conflicts, and for the development of the organisation, you will unanimously adopt the policy, which I have endeavoured to outline. (*Applause*)

I still have three resolutions to propose. The first is directed against the White Terror in Italy. I have already referred to this in my report, and I think we should adopt the resolution, in order to show the Italian comrades that the I. T. F. is doing all in its power to furnish them with moral and financial support in this bitter conflict. The International Federation of Trade Unions has again presented to the Italian Government a protest against the Fascist Terror, but without success. If our protest is ineffectual, it will be necessary to support it by some definite action, and if the need arises even by extreme measures, such as a boycott against Italy similar to that which we launched against Hungary when the White Terror was rampant in that country..

The second resolution deals with the strike of the French Seamen, to which reference has already been made here on several occasions. The chief point at issue in this strike is the maintenance of the 8-hour day. The French Seamen, it is true, have not yet affiliated with the I. T. F. ; they have in fact, hitherto, worked in alliance with Wilson's reactionary organisation, nevertheless, we consider it necessary to give them our support in the bitter fight they are waging, for it is not the interests of French seamen alone which are at stake, but those of the international proletariat. We must therefore give them all the assistance we can, and see that all our members are instructed not to allow a single ship belonging to the French government to put to sea so long as the strike lasts, nor to aid or co-operate in the clearing of any such ship.

The third resolution is directed against Militarism and further Wars. Resolutions of this kind have hitherto been adopted at all Congresses of the I. T. F. and this one must be adopted now, in order to confirm the others, and also because it is impossible to be too emphatic in calling the attention of the proletariat to the dangers of militarism and imperialism, and the menace of war. This is of very special importance at this moment. If we seriously intend to call a general strike at the moment when there is danger of a fresh war, it is necessary day by day to point out the danger to the proletariat, and day by day to strengthen its hatred of war. The General Council therefore asks for your unanimous adoption of the resolution, in order that we may furnish a fresh proof of the temper which inspires the Congress and issue a fresh appeal to the workers of the world to unite their forces against a further war.

These three resolutions read as follows :

Resolution re Fascisti White Terror.

"The International Congress of organisations of transportworkers, railwaymen and seamen affiliated with the I. T. F., consisting of 118 delegates, representing 2½ millions of transportworkers, railwaymen and seamen, organised in 40 trade unions of 19 countries, held at Vienna on October 2nd 1922 and following days,

notes with indignation the campaign of the Fascisti in Italy to destroy completely the socialist and trade union movement of that country.

The Congress emphatically protests against the hesitating attitude of the official Italian Government towards this form of White Terror.

The Congress expresses the greatest sympathy with the persecuted Italian comrades and pledges itself to support with all efficient means at their disposal the attempts made by the I. F. T. U. to counteract the Fascist terror in Italy and if necessary to resort to the weapon of the Boycott.

Resolution re Militarism and War.

"The International Congress of organisations of transport workers, railwaymen and seamen affiliated with the I. T. F., consisting of 118 delegates, representing 2½ millions of transport workers, railwaymen and seamen, organised in 40 trade unions of 19 countries, held at Vienna on October 2nd, 1922, and following days,

notes that the promises and pledges given at the time the Peace Treaties were concluded have not been fulfilled.

The Congress realises that the assertions that the world war has only been waged for the sake of ending all wars and to secure the peace of the world, have been nothing else but humbug and make-believe.

The Congress, recognising that a new war with all its horrors is being prepared by the present rulers of the world,

reaffirms emphatically the resolutions passed by the International Transportworkers' Congresses of Christiania (1920) and Geneva (1921) which declared that the organisations affiliated to the I. T. F. would oppose militarism and new wars with all the means at their disposal.

This Congress hails with acclamation the powerful action now conducted by the British Labour Movement against the attempts of the imperialists and militarists of Great Britain, and congratulates it upon its attitude.

This Congress approves the measures taken by the General Council on the invitation of and in collaboration with the I. F. T. U. in combating militarism and war and pledges itself again to use the whole industrial power of the transportworkers, railwaymen and seamen to prevent a fresh war.

Resolution re French Seamen's Strike.

The International Congress of organisations of transport workers, railwaymen and seamen affiliated with the I. T. F., consisting of 118 delegates, representing 2½ millions of transportworkers, railwaymen and seamen, organised in 40 trade unions of 19 countries, held at Vienna on October 2nd, 1922, and following days,

expresses its greatest sympathy with the French seamen in their energetically conducted struggle for the maintenance of the 8 hours day, and

pledges itself to give them all possible aid and support, and urgently calls upon the transportworkers of all countries not to load, discharge or bunker any blackleg French ships so long as the struggle is in progress.

Jarrigion (French Railwaymen): With regard to the resolution concerning French Seamen I have merely to state that we should like an addendum carried in which the I. T. F. calls upon all the seamen's organisations of various countries to use efforts in order to obtain the eight-hour day for seamen, which is already in operation in the French Mercantile Marine. I am of opinion that if the organisations accomplish this they will render the French Seamen the most effective assistance.

Cotter (British Seamen): Was of opinion that it was very easy to adopt resolutions in which big demands were formulated, as for example, the attainment of the eight-hour day for seamen, or even a boycott of those ships which had left harbour under the protection of the French Government. It is very easy to decide these matters here, but there is no possible hope of inducing the organisations to carry out our decisions. He emphasized the great volume of unemployment in the various ports, and thought it impossible to expect that dock workers would refuse to unload ships coming from France and increase the volume of unemployment in this manner. The French Seamen have not thought it necessary to affiliate with the I. T. F. but had preferred to work with Wilson. Now they were beginning to realise the results of their tactics.

Fimmen (International Secretary): We are prepared to accept the addendum proposed by Jarrigion, provided it is moved as a separate resolution. (*Hear, Hear*)

Fimmen's report was then adopted, together with the three resolutions moved by him and the suggestion put forward by Jarrigion.

Election of General Council.

Fimmen: The following have been nominated for membership of the General Council:

Great Britain and Ireland:	<i>Robert Williams</i> (Transport Workers); <i>J. H. Thomas</i> (Railwaymen).
Germany:	<i>J. Döring</i> (Transport Workers); <i>H. Jochade</i> (Railwaymen).
France and Luxemburg:	<i>M. Bidegaray</i> .
Italy:	<i>G. Sardelli</i> .
Spain, Portugal and South America:	<i>T. Gómez</i> .
Scandinavian Countries:	<i>Ch. Lindley</i> .
Czechoslovakia and Poland:	<i>W. Brodečky</i> .

Nominations are not yet forthcoming for the group: Austria, Hungary and Switzerland; and for the group: Belgium and Holland.

So long as these are outstanding it will be impossible for us to elect the Executive Committee. (*After an interval.*) The nomination for Belgium and Holland has just been submitted. It is our Comrade C. Mahlman.

(Subsequently J. Tomschik was nominated to represent Austria, Hungary and Switzerland.)

Moltmaker (Dutch Railwaymen): We should like to inform the Congress that certain difficulties were encountered in nominating our group representative. The Belgian Railwaymen claimed as the largest organisation in our group, the right to a seat on the General Council. We drew their attention to the fact that Mahlman was elected at the last Congress, and finally they gave way.

Fimmen (International Secretary) was of opinion that this was an internal question of the Belgian-Dutch Group, which has to determine autonomously whom it shall appoint as representative. If the Belgian Railwaymen believe that they are entitled to a seat in the General Council it is open to them to secure the desired representation through the medium of their group. At all events it is not a question for the Congress to decide.

Malien (Belgium) thought that the relationship between the Belgian Railwaymen's organisation and the I. T. F. was too loose. The Belgian organisation was one of the largest organisations of its kind. In addition to railwaymen, the Belgian union organises Dock officials and State mercantile marine ratings. It is the most powerful organisation in Belgium and it is very necessary that it should entertain close relations with the I. T. F. Mahlman has again been elected to the General Council because the Belgian Seamen have played a very active part inside the I. T. F. It is, however, of great importance that the railwaymen should be represented, and this Congress should give such representation to Belgium and Holland that the Belgian railwaymen may be enabled to maintain closer relations with the I. T. F.

Robert Williams (President) was of opinion that if the Belgian group submitted two nominations the Congress could choose who should represent the Belgian group on the General Council.

In any case it was impossible to increase the number of representatives of this group.

Election of Executive Committee.

Fimmen: The Congress must now elect the five members of the Executive Committee.

Riedel (Germany) moved that the present Executive Committee be re-elected.

Fimmen: That would have been easy if all the members of the General Council had been re-elected. Of the five former members of the E. C.

the following have been re-elected to the Council: Messrs. Williams, Döring, Bidegaray and Lindley. Forstner, however, has not been nominated. The Congress can elect these four, but another nomination will have to be made to fill the place hitherto occupied by Forstner.

Marchbanks (British Railwaymen) moved that the four nominees be re-elected. (Adopted).

Robert Williams (President): I am now open to receive nominations for the fifth seat on the E. C. Thomas asks if Forstner can be re-elected. This is impossible as he is not a member of the General Council.

Fimmen (International Secretary): Our Swiss comrades move that Tomschik be elected as the fifth member of the Executive Committee.

Tomschik was declared elected.

Closure of the Congress.

Nathans (the newly elected assistant secretary): Comrades, I should like to thank you for the mark of confidence which you have shown by electing me as Assistant Secretary of the I. T. F. Although it is with regret that I leave the organisation in which I have had the honour to act as secretary, and which I have helped to build up, I am of opinion that as a member of the Labour Movement I am not at liberty to refuse the work which you have entrusted to me. I will do all that lies in any power to further our mutual work. I hope you will give me your support as a fellow trade unionist, and as a comrade in the fight for the emancipation of the workers, in the furtherance of the general interests of the proletariat and of our organisation. (*Loud Applause*)

Robert Williams (President): We have now come to the conclusion of our Agenda and I may confidently affirm that we have performed good and useful work at this Congress on behalf of those we represent. At this juncture I should like to repeat the statement made by me to our Austrian comrades yesterday, namely, that we are very grateful to them for the hospitality which they have extended to the delegates to this Congress. Our Austrian comrades have put themselves to considerable trouble on our behalf. Before the opening of the Congress they waited far into the night in order to receive the arriving delegates, and on other days they have spared themselves no pains to make our stay a pleasant one. It is scarcely possible to expect so much hospitality in any other country, and it is incumbent upon me once more to express our very sincere thanks. Although it is not my province to discuss the election of the General Council I cannot omit to mention my great regret that Comrade Forstner will not be one of our members during the new period of office of the E. C. Comrade Forstner is known to us as a very energetic member of the General Council and Executive Committee, and if the I. T. F. in recent years has met with great success, this must be attributed in no small degree to him. (*Prolonged Applause*)

Thomas (British Railwaymen) : Before we conclude it is our special duty to convey our thanks to Comrade Fimmen for the work which he has performed in connection with this Congress. I am convinced that everyone present feels that the international movement, and particularly the I. T. F., can be proud of having the services of a man like Fimmen as secretary. We all realise that Fimmen is devoted heart and soul to this work and we know what a valuable personality we possess in him. He it is who can accomplish the most difficult of tasks by means of his wonderful energy and resource. Where others are alarmed when confronted with certain situations, Fimmen plunges in and carries all before him. It is owing to his great capacities that he is able to do what he likes with us. It is also for this reason that Fimmen's staff are so loyal to him. Therefore I shall take the opportunity of thanking not only Fimmen, but also his staff. I should like to thank the translators, because I know how much intelligence and ability this work requires. We should like it placed on record that we have been greatly struck not only by the capability of the men translators but also that of the women, who so often filled us with admiration. (*Prolonged Applause*)

Fimmen : I had hoped that it would not be necessary for me to speak again, but since Thomas has expressed to me his thanks, and the other delegates have so kindly supported his remarks, it is incumbent on me to thank you cordially for the confidence you have shown me.

It afforded me very great pleasure when Comrade Thomas drew attention to the work performed by the comrades who assist me, namely the staff of our office. If our work should be considered productive—and I must say that we do a great deal of work in the International—such work is only possible because we have the services of a large number of young men and women, whose entire faculties and resources are devoted to the work and to whom nothing is too much when the International calls. I express to you my cordial thanks for your words of appreciation and assure you that we shall do our best to further the interests of the workers. (*Applause*)

Nordmann (Germany) : I also feel it a duty to express a few words of thanks to those who have conducted this Congress, and particularly to the President, Robert Williams. I believe that we all thoroughly appreciate that the presiding officers have more than fulfilled their obligations towards us in the last few days. Not only here at the sittings of this Congress but also on other occasions the presiding officers have been put to considerable pains. Comrade Williams has shown himself conspicuously able in smoothing away difficulties and in managing the business of this Congress. Before we conclude these proceedings, we should like to thank him once more! (*Prolonged Applause*)

The President : I declare the Congress closed.

Proceedings terminated with the singing of the International.

REPORTS OF
SPECIAL CONFERENCES

Report of the Special Railwaymen's Conference at Vienna on Wednesday October 4th, 1922

The following countries were represented :—

Austria, Great Britain, Germany, France (The Federation of Railwaymen and the Federation of Transportworkers for the tramwaymen-members), Belgium, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia (both Czech and German organisations) Denmark, Holland, Hungary, Luxemburg, Poland, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland.

Jochade (Germany) who had been appointed chairman of this Conference by the plenary Congress, took the chair.

He proposed that *Nathans* (Holland) should act as Secretary to the Conference. This was agreed to.

Thomas (Great Britain), who was the first to speak, drew attention to the fact that for the item on the Agenda referring to "Standardisation of Working Conditions" the Conference had before it no data from the various countries which could form a basis for the discussions. This, he said, is a difficulty. In England they had succeeded in bringing about standardisation of working conditions on the largest possible scale. This is not the case in other countries, where again the situation varies from country to country.

In this connection, therefore, and in order that the discussions might lead to some positive results, he proposed that somebody, *Jochade* for instance, should be entrusted with the task of obtaining data on this point from the various affiliated organisations and of drawing up a report based on these data. We could then see how we stand, what progress we have made, and which are the countries which are still somewhat backward in regard to this question. The results of such an enquiry could then be submitted for discussion at a subsequent conference.

Brodecky (Czechoslovakia) : This work must be properly organised. Until such time as the new secretariat for the international railwaymen's group begins to function, it would be advisable, by way of a beginning, to appoint a special person for this work who should then collect replies to questionnaires on hours of duty, wages, pensions, the question of legal status, other working conditions ; all of these points be dealt with as fully

as possible. Brodecky is of the opinion that, both with his experience as former Secretary of the I. T. F. and with the data which the German Railwaymen's Union can place at his disposal, Jochade would be the most suitable person to carry out the proposed work.

Jochade : However well intentioned this proposal may be, it is nevertheless impracticable to appoint a special person for this work, which should, rather, be carried out by the International Secretariat. Data on this subject have already been collected in the I. T. F. documents. He himself, however, would be willing to assist the International Secretariat in connection with this matter. His organisation is fortunately in a position to entrust a person specially with the work of an international character. His own experience as well as his contact with various persons and problems during the time he was Secretary of the I. T. F. could be utilised in connection with the aim they had in view. Now that the Congress had already decided to appoint a special Secretary for the Railwaymen's group, this Secretary will be the most suitable person to carry out this special task, with the help, of course, of the affiliated organisations.

Thomas : What I meant to suggest was merely that somebody should be appointed to assist the International Secretariat by supplying it with data etc.

Bidegaray (France) ; It has been decided that a Secretary be appointed for the Railwaymen's group ; this Conference has therefore to instruct the Secretariat to have this special work carried out. The various wage regulations in the different countries should then be gone into with a view to collecting the necessary data, while a number of other questions must also be examined such as for instance the question of hours of duty in the various categories.

He considered it desirable to go into the matter in greater detail in view of the extensive character of the question.

Thomas : Nathans is to be appointed Secretary for the Railwaymen's group ; he is present at this meeting and will therefore know what is to be done.

Brodecky : Very much experience is necessary for carrying out this work. We must do our utmost to make this undertaking a real success. Even though it be decided to entrust the Secretariat with the work, it will not yet be possible to call in the aid of the affiliated organisations because we do not know precisely where to begin with our investigations.

The Secretariat has not yet had enough experience to enable it to do this work, which must be organised on a very big scale ; the drawing up of questionnaires for this purpose is no easy task while the work of compiling a report based thereon will be still more difficult. Extensive statistics must be drawn up, while there must also be a card system for the answering

of each question and sub-question for each country and for the various categories in each country.

The task before us is a gigantic one and it is for that reason that it has so far been impossible to tackle it. The Secretariat is not to blame for that. Taking all things into consideration he is still of the opinion that Jochade, with the help of the German Railwaymen's Union and the data already in the possession of that organisation, should be entrusted with the task of drawing up the questionnaire. Jochade can then send his draft questionnaire to the Secretariate of the I. T. F. He must also receive the replies to the various questions, make a list of name and then send them on to the Secretariat where the statistical work will be carried out.

He fears that no positive results will be obtained if it be decided that the Secretariat shall undertake the work, with Jochade only giving a helping hand if and when necessary. His conclusion is, therefore, that Jochade should be entrusted with the chief part of this work.

Jochade asks Brodecky to withdraw his proposal; the adoption of that proposal by the Conference would mean that a sub-Secretariat of the I. T. F. would be established in Berlin, and that is, of course, out of the question.

We should not encroach upon the domain of the Secretariat of the I. T. F., which is the proper body for undertaking this task.

If Nathans or somebody else is charged with the task, there are still in the General Council several other railwaymen's representatives whose judgement and experience could be reckoned upon. After the questionnaire has been approved and sent out to the organisations, there would still be time enough to judge whether or not it will be necessary to call in the aid of others for the task of drawing up a report based on the replies to the questionnaire.

The present intelligence service is inadequate. This is not meant as a reproach to the Secretariat; for it is difficult to find men to do this work. At present the affiliated organisations have to depend for their information upon press reports. More information is necessary; the imparting of information is one of the chief advantages which the I. T. F. can offer the railwaymen, who are less dependent than the other groups of transport-workers upon any political or economic assistance the I. T. F. may be in a position to give.

The difficulties are indeed considerable; there are dozens of different categories, and it sometimes happens that these categories have different names in the various countries. Moreover, care must be taken to consider various factors when forming a judgement about different questions, such as the standard of living, and various subsidiary questions, such as pensions, sick funds etc. On the other hand it will be well not to go too deeply into minor points, but rather to give our chief attention to the main groups of railway workers.

Steinberg (Germany) is of the opinion that one person will not be in a position to draw up a questionnaire of this kind which relates to various countries and their peculiar conditions and circumstances.

He proposes, therefore, that each organisation in the various countries should inform either *Jochade* or the Secretariat what are the questions which they consider important enough to be included in the questionnaire.

It is of great importance to Germany to know, for instance, what is the situation in other countries in regard to the question of wages and hours of duty. It is desirable to be well up in all these points, because in negotiations with the Management we are constantly referred to what is alleged to be the position in the other countries.

Bidegaray : Ah, yes, that is just what happens in our country too ; these are the tactics of the capitalists.

Guinchard (France) : The Conference is evidently agreed that the assistant Secretary who is to be appointed should do this work. I would strongly urge that the enquiry to be made should also include tramwaymen, both on the tramways in the large towns and those connecting adjacent townships, also the railway employees connected with local services.

Cramp (Great Britain) : The Questionnaire should not only mention the names of the various categories ; it should also specify the work performed by the men belonging to these categories as otherwise the information given may be misleading.

Jochade : All the points put forward here by the various speakers will be mentioned in the report of this Conference. The subject has now been thoroughly threshed out. I may add that the enquiry will also include the tramway employees.

Thomas proposed that a telegram of sympathy be sent to the Swedish railwaymen who were then on strike, conveying them best wishes for the success of their action.

This was agreed to.

Jochade : Now let us see what we have still got to do in this Conference. According to the Agenda we have only to deal with the question of the standardisation of working conditions.

At the Congress itself we have had the report of *Döring* on this question, as well as that of *Bidegaray* on the question of Socialisation. Has anybody any further remarks to make concerning the latter subject ?

Perhaps it is better we do not go too deeply into that subject here. The question is really a very difficult one and it is practically impossible for the translators to give an accurate oral translation of a discussion on such a technical subject. He considers it necessary therefore that at the

next Congress Bidegaray or somebody else should submit a written memorandum which can then be supplemented by verbal commentaries.

The representatives of Poland and Hungary who wish to give an account of the situation in their respective countries have also intimated their desire to speak. These are new comers in our I. T. F. and they will doubtless have some interesting things to tell us. Moltmaker (Holland) has also something to say about the attacks upon the present working conditions in his country.

Jochade commented on the fact that this special Conference was given only half a day for its task, and that there was no detailed agenda and no preparation for the discussions. In future more attention must be paid to this sort of Conference, which has to deal with matters affecting both the general questions as well as the interests of special groups. Next time, therefore, there should be a regular agenda with certain specified items, for the discussion of which we should then have a period of say, two days.

Thomas: Let this Conference send in a report saying that it has discussed the questions of socialisation and standardisation of working conditions and that it expects that at the next Congress these questions will be dealt with more fully.

Toulouse (France) wanted to discuss again the question of the standardisation of working conditions, for which, he said, detailed information should be collected in the various countries.

In reply to Toulouse, however, *Bidegaray* pointed out that this question had already been discussed and dealt with in the absence of Comrade Toulouse.

Jochade declared that the Conference would not go into a further discussion of Bidegaray's report on Socialisation as they expected to have a written memorandum on this question submitted to the next Congress.

The person to draw up this memorandum will be appointed later on by the General Council.

Maximin (Poland) then gave an account of the situation in Poland. He pointed out that Poland consists of territories which formerly formed part of Germany, Austria and Russia each of which therefore have different working conditions for their railwaymen—in other words a chaotic state of affairs.

After the Revolution of 1918, in Germany and Austria, the railwaymen in Poland took over the control and administration of the railways. The difficulties were very great; there was no proper rolling stock, for it had been taken away to other countries. The permanent way, buildings, viaducts etc. had been to a great extent destroyed; this was especially the case with the bridges.

Moreover, the railways were inadequately staffed, because large numbers of the railway workers had been sent away to Russia and Siberia. In December 1919 when the first government of the new Polish State was in the hands of the Socialist Party the then Prime Minister strongly urged the workers to organise in view of the forthcoming difficulties. And in the same month there was held an All-Polish Congress at which the Railwaymen's organisation was then established.

This organisation now comprises 83,000 members of whom 77,000 are full financial members.

The employees on the railways in former Austrian territory have still an organisation of their own with about 15,000 to 20,000 members, while in addition there are also Nationalist organisations with a total membership of about 40,000.

The total number of railwayworkers in Poland is about 200,000. This means to say that there are still a large number who are not organised. The reason for this is that Poland is an agricultural country and that certain sections of the railwaymen are to be regarded as agricultural workers rather than railway workers. That is a serious drawback for the organisation and its work ; and it has therefore been decided to take steps to have all those men who own more than 3 acres (joch) of land removed from the railway service.

Formerly the railwaymen were divided into 3 categories viz. workers, clerical employees and supervisory staffs. Now they all go under the name "railway employees".

For the purpose of fixing wages all these railway employees are divided into 15 classes.

The Eight-Hour Day has been legally enacted, but the Government has not put it into force ; it is only in operation in the shops and depots.

Only the travelling grades are paid for overtime.

We cannot do much to remedy this state of affairs. Our organisation comprises only a part of the railway workers, and the standpoint the nationalist unions take up is :—Poland is poor, the State railways cannot afford to pay higher wages, therefore we must work harder !

There have been three strikes ; the one in February 1921 was the biggest ; the whole railway service was then stopped. The Minister of Railways placed the whole service under military control ; he had the leaders arrested and threatened to have them hanged. This was prevented by the action taken by the Polish Federation of Trade Unions who threatened to proclaim a general strike. The Miners and Metal Workers gave energetic and effective support to this action. After 3 days the arrested leaders were set free. Three hundred strikers were dismissed. Backed up by the Organisation, many of these succeeded in getting themselves reinstated ; that, however, took a long time. The strike had been

provoked by the Communists, but once it was in full swing the "Communists" were the first to volunteer for work.

Another fact is that not a single "Communist" was arrested; in this action too they worked hand in glove with the National Democratic Party.

In Posen there has been a strike to protest against the high prices; all the unions in the country, except our Union, took part in this strike. These other organisations had not had any trade union experience whatever and put forward the most foolish demands.

Another reason why we did not take part in this strike was that these other unions had left us in the lurch on a former occasion. Moreover it is our principle not to co-operate with Nationalist Unions.

The third strike was also engineered by the "Communists" at a time when we were negotiating for certain improvements and concessions, some of which in fact we succeeded in obtaining.

Wages now amount to 150,000 Polish marks a month. We consider this is not enough and have accordingly entered upon fresh negotiations. What happens in Poland is that as soon as a wage increase or special allowance is granted, the dealers and shopkeepers immediately raise their prices.

Our work on behalf of the members is seriously hampered by the "Communists".

Where formerly our Union had large and well organised branches, these have been torn asunder in all places in which the Communists have been able to make their influence felt. As a result of the antics of the Communists many members have gone over to the nationalist organisations.

We have done and are still doing our utmost to restore and improve international relations. We expect that with international aid we shall also be in position to put our own organisation on a firm footing.

We are aiming at forming one big general organisation for all railway workers within the boundaries of the present Polish State. We shall at the same time co-operate towards the development and extension of our International.

Report to the International Transportworkers' Congress on the right of combination in Hungary.

Comrades!

For three years the proletariat of Hungary has been literally murdered! Gallows have been set up; our brothers have to endure prisons, internment camps, the bludgeons of Horthy and the bayonets of the White Terrorists. Their souls, too, are being murdered by the censorship of the press and the prevention of organisation. The railwaymen and civil

servants, in particular, have been exposed to the most bloody persecution. There is not a single leader of the Hungarian railwayworkers' movement who has not had to suffer either imprisonment or death under the Horthy régime.

Nikolaus Czervenka was before the war the head of the Railwaymen's organisation at Budapest which adopted the Amsterdam platform. Later he became the secretary of the Hungarian Labour Party and was killed in the Maria-Theresia Barracks by gangs of White Terror Officers. His corpse has not yet been found.

Eugen Pész, who was the General Secretary of the National Railwaymen's Federation during the revolution, and to whose efforts it was due that the railways remained undamaged during the Revolution, was, together with Frau Hamburger, whose tragedy is probably well known to everyone, tortured almost to death in the Kelenföld barracks by the Hejjas gangs, and was even brought to the foot of the gallows, being only spared further torture through the intervention of the English mission. He too is now dead. Even the White Guards themselves cannot but admit that he was a wise and level-headed man, to whom it is due that the railways and all the stock belonging to them have not been reduced to the same state of dilapidation as in Russia. Nevertheless, this man was tortured to within an inch of his life, and when at last he was restored to his family, and lay on his deathbed with a temperature of 39—40 degrees, he was still daily subjected to ill-treatment in his own home by officers and detectives. He had, as it were, to draw his last breath in the presence of the police.

It was *Aladar Weisshaus* who, during the Bela Kun Dictatorship, when a counter-revolutionary railway strike broke out, prevented the leader of the Red Terror, the notorious Samuelly, from instituting a massacre of the railwaymen. To this man it was due that not a single counter-revolutionary was touched during the course of this counter-revolutionary railway strike. When the Dictatorship collapsed, however, this man was thrown into prison, suffered unspeakable tortures, and only by a mere fluke escaped the gallows; he was, however, obliged to a severe sentence of imprisonment.

Ignaz Vajda was the organising secretary of the railway workshops at Istvéntelek. He is at present an exile in Austria. Merely because he refused to become a member of a Christian Social organisation, he was thrown into the Maria Theresia barracks. When after 48 hours imprisonment, he complained of hunger, they brought him some food. Then when he had smelled it, a group of officers who were standing by decided that he had "eaten" enough. He was thereupon presented with a spittoon, and forced to drink the contents, in order "to quench his thirst after the banquet".

We could add a long list of such tortures.

Our comrades in the other countries, however, must not think that murders occurred only at the time of the first outbreaks of the White Terror! It is true that they are no longer committed in the same way.

To-day the Terror is organised; to-day, fearing public opinion in other countries, and the occasional protests of decent citizens, it seeks to hide its devil's face, but in reality there is no change.

During the first and most terrible days and weeks of the White Terror, the "Magyar Vasutas", the Journal of the railwaymen's organisation, still continued to appear. For a whole year the journal was issued from a secret hiding-place. Two years ago the Social Democratic party had already formulated its chief demand, that is to say, that the tram- and railwaymen's organisations might be recognised: Consent was brusquely refused, on the ground that for patriotic reasons the organisation of civil servants on trade union principles could not be permitted. The only concession made was that the railwaymen were permitted to issue their journal "Vasutas". The employees of the electric tramways were however promised by Bethlen, the Prime Minister, that they would be allowed to have their organisation. This was done, merely to induce the Social Democratic party to abandon its policy of inaction and take part in the parliamentary elections, so as to enhance the prestige of the present government. There are now 25 Social Democratic deputies in the so-called Hungarian "Parliament" and the Government has thereby established its constitutional character in the eyes of foreign countries. The railwaymen's organisation, however, was crushed, its newspaper prohibited, the editor, Karl Paszti, placed under police supervision, and this incredible state of things continues in spite of the many questions put by the parliamentary party group. Moreover, the promise to restore to the electric tram workers their organisation has not been kept.

At present, the railwaymen are trying to bring out a paper twice a month, under a different name each time; they are also issuing leaflets. The railwaymen subscribe to these. But if the comrades who collect the subscriptions to the paper are caught doing this work, they are interned, and every comrade in whose possession a copy of the paper has been found is dismissed. There is close supervision, and a great deal of spying, a characteristic fact being that the police often raid the workers' cupboards in the workshops, and even turn out their pockets.

Comrades! We beg of you who are able to live in civilised countries, who have already had opportunities to win your weapons of conflict, your right to organise, and your free press — we beg of you to remember your Hungarian brothers. Remember these proletarians in your press, in your meetings and, most of all, during this international congress, whose voice can make itself heard throughout the whole world. Make known in every civilised tongue the sufferings and persecutions of your Hungarian brothers, cry in a loud voice that in Eastern Europe there is a country whose rulers, officers and clergy steal and kill the most elementary human rights, suppress all freedom of organisation, and hold the railwayworkers in moral and material slavery. Make it clear to public opinion that all the representations daily made by the parliamentary majority of the so-called Hungarian National Assembly, (a majority based on terrorism and

corruption) are but methods of concealment practised by a ruthless reaction, which is lending its support to the prisons and internment camps which daily swallow up the Hungarian proletariat, and especially the Hungarian railwaymen.

Your voice will inspire the Hungarian comrades with new courage, it will lend them new strength, it will impart to them the sense of internationalism, and will at last mitigate even the Hungarian terror.

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* *

Thomas proposed that a resolution should be passed recording an emphatic protest against the atrocities in Hungary, and pledging our comrades in the various countries to bring pressure to bear upon their respective governments with a view to putting an end to the present state of affairs in Hungary. He suggested also that both in the press and at public meetings attention should be drawn to this question.

Malien (Belgium) endorsed this proposal; as a matter of fact he himself had intended to make such a proposal.

Thomas: The Fourth International Labour Conference will shortly be meeting in Geneva. The workers' representatives at that Conference, at which the Hungarian government will also be represented, should raise emphatic protests and insist upon detailed information concerning this matter.

Jaccoud (France): In addition to all these measures there should be a full translation, in the various languages, of the introductory report on Hungary. This translation should then be sent to the various affiliated organisations asking them to insert it in their respective journals.

Smeykal (Austria): I also had already drafted a resolution to this effect. The report on the situation in Hungary has made a profound impression upon all of us. It was particularly gratifying to hear what our English and French comrades have had to say on this subject, because it is just in England and France that protests in regard to this matter can be very effective.

In the name of the English and French delegations the following resolution was submitted and passed unanimously:

"The Special Railwaymen's Conference held in connection with the International Transport Workers' Congress has heard with horror of the cruel and inhuman persecutions inflicted on their Hungarian brothers. It proposes the following resolution to the Congress of the I. T. F.:

The organisations affiliated with the I. T. F. pledge themselves to take steps in their respective countries to rouse the conscience of the world against these atrocities, to demand their suppression, and to draw the attention of the League of Nations to its most recent Member. Also, to protest against these proceedings throughout the whole of the labour press."

Moltmaker (Holland): In view of the late hour, I will not now detain you with an account of the situation in Holland. I wish only to announce

that we received a telegram this morning informing us that the railway management in Holland has proposed to introduce shortly a general wage reduction of 8½ %. I shall send in a full report to the Secretariat who will then have it translated and sent to the various affiliated organisations.

Jarrigion (France) drew attention to the International Congress of Railway Managements held recently in Rome. Various important matters, including the question of the electrification of the railways, were discussed. It would be well if the I.T.F. were to give its attention to the discussion which took place at Rome and, if possible, draw up a report commenting on the conclusions come to by the Managements at the above Congress.

Attention should also be given to the question of suitable protective and safety appliances for various categories of railway workers, such as for instance properly covered-in places for engine drivers and stokers, etc.

Another matter which deserves consideration is the question of proper dwellings for railway workers. If this question is left entirely in the hands of the governments and the Managements there is the danger that the freedom of the employees would be seriously restricted. The I.T.F. could do good and useful work in this connection by trying—in all countries—to find a solution of the housing problem for railway workers, taking care to avoid the disadvantages just referred to.

Thomas suggests that this matter be referred to in the Questionnaire which is to be sent out to the affiliated organisations.

Petit (Belgium): The questionnaire should also contain questions concerning education, both general and technical, with a view to finding out what is being done in this connection both by the Managements and the Trade Unions. The results of such investigations would also come in useful in connection with the enquiry on Socialisation.

Jochade remarked that quite a lot of subjects have been mentioned, the investigation of which is to be entrusted to the Secretariat.

Jochade then announced that 14 Organisations comprising 1,246,000 members were represented at that Conference. That is a big figure and comprises a large part of the total number of railway workers in Europe. Also in view of this fact he expressed the hope that at the next Conference there would be submitted a detailed Agenda with practical questions to deal with in order that our work may be to the immediate advantage of the rail- and tramway workers.

The meeting was then closed after Thomas had moved a vote of thanks to the Chairman and Bidegaray had paid a warm tribute to the lady translator for the splendid assistance she had given.

N. Nathans, Secretary.

**Special Conference of Dock Workers,
held on October 4th 1922.**

Opening of the Session 10 a. m.

In the absence of Mahlman (President), the meeting was opened by Döring (Germany).

Döring said that they had met to discuss the possibility of the standardisation of working conditions in the dock and transport industry. He had the day before submitted a report on this question.

They must also discuss the regulation of working hours and wages, as well as social legislation in connection with dock labour, and the employment of seamen in the loading and discharging of ships. He proposed that these points should be dealt with seriatim: first, working hours, then wages, then social legislation, and lastly the employment of seamen for dockers' work. (Approved nem. con.).

Seiffert (Germany) proposed that the discussion on special social legislation for dock workers should include the question of social insurance; and the suggestion was adopted.

Döring (Germany): Yesterday, in presenting my report, I emphasised existing divergences, and pointed out the obstacles which lie in the way of standardisation; these obstacles are greater in some sections than in others. In the special conference, we are again to discuss the question whether standardisation is attainable; we are to see whether proposals can be formulated which the general Congress will be prepared to adopt.

We must consider whether there are ways and means of carrying these into effect, and if so, what they are. In the case of dockworkers, it is necessary, in connection with working hours, to discuss the Sunday holiday and overtime.

Mahlman, the President, having meantime arrived, took over the chairmanship. He asked if anyone desired to speak to the subject of working hours and holidays.

Riedel (Germany): Döring referred to the obstacles in the way of standardisation. But we must endeavour to realise it. We all adopt the standpoint that the eight hour day must be given a prominent place. The Washington Conference prescribes the eight hour day. Most countries, however, have not yet ratified the convention; in fact, the only country which has yet done so is Greece. In countries where the working day has not yet been fixed by law, the unions must see that an eight hour day is established. We must look upon the eight hour day as our gospel, and must leave no stone unturned to maintain it.

Our employers desire to establish no less than 16 cases of exemption from its application. If we concede so many exemptions, we shall have nothing left of the eight hour day. We have therefore called the attention of the Government to this fact, declaring that we cannot agree to them. We have also informed the employers that it will not do to place the Eight Hour Day on paper and then to whittle it down to nothing by making so many exemptions. If these exemptions are necessary, they must form the subject of discussion and agreement between employers and workers. It was originally intended that the Works' Councils should decide this matter.

Sunday work must also be regulated by law. After 6 days of work, the workers must have one day of rest, which they can spend with their families.

In countries where the Sunday rest is not legally compulsory, efforts must be made to secure legislation to this effect. The overtime question is a difficult one. The workers are desirous of working overtime, in order thereby to supplement their wages, which are too low, and it is noticeable that most overtime work is done by the Communists.

We must make it clear that overtime work shall be only permissible in cases of urgent necessity, otherwise the eight-hour day will degenerate into a mere farce. In collective agreements, we must clearly define the occasions on which overtime shall be permissible, and must demand trade union control over the exemptions.

Elsewhere, no doubt, the same state of things prevails as with us. We must surrender none of our gains.

Döring (Germany): *Riedel* remarked that the Washington decisions have been ratified by Greece only. That is not so. I have information from the International Labour Office that, in so far as working hours are concerned, India, Roumania, and Czechoslovakia have ratified as well as Greece.

Sexton (Great Britain) agreed that the question was a difficult one. But here, said he, we have only to arrive at decisions concerning dockers, and not concerning the universal establishment of the eight-hour day. The Washington decision is known to refer not merely to transport workers, but to all workers. We must enquire whether the stipulations include all transport workers, and ask the International Labour Office what is the

position in different countries in respect of this matter. Ben Tillet and others have already put this question to the British Government. That Government replied that when other countries ratified, it would do so too. We must request the International Labour Office to inquire into the matter and if necessary, we must call a special conference to discuss it.

Somers (Belgium) : The question really is not by any means a simple one. Dock activity, by its very nature, sometimes necessitates continuous work. In the interests of the industry it is sometimes imperative for ships to sail to time.

Nor is it always possible to provide regular work for the workers. In Antwerp, for instance, the lay and structure of the docks made it impossible to divide the day into 3 shifts. In Hamburg, Rotterdam and Amsterdam, the work is done in 3 shifts of 8 hours each. The employers would like the working hours to be longer and British employers, in particular, advocate a 15—16 hour day. This is impossible at Antwerp. Careful enquiries must be made and the results must be co-ordinated and sent to the affiliated unions. We dock-workers must meet more often. We also need to see each other frequently concerning other matters.

Seiffert (Germany) : When agreements are made, they must be drawn up in such a way as to prevent our being played off against each other. It must be made impossible for the working conditions of one port to be used as a lever in regard to those of some other ports.

Of course we must not render the work impossible. We sent to the International Labour Office a scheme which made the eight hour day a workable proposition and afforded no grounds for uneasiness in respect of competition.

Certain regulations have already been standardised for Rotterdam, Hamburg and Antwerp. Great Britain is ahead of us.

Overtime must be regulated on a reasonable basis. There are, for instance, tidal ports where there are special difficulties to be surmounted. In Hamburg we have as a rule three shifts, although in the Government concerns there are only two. Overtime must of course be permitted when it is a case of loading or discharging perishable goods, such as meat, fruit etc.

If we allow overtime, we encourage unemployment. At one time we in Germany thought it would be possible to keep overtime within bounds by insisting on high wages for overtime work. The result, however, has proved the contrary.

I consider that the I. T. F. should be instructed to continue the publication of documents similar to those issued concerning Holland, Germany, and Belgium, but on a more extensive scale. We ought also to pass a resolution urging the organisations to work for a statutory eight hour day in their respective countries.

Ben Tillet (England) : We must not confine ourselves to big talk concerning the eight hour day ; we must see that it materialises. Various countries have called attention to the existing obstacles, but this is not the way to achieve success. The employers constantly refer us to other countries. The first thing we have to do is to decide for which grades the eight hour day would be really practicable. In my opinion an eight hour day is practicable for 85 % of our workers, and only impossible for a very small proportion.

At one time in England, we worked from Saturday on into the Sunday. The employers everywhere make use of the same arguments to prove the eight-hour day to be unworkable. It is therefore for us to decide for which grades it is possible. We must also keep in closer touch with each other.

Gosling and I have been appointed to attend the Conference at Geneva, and I propose that those attending this Conference shall be instructed to press for legislation establishing the eight-hour day for transport workers. I agree with Seiffert that the I. T. F. should be instructed to collect documentary information, in order that we may be in a position to determine what can be done.

Kievit (Holland) : As various speakers have called attention to the obstacles existing in their own countries, I will say a few words about ours in Holland. In Holland we have difficulties not only in maintaining the eight-hour day but also in preventing a fall in wages. By statute, however, the 10-hour day is still in force for us, although it is probable that legislation will shortly be introduced providing for an eight-hour day. The eight-hour day will not be possible for every grade. Where work is not carried on day and night, certain groups, such as the machine hands, will have to work longer in order that the other workers may work eight-hours. Due account must be taken of these practical difficulties.

I quite agree as to the necessity for collecting information. Only too frequently have we been played off against each other ; we must therefore establish closer relations among ourselves, in order to keep abreast of events and frustrate these tactics. It is, moreover, of great importance that the work of the I. T. F. should be done with promptitude. We can derive advantage only from up-to-date information. We live in a time when, week by week, we have to fight changes for the worse in wages and working conditions. I would therefore ask the I. T. F. to collect and distribute the information promptly, and appeal to the affiliated organisations to inform the Labour Office immediately of any changes that may occur.

Vignaud (France) : In France the eight-hour day is in force. When the employers deny this fact, they lie. Overtime is only worked when finishing a ship.

As a basis for the fixing of wages, the cost of living is taken as determined by joint commissions. I support Kievit's suggestion, that the I. T. F.

be requested to collect information and send it promptly to the organisations. The speaker added that, in his organisation, he would do his best to provide prompt information.

Kershaw (England): I should like to give my opinion on the subject of the eight-hour day. I do not consider the question to be as difficult as some of the delegates appear to find it. We shall establish the eight-hour day without waiting for documents. Some of the delegates are too pessimistic. I am opposed to all systematic overtime. *Tillett* has just said that he is going to the Conference at Geneva. We must pass a resolution instructing him to support the eight-hour day for the transport industry.

Mahlman (President): I have received two resolutions, one from Ben *Tillett* and one from *Seiffert*. I propose that two or three delegates be appointed to meet to-morrow and incorporate the two resolutions in one.

This proposal was unanimously adopted, and Ben *Tillett*, *Seiffert*, and *Vignaud* having been appointed to carry it out, the session terminated.

The above Commission drafted the two subjoined resolutions which were proposed to the General Congress.

Resolution 1.

That this Conference of Dock and Road Transport Workers strongly expresses itself in favour of uniform working hours being enacted in the various countries. This Conference is of the opinion, that such conditions can only be brought about if the 8-hours day is realised and complete Sunday rest and the limitation of overwork is carried through.

This Conference expresses its strong disapproval of the laxity on the part of those responsible for the delay in the application of the principle of the Washington and Geneva Conferences contained in the Convention on the eight-hours day, limitation of overtime and the employment of women and young persons.

We consider as imperative that the findings of the Convention should be strongly pressed at the forthcoming International Conference convened by the League of Nations at Geneva this month and instructs the Executive to take prompt action.

This Conference charges the organisations affiliated with the I. T. F. to bring all possible pressure to bear upon their governments in order to enforce the ratification of the Conventions of Washington and Geneva.

It requests the secretariat of the I. T. F. to publish data concerning working hours, wages and working conditions of those countries particulars of which have not yet been issued and to continue such publications of the conditions in those countries about which information has already been given.

Resolution 2.

In order to secure a better Standard of Life for the Dock- and Transport Workers, and to avoid a further worsening of their conditions, this Congress of the I. T. F. demands:

(1) That the General Council shall take the first possible opportunity to promote a movement with the object of securing an advance of wages

and the bringing of the standards of the lower paid ports up to the standards of the highest.

(2) Efforts to be made in order to promote movements with the object of obtaining the fullest possible measure of control and management by the workers.

(3) And also to secure for the unions the control of the supply of Labour.

(4) That in view of the casual nature of Dock Employment all countries shall promote schemes to obtain such maintenance allowances as will give an adequate standard of life.

(5) Also adequate payment of unemployment benefits to all workers.

(6) To secure full wages in case of accidents.

(7) Prevention of Accidents :

(a) to secure regulations to prevent accidents ;

(b) prohibition of night work in the case of dangerous cargo ;

(c) prohibition of employment of women, children, all cargo (including driving the winches) to be worked by Dock Labour ;

(d) to secure the limitation of weights to be carried to 75 Kilos ;

(e) to secure the appointment of practical workmen as inspectors to enforce all regulations for the protection of the workpeople.

This Congress charges the General Council and the affiliated organisations to employ every means at their disposal in order to carry through these demands.

A. Kievit, Secretary.

Minutes
of the Seamen's Conference, held at Vienna
on Wednesday and Thursday, October 4th and 5th, 1922

There were present :

For the General Council — *Charles Lindley, Robert Williams* and *J. Brautigam*.

For the Amalgamated Marine Workers' Union — *Jos. Cotter*.

For the German Transportworkers' Union — *F. Köhler*.

For the Belgian Seamen's Union — *J. Chapelle*.

For the "Savez Jug. Pomavaca" (Yougoslavia) — *A. Glazvam*.

For the Dutch Central Union of Transportworkers —
G. Zieverink and *J. Brautigam*.

Ch. Lindley (Chairman) proposed that in accordance with a request from *Fimmen*, *Brautigam* be appointed secretary ; *Fimmen* had urged that the report should be brought out without delay and that it would expedite matters if a Dutchman was appointed secretary.

Cotter objected to this way of doing things, which, he considered, interfered with the free choice of the Conference. He would not, however, oppose the appointment of *Brautigam*.

Brautigam was accordingly appointed secretary by acclamation.

The Chairman considered that the Conference was confronted with a difficult task. No proposals had been submitted. It was for the delegates who were present at the Conference to draw up an agenda and submit resolutions to the plenary Congress.

He would like to put the question whether seamen ought to do blackleg work in the event of a strike of dock workers.

Recent legislation had given Scandinavian Seamen greater freedom than had been the case under the old conditions, so that they were now relieved of the obligation to load and discharge vessels. On the other hand,

on the occasion of a recent strike in the port of Ölörsund, the crews of German ships had not merely handled the cargo on board ship, but had also helped in the loading of the ship from the quay. He therefore proposed that this point should be dealt with at that Conference.

Glazvam wished to add to the agenda the following items :—

- (1) The liquidation of the Garibaldi Fund.
- (2) The payment of wages to Yugoslavian crews who have sailed on ships which were formerly Austrian, but were surrendered, under the Treaty of Versailles, to the French Government.
- (3) The standardisation of wages.

These three items and also that brought forward by the Chairman were placed on the agenda.

Williams now proposed that those present should first of all give brief surveys of the situation in the sea-faring industry in their respective countries. This was agreed to.

Köhler (Germany) giving a sketch of the state of things in Germany, pointed out that in accordance with Article 34 of the "Seamen's Code", it was not merely obligatory upon seamen to load and discharge ships; they were, in fact, compelled to do any work that they might at any time be required to do on land. Any refusal was punishable by the withholding, for the first offence, of a month's wages, and for subsequent offences, by imprisonment. Paul Müller, the former leader of the German Seamen, had never made any effort to get these unsatisfactory provisions of the Seamen's Code altered. He (*Köhler*) had always regarded this as his duty. The Government had now appointed a commission, on which both ship-owners and seamen were represented, and which was now drafting a new Bill, which will possibly become law next year. This Bill provides that seamen will no longer be compelled to do the work to which *Lindley* had referred. Moreover, the German Union had during the last few years done strenuous propaganda work among seamen, for the purpose of inducing them to refuse to blackleg when dockworkers were on strike. As a result of this propaganda, German seamen were now as a general rule refusing to do this work, despite the severe punishments with which they were threatened. The union was already undertaking the payment of the fines occasioned by these refusals. One of the factors, however, which induced German seamen to lend a hand sometimes with this work was the circumstance that they were paid in the currency of the country in which the work is done. Under present exchange conditions this meant very large sums of considerable value. The unsatisfactory position of German seamen, and the unsatisfactory work of the German union resulting therefrom were mainly due to the fact that after the war Germany's shipping tonnage was

reduced, by the enforced surrender of ships, from 5.75 million tons to between seven and eight hundred thousand. At the present moment Germany's tonnage had been increased to one-fifth of its pre-war amount. Between the ships' officers' organisations and the union to which he himself belonged there was very close cooperation which took the form of a working agreement. He himself was chairman of the Committee which had been appointed for this purpose. He hoped that in time they would succeed in inducing the German ships' officers' organisations to affiliate with the German Transport Workers' Union and in bringing them by this means into the fold of the I. T. F. The Marine Caterers' Union and the sectional union for ship stewards and cooks had already amalgamated with the German Transport Workers' Union. The syndicalist seamen's union (Schiffahrtsbund) had leanings towards Moscow. This organisation had originally had influence with the seamen, but since Paul Müller had left the German Transport Workers' Union, and that Union under his (Köhler's) leadership had done more practical work, many members of the Syndicalist union had joined in with them. Wage movements were now the order of the day. A 50% wage rise had been followed, first, by one of 90% and then again by one of 95%, while at the present moment another demand was being made for a rise of 120%. The ship-owners had already offered 50%. The 8-hour day was general both in home and in foreign ports; at sea the deck-hands and engine-room staff of ships exceeding 1,000 tons also work 8 hours a day. On smaller ships the working hours for sailors at sea are still 12. German ship-owners are making stout resistance to all proposals for the shortening of working hours at sea, basing their opposition on the much longer working hours prevailing on board English ships. Cooks and stewards still work 16 or 17 hours a day when at sea, the only decision yet made in their favour being that providing for a two hours' rest after the midday meal. The staff is not paid for overtime work, but if such work is done on a large scale, they receive in addition to their wages a bonus of 1,000 marks per month. This does not sound much, but for a German it still has some value.

In case of sickness, a German seaman is entitled to receive his full wages until he is discharged, and on discharge he has a right to be paid $\frac{1}{4}$ of his wages for a period of 26 weeks.

In the Commission entrusted with the drafting of the new Bill he (Köhler) had pleaded that seamen should no longer remain in an isolated position, but should, in case of sickness, be granted the same rights as workers in other occupations in Germany. The employers' representatives on the Commission expressed their agreement with this point of view. The only point still under consideration was whether the seamen should, once the Bill becomes law, subscribe to a general Sick fund, or should found a special Sick Fund for Seamen. At the present moment the seamen tend in favour of the latter. The new act is also to contain very advantageous provisions on the subject of accommodation on board ship. The shipping

of the men is to be arranged through the intermediary of a Joint Commission, to be presided over by a chairman independent of both parties. Differences between employers and workers are to be settled by an administrative Board (Verwaltungsrat). The wages of a few of the more important categories are as follows:—

Boatswain	9,680	marks
Ship's carpenter	9,680	"
Able Seamen	9,140	"
Stoker	9,140	"
Cook (tramp steamer)	10,000	"
Steward	10,000	"
Messroom steward	5,400	"

In addition to the above, from 10 to 15/- per month are paid to cover the expenses incurred in foreign ports.

In summing up, the speaker declared that it must be acknowledged that much had been done within the last few years, but that there was still much to do. He would like to add that he considered it of the utmost importance that the affiliated organisations should give the I. T. F. Secretariat more information than hitherto respecting the state of things in the different countries, in order that the Secretariat might in its turn be enabled to furnish useful information to the organisations.

Cotter (England), referring to the report given by him at the Conference of Seamen's Unions held at Hamburg in January, 1922, declared that the position in England had become much worse since then, thanks to the antics of Havelock Wilson. From the point of view of organisation alone, the situation was simply terrible. Mr. J. H. Wilson had succeeded in establishing a new understanding between his organisation and the ship-owners. As a reward for the agitation which he had conducted in support of the reduction of wages, the ship-owners, in their gratitude, had given him full powers over seamen. The P. C. 5 cards had been issued in agreement with the ship-owners, and in exchange for them Havelock Wilson had consented to a reduction of wages, without consulting the seamen.

The system by means of which Wilson has acquired his power over the seamen amounts practically to the following: A man shipped for a voyage by an officer or an engineer must, no matter whether he be a new hand or whether he has made a previous voyage on the same ship, betake himself to one of the offices of Havelock Wilson's organisation, in order to obtain a P. C. 5 card. This card is not issued to him unless he is a member of Wilson's organisation, nor when he is in arrears with his contributions. When he has received the card, the man has to take it to the office of the Shipping Federation to be stamped, and only when that has been done is he eligible for engagement. If the man in question belongs to another organisation, he is refused a card; he is then regarded as unorganised, and has to pay an entrance fee of £2. This is a reversion to the days of slavery. To give some idea of this system of blackmail, the speaker handed

over a pamphlet reporting the discussions of the system at a Conference held at St. George's Hall, April 23rd, 1922, with Havelock Wilson in the chair.

The present situation is such that experienced seamen who cannot raise the £2 entrance fee necessary for registration in Havelock Wilson's union have to go into the workhouse as paupers.

In the meantime, they have combated this state of things. Cotter, Williams and others had attacked Havelock Wilson's system, at a meeting in London. The opposition of the seamen to this system, which is only another form of slavery, was increasing from day to day, and one of Wilson's officials, Band, who had given rather more provocation than usual, had been thrown out of a window by a seaman, and had to be taken to hospital on account of the injuries he had sustained.

The struggle against Wilson and the ship-owners had been rendered the more difficult by reason of the great unemployment among the seamen. All the large steamships now used oil as fuel instead of coal. The speaker estimated that some 5% of the total number of seamen had been deprived of employment in consequence of this change. In addition to this, there was the great seasonal unemployment consequent upon the termination of passenger traffic with North America, as a result of which from 15 to 20,000 seamen were out of work. All these circumstances enabled Havelock Wilson, acting in conjunction with the ship-owners, to put pressure on the seamen.

Wilson did not scruple, in these bad times, to give a dinner at which 70 ship-owners were entertained, nor, when it was a case of engaging crews for the C. P. O. S. boats, did he scruple to give the preference to men discharged from the navy, in order to get the £2 entrance fee out of them, this notwithstanding the great unemployment among seamen!

Wilson was on such friendly terms with the ship-owners that he had even made speeches on behalf of their parliamentary candidates.

Cotter's Union had sent a report dealing with Wilson's conduct both to the National Transport Workers' Federation and to the Trades Union Congress. In this report Wilson is accused of:—

- (1) Blacklegging ;
- (2) Calling a meeting of A. M. W. U. members and officials and
- (3) Making agreements with ship-owners contrary to trade union principles.

The views of the Trades Union Congress in regard to these accusations are contained in the correspondence addressed to Cotter himself which correspondence he (Cotter) then handed over.

Wages in England are now as follows :—

Able seaman	£ 10.-
Boatswain	£ 11.10.-
Boatswain's mate	£ 10.10.-
Carpenter	£ 12.10.- to £ 16.10.-
Donkeyman	£ 11.10.-
Greaser	£ 11.10.-
Fireman	£ 10.10.-
Trimmer	£ 10.-

The most recent reduction, which had brought wages down to the above level, dated from April of this year. At that time Wilson had travelled through the country, addressing meetings. In Southampton, however, there had been more policemen outside the hall than seamen inside it. Only seamen with a special introduction were admitted to the hall. When at a given moment the other seamen outside succeeded in getting into the hall Wilson took to his heels.

In Liverpool the police had closed the street, in order to keep out of the meeting undesired elements.

Many instances could be given of the fraudulent methods by which the impression was given that large meetings had been held, whereas in reality the whole thing was mere camouflage.

Despite the opposition of the seamen to any reduction of wages, Wilson accepted a cut of 30/- per month, in order that he might establish thereafter the P. C. 5 system. They were at that moment engaged in a bitter struggle with Wilson, in which they were straining every nerve. They were doing this not merely for the sake of their own comrades in England but also because they knew that if the seamen's movement in England were to be destroyed that would mean the destruction of the whole seamen's movement in Europe.

At that moment Wilson was instituting legal proceedings against them. This was being done that Cotter might be summoned before the court on the day when he had to appear before the Trades Union Congress, so that by this means he might be unable to prove the charges brought by him against Wilson.

Another object in bringing the matter before the law courts was to smash up Cotter's Union by exhausting its funds.

The speaker hoped, however, that, hard as was the struggle against Wilson and the ship-owners, it might nevertheless be brought to a successful conclusion.

Glazvam (Jugoslavia) reminded those present that the Austrian mercantile marine formerly possessed a tonnage of 1 million, but that now, as a result of the surrenders made under the Treaty of Versailles, this tonnage had fallen to 125 to 150,000. In Jugoslavia 5,000 men are now

organised. 1,800 men are employed in the marine as it is at present constituted, while a certain number are working on the inland waterways. Some 3,000 seamen are unemployed. The mercantile fleet is however to be increased to some 250,000 tons and when this has been accomplished, there will be employment for half the total number of seamen. In comparison with previous conditions in Yugoslavia the wages might be described as good. The working hours are 8 hours in the ports, and 10 hours for coast traffic; for long voyages seamen had an eight-hour working day, with the exception of sailors, whose working hours are 12. Seamen in Yugoslavia are well organised and well disciplined, and they are well informed in regard to social questions. In respect of the shipping of the men, they have a system which is more advantageous and gives greater satisfaction than the system laid down by the Convention of Genoa. Men are taken on in accordance with their priority on the lists. The wages are :—

Captain	£ 12.13.-
1st officer (2nd engineer)	£ 12.13.-
2nd officer (3rd engineer)	£ 9.10.-
3rd officer	£ 8.—.-
Boatswain, donkeyman, cook, steward	£ 6.10.-
Able seaman	£ 5.10.-
Stoker	£ 5.10.-
Ship's boy	£ 2.—.-

Chapelle (Belgium) : The Belgian Seamen's Union was founded in 1914. There has never been more than one organisation in Belgium. The Belgian Seamen's Union frustrated the attempts of the Catholics to found a special Catholic Seamen's organisation.

During the war, when Belgian seamen had been scattered over the world, and Belgian ships had sailed from foreign ports, the English wages system had been established. When they returned to Antwerp after the war, they gave the ship-owners clearly to understand that this system of payment must be retained. Consequently the wages for able seamen and stokers were fixed at £14.10.- and £15.0 per month respectively.

During the second half of 1920 it was obvious that Havelock Wilson already had it in mind to comply with the wishes of the English ship-owners in respect of the reduction of wages. The speaker himself was convinced that even at the time when the Conference of Brussels was being held, namely in August 1920, discussions to that effect were going on between the English ship-owners and Havelock Wilson. But he had first heard of these plans when he travelled with Mr. Damm, the secretary of the International Seafarer's Federation to London, in order to take part in the Conference held by a Committee consisting of representatives of the Ship-owners and of the seamen's organisations, to deal with the question of the introduction of the 8-hour day for seamen. In the train journey from Harwich to London Mr. Damm told him all about the matter. He (*Chapelle*) had returned to Belgium that very same evening, partly out of indignation

at this reprehensible act of Havelock Wilson's, and partly because he realised that any discussion of the 8-hour day would be a mere farce at a time when a reduction in wages was about to be accepted. He had no desire to take part in any such farce.

From that moment dates the brutal conduct of the Belgian ship-owners. These gentlemen refused to have anything further to do with the Maritime Board appointed by the Belgian Government. They also demanded, following the example of the English ship-owners, a wage cut of £2.10. They insisted, moreover, that no account should be taken of the rate of exchange of the day but that wages should be paid on a fixed basis of 35 Frs. to the £.

Havelock Wilson has abused his position. He has neglected to consult the organisations affiliated with the International Seamen's Federation, of which, please remember, he is the President. In conjunction with the English ship-owners he has carried into execution his plans, which have made a change for the worse in the working conditions of English seamen. We in Belgium have therefore been compelled to follow suit. Moreover, the ship-owners' attack had been made at a moment when 6,000 foreign sailors were strolling about Antwerp, of whom a large number were without shelter, and were sleeping in the streets; these were willing to take the places of the Belgian seamen simply for the sake of the food which they received as payment. Thus wages were reduced in Belgium by £2.10.-: the £ sterling being reckoned first at 45, then at 40, and finally at 35 frs., and the new adjustments being made at the end of every 3 months. Present wages, for some of the principal categories, are the following:

Boatswain	Frs. 430.—
Able Seaman	Frs. 420.—
Donkeyman	Frs. 447.50
Stoker	Frs. 437.50
Trimmer	Frs. 420.—

As a result of this worsening of working conditions, the seamen became very disheartened. It had required arduous work to keep the union intact and up to its full strength. But they had had splendid success. There were 4,500 seamen in Antwerp and all 4,500 were organised in the Belgian Seamen's Union except 13, who had been expelled from the Union. Some 900 men who were engaged in the trawler fisheries of Ostend were also organised in the Belgian Seamen's Union.

In the Cooks' and Stewards' organisation there was a less satisfactory state of things. Formerly, Mr. Verlinden, a representative of Cotter's organisation in England, had organised the Belgian union in conjunction with that of Cooks and Stewards, arranging that Belgians who had worked in these capacities should, if they sailed from Antwerp under the English flag, for any considerable length of time, be transferred to Cotter's organisation. Some time since, however, Mr. Verlinde had gone over to Havelock Wilson's side, thereby causing much perplexity and confusion among the

cooks and stewards of Antwerp, who were at their wits' end to know what union to join. As a reward for his pains, Verlinde soon received his congé from Havelock Wilson. In the meantime, the speaker considered that all the bonds uniting the Belgian organisation with the International Seafarers' Federation had been broken. Their relation to the Belgian ship-owners was that of guerilla warfare. The ship-owners did not recognise them, nor did they recognise the shipowners' organisation. They engaged in sporadic fights, now with one ship-owner, and now with another.

Brautigam (Holland) declared that his report need not be a long one ; he thought he might refer those present to the report on conditions in Holland delivered by him at the special Seamen's Conference held in January last at Hamburg ; and the printed report of this Conference was now available. He reminded those present that he had pointed out on that occasion that the ship-owners were agitating for a fresh reduction of wages. Wages in England having again fallen, a reduction had had to be accepted in Holland also, and had come into force on March 15th last. The wages of the chief categories were therefore as follows :—

Boatswain	Fl. 130.—
Donkeyman	Fl. 130.—
Greaser	Fl. 130.—
Able seaman	Fl. 115.—
Stoker	Fl. 120.—
Trimmer	Fl. 100.—
Cook (on tramp steamer) certificated	Fl. 160.—
Cook (on tramp steamer) uncertificated	Fl. 145.—

If they compared these with English wages, it would be evident that, as at the present rate of exchange £10 is equivalent to Fl. 115, the average Dutch wage is a little higher than the English. The agreement fixing these wages remained in force until September 15th, and was continued for a period of one month longer, after which the agreement could either be extended from month to month, or else a proposal for further reductions would be put forward by the ship-owners. No further changes of any importance had taken place since he gave his report at Hamburg in January last.

The Dutch legislation affecting seamen was very antiquated. Some of the laws dated back to 1832 and 1856 and are consequently very bad. In consequence of the urgent appeals made by the speaker in parliament, a joint commission similar to that described by Köhler in the case of Germany had now been appointed to draft a new law. From the commission he expected good results, namely, an important improvement in respect of the legal rights and obligations of seamen. It might be some years, however, before this work was finished, and the new law in force.

Lindley (Sweden) said that the seamen (the deck hands) in Sweden had up to 1909 formed part of the Transportworkers' Union. They had then seceded from this union and founded an organisation of their own, which

had not, however, attained to any great strength. During the war, attempts had again been made to improve the organisation, but the transportworkers had carefully abstained from taking any part in these discussions. Griph, an ex-railwayman, had succeeded in obtaining the leadership, and he in particular would not hear of an amalgamation with the organised transportworkers. The firemen also had their own organisation. In 1921 they had had a fierce struggle with the ship-owners, which had emptied the coffers of both organisations, after which the ship-owners had succeeded in effecting a reduction of wages. The necessity for closer cooperation is now being felt, and the stokers' union is desirous of effecting a fusion with the transportworkers' union, but, as had been stated, the union catering for the deck hands is opposed to it. As had been already stated, the new seamen's legislation had brought with it a great increase of freedom for seamen. He would like to call special attention to the fact that seamen could no longer be compelled to do blacklegging work. Regarding the seamen's question from the international point of view, everything depended upon better organisation. An effort should be made to put an end to the confusion which existed internationally. He (the speaker) considered that this confusion was due in no small degree to the founding by Havelock Wilson of "The International Seafarers' Federation". But now that the French organisation had at the Paris Congress seceded from the I. S. F., and the Swedish Stokers' Union had at the same congress been expelled by Havelock Wilson from the I. S. F., the position was that out of the whole of Europe the I. S. F. contained only Havelock Wilson's English and Griph's Swedish organisations. In point of fact, the I. S. F. was dead, and the speaker was of the belief that the energetic propaganda on behalf of good organisation now being conducted by the I. T. F. could not fail to be crowned with success. The speaker was also of opinion that a special resolution on the subject of the performance by seamen of dockers' work, when the latter are on strike, must be submitted to the General Congress. The speaker introduced a resolution reading as follows:—

"This Congress calls on all Sailors' and Firemen's organisations to warn their members from allowing themselves to be used by the ship-owners during dock and harbour workers' strikes or lock-outs, to do such loading and discharging work which during normal conditions is not required to be done by the ships' crews."

The reports on the conditions in the different countries were thereby brought to an end.

No objection was raised to the resolution introduced by Lindley, and it was therefore decided to submit it to the plenary session of the Congress.

Williams (General Council) considered that these reports showed the necessity for the introduction, at the plenary session, of a resolution requesting the I. T. F. to give special attention to the organisation of seamen, and to emphasise the importance of adopting appropriate measures

providing for energetic propaganda. To this end, he introduced the following resolution :

"The Special Session of the Seafaring Workers affiliated to the I. T. F., having received reports from the affiliated organisations, endorses the decision of the full Congress to appoint a full-time official to supervise the Seamen's Section of the I. T. F.

The Session requests the Executive of the I. T. F. to ask immediately for nominations for the Secretary for the Seamen's Section and as soon as practicable to hold a further Conference of the affiliated seamen's organisations to appoint a Secretary in conjunction with the Executive and to place the Seamen's Section on a firm foundation, working in co-operation with the other affiliated sections of Railwaymen and Transport Workers.

The Special Session observes with satisfaction the dissolution of the International Seafarers' Federation which, being a special product of the war, could not deal with the present and future economic situation.

The Session of Seamen's representatives, seeing the continued decline in real wages of the seamen of the various countries, and also the difference in the rates of pay of men doing identical or similar work, calls upon the Executive of the I. T. F. to do all that is possible to secure some measures of standardisation of European Seamen's Wages on the level of the highest rates in operation.

The Session emphatically protests against the tactics of Havelock Wilson and the N. S. & F. U. in making arrangements with the English Shipping Federation to boycott members of other unions in British and other European Ports, because those unions believe in a policy of resisting the wage reductions imposed by the International Shipowners, and also advocate the 8 hours day for all seamen."

All those present except *Cotter* were in favour of the general contents of this resolution. The latter put forward a number of objections, some of which were directed against the drafting of any resolution whatsoever and others against its embodying so many different points. The resolution, he declared, had the disadvantage of being what was termed in England an "omnibus-resolution".

It was resolved that the bureau should, in conjunction with Williams, endeavour to make some textual alterations in this resolution. In the meantime, as it was already very late, the conference was adjourned to Thursday morning.

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Second Session.

Thursday, October 5th, 1922.

The business was the continuation of the discussions concerning the resolution proposed by Williams at the 1st Session.

Cotter (England) repeated his objections. He was in agreement with part of the proposed resolution. But it would not do for a protest to be made against the doings of Mr. Havelock Wilson and for the same resolution to include such matters as, for instance, the nomination of a secretary.

He was convinced that at the plenary session there would be opposition to an omnibus resolution such as this. There would be delegates who would be unable to vote for it, although they might be in sympathy with a great part of the resolution, because it contained one or more points to which they would not desire to lend their authority. Cotter was of opinion that the resolution ought to be split up into 3 or 4. In addition, he objected to the fact of the plenary session having the decision in regard to the appointment of a Secretary for the Seamen's Section, as he held this to be a matter on which the Seamen's Section only were entitled to take decisions.

Lindley (Sweden) combated Cotter's objections. He thought that it was impossible to propose 4 or 5 resolutions in a conference such as theirs. An endeavour must be made to embody all the points under consideration in a single resolution.

He also pointed out that the decision concerning the appointment of a secretary for the special Seamen's Section had already been taken at the plenary session, and the present resolution, although it certainly dealt with the same subject, was merely a confirmation of the decision taken by the plenary session. Nor did he think that any attack whatsoever was made on the rights of the Seamen's Section; all that they were going to do was to invite applications for the post of secretary, and the selection to be made from such applicants as might offer themselves would be left to a special conference to be summoned for the special Seamen's Section.

Brautigam (Holland) supported Lindley in the matter of the appointment of a secretary. He considered that the splitting up of the resolution would involve the additional objection that the close connection between the different points of this resolution, each one of which was in reality the logical outcome of the preceding one, would thus be lost sight of.

Cotter (England) maintained his objections reserving the right to oppose the proposed resolution at the plenary session.

It was then resolved to propose the resolution for acceptance at the plenary session, Cotter's being the only vote against it.

The President, reverting to the discussion at the commencement of the previous session on the subject of the work done by seamen in loading ships, when dock-workers are on strike, proposed that a resolution should be introduced at the plenary session, the terms of which should be as follows :--

"This Congress calls on all Sailors' and Firemen's organisations to warn their members from allowing themselves to be used by the ship-owners during dock and harbour workers' strikes or lockouts, to do such loading and discharging work which during normal conditions is not required to be done by the ships' crews."

As no one had any desire to reopen the discussion, the President's proposal was accepted by acclamation.

The next point to be dealt with being proposals, A. Glazvam, the representative of the Seamen's organisation of Jugo-Slavia, introduced the following proposals :

(1) The Garibaldi Fund.

Glazvam (Jugo-Slavia) explained by way of introduction that it was well known that the Garibaldi Fund had been established by the Italian Seamen's Federation, and that its object was the socialisation of the seafaring industry in Italy. All seamen sailing under the Italian flag were compelled to make a monthly contribution to this fund : ships' officers and engineers had to pay 60 Lire, and all others 50 Lire, until these payments had attained a total of 5,000 lire per person. Contributors were refunded these amounts when they ceased to ply their trade as seamen, but with the limitation that the repayment would only be made after the expiration of 5 years. In case of death, the amount was paid to their families. In accordance with the terms of the armistice, the Austrian mercantile fleet passed over to the Italian flag. On these ships, however, there were over 2,500 Jugoslavian seamen, who, like all the others, were compelled to pay the prescribed contributions.

During the period from October 1920 to March 1921, all the Jugoslavian seamen were discharged from Italian ships, by order of the Italian Government. These seamen then applied to the Italian Seamen's Federation for the recovery of the money paid in, but the action was without result. The reply was always the same, namely, that the rules of the Garibaldi Fund had made no provision for any such case, and that claims for refund must be deferred for 5 years. As the discharged seamen had derived no benefits of any kind, either direct or indirect, from the Garibaldi Fund, they consider that this money which is estimated at 2½ million Lire, or from 600 to 1,000 Lire per person, should be refunded. This is the more necessary, inasmuch as most of these seamen are out of work, and therefore in urgent need of the money paid in. Their seamen applied to the Jugoslavian Government, which will claim the money through the Italian Government. In their opinion, it was deplorable that the members of fraternal organisations should be forced to make appeal to bourgeois and reactionary governments in order to secure their rights ; their organisation work could not but suffer therefrom. They regretted that the Italian Seamen's Federation had kept silence on the subject, and had not settled their claims in a friendly way. They therefore request the I. T. F. to do all in its power to see that the money was refunded to the Jugoslavian seamen.

The President proposed that the matter should be brought to the notice of the plenary Congress in the report, and that the Executive Committee should be requested to intervene.

Item 2 dealt with the question of a claim made by seamen against the ship owners who had exploited requisitioned ships on behalf of the French Government. The conditions agreed upon were that the seamen should

receive international wages. Of the three ship-owning firms concerned, two had refused to pay, giving as the reason for their refusal that they had not received the money from the French Government. No reply had been received to the request for information addressed by the Yugoslavian seamen to the Confédération Générale du Travail in France. They would now ask whether the Executive Committee of the I. T. F. might make enquiries concerning the payments made by the French Government to the ship owners, for if it could be ascertained what these amounts were, then legal proceedings might be opened by the seamen against these ship owning firms in Yugoslavia.

The meeting authorised Glazvam to draw up a detailed written report on the matter and to apply to the Executive of the I. T. F. It declared that it was convinced that the Executive would do all in its power to comply with his wishes.

Glazvam expressed his satisfaction with this decision.

The third proposal introduced by Glazvam, on the subject of the standardisation of wages, was deleted from the Agenda, it being considered that this point could be dealt with more satisfactorily by the special conference representing seamen's organisations which is yet to be summoned.

The general wish was expressed that, before the next conference met, the Executive Committee should send the affiliated organisations full details in writing of the matters to be dealt with by the said conference.

The President was instructed to submit a report to the plenary Session of the Congress.

J. Brautigam, Secretary.