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INTERNATIONAL TRANSPORT WORKERS FEDERATION MARITIME HOUSE OLD TOWN CLAPHAM LONDON S.W.4

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Wednesday, 25th July, 1962

Morning Session

The Twenty-Seventh Congress of the ITF, held at the Labour Hall, Helsinki, Finland, was formally opened at 10 a.m. on 25th July 1962. In attendance were 245 delegates and 62 advisers, representing 135 affiliated unions from 46 countries. After a short musical programme given by the Helsinki Workers' Orchestra, the President, Roger Dekeyzer, opened the proceedings by calling upon the Chairman of the Reception Committee, Brother N. Wälläri, to address the delegates.

N. Wälläri, Chairman of the Reception Committee, extended on behalf of the Reception Committee and the Finnish affiliated unions a cordial welcome to all delegates and guests. The Finnish trade unions appreciated the ITF's decision to hold its Congress in Finland because it was clear that by so doing the Federation desired to manifest its particular interest in the free trade union movement in Finland, at the same time giving encouragement to the Finnish trade unionists in their struggle for a higher standard of living and to maintain established trade union freedoms and rights. The speaker then reassured delegates that Finland's geographical position between West and East, often portrayed as precarious, was in no way to be compared with that of Berlin. There was general agreement among Finns in the matter of their country's international relations. Differences of opinion were, however, marked with regard to internal problems. Totalitarian groups were often inclined to make use of political factors of an international character.

Referring to the esteem in which the ITF was held by Finnish transport workers—some Finnish unions had been affiliated to the ITF for over 40 years—Brother Wälläri reminded delegates of the occasions on which the ITF had been of help to Finnish unions, especially in 1928 during the long dockers' strike and in 1933, at a time when fascist elements were active in Finland, during the four-month long seamen's strike. This latter strike had been of enormous significance for the trade union movement. It had demonstrated that submission to fascism was not inevitable and had marked the beginning of a period during which the fascist elements were to lose their influence and the trade unions to grow in strength. The ITF had then been a symbol of the struggle of the working class for a better world, and the name of the ITF was still feared among the enemies of the trade union movement.

Certain groups of transport workers were the best organized in Finland: seafarers and locomotivemen were 100% organized; pilots and dock foremen were almost as well organized. The strength and militancy of these groups of transport workers had made it possible to make the boycott of "flags-of-convenience" shipping fully effective in Finland. In many other industries the trade union movement, however, was split. Two tendencies were fighting each other; on the one hand, the free trade union movement and, on the other hand, circles which were trying to use the trade unions as tools in their political activities. The strongest and most militant trade unions in Finland belonged to the free trade union movement and were affiliated to the ITF.

Brother Wälläri went on to pay tribute to memorable leaders of of the ITF such as Edo Fimmen, Charles Lindley, Jacobus Oldenbroek and Omer Becu, and also to the present General Secretary, Pieter de Vries, all of whom had extended the help of the ITF to Finnish transport workers in their struggle for better conditions, social justice, peace and freedom.

After giving details of some of the excursions arranged by the Finnish host unions, the speaker assured those attending Congress that everything would be done to make their stay in Finland as pleasant as possible. He hoped this Congress in Finland would serve to strengthen the ties of friendship and solidarity between the organized transport workers and renew their determination to carry on the struggle for the ideals which the ITF had always maintained.

After thanking Brother Wälläri for his welcoming address The President went on to deliver his

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

Ladies and Gentlemen, Fellow Delegates and Guests,

It is an honour and a privilege for me to welcome you, on behalf of the Executive Committee and General Council of the International Transport Workers' Federation, to this our 27th Congress, the first ever to be held in Finland's capital, the wonderful city of Helsinki—known the world over as the "White City of the North". May I emphasize how glad we are to have this opportunity of enjoying the well-known hospitality of our Finnish brothers.

Finland can almost be said to represent a microcosm of European political history in the 20th century. At the start of this century, Finland—as was the case with many other small countries at that time—was living under the yoke of a foreign feudal despotism and was associated with the peoples of the other subject-nations not only in the struggle for national freedom and self-determination, but also in the wider movement for social progress which found expression in varying forms throughout the great empires then in existence.

In fact, it is something of a paradox that the first anti-colonial movement should have begun, not in Africa or Asia, but in the tiny European countries which in many cases had been enslaved for centuries by their powerful neighbours. Finland, for example, was fighting its battle for national self-determination during a period when the absorption of extra-European colonies was both initiated and consolidated. The Finnish trade-union movement, dating back to 1887, began its life in the face of brutal repression of all liberal ideas and, even when national independence had finally been achieved, still had to fight against reactionary forces in Finland itself and the native fascist movement which these forces had engendered.

It cannot be sufficiently emphasized that the contribution of the trade-union movement to Finland's reconstruction after the war was of paramount importance. It is to the lasting credit of the Finnish working class—irrespective of political affiliation—that, in conditions of considerable hardship, they concentrated on the common task.

It is essentially because of the wholehearted efforts of the entire working class that by 1948—only four years after the war—Finland's national production and income had already regained their pre-war level, notwithstanding the losses of industry, forests, agriculture and other economic resources sustained in the ceded areas.

Finland to most of us brings to mind one of the world's outstanding composers, Jan Sibelius, famous for his songs and for his symphonies.

We have also heard of your poet Ahlqvist, your novelist Juhani Aho.

Many sociologists are of the opinion that Finland has the most democratic constitution of Europe.

The proper character of the Finns can be, I believe, defined by the word "sisu", your particular combination of ardour and patience.

On behalf of the Executive Committee of the ITF, I would like to extend a particular welcome to the Guests of Honour, Official Guests, Fraternal Delegates and all friends of the ITF who have honoured us by attending this Congress in Helsinki.

Our Guests of Honour are: Mrs. L. Krier of Luxembourg; R. Bratschi of Switzerland, our former President; J. H. Oldenbroek of Holland, our former General Secretary and former General Secretary of the ICFTU; G. Joustra of Holland, former member of the Executive Committee; together with three veteran members of our Finnish affiliates: I. Hyvönen, member of the Finnish Transport Workers Union for over thirty years; E. Kallio, former President of the Finnish Railwaymen's Union; O. Peltonen, veteran of the Finnish Locomotivemen's Union;

Our Official Guests include: Mr. A. K. Loimaranta, representative of the City of Helsinki; Mr. T. Bratt, of the International Labour Office; Th. Sellin, US Labour Attaché; K. Kenny, British Labour Attaché.

Our Fraternal Delegates are: S. Nedzynski, Assistant General Secretary of the ICFTU; J. Mikhelson of the International Centre of Free Trade Unionists in Exile; I Karaboué, of the Transport Workers' Union of the Ivory Coast; M. Carulias, of the Argentinian TUC; H. Perez, of the Argentinian Tramwaymen; E. Casanova, of Uruguay; O. Forsberg and Z. L. Zeyfert of the International Federation of Airline Pilots' Associations.

I have now a sadder duty to fulfil.

During the period since our Berne Congress, we have lost many good friends:

- Sir Alan Birch, General Secretary of the British Union of Shop Distributive and Allied Workers, died on 13 December 1961, aged 51.
- A. Birkeland, former President of the Norwegian Seamen's Union, died on 24 September 1960, aged 69.
- T. C. Carroll, former President of the US Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees, died in October 1960.
- H. Jahn, former President of the German Railwaymen's Union, former President of the ITF and member of the Executive Committee, died on 10 July 1960, aged 74.
- C. Kamp, former Vice-President of the German Railwaymen's Union and member of the ITF General Council, died on 31 January 1960, aged 70.
- S. Koutio, President of the Finnish Motor Drivers' Union, deputy member of the ITF General Council, member of the ITF Road Transport Workers' Section Committee, died on 17 August 1960.

Gambart de Lignières, General Secretary of the French Union of Flight Engineers, Vice-Chairman of the ITF Civil Aviation Section, died on 10 May 1961 in an air accident.

- E. Peterson, former Secretary-Treasurer of the US International Association of Machinists, died in March 1961, aged 66.
- J. Steldinger, Secretary of the German Transport and Public Service Workers' Union, deputy member of the ITF General Council, member of the Road Transport Workers' and Civil Aviation Section Committees, died on 26 March 1961.
- J. A. Wilson, Assistant General Secretary of the British Merchant Navy and Air Line Officers' Association, died on 10 July 1961.

Lord Winster, President of the British Merchant Navy and Air Line Officers' Association, died on 7 June 1961, aged 76.

Since our Report on Activities was prepared, three more well-known colleagues have been taken from us:

- J. Scott, General Secretary of the British National Union of Seamen, died on 21 January 1962, aged 61.
- A. Hallworth, former General Secretary of the British Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen, and former member of the ITF Management Committee, died on 20 April 1962, aged 64.
- **J. Brautigam,** former leader of the Dutch seamen and transport workers and for many years member of the pre-war Dutch Management Committee of the ITF, died on 24 June 1962, aged 84.

Brother Brautigam was to have been a Guest of Honour at this Congress.

All these men devoted their lives to the trade union movement. They played their role in the building of our international organization and in doing so have left us a heritage. It is our duty to continue their work.

I am sure that with me you will wish to stand and honour the memory of these men and that of all the other trade union colleagues who have passed from us.

Congress stood in silent tribute to those departed colleagues.

Fellow Delegates,

It is a sobering reflection that to-day, in a period which is characterised by the winning of freedom by all but a few colonial territories, the small countries of Europe should again have been either engulfed or threatened by a political despotism which has much in common with the Tsarist régime which stifled their liberty for so long.

Throughout these years of change, the ITF, in common with the whole democratic movement, has followed a consistent line. One of the first acts of the infant ITF, more than half a century ago, was not only to proclaim its support for those fighting for freedom and social justice in the Russian, Austrian, Hungarian and Turkish empires, but also to express its sympathy and fellow-feeling for those in Africa, Asia and parts of Latin America who were being exploited by their colonial masters and were as yet not even in a position to begin their struggle for independence.

Today the ITF is a very different and far more powerful organization than that which first saw the light of day at the end of the 19th century. Its principles, however, have remained unchanged.

Since our first biennial congress held in London in 1898, over 60 years ago, you will all agree that the ITF has grown up; from its more or less humble origins, it has become a universally known international trade secretariat.

If we look back in the past we shall see that, when the ITF was founded in 1896, it was for all practical purposes an exclusively European organization with only 200,000 members belonging to a dozen countries. To-day, rather more than sixty years later, we are approaching the seven million membership mark, with more than 270 transport unions spread over 79 countries throughout the free world.

These figures indicate how the ITF has grown and prospered since it was founded. I believe I can truly say that the growth and prosperity of the ITF, the expansion of its activities, are proof of the far-sighted vision of those first international pioneers, such as Edo Fimmen, our great General Secretary of world renown, our dear and regretted Charles Lindley, President, who believed in the possibilities of international action in a period when the vast majority of people could not extend their ideas beyond the boundaries of their own country. That the ITF has developed so powerfully can be laid to the credit of those who took the helm and succeeded where many other international organizations failed.

Great credit must also be given to the member-organizations of the ITF, who have been staunch in their faith in the Federation and remained loyal through all adverse circumstances. To all of them, may I be allowed to extend my very sincere thanks.

In the last few years we have seen not so much an increase in total membership as an increase in the number of new unions joining the ITF. And the majority of these new affiliates come from Africa, Asia and South America. I believe it can be truly said that the emphasis of the ITF's work during recent years has been on regional activities. It is for that reason that in 1957 the Executive Committee decided to appoint a Director of Regional Affairs, with the task, under the authority of the General Secretary, of co-ordinating and expanding the regional activities of the ITF. While we rejoice with those who have gained their freedom and self-respect after long years as colonies, we still remain watchful and alert for any new threat to trade union and civil liberties—whether this comes from the old colonial powers, the newstyle political colonizers or even nationalist movements which have taken the wrong turning. Our close bond with the workers in the newly independent countries and the few remaining colonies has been well illustrated by the activities of our International during the past two years. A very substantial portion of our effort has been devoted to encouraging and assisting the trade union movements of the emergent nations and, within the natural limitations imposed by our resources and the difficulties of the task itself, we have every reason to feel pride in what has been achieved.

One reflection of the success of this work is, of course, to be seen in the ever-growing number of unions from the Regions which have affiliated with the ITF since the Berne Congress. New affiliations alone,

however, gratifying though they are, give only one side of the picture and a rather bald side at that. Very often there is a story behind each such affiliation. It may be that of long, patient work on behalf of a particular group of workers by our on-the-spot representative, it may be the story of a successful intervention by the whole of the ITF in support of a union which is threatened with suppression or extinction by governments or employers, and sometimes even a combination of the two; it may also be the story of material assistance and advice which has been given by the ITF to a struggling union to enable it to organize properly and stand on its own feet or to unite its strength with other groups of transport workers. Some of these activities are spectacular even dramatic-and are consequently well publicized. Much of the ITF's activity in the Regions, however, does not hit the headlines. More often than not it involves a great deal of patient spadework, whose results can only be seen at a later date—but it is no less important for that.

During the last two years we in the ITF have, for example, been breaking new ground in Latin America and in North-West Africa, and we have found that although it may be difficult to work at first, it will nevertheless eventually prove to be extremely fertile soil for ITF activity. The potential which exists for the creation of a new mass trade union movement in a number of areas in the Regions is quite staggering and the task of aiding its realization represents an exhilerating challenge The enthusiasm and hard work which characterized the two full-scale regional conferences held during the period in Kuala-Lumpur and Lima have also provided a telling illustration of how fruitful our past activity in the Regions has proved.

The term "Regional Activities" is however no more than a convenient name for our work in this field. In addition to the special difficulties of organization, education and development which face the new unions of Africa, Asia and Latin-America, there are also many professional and trade union problems which they have in common with their colleagues in the older sectors of our movement. Very often these can be dealt with in the course of our normal sectional activities, which have also been considerably stepped up during the period under review.

The ITF has seven different sections, all of which have been extremely active during the last two years. At the many conferences held by the sections, special items prepared by the Secretariat have been thoroughly discussed. May I in this respect mention the conferences of the seafarers and dockers, the railway and road transport conferences, the inland waterways and civil aviation meetings, and last but not least, the conference of the forgotten workers, the fishermen. At all of these conferences far-reaching decisions were taken, blueprints for further action drawn up and proposals for new international conventions formulated. Although the ITF has shifted a large part of its activities to the less economically developed regions, its fundamental idea of improving the standard of living of all transport workers has been maintained, and concrete measures were taken through the medium of the industrial sections to implement the principle. I can assure Congress that under all circumstances your Executive Committee will continue to be guided by this principle.

Since we last met, great changes have been taking place in the world. Some of the largest African countries have finally gained independence. In some cases the transfer of power has taken place peacefully. Nigeria and Tanganyika, for instance, now look forward to a prosperous and relatively untroubled future—and we strongly welcome this development. In other areas, such as the Congo, the changeover to self-rule has unfortunately been accompanied by wide-spread violence and internecine strife. There are already signs, however, that this unhappy chapter is drawing to a close and that the Congo, too, can look forward to a brighter, more constructive period of its history.

In Algeria as well, the long nightmare of a particularly savage and bloody war has ended and we can now hope that we shall soon see the creation of a new and united nation in which all Algerians will be able to live together in peace and harmony. For us, this is an especially heartening end to this long-drawn-out tragedy, for in the ITF we have always strongly supported the right of the Algerian people to national freedom and peace. Consequently, we look forward eagerly to a very close association with the Algerian transport workers' unions which will emerge once the new nation gets into its stride.

We have also witnessed the final end of colonial rule in Goa and the opening acts of the struggle for liberation in Angola. It is especially encouraging to note these rapid developments in a colonial empire which has always been characterized by the complete stifling of the national aspirations of its subject-peoples. Such a revolutionary alteration in the situation must be causing real fear and anxiety for the first time in the few remaining strongholds of racialism in Africa.

In Latin America we have seen without regret the end of the vicious dictatorship of the Trujillos in the Dominican Republic. Already, there are signs that a healthy democratic trade union movement is taking root in a free Dominica and we can be proud of the fact that ITF representatives have played a vital rôle in encouraging that growth.

Unfortunately, this bright chapter in Latin American history has been partly dimmed by events in Cuba where a national revolution which, in its initial stages, showed much promise and enjoyed widespread sympathy, has been transformed into a régime which seems to have very close links with the Soviet system and has vied with its masters in vicious attacks on democratic trade unionists and free institutions generally. Another particularly unwelcome development has been the re-emergence of military dictatorships, some veiled as in the case of Argentina, some completely barefaced like that recently imposed in Peru. In both cases it is deplorable that the duly-elected presidents of the countries concerned have been arrested without reason and are being held without trial, and it is fitting that we should here unite our voice with that of the millions who now demand their release.

The outlook, however, is not too gloomy, for we can have the greatest confidence in the democratic principles of the Latin American peoples and particularly in the will to resistance of the continent's free trade unions. We can be certain that they will not easily surrender the liberty which was won at such great sacrifice.

Developments in Asia have also been very varied in character. There are of course several large Asian countries where democracy flourishes and the trade union movement is strong and well-developed. We have also seen extremely satisfactory progress in the smaller countries and territories, such as Okinawa, Malaya and Singapore. On the other hand, there are still unhappily large areas where the trade union movement is divided and fragmented or where military régimes and political dictatorship prevent or hamper the establishment of free institutions.

The character of the international trade union movement is rapidly altering and the people of the extra-European continents are now beginning to play an increasingly important part in its work. This process is likely to be continued still further during the years to come.

The international movement to-day has a dual task; that of consolidating and improving the standards which were fought for by our predecessors in the industrialized countries and that of strengthening the hand of those who are still at the beginning of their trade union struggle. That this is recognized throughout the trade union world has been well demonstrated during the past two years. We have seen a tremendous example of spontaneous solidarity in support of the workers of the developing nations, a campaign in which, for example, the labour movement of the Northern countries has played an extremely honourable and generous rôle.

It would, of course, be foolish to pretend that there are no grounds for dissatisfaction with the way things are going in the Regions. The governments of some newly independent countries turn out to be just as fallible or as mistaken in their policies as their opposite numbers elsewhere in the world. The trade union movements of the emergent nations are, also, no less prone to error than were their long-established counterparts. Moreover, governments in certain African countries, for instance, have tried to muzzle or destroy the trade unions as independent institutions.

Let us be clear about one thing: we cannot allow ourselves the luxury of a double set of standards when attacks are made on basic trade union freedoms. The arbitrary imprisonment of Cuban and Ghanaian unionists should be just as reprehensible to us as the kidnapping of Heinz Brandt or the torture of an underground union worker in Fascist Spain. Neither comparative mildness nor motive can excuse any suppression of man's right to speak freely or to act according to his conscience. Nor can we accept the argument that dictates of national interest permit the domination of trade unions by governments or political party of any colour, however attractively the shackles may be decked out. The logical conclusion of surrendering such basic principles can be seen in the "wall of shame" that to-day runs through the heart of Berlin.

I believe that at this stage Congress will agree that we should acclaim and support, morally and financially, the struggle which the Spanish workers have waged against their reactionary employers and at the same time against the dictatorship of General Franco. For many years, until his untimely death, we have had in our Executive our beloved friend Trifón Gómez, who represented the Spanish transport workers, not only those in exile, but also those who in Spain, at the

risk of their lives, carried on the struggle for freedom, for the right of free speech, for the right of association. It is our belief that the time is not far distant when once again the real Spanish flag will be in our midst.

Turning to a somewhat brighter subject, let us consider for a moment the moves toward closer unity which are now being made not only in Europe but also in Africa, Latin America and Asia. These too represent an important challenge for the international movement and it is particularly appropriate that the ITF should have been so closely associated with this trend in recent years, for our International was the first workers' organization to advance plans for a United States of Europe nearly forty years ago.

We are now realizing our old dream of an integrated economy extending far beyond traditional national boundaries. We are, however, very well aware that ideas, however noble or beneficial they may be in theory, may nevertheless be perverted by the self-seeking and the unscrupulous. In the labour movement we have had personal experience of this in the distortion of Socialist ideals by those who control the so-called Socialist countries of Eastern Europe or in the mock trade unions created by the Nazis and Fascists. There can of course be hazards in the joining together of peoples in economic or political unions. But it is the task of progressive movements such as our own to face up to these hazards and to play its part in producing a reality which not only avoids them, but which aims at the highest possible social standards—and not at the lowest common denominator. One does not after all abandon sound plans because they may have unpleasant by-products nor does one throw overboard principles simply because they have been debased by wilful misuse or distortion.

Since Berne, we have been living through a new era of technological progress and innovation in the transport industry. The period has seen the maiden voyage of the first nuclear-powered merchant vessel; the almost universal operation of turbo-jet aircraft—both large and small—on the world's civil air-routes; the widespread application of automatic navigation methods and the increasing use of electronic computers in the planning and programming of transport operations, especially in the railway industry. We have even witnessed the trials of an unmanned subway train in the United States. Many of these developments represent new problems and new challenges for the transport workers of the world. It is our task as transport trade unionists to anticipate and assess the impact of technological change on the lives and work of our members and to cushion them against its adverse effects.

As can be seen from the report, this has been one of the busiest and most productive periods of the ITF's post-war history. Earlier work in the regional field is now being consolidated while at the same time a rapid expansion of our current regional affairs programme has been implemented. ITF representatives are now engaged almost continuously on special missions throughout Africa, Latin America and Asia. One result of this intensification of our activity can be seen in the fact that the ITF can now point to new affiliates from several countries which were previously not represented in our International. The ITF has also played an increasingly active rôle in bringing about the settlement of national conflicts affecting transport workers in the

regions, whilst ITF assistance has made a valuable and direct contribution towards the strengthening of youthful transport workers' movements in many areas of the world. Two full scale regional conferences—comparable in some ways to a full ITF Congress—have taken place and further conferences are planned in the near future.

This stepping-up of activity in what is still a comparatively new area of our work has gone hand in hand with a marked rise in the industrial and professional sphere. More Sectional Conferences have been held than ever before and very large number of special meetings have been held to cater to the interests of individual categories of transport workers. Solid progress has been made in the solution of practical trade union problems and in the raising of the transport workers' social standards and professional status. In addition, ITF representatives have advanced the views and claims of our membership in a variety of official bodies dealing with transport problems at all levels.

Looking back over this period, I feel that we can be very well satisfied with our achievements during the past two years and can look forward confidently to the next period of activities in the knowledge that a very firm basis has been laid on which we can build for the future.

The problems with which we are confronted and which must be solved are many and complex. The guiding principles of the international trade union movement have always been universality and solidarity, and the ITF in particular can look back on an impressive record of international solidarity. I am convinced that the ITF Congress in Helsinki will take decisions based on these principles as it has done in the past under the leadership of men like Charles Lindley, Edo Fimmen, Jaap Oldenbroek, and Omer Becu. All of them were dedicated in their fight to improve the standard of living of transport workers, in their struggle for freedom and peace.

- N. Wälläri then congratulated ITF General Secretary, Pieter de Vries, on his 65th birthday and made a presentation to him on behalf of the ITF's Finnish affiliates.
 - P. de Vries accepted the gift with many thanks.

The General Secretary read out telegrams of greetings to Congress from J. D. Randeri, Maritime Union of India, and S. Christiansson, former President of the Swedish Railwaymen's Union.

The General Secretary asked for nominations for the Credentials and Resolutions Committee to be handed to the Chairman at the beginning of the afternoon session.

Congress approved Document C. 1.(b): Proposed Standing Orders. Congress was then adjourned.

Wednesday, 25th July, 1962

Afternoon Session

The General Secretary introduced a discussion on the emergency resolution submitted by the Executive Committee on the situation in Peru

Fernando Azaña (ITF Regional Director for Latin America and the Caribbean Zone) said that he was proud that his first speech at an ITF Congress as Regional Director for Latin America should be on this subject. Every care had been taken to make the recent elections in Peru absolutely clean and democratic and the result had been a clear victory for anti-communist and pro-democratic forces. But the armed forces had accused the government of fraud and had not allowed Haya de la Torre to become President. There had been in Peru the same unfortunate close alliance between the extreme left and the extreme right which had given rise to so many dictatorships in South America. The anti-democratic forces hoped that the opposition would not show itself and for this reason it was essential that the ITF should take a firm stand. Haya de la Torre's party had done a great deal for the people of Peru, where conditions however, were still far from good, 50% of the population earning less than 6 US\$ per month. The ITF's previous intervention in S. America had gained the Federation a great deal of prestige in the continent. The ITF now had 54 more affiliates in Latin America than at the time of the Berne Congress. Although many of these affiliates were quite small they were steadily growing and it was essential for the ITF not to let these workers down. Peru was the seat of the ITF Regional Office and Brother Azaña was afraid that it might have been closed down. He had heard that the office of the International Federation of Commercial, Clerical and Technical Employees, also in Peru, had been closed and he feared for the safety of the ITF staff in Lima, all the more so since the ITF had been extremely active and its past activities had incurred the emnity of governments throughout South America, in Uruguay at the time of the railwaymen's strike, in Colombia and, most recently, in Argentina during the recent seamen's dispute.

He appealed to the ITF's affiliated dockers and seafarers in Europe and America to implement the last paragraph of the Resolution. There were only 10 or 11 ships sailing each week from ports in Peru to destinations abroad and it would not involve too great a sacrifice to boycott them. The military junta in Peru would almost certainly surrender to such a boycott and the ITF's prestige among the workers of Latin America would be enormously enhanced. He asked Congress to accept the Resolution unanimously.

H. Alonso ("La Fraternidad", Argentina) spoke as a representative of a country suffering the consequences of a coup d'état. Every country in Latin America was under the constant threat of being taken over by reactionary groups. The armed forces sometimes forgot that they had the duty to protect their country but not the right to govern it. He urged Congress to accept the Resolution because if the representatives of free workers did not take a firm stand there would soon no longer be a single representative government left in Latin America.

The ITF's strength in a vital industry enabled it to take effective action against anti-democratic forces. Argentina, too, was suffering under a pupper government acting under the orders of the armed forces, and similar tragedies might spread to other countries unless a determined effort was made to stop them.

- H. Hernandez (Venezuelan Transport Workers) said that the Venezuelan Unions were in full support of the resolution. It was only the strength of the working class movement which had prevented Venezuela from falling victim to totalitarian government. He proposed, however, that the resolution should be amended in the third paragraph to make it clear that it was not only military circles which threatened democracy in the countries of Latin America but also certain civilian groups who were hostile to democratic institutions.
- **D. Tennant** (British Merchant Navy and Air Line Officers Association) agreed with the sentiments expressed in the resolution but said that the last paragraph presented some difficulties for seafarers' organizations. It was no use adopting a resolution which could not be carried out. Once a ship was under articles it might mean that a crew would have to mutiny if they were going to implement the boycott. He suggested that in view of these difficulties the resolution should be submitted to the Dockers' and Seafarers' Sections where the wording could be amended in order to overcome the problem. According to the Constitution, Congress could not, in any case, vote on the draft resolution at this juncture because the Credentials' Committee had not yet presented its Report.
- **H. Hildebrand** (German Public Service and Transport Workers' Union) supported Bro. Tennant's suggestion and reminded the General Secretary that the recent joint meeting of the Dockers and Seafarers had expressly required that any proposed boycott involving these Sections should be discussed within these Sections beforehand.
- yith the previous two speakers but maintained that it was essential that the ITF should lose no time in making its position clear with regard to military take-overs and dictatorship. Hesitation would lead to misunderstanding among the trade unionists of Peru as well as in Latin American countries generally. The United States Government had already acted, almost to the point of breaking off diplomatic relations with Peru completely, and had made it clear that the United States did not recognise the military junta in Peru. The matter was all the more urgent since the Communists would make political capital in Latin America out of any hesitation on our part. Since the matter was so vital to the Latin American workers, a special committee should be appointed to revise the resolution so that it could be adopted immediately. The amended resolution should omit any reference to the boycott and this question could then be discussed by the Dockers' and Seafarers' Sections.

The General Secretary agreed with those speakers who had stressed the urgency of the resolution and supported Brother Curran's suggestion for the setting up of a small committee to work out a new draft which could be presented for approval by Congress the following morning.

The President put Brother Curran's suggestion to the vote and it was agreed.

Nominations were then taken for the special committee and the following were appointed: D. Tennant; H. Hildebrand; J. Curran; H. Alonso and F. Azaña. It was also agreed that the General Secretary should attend the Committee Meeting which was to take place when the Plenary Session finished.

The President then called for further nominations to complete the Credentials Committee and the following were appointed: M. Trana (Norway); A. Lissandre (France); W. J. P. Webber (United Kingdom); C. W. Van Driel (Holland); E. Wall (Ireland); D. Secord (North America); J. Arranz (Latin America); B. Majumder (Asia); M. A. Ndabambi (Africa).

The President then called upon the General Secretary to introduce the Report on Activities for 1960 and 1961.

The General Secretary

Brother President, Delegates, Friends,

I have been weighing up in my mind whether I ought to introduce the Report on Activities at all. The report, after all, speaks largely for itself and I want at all costs to avoid saying so much that you—the people the report is intended for—feel that there is very little left for you to say. I am going to be very brief and confine my remarks mainly to pointing out the scope and limitations of the report. I shall then sit back and listen carefully to what you say and hope to have the chance, with the President's permission, to reply—and perhaps add some comments of my own.

You will see that the report is well over one hundred pages long, but even so it is no more than the barest summary of what we have been doing for the last couple of years. The difficulty in preparing this report is always to decide what has to be left out and to try to say as briefly as possible what our main activities have been. They are enormously varied, ranging from matters of narrow interest to one section to affairs of world wide significance.

A description of our work with other international bodies would in itself be enough to fill a book, for nowadays it seems that everything is dealt with by one international organization or another and it is quite a job, even for those working full time on these matters, to keep up with what the various organs of the United Nations, for example, are doing, and even to remember what all the various initials stand for. Nor can we afford to disregard what these bodies are doing, because although the subjects they handle sometimes seem obscure and the procedure for dealing with them is usually very involved, the outcome of their work can have a direct and considerable impact on the living and working conditions of the workers whom the ITF have to represent at international level. Inevitably, the fruit of our work internationally takes a long time to ripen, but fruit is borne nonetheless and in these days when there is an ever greater interdependence between one country and another isolationism would be foolish and harmful.

All this adds up to a great demand on our time and it is worth remembering that even now our headquarters staff only numbers about

half-a-dozen more people than we had over ten years ago when there was far less to be done.

I am not going to say anything much about regional activities at this point because there will be ample opportunity for a full debate later, but I can point here and now to the great amount of research which has to go in to even the most commonplace activity in the developing countries. Every country has its own peculiarities—economically, politically and socially—which require considerable understanding if we are to work in it to any purpose. This is all the more true of the developing countries where economic, political and social institutions are often still in the formative stage.

There is one more aspect to the report which I ought to mention. It omits all reference to routine work—correspondence, requests for information, arrangements for visits and meetings and so on. None of the jobs in this category would be worth mentioning in itself, but add them all together and they amount to a great deal of hard work which has to be done if the ITF is to maintain steady and intimate contact with its member-organizations.

I think I have left you a great deal to talk about and if you have criticisms, then now is the time to air them—constructively, I hope.

Thank you, Brother President.

J. S. Thore (Swedish Seamen's Union), whilst not wishing to criticize the Report on Activities, said that he wanted to make a few additional remarks in connection with the employment of Asian seamen on European flag vessels so that this situation would be more comprehensible for those groups of transport workers not directly concerned. The Report on Activities pointed out that this problem was an old one which had been taken up again by the Scandinavian unions in 1958 and 1959. This was misleading because it gave the impression that the problem was mainly a Scandinavian one. In fact, however, the Scandinavian seafarers' unions were not themselves affected by the problem to any great degree. They had, however, lately noted that Scandinavian ship-owners were beginning to follow the example of shipowners in other countries such as Great Britain in availing themselves of the possibility of manning their vessels in the Far East Trades with Asian seamen, whose wages and social benefits were inferior to those laid down in the legislation of the respective Scandinavian countries. This form of exploitation was comparable to that practised by the shipowners operating their vessels under flags of convenience. It was for this reason that the Scandinavian unions had taken up the matter with the ITF: they believed it to be an international problem of great import. He hoped that the British National Union of Seamen would not take his remarks as a criticism, but felt that Great Britain was the country most concerned with this particular problem. The late Jim Scott, former General Secretary of the National Union of Seamen, had agreed with him that this matter was one which the ITF and its affiliated maritime organizations would have to devote all their energy to solving.

The Report on Activities indicated that the prime reasons for this situation were the general poverty, misery, over-population and unemployment in the under-developed countries of Asia and that attempts to solve the problem were bedevilled by the traditional forms of recruitment in these areas. The speaker, however, thought that these arguments were unconvincing. In his opinion it was the policy of exploitation practised by the shipowners from the traditional maritime countries which had been the main contributory factor to the situation in the Far East. These latter were skilfully exploiting the misery of the Asian populations in order to enrich themselves and compete for cargoes. This policy had a pernicious effect on freight rates and represented a danger to the shipping industry in general. The fact that a resolution on the recruitment of Asian seamen had been adopted by the Joint Maritime Commission in 1961 with the support of the shipowners indicated that a number of these had begun to see that this policy of discrimination would in the long run damage their own interests. However, if the ITF and its maritime affiliates did not tackle the problem on a realistic basis, the reasonable shipowners would not be able to cope with it on their own. The proof of this lay in the problem of flag of convenience shipping. It was up to the trade unions in the first place to seek ways and means of assuring that the collective agreements and legislation prevailing in the country of registration were applied to all crew members regardless of their nationality or race.

Of the 22,000 members of the Swedish Seamen's Union 8,000 were foreign with many Asians among them and Swedish Laws and collective agreements were applied to them. However, it had been impossible to recruit members among the Asian seamen employed on the 10 Swedish vessels engaged in the Far East Trades. These were employed at wages which were less than one-half those laid down in the Swedish collective agreements. The question had been thoroughly aired at this years' collective agreement negotiations, but the Swedish shipowners, although agreeing in principle that this policy was wrong, maintained that the question was comparatively unimportant as far as Sweden was concerned and that the abuse could only be stamped out if approached at international level. Attempts to solve the problem at a purely national level would only lead to delay. Competition based on this abuse was injurious to shipping in general and of benefit only to those shipowners who went in for this form of exploitation. Although he would have liked to have proposed a boycott of such ships, he doubted the ITF's ability to implement such a boycott in the area concerned because of the present lack of co-operation between the ITF and the Japanese and Australian transport and dock workers organizations, The ITF, however, ought to continue looking for a way of doing something positive. He was disappointed that so far our resources had been insufficient to settle this matter. To him it seemed an ironical paradox that the working classes in Sweden and in other countries should be contributing money for the development of the trade union movement in the under-developed countries whilst at the same time prosperous shipowners and financiers continued their policy of exploitation without our being able to do anything about it.

N. Metslov (Estonian Seamen's Union) said that the ITF had worked successfully during the recent period of its activities, in

particular in fighting against the Panlibhon vessels. Good results had been achieved on the whole, although there had been a certain stagnation with regard to vessels owned by United States residents. Among those profiting from the situation were two Estonian shipping companies in the United States. He hoped that the United States' unions would soon once again be in a position to collaborate unanimously in the struggle against Panlibhon shipping as they had done some years previously. The Finnish seafarers and dockers had made an especially important contribution in this struggle for which the speaker expressed his gratitude. The peoples of Finland and Estonia had a great deal in common. The Finns had fought together with the Estonians in their struggle for Estonian independence and young Estonians had helped to defend Finland's freedom in the wars with Communist Russia. The achievement of the Finnish people proved that small nations were quite capable of managing their own affairs successfully.

The biggest colonial power in the world—the Soviet Union—kept millions of workers under a rule of terror and had not given freedom to any of the conquered peoples although at the same time many peoples in Africa and Asia had achieved independence. The Communist assertion that the peoples in Soviet Russia and her satellite countries were living in freedom was proved false by the plain fact that people in the speaker's native country, Estonia, were not permitted to travel freely to Finland or any other country of the free world. Peoples who lived under Communist dictatorship were longing for social justice and freedom, and the work the ITF and the free trade unions carried out for the realization of these ideals benefited the captive peoples too.

The President adjourned the Congress until 9 a.m. the following morning.

Thursday, 26th July, 1962

Morning Session

The Chairman opened the discussion on the Report on Activities.

- G. R. Cabrera (Uruguayan Stevedores) spoke of a crisis which had arisen in his union's activities caused by a dispute with a local meat packing and refrigeration plant, the Establiciamiento Frigorífico del Cerro, which is run as a workers' co-operative, partly because of alleged communist infiltration in the latter. The plant was violating laws made to protect the labour market and trade union rights. Brother Cabrera repudiated allegations of Communism in his own union and appealed for the solidarity of all transport workers.
- S. F. Andersen (Danish Seamen's Federation) expressed the thanks of his union for the ITF's solid support during the long strike of Danish Seamen in 1961. Without the ITF's help the excellent results achieved would not have been possible.
- M. S. Hoda (All-India Railwaymen's Federation) recalled the crucial Indian railwaymen's strike which had been one of the more important topics discussed at the Berne Congress. This experience provided a valuable lesson for Indian trade unionists, and the railwaymen would always be grateful to the ITF for the help they received.

Turning to Regional Affairs, Brother Hoda said that with the growth of industrialization in the newly independent nations the trade unions were gaining in importance and the ITF's work in the regions therefore took on added significance. The workers of Asia and Africa greatly appreciated the effort and resources spent by the international trade union movement in helping them to develop their organizations as instruments for achieving social and economic progress.

But these young unions had serious problems to contend with. The multiplicity of organizations in some branches of the transport industry led to rivalry, and precious resources were wasted on pointless quarrels and on advancing the personal careers of some opportunists. The communists took advantage of the resulting confusion, and the international free trade union movement ought to make strenuous efforts to help the democratic unions to consolidate their position. In his opinion, the ITF ought to change its policy in connection with assistance to trade unions in underdeveloped countries. The efforts of the international trade union movement should be concentrated on gaining the confidence of the workers at large rather than of the leadership which had often been imposed on the workers. Such a redirection of effort would bring lasting results, at least in Asia. The regional conferences in Asia and Latin America had been of great value, and this had been demonstrated by the enthusiasm which they provoked in the countries concerned.

Brother Hoda went on to speak of the useful work of the ITF on technical questions such as the transport of radio-active materials and automatic couplings. The problem of automatic couplings was important in India because of the great number of accidents, many of them fatal. The screw couplings employed in India were heavier than the maximum weight laid down by the UIC in Europe. The change-over from manual to automatic coupling would however cost approximately £7,000,000 and the Indian Government was unlikely to act unless considerable pressure was put on them. He was particularly pleased at the preparation of the Railwaymen's Social Charter and Charter of Trade Union Rights. The proposed Charter of Railwaymen's Trade Union Rights would, if implemented, do a lot to safeguard the interests of the railway workers in countries like India and Japan where the railwaymen's trade union rights had been seriously infringed because they served a community in a very important sector. Brother Hoda ended by inviting interested delegates to attend the convention of the All-India Railwaymen's Federation due to begin on 29 July 1962.

H. H. Alonso (Argentine Locomotivemen's Union, La Fraternidad) extended heartfelt greetings to all delegates on behalf of La Fraternidad, the ITF's oldest Latin American affiliate. He also wished to express his organization's sincere gratitude for the valuable moral and material help which La Fraternidad had received during the forty-two day strike which had been staged in the closing months of 1961. This strike had been directed against the stubborn attitude of the Argentine Government which had taken upon itself to attack the railwaymen's fundamental rights. The railwaymen had risen to the challenge and vigorously defended the nation's railway system which the Government were proposing to dismantle. The problems of the Argentinian railways were difficult and complex. Although Argentina was one of those countries which were termed "under-developed" it was a nation which was making every effort to develop progressively. The railways had been built orginally for the purpose of conveying agricultural products, mainly meat, from the interior to the ports for export. However, the nation had been growing for some time, centres of population and industry had been established throughout the country and it was necessary to have an efficient means of transport to link the centres of production and consumption.

The nationalization of the 42,000 kilometres of the Argentine railway network caused some confusion among the railwaymen, particularly because of the introduction of political factors into matters which should have been judged from a technical point of view. Improvization had brought all sorts of mistakes, with disastrous economic results. Influential pressure groups had put pressure on the Government to close down 20,000 kilometres of track, to close down railway workshops and undermine railwaymen's basic working conditions. Although the resistance put up by the railwaymen had caused the Government not to proceed with these plans, the situation at present was chaotic. The reasons and motives behind these developments were very complex but, basically, it could be said that the present situation had arisen because of the greed of certain unscrupulous pressure groups, political manoeuvring and general incompetence. Obviously, the motive behind the decision to close down railway workshops had been the hope that repairs to railway rolling stock would be carried out by private interests who would thus profit from the change. Similarly the automobile industry, with no natural market for its products in Argentina, stood to gain from a reduction of the railway system. The Government had foolishly engaged the services of an expensive team of foreign consultants to investigate transport planning in Argentina. These consultants, unfamiliar with the true needs of the country, had recommended a reduction of the railway network, 14,000 kilometres of which was to be closed down and replaced by 40,000 kilometres of roads. Besides benefiting the road vehicle manufacturers this programme would have meant the purchase of materials from abroad in such a way as to give rise to the suspicion that the consultants were not altogether impartial. The consultants had also used out-of-date statistics.

As a result of the railwaymen's strike at the end of 1961, workers gained for the first time representation on the Railway Management. In addition, the railway workshops had been opened, plans to close down branch lines had been rescinded, employees had been given wage increases and plans to improve the railway system which had been advocated by the railwaymen's organizations were put into operation. However, at the beginning of 1962 there had been new provocations: payment of wages had been postponed, wage increases which had been agreed on were not honoured and the work of administering the railways properly had been hindered. At the same time the Government had shown itself indifferent to the chaos produced by the indiscriminate mass laying off of railway workers and the deterioration of equipment. At the same time the workers had been systematically provoked by attacks on their pension fund, medical and other social security benefits. Union contributions collected by the Management were not forwarded to the union. If this provocation continued there was certain to be another severe industrial dispute.

La Fraternidad was proud to belong to the ITF, whose prestige was growing particularly in Latin America. He wished particularly to congratulate the Executive Committee for its work in intensifying regional activities and the particular attention they had paid to Latin America.

He wished to put forward a formal proposal to Congress that a Latin American Consultative Committee should be formed to deal with the problems affecting transport workers in Latin America, in much the same way as the Asian Advisory Committee had been set up for the transport workers of Asia.

In conclusion he wished to pay tribute to the untiring assistance given by Brother Azaña, the Director for Latin America and the Caribbean Zone, and to all those working in the regional office in Lima. He was convinced that the Latin American organizations would be playing a much greater part in the activities of the ITF than hitherto. The Latin American unions were confident that they would, by their own efforts, be able to achieve a better standard of living for their members. With the help of the ITF and of the older established unions which had founded this organization, he was sure that they would succeed in making Latin America into a region with economic and social standards comparable with those achieved by brother organizations in the more developed countries.

Finally he paid special tribute to the work done by Brother A. E. Lyon who, on the ITF Executive Committee, had so enthusiastically advocated and worked for the intensification of the ITF regional activities' programmes. It was a cause for regret that he had had to give up his work in the ITF to take up other duties in his own country. However, it was to be hoped that the work he had undertaken would continue to receive priority in the Executive Committee.

- J. Akumu: (Railway African Union, Kenya) was grateful for the assistance given by the ITF to his union, and paid tribute to Brother Laan, to the ITF Executive Committee, affiliated organizations, not forgetting the General Secretary whose help had enabled the three Railway African Unions in East Africa to obtain new, workable negotiating machinery for the railways which met most of the proposals put forward by the trade union side. The railway management had also financed a three-month study trip to Britain for three trade unionists, of whom the speaker was one. Brother Akumu appealed to delegates to offer African trade unionists scholarships for trade union courses abroad. He knew the value of such courses from his own experience. He stressed the need for greater African representation on the Executive Committee and deplored the reluctance of the British and Indian governments to compensate Asian civil servants who wished to leave East Africa in the same way as had been done for former European employees. He ended by inviting the ITF to consider the possibility of holding its next Congress in Nairobi, Kenya.
- **B. Majumder:** (National Union of Seamen of India) said that the Report on Activities showed that the ITF had lived up to its reputation since the Berne Congress. The ITF had in the course of these two years helped and assisted unions in many countries in their efforts to raise their members' standard of living. In the sphere of Regional Activities the ITF had been doing all that it could within the limitations of its resources. He felt that Regional Activities constituted the most important task of the ITF and considered that Congress might fruitfully discuss the subject in detail.

Referring to the previous day's discussion in relation to the employment of Asian seamen on European ships, the speaker stated that this was a matter which had been discussed before within the Seafarers' Section and at the Berne Congress. He reminded delegates that he himself had pointed out at Berne that if the European unions initiated action in this matter the Asian unions would not lag behind. Eighty-five per cent of Indian seamen worked on British ships. British seamen enjoyed conditions far superior to those laid down in the ILO Convention on Wages, Hours of Work and Manning (Sea) whereas Indian seamen's conditions were far below. In his opinion, the British National Union of Seamen could do a lot by using its influence with the British Government to secure UK ratification of this Convention.

He also drew the attention of Congress to the fact that, since the suspension from the ITF of the Seafarers' International Union of North America and the formation of the International Division of the AFL-CIO Maritime Trades Department, individuals in his part of the world were being contacted by the MTD. He hoped that the situation created by the expulsion of the SIU would be resolved.

A. Hussein (Railway African Union, Tanganyika) was not satisfied with the ITF's efforts in Africa. His union had taken the initiative in trying to organize a conference of ITF affiliates in East, Central and South Africa some two years ago, but had received no assistance from the ITF.

In some African countries the trade unions were not allowed by the government to operate freely. A further threat to freedom lay in the spread of totalitarian ideas and the ITF ought to make every effort to ensure that its friends in Africa were not lost.

Brother Hussein asked for ITF help in obtaining common arbitration machinery for railway workers in all three East African territories and reported that his union was working for an early resolution of the problem of racial grading practices on the East African Railways. He hoped that his union would soon be in a stronger financial position due to the introduction of the check-off system for the collection of union dues, and that they would not be so dependent on the ITF for financial assistance in the future.

Miss L. Raupp (German Railwaymen's Union) began by pointing out that she had attended ITF Congresses since 1954 and, so far as she knew, had been the only woman delegate up to now. The struggle to achieve social justice for all workers in transport organized in the ITF and the ideals of international solidarity animating the Federation had always made a profound impression on her and given her new strength and courage in tackling her own work within her union. The workers who were joined together in the international trade union movement had the same aims, namely, to fight against all forms of injustice, oppression and exploitation. Although their numbers were relatively small compared with the number of women engaged in other industries, the problems of women working in the transport industry were by no means insignificant. Moreover, the progress of rationalization was steadily increasing the number of openings for women. This was the case on the railways. Moreover, women's right to work, equal pay for equal work, and the provision of adequate protection for employed women and mothers were becoming increasingly important.

Recognition of this situation had led the ICFTU to adopt two resolutions. One of these recommended affiliated organizations to take account of the economic consequence of the employment of women and the problem arising out of this in all countries, particularly the developing countries. The other expressed the ICFTU's point of view on professional training and guidance for women workers. Miss Raupp thought that the ITF should strive to implement the substance of these resolutions in its own sphere. Since trade union work, whether at national or international level, necessarily involved the protection of those who were weakest and most vulnerable to exploitation, it was particularly important that women workers should receive the necessary education and training enabling them to make the best possible use of their particular abilities.

Concluding, the speaker suggested that it would be of considerable help if the ITF Secretariat could send out a questionnaire which would enable it to compile exact information on the social and economic position of women workers in transport. Although this would increase pressure of work on the Secretariat, Miss Raupp was convinced that it would considerably facilitate future efforts to tackle the problems of women workers in a constructive way.

- G. Palmer (Seamen & Waterfront Workers' Trade Union, Trinidad) drew attention to the section of the Report on Activities dealing with the second Latin American and Caribbean Zone Conference of the ITF held in Lima, Peru in March 1961. His union comprising 5,220 members had made representations on behalf of the seafarers and dockers, consequent to which a decision had been taken at the Conference with regard to ALCOA ships. The matter had then been taken up at the Dockers' Conference in Oslo in 1961 when it had been referred to the Fair Practices Committee. It was extremely disappointing that the Report on Activities made no mention of the matter. He hoped that the problem would receive attention in the immediate future.
- F. Carreras (Uruguayan Drivers and Cattlemen) spoke on the conflict which had arisen between the stevedores' union and the workers' meat-packing and refrigeration plants. Analysing the causes of the conflict, he gave an outline of how the plant had become a workers' co-operative. Some years ago the employers had staged a lock-out which had put 3,500 out of work. The plant had been re-opened by the workers themselves. To do this they had to struggle alike against capitalists and communists and also against disruptive elements in the government. Communist elements in the Labour movement had done everything to prevent them from increasing their staff. The stevedores' union, the speaker alleged, had supported the communists in their boycott of the co-operative. He also alleged that the stevedores' union had not co-operated with the ITF representative appointed to attempt to reach a settlement of the dispute. He said that proof was available of communist infiltration in this union.

The President, at this point in the proceedings, extended the greetings of Congress to T. Bratt, the ILO representative.

R. Tuori (Finnish Railwaymen's Union, SAK) gave an account of the trade union organization of Finnish railwaymen. His own union, the Finnish Railwaymen's Union, had been founded in 1906 and was the largest railwaymen's organization in Finland. However, the existence of four or five other small organizations whose combined membership was less than that of his union had led to a situation where the employers exploited this evident lack of unity. The Locomotivemen's Union was, of course, an exception and did not work against the interests of the Railwaymen's Union. There had even been talk of merging these two unions. Some five years previously a new small organization had been founded with the object of destroying the large Railwaymen's Union. He thought that the ITF should attempt to bring about a merger of all the small unions catering for Finnish railway labour rather than accept further small organizations as affiliates. The Finnish Railwaymen's Union therefore wished to protest against the affiliation, two days previously, of a small union with only 1000 members which had broken away from the Railwaymen's Union. The employers were in favour of these small organizations and, as an instance of this, he could point out that the railway management had signed collective agreements with this new small union almost immediately after its foundation. He hoped that the ITF would withdraw its decision to accept this union as an affiliate and would instead concentrate on achieving cooperation between these small organizations with a view to affiliating their membership to the ITF through his organization, the Railwaymen's Union.

His union had in the past had cause to be grateful to the ITF. A vivid instance of this was the ITF's intervention in 1918 during the Finnish civil war when the President of his union had been sentenced to death and the ITF had threatened a boycott of Finland. As a result of this pressure the sentence had been commuted to life imprisonment although, in fact, the former President of the Railwaymen's Union had served only six years of this sentence.

The President drew the attention of the Congress to the amendment in the last paragraph of the draft resolution on the situation in Peru.

- A. Victoria (Mexican Civil Aviation Pilots' Association) proposed a minor change in the Spanish text of the amendment to the Resolution.
- F. Azaña (ITF Director for Latin America and the Caribbean Zone), urged Congress to approve the amendment which, in his opinion, considerably strengthened the resolution. The dockers and seafarers had carried the main burden of solidarity actions for far too long. It would now be for the railwaymen and road transport workers to show that they too could play their part in demonstrating the ITF's determination to preserve the freedom of affiliated organizations whenever their rights were threatened by military governments and reactionary civilian groups. The speaker referred to the case of the General Secretary of the Argentine Seafarers' Union who had been threatened with arrest on his return to Argentina, as an example of the grim reality of the trade union struggle in Latin America. Trade unionists in Latin America risked their lives in their attempt to defend democracy, being often confronted by the combined forces of the extreme left and the extreme right. Press reports indicated that this traditional pattern had been followed in Peru where Communist labour leaders had been of assistance to the military junta in the recent coup d'état. It was essential for all the affiliated unions in the ITF to make a stand for the sake of the future of freedom and democracy in Latin America.
- H. Alonso (La Fraternidad) proposed an addition to the amendment to indicate that action would also be taken in any similar case which should arise in the future.

Congress approved the amendment together with the addition proposed by H. Alonso. The following Resolution was adopted:

This 27th Congress of the International Transport Workers' Federation, meeting in Helsinki from 25 July to 3 August 1962,

HAVING NOTED with deep disquiet reports on recent developments in Peru, where the democratic will of the people, as expressed in the elections of June last, has been flouted by a military Junta

which has seized power and imposed a dictatorial regime on the country; and

HAVING HEARD that the new regime has already taken repressive action against the free trade union movement, including the arrest of trade union leaders as well as the shooting of a number of workers, and that the Peruvian trade unions are now engaged in a general strike in protest against both these measures and the forcible overthrow of the legitimate government;

RECALLING further that one of the basic objectives of the ITF is the promotion and defence of trade union organization by transport workers throughout the world, which objective can only be achieved under a democratic system of government; and that in three Latin American countries, namely, Argentina, Venezuela and Peru, military circles and reactionary civilian forces have recently made attempts—in two cases successfully—to establish authoritarian regimes, with inevitable repercussions for the continued existence of free trade unions there;

URGES the whole free trade union movement to give immediate attention to the threat to democratic freedoms now existing in Latin America, and to its implications for the cause of democracy throughout the world; and

INVITES the ICFTU to recommend its affiliated organizations to use their influence with their respective governments with a view to the severing of diplomatic relations with all dictatorial governments in Latin America, as has already been done by Venezuela and other countries of that continent.

THE ITF CONGRESS FURTHER EMPHASIZES that the events in Peru, following so closely upon a similar military coup in Argentina, demonstrate once again how precarious a hold democracy still has in some areas of Latin America and how quickly the virus of totalitarianism can spread, if swift and energetic preventative action is not taken; and

PLEDGES the complete support of the ITF to its fourteen Peruvian affiliates and the whole Peruvian labour movement in their life and death struggle for the survival of free institutions and the parliamentary-democratic form of government, and

CALLS upon each Section of the ITF to render what assistance it can to bring about the defeat of the military Junta which has so flagrantly betrayed its trust to defend the people of Peru, including taking into consideration the possibility of positive industrial action to this end, and to be ready to do the same on any similar occasion in the future.

R. Kamisawa (All Japan Seamen's Union) thanked the ITF and its affiliates, especially the National Maritime Union of America, for their support during the Japanese seamen's strike this spring. After a strike lasting two weeks during which 600 ships had been stopped, the seamen had been able to achieve in full their demands for reductions in working hours and improved paid vacation benefits. This success had been due in part to the moral support received from the International movement, which also made it easier for the Japanese union to persuade its members to support workers in other countries. Thus, at the request of the Burmese Seamen's Union, his union had helped to organize Burmese seamen in Japanese ports and had also assisted the Philippine port workers in their recent strike by boycotting Japanese vessels engaged in trade with the Philippines.

On Regional Activities, Brother Kamisawa expressed the hope that full cooperation between all branches of the international movement would be achieved. He hoped that the excellent relations which the ITF enjoyed with the ICFTU as far as Regional Activities were concerned would be extended so as to ensure collaboration with the other ITSs. At one time, the ITF had been at the centre of ITS activities, when Brothers Oldenbroek and Becu had been General Secretary, and he hoped that Brother de Vries would continue his efforts to return to this situation.

The ITF was in the forefront of the ITSs in the regional field and he welcomed the formation of the Asian Advisory Committee which he thought would enable the Asian unions to put forward more effectively their views to the ITF Executive Board. The serious financial and organizational problems of Asian unions made collaboration essential. It had been made clear at the first meeting of the Asian Advisory Committee that unions in the Asian region were more exposed than those in Africa and Latin America to the menace of infiltration from the strong Communist countries established in that continent. Attempts by the Communists to infiltrate democratic unions were being concentrated on the dockers' and seamen's organizations and were being led not only by organizations operating from Communist countries but also by certain Communist-dominated trade unions in Australia and the United States. He hoped that the General Secretary and Executive Board would give proper consideration to recommendations made by the Asian Advisory Committee since failure to do so would cause great disappointment among the Asian unions who had great expectations from this Committee.

Sang Kyu Oh (Korean Railway Workers' Union) began by expressing gratitude to the ITF for the moral support given to his organization, particularly during the critical period following the military revolution in May 1961. His country was at present going through a particularly difficult and critical period. Three revolutions had taken place in Korea during 1960 and 1961. At the same time economic conditions had been the worst in history with severe inflation, a decline in production and increases in unemployment. After the military revolution in May 1961, the new government had promised that a general election would be held in May 1963 but had then proceeded to ban all political and social institutions including the trade unions. However, following the intervention of the ICFTU, ITF and other international organizations, this ban had been lifted. The Railway Workers' Union had been reorganized on an industrial basis and it now had a membership of 22,000. In March 1962, the Union had secured a 20% wage increase for its members and in April had concluded collective agreements with the Ministry of Transport providing job security, improved working conditions and other fringe benefits.

In June 1962, three national industrial transport unions, the dockers with a membership of 12,000, the land transport workers with 20,000 members and the maritime transport workers with a membership of 10,000 had held talks with his own Union with a view to applying for affiliation with the ITF. The speaker paid tribute to the ITF's work in the regions and suggested the organization of special training courses for railwaymen's unions in Asia.

Thursday, 26th July, 1962

Afternoon Session

The President opened the Session at 2.0 p.m.

- **F. Carrera** (Uruguayan Drivers and Cattlemen) spoke further of the activities of the Communists in the meat packers and port workers' organizations and urged the ITF to support his union in maintaining the freedom of the cooperative.
- B. K. J. Tambunan (Indonesian Railwaymen) said that in his country Communism was no longer an insoluble problem—like a plague it could be cured with the right treatment. Different countries had their own methods of solving their political problems and it was essential, if the greatest possible assistance was to be given to trade union movements, for international trade union organizations to first study the policies of individual governments because there was a close tie-up between the trade union movements and government economic policies. He suggested that the ITF Executive Committee should make use of the Asian Advisory Committee to study the economic position in all the Asian under-developed countries. His own Union, the PBKA, previously financially weak, was now gaining strength and would continue to do so with the help of the ITF. He urged upon the ITF the need for educational activities adjusted to Asian requirements and for strengthening the Singapore Office.
- E. Padilla ("Avianca", Civil Aviation Workers' Union, Colombia) deplored the parallelism in the civil aviation trade unions in Colombia. During a conflict in 1961, which had coincided with the Colombian presidential elections, this parallelism had led to a number of small organizations being unwittingly exploited by Communist elements. He thought, therefore, that the ITF should pay particular attention, in carrying out its activities in Latin America, to this unfortunate consequence of trade union parallelism. He also thought that the ITF should adopt more flexible tactics when combatting Communism in the Latin American trade union movement.
- G. J. H. Alink (Netherlands Transport Workers Union), after congratulating the General Secretary on the very detailed Report on Activities, emphasized the increasing importance of the work of the Committee of ITF unions in the European Economic Community now that a number of further European countries had applied for full or associate membership of the EEC. He, therefore, urged the ITF General Secretary to consider appointing Brother Rasschaert on a full-time basis instead of on a half-time basis at at present. He also asked that a list of abbreviations of international organizations referred to in ITF reports should be drawn up, for the convenience of affiliated organizations.
- A. Alpinnen (Finnish Railwaymen's Union, Rautatieläisten Ammattiyhdistysten Liito, SAJ) referring to Brother Tuori's criticism of the Executive Committee's decision to approve the affiliation of his own

union, emphasized that all other Finnish ITF affiliates had favoured his union's application for affiliation. The organization which Brother Tuori represented was the only ITF-affiliated union belonging to the SAK, the Finnish National Centre which was dominated by antidemocratic forces. The conflicts between the railwaymen's groups had arisen at the same time as those within the National Centre and for the same reasons. The entire conflict, as everybody knew, was concerned with the attitude towards the Communists and their attempts to gain control of the trade unions. At the same time it was also a question of the trade union movement being used an an instrument for furthering certain reactionary policies. The faction represented by Brother Tuori had been guilty of a breach of democratic principles within the trade union movement, making use of the Communists in their struggle against the democratic majority and at the same time supporting the Government's policies which worked against the interests of workers. The President of the Railwaymen's Union (SAK), who was at the same time the Minister of Finance had recently concluded a wage agreement giving the majority of railwaymen an increase of only 4½% whereas the highest paid railway officials had received an increase of as much as 40%. It was, therefore, ridiculous of Tuori to maintain that the other railway organizations were playing into the hands of the employers. The entire democratic trade union movement was fighting against these attempts and it had been clearly shown in recent years that the majority of wage earners supported the activities of the democratic trade unions. His union had now a membership of over 4,000 democratic railwaymen. In their name he wishes to express appreciation of the decision to admit his union and gave an assurance that they would do everything to show themselves worthy of this mark of confidence.

J. K. Post (Netherlands Transport Workers' Union) drew the attention of Congress to the Section of the Report on Activities dealing with Civil Aviation. The situation had worsened considerably since the Report had been drafted, due to the increased use of high-speed, high-capacity jet aircraft which was threatening the job security of both ground and flying staff in many countries. Many highly specialized workers who had been laid off were finding it practically impossible to find alternative employment giving them adequate remuneration for their high technical qualifications. The position of ground staff was difficult, that of flying staff even worse. Expensive jet aircraft were in many cases being flown at forty or fifty per cent of capacity, resulting in heavy losses for the airlines.

It was essential that in order to meet this situation the trade union side should be strong and fully representative of all the categories involved. He had been disappointed at the small number of ground staff representatives who had attended the ITF's meeting for that category the previous year. The total solidarity of the workers' group at the ILO Tripartite Civil Aviation Conference in 1960 had borne fruit and he urged representatives of civil aviation workers to strengthen their organisations at both national and international level.

J. Arranz (Argentine Seafarers Union) referred to a serious conflict in which his union had been involved the previous year and wished to thank the ITF and a number of its affiliates, particularly the National Maritime Union of America and organizations in Uruguay, for assistance they had given in following up the boycott proposal put forward by the Argentine seafarers delegation during the ITF Latin American Regional Conference in Lima. The difficulties in the Argentine maritime sector were exacerbated by the repeated intervention of the government and its frequent use of the armed force to prevent the seafarers from carrying out action in support of their legitimate aims. The Argentine seafarers were entering on a particularly difficult period because of the obstinate refusal of the employers to recognize the trade unions. The seafarers were extremely badly paid and had also suffered from the loss of their hiring hall.

Abul Hassan Ali (Guiana Air Transport Trade Union) greeted Congress on behalf of his and other trade unions in British Guiana.

The trade unions of his country were passing through a particularly challenging stage requiring the utmost of its leaders, all their skill and devotion to democratic ideals, in working for the promotion of the country's interests and of its workers. British Guiana, with an area of 83,000 square miles and a population of 500,000, four-fifths of whom lived on the coast, was still largely undeveloped, mainly because of the poor communications with the interior where most of the country's wealth lay. In opening up the interior, the indispensable condition for the country's future development, air transport had a vital rôle to play. The requirements placed on air transport and the inability of the private companies to cope with these had resulted in their being taken over by the Government five years ago. However, civil servants administering the nationalized civil aviation system often left a lot to be desired in spite of their evident good intentions.

Although his union was conscious of the necessity of cooperating with the Government and appreciated the latter's financial difficulties, they were nevertheless determined not to neglect the interests of their members. In the new nations the trade unions were in the vanguard of the struggle for social and economic progress. Many of the difficulties facing the new countries were the legacy of the colonialist system. His people were yearning for independence, although they appreciated the realistic approach of the British Government in helping millions of people to nationhood. His union had a stake in the struggle for independence in British Guiana, for only through independence could they succeed in raising the present far too low standard of living of the people and providing adequate social services. The trade unions were also sentinels of democracy, bastions against totalitarianism and dictatorship.

Efficiently run, his union was still in urgent need of aid in order to perform its tasks adequately. It was short of qualified staff and equipment. The ICFTU and ORIT were contributing a great deal in promoting a vigorous trade union education programme in the Caribbean, but much more remained to be done. His organization also wished to see a regional organization for all transport workers under the Caribbean Congress of Labour, and a similar body for air transport workers, as well as much closer contacts with the transport workers of Latin America and the Caribbean, an end which could be accomplished, he thought, by more frequent visits of Brother Azaña or his representative to British Guiana. Largely thanks to Brother Azaña's visits, the

ITF was now becoming much better known in the Caribbean area. He looked forward to the time when the Caribbean transport unions would be an important force within the ITF. Conscious of the help they could gain from the experience of older established trade unions, his Union was determined to profit from this experience and the feeling of strength which they gained from belonging to a world-wide organization. They were proud of their membership of the ITF and were determined to play an active part in furthering its cause.

- F. Fereirra (Sociedad de Capataces de Estiba, Uruguay) said that his union had no fear of the Communists and was immune to their propaganda. It was essential for his organization to be able to protect its members with the protection of the ILO Convention No. 87 providing for the right to strike.
- C. W. van Driel, (Netherlands Seafarers' Union) thanked the ITF for the excellent cooperation it had afforded to the Dutch Seafarers Union during the latter's dispute with the shipowners at the end of 1961 and beginning of 1962.

The ITF had not only supplied his Union with the latest information about the working conditions of seafarers in various national merchant fleets, but had also kept other maritime affiliates fully informed on the state of negotiations between the Dutch seafarers and employers. As a result it had been possible to alert other maritime affiliates when a Dutch seafarers' strike became imminent at the beginning of this year, and the solidarity shown had enabled the Dutch seafarers to conclude agreements giving them 90% of their demands.

- L. Garate (Sociedad de Obreros Toneleros del Montevideo, Uruguay) said that the port workers of Montevideo were active against the Communists and had refused assistance to metal and wood-workers' organizations because of their Comunist sympathies.
- E. Wall (Irish Transport & General Workers' Union) complimented the officers of the Federation on the immense volume of work accomplished during the years under review.

Dealing with the issue of safety of dock workers and of pensions for dockers he stated that it was a reflection on the civilization of 1962 that the men who were responsible for transporting the world's goods were thrown on the mercy of charity when age forced them to give up employment. He appealed to all unions catering for dockers to pursue this issue to its conclusion.

Dealing with affairs in Ireland, he stated that he was sorry to report that they were being forced to bear the luxury of two Governments. They had one United Trade Union Congress to which all unions in the entire country were affiliated, but the Government of Northern Ireland was persisting in its refusal to recognise the United Trade Union Congress.

In conclusion, he invited the ITF to hold a future Congress in Ireland.

- M. A. Ndabambi (Railway African Workers' Union, N. & S. Rhodesia and Bechuanaland) said that his union had had difficulty in gaining recognition in the three countries of its membership and many leaders of other unions which had not yet gained recognition were looked upon by the government as criminals. The European trade unions also opposed them. He asked the help of the ITF in bringing about the necessary cooperation between government and people and called for African regional conferences so as to help the newly formed union.
- S. Perry (Histadrut Road Transport Section) wished to draw the attention of Congress to two aspects of the ITF's work, the assistance being given to trade unions in the developing countries and changes which had occurred in the road transport sector in recent years. He regarded the trade union movement as the most suitable medium for promoting and strengthening the free way of living in the underdeveloped countries. These would remain empty shells without the presence of a strong active trade union movement assuring all workers the hope of a rising standing of living. Referring to developments towards economic integration in Europe which would bring about the increases in productivity essential for increasing workers' standards of living, he felt that we should nevertheless not forget our poor relations in the developing countries. He, himself, could cite the modest contribution made by the Israel Federation of Labour in this vital field. Hundreds of Israeli experts in education, transport, agriculture, engineering and construction had lived for periods of 1 to 2 years in the various states of Asia and Africa helping the citizens of these countries to lay the foundations for the eventual attainment of a standard of living comparable to that already reached in Europe. It had been necessary to make it clear to trade unionists in these countries that collective agreements could not be exported as they stood from one continent to another but had to be based on the economic realities applying in the area concerned in order to provide a sure basis for a gradual increase in living standards under a free democratic system. The ITF was a dynamic force and its responsibilities towards the emerging trade unions were very great.

In road transport technical developments had been rapid over the last few years. In his own country this had led the unions to the view that they should not restrict themselves to a passive rôle, but should take an active part in making recommendations on the structure of vehicles so as to ensure the greater safety and comfort of the driver. But it was necessary to go much further and cooperate actively with the authorities in all the other aspects of the road transport industry. He thought that the ITF should devote more attention to the economic aspects of technological developments. The ITF was an extremely powerful organization, but it was necessary that it should be properly informed in order to make the best use of its strength.

Wartomo Dwidjojuwono (Indonesian Road Transport Workers Union) thanked the Executive Committee and the other Indonesian affiliates for making possible the affiliation of his union to the ITF, and congratulated the General Secretary on the excellent Report on Activities. He was glad that Regional Activities had been expanded and

hoped that the more firmly established unions would continue to give assistance of this kind. On the problem of freeing West Irian from colonial rule, Brother Dwidjojuwono was glad to report that the Dutch and Indonesian delegations at the recent ICFTU Congress had been able to agree on a resolution pressing for the solution of a situation which threatened the peace in South East Asia. He called upon the transport workers of the world to support the Indonesian struggle, and supported the suggestion of his Indonesian colleague, Brother Tambunan, that the ITF Asian office in Singapore should be strengthened.

E. Tolosa (Argentine Port Workers' Union, SUPA) said that his organization had decided to join the ITF because they were convinced that by so doing they would contribute to the promotion of the high ideals which had always animated this world wide organization. Although his organization could not pride itself on a history as long as many of those which were represented at this Congress it had, nevertheless, since its foundation in August 1944 been called upon on many occasions to put the fighting spirit of its members to the test in confronting systematic obstructive tactics of a formidable coalition of reactionary social forces which denied the dock-workers their right to better living and working conditions. In recent years, the dockworkers in Argentina had found it more difficult than most others to fight for their survival. Since 1955 his organization had suffered the disastrous consequences of no less than five interventions by the Government, the sole purpose of which appeared to be to bring about the total destruction of the organization. In 1955, when the union had been taken over following one of the many military revolutions which had taken place in Argentina, it had been one of the most wealthy trade union organizations in the whole of Argentina, largely because of the activities undertaken by its Accionario Obrero, an enterprize which had been set up to abolish the anti-social exploitation of humanity practised in the ports by the employers, of which there was a vast number in spite of the recommendations of the ILO Inland Transport Committee.

After the last of these interventions in August 1957 the dockworkers were left with a heavy burden of debt amounting to more than 50 million pesos. The authorities refused to recognize the results of trade union elections conducted with all the lawful safeguards, but did not hesitate to legalize other bodies which had absolutely no legal foundation for their existence. As a result the liabilities of Accionario Obrero had soon reached the astronomical figure of 200 million pesos, without any assets to set against them. Argentina had a labour code which obstructed the legitimate aspirations of the port workers to improve their working and living conditions and, as a result, many social benefits which other wide sectors of the working population were covered by had not been extended to the port workers. Consequently, the Argentine portworkers had attempted to restore the balance by concentrating on objectives which were more easily obtained. Once these were attained, the portworkers had to go on fighting to defend them at all costs in the face of a Government which frequently resorted to repressive measures. Those port workers delegates who were charged with supervising the implementation of existing collective agreements had been relieved of these responsibilities overnight by a Government Decree which thus robbed the union of an instrument which was necessary in order to defend its rights. The collective agreement regulating working conditions in the ports, the only legal means which the portworkers had to defend improved social conditions which they had attained over many years of hard struggles, was destroyed by another Government Decree. In fact, a whole series of decrees had followed, an elaborate structure to give the appearance of legality to a determined attempt to break finally the fighting spirit of the portworkers' organization, and these had been supplemented by numerous official orders sanctioning the use of repressive measures.

The Argentine Parliament, recognizing the injustice of the systematic attacks on the legitimate interests of the portworkers, passed in 1958, a law repealing all the decrees and repressive orders still in force. As a result the Government had resorted to introducing at the end of 1958 a Red Card, which every portworker had to be furnished with in order to work. In fact, this amounted to a 70 days suspension of all those workers who had previously taken part in industrial actions called by the Union. In the beginning of 1959, the Government, in desperation, sent the troops into the docks, the only result of which was to increase further the financial difficulties of the country. In 1960 the authorities made a final attempt to rob the portworkers of the benefits which they had enjoyed up to that point by passing a decree which, among other things, aimed at reducing the size of gangs and also the wages paid to portworkers. As might have been expected, this new violation of the workers' rights gave rise to an industrial dispute in the ports, severely damaging the country's economy and thus cancelling out any savings which might have been made by reducing the dockworkers' wages.

The Argentine portworkers were struggling for the establishment of a hiring hall, a system ensuring guaranteed minimum monthly earnings, sick pay and a reduction in the number of stevedoring contractors in conformity with the resolution adopted by the Sixth Session of the ILO Inland Transport Committee in Hamburg, a resolution which had been supported by the Argentine delegation.

The portworkers' union was fervently working at present on a plan which was based completely on resolutions and recommendations of the ILO Inland Transport Committee and which would be of benefit not only to the organization and the interests of its members but also to shipping companies and would also make an essential contribution towards the solution of the grave difficulties existing in the Argentinian port industry at present. Among the more prominent aims he mentioned stability of employment for port workers, the extension of social benefits enjoyed by workers in other industries to workers in the port industry, professional training for port workers enabling them to advance to more responsible and better paid work, improvement of safety of working in the ports, the introduction of mechanization measures provided this did not produce unemployment, and modernization of port working so as to increase productivity, an indispensable factor for bringing about a real improvement in the standard of living.

Brother Tolosa concluded by expressing the sincere desire of his organization to promote true unity and solidarity between all workers

throughout the world and hoped that his organization's membership of the ITF would be of benefit to all in the common task of working for a better world. His delegation had come here to learn and cooperate. He was convinced that they had much to learn from the experience of other affiliates who had come a long way in working to defend the rights of their members and whose example would serve the Argentinian portworkers as a guide in moments of doubt and vacillation. On his return home he was sure that, if the Argentinian portworkers found themselves once more confronted by the reactionary manoeuvres of the employers in their own country, they would be able to count on the complete moral and material support of all the organizations assembled at this Congress. In return he promised that his own organization would always be ready to assist in whatever way it could in defending the indivisible rights and interests of transport workers.

The President then announced the composition of the Resolutions Committee:

- N. Wälläri (Finland); G. Gerdes (Germany); D. U'ren (Malaya); R. Deseau (France); H. Hernandez (Venezuela); H. Afifi (Egypt); J. Curran (United States of America); S. Greene (Great Britain); C. W. van Driel (Netherlands); F. Eichinger (Germany); O. Gunnarsson (Sweden).
- N. Wälläri (Finnish Seamen's Union) regretted the fact that seafarers' organizations were very often not adequately represented at inter-governmental maritime conferences, particularly at meetings of the Inter-governmental Maritime Consultative Organization. Although it was contended that these conferences were at diplomatic level and that trade unions, therefore, had no right to be represented, he nevertheless thought that the seafarers' organizations should make determined efforts to secure representation since their interests were vitally affected. He, therefore, suggested that a resolution should be prepared dealing with seafarers' representation at IMCO meetings. Referring to the resolution on Peru, which brought up once again the question of boycott actions by seafarers and dockers, he thought that these two sections should give serious consideration to the practical implementation of boycotts since it would be futile to adopt resolutions urging boycotts which then proved impossible to carry out.

As representative of one of the unions which had recommended the affiliation of the Finnish Railwaymen's Union (Rautatieläisten Ammattiyhdistysten Liitto) he deplored that the internal differences between the Finnish railway organizations had been brought out in public during Congress. The differences which existed in the Finnish trade union movement were ideological in character. The democratic trade union movement had to be defended whenever it was in danger although in Finland he was glad to say that the democratic elements had the absolute majority. These democratic elements did not, of course, welcome the holding of the Communist Festival in Helsinki.

G. Dimitracopoulos (Greek Railwaymen's Federation) gave details of further developments in the situation of Greek railwaymen and of

assistance provided by the ITF in this connection. The ITF Assistant General Secretary, H. Imhof, and Brother Mikkelsen of the German Railwaymen's Union had visited Greece and accomplished a great deal of valuable work on behalf of the Greek railwaymen, giving concrete expression to the solidarity of the world's transport workers organized in the ITF. His organization was also grateful for the further indication of international trade union solidarity contained in the ITF General Secretary's telegram to the Greek government. Certain Greek rightwing newspapers had interpreted this latter as interference in Greece's internal affairs, but Brother Petroulis, who was a member of the ITF Executive Committee, had immediately sent a letter to the newspapers making clear the position of the ITF and indicating that its action was perfectly reasonable and just. What the ITF demanded of the Greek Government was that railwaymen's rights should be protected and that the unions should be consulted beforehand when these rights were affected by the modernization of the Greek railways.

The problems arising from the modernization of the Greek railways would continue to occupy his union for some time ahead, but he was convinced that the ITF would continue to give its assistance as generously as it had done in the past.

- A. Victoria (ASPA, Mexico) thanked the ITF for its assistance to Mexican civil aviation workers and asked that a report should be made on workers' problems of jobs stabilization as a result of technical innovations in the civil aviation industry.
- J. Gomez (Colombian Maritime Workers' Union) reported the introduction in the Colombian Parliament of a bill to amend the present archaic maritime labour legislation.
- W. J. P. Webber, Chairman and Rapporteur, presented the Report of the Credentials Committee (See page 291).
- G. Munroe (Trinidad Seamen and Waterfront Workers' Union) considered the report of the Credentials Committee unfair and undemocratic towards his organization which had been affiliated to the ITF for more than 10 years. The sending of two delegates all the way from the West Indies to Helsinki had entailed a great sacrifice for his union and, if Congress accepted the Report of the Credentials Committee, his organization's money would have been wasted. He wished to emphasize that not only were his organization's affiliation fees fully paid up to the end of the year, but that the organization had not requested any financial assistance from the ITF for their expenses in connection with attendance at Congress. His organization had been an affiliate of the SIU since October 1961. This affiliation did not cost his organization a penny and it had maintained its full autonomy. He quoted Clauses 6 and 9 of Rule VI of the ITF Constitution in support of the credentials of the adviser to his organization's delegation. Contrary to the Report of the Credentials Committee, he considered that there was nothing debarring any particular union from having an adviser on its delegation who came from another organization.

D. Tennant (British Merchant Navy and Air Line Officers' Association) said that it was quite clear from the final paragraph of the Report of the Credentials Committee that the credentials of the Trinidad Seamen and Waterfront Workers' Union were not being challenged at all. What was in doubt was the position of the adviser. The provisions of the ITF Constitution which had been quoted by the last speaker obviously implied quite clearly that the adviser must be from an affiliated organization.

The President put the report of the Credentials Committee to the vote.

Congress adopted the report.

The Session was adjourned at 5.00 p.m.

Friday, 27th July, 1962

Morning Session

The President asked Brother H. Buiter to open the debate on Item 8 of the Agenda: Economic Integration and its Effects upon Transport Workers.

H. Buiter (General Secretary of the European Trade Union Secretariat of the ICFTU) began by giving an account of experiments in economic integration which had taken place in Latin America, Central America, the Arab League, Asia, Africa, and Eastern and Western Europe. The Latin American Free Trade Association had been founded in 1960, its main object being the creation of a Latin American Common Market, and a similar organization had been founded in 1958 by five central American states. Talks had been going on between Members of the Arab League for some years but so far without any concrete result. In Asia, too, a serious attempt had been made to regulate economic relations between Malaya, the Philippines and Singapore, whilst in Africa the new independent countries were attempting to draw closer to one another not only politically but also on the economic plane. In Europe, the Communist bloc had their own economic organization, COMECON, and in Western Europe the cooperation evident within the OECE had been followed by much closer collaboration between the Benelux countries, France, Germany and Italy within the Coal and Steel Community, the European Economic Community and EURATOM. In addition there was the European Free Trade Association in which Great Britain cooperated with six other European countries and the OECD in which the United States and Canada cooperated with 17 European countries.

He then went on to describe in detail the integration process in Western Europe, which was the most important of these attempts since the countries of the European Economic Community conducted from 25% to 27% of total world trade and the EEC's development could provide a guide for other integration projects. The six countries of the EEC (Belgium, Netherlands, Luxembourg, France, Germany and Italy) had decided in 1958 to abandon all internal economic barriers and establish common tariffs for trade with other countries by the beginning of 1970, and already considerable progress had been made towards this end. It had also been decided to develop within the Community a common economic policy, a common agricultural policy and a common transport policy as well as a common policy on trade with the outside world. Already 50% of the tariffs and practically all the quotas in the industrial field had been abolished and, within the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, the six EEC countries were acting as a single unit. The Community's common external tariff which would come into force as from the 1st January 1970, would amount to the average external tariff for the six member countries. In practice this would mean that the common external tariff would be higher than that at present applying for the Benelux countries and Germany and lower than the present French and Italian tariffs. Since the establishment of a common market trade between the six member countries had increased by 73% and trade with the outside world by 35%.

The improvement of standards of living in European countries was directly related to the establishment of the EEC, and efforts had been made to allow others to share in this increased prosperity. Colonial territories of EEC member countries had been brought into association with the EEC under a special agreement. All the former French and Belgian African territories with one exception had indicated a desire to continue this special arrangement with the Common Market and it appeared that the present system of preferential treatment for these African countries would be maintained after 1962, although it would be gradually reduced and eventually replaced by another system. These preferences had, in fact, given rise to protests from other African and non-African countries who had demanded equal treatment for all African and non-African developing countries in their relationship with the Common Market. The new arrangements which were to take effect from the beginning of 1963 went some way towards meeting these criticisms: the preferential system would gradually disappear and be replaced by a system of financial aid to be given by the six countries to the African countries in order to allow them to develop a more diversified economic system which would make them less dependent on the European market. Other arrangements had been made, or were in the course of being made, with other European countries outside the Common Market. So far, an association treaty had been signed with Greece, which provided for full membership of the EEC after 12 years, but other countries were also negotiating for this kind of association agreement. Great Britain was now seeking membership of the EEC and, if she joined, it was likely that Ireland, Denmark and Norway would follow.

Trade unionists could welcome the establishment of the Common Market if only because it had brought about reconciliation of France and Germany whose differences in the past had been the cause of two world wars. The economic growth of the six countries concerned was also in itself something which trade unionists could applaud. However, the danger existed that by drawing the richer countries of the world together in this way the tension between them and the poorer countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America would be aggravated. It would be a disaster if the EEC's common trade policies prevented these developing countries from finding outlets for their raw materials. Although the common external tariff when it came into force in 1970 would probably be between 15 and 25% lower than had been envisaged at the time the Rome Treaty was drafted and the possible membership of Great Britain would tend to reduce this external tariff even further, the danger to the development of trade relations between the Common Market and the African, Asian and Latin American countries lay not so much in the external tariff barrier as such as in the possible consequences of the common agricultural policy. It would, therefore, be necessary to exert steady pressure on the European countries to keep their foodstuff prices at a reasonable level not only to protect the interests of consumers within the countries of the Common Market, but also in order to take account of the vital interests of outside countries who are dependent on Europe for a market for their products. It was also probable that some kind of association would be formed between the United States, the EEC and other industrial countries of the western world. This would mean that tariffs would play a very small rôle in the commercial relations between the major industrial countries as far as industrial

products were concerned. On the other hand, if agriculture continued to be neglected the danger existed that not enough attention would be paid to the tremendous problems of those countries which were entirely dependent on the sale and export of their raw materials for the whole development of their economy and maintenance of their living standards. The relationship between the industrial countries and the rest of the world would be decisive for the future of the developing countries in Latin America, Africa, and Asia.

Brother Buiter denounced the association of Eastern European Countries (COMECON) as being merely an instrument by means of which the Russians could exercise complete control of the economies of the other countries of the Communist bloc without providing any basis for real economic integration. The economic systems of the Eastern European countries had been built up on the Stalinist theory of the primacy of heavy industry, a doctrine which had been applied practically everywhere without taking real differences into account. The Russian pattern had thus been reduplicated throughout Eastern Europe. This policy had not encouraged specialization or trade, but had simply demonstrated and served to strengthen the political grip of the Soviet Union on the other communist countries. Trade between the COMECON countries and the rest of the world amounted to only 3 or 4% of total world trade, and all the bloc could offer the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America were political ties.

Brother Buiter also advocated the establishment of formal machinery to govern the relationships between the EEC and the trade union movement. It was vital that the employers, supported by the rather conservative governments of the time, should not be allowed to have things all their own way and the trade unions had to be allowed a positive voice in determining social and economic policies.

The same also held true for other parts of the world, where one could see all kinds of strange combinations between big business and governments including, in the case of oil distribution, some between big business and the governments of the Eastern European countries. Although it looked as if the present European Economic Community might soon have not six, but ten, members and trade unionists from these ten countries would have to come together to discuss their common problems, in the last resort the problems posed by economic integration would have to be discussed not only between Europeans, but also by trade unionists from all the continents of the world. He was glad that the ITF had placed this item on its Congress Agenda as he was convinced that economic integration was a problem for world-wide discussion by trade unionists, and it was only when the problem was looked at in the broadest possible light that the more advanced countries were able to see clearly their common responsibility to the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

The President then asked delegates if they had any questions which they would like Brother Buiter to answer.

L. Brosch (Austrian Transport Workers' Union), speaking on behalf of a neutral nation, asked Brother Buiter's opinion of the wish of several such countries to become associated with the EEC.

A. H. Vizcaino (Spanish Railwaymen and Road Transport Workers' Unions) said that Spaniards inside and outside Spain were very much concerned with the EEC. A meeting of democratic Spaniards in Munich the previous month had agreed on a statement which made it clear that they did not consider the present Spanish government to be eligible to enter the EEC since trade union and human rights were at present denied in Spain. He hoped, however, that a change in the regime would make it possible for Spain to join the EEC at some future date.

H. Buiter, replying to the last two speakers, agreed that it was impossible to imagine the present Spanish Government taking its place in an organization like the Common Market. He could, furthermore, inform Congress and the Spanish delegates that, as a result of trade union action inside the Common Market, at least two governments had already given the Spanish Government to understand that under present circumstances the latter could not count on their support in applying for membership of the Common Market. He hoped that the political situation in Spain would develop in such a way that it would be possible to accept a new Spanish Government in the Common Market. To accept Franco's regime, however, would amount to encouraging the present dictatorship, which was quite out of the question.

He wanted to add to what he had said previously about the association of other smaller countries with the EEC by quoting the case of Israel. This country had unusual difficulties of a geographical and political nature and had asked for a special agreement linking it to the EEC. The European trade union movement fully supported Israel's request and it would be interesting to see how the EEC dealt with this question.

In answer to Brother Brosch's question on the association of neutral countries Brother Buiter said that a decision on this would have to await the outcome of the negotiations which the EEC was at present holding with Great Britain and would later be holding with Norway, Denmark and Ireland. The present EEC countries could not commit possible future members in advance. Another difficulty was that the three neutral countries concerned, Austria, Sweden and Switzerland, all had very different problems and could not be treated as a united bloc.

Ph. Seibert (President, German Railwaymen's Union, GdED) then introduced the second part of the debate dealing with

Transport Workers' Problems under Economic Integration

It is in the very nature of transport to overcome national boundaries and to knit closely together the transport systems of the different countries. This characteristic produces on the whole favourable conditions for solving our tasks as trade unionists in further increasing the standard of living and ensuring that the economy works at full capacity. As trade unionists we have, naturally, from the start taken a positive attitude towards efforts aiming at economic integration. With its widely acclaimed study of "Transport Policy Problems at National and International Level" the ITF was the first organization to provide an extensive statement on the Rome Treaty and to put forward concrete proposals for solving problems of coordination and integration of transport. This study was generally well received by the public.

Transport is one of the most important factors making for economic integration. This must be emphasized because, during discussions on the reorganization of the transport system in recent years, the full rôle which transport plays in the economic system has not always been properly recognized. It is even today often maintained that transport is no more than just one branch of the economy, not differing essentially from any other branch. This point of view, however, fails to take into account the fact that transport is in fact absolutely indispensable for the economy as a whole. It is the very basis of a modern large-scale economy.

Before the invention of the steam engine, land transport, particularly, was confined within very narrow limits. Different economies were linked primarily by sea or by navigable water courses. Practically all ancient civilizations were based on sea transport. The Polynesian area represents an example surviving down to the present day of the rôle which the sea plays in promoting transport under primitive conditions. In Greece also, shipping still plays a decisive rôle in inland transport. In Africa and South America river transport is of decisive importance. The large rivers have enabled man to penetrate into the interior of these continents. Everywhere in the world where geographical conditions permitted inland waterway networks were constructed at public expense at an early date in order to promote the general development of the national economy. Even in the United States of America, the inland waterways have left their mark on the original economic structure of the constituent states.

The power of inland waterways and maritime transport to integrate economies was, however, relatively small before the advent of modern transport techniques. Ships seldom had a capacity of more than 300 tons and natural waterways were only navigable by very small vessels. For this reason Europe had, up to the beginning of the 19th Century, very few cities larger than a medium-sized market town. Each of these cities formed, together with the adjoining rural area, a single self-contained community relying on its own production to meet its own requirements.

The economic structure of the world's continents did not change radically until the advent of the railways, which gave rise to an abrupt reduction of inland transport costs. In this way the economic significance of geographical distance was drastically reduced. Areas which had been practically inaccessible previously were brought very near indeed. The railways enabled the different European regional economies to be brought together in a very short time to form national markets for raw material and manufactured products and the foundations were thus laid for the industrial revolution of the 19th Century. In the United States too it was the railways which first really opened up new territories for economic exploitation. Settlers moved westwards into the interior of the continent accomplishing an admirable pioneering task and creating the conditions for the country's subsequent development. A similar situation occurs in Argentina where an extensive railway network enabled the population to utilize the country's considerable economic resources. South Africa and Australia also possess considerable railway networks which, in Asia, is also true of India, Japan and Malaya.

Before the coming of the motor car, railways represented the most important factor for determining the location of centres of production in all parts of the world. The monopoly of the railways, however, made

the economy dependent on them. The railways had it in their power, through their rates policies and the extent to which they opened new lines, to determine whether entire areas were to be subjected to a powerful economic development or left to stagnate. This shows clearly how necessary it is for the state to retain a regulatory supervision over it and to guide its development.

After the invention of the internal combustion engine the railways found themselves confronted with an extremely efficient alternative means of transport: the motor vehicle. With a much denser network at its disposal than the railways the road vehicle has contributed to a decentralization of industrial areas. This represents its great historical contribution towards economic integration. On the other hand the competition of the motor vehicle has destroyed the traditional monopolistic structure of the railway age and has given rise to very difficult problems of transport coordination which have also occupied us in the ITF for a number of years.

We believe that reasonable competition in transport produces its own regulating forces making for a healthy development both in transport and the economy as a whole. Special technical and economic factors arising in transport, however, give rise to the danger that healthy rivalry may degenerate into cut-throat competition and finally bring about chaos. For this reason the state will be obliged to continue its interventions to supervize and guide development in the transport sphere.

Another crucial problem arises from the fact that in wide sectors of the transport industry uneconomic conditions make fair competition impossible or, alternatively, competition itself would bring about uneconomic operating conditions. This is especially true of remote rural areas with very little industry, and also of urban traffic. Particularly as far as suburban commuter services are concerned, transport services cannot be left to look after themselves but require the encouragement and guiding intervention of the state. It is clear that the European Commission shares this view because of the strict distinction made between passenger and goods traffic in its Memorandum on the general lines of a common transport policy. It also takes account of the requirements of regional economies.

In general, however, the transport requirements of outlying areas and those of developing countries receive too little attention in discussions on regulating competition in transport. The European Commission is all too ready to comply with the wishes of the railway administrations to close uneconomic branch lines and depôts, understandable as these wishes may be from the point of view of operating costs.

We are therefore particularly gratified that the Economic and Social Committee associates itself in its statement on the Memorandum of the European Commission, with our trade union point of view and has expressly pointed out that branch lines may only be closed down if the consent of the government concerned has been obtained. This point of view has also been put forward in the statement made by the European Parliament on the Commission's Memorandum.

The provision of adequate transport services enabling a proper exploitation of the economic resources of the country concerned is important not only for the developing countries although it has a quite special significance in respect of these. No country in Africa apart from the Union of South Africa possesses as yet an adequate communications network. This is not only because of geographical peculiarities, although it is undoubtedly true that very often the geographical structure presents particular difficulties: for example, in West Africa there is a lack of natural harbours and in East Africa too, the geographical conditions are not favourable. As trade unionists, however, we must realize that the inadequate development of communications systems throughout Africa are very largely the result of the previous colonial status of the countries making up the continent.

Without taking account of the actual economic structure of the area concerned, transport policies have been followed, the whole purpose of which was to serve the administrative, defence and foreign trade policies of the colonial powers. Very often, direct communications routes were established providing access from the ports to the inland areas from which the raw materials were exported and these, naturally, did not take full account of the social requirements of the country concerned.

We are in agreement with the views expressed by the competent economic organization of the United Nations that the development of the communications network in Africa will have, in the first place, to further an effective policy aiming at the elimination of sickness and epidemics and thus give priority to what is a social purpose. In the first phase of transport integration in Africa priority should be given to establishing communications between settlements in the interior and larger towns (possibly by the construction of light roads). It will only be possible to construct a railway network capable of carrying a heavy volume of traffic when comprehensive transport planning clearly indicates the direction of future streams of traffic (especially as far as bulk goods transport is concerned). We are as yet not in a position to make such forecasts and are not even in a position to predict how the various states will evolve into larger economic groupings. In the case of East Africa it is anticipated that talks will begin in the not-too-distant future on economic cooperation between Tanganyika, Kenya and Uganda. The communications networks as well as the ports of these three countries are already administered by one authority, the East African Railways and Harbours Authority, which will be of considerable help in solving the economic and social problems with which the trade unions in these areas are confronted.

Developments in Latin America have already proceeded much further. The Latin American Free Trade Area was created in February 1961, embracing Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Mexico, Peru and Uruguay. In the near future Colombia, Ecuador and Venezuela will also join this economic union. It should be remarked that there are also considerable factors favouring the integration of transport in Latin America, as witnessed by the existence of a dense railway network in Argentina. In addition to the Latin American Free Trade Area, there is also the Common Market of Central America embracing Guatemala, Honduras, El Salvador and Nicaragua. These states have agreed by treaty to

complete economic integration within a period of five years. In Central America a number of discussions have already taken place within the framework of the Common Market on the formulation of transport policy. Existing road and rail communications between these countries are to be extended considerably.

In the United Nations Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East efforts are at present being made to internationalize the railway traffic of South East Asia. The aim is to achieve a direct connection by rail between South East Asia and Asia Minor through India and Pakistan. The realization of these projects will bring serious trade union problems for railwaymen and road transport workers and the closest international contact will be necessary in order to solve them. The difficulties of transport integration increase with the complexity of the transport apparatus already in existence. Carriers with a long history behind them strive to retain their established position and to consolidate and further extend this. Particularly grave difficulties are encountered in attempts to integrate transport in highly industrialized countries where not only are the traditional means of transport engaged in defending their positions but where powerful concerns with a close connection with the transport sector such as the petroleum companies and the motor vehicle and tyre manufacturing companies attempt to press their own particular interests. In contrast to the European situation, the integration of transport in Africa for example is much simpler because here the communications system is only in the initial stages of development. Africa has an expanding communications system and, since transport policy planning here does not encounter any of the obstacles which have been inherited in Europe, it would be possible to construct an African communications network which approaches very closely the economic ideal of providing a specific service at the least possible cost. This would act as a stimulus to the economic development of this continent, at the same time affording an opportunity of avoiding the mistakes made by the older industrialized nations.

As trade unionists, we must realize that economic integration is not of necessity associated with social progress. Unless the necessary social measures are taken, integration tends to make more acute existing economic and social inequalities between nations. It will therefore be one of our most pressing tasks as transport workers' trade unions working in close cooperation with our national centres as well as with the ITF to see to it that the agreements on economic integration incorporate formal provisions guaranteeing a rapid and general improvement of the standards of living of all social groups, continuous improvements in social conditions as well as the aim of full employment.

It is the view of the European Commission that, within the framework of general social policy, special solutions must be found for the transport sector which will lead to improvements in the present social situation and to the elimination of unnatural inequalities in working conditions. This is also necessary in order to bring about a satisfactory regulation of competition in transport. There is general agreement that healthy competition in transport is not possible without the attainment of comparable social conditions. As trade unionists, we do not regard harmonization as entailing absolute uniformity of social conditions. Where the conditions for social progress are present, this development

should not be checked by reason of social harmonization. Countries with a sound economy and strong trade union organizations must be the pace-setters of social progress. Social harmonization must, however, serve to bring inferior social conditions steadily nearer to the better conditions prevailing elsewhere and the purpose of minimum standards is to prevent undertakings from gaining unfair competitive advantages by reason of inferior social conditions. It is well known that transport is regarded, especially by large-scale industrial concerns, as an instrument for reducing costs and that, as a result, a tendency exists to call for cheaper transport because this would place industry in a better competitive position. A certain cynicism is evident in the views advanced by the International Federation of Industry with regard to the European Commission's Memorandum on the general lines of a common transport policy: the representatives of industry in fact advocate the reduction of good social conditions applying in certain individual transport undertakings. The relevant passage reads:

'If certain transport undertakings afford their employees better conditions than others, they must accept the consequences which arise in respect of their ability to compete. This handicap can be avoided in future by eliminating such advantages as are not justified'.

Similar views have already been heard from management representatives. This clearly illustrates the urgency with which we must approach these problems at international level in order to counteract these tendencies. We cannot allow competition between the various undertakings to be carried out at the expense of the workers in the transport industry. In the same way as capital charges and taxes represent definite items in the accounts of the transport undertakings, which the latter are able to influence only insignificantly, we shall make it our business to prevent the transport undertakings in the future from manipulating the social conditions of their employees solely with the purpose of improving their competitive position.

In this respect the European Commission has adopted a gratifying progressive point of view. In their Action Programme published in May this year laying down the lines of their common transport policy it is stated once again that all measures of social harmonization of living and working conditions must aim at the improvement and harmonization of living and working conditions as a contribution towards social progress. Unlike the European Federation of Industry, the Commission does not attempt to limit social harmonization to individual carriers but wishes to see this harmonization so far as possible carried out so as to adjust the respective situations of the three means of transport whilst paying attention to the special technical characteristics of each.

In putting forward its point of view on the European Economic Community document the European Parliament in Strasbourg expressed the view that there were no insurmountable obstacles to the harmonization of working conditions in transport. Whilst we as trade unionists must endorse this view in principle, we are however quite aware of the fact that this process of harmonization will bring with it social repercussions affecting certain groups of transport employees, primarily those engaged in inland navigation.

It is quite conceivable that inland navigation may encounter grave difficulties over a considerable proportion of the canal system

following complete equalization of social conditions coupled with the obligation to meet the full infrastructure costs. This also applies in the same way to road transport. This process of adjustment must therefore be a long-term project. According to the timetable drawn up by the European Commission the harmonization of working conditions between the three means of transport is not to be embarked upon before 1970, by which date harmonization within the respective individual means of transport will have been completed. It is intended, however, that by 1967 individual users will have to meet on a pro rata basis their share of the infrastructure costs.

We welcome a timetable because—arguing precisely from social considerations—we are of the opinion that the harmonization of competitive conditions must not be regarded as an indispensible preliminary action to be completed before integration but rather, as the Commission emphasizes, as one of the components of the process of integration. The harmonization of competitive conditions must proceed apace with the progress of economic integration.

The Commission proposes to give road transport and inland navigation a certain priority in the progress of social harmonization because the difference in working conditions and the requirements of public safety are most urgent in these sectors. We are particularly gratified that transport on own account is also to be included in the process of social harmonization.

Among the necessary measures aiming at harmonization, particular importance attaches to harmonization and reduction of working hours. The transport workers' trade unions affiliated to the ITF are aiming at an initial reduction of working hours in Europe to a five-day 40-hour week without loss of pay. This should facilitate a subsequent evolution towards American working conditions with further reductions in working hours.

The Action Programme drawn up by the European Economic Community envisages the first stage of harmonization measures concerning working hours and rest periods in road transport as taking place in 1964. Common regulations instituting the obligatory manning of certain transports with a two-man crew are, however, to come into effect not later than the end of 1965. The Commission's view is that all harmonization measures in respect of road transport must be completed by 1968. The Commission's timetable for inland navigation is less specific. International agreements to which inland navigation is subject play a special rôle also in respect of social conditions. Nevertheless, the first measures concerning inland navigation are to be taken before 1965. Harmonization measures as far as the railways are concerned are considerably simpler since the railways already have precise regulations concerning working conditions and the differences between one country and another are not so marked. The Commission is of the opinion that the harmonization of working conditions on railways should be completed by the end of 1969. From 1970 when harmonization within each of the three means of transport will have been completed, the Commission will begin harmonizing conditions as between the three means of transport.

The question of the harmonization of wages presents marked contrasts. The ITF Study to which I have already had occasion to refer makes it clear that differences in wage costs in transport are not the

result of differences in productivity as is the case in other sectors of the economy. The efficiency of vehicles of equal value is everywhere approximately the same and the human beings in charge of them fulfil the same requirements. For this reason increased significance attaches to the wage factor in international competition between means of transport. The ITF Study hits the nail on the head by pointing to the particular problems which arise when a particular transport operation is carried out between a country with relatively low wages and another with relatively high wages. It is, however, also our opinion that economic expansion within the European Economic Community will make it necessary for the trade unions to adopt a dynamic wages policy assuring transport workers of a greater share in the social product of the Community. The steady increase in purchasing power will promote economic expansion, thus assuring full employment throughout the Community.

The effective implementation of harmonization measures will however necessitate the institution of a system of supervision. Our experience confirms the fact that previous measures taken by the State Authorities have been by no means adequate in this respect. The trade unions, therefore, find themselves confronted with a new responsibility, that of assuring the preservation of the social progress which they have hitherto achieved. Through our members we know just where unfair competitive advantages exist on the basis of poor wages and bad working conditions and it is therefore up to us in the first place to see that the necessary remedies are applied.

The re-shaping of the transport system accompanying economic integration is very closely bound up with social problems. It is clear that not until the transport system has been stabilized, can there be a real basis for good social conditions in transport. For this reason we regard it as our duty to devote attention also to questions of transport policy. This task is indeed extremely difficult and complex and is not something which the trade unions can deal with in a facile, perfunctionary manner. It involves the long-term security of employment of all those occupied in all sectors of transport and thus amounts to a task falling on the trade unions, to which the latter must give their entire attention and energy.

The European Commission has also drawn up a timetable dealing with questions of transport policy and we shall have to pay attention to this in laying down the lines of the policies which we as trade unions will be following. The most important questions in this timetable relate to the regulation, by licensing and the establishment of quotas for transport undertakings, of access to the market and to measures envisaged by the Commission in respect of conditions and remuneration of transport. However, we shall also have to devote our attention to the coordination of investment and to investigations into questions of costs in transport as well as harmonization measures in the fiscal and technical spheres. In this respect we have already accomplished valuable preparatory work by submitting a comprehensive trade union memorandum to the Commission's own policy statement on the basic rules of the common transport policy. Our activities are at present chiefly concerned with the programme drawn up by the Commission. The necessary organizational measures to be taken by us have already been embarked upon.

In order to give proper attention to these complex activities for the benefit of our members, ITF affiliated European transport workers' unions founded on 27 May 1958 in Luxembourg the Committee of ITF Unions in the European Economic Community. This body has its permanent headquarters in Brussels within easy reach of the headquarters of the European authorities. On the retirement of Brother Laan, the Committee elected me as Chairman. We were well advised to encourage competent technical experts who had previously worked in the trade unions to enter the services of the authorities of the European Economic Community from the time of their foundation. This has facilitated considerably our access to these authorities and has contributed towards seeing that our trade union interests receive due attention in the transport policies drawn up by the Commission.

It is with great satisfaction that I am able to report to this Congress on the excellent relations which we enjoy with the Commission and the various authorities of the Common Market and on the clear indications of a continuation of the cooperation already evidenced on both sides.

Our active participation in the work of the Economic and Social Committee of the European Economic Community is of particular importance for our future trade union work. This body is charged with the task of advising the Commission, the Council of Ministers and the European Atomic Energy Agency in all questions relating to economic policy.

Without exaggeration it can be said that our trade union group is one of the most active in the Economic and Social Committee and has gained a good reputation by virtue of its constructive proposals. As a result decisions hitherto taken by the Economic and Social Committee have paid satisfactory attention to trade union interests.

In addition to these varied activities within the framework of the European Economic Community, considerable importance attaches to our participation in the work of other European organizations. The decisions and recommendations of the Conference of European Ministers of Transport (CEMT) founded in Brussels in October 1953 have a direct influence on European transport policy. The greater part of the work of this body is done by the Committee of Ministers' Deputies to the meeting of which the ITF is regularly invited. The representatives of the ITF have done an excellent job in representing the interests of our members and enhancing the prestige of the Federation in international circles. This also applies to work done within the framework of the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe (ECE) and the International Labour Organization in Geneva.

We find ourselves today in the midst of a world-wide revolution of transport policy. We see ourselves today confronted by tasks which, by their difficulty and importance for the working population, can only be compared with those met with by the trade unions at the time of their foundation. The particular characteristics of the present situation in regard to transport policy as it affects the trade unions will demand close cooperation and solidarity between all the transport workers' organizations concerned. In future we shall have to devote much more time to exchanging views and experiences and affording one another every possible assistance. The questions we are dealing with today

can no longer be solved by the individual organizations working at national level but only by close international cooperation. The ITF will, therefore, find itself confronted with new tasks and will also be obliged to devote even more attention than hitherto to questions involving transport policy. In deciding on the publication of the 'ITF Study on Transport Policy Problems at National and International Level', the ITF Amsterdam Congress in 1958 made a promising start and it is now up to the ITF to continue this work and endeavour to exert an active influence on developments in the field of transport policy in all countries. With the support of its affiliated organizations the ITF must do everything in its power to promote a positive development of endeavours towards integration evident throughout the world in order to make a constructive contribution towards improving understanding between nations and promoting the steady increase of the standard of living of all those working in transport.

F. Cousins (British Transport & General Workers' Union) congratulated Brother Seibert on his address and was glad that he had stressed the need for the ITF to pay more attention than it had done to the problem of coordination in the transport industry. He wished to emphasize, particularly for representatives from the developing countries, the value of an integrated transport system. Great problems had arisen in this field in recent years, not least in his own country. In Great Britain there had been an opportunity after the war of creating an integrated transport system under the Labour Government. It had been thought that, under a Socialist Government, it would be possible to provide a more economic, efficient and uniform transport service. One of the first acts of the succeeding Conservative Government had been to destroy the centralized transport service. Uneconomic rates prevailing in certain sections of the transport industry had an adverse effect on the working conditions of those employed there. It was essential, as Brother Seibert had pointed out, to do away with these artificially depressed rates. Uniformity of conditions of employment was necessary but it would also be necessary to exercise the utmost caution in order that the depressed rates in some sectors of transport should not be made the norm on which social harmonization of wages throughout Europe was based. Wage rates in certain sections of transport had been kept low in order to bolster up profits and wage levels in private industry. When governments used transport to subsidize private industry, the ultimate sufferers were the men who worked in transport. The problem which arose was too vast to be tackled by individual organizations acting separately. The ITF had a tremendous task in impressing on its affiliated organizations in the various countries that this was a common problem. If attempts were made to play off one form of transport against another all those employed in the industry would suffer in the end.

The speaker then referred to the problems arising from the introduction of pipelines, as a consequence of which much of the bulk transport at present carried by the railways and which formed the basis of the railways' income as well as a great deal of the volume of transport now carried by road would be diverted to a completely new means of transport. If the pipelines were to be placed in the hands of another private organization this would mean a diversion of profitable transport

services to somebody who would not meet the wage-bill of those workers affected by the change. This development, therefore, called for the closest attention.

Whilst certain governments in the European Economic Community now seemed ready to accept that transport should be entitled to a greater share of the national product because it accounted for a great part of that national product, and whilst it was understood that this greater share might well take the form of a reduction in working hours, Brother Cousins emphasized that in Great Britain, where there was a strong trade union movement, the government had not yet even implemented ILO Convention No. 67 on Hours of Work and Rest Periods (Road Transport) and were not prepared to reduce working hours below the 11 hours per day which were being worked at present. There was, therefore, a long way to go before it was possible to get some of the European governments to accept the idea of a 40-hour 5-day week for transport workers. The unions in the ITF should work solidly together to achieve this aim.

P. Seton (Transport Directorate of the EEC) noted with gratification that Brother Seibert in his speech on repercussions of economic integration had given full approval to the chapter on social harmonization of the action programme. He was particularly pleased about the appreciation expressed by Brother Seibert of the close collaboration between the Commission and the ITF trade unions. Brother Seton said that these practical contacts had been particularly fruitful in elaborating the programme of social harmonization. He agreed with speakers who had stressed the importance of levelling up the social and economic conditions of transport workers in the countries of the EEC. He thought that the problems of road transport workers were particularly urgent because of the heavy competition in that section of the industry. In the preparation of a document on the conditions of this group which was to be published shortly, close contact had been maintained with ITF affiliates representing road transport workers. A tripartite meeting of representatives of governments, employers and workers would probably be held in October or November 1962 in order to study the report. Upward harmonization of conditions was also important to inland navigation workers. However, there was a shortage of information about conditions in this sector and a questionnaire was to be prepared. He was sure that the work of the ITF's Inland Navigation Section would be very useful as a basis for the drawing up of the questionnaire.

Turning to conditions on the railways, Brother Seton stressed that the Commission of the EEC was fully aware of the importance of social problems in this field. He added, however, that the problems of railwaymen were not of such immediate urgency as those of other groups, since the differences in pay and conditions between railwaymen within the EEC were not so marked and competition was not such an important factor as in road transport.

As for the coordination of social conditions between the three branches of transport Brother Seton pointed out that such coordination presented extremely difficult technical problems. However, after mature deliberation, the Commission had decided that this coordination was necessary both from the social and from the competition point of view.

Finally, he stressed the necessity of continuing the close contact between the Transport Directorate and the transport workers' unions. Only on a basis of mutual understanding could social harmonization be achieved.

- M. Alcaraz (Mexican Pilots' Association) said that so far most speeches on this subject had been made by railway workers and road transport workers but that up to now nothing had been said about the civil aviation industry and the problems which it might be faced with within the European Common Market and other similar groupings now taking place throughout the world. The speaker thought that it was interesting that one of the first steps towards a common-market-like organization in Europe had been made by the airline companies of Italy, France, Germany and Belgium. As a result, the pilots from these countries had formed "Europilot", a group which had now been established for three years and which studies all the social, political and economic implications for these particular transport workers. The conclusion of agreements between the European airline companies would probably give rise to extremely difficult technical and social problems. He suggested that the ITF Civil Aviation Section should make a special study of these problems.
- H. Hildebrand (German Transport Workers' Union) stressed the importance of trade union work at international level in the field of economic integration and said that the individual unions ought to work for the election of governments more sympathetic to the aspirations of the trade union movement. He represented dockworkers and inland waterway workers. The dockworkers, he pointed out, were brought by their work into daily close contact with inland navigation, road transport and railway workers, and their conditions of work were affected by those prevailing for these other groups of transport workers. Close cooperation was, therefore, called for between the port workers and the other transport workers. As a practical instance of this he cited the fact that the German dockers would, by the terms of their collective agreement, have the 40-hour week as from 1 June 1964. It would be possible to defend this improvement only if the other transport workers had succeeded in attaining by that date the objectives which they had already decided on. For such reasons, it was therefore essential to strengthen the cooperation already existing between trade unions in the different branches of the transport industry.
- H. Alonso ("La Fraternidad", Argentina) said that the railways in Argentina were in great difficulty. The recent 42-day strike of Argentine railwaymen had been caused by the existence of excessive private interests. Coordination was essential and the unfair competition of road transport which was so damaging to the railway industry in Argentina ought to be avoided.
- R. Carrasquilla (Avianca Workers' Union, Colombia) felt that it was indispensable for the strength of the workers in Colombia that the trade unions should be organized into a single Confederation. He asked the ITF to recommend that the two confederations which existed in Colombia should join forces since they were both members of the

ICFTU and its regional organization ORIT. He said that industry in Colombia was very badly organized and the large numbers of middle-men exploited producers and consumers alike.

- M. A. Ndabambi (Rhodesian Railway African Workers Union) said that he did not know how far his own country had gone in negotiating to join any economic union. From previous speakers he understood that unions in other countries had already gone a long way towards achieving a 40-hour week. In his own country workers still worked 48 to 50 hours. He urged that the ITF should take account of the particular problems faced by the workers in S. Rhodesia, where most workers still lived under miserable conditions, a large number of them unorganized. Although everybody paid taxes there was no unemployment benefit. His organization relied on the ITF to put its case before the governments of the world since, quite clearly, it had very little influence with the government in its own country.
- T. Smeding (Netherlands Transport Workers Union) said that inland navigation unions in Belgium, Netherlands, France and Germany were setting up a Bureau which would act as a consultative body for the EEC on social and economic questions affecting inland waterway workers. He requested the ITF to recognise this body.

The President adjourned the Congress until 2 p.m.

Friday, 27th July, 1962

Afternoon Session

The discussion on problems of economic integration continued

- W. E. Malemo: (Transport and Allied Workers' Union, Kenya) expressed the fears of the developing countries that they might become the economic victims of the Common Market. The industrial countries tended to regard Africa as a source of cheap raw materials. His own country had been ruined by Great Britain over a period of sixty years. Neo-colonialism took the form of economic exploitation by means of unfairly fixed prices and import quotas for African products. He feared that the ITF might be committing suicide by supporting the Common Market at this juncture, unless the Executive Committee first subjected to thorough examination the possible political implications of the Rome Treaties.
- J. i Jakubsstovu (Faroese Fishermen's Federation) greeted Congress on behalf of his organization which was the largest in the Faroe Islands. With a membership of 3,000, his organization accounted for 10% of the entire population or 70% of the male working population of the Faroe Islands, 99% of the Faroe Islands' annual exports of £5,000,000 Sterling was made up of fish and fish products. As a result of this dependence on the fishing industry the inhabitants of the Faroe Islands were anxious to have representation in talks within the EEC on the Common Market fisheries policy. Although his country was small it was nevertheless among the world's greatest producers of fish both absolutely and relatively. The colonial status of the Faroe Islands had, however, prevented them from taking part in EEC discussions and also in the work of the joint committee dealing with Scandinavian fisheries' questions in relation to the Common Market. Fearing that the benefits of economic integration in Europe would be limited to the industrialized European countries and would be achieved at the expense of the colonial territories inside and outside Europe, his organization opposed membership of the Common Market until such time as it secured independent representation within the Common Market institutions. It was possible that the Faroe Islands would, in spite of their manifest opposition, be forced into the Common Market. It was also possible that their fears were based on a misunderstanding of the situation. This, however, made it all the more necessary for them to secure a voice in discussions relating to the formation of the Common Market fisheries policy. For this reason he wished to draw the attention of Congress to the resolution on this subject which had been adopted by his organization.
- P. Seibert (German Railwaymen's Union) thanked speakers for their contributions on the subject of economic integration in Europe and other parts of the world. The discussion, however, seemed to indicate a certain misunderstanding of what economic integration entailed. It would, therefore, be the duty of the ITF to contribute towards a better understanding of developments in this sphere so that trade unionists from all parts of the world would become clear in their minds about the meaning and purpose of economic integration and the problems it would give rise to.

One speaker had criticized the absence in his own previous remarks of any reference to civil aviation. The simple explanation of this was that civil aviation held a special position and had not been included in the development towards economic integration in Europe, Latin America or Central America. Civil aviation was not, however, neglected in the ITF seeing that there was ample opportunity to discuss these problems in the ITF Civil Aviation Section. This was also true of maritime affairs, to which there had been no direct reference either in the introduction to the discussion. So far, no particular problems had arisen within the maritime sphere, but, if and when they arose, they could be adequately dealt with within the ITF Seafarers Section. Since economic integration mainly concerned inland transport, viz., road transport, railways and inland waterways, his remarks had been limited to these three means of transport.

Replying to the African delegate who had advocated rejection of the Common Market on the grounds that it represented a new form of colonialism, Brother Seibert pointed out that this view had been very often heard during recent months from the other side of the Iron Curtain. Mr. Krushchev often maintained that the European Economic Community entailed a revival of colonialism. This was not at all true. The European Economic Community and similar groups in Latin and Central America were movements towards economic integration and the political decisions involved had already been taken. The ITF would be ill-advised to come out in opposition to this economic integration since such a decision would be unrealistic. The work of the ITF and its affiliated organizations within these Common Market areas would be to exert their influence on economic developments within these areas so as to prevent them from taking place at the expense of the workers. This would mean that trade unionists, whether they came from Europe, America or Africa, would attempt to influence the formation of the common markets in such a way that workers would receive an appropriate share of the increased production in the form of a higher standard of living and further social progress.

The second observation of the African delegates amounted to a request to the ITF to solve problems which was really for the African organization itself to solve. Certain problems could only be solved at national level. This was true, for example, of working hours. As far as Kenya was concerned, there would soon be discussions between Uganda. Kenya and Tanganyika and the delegate from Kenya who had taken part in the discussion would be well advised to see to it that his organization made its voice heard in these East African negotiations on economic integration. Obviously, the African union's task would not be an easy one. It was known that the trade unions in those areas were not yet in a position of strength. Nevertheless, it was an error to believe that organizational strength and trade union idealism could simply be imported from London. The will to make a trade union a going concern had to be born in the country concerned. Building up a trade union was not easy. Unions in Europe, America, South America and Asia could testify to the difficulties involved. It had taken decades for them to achieve their present position as far as working hours were concerned. The ITF could draw the attention of governments which had not yet ratified the ILO Convention providing for a 48-hour week, to the desirability of ratifying this convention and enacting appropriate legislation. The ITF could not, however, force these governments to ratify this ILO Convention or to enact legislation laying down shorter working hours. Trade unions who wished to introduce even shorter working hours would have to achieve this by means of collective bargaining. This could not be done by the ITF from its London headquarters. He, therefore, asked the delegates from Kenya to bear in mind that, although the ITF was ready to provide assistance, it could not do their trade union work for them. They would have to be ready to take an active part in the struggle in their own country and the workers there would have to be ready to join trade unions. The particular unions would then be in a position to defend the freedom which they had recently acquired.

In the days ahead, it would be very difficult for trade unions affected by economic integration to exert effective influence in all fields where it was necessary. He, therefore, wished to make a suggestion which he believed would be acceptable to the ITF Secretariat. This was to give affiliated organizations in Asia, Latin America and Africa regular information, either through the ITF publications or by means of special circulars, on the entire field of economic integration and harmonization which would serve as a guide in deciding upon activities in their own country. Experience gained from the pursuit of an active trade union policy in Europe and America would thus be placed at the disposal of unions in the developing countries. The decision to provide such information would entail thorough consideration of these problems throughout the next inter-Congress period but it would also be useful to take up these particular questions during the Section Conferences being held in conjunction with Congress.

Brother Seibert concluded by thanking those delegates who had joined in the discussion and hoped that the future work of the trade unions in this connection would continue to be dictated by the interests of the members.

W. J. Webber, Chairman and Rapporteur, presented the final report of the Credentials Committee.

The President put the final report of the Credentials Committee to the vote.

Congress adopted the report.

G. Palmer (Trinidad Seamen & Waterfront Workers' Union) announced that his delegation had just received instructions from their executive to withdraw from Congress in protest against the expulsion of the union's adviser. In withdrawing, the delegation wished Congress every success.

The General Secretary hoped that the Trinidad Seamen's Union would consider very carefully the whole situation. He thought that the decision of their Executive Committee was not a wise one because there had been no complaint whatsoever against the delegation's attendance. He hoped that relations between the Trinidad Seamen's Union and the ITF would be maintained and that in the course of time it would be possible to reconcile these difficulties.

S. Nedzynski (Assistant General Secretary of the ICFTU) brought greetings from the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions and expressed the hope that the work of the ITF and of the affiliated unions would continue to meet with success at national and international level. It was all the more pleasant to be able to congratulate the ITF on its many recent successes because the ITF and IČFTU had maintained a very close working relationship. The strength of the ITF and its affiliated unions was of vital importance to the whole free trade movement since transport workers were often called upon to act as the vanguard. In so many trade union struggles the solidarity and the militancy of the transport workers had played a crucial rôle and secured success. Transport unions were in a position to demonstrate in practical ways (using the old and tested methods of industrial action) that the idea of international solidarity between workers was as alive and powerful as ever. The working people of the world relied on the international solidarity and the power of the international labour movement as much as, if not more than, ever before. Our movement was rightly proud of its many achievements: higher living standards, recognition of the dignity of labour, the fight for freedom and the emancipation of working people all over the world. However, exploitation was still rife. Trade union rights were still not recognized in many countries. Poverty was still the lot of most of humanity. The oppressors and tyrants were still powerful in many countries and the forces of reaction had not yet given up their determination to maintain their privileges and control economic resources for the benefit of the few at the expense of the many. The free trade movement of the world had the task of bringing about the transformation of society so as to ensure social justice, freedom and democracy and to ensure that all workers in all lands were paid a decent living wage, that their dignity was recognized. It was our duty to fight against the machinations of the reactionary forces of military cliques of which the coup d'état in Peru was the latest example. The ICFTU had already taken up its position on Peru. It had called upon all countries not to recognize the military government of Peru and to institute effective sanctions againt it.

Latin America was, unfortunately, not the only region of the world where powerful autocraties controlled the wealth of the country and kept down the masses in poverty. Democracy had also suffered severe set-backs in Asia, where several countries were governed by military dictatorships. In some African countries colonial rule had been replaced by totalitarian governments, and trade union rights were not respected. Colonial rule still existed in large parts of Africa. In the Union of South Africa there was an abhorrent system of racial discrimination and a veritable police state was being installed. A vast number of people were enslaved in the communist empire, an empire based on the disregard of elementary democratic rights and governed by the will of a new class of communist technocrats and bureaucrats. Our positive and constructive work was sometimes frustrated by the subversive attempts and negative attitude of the communist forces.

In the fight against exploitation, and oppression, the workers' best weapon was a powerful trade union movement. For this reason, international solidarity of the workers had in recent years acquired a new meaning, a new dimension. A great deal was said about regional activities, about the organizational and educational work of the international

trade union movement. Our approach to this work was constructive and did not arise simply from a negative fear of communism. The conviction that poverty anywhere was a danger to prosperity everywhere constituted the principle motive for our activities in the Asian, African and Latin American countries. These activities were a challenge to all forces of oppression and exploitation and were our contribution to the transformation of human society, our contribution to the age-old longing of peoples for freedom and justice. This work had expanded in recent years and had become one of the principle endeavours of the international free trade union movement.

The ICFTU's organizational and educational activities had continued to expand in recent times. In addition to the ICFTU colleges in Calcutta and in Kampala, Uganda, there was now a Labour Education Institute in Mexico for the Latin-American region and there would soon be another college in Africa for French-speaking countries. The number of leadership training courses had increased. There had been an expansion of the ICFTU network of offices and field representatives so as to make the experience of more advanced trade unions available to the new trade union organizations. Assistance had also been given in practical organizing problems and in the educational work of the national centres and of the international trade secretariats. The assistance given by the ICFTU to the international trade secretariats, including the ITF, had increased substantially. In addition to the expansion of activities with the resultant increases in expenditure and in the number of people employed, increased attention had to be paid to the problem of improving our method of work in order to ensure the best use of limited financial and personnel resources. It had to be ensured that the money contributed by the workers, the only source of our income, was put to the best possible use, eliminating all duplication and waste. The rôle of the international trade secretariats in this respect was extremely important. Referring to the case of British Guiana, which had been brought up by one of the delegates, Bro. Nedzynski pointed out that the assistance given by the ICFTU to the British Guiana TUC had been mainly directed to enabling the British Guiana TUC to engage in educational activities and leadership training. It was not correct that the ICFTU had not paid any attention to the development and strengthening of individual unions. That work, however, more properly belonged to the international trade secretariats. A number of international trade secretariats had been engaged in this work in British Guiana and it was no secret that much of the cost of these activities had been met from the International Solidarity Fund of the ICFTU. In this indirect way the ICFTU, in co-operation with the international trade secretariats, had helped individual unions to build up individual industrial units of our movement in the different countries.

For quite some time there had been a lot of discussion about the best machinery for cooperation between the ITS's and the ICFTU in the field of regional activities. Perhaps, machinery was not all that important, perhaps too much attention had been paid to developing perfect machinery. In recent years it had been found that, without paying too much attention to machinery, our activities could be co-ordinated through direct consultations, through regular meetings and a number of other methods. Cooperation between the ICFTU and the ITS's in the field of regional activities had been excellent. Wherever a practical

problem had had to be tackled, no difficulty had been found in settling the problems and finding a way of agreeing on a programme or project, whether perfect machinery existed or not. As for cooperation in other fields, the opinions voiced by several representatives of the ITSs at the recent ICFTU Berlin Congress made it possible to hope that the overall relationship between the ICFTU and the international trade secretariats would be solved to everybody's satisfaction in the very near future. The ICFTU had always attached importance to its relationship with the ITSs. The ICFTU had never had any intention of challenging the autonomy of the ITSs. It had always recognized that autonomy. However joint action was necessary. The international trade union movement could not afford the luxury of allowing every part of the movement to attempt to solve the coming problems on its own. Activities had to be co-ordinated and fortunately, co-ordination had made great strides in recent years.

At the same time as the international trade union movement tackled these new responsibilities in the regions it had also to exercise great care not to forget the old tasks of the trade unions. The expansion of regional activities could not take place at the expense of our other activities. Here, the international trade secretariats had a particularly important rôle to play, since they dealt with practical trade problems, with the bread-and-butter issues which were the essence of trade union work. The free trade union movement, the international labour movement, had enormous tasks before it. These tasks had to be dealt with jointly by the ICFTU and the international trade secretariats which all belonged to one movement where everyone had his part to play, where everyone had to recognize the rights of the other but where everyone had to participate in common endeavours so that the hopes of the workers, the hopes of the working people in many parts of the world would not be disappointed. It was the task of our great movement to bring the benefits and achievements of trade unionism to all the workers of the world.

The President then asked Brother Nedzynski to convey to the General Secretary of the ICFTU the deep satisfaction of the ITF with the fruitful association it has with the ICFTU and its gratitude for the help received from the ICFTU International Solidarity Fund.

T. Bratt (International Labour Office) spoke of the close collaboration which had always existed between the ITF and the ILO in all questions connected with the transport industry. The importance of this collaboration was borne out by the many references to the ILO in the Report on Activities. He personally wished to thank all those present who had helped him for more than seventeen years in his own work on behalf of seafarers and fishermen. In this particular field he could cite a number of decisions within the ILO which had been taken as a result of the initiative of the ITF during recent years. As a result of a Resolution adopted by the previous ITF Congress the Governing Body of the ILO had now decided to hold a meeting of the Committee dealing with conditions of work in the fishing industry and the questions which would be discussed at this meeting were practically the same as those proposed by the ITF, viz., safety of work, crew accommodation, vocational training and accident insurance. The last ITF Congress had also adopted a resolution calling for a second ILO Asian Maritime Conference. This was now under active consideration and he was confident that this Conference would be held in the near future. The ITF Resolution on Minimum Rest Periods for Watch-Keepers had later been accepted by the ILO Joint Maritime Commission. The last session of the Joint Maritime Commission, in which the seafarers' members played an important part, had taken note of the important technological changes in the shipping industry and the effects which the introduction of automation had on the working conditions of seafarers. The International Labour Office had been requested to undertake a close study of this question for later discussion within the ILO. This, and many other questions discussed by the Joint Maritime Commission, such as the special conditions applying on nuclear propelled ships, training in the use of ship safety devices, the reduction of noise on board ship and many others, were all matters on which the ILO would continue to look to the ITF for guidance and cooperation. This also applied to the work of the Joint Maritime Commission Sub-committee on Scafarers' Welfare and the Joint ILO/WHO Committee on Seafarers' Health.

If this collaboration between the ITF and the ILO did not always bring a rapid fulfilment of all the ITF's hopes, he could assure Congress that the ILO fully sympathized with the disappointment of workers when they failed to obtain at ILO Conferences all the standards which they felt that workers were entitled to. On the other hand it had to be realized that the tripartite machinery of the ILO did not always move as quickly as one might desire. In any case, present disappointments could often give rise to renewed efforts which would bring successes in the future.

In closing, however, he assured delegates that he would attempt to follow as well as he could the work of the technical sections during the course of this present Congress and give whatever assistance he could in regard to questions which concerned the ILO.

The President thanked Mr. Bratt on behalf of Congress. It was sometimes thought that the ILO machinery turned over rather slowly, but it might be possible in the future to speed it up through closer collaboration and thus obtain more conventions and recommendations on behalf of the transport workers.

J. Mikhelson (International Centre of Free Trade Unionists in Exile) thanked the ITF for this opportunity of addressing Congress on behalf of the International Centre for Free Trade Unionists in Exile. The ITF had thus expressed its solidarity towards workers living under totalitarian Communist regimes in Bulgaria, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Romania and Czechoslovakia, Ukraine and Yugoslavia. He also wished to express his personal thanks to the Finnish Transport Workers, particularly to the Seamen's Union and its General Secretary, Niilo Wälläri. Coming from one of the Baltic States himself, he shared in that view of Finland as a bridge between the Eastern and Western world. In spite of oppression he was convinced that workers behind the Iron Curtain still remained faithful to the spirit of genuine trade unionism and democracy. The fair words which were being spoken at the Communist Festival about international cooperation, friendship and solidarity were brutally contradicted by the growing oppression behind the Iron Curtain. At the same time as everything was being done to break the moral resistance of the subjugated peoples of Eastern Europe, the Communist regime was putting out subtle propaganda conveying the impression that the one hundred million people of Eastern Europe were in complete agreement with the political system that had, in fact, been imposed upon them by sheer force.

It was obvious to everybody present at this Congress that an enormous difference separated the free trade unions from trade unions in the Soviet Union. Anyone with sufficient leisure and perseverance could see from the Soviet Labour Code that trade unions in the Soviet Union had a large number of functions which were foreign to their counterparts in the free world. On the other hand it was more reasonable to pay attention to the functions which the Soviet trade unions did *not* perform. They could not press for better collective agreements, they could not fight for higher wages and so on. The International Centre of Free Trade Unionists in Exile did not wish to organize separate trade unions of refugees, but wished to work together with trade unions in the countries where they had sought refuge. He wished to thank all the Scandinavian organizations, and organizations in all those other countries throughout the world where refugee people had been scattered. He was also convinced that the transport workers and the ITF were the people who were best qualified to understand the problems and difficulties of people in exile, because transport workers understood one another better than other workers.

The conditions of workers in the countries dominated by the Soviet Union had not improved recently. Food prices had recently risen considerably and, in contrast to the reduction of working hours in the free world, Communist regimes were encouraging workers to work on Sundays and legal holidays. The trade union leaders there pretended that the workers themselves were in agreement with this extra burden but, in fact, this was only another example of the fraudulent methods used by a regime which never tired of promising social improvements to the workers but never fulfilled these promises. The demonstrations and uprisings which had taken place in Berlin, Poznan and Budapest some years ago, had clearly demonstrated that the workers in these oppressed countries were not in agreement with the system that had been imposed on them. The workers of these countries would continue to look towards the trade union movement of the free world. It was up to the free trade union movement to give them every moral support by continuing to denounce the oppression and exploitation of working people by dictatorial governments.

M. I. Karaboué (Transport Workers' Union of the Ivory Coast) thanked the ITF for the work it was doing on behalf of the free trade unions in the developing countries. The importance of these activities was not limited to the contribution they made towards improving working conditions and consolidating freedom. They also served to strengthen the relationship between Europe and continents such as Africa. The African working class movement had long been characterized by the colonialist situation in which it had grown up but was determined to continue on the path of progress and social justice. His own organization was conducting resolute action in order to improve the working conditions of its members engaged in transport. They were particularly

concerned with extending social security benefits. He was convinced that the ITF would play an important rôle, in cooperation with the trade union movement of Africa, in bringing about greater freedom and happiness to the new independent Africa.

- E. Berthelsen (Fireman's Union, Denmark) criticized the Faroese delegate and insisted that, contrary to what the latter had stated, Denmark was not a colonial power. The Faroe Islands were a part of Denmark. In 1956 the inhabitants of the Faroe Islands had decided by an overwhelming majority to continue their 800-year-old association with Denmark. They had their own members of parliament, their trade unions were affiliated to the Danish TUC, many Faroese seafarers other than fishermen were members of the Danish seafarers unions including his own. The Danish unions would agree with the Faroese delegate in rejecting membership of the European Common Market unless it was sure that this would not entail a deterioration in wages and working conditions. However, these matters were being discussed within the trade union movement and the political organizations in Denmark and he thought that was the proper place to discuss these matters and not here at this Congress.
- C. Rodriquez (Artigas Meat-packers' Union, Uruguay) spoke on the disputes concerning the Artigas meat-packing plant. He complained that his organization had been attacked in an underhand way.
- J. Sanjines (Bolivian transport workers, represented for the first time at an ITF Congress) outlined the considerable improvements which had been achieved in the social and economic sphere in Bolivia. Trade union rights had been made secure. His organization had decided on affiliation with the ITF because of ideals which were held in common. He offered the protection of his union to any colleagues from Peru who might be obliged to flee their country.
- M. Chatteriee (Indian Transport and Dockworkers Union) began by expressing appreciation of the assistance that his country and the union he represented had received from the ITF, its General Secretary and Director of Regional Affairs under the Federation's regional activities programme. Thanks to this assistance the dockworkers of India had secured considerable improvements in their conditions of work recently, particularly with regard to the decasualization of dockwork. Among the difficulties which his union had to contend with in organising workers was an intensification of activities by Communist organizations. The Communist organization of waterfront workers was carrying out an intensive propaganda campaign throughout Asia and had sent representatives to the ports of Calcutta and Bombay in an attempt to contact trade unionists there. If this organization, which pretended to be an independent trade union organization, went ahead with its proposals to organize a conference of Pacific and Asian dockworkers in India, his organization had made it clear that the free workers of India would stage a protest strike for the duration of that conference. The speaker closed by emphasizing the importance that the dockworkers of India attached to a continuation of the experienced leadership which they had received from the ITF in the past. This would be valuable in reinforcing the determination of the Indian dockworkers to maintain their democratic traditions.

- R. Oca (Transport and General Workers' Organization, Philippines) began by congratulating the ITF Secretariat and particularly the General Secretary for the comprehensive report on Activities. However, he noted with regret the dis-affiliation of the Seafarers' International Union of North America, the International Longshoremen's Association and the Marine Engineers' Beneficial Association, which was all the more discouraging insofar as the underdeveloped countries looked to countries like America for an example in the exercise of free trade unionism. He hoped that the ITF Secretariat would do its utmost in order to restore understanding with these groups. The speaker welcomed the setting up of the Asian Advisory Committee following the resolution adopted by the ITF Asian Regional Conference in Kuala Lumpur in November 1960. He himself had attended the first meeting of the Asian Advisory Committee and had taken part in its fruitful discussions on transport workers' trade union problems in Asia. He regretted that Latin America had been given almost three times the amount of assistance given to Asia under the ITF regional activities programme. He did not wish to criticize the ITF's decision on this matter and recognized the importance which the ITF attached to Latin America. Nevertheless, he thought that Asia had bigger and more important problems than those of Latin America, and thought that the ITF should devote more of its attention to this important part of the world. Positive action was particularly necessary because of the considerable ground which Communism was gaining in many underdeveloped countries.
- **B.** Moreira (Colliers' Union, Uruguay) stated the position of his organization with regard to the dispute over the meat-packing plant. His delegation had not come to cause trouble but to make known the truth about the issue. He urged the ITF not to take the word of either side but to look into the situation and find out the truth.
- E. Casanova (Uruguayan Bus Workers' Union) expressed regret that the parties to the dispute over the meat-packing plant had not settled their differences at a round table discussion. The stevedores' union had gone too far in their activities in the dispute. The speaker's union continued to depend upon the support of the ITF and particularly of Brother Azaña in this matter.
- H. Afifi (Merchant Navy Officers' and Seafarers' Union, United Arab Republic) noted with great pleasure the expansion in the ITF's activities. He indicated that there were good reasons for believing that other unions from the United Arab Republic and the Middle East would seek affiliation with the ITF in the near future. Great improvements had been achieved by Egyptian workers during the past year; minimum wages had been doubled, workers were now entitled to 25% of the profits of their companies, and two seats on the board of directors of every company had been allotted to workers' representatives. In addition, the working day had been reduced to seven hours. After emphasizing the grave concern which transport workers' trade unions must feel at the suspension of trade union rights in Aden, the speaker turned to the proposed revision of the ITF Constitution. His union had, for some time, felt the need of a reform of the structure of the ITF's governing bodies. He, therefore, welcomed the proposed redistribution of seats on the

ITF Executive Committee which would entail a wider sharing of the Federation's responsibilities between different parts of the world. He felt, however, that more seats on the Executive Committee should be given to workers from Asia, Africa and Latin America in order to pay proper recognition to the rapid political and social developments taking place in these continents.

D. S. Tennant (Merchant Navy & Airline Officers' Association, Gt. Britain), referring to the section in the Report on Activities dealing with the liability of operators of nuclear ships, informed delegates on important developments which had occurred since then. An international Convention had been established concerning the liability of operators of nuclear powered ships in case of accident, and he wished to draw the attention of Congress to a resolution which his organization had submitted in connection with this Convention. He wished to emphasize that the importance of this Convention was not restricted to seafarers. Its provisions could also affect dockers and, in fact, most transport workers. The main difference between conventions which had been adopted in regard to land-based reactors and in regard to atomic ships arose from the fact that ships, unlike land-based reactors, were exposed to the danger of collision and that when loading or unloading cargoes this was invariably done in densely populated areas. During the Diplomatic Conference which had preceded the adoption of the Convention. the United Kingdom delegation had been the only one to include a seafarers' representative. During the Conference the United States and the USSR had indicated strong objections to the Convention and given to understand that they would not accept it because it also included warships. In fact, apart from the icebreaker, "Lenin", there was only one atomic powered merchant ship in commission which was likely to visit foreign countries. On the other hand there were at present between forty and sixty nuclear powered warships either built or in the course of construction so that there was considerably more chance of a collision involving a nuclear warship than there was of one involving a nuclear merchant ship. There had already been an incident involving a nuclear warship in San Francisco Harbour. Despite the objections of Russia and America it had been decided by a substantial majority to include warships in the Convention. One provision of the Convention was that nuclear ships had to be licensed by the State concerned. An entirely new principle which had been written into this Convention and, therefore, in effect into international maritime law, provided for the absolute liability of the operator. This was extremely important. It meant, for instance, that even if there had been a mechanical defect in the reactor, the operator was still absolutely liable for any damage which that nuclear ship caused. Another important provision in the Convention was that establishing double jurisdiction. This made sure that the claimant could establish his claim with the minimum amount of hindrance. An injured person could prosecute a claim against the operator either in the jurisdiction of the State that licensed the ship, or of the State where the damage had been sustained. Moreover, once a claim had been established, the merits of this claim could not be the subject of further proceedings. At this point the speaker emphasized the importance of paying proper attention to Article 6 of this Convention which provided that even where a claim had been established, the injured person was still subject to the provisions relating to workmen's compensation in his country or, alternatively, to the social insurance schemes applying in that country. There were certain countries where, if a claim was accepted under a social insurance scheme, the injured person could not prosecute the employer for damages arising out of his injury. It was with this particular situation which the resolution that his organization was putting before Congress would deal. The matter could not be put right through an international convention but what the seafarers and dockers in particular could do would be to look closely at their own domestic legislation dealing with workmen's compensation and social insurance benefits so as to ensure that they were not precluded from prosecuting a claim under this Convention. This would enable transport workers to make the best use of this Convention providing for the absolute liability of the operator and also making it obligatory for the licensing state to found a fund of 100 million dollars for this purpose.

Referring to the section of the Report on Activities concerned with pipelines, the speaker noted that only three sections of the ITF appeared to be considering this question—the Road Transport, Railwaymen's and Inland Navigation Sections. He considered that, since pipelines could have a considerable impact on shipping, the Seafarers Section should also be given an opportunity of studying this impact before any final conclusion was reached by other ITF Sections. He also drew the attention of other sections to a report put out by the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development on the subject of pipeline development. This responsible report stated that pipelines, even when operating at full capacity, were at a disadvantage when competing with ocean-going tankers for transport over equal distances. It also stated that, even when the pipeline route was considerably shorter than the alternative sea route and provided large quantities of oil were to be transported over a fixed route for a long period, large tankers were still more economical than pipeline transport. These conclusions, he thought, would give an indication of the reason for the seafarers' desire to be consulted before any conclusions were reached on this subject by the other ITF Sections.

Brother Tennant turned finally to the resolution adopted by the Railwaymen's Conference on the subject of the Channel Tunnel. In the United Kingdom, seafarers' organizations had established an expert committee to examine the question of an enclosed channel link. This committee had rejected absolutely the idea of a bridge. The investigation into the other alternative, the Channel Tunnel, had not yet been completed, but examination so far led them to believe that ships could do this operation more efficiently and economically than the tunnel, subject to the provision of the proper ships and terminal facilities. He, therefore, thought that the Seafarers' Section should, in this matter too, be given an opportunity of making its position clear before final conclusions were adopted by the other ITF Sections.

The President adjourned the Session at 5 p.m.

Tuesday, 31st July, 1962

The President opened the Session at 2.30 p.m.

The General Secretary read telegrams of greeting from the Italian Passenger Transport and Inland Navigation Workers' Union, the Maritime Union of Pakistan and the "Faucett" Civil Aviation Co. Workers' Union.

S. Greene (National Union of Railwaymen, Great Britain) then presented the Report of the Resolutions Committee. (See page 292.)

Congress approved the Report of the Resolutions Committee.

The President then called upon the General Secretary, P. de Vries, to reply to the debate on the Report on Activities.

Reply by the General Secretary to the Debate on the Report on Activities

I want to start with a word of thanks to those speakers who were good enough to express their gratitude for the help the ITF has been able to give them over the last two years or so. I particularly have in mind our friends from Uruguay, Argentina, Denmark, Mexico and the Netherlands. In answer I would only say that the help the ITF gave when its unions there were in trouble was no more than any affiliate can expect. It is one very important reason for our existence.

Now, obviously, I am not going to be able to reply to every contribution in detail. Some of the speeches, however, were variations on the same theme. Several delegates said, for instance, how much they needed educational or training schemes. I know the needs well enoughthey are very real and very desirable. But the fact remains that if we tried to meet them ourselves, we would only be scratching the surface of the problem. We have always taken the line that the ICFTU is the only body able to do this particular job properly. They have already made a good start with their colleagues and we ought to leave the general matter of training and education to them. What we can do—and what we have already started to do in the case of one request made during this Congress—is to see how we can fit our special requirements into the general scheme the ICFTU has established. We can also, of course, often provide specialists and experts on various topics of interest to our unions. But—I repeat—our policy is to leave to the ICFTU the general provision of education and training, and supplement these activities when we can do so usefully.

I am sure everyone will agree that Miss Raupp made a most interesting contribution. It is not often that a lady speaks at ITF Congresses—which is a great pity, because maybe we sometimes forget how many women are employed in the transport industry. I can assure you that her suggestion about circularising affiliates on the problem of equal pay and opportunities for women will be carefully considered.

I am not going to say much about the Finnish railwaymen's problems. Everyone regrets that the trade union movement in Finland is disunited. We have to face the facts, however. A substantial body of Finland's railwaymen have formed a new union and the majority of the ITF's Finnish affiliates have supported that union's admission to the ITF. I think Brother Tuori said that the ITF ought to help reunite the Finnish movement and of course we shall help if we can. Unity cannot, however, be *imposed* by an international body. There has to be a real will to unity. These remarks apply equally to the situation in India which Brother Hoda described.

Our friend from Korea said there was a chance of further affiliations from his country. I think we all welcomed that bit of news. Korea has been going through a trying time for the last few years and it was good to hear that the situation now seems to be improving.

Brother Alink raised the matter of Bro. Rasschaert's position. This, I think, has to be dealt with by the Committee of ITF Unions in the European Community. I do not think the ITF can take the initiative. With his other point—about a list of abbreviations—I have great sympathy and I shall see what we can do for him. It is almost impossible to remember the thousand and one bodies which we now have to deal with and when these names are in different languages it all becomes a bit of a nightmare.

Brother Wartomo mentioned the recent ICFTU Congress resolution on West Irian. As many of you will know, the ITF has also had this problem on its plate on past occasions and I think we can all join with our Indonesian friends in expressing our pleasure that—at a trade union level at least—they were able to come to agreement with their colleagues in Holland.

Brother Ndabambi said the ITF ought to hold an African Regional Conference. Well, we have that very much in mind. I cannot give him a precise date but we intend to convene a conference as soon as we can—perhaps next year.

Both Brother Alonso and Brother Hassan Ali raised the question of some sort of regional co-ordination or consultative machinery for Latin America and the Caribbean. I have asked Brother Azaña to look into this and report back. I would only point out at this stage that, as in the case of the Asian Advisory Committee, we will need a contribution from our friends in the region itself if we are to make a success of the enterprise. I am sure they are proud enough to want to help themselves, although their contribution might also take the form of an extra financial effort.

I shall leave it to the Director of Regional Affairs and our Regional Representatives to reply to a number of other points that have arisen in connection with our work in the regions. I only want to say to Brother Oca, who was comparing the amount we spent in Asia as compared with Latin America, that one has to look at the number of countries and organizations and potential membership, rather than at figures on a financial report. I know every region would like more attention paid to it, but we have to get along as best we can, taking the situation in each place as we find it.

So much for some of the specific points that were raised. I think I could well reply in more general terms to the others because in many cases they were variations on the same theme. The debate on the Report on Activities is the big chance that affiliates have to get up and say just what is wrong with the ITF, what it ought to have done but has not, and what it has done badly. This debate is the great opportunity for soul-searching and self-criticism and of course everyone has his own idea of what the ITF ought to be. If it fails to live up to expectations, then this is the time and place to say so. I have listened attentively and since I am the person who must take responsibility for the Secretariat's activities and for seeing that the governing bodies' decisions have been carried out, it is my job to reply to criticism as best as I can.

"The ITF should do more." This has been said more than once in this discussion. I could not agree more. I know from my experience over the last couple of years that there is no shortage of suggestions on where the ITF could usefully spend more of its time and money. Indeed, if I were to catalogue all the proposals I have seen, it would read like a list of what is wrong with the world, industrially, socially and politically—and how to put it right. All we need, to attempt to do this, is a standard affiliation fee of a few pounds per member per month. Frankly, I do not think a proposal to that effect would have much chance here. Let us be realistic. We are operating on a budget of thousands when we would need to be talking in terms of millions if we were even to try to please everybody. The only thing to do in a situation like this is to think hard and long about the best way of getting the maximum results for the comparatively meagre resources that we have. Believe me, this is not easy. If I have had to learn anything at all while I have been General Secretary it is to say, "No", and stick to it. I don't like the exercise, because nine times out of ten what we are being asked to spend money on is in itself worthwhile. We sometimes need the wisdom of Solomon to decide between competing claims on our funds. It is very difficult to have to explain to people that we cannot give the help that they ask for because other demands must take priority. Everyone's problems are the most important to himself. Everyone's needs are more pressing than anyone else's. We and the burden is borne mainly by the Regional Affairs Committee and Executive Committee—have the awkward job of turning ideas, often very good ones, down.

I think it is worth reflecting a bit on where we get our money from. We do not get a penny from governments. Unlike the WFTU, we cannot rely on a friendly regime to dip into its Treasury and throw a few million roubles our way. And if we were offered government money, we would refuse it because we have always stood on our own feet and, once we cease doing so, the whole reason for our existence, and therefore our existence itself as part of the free trade union movement, would come to a quick end. We get our money from our unions and they get it from their members. The people who keep the ITF alive are ordinary transport workers of all sorts of countries, faiths and occupations. I said just now that we had to be careful how we spend our money because we have not got much of it, but we have to be careful for another reason: because it would be shameful if we were to throw about money hard earned and given to us to use for particular purposes. If ever one has any doubt about whether the ITF should spend its money on this or that

project it is not a bad idea to imagine how one would justify the expense to those from whom the money has come in the first place. Most of us have heard the story of the millionaire who was asked how much his yacht cost and replied: "If you have to ask the price you can't afford it." It is certainly true that money is only important if you haven't got it. Well, we are not bankrupt by any means, but equally we are not so well off that we can dismiss money as a vulgar subject which it is bad manners to discuss.

More and more we are devoting what resources we have to our regional activities. I do not intend to add very much on this subject to what has already been said in this debate where our work in the developing countries has had a thorough airing. However, it would not be out of place to stress just how vital it is for the various parts of the international free trade union movement to get together more closely than up to now and work out what has to be done, who is to do it and who is to pay for it. When I addressed the ICFTU Congress recently in Berlin, I went into this topic at some length because I am clear in my mind that it is one of the crucial issues facing the international movement. We cannot afford to work in splendid isolation from one another—and that goes for all the ITSs and the ICFTU.

I shall not hide from you how dissatisfied our Executive Committee has been with the failure of the ITSs either to co-operate properly with one another or collectively with the ICFTU.

Some of the ITSs have displayed a totally unrealistic attitude to this problem. They seem to think in a negative and defensive manner as if their one concern was to protect their own independence. Now no one could teach the ITF anything about keeping its autonomy and freedom of action. We led the fight against the attempt by the old WFTU to relegate us to the position which the WFTU's trades union internationals now enjoy. We said then that we have been around too long to lie down in the face of imperialism of that sort. But we are not foolish enough to identify independence with isolation. Indeed, we have never suffered from the sort of inferiority complex which seems to have made some people fear that co-operation with other branches of the international movement is a kiss of death.

We are so confident of our ability to maintain our integrity that we can enter into co-operation and consultation with other ITSs and the ICFTU without any worry about the ITF's future as an organization with a mind and will of its own.

What is needed is a concerted effort by all the ITSs and the ICFTU so that we can really get down to the enormous tasks we have set ourselves. I do not want to strike too pessimistic a note. Many of the faults of the international movement's work in the regions are of the movement's own making. This at least brings us the comfort of knowing that we can do something about them. Nor will I pretend that the ITF has always been blameless—we cannot claim to be perfect—but I can say that we have worked hard and sincerely over recent years to bring about the concerted effort which we have to make and we are going to stick to our guns.

This leads me to say a few words about the ITF's relations with the ICFTU. The ICFTU has troubles of its own. That is inevitable. It must be very difficult to hammer out policy in an organization consisting of such a wide variety of national centres. Our interests in the ITF are much narrower. Our affiliates have industrial issues which they can readily discuss with similar organizations in other countries. They feel at once they have something in common with their counterparts abroad. It must be much more difficult in the ICFTU. All its affiliates share a general concern to strengthen free trade unionism but I imagine there is an infinite number of interpretations which one could place on what free trade unionism is and how to strengthen it. To me, it is remarkable that the ICFTU has made the progress it has made. If it has had its failures, they have been more than outweighed by its successes.

The ITF, though of course independent, is one of the ITSs associated with the ICFTU. If association means anything at all, it is our duty to help the ICFTU as much as we can. And we have an obvious interest in seeing that the ICFTU is in good shape. Our relations with them are close and of the utmost value. I think they would say the same. Maybe we do not always share exactly their opinion on certain points of detail but differences of opinion are very few and on the whole I can say that over the past few years we have got on wonderfully well.

You will have seen from our financial report that we have benefited from assistance given by the ICFTU's International Solidarity Fund Committee. We have approached the ICFTU with programmes for work in the regions and asked for help from the Fund. These requests are consistent with everything that I have already said about the need for unity in the international movement. The fact that the ICFTU met our approaches so generously is an indication that they too recognize the important part we play. The ICFTU has a grasp of the overall picture which we, with our comparatively limited resources, could never acquire. We have, however, the specialized knowledge and experience which can provide the bricks for the basic structure the ICFTU has erected. There is no question of servant or master but of two complementary forces working for the same end.

This is not the time or place to reiterate why regional activities are important. We all know why the job needs to be done. The big question is how it should be done. It is worth remembering that—although it may seem longer—we have only been working seriously in the regions for the last few years. To a certain extent we have been exploring virgin territory and have not really known what we needed in the way of equipment. We have had to proceed largely by trial and error. We have certainly made mistakes, and that was inevitable. Perhaps we have now accumulated enough experience, however, to draw some conclusions from what have been essentially experiments.

One conclusion which I think all of us engaged in this venture have come to is that honest-to-goodness trades unionists with practical experience of trade union work can often do more good than any amount of material assistance. What many of the new trade union movements lack is a knowledge of how to go about everyday union work. Sometimes a union will write to us and say that it is about to go into negotiations with a management and wants us to say what the union should ask for! Obviously is it impossible for us to do this sort of

thing from London without any detailed knowledge of conditions in the industry, or even country, concerned. We have even had unions send us a copy of an agreement which they have signed and have been asked to explain what is in it! The managements in these countries are usually a step or two ahead of the unions they deal with. They can often have provisions put in an agreement which no experienced trade union would tolerate. On the other hand—perhaps because the managements sometimes have a very easy time—they have often grown soft in their negotiating and debating skills, and when they come face to face with a trade unionist who is their match, if not their better, then they collapse like pricked balloons. Now obviously we cannot provide experienced trade unionists to conduct negotiations for all our unions in the developing countries, but what we must try to do more than ever is to have a body of experienced men at our disposal who can give our unions help and guidance and show them how to set about tackling their opponents on the management side.

Our unions' problems do not end with negotiations, of course. They need advice on things such as recruitment, administration and book-keeping procedures. Often they have to work with very few full-time officials—sometimes none at all—and it is very hard to run a union in your spare time after a day's work. This is all the more reason why it is necessary to show them how trade union business can be done efficiently. If we can get these lessons across then the unions will be able all the more quickly to afford the full-time help they will need if they are to grow to any size. Men rather than material help—that, then, is the first and very important lesson we have learned.

We have already started recently to try to apply the lesson. We now have men in Asian, Africa and Latin America and I want here and now to pay tribute to their work. Demands, mental and physical, are made on them to the point almost of cruelty. They tend to live out of suitcases. The clock means very little as it is turned upside down by flights here and there. They are deprived of almost all the ordinary comforts which most of us expect. But they never complain. Indeed, they seem to relish the life that they lead and there can be no greater proof of their dedication than the fact that they should lead the sort of existence they do, and enjoy it. I can only say that as General Secretary—and I am sure I speak for you all—I salute them.

Now we must look for ways of adding to their number. The very nature of the job means that this will not be easy because we need a special sort of person and there are not many of them. We also have to make sure that, when we have found the people, we can find the money to pay them and give them an adequate reward for the arduous work they have to do. There has been a lot of discussion recently amongst the ITSs and with the ICFTU about the possibility of forming a pool of regional representatives so that we can use the limited man-power at our disposal as rationally and economically as we can. Nothing concrete has come out of these discussions yet, but I still have hopes that we shall be able to put the idea into practice before too long. The difficulties are mainly technical but they do not strike me as being insuperable. If eventually we can get a pool of representatives we shall have made a large step forward, in one direction at least, towards the concentrated and united application of the various forces of the international movement to which I referred before.

Whether we succeed or not in the regions depends, of course, on the strength of the ITF in those areas which have been the "ITF's backbone" almost since its foundation. It is no good thinking that we can do anything worthwhile in Africa, Asia or Latin America unless the ITF enjoys the firm foundations which its older affiliates provide. I cannot pretend that the last two years have been altogether free from trouble. I think you will all know what I am referring to and I am not going to say anything here that could make a solution of those problems more difficult. I just want to put in a word or two about international activities generally in the trades union movement and they will have some bearing on the difficulties I have in mind. We have to use tolerance and compromise as everyday tools if our organization is going to work at all. I do not mean by that we cannot have principles or that tolerance and compromise can be exercised to a degree where fundamentals are forgotten. Far from it. Fundamental principles hold the ITF together and without them the whole organization would be nonsense. What I mean when I stress the necessity for tolerance and compromise is that the ITF is drawn from so many countries and is compounded of so many different backgrounds, customs and temperaments that it would be foolish to try to lay down inflexible interpretations on the basic principles which we cherish.

Flexibility is naturally sometimes a source of difficulty—you only have to think of this very Congress to realise how hard it is to run a large international conference in a way which seems familiar to everyone. But we all make a conscious effort to make allowances for the fact that other people do things differently and this is the spirit with which the ITF has to approach almost every problem. I am convinced that, given goodwill, we can quickly enter into a happier period so far as our relations with certain organizations are concerned. I need hardly say how important it is to the ITF—indeed to the international movement generally—that old wounds should be allowed to heal because otherwise they can fester. We are going through a difficult time industrially and politically and if ever we needed international solidarity, in every sense, then it is now. We cannot have any weak links in the chain because there are too many elements only too ready to test our strength.

Sectional activities stand at the very heart of our activities as a whole, for it is there that we really get down to brass tacks. If you look through the report on activities you will see that section activities account for a great part of our work. I am not going to deal with any particular sectional problems here because the sectional conferences are well able to look after themselves. I want just to say that however specialized, or even obscure, some problems might seem to the outsider, you get a very good idea on looking at the section reports of what a considerable amount of intricate work the sections have managed to get through.

Replying to the debate on the Report on Activities is not a very easy job. The very size of the Report which you have been talking about is in itself a difficulty. It is more than I, or anyone else, can do to touch upon everything that has been written and said about our activities in the period the Report covers, but it would be fair to say that in general we have come through that period pretty well. Every period between congresses has its ups and downs but on balance there have

been more good things to report than bad. However, this does not mean that we have any reason for complacency or that we can ease the pace at which we work. That would be fatal.

Although the Report on Activities is always an occasion for a review of what has already happened we ought also to take this chance to speculate a little about the future and what it holds for us. The ITF's total membership has changed little since Congress last met. This is in a way something of an achievement. About one half of the ITF's membership is drawn from the railways industry. There is a general tendency throughout the world for the railways to contract or at best stay as they are. I know there are some exceptions to this rule but, as far as most industrialized countries go, there is no denying that railwaymen will in most cases become fewer in number. Now, obviously, this is going to have an effect on the ITF and we are going to have to try and find ways of making good an almost inevitable loss.

With automation and rationalization playing an ever greater part in the transport industry, it is rather doubtful whether we could compensate for the loss of railwaymen by finding new members in other sectors of the transport industry. Finding fresh members in the developing countries seems a better proposition but we would be fooling ourselves if we thought that we could do this overnight. The ITF has almost exhausted the rich reservoirs which were once open to us. In almost every industrialized country the ITF has almost realized its full potential. Here again there are a few exceptions to the general rule, but the exceptions are not so numerous that we can look to them for an adequate transfusion of strength.

We might therefore have a testing interim period before us. I say "Interim" because I do not doubt that the work we are putting in to lay foundations in the developing countries will eventually prove a worth-while investment in terms of added strength to our international. I have thought it only fair to point out one of the big problems we face, but if we apply faith and determination in the same measure as at other difficult periods in the ITF's history we shall find the right answer.

The last couple of years have proved to me beyond doubt that no general secretary of the ITF can work as a lone wolf. He has to rely tremendously on the ability and devotion of his colleagues on the staff. They have to be a team and one weak link in the chain—whether the post be high or low—would be enough to bring the office serious trouble. They have my deep gratitude—and I mean that sincerely.

The General Secretary has also to rely on the good sense and sound judgment of the governing bodies which he serves and on that score I have no complaints. If anything, the period since our Berne Congress has brought home to me more forcibly than ever just where the strength of the ITF really lies. It lies in the readiness of unions of all shapes and sizes to join together in a community whose members retain their autonomy but nevertheless—and whatever their differences on points of detail—testify to their belief that some principles and ideals hold good for everyone, whatever his colour or creed. Whenever we get involved in disagreements—and it happens quite often—we ought to reflect not how bad the disagreements are but how few and trivial they are compared with the vast areas of agreement which we

accept without question and which therefore never cause us to raise an eyebrow.

Look at the ITF as it is today with not far from 300 unions in almost every country of the free world. The figures in themselves mean little but they represent over sixty years of toil and triumph over disasters which would have destroyed a movement whose cause was less just and truly worthwhile.

Good men have lost their lives for the ITF.

We would be shamefully unworthy of the sacrifices made in the name of the ITF if we were to fail now in the great tasks lying before us.

R. Laan (ITF Director of Regional Affairs) spoke of the broader and more flexible outlook on trade union matters engendered by work in an international organization and, especially, by the practical experience of meeting trade unionists of developing countries in their own countries and learning at first hand of their many problems. In the African countries which had recently acquired their independence there was still a long way to go before the trade unionists had attained anything like a position of strength. He had observed this himself in North and East Africa during visits to these areas. He feared that Tanganyika would soon be introducing the Ghanaian system of government-controlled unions, a prospect which presented a very difficult problem to the international trade union movement. Trade unionists coming from the western democracies had to realise that in Africa the words "democracy" and "freedom" were interpreted very differently, that the approach of the African countries towards the attainment of these ideals was often quite different from that adopted in the West. Each country was involved in its own particular situation, and it was essential for the western trade unionists to adopt an unprejudiced fresh outlook in viewing the particular situation encountered. A true understanding of the situation was essential before going on to advise the unions in these countries on the ways in which they could best train future leaders and run their organizations effectively.

The Asian countries which had had their independence for more than 10 years were still confronted with the typical problems affecting developing countries, poverty, unemployment, illiteracy, lack of capital, problems arising in connection with the process of industrialization, added to which was the tremendous growth of population in all the Asian countries. Here again, the situation differed greatly from one country to the next. In a number of Asian countries there were military governments or administrations and during his own visit to the area, he had been able to see that this type of government did not exactly encourage the growth of trade unionism. The problem of Asian seafarers had been discussed in the Seafarers' Section. He had found that the effect of the ITF pamphlet for Asian seamen had been somewhat limited in Hongkong by the fact that more than 90% of the seafarers there were able to read only Chinese. This raised the entire question of whether the ITF could afford in the future to restrict its publications to the official ITF languages which were very often not understood in this part of the world.

The speaker said that he would leave it to Brother Azaña to give details of the ITF's activities in Latin America and concluded by outlining certain general organizational features of the ITF's regional activities. During 1962, approximately £60,000 would be spent in the regions, approximately half of which would come from the ICFTU International Solidarity Fund. This, in fact, was a very small amount if the ITF was to do its job successfully. The ITF already had, or would soon have, three men working in Latin America, two in Africa and two in Asia. These men were doing a tremendous job, but it would be necessary to devote our energies to making it possible for trade unionists from Africa and Asia to cooperate in this work. This would help to reduce the costs of the ITF regional activities programme.

F. Azaña (ITF Regional Director for Latin America and the Caribbean Zone) outlined some of the work accomplished in the Latin American and Caribbean region from the time of his appointment by the ITF Executive Committee. At the beginning of 1960, the ITF had had in that area 46 organizations with a total fully paid up membership of 42,980. At present, the ITF had 90 organizations in the region, and five more had applied for affiliation. The fully-paid up membership had risen to 152,446. This success had entailed a great deal of hard work by all those working in the region and an important factor in the dramatic increase in membership had undoubtedly been the Regional Conference held in Lima. The ITF's name was now well-known throughout Latin America.

The ITF Congress in Berne had decided that the regional representatives should be travelling representatives. In answer to these instructions he could say that since his appointment he had travelled over 126,000 miles in Latin America, had visited every country in the region, some more than once, and his visits had not been restricted to the capitals. His visits to smaller towns had resulted in the affiliation of some very useful new members. As a result of the cooperative attitude of the ITF General Secretary and Executive Committee, there were now two assistants in the region. One of these, Brother Otero, a young energetic railwayman from the USA, was doing a fine job in Brazil. The problems facing the trade unions in Brazil were such that it was unlikely that any concrete results of Brother Otero's work would be seen in the near future. Democratic trade unionism was fighting against great odds in that immense country. The negative attitude of the government itself was reinforced by the activities of extreme right and left and the unions were financially weak because of the raging inflation in the country. Brother Otero had great courage and ability, as had been proved by his work in the Dominican Republic shortly after the fall of Trujillo. It should never be held against him if the ITF should not secure rapid spectacular successes in Brazil. It was rather to his credit that he had the determination to go on working in a country where conditions were so disheartening. other ITF Assistant in Latin America, Brother Medrano from the Streetcar Union of Peru, had previously been a working class representative in the Peruvian parliament before coming to work for the ITF on a full-time basis. Before that he had given his services to the ITF without remuneration. Since his appointment, he had visited Bolivia and Argentina and his visit to Bolivia had brought two new affiliates to the ITF. In Uruguay, he had handled an industrial dispute extremely well. The ITF office in Lima now published a News Bulletin every fortnight. The circulation had gone up from an original 250 copies to 2,500 copies at present and many newspapers in the area regularly carried extracts from the ITF Bulletin.

The ITF had had to intervene in numerous conflicts. If European and United States' trade unionists wished to understand the trade union situation in Latin America they would do well to look back at the struggles in which their own unions had been engaged 100 years ago. Many employers from Europe and the United States who had been frustrated in their efforts to impose their will in their own countries, had come to Latin America in search of an employers' paradise. Between them and the fulfilment of their ruthless ambitions, there stood only a weak trade union movement and the power of the ITF. Because the ITF had been able to make its power felt by these employers, we had been able to prosper in Latin America to the extent that we had.

With regard to trade union education, Brother Azaña pointed out that he did not see himself in the role of a teacher. He had not learnt his trade unionism in any school but from his experience in working clandestinely for trade unionism against the hostile Spanish regime. He recognized the value of training, but believed that there was no problem in South America too big for old-fashioned trade unionism to solve, as had been remarked by Sir Vincent Tewson during his visit to Lima. He believed that more militancy was required. If we had that militancy, he thought that the Latin American membership would be more than 300,000 by the next Congress. As examples of the militancy that was called for, he cited the need for helping dockers and seafarers in Argentina to regain their hiring hall and the need to help railwaymen throughout Latin America in their fight against exploitation. The initials of the ITF were well-known throughout Latin America, respected by all our friends and hated by all our enemies. The Communists had been unable to attack the ITF itself, because of its militant record. The growth in ITF membership, moreover, showed that they had not been successful in the tactics they had resorted to in attempting to destroy unions affiliated to the ITF and preventing others from joining. He was convinced that, provided everybody within the ITF played their part, Latin America would be able to speak with a more powerful voice at the next Congress.

In closing, Brother Azaña paid tribute to the ITF General Secretary who had given him all the support he needed in his difficult task, and to the courage of his wife, a "trade union widow", who had accepted without complaint the hardships arising out of his job. He thanked the ITF for the confidence it had shown in him. He was determined to prove that this confidence had not been misplaced. As an indication of this determination, he promised that by the time of the next Congress the Latin American membership would have been doubled.

J. Soares (ITF Regional Director for Asia and the Far East) said that he had been glad to hear of the good conditions of employment of Asian seamen on Swedish ships. Seamen's unions in Asia were weak and disunited and suffered greatly from competition between the ports of Bombay and Calcutta on the one hand, and Hongkong, Singapore

and, most recently, a number of ports in Indonesia on the other. The ITF Seafarers' Section would have to give continued attention to this question and the speaker thought that the matter would have to be placed on the agenda of the Second Asian Maritime Congress of the ILO. In reply to Brother Hoda, he pointed out that the ITF had done all it could to bring unity to the ranks of Indian railwaymen. If these efforts had not succeeded, the ITF was not to be held responsible.

Brother Soares then went on to refer to difficulties which trade unions were experiencing in a number of trouble spots in Asia, in Thailand, Ceylon and Burma. In Burma, the President and General Secretary of the ITF-affiliated Burma Seamen's Union had been arrested and were still in jail. Replying to the Indonesian delegate's reference to the ICFTU Resolution on Indonesia, he thought that the West Irian problem was one which would have to be solved before trade unions in that area could gain strength. The creation of the proposed new Federation of Malaya would also present new tasks for the ITF and the ICFTU.

The Vice-President, H. Düby, then introduced a Motion from the Executive Committee of the ITF to the 27th Congress of the ITF, meeting in Helsinki from 25 July to 4 August, 1962 concerning the

REVISION OF THE CONSTITUTION

Two documents (XXVII-C-4 and XXVII-C-4(a)), on this Item of the Agenda had been submitted to Congress by the Executive Committee. A further document (XXVII-C-4(b)), contained three amendments proposed by the Belgian organization, "Secteur Cheminots de la Centrale Générale des Services Publics". (See pages 139 and 159.)

I have been charged by the Executive Committee with presenting to Congress their proposals to revise the Constitution of the ITF. The Constitution of an organization ought not, in principle, to be amended every two or three years. Amendments should always be thoroughly considered and put forward only when it is in the interests of the organization to do so and when revision is absolutely necessary.

It was in 1952 that the ITF Congress held in Stockholm decided on a fundamental revision of the ITF Constitution. Since then only minor changes have been made in connection with the co-option of members of the Executive Committee. During the Berne Congress in 1960 a number of questions were discussed having a bearing on the Constitution but, apart from the decision to increase the number of co-opted members on the Executive Committee from four to eight, it was decided not to proceed with proposals to alter the existing Constitution. Proposals to allot two seats on the Executive Committee to countries having more than 500,000 fully paid up members, to increase the inter-Congress period from two to three years, to enable substitute members to attend meetings of the Executive Committee and to alter the composition of the Management Committee were either withdrawn or rejected by Congress.

Since the Stockholm Congress 10 years have gone by without any decisive changes in the Constitution. In view of the considerable expansion of ITF activities in all parts of the world and in view of recurring complaints about evident defects in the present Constitution, the ITF Executive Committee decided after the Berne Congress that the time had come to review the Constitution and to put forward a proposal which would take due account of wishes that had been expressed to alter certain provisions. At the meeting of the Executive Committee held in November 1960, a sub-committee was appointed consisting of the ITF President, the Vice President, Brothers Laurent, Kanne, Seibert, Sir Thomas Yates and the General Secretary.

The Sub-Committee held three meetings and worked out proposals which were then laid before the Executive Committee. After the Executive Committee had reached its decision on these proposals, it had been left to the General Secretary to make the necessary stylistic and textual changes whereupon the proposals had been circulated to affiliated organizations for their information and comments.

The changes in the Constitution proposed by the Executive Committee fall into three types: radical changes of substance, for example, with regard to the governing bodies; lesser changes in substance designed to make the administration of the ITF easier; and textual changes designed to express more clearly or briefly the ideas behind the provisions in the present text.

Would you please note that the English version is the original text. After Congress has made its decision, the Secretariat or a small Sub-Committee will subject the various versions to further thorough examination, in order to bring them more closely into line with the English text and improve the wording where necessary.

Very little of the original text has remained unchanged. The Executive Committee thought that it ought to make a thorough job of revision and not merely make the more obvious changes. Piecemeal revision over recent years has sometimes only served to raise fresh problems in trying to solve old ones. The Executive Committee wishes to have a Constitution which will stand the test of time and not have to be changed frequently to meet every new circumstance. The Executive Committee had this very much in mind when it decided upon reconstruction of the governing bodies. The present texts, broadly speaking were designed for an ITF far smaller than the ITF of today. This can be seen very clearly from the provisions governing the composition of the General Council, where the basis for the allocation of seats rests on the proposition that the ITF consists of quite large concentrations of membership. For the last two or three congresses it has been necessary to waive these provisions in order to give the "Regions" representation on the General Council, for if the present provisions were strictly applied Africa, for example, would not have been entitled to one seat.

A change will have to be made here. The structure of the governing bodies should, however, not only be theoretically correct; it should also be a workable structure. This means that attention has to be paid to the financial aspects and expenditure on the governing bodies and administration of the Federation should be properly related to its income.

The ITF has many tasks which cannot be neglected in favour of expenditure on its governing bodies. A line has, therefore, to be drawn between the need for representative and efficient government and administration on the one hand, and the demands on the ITF's resources for regional and sectional activities on the other. As yet it is impossible to define this line with any precision and the Executive Committee have therefore taken the reasonable course of deciding that the new structure of the governing bodies should be no more expensive than at present. Since, according to the Executive Committee's proposals, the new Executive Board and Management Committee are to be larger than their present equivalents and the Management Committee is furthermore to consist of members from more than one country, the extra expenditure which these changes would bring is to be compensated by having Congress every three years instead of two. There are excellent reasons, other than financial, for having a triennial Congress but, these reasons apart, if Congress is to continue to take place every two years the Executive Committee will have to advise Congress to leave the other governing bodies as they are. Expenditure on the governing bodies would otherwise be unduly high. In short, the Executive Committee's various proposals with regard to the reconstruction of the governing bodies have to be regarded as inter-linked and have therefore either to be accepted or rejected as a whole.

No essential changes are envisaged with regard to the composition of Congress. The proposed changes in electoral procedure will require some explanation, but I shall leave my comments on this aspect until we come to the detailed discussion of the Executive Committee's proposal.

The functions and composition of the General Council were thoroughly discussed in the Sub-Committee and the Executive Committee. For some time the functions of the General Council have been very limited and it was questioned whether this body should not be abolished altogether. The Executive Committee finally decided to retain the General Council which is the second highest body of the ITF. It affords a large number of affiliated unions an opportunity of a place on a governing body of the Federation. The General Council is, therefore, of great importance symbolically for those unions whose chances of having one of their members serving on the Executive Committee are small. Even if the General Council does not meet very often, it is possible to convene it under certain circumstances in order to take decisions of great importance for the ITF. The Executive Committee has put forward a recommendation relating to the composition of the proposed new General Council. The number of members of the General Council is to be fixed at 45 as against 46 during the Berne Congress. In the composition of the different groups only one change is envisaged insofar as the Italy/Malta group is to be allotted one seat against two previously.

The present Executive Committee, which in the new Constitution is to be called the Executive Board, will be expanded to make it more representative. The provisions on the co-option of members are to be dropped except that it will be possible for the Executive Board to co-opt replacements for members leaving during the period between Congresses. Although previously co-opted members enjoyed the same rights as full

members, the abolition of co-option will undoubtedly have the advantage of removing the sense of being second-class members which must previously have affected co-opted members. In accordance with Rule VIII, Paragraph 5 of the Constitution the Executive Committee is proposing that, in relation to the composition of the regional electoral groups and the number of candidates which the respective electoral groups may put forward for seats on the new Executive Board, twelve seats should go to Europe and the Middle East, four seats to North America, two to Africa, two to Asia and Australasia, and two to Latin America and the Caribbean. This makes a total of 22 members in addition to which the General Secretary shall be a full member. The Executive Board is to meet at least twice a year. Originally it was envisaged that the Executive Board would be larger and would meet only once a year. In this case it would have been necessary to provide for a somewhat larger Management Committee with a corresponding increase in functions. After having heard the views of a number of unions we have thought it better to fix the membership of the Executive Board at 22 members plus the General Secretary.

In addition, the Executive Committee proposes that no country whose paid-up membership is less than 500,000 should put forward more than one candidate; that no country whose paid-up membership is less than 1,000,000 should put forward more than two candidates: and that no country whose paid-up membership is more than 1,000,000 should put forward more than three candidates. North America is an exception to this rule insofar as it has already been allotted four seats. The Executive Committee would like to draw the attention of Congress to Paragraphs 6 and 7 of Rule VIII of the Proposed Version of the Constitution. In Paragraph 6 it is laid down that candidates for nomination in the election of the Executive Board have to be members of the General Council. Paragraph 7 states:

"The following conditions shall be attached to the election:

- (a) No more than one half of the members of the members of the Executive Board may be connected exclusively with the same branch of the transport industry; and
- (b) No organization may have more than one member of the Executive Board."

The Executive Committee feels that the limitation of Paragraph 7 should also be observed in nominating candidates put forward by one electoral group, viz. no more than one half of the candidates nominated by one electoral group may be connected exclusively with the same branch of the transport industry. The procedure proposed for elections to the Executive Board will enable numerically weak unions from the developing countries to put up one of their representatives for election.

The election of the Executive Board will be in three stages. First will come the election of the General Council, of which the members of the Executive Board have also to be members. Then regional electoral groups will make nominations to Congress for the election of the Executive Board. The number of nominations which each group can make will have to be decided by the Congress on the recommendation of the outgoing Executive Board. If, within any one group, agreement cannot be reached upon the nominations, a card vote will be taken

within the group to select the nominees. The nominations from the groups will then be placed before Congress which will have the last word.

In addition to ensuring representation of the regions on the Executive Board, this procedure will avoid the difficulty in which Congress has often been placed in the past of trying to pick and choose from a list of candidates in the election of the Executive Committee when some of the candidates are inevitably not very well known to all those who have to vote upon them. It is much more likely that organizations within a regional group will have some knowledge of those whose names are proposed for nomination and will therefore be able to make a considered choice.

As regards the Management Committee, it is proposed that this will consist of four members of the Executive Board in addition to the President, Vice-President and General Secretary. The Management Committee will also meet twice a year. The Committee, which will no longer consist of members from one and the same country, will have authority to exercise certain functions delegated to it by the Executive Board. The Executive Board alone will decide on this delegation of functions.

The Executive Committee is convinced that the proposed new structure of the governing bodies will be better than the existing one. In addition to changes in the composition of governing bodies, attention should also be given to the other amendments proposed by the Executive Board. The revision of the rule governing assistance in disputes is one example of where the existing constitution is difficult to implement. Examination of the Executive Committee's proposals will reveal other examples of improvements.

The Executive Committee is quite prepared to believe that it has overlooked some points in its examination of the Constitution. As you can see from the documents, it has reviewed its own proposals, sometimes changing them and sometimes adding to them. Even now these proposals may not be perfect in every respect, but then nothing in this world is perfect. Congress will have to decide when and where new amendments are necessary. The proposal of the Executive Committee is the result of a conscious effort to produce a better Constitution than the existing one. The comments made formally and informally by various affiliated organizations have been carefully examined by the Executive Committee. As far as possible, and indeed, as late as during its meeting in April this year, the Executive Committee has taken account of the wishes of affiliates in this respect.

The President proposed that Congress should first discuss generally the proposed version of the Constitution before dealing consecutively with each of the Rules as set out in the Executive Committee's motion to Congress (Document XXVII C-4) and the proposed amendments in connection with the respective Rules (Documents XXVII C-4(a) and XXVII C-4(b)).

R. Decoudum (French Railways Salaried Staff Federation) expressed agreement with the President's ruling that there should be a general dis-

cussion on the proposed revision of the Constitution before beginning on a detailed discussion article by article. The documents submitted containing the comments of the Executive Committee showed the extent and thoroughness of the envisaged revision, an impression which had also been borne out by the rapporteur's remarks that the special Sub-Committee had been concerned with producing an overall rather than a partial revision of the ITF Constitution. Everybody present would be familiar with the difficulties which could result from amendments to the Constitution of their own organizations and it was in everybody's interest to create a new Constitution which would last for years without having to be amended. Congress would, therefore, not be surprised at the fact that his organization had a certain number of observations to make. Although fully aware that certain of their proposals had no chance of being accepted, they, nevertheless, wished to put them forward so that they might be thought about and perhaps finally be the subject of serious consideration in 10 years from now. In Rule III, Paragraph 2, dealing with membership, it was stated:

"An organization may appeal to the General Council against the rejection of its application."

His organization was in agreement with this and also with the intention of abolishing the right of appeal to Congress. However, they believed that an organization whose application for affiliation had been rejected should have the right to appeal before the General Council and be entitled to state reasons in support of the application. This would give them the same right as the already affiliated organizations who had been consulted on the application in question. The reason for proposing this amendment lay in the fact that certain national organizations might well oppose application for affiliation by another organization because this affiliation would be troublesome to them at national level.

In Rule V, Paragraph 4, it was stated:

"An affiliated organization shall be informed immediately why it has been suspended and it shall have the right to appeal to the General Council against suspension."

In his opinion, this implied that the organization concerned could appear before the General Council but he thought that it would be as well to make this explicit.

In Paragraph 10 of Rule VI it was stated:

"A card vote shall be taken when prescribed by this Constitution or demanded by three delegations or the Executive Board before a vote is taken."

His organization proposed that the words, "or the Executive Board", should be deleted. The reason for this was that, as he understood it, Congress was supreme and that the General Council and the Executive Committee were in office during the period between the ending of one Congress and the beginning of the next Congress. He had a similar observation to make in respect of Paragraph 14 of the same Rule where it was stated:

"Procedure at a Congress shall be governed by this Constitution and by Standing Orders which the Congress shall adopt on the basis of a recommendation from the Management Committee, which shall act as a Congress Standing Orders Committee."

He thought that Congress should be able, on beginning its work, to set up in addition to the Credentials and Resolutions Committees a Congress Standing Orders Committee. In the extremely unlikely event of disagreement between Congress and the retiring Management Committee, this provision of the Constitution would make it possible for the Management Committee acting as the Congress Standing Orders Committee to obstruct the will of Congress. It would be wiser to avoid such a contingency, however remote, by allowing Congress to elect the Standing Orders Committee. This need not, moreover, prevent Congress from electing members of the Management Committee to the Congress Standing Orders Committee.

In Paragraph 17 of Rule VI it was stated:

"Amendments to motions placed on the agenda of an Ordinary Congress shall be submitted so as to reach the Secretariat at least one month before the Congress begins."

The comments of the Executive Committee contained a reference to this provision pointing out that amendments could also be submitted during Congress but that it would be an advantage, wherever possible to know the contents of these proposed amendments in advance. Whilst agreeing that everything should be done to ease the task of the Secretariat in keeping affiliated organizations fully informed, the speaker thought that the text of the Paragraph concerned could be more explicit about the possibility of putting forward amendments during Congress and suggested the addition of the word "normally" so as to read:

"Amendments to motions placed on the agenda of an Ordinary Congress shall normally be submitted so as to reach the Secretariat at least one month before the Congress begins."

Rule VII, Paragraph 3, stated:

"The General Council shall consist of members and their deputies, elected by each Ordinary Congress, and the General Secretary."

In France the practice was to make a strict distinction between the Secretariat on the one hand and the Governing Bodies on the other, the former being elected by Congress to carry out its decisions and the latter being charged with the task of seeing that these decisions were implemented. For this reason his organization thought that the General Secretary should not be a member of the General Council, nor should he be a member of the Executive Board or the Management Committee although he would, of course, be present at meetings of these bodies.

In Paragraph 6 of the same Rule it was stated:

"The composition of the national or regional electoral groups and the number of nominations which each group is entitled to make shall be decided by Congress on the recommendation of the Executive Board."

He proposed that the word, "outgoing", should be added before, "Executive Board".

He welcomed the Executive Committee's amendments to its own proposals reducing the proposed size of the Management Committee. However, he thought that there was no need, as provided in Paragraph 4 of Rule IX, for voting by secret ballot in the Management Committee.

In Paragraph 2 of Rule XI it was stated:

"There shall be at least one Assistant General Secretary who shall be appointed by the Executive Board."

The speaker suggested that the Secretariat should be composed of a General Secretary and one or more Assistant General Secretaries who should also be elected by Congress.

His delegation was also in complete agreement with the proposal made by the Belgian organization proposing an age limit for the General Secretary (Document XXVII C-4(b), Proposal No. iii). In France at the present time important discussions were taking place with the Minister of Transport. The latter had recently suggested raising the age of retirement for railwaymen. In France these latter enjoyed particularly advantageous conditions in this respect, operating staff being able to retire at the age of 50 and other categories at the age of 55. If the French railwaymen were to admit higher age limits on the international plane, these would considerably weaken their position at home. Finally, he suggested that the Executive Committee might care to work out a procedure for elections within the different Sections. Whereas at present the Section Chairmen were elected before the Section Committees, it would be more logical to elect the Section Committees first and then allow delegates to choose the Chairman from the members of the Committee.

F. Cousins (British Transport and General Workers' Union) hoped that the Vice-President's statement that the proposed revision of the ITF Constitution should be adopted or rejected in its entirety was not to be taken literally. Although the amendments which he himself wished to put forward were minor ones, he believed they were desirable both on the part of Congress and the Secretariat. It was generally agreed that the Constitution had become a little obsolete and it had been obvious after the Berne Congress that something needed to be done so that the situation in Berne should not recur. Certain of the proposed amendments seemed to be very sweeping and one or two gave the impression of demagogy, intended or otherwise.

In Rule VIII, Paragraph 1, the proposed version omitted the previous stipulation that the Executive Committee should be responsible for the control of the Secretariat. Although he appreciated that it was not the intention to give the General Secretary a free hand to deal as he wished outside the control of the Executive Board, he nevertheless thought it desirable to retain this stipulation. The new amendment on Rule IX was too loosely worded in regard to the frequency of meetings of the Management Committee. The Management Committee was to meet "at least twice each year". The Executive Board was also to meet twice each year and it would be possible, and even desirable on occasions, for the meetings of the Management Committee and Executive Board to be held in conjunction with each other. This, however,

could leave a gap of anything up to 10 months between meetings of either Committee. Considering that the previous Management Committee had met regularly every two months and had always been fully occupied, it seemed inconsistent to leave open the periods between meetings of the new Management Committee and he thought it would have been better to stipulate the number of months between meetings of the Management Committee so as to ensure that the Committee met between meetings of the Executive Board.

Rule XI, Paragraph 8 in the proposed version of the Constitution stated that "the General Secretary may appoint such staff at the Federation's Headquarters as are necessary, etc." This, in omitting the provision in the corresponding clause of the old Constitution that such appointments should be "in consultation with and with the approval of the Management Committee", gave the General Secretary a great deal more power than any General Secretary of a national union would expect to receive for himself. He therefore recommended that the old wording should be retained in order to make it clear that the real power of the ITF lay among the representatives of the various organizations large and small comprising its Executive Board.

- N. H. Akesson (Swedish Deck Officers' Union) proposed that in Paragraph (a) of Rule I the words "of workers" should be inserted after the words "international action" and that in the third line of the same paragraph the expression "international working class solidarity" should be replaced by "international trade union solidarity". These amendments would reflect more adequately the abandonment of the practice of dividing humanity into classes.
- R. Santoso (Indonesian Railwaymen's Union) approved of the proposed three-year period between Congress and urged the need for the Asian representative on the Executive Board to be active in that Region.
- J. Akumu (Railway African Union, Kenya) urged that the post of Secretary General should not be subject to re-election at every Congress.

The President noted that there were no further speakers in the general discussion on the Revision of the ITF Constitution and indicated that the discussion, rule by rule, of the proposed version of the Constitution set out in the Executive Committee's motion to Congress would be continued the following day. Congress was adjourned.

Wednesday, 1st August, 1962

Morning Session

Discussion was continued on the proposed revision of the Constitution.

H. Düby (Vice-President, Rapporteur), in answer to a point made by Brother F. Cousins the previous afternoon, said that when he had asked Congress to accept or reject the Executive Committee's proposals in their entirety he had not meant that no further changes could be made. But substantial modifications which involved financial commitments would be difficult to incorporate.

Congress then considered the proposals Rule by Rule.

Preamble

H. Düby (Vice-President, Rapporteur), pointed out that the Preamble contained only minor stylistic changes.

The Preamble was then agreed.

Rule I—Aims

H. Diiby (Vice-President, Rapporteur), drew the attention of Congress to the amendment to Paragraph (a) proposed the previous day by N. H. Akesson of the Swedish Ships Officers Union.

Congress agreed to amend Paragraph (a) of RULE I to read: "to support national and international action of workers in the struggle against economic exploitation and political oppression and to make international trade union solidarity effective."

RULE I was then agreed.

Rule II—Methods

RULE II, as proposed by the Executive Committee, was agreed.

Rule III—Membership

- H. Düby (Vice-President Rapporteur), drew attention to the amendment to Paragraph 2, RULE III suggested by R. Decoudun.
- R. Decoudum (French Railway Salaried Staffs Organization, Federation Autonome des Cadres) pointed out that his organization was in agreement with the suppression in the proposed version of the right of appeal to Congress by an organization whose application for affiliation had been rejected. He thought that the organization concerned should have the right to appear before the General Council and to put forward reasons in support of its application for affiliation. However, he did not insist on putting his proposal formally to the vote.

RULE III, as proposed by the Executive Committee, was then agreed.

Rule IV—Obligations of affiliated organizations

RULE IV, as proposed by the Executive Committee, was then agreed.

Rule V-Withdrawal, Lapse of Membership, Suspension and Expulsion

H. Düby (Vice-President, Rapporteur), pointed out that the Executive Board would now have authority to lift suspensions of affiliated organizations and drew attention to R. Decoudun's suggestion that organizations which had been suspended should have the right to appear before the General Council when exercising their right of appeal against suspension.

R. Decoudun did not put his suggestion to a formal vote.

RULE V, as recommended by the Executive Committee, was agreed.

Rule VI-Congress

H. Düby (Vice-President, Rapporteur), drew the attention of Congress to Paragraph 2 of this rule according to which Congress would now take place every three years instead of every two years as hitherto. Another change represented an improvement in voting procedure so that it would no longer be possible to amend the Constitution by a show of hands and a simple majority. An attempt had also been made to regularize certain practices which had been observed, albeit unofficially, for some time. Thus, the Executive Board would now decide whether the Federation should meet the costs of a delegation's attendance at Congress. The proposed text would now make it necessary to have organizations from at least five countries representing at least one-third of the Federation's paid-up membership to put forward a written request in order to have an Extraordinary Congress, instead of organizations from three countries representing one-quarter of the paidup membership as hitherto. The definition of paid-up membership in Paragraph 6 was to be generally applicable in the interpretation of the Constitution. In Paragraph 7 it was stipulated that written notice should be given when an affiliated organization wished the delegation of another organization to act on its behalf at a Congress.

The Rapporteur drew attention to the suggestion made by R. Decoudun in connection with Paragraph 10 that the words "or the Executive Board" should be deleted. In Paragraph 14 R. Decoudun had also suggested that the Management Committee should not act as a Congress Standing Orders Committee but that this latter should be elected at Congress. In Paragraph 15 the agenda for each Ordinary Congress no longer included the fixing of contributions or the domicile of the ITF. If it were necessary, the fixing of contributions could be placed on the agenda of Congress but there was no need to have this as a mandatory agenda item. In Paragraph 17 it was stipulated that amendments to motions placed on the agenda of an Ordinary Congress should

be submitted so as to reach the Secretariat at least one month before the beginning of Congress. Here, R. Decoudun had suggested insertion of the word "normally", before "shall be submitted".

- K. Suzuki (Japan National Railway Workers' Union) proposed altering the order of business in order to adopt RULE XX of the proposed Constitution first. This would make it necessary to hold a card vote and obtain a two-thirds majority for any proposed amendment to the Constitution.
- R. Oca (Philippines Transport and General Workers' Organization) stated that it was necessary to have a two-thirds majority in order to amend the Constitution.

The President pointed out that under the present Constitution (RULE VI, Paragraph 8), it was possible to amend the Constitution by a show of hands.

W. J. Smith (Canadian Brotherhood of Railway, Transport and General Workers) pointed out that so far the President had permitted voting by show of hands on amendments to the Constitution as in the case of the proposal by N. H. Akesson.

The General Secretary pointed out that Congress was now considering a comprehensive motion from the Executive Committee and amendments to this motion. Once all the particulars of the motion had been dealt with, then it would be open to Congress to require a card vote and the consequent two-thirds majority—if indeed a vote were needed. Until then, it was reasonable to deal with individual parts of the Executive Committee's motion on the basis of a show of hands and a simple majority.

- K. Suzuki (Japan National Railway Workers' Union) clarified his previous remarks. He wished Congress to adopt RULE XX of the proposed version of the Constitution before dealing with any amendments to the Constitution. Each individual amendment would then require a two-thirds majority.
- J. Curran (National Maritime Union of America) considered that K. Suzuki's proposal would entail dealing with this matter in the wrong order. Normal procedure entailed beginning at the beginning and going straight on. As far as voting was concerned this would have to follow the provisions of the present Constitution according to which voting would normally be by show of hands and decision by simple majority. A card vote was only necessary if called for by at least three organizations. If a card vote were taken in this particular case, he thought a two-thirds majority would be required because the vote entailed an amendment to the Constitution. He considered therefore, that there was no alternative but to follow the old Constitution, voting by show of hands, decision being by simple majority. This procedure could only be altered if the required number of delegates asked for a card vote.
- **Ph. Seibert** (German Railwaymen's Union, Gewerkschaft der Eisenbahner Deutschlands) considered that, under the old Constitution, it was already necessary to have a two-thirds majority in order to amend

the Constitution. Since the old Constitution was still in force, the suggestion of the Japanese delegate was superfluous.

- The General Secretary, disagreeing with the last speaker, clarified the voting procedure laid down in the appropriate paragraph of RULE VI. As Brother Curran had pointed out, it was quite possible to amend the Constitution by a simple majority.
- H. Düby (Vice-President, Rapporteur), expressed the view that it would be impossible to accept the suggestion of the Japanese delegate and adopt RULE XX first. The proposed amendment to the Constitution would have to be dealt with under the provisions laid down by the old Constitution which was still in force.
 - K. Suzuki then withdrew his suggestion.
- A. Kitson (Scottish Horse and Motormen's Association) proposed the addition of the words "provided they are members of an affiliated organization", to Paragraph 8 of RULE VI. The provision would then make it necessary for advisers to delegations attending Congress to be members of affiliated organizations and avoid a repetition of the incident earlier in Congress involving the adviser to the Trinidad Seamen and Waterfront Workers Union delegation.

The Rapporteur accepted this proposal on behalf of the Executive Committee.

- R. Decoudun (French Railway Salaried Staffs Organization, Federation Autonome des Cadres) did not ask for his suggestions in respect of Paragraphs 10 and 14 to be put formally to the vote. However, his suggestion in regard to Paragraph 17 he regarded as very important. It would, he maintained, bring the paragraph into line with the comments made by the Executive Committee on their motion, viz., "Amendments could still be submitted to Congress itself but there is an obvious advantage in having notice of amendments where possible". As it stood, there would be no possibility of submitting amendments during Congress without having given notice one month previously.
- H. Düby (Vice-President, Rapporteur) indicated that the Executive Committee would be prepared to accept the words "if possible" instead of "normally" as suggested by Brother Decoudun. This compromise would allow delegates the chance of submitting amendments later than one month before Congress. This was accepted.

RULE VI, with the amendments to Paragraph 8 and Paragraph 17, was then agreed.

Rule VII—General Council

H. Düby (Vice-President, Rapporteur) pointed out that practically all the old provisions on membership of the General Council had been abandoned because they were not in line with the present situation. Being based on paid-up membership, these old provisions would have made it impossible for the majority of delegates from the developing

countries to be represented on the General Council and at the Berne Congress it had only been possible to fill approximately one-half the seats on the General Council by waiving certain of these provisions. The new electoral procedure was simpler and more flexible. Since the General Council usually met after Congress and the Federation did not normally pay the costs of attendance at meetings of the General Council, it had been thought appropriate to make it clear in Paragraph 12 that the Federation did not normally contribute to the expenses of members' attendance. In reply to a request from Brother Santoso for clarification on the composition of the General Council, he referred to Document XXVII C-13 which set out the Executive Committee's recommendations on the composition of the national and regional electoral groups and the number of nominations which each group was entitled to make in accordance with Paragraph 6 of RULE VII. Brother Decoudun had made a suggestion with regard to Paragraph 3 proposing that the General Secretary should not be a full member of the General Council. The Rapporteur thought that it was impossible to accept such a suggestion. Brother Decoudun had also suggested in regard to Paragraph 6 that it should be made clear that the Executive Board which was to make the recommendation should be the outgoing Executive Board. The Rapporteur thought that this suggestion could be accepted.

The Rapporteur then drew the attention of Congress to the amendments to RULE VII proposed by the Belgian organization, Secteur Cheminots de la CGSP, set out in Congress Document XXVII C-4(b), to add the following after Paragraph 3:

"Members and deputy members of the General Council shall not have passed the age limit in force in their national organizations."

R. Decoudun (French Railway Salaried Staff Organization, Federation Autonome des Cadres) indicated that he did not wish to put his suggestion on Paragraph 3 of RULE VII to a formal vote.

A. Tonneaux (Secteur Cheminots de la Centrale Générale des Services Publics, Belgium) introduced his organization's proposal to add after Paragraph 3 of RULE VII the words—"Members and deputy members of the General Council shall not have passed the age limit in force in their national organizations". In view of the fact that his organization had submitted its three proposals in connection with the revision of the Constitution in good time and that the Secretariat had duly informed affiliated organizations of the proposals and of the Belgian organization's comments in support of these, it was possible for him to be very brief. This proposal in regard to the General Council, like that referring to the Executive Board, was animated by a desire to enable ITF Governing Bodies to be as representative and to function as efficiently as possible. His organization had proposed the age limit because it believed that members who had ceased to be active within their own organization should not be called upon to exercise responsibility at international level within the ITF Governing Bodies. He thought that it would still be possible to draw on the experience of retired trade unionists at international level without actually having these latter as members of the Governing Bodies. There was no doubt that mature and experienced men were needed to perform these functions at international level but such men were available from among the ranks of those still active in their own organizations. A further advantage in restricting membership of ITF Governing Bodies to active trade unionists was that a firm contact was then assured between the ITF and current trade union activities in the various countries.

He wished to emphasize that this proposal did not, in fact, impose an age limit on the national organizations. The ITF could not do this and this had by no means been the intention behind the proposal. It simply stipulated that, when a trade union representative on an ITF Governing Body reached the age of retirement within his own national organization, he should cease to perform his functions on the ITF Governing Body and should be replaced there in accordance with the procedures for consultation, etc. laid down in the Constitution. He further wished to emphazise that this proposal was a matter of principle and had nothing to do with personalities. His organization had no representative on the Executive Board and had, therefore, no direct interest in this matter. Since the war it had not been possible or even desirable for the ITF to accept a proposal such as that being put forward now. However, the aftermath of the war was now well behind us and it was possible to normalize the situation. His organization considered that it was both good sense and logical to attempt to re-establish a firm link between the exercise of responsibility at international level and active trade union work at national level. He asked for a card vote.

- Z. Barash (Israel Seamen's Union) opposed Brother Tonneaux' proposal. Delegates to Congress were responsible to their own organizations and the ITF should not be permitted to tell its affiliates whom they could send as delegates. These delegates were eligible for election to the ITF's governing bodies.
- H. Düby (Vice-President, Rapporteur) said that the Executive Committee had not expressed an opinion on the Belgian proposal, but pointed out that since retirement age differed from union to union the adoption of their proposal would mean discrimination in the composition of the General Council.

A number of organizations asked for a card vote and the Belgian proposal was defeated by 2,082,900 to 1,586,800 votes.

RULE VII as proposed by the Executive Committee with the addition of the word, "outgoing", before "Executive Board" in Clause 6, was agreed.

Rule VIII—Executive Board

H. Düby (Vice-President, Rapporteur) indicated that the text of this rule was completely new. The Executive Committee was proposing that the Executive Board should be composed of 22 members plus the General Secretary and that these seats should be divided as follows: 12 for Europe, 4 for North America, 2 for Asia, 2 for Africa and 2 for Latin America and the Caribbean Zone. There were a number of amendments in connection with this rule. The Executive Committee proposed the following amendments (as set out in Document

XXVI C-4(a)) to its own proposals on the Executive Board. In Paragraph 2 they proposed that the Executive Board should have 22 members instead of 26 and in Paragraph 9 that the Executive Board should meet twice instead of once each year. In Paragraph 1, Brother Cousins had proposed the inclusion of the words "including control of the Secretariat". The Executive Committee accepted this suggestion. Brother Santoso had asked for information on the Asian members of the Executive Board. The only information he could give was that Asia was entitled to two members.

R. Decoudun had suggested in regard to Paragraph 2 that the General Secretary should not be a full member of the Executive Board. The Rapporteur presumed that this question would not be formally put to the vote since it was essentially the same as the suggestion made by Brother Decoudun in connection with the General Council. The Belgian railwaymen's organization had proposed a paragraph in respect of the Executive Board similar to that in respect of the General Council which had just been voted upon. (This proposal was set out in document XXVII C-4(b).)

In Paragraph 9, Brother F. Cousins had proposed the addition of the words, "not more than six months shall elapse between meetings." The Rapporteur accepted this proposal on behalf of the Excutive Committee.

Congress then agreed to accept the proposal to amend Paragraph 1, adding the words, "including control of the Secretariat", put forward by F. Cousins; and to accept the Executive Committee's amendments to its own proposal regarding Paragraph 2, reducing, from 26 to 22, the number of seats on the Executive Board. R. Decoudun indicated that he did not wish to put his suggestion on Paragraph 2 to a formal vote.

A. Tonneaux (Secteur Cheminots de la Centrale Générale des Services Publics) spoke on the amendment to Paragraph 2 proposed by his organization as set out in Document XXVII C-4(b) adding: "Members of the Executive Board shall not have passed the age limit in force in their national organization". In view of the voting figures on the similar amendment proposed by his organization in respect of the General Council his organization whilst disappointed would respect the democratic expression of Congress' views and would not insist on a vote for this particular proposal. However, he wished to make a few observations on some of the remarks made in connection with the previous amendment but which were equally valid for this one. Quite a lot had been said about the national differences existing between organizations. Such differences were natural and explicable, but the text of his organization's proposals had taken full account of these national differences. There had been no intention to interfere in the internal affairs of any affiliated organization and if the proposals had been accepted they would not have constituted any infringement of any affiliated organization's autonomy. As for appearing to attach certain conditions for eligibility to serve on ITF Governing Bodies, the proposals made by his own organization merely added to certain conditions already laid down by the Executive Committee in their proposals for Paragraph 7 of RULE VIII. It was, moreover, the case that those elected to serve on ITF Governing Bodies were responsible not only towards their respective national organizations, but also to the entire Federation and this, therefore, entitled the Federation to stipulate certain conditions in respect of membership of its Governing Bodies.

Congress then agreed to accept the Executive Committee's amendment to its own proposal to substitute "twice" for "once" in Paragraph 9. Congress also agreed to Brother Cousins' proposal to add to Paragraph 9 the words "not more than six months shall elapse between meetings".

RULE VIII was then agreed

Congress was adjourned until 2 p.m.

Wednesday, 1st August, 1962

Afternoon Session

Discussion was continued on the proposed revision of the Constitution.

Rule IX—The Management Committee

H. Düby (Vice-President, Rapporteur) drew attention to the three amendments concerning the Management Committee, proposed by the Executive Committee to its own proposals for revision of the ITF Constitution, contained in Document XXVII C-4(a). These were: to amend Paragraph 1 substituting "four" for "six"; to amend Paragraph 2 to read as follows:

"The Executive Board may delegate such of its functions and authority to the Management Committee as may be necessary";

and to substitute "twice" for "three times" in Paragraph 3. The purpose of amending Paragraph 2 was to take account of the fact that the Executive Board, having a larger membership and meeting less often than the former Executive Committee would have to have the authority to delegate certain of its functions which it considered could be dealt with by the Management Committee. In Paragraph 3 F. Cousins had proposed the addition of the words "the Management Committee shall meet at least once between meetings of the Executive Board". The Rapporteur accepted this proposal on behalf of the Executive Committee.

On Paragraph 4, R. Decoudun had suggested that the words, "or by secret ballot" should be deleted. The Rapporteur also accepted this amendment on behalf of the Executive Committee.

RULE IX, as proposed with amendments (Paragraphs 1, 2 and 3) from the Executive Committee, F. Cousins (Paragraph 3) and R. Decoudun (Paragraph 4) was then agreed.

Rule X-President and Vice-President

H. Diiby (Vice-President, Rapporteur) pointed out that in Paragraph 3, the Vice-President should henceforward also be entitled to attend all meetings convened by the Federation.

RULE X was then agreed.

Rule XI—Secretariat

H. Düby (Vice-President, Rapporteur) pointed out that under Paragraph 6 the words "when possible" meant that the Assistant General Secretaries should attend Congresses, meetings of the General Council and Executive Board if they had no other commitments or other circumstances did not prevent them from attending. Paragraph 9 replaced RULE XIV of the old Constitution and provided for consultation with the Executive Board in appointing staff to work in offices of the Federation other than the Headquarters. The paragraph also provided

for direct negotiation on salaries and conditions of service because it was possible that the staff concerned might not be represented by a trade union. In Paragraph 10, the Executive Board were given powers to suspend the Assistant General Secretaries and Secretaries as well as the General Secretary. There were a number of proposed amendments. In Paragraph 1 the Executive Committee proposed the substitution of the word "by" for "at". Brother Decoudun had suggested that Paragraph 2 could be amended to allow the Assistant General Secretary or Assistant General Secretaries to be elected by Congress instead of being appointed by the Executive Board. The Rapporteur pointed out that a similar suggestion had been made and thoroughly discussed at the Berne Congress in 1960. It had then been decided to leave the appointment of one or more Assistant General Secretaries to the Executive Board. In view of this he presumed that Brother Decoudun would not wish to put his suggestion formally to the vote. In Paragraph 8, Brother Cousins had suggested that the present text should be replaced by Paragraph 7 of RULE XI in the old Constitution. The Executive Committee were prepared to accept this suggestion except that the consultation mentioned should be with the Executive Board and not the Management Committee. The Rapporteur then drew the attention of Congress to the amendment in respect of the Secretariat proposed by the Belgian organization, Secteur Cheminots de la Centrale Générale des Services Publics contained in Document XXVII C-4 (b): "The General Secretary, Assistant General Secretaries and Secretaries shall not continue in office after reaching the age of sixty-five."

Congress agreed on the substitution of the word "by" for "at" in Paragraph 1 proposed by the Executive Committee. R. Decoudum did not put his suggestion in respect of Paragraph 2 to a formal vote.

A. Tonneaux (Secteur Cheminots de la Centrale Générale des Services Publics) introducing the amendment to Paragraph 3 proposed by his union, indicated that his organization's reasons for putting forward this proposal were different from those underlying their proposals in respect of the General Council and the Executive Board. His organization was firmly convinced of the importance of the work performed by the ITF General Secretary, the Assistant General Secretaries and the Secretaries. For this reason, it was not always easy to find a suitable General Secretary and when the General Secretary had reached or had almost reached the age limit, the Federation was faced with a difficult problem. The situation was not, however, different in the various national organizations. The replacement of the General Secretary always presented a problem but this problem was always resolved. Was the situation really so different at international level? He could not believe that it was impossible to find among national trade union officials aged less than 65 suitable candidates for the post of General Secretary or for any other leading post within the ITF. He wished to make it clear why his organization had fixed the age limit in the proposal at 65. They had been aware of the great differences from one country to another on age limits. However, he thought that the age of 65 which they were suggesting was by no means too strict when compared with the respective provisions in various countries. Admittedly, certain countries allowed trade union officials to serve beyond the age of 65 but he thought that this was the exception rather than the rule and

that the ITF should not base its position on these exceptional cases. He wished, moreover, to emphasise the importance of one of the motives which had led them to make this proposal, namely, their awareness of current attempts by certain reactionary employers to postpone the age of retirement without any compensating concessions such as a reduction of working hours or an increase in paid holidays. His organization had experienced the threat of such reactionary measures some eighteen months previously and they had found themselves called upon to resist these attempts with the greatest firmness. There had resulted one of the most bitter social conflicts that Western Europe had known over the last years and they did not wish to create a situation within the ITF which could perhaps be used against them in the future in their own country. These reasons led them to believe that it was only logical to fix an age limit for the posts of General Secretary, Assistant General Secretary and Secretary within the ITF. The arguments of his organization were, moreover, reinforced by the fact that ITF Congresses were now to take place only every three years. He was convinced that the reasons he had just put forward would have made it clear to all that his organization was making this proposal as a matter of principle and that it had nothing to do with personalities. In view of the importance of the question, he wished to ask for a card vote.

- H. Düby (Vice-President and Rapporteur) pointed out that the Sub-Committee on the Revision of the ITF Constitution and the Executive Committee had not previously had an opportunity of taking a decision on the merits of the proposal made by the Belgian organization until to-day when the Executive Committee had by a majority decided to recommend the rejection of the proposal. However, Congress would have to make the final decision.
- C. W. van Driel (Netherlands Union of Merchant Seafarers and Fishermen) pointed out that his organization had strong objections to the amendment proposed by the Belgian organization. They could not agree with the principle underlying this proposal, namely, that the work and motives of a trade union official could be compared with the work done by the ordinary wage earner. The latter offered his labour in order to earn a living. Were it not for the trade union movement and, in regrettably few cases, progressive governments, the greater part of the profit of this labour would end up in the pockets of the employer. The trade union officials' motives were quite different. He was concerned with improving the workers' wages and working conditions and, over and above that, of bringing a greater measure of social justice to all workers throughout the world. Whilst it was true that in the advanced countries trade union officials received a remuneration enabling them to maintain a decent standard of living, one ought to compare this with the conditions under which trade unionists were working in Spain, Latin America and, formerly, in Germany and Italy, to say nothing of what was happening behind the Iron Curtain where the trade unionists' lot was often no more than torture and imprisonment. Able trade union leaders were a scarce commodity and one could not afford to throw them away. In answer to the arguments put forward by the last speaker he could only say that if employers wished to raise the age limit then they would do so, regardless of what was decided here in this

Congress, unless the trade union movement fought against it. It was up to the ITF to set an example to the trade union movement in insisting on the basic freedoms proclaimed by the former General Secretary of the ITF, Edo Fimmen, and there was no sense in stopping fighting for these freedoms merely because one had reached the age of 65.

- J. S. Thore (Swedish Seamen's Union) objected to the terms in which the previous speaker had put forward his arguments. He felt that one should not abuse the concepts of democracy and freedom or the principles animating the trade union movement in an argument of this kind. In his own country the organizations affiliated with the National Centre, the President of which was, he wished to point out, also President of the ICFTU, had decided that the work of a trade union official was so arduous that if he fulfilled his functions properly he would be more or less worn out at the age of 60. They had, therefore, decided that trade union officials should retire at that age whether they wanted to or not. They considered that a trade union leader was, after all, no more than a human being and as such was entitled to enjoy his retirement in peace like anybody else. This was a practical question. It had nothing to do with democracy or dictatorship. As far as the ITF was concerned, the work of the General Secretary was even more arduous to the extent that he was called upon to travel so much. The great strain placed upon the ITF General Secretary was, therefore, a reason for stipulating an age limit for this post. He wished to criticise most strongly the ITF Executive Committee which, he considered, had most definitely failed to follow the instructions given to it by the last Congress to find a young candidate for the post of General Secretary by the time of the next Congress. Instead they were now recommending the same General Secretary as they had recommended at Berne and if he were to be elected this would mean that by the time the next Congress came round the General Secretary of this Federation would have reached the age of 68.
- **P. Dooley** (Irish Transport & General Workers' Union) could not accept the Belgian proposal because its arguments, he considered, were based on conditions applying in industry rather than in the trade union movement. He thought that ability, not age, should be the qualification of a suitable candidate for the post. In his own country they had lost many valuable trade union officials who had had to retire because of the age limit and would have been capable of going on giving valuable service to the trade union movement, and it had not been easy to find suitable successors. He thought that the fears expressed by the Belgian delegation that the absence of an age limit for an ITF General Secretary might be used against workers by employers, were based on an extremely remote contingency. The employers did not retire either at 65. He, therefore, recommended the rejection of the Belgian proposal.
- J. Curran (National Maritime Union of America) was opposed to the principle of basing one's judgment of a man's ability to do a job on his age. His organization had no age limit for its officials. In the past, his organization had often had to fight attempts by employers to retire people at a very early age, 50 or even 40, when they had got the best out of a man and then threw him out at a time when social security provisions were too limited to provide for an adequate standard

of living in retirement. His organization had taken the view that in judging a man's ability to perform a job, important or unimportant, age should not be the decisive consideration.

However, he wished to make it clear that he was in disagreement with the Executive Committee's statement on the General Secretaryship. At Berne, the ITF had been placed in a very difficult situation when the ICFTU had suddenly taken the ITF General Secretary, Omer Becu, from it. Congress had been placed in a predicament and it had had to make a speedy choice. After much discussion and argument it had been decided to appoint Brother de Vries as an interim General Secretary to allow the ITF to find a more suitable candidate for a permanent General Secretary by the next Congress. He did not believe himself that the present General Secretary had the abilities mentioned in the Executive Committee statement. He thought that Congress ought to have had the opportunity of voting for another candidate. However, since he understood there were no other candidates—if there had been and he had had an opportunity of judging him, he would have supported such a candidate—his organization would, of course, abide by the majority decision. However, he wished to make it quite clear that his organization could not support the Belgian proposal because it entailed the principle of judging a candidate's ability on his age. His organization could not support this principle.

W. J. Smith (Canadian Brotherhood of Railway, Transport and General Workers) said that previous speakers in this discussion appeared to be losing sight of the basic principle involved in the Belgian proposal. Delegates attending the Congress had an important responsibility to discharge to the membership of their own respective unions and to that of all unions affiliated in the ITF and that was to elect the most capable leadership that was available. He could not accept any restriction being placed on his choice in electing the best man for the job. The Belgian proposal entailed precisely such a restriction. It placed a limitation on his ability to vote for the candidate whom he considered best qualified for the post of General Secretary. For that reason he recommended rejection of the Belgian proposal.

The President then said a card vote would be taken on the proposal by the Belgian organization, Secteur Cheminots de la Centrale Générale des Services Publics, to add the following after Paragraph 3 of RULE XI:

"The General Secretary, Assistant General Secretaries and Secretaries shall not continue in office after reaching the age of sixty-five."

The proposal was defeated by 1,997,500 to 1,771,500 votes.

H. Düby (Vice-President, Rapporteur), indicated that the Executive Committee could accept the proposal made by F. Cousins to substitute for the proposed version of Paragraph 8 of RULE XI, Paragraph 7 of RULE XI of the present Constitution, the words "Executive Board" replacing "Management Committee."

RULE XI, as proposed by the Executive Committee with the amendment of Paragraph 8 proposed by F. Cousins, was accepted.

Rule XII—Publications

H. Düby (Vice-President, Rapporteur) pointed out that the new text left it to the Executive Board to decide which publications were necessary. It would still be possible for the Executive Board to make arrangements with certain affiliates for them to bear all or part of the costs of a publication.

RULE XII, as proposed by the Executive Committee, was then agreed.

Rule XIII—Headquarters

RULE XIII as proposed by the Executive Committee, was agreed.

Rule XIV—Regional Organization

H. Düby (Vice-President, Rapporteur) explained that the new text was comprehensive enough to assure the efficient functioning of the Federation's Regional Activities. The present text was too wordy and in certain circumstances, unnecessarily restrictive. He also reminded Congress of the provisions of Paragraph 9 of RULE XI which also affected regional organization.

RULE XIV, as proposed by the Executive Committee, was then agreed.

Rule XV—Industrial Sections

H. Düby (Vice President, Rapporteur) pointed out that in the proposed version provision had been made for the first time for Section Committees and Officers (Paragraph 3) and for voting at Section Meetings (Paragraph 6). He also drew attention to the amendment to its own proposal on Paragraph 6 proposed by the Executive Committee and set out in Document XXVII C-4(a):

"Voting at section meetings may be by show of hands or by card vote. The number of votes to which an organization shall be entitled in the event of a card vote shall be equal to its paid-up membership in respect of the workers catered for by the section in question as recorded at the end of the year preceding the meeting concerned or at the time of admission to the ITF, whichever is the later."

He also drew the attention of Congress of the stipulations of Paragraph 5, that:

"Any decision taken by a section meeting which affects, directly or indirectly, the affairs of the Federation as a whole or of any other section or sections shall be given effect only after endorsement by the Executive Board."

This had given rise to some discussion in the Sections. The intention behind the paragraph was not in any way to restrict the activities or authority of the Sections, but, when matters arose affecting other sections, to give these other sections a chance of voicing an opinion.

RULE XV, as proposed by the Executive Committee with its own amendment to Paragraph 6, was then agreed.

- J. J. van der Kolk (Vereniging van KLM Pursers en Hofmeesters, Netherlands) drew attention to the voting procedure prescribed in the Constitution for the governing bodies. All decisions were to be taken on a simple majority. There was no provision for the eventuality of a tievote. Brother van der Kolk proposed that in such cases the President should have a casting vote and that the necessary amendments be made to the appropriate Rules.
- At the suggestion of the Rapporteur, Congress agreed to accept the principle put forward by J. J. van der Kolk, leaving it to the Secretariat to work out the necessary textual changes in the Rules affected.
- L. Brosch (Austrian Transport and Commercial Workers Union), referring to Paragraph 5 of RULE XV in the revised version, said that his organization agreed with the proposal but that the Sections should be enabled to take up a position on particular issues more promptly. As an example of the unsatisfactory situation which prevailed, he quoted the question of pipelines. A long time had been spent on it and there had been too little co-ordination between the sections.

The General Secretary agreed that Brother Brosch's criticism was a valid one. He undertook in the future to do all he could to secure maximum co-operation between ITF Sections when more than one of these was likely to be involved by a particular question.

Rule XVI—Assistance in major disputes

H. Düby (Vice-President, Rapporteur) pointed out that the new draft included all the worthwhile elements of the present text. In Paragraph 5 a report to the Executive Board was called for instead of the present demand for a "full account" to Congress.

RULE XVI, as proposed by the Executive Committee, was then agreed.

Rule XVII—Affiliation fees

H. Düby (Vice-President, Rapporteur) pointed out that Paragraph 2 was much more tidily worded in the new version and that in Paragraph 3 the provision for an investigation into the financial capacity of an organization to pay the full rate of affiliation fees had been dropped. The thinking behind such a provision was naïve and the new text merely required the Executive Board to be satisfied that a concession in affiliation fees was justified.

RULE XVII, as proposed by the Executive Committee, was then agreed.

Rule XVIII—Finance and Auditing

RULE XVIII, as proposed by the Executive Committee, was agreed.

Rule XIX—Dissolution of the Federation

RULE XIX, as proposed by the Executive Committee, was agreed.

Rule XX-Validity and Amendment of the Constitution

H. Düby (Vice-President, Rapporteur), drew the attention of Congress to the fact that, according to the new provision set out in Paragraph 2, motions to amend the Constitution would have to be submitted to a card vote and would require two-thirds of the valid votes cast to be successful.

RULE XX, as proposed by the Executive Committee, was agreed.

The President drew the attention of Congress to the fact that they had now reached the end of their consideration rule by rule of a motion from the Executive Committee of the ITF to the 27th Congress of the ITF to revise the Constitution of the International Transport Workers Federation.

It was agreed unanimously to accept the motion, as amended, to revise the ITF's Constitution.

On behalf of the Executive Committee of the Federation, The President extended to Brother Düby appreciation for the remarkable way in which the Vice-President had expounded and explained the contents and implications of the Executive Committee's proposals.

Agenda Item 6, Financial Report for 1960 and 1961. (Document XXVII C-3.)

Congress adopted the Financial Report.

E. Padilla (Sindicato Nacional de Trabajadores "Avianca", Colombia) announced that his country had just suffered a major catastrophe in the form of an earthquake. Many workers had been hit by the disaster and the Colombian delegation requested leave to introduce a motion expressing the regret and solidarity of transport workers throughout the world.

The Proposal was agreed by Congress.

The President drew the attention of Congress to the Recommendation from the Executive Committee on the composition of the General Council as set out in Document XXVII C-13. Procedure on this matter would be according to the new conditions set out in the new Constitution.

Abul Hassan Ali (Guiana Air Transport Trade Union) said that members from his country should be grouped with members from the Caribbean States rather than with those from the Latin American area. His reasons were the language barrier which existed in the latter case, and the fact that unions in his country worked more in conjunction with those of the Caribbean area than with the Latin American ones.

Congress was adjourned until the following day.

Thursday, 2nd August, 1962

Morning Session

The President opened the session at 9.15 a.m. and called upon Brother H. W. Koppens to introduce:

The Report of the Road Transport Workers' Section Conference (See page 294)

H. W. Koppens (Rapporteur) drew attention to the resolution unanimously adopted by the Section Conference on the European Agreement on Working Conditions of Crews of Vehicles in International Road Transport (AETR), calling on participating governments to promote ratification of the Agreement to enable it to enter into force by 1964. Emphasis had been laid on the need for proper beds for drivers instead of the sleeping cabs on vehicles favoured by employers.

The Section further agreed on the setting-up of an *ad hoc* Committee to study the status of professional drivers, and also agreed on the desirability of the affiliation of municipal workers' organizations with the ITF.

The Conference requested the ITF Executive Committee to assist the road transport workers of Malaya in improving working conditions in long-distance road transport in their country.

The Conference had further agreed at the request of the Austrian Transport Workers' Union to ask the affiliated organizations for information on trade union affiliations of commercial transport and warehouse workers.

He concluded by asking Congress to associate itself with the Section's appreciation of the valuable and important work done by the Section Secretary, Brother H. Imhof, during the past two years in furthering the interests of those represented in the Section.

Congress adopted the report of the Road Transport Workers' Section Conference, with attached resolution.

The President then called upon Brother H. Hildebrand to introduce:

The Report of the Inland Navigation Section (See page 320)

H. Hildebrand (Rapporteur), referred to the virtual impossibility of the ITF being able to contribute effectively to the extremely difficult problems posed for workers in Danubian navigation and to the extremely interesting discussions that had taken place on Rhine navigation and the operation of bush boats. He went on to make a statement to Congress, at the request of the Argentine delegates, on the bad situation existing in the inland navigation industry in their country. Pay and conditions of Argentinian inland waterway workers were 50 years behind those of Europe. In Pakistan too, inland navigation workers were operating under appalling conditions.

He announced two further nominations for the Section Committee. Brother Peham (Austria) with R. Gryc (substitute member).

Th. Smeding (Netherlands Transport Workers' Union) pointed out that Item 3(c) dealt with "Continuous and Semi-continuous Navigation" and not with "push boats" as set out in the Report. The small subcommittee set up to draft an action programme for the Inland Navigation Section was to consist of three members and not four as stated in the Report.

Congress adopted the Report of the Inland Navigation Section Conference as amended.

- N. Wälläri (Finnish Seamen's Union) expressed the Finnish unions' appreciation of the devoted work performed by Brother V. Klatil during his more than 30 years' service with the ITF, in the course of which he had organized all the ITF Congresses since the 1932 Congress in Prague. As a token of this appreciation, Brother Wälläri wished to make a presentation to Mr. and Mrs. Klatil,
- V. Klatil (ITF Secretariat) accepted the gift with great appreciation saying that he had only done his duty.

The President asked Congress to associate itself with the Finnish organization in paying tribute to a very faithful servant of the ITF, one of those who, working behind the scenes, helped to assure that Congress functioned as smoothly as it did.

The President then introduced Document XXVII C-22: Recommendation from the Executive Committee regarding election of Executive Board, in accordance with RULE VIII, Paragraph 5 of the ITF Constitution.

Congress adopted the Executive Committee's Recommendation.

Congress adjourned at 11 a.m.

Thursday, 2nd August, 1962

Afternoon Session

The discussion of the Reports of the Section Conferences was continued.

J. K. Post (Netherlands Transport Workers' Union), Chairman of the ITF Civil Aviation Section, introduced the

Report of the Civil Aviation Section Conference (See page 306)

The Conference had been attended by 46 delegates from 19 countries. The Report on Activities for 1960 and 1961 had been adopted after lengthy discussion on the subject of crew complement. A proposal put forward by the Mexican Pilots Association (ASPA) had been referred to the next Section Meeting which it was proposed to hold in Paris towards the end of October. A resolution put forward by the Secretariat re-affirming the present policy of the ITF Civil Aviation Section on Crew Complement had been approved and was attached to the Report. Four further resolutions were attached. They dealt with the Transport of Radio-active Materials; ICAO Regulations on the Licensing of Flight Engineers and Cabin Attendants; ICAO Maintenance Licensing Regulations and Qualifications for Ground Maintenance Personnel; and Mergers. The Report also included a document on Working Conditions of Cabin Attendants. The Section Conference had also recommended to the ITF Executive Board that the next Section Meeting should take place in Paris at the end of October. Brother Post concluded by thanking Brother L. White, Secretary of the Civil Aviation Section, for his work in preparing working papers and keeping affiliated unions thoroughly informed of the international situation in the civil aviation industry.

A. Sirac (French Radio Officers Union, SNORAC) thanked the Chairman of the Section but wished to draw the attention of Congress to the sentence in the Report which read:

"In the meantime a draft resolution supporting the ITF present policy on crew complement was circulated."

In fact this draft resolution had been distributed in the English language only and had not been discussed at all. Indeed, the French and Spanish interpreters had not conveyed to their respective language groups that the resolution had been adopted. These delegates were, therefore, not aware that the resolution had been adopted until after the Conference and could not accept the inclusion of this resolution in the Report. His own organization considered the resolution, moreover, to be retrograde. Since the ITF policy on crew complement had been defined in the resolution adopted by the Vienna Congress in 1956, the civil aviation industry had undergone far-reaching developments, so much so that it was now impossible for trade unionists to defend the position requiring separate functions for flight engineers, navigators and radio officers on modern jet aircraft. His organization would have wanted to go much further than the principle laid down in the Secretariat's resolution

without, for that matter, actually going so far as to endorse the views put forward in the resolution submitted by the Mexican Pilots delegation.

R. Old (Mexican Pilots' Association, ASPA) expressed dissatisfaction with the resolution on crew complement attached to the Report of the Conference. The way this resolution had been adopted had made a very bad impression on his delegation. His own organization had submitted a draft resolution on this subject. After this had been discussed, it had been agreed to refer it to a later meeting of the Section which was due to be held in Paris later this year. His delegation had agreed with this procedure, but they had only found out later that in agreeing to this, they were also agreeing to the adoption of an emergency resolution on the same subject which had, in the meantime, been introduced by the Secretariat. Very few delegates had understood what exactly was happening. He considered this procedure most improper. In addition, he thought that the re-affirmation in this emergency resolution of the previous inflexible policy of the ITF in regard to crew complement would do nothing to promote harmony between the organizations representing different cockpit crew categories. His own delegation had hoped that a formula might have been found to bring the different categories closer together. He admitted that the wording of his own delegation's resolution might have been rather too strong, but they had hoped that it would have been possible to reach eventual agreement on a satisfactory text.

He appealed to Congress and to civil aviation unions in particular to try to understand the spirit in which his organization had put forward their proposal. His organization had nothing particular to gain in doing this. They could easily have sat through the meeting in silence and everything would have passed off peacefully. He was extremely disappointed and his organization felt sadly let down in their efforts to bring a spirit of harmony into consideration of this difficult problem. He wished to register a strong protest on the manner in which the emergency resolution on crew complement had been passed. It was all the more significant that his organization had not known that this resolution was being put to the vote, in that the resolution actually stated that it represented the "unanimous view of civil aviation workers of all categories".

R. Deseau (French Civil Engineers Organization, (SNOMAC) said that the flight engineers had had to listen to a lot of things which were disagreeable to them both during the Civil Aviation Conference and now in Plenary Session. He wished to express sincere appreciation of the contribution to the work of the Civil Aviation Section made by the Section Secretary, Chairman and Vice-Chairman, Brothers White, Post and Tennant. He also expressed his profound regret that the untimely death of Brother Gambert de Lignières had robbed the Section of his dynamic and objective spirit which would have been so welcome at the present moment. As Gambert de Lignières had so often said, unity, extension of contacts and frank discussion were the only ways in which the problems of international civil aviation could be adequately tackled, especially the controversial problems, if one were to attain the mutual understanding and solidarity which were the aims of the Section. By its very nature, the civil aviation industry was bound to be affected

very greatly by technological progress. Very often automation devices were introduced in the civil aviation industry without previous thorough investigation of the possible consequences. This resulted in great risks for all users. Measures hailed in certain quarters as great new devices were often the opposite of that. However, if progress itself was desirable, it also gave rise to important social problems requiring careful study if they were to be solved in a reasonable way, if they were to safeguard the interests of employees affected. This was the principle underlying all resolutions on crew complement adopted by every ITF Congress since Vienna. It appeared, however, that certain affiliated organizations found it impossible to carry out the ITF policy on crew complement as laid down in the resolution formulated by the Berne Congress. There would, however, be an opportunity of discussing this further at the next meeting of the Section in Paris.

The proposal by the Mexican Pilots Association was such as to bring into question the entire ITF policy on crew complement. It had been decided to deal with this proposal at the meeting in Paris later this year. In the meantime he assured the Mexican Pilots that they would find that they had posed the problem in the wrong way. He believed that they had confused the question of pilots' flying hours and the totally different question of securing a reasonable distribution of duties between the different cockpit categories. He agreed with the Mexican pilots that work on jet aircraft had certainly increased to a great extent compared with that performed on conventional aircraft but he believed that this problem could not be solved by increasing the number of pilots. The only solution would be to effect a proper rationalization and integration of the different functions performed by the individual crew categories. The introduction of a third pilot was, in any case, incompatible with present cockpit layout which only provided for two pilot stations and it was also contrary to accepted working procedures and to the interests of all flight crew categories, not least the pilots themselves. How would it be possible for a third pilot to maintain his qualifications when it was already difficult for the second pilot to do this? The speaker could agree that there were cases of aircraft being flown with crews consisting of only 2 pilots. But these were usually old aircraft flown on specialized relatively short routes where there were frequent landings, and the special nature of these routes made it possible for the companies to operate in this way. The aircraft had, in any case, already been written off and sometimes only passengers and goods were covered by insurance. The method of operation of subsonic jets was rather different in that it was necessary for the pilots to be able to relieve each other as the Mexican delegates had pointed out. (The Chairman at this point asked the speaker to be more concise, pointing out that Congress as a whole was not in a position to decide on the validity of these technological considerations.) The resolution put forward by the Secretariat had given rise to objections by certain delegates. However, if the Section Chairman thought this procedure was correct the speaker thought that the resolution adopted should be submitted to Congress attached to the Report on the Section Conference.

D. S. Tennant (British Merchant Navy and Airline Officers' Association), apologized to Congress for the fact that the business of one

small section was taking up so much time. There had been criticism of the Chairman of the Section for his conduct of the Section's business. In the speaker's opinion, the Chairman's conduct had been perfectly correct. The ITF policy on crew complement had been laid down in 1956 and had been consistently re-affirmed since that date. The resolution introduced by the Secretariat had merely re-affirmed that policy once again. The Mexican proposal had involved a fundamental change of ITF policy on crew complement and there had obviously not been time to consider all its implications in the short time available. The Section Conference had, therefore, re-affirmed the ITF policy and explained to the Mexican delegation that it would be preferable to consider their proposed resolution in relation to the present ITF policy at a further meeting of the Section when there would be adequate time to consider its implications. Until then it had been important to re-affirm the present policy, at least until it was changed. The Mexican delegation had spoken a great deal about harmony, but if "harmony" was the word to describe the way in which, at present, the American flight engineers were being carved up he thought it was a very peculiar word. He, therefore, proposed that Congress should adopt the Report of the Civil Aviation Conference. ITF policy on crew complement would be dealt with at the next meeting of the Section and he could assure the Mexican delegation that their resolution would then receive proper consideration.

- C. Ébué (French National Union of Airline Pilots, SNPL), said that he understood that all the resolutions on crew complement put to the Section Conference were being submitted without distinction to the meeting of the Section to be held in Paris in October. He thought that the resolution on crew complement which was attached to the Report was to serve as a basis for discussion in Paris. He, therefore, recommended that the Report of the Civil Aviation Section Conference should be adopted, omitting the resolution re-affirming ITF policy on crew complement.
- J. K. Post (Chairman, Civil Aviation Section) pointed out that the Mexican delegation had been sitting quite close to the chair when it had been decided to adopt the resolution re-affirming ITF policy on crew complement. It had been clearly indicated that this resolution was being adopted at the same time as the Mexican proposal was being referred to the next Section meeting. The Mexican delegates could have notified the Chairman at the time if they had not been in agreement with procedure. He, therefore, asked Congress to adopt the Report.

The Report, with the attached resolutions, was then adopted.

The President called upon R. Degris (Chairman and Rapporteur), to introduce:

The Report of the Railwaymen's Section Conference (See page 312)

R. Degris (French Railwaymen's Federation, Chairman and Rapporteur), began by pointing out a number of mistakes in the document. In the list of Section Committee members the name of Brother Thevenet should be inserted as a second French Deputy Member.

During his introduction, Brother Degris asked Congress to associate itself in expressing appreciation of the valuable services rendered by the retiring Chairman of the Section, Brother Richard Freund, and in wishing him a long and happy retirement. He also drew attention to the requests made by the General Secretaries of the Argentine Seafarers Union and of La Fraternidad, requesting the Conference to support the two following requests:

- "1. The Railwaymen's Section should pledge their support for the revocation of a warrant for arrest taken up against the General Secretary of the Argentine seafarers and urge that his trade union immunity be restored to him.
 - 2. The Railwaymen's Section should urge the ITF Executive Committee to consider creating a Latin American Consultative Committee."

The Conference had approved the first of these requests but had not been in a position to take a decision on the second. The Conference had, however, agreed to bring these wishes to the notice of Congress.

The Report was then adopted together with the attached ITF Social Charter on the Rationalization and Modernization of Railways.

The President then called for nominations for auditors to be submitted in writing. He suggested that, as the accounts were kept in England and in British Currency, nominations should come from the British Delegation.

This was agreed.

The Chairman then, called upon S. Greene (National Union of Railwaymen, Great Britain) to introduce:

The Report of the Joint Conference of the Inland Transport Section (See page 318)

S. Greene, (Rapporteur) pointed out that the Joint Conference of the Inland Transport Sections had dealt with two matters which had been discussed previously in the respective Section Committees, namely, the Transport of Radio-Active Materials and Pipelines. He began by drawing attention to the instructions to the Secretariat laid down in the resolution adopted on the Transport of Radio-Active Materials. There had been a slight reservation in respect of this resolution by seafarers' representatives, although the Joint Conference had adopted the resolution. The discussion on pipelines had revealed a number of differences of point of view and had necessitated some alterations in the original trade union principles in regard to pipelines which had been submitted by the Secretariat. After a United States delegate had pointed out that in his country pipelines were being used for the transport of pulverised coal mixed with water it had been decided to amend the text by removing a reference to oil and thus extending the principles to cover the transport of all fuel and minerals which were likely to be conveyed by pipelines. A proposal to delete the statement contained in the last sentence of the second paragraph:

"The view of the companies that the construction and operation of a pipeline is no more than a measure of internal rationalization of operations is to be rejected."

was rejected. A proposal to insert the word "inland" before the word "transport" in the first line of the last paragraph had also been rejected so as to allow representatives of all forms of transport to have the right of consultation when pipeline concessions are sought. The text had also been amended here in that the word "sought" had been substituted for "granted", since it was obviously reasonable to exercise this right of consultation before the pipeline concessions came into effect. The Transport and General Workers' Union of Great Britain had pointed out that the statement in the last paragraph:

"Transport undertakings having an interest in the traffic should be accorded the right to participate in the operation of the new means of transport in order to offset losses resulting from the operation of pipelines."

contradicted the reference to 'public control'* in the second paragraph. If pipelines were to be subject to public control, it had been argued, it was then inconsistent to go on to urge that transport undertakings, which might include private firms having an interest in the traffic, should have the right to participate in the operation of pipelines. A proposal to delete this latter statement had been defeated by 26 votes to 18 and the Rapporteur, therefore, requested Congress to respect this democratic vote and adopt the Report of the Joint Conference of the Inland Transport Sections together with the two annexes containing the Guiding Principles concerning the Construction and Operation of Pipelines, and the Resolution on the Transport of Radio-Active Materials.

F. Cousins (Transport and General Workers Union, Great Britain) said that there had been a majority decision in the conference to retain the sentence which he had proposed to delete. After the vote he himself had made it clear to the conference that he would raise this matter in Plenary Session. It was his impression that delegates had perhaps not clearly understood what he was saying. He admitted that he had spoken rather quickly and he assumed that other delegates had not been able to follow the translation. He thought that the ITF could not possibly adopt a resolution the import of which was to put the interests of private profit before the principle of public control. It had been accepted that pipelines should be built along railway lines where they would be under the control of a publicly controlled body. To then go on and invite into participation of the profits of operation of pipelines any small or large private operator who found that his profits had been diminished by pipeline operations, was to suggest that we were concerned with the operators' interests rather than the workers'. He had never said anything to suggest that he rejected the idea of organizations representing workers being involved in discussion and decisions. But by allowing transport undertakings having an interest in the traffic to have the right to participate in the operation of pipelines in order to offset their losses entailed a complete contradiction of national and

^{*} To avoid ambiguity and to bring the English text into line with the other language versions, it was subsequently agreed to replace the words 'public control', by the words 'government regulation'.

international trade union policy on the ownership of the means of production, distribution and exchange. Perhaps he had not been careful enough to make himself clear during the conference. If so, this was because he had assumed that this provision would certainly be rejected. If Congress accepted this statement as it stood in the last paragraph of the Guiding Principles on Pipelines, it would make the position of the trade unions in Great Britain impossible, because they had already made it clear they stood for the public ownership of means of transport.

S. Greene (Rapporteur) indicated that if Congress agreed, there would be no difficulty in accepting the proposal. The vote on the proposal in the Conference had in any case probably been a minority vote and the provisions of the first sentence of the second paragraph made the principle clear. He therefore recommended Congress to adopt the Report with the deletion of the second sentence of the third paragraph in the Guiding Principles concerning the Construction and Operation of Pipelines.

The amended Report, including the Resolution on Transport of Radio-Active Materials and the Guiding Principles concerning the construction and operation of pipelines, was then adopted.

The President then called upon D. S. Tennant (British Merchant Navy and Airline Officers Association) to introduce:

The Report of the Conference of the Seafarers Section (See page 300)

D. S. Tennant (Chairman, Rapporteur) pointed out that the Report on Activities had been adopted. After a long discussion on relations with certain United States maritime organizations it had been unanimously decided to recommend the Executive Committee to approve the affiliation of the Canadian Maritime Union. The Conference had adopted after discussion a resolution on the Liability of Nuclear Ship Operators. During the discussion on Asian seamen employed on European ships, the Indian seafarers' representative had urged the ITF to put pressure on Asian Governments to implement the recommendations on employment of seamen adopted by the ILO Asian Maritime Conference in 1953. It had been decided to reconvene at an early date the Committee on Asian Seamen which was to report back to the Section. The Conference had also heard details of difficulties affecting Argentine seafarers after their hiring hall had been taken over by the government and the General Secretary of the Argentine Seamen's Union threatened with arrest. It had been decided to request affiliated organizations to give full support to the Argentine seafarers in their struggle for the return of their hiring hall and the lifting of the order of arrest affecting the General Secretary. It had been decided not to adopt a separate resolution on the Transport of Radio-Active Materials. but a small deputation had been elected to take note of the proceedings on this question at the Joint Conference of the Inland Transport Sections and report back to the Section. It was decided that the question of flag discrimination should be kept as distinct as possible from the question of flags-of-convenience and that the Secretariat should prepare a report on this question to serve as a basis for discussion at the next Section Conference. The Conference had adopted

a resolution on pipelines and, on this issue too, a deputation had been elected to convey the Section's views to the Joint Conference of the Inland Transport Sections and report back to the Section. It had been decided that affiliated seafarers' organizations should press for representation in delegations attending IMCO meetings and that they should then keep the ITF fully informed of the position they had taken up at these meetings. Resolutions had also been adopted on seafarers' right to vote; the air conditioning of crew quarters; and seafarers' welfare. The resolution on the situation in Peru had been referred to the Joint Conference on Seafarers and Dockers. He recommended Congress to accept the Report with its five annexed resolutions.

- A. Monestrina (Argentine Seamen's Union) appealed to the ITF to request affiliated organizations to give full support to Argentine seafarers in their struggle for the return of their hiring hall, taken over by the Argentine Government, and the lifting of the order of detention of their General Secretary.
- F. H. Hall (Railway Labour Executive Association, Canada) pointed out that there was a constitutional question here in respect of the recommendation of the Seafarers Section Conference contained in Paragraph 3a of the Report that the Executive Committee should approve the affiliation of the Canadian Maritime Union. Both the old and the new constitutions laid down rules on affiliation and stipulated that applications for affiliation should be the subject of consultation between the General Secretary and already affiliated organizations in the country concerned. Speaking for the Canadian delegates he wished to state that this matter should be left to the Executive Committee to deal with in the manner prescribed by the Constitution, including consultation with all affiliated organizations in Canada.

The Rapporteur agreed that the ITF Constitution should be applied at all times.

Congress adopted the Report of the Seafarers Section.

Congress adjourned at 5.0 p.m.

Final Session

Friday, 3rd August 1963

Congress continued the discussion of the Reports of the Section Conferences.

The President called upon W. Hulsker to introduce:

Report of the Dockers' Section Conference (See page 297)

- W. Hulsker (Vice-Chairman and Rapporteur of the Dockers' Section Conference) drew special attention to the importance of the social consequences of mechanization, a process which the dockers welcomed because of the benefits it could bring to all concerned. However, it was necessary that these benefits should be properly shared and that dockers' unions should seek to secure provisions in their collective agreements which would avert redundancy and other adverse effects of mechanization. It would be necessary to give particular attention to the problems in this respect of dockworkers' organizations in countries where trade union organization was weak. He concluded by thanking Brother R. Santley for his work on behalf of the Section over the past two years.
- G. R. Cabrera (Uruguayan Stevedores' Union) protested at the difficulty experienced by his delegation in bringing before Congress the problems facing his union at present. His union would be obliged to leave the ITF, if they could not be considered.
- The President pointed out that this problem had already been thoroughly aired in Plenary Session, no less than eleven speakers having dealt with it.
- E. Toloso (Argentinian Port Workers' Union) spoke on the change of structure in dock employment in Angentina. But the employers still enjoyed the same advantages. He requested the support of the ITF for hiring halls, the creation of personal insurance schemes, and workers' cooperatives.
- W. Hulsker (Vice-Chairman and Rapporteur of the Dockers' Section Conference), stated that the Dockers Section wished to help the Argentine dockers as much as possible.
 - The Report of the Dockers' Section Conference was then adopted.
- **H. Düby** (Vice-President, in the chair) called upon R. Dekeyzer to present:
 - The Report of the Fishermen's Section Conference (See page 305)
- R. Dekeyzer (Vice-Chairman and Rapporteur of the Fishermen's Section Conference) drew attention to the meeting of the Second ILO Committee on Fishermen's Questions which was due to be held in December, 1962 and expressed the hope that the meeting would result in draft conventions which would later be submitted to the International Labour Conference.

The Report of the Fishermen's Section Conference was then adopted by Congress.

The President then called upon D. S. Tennant to introduce:

The Report of the Joint Conference of the Scafarers' and Dockers' Sections (See page 322)

D. S. Tennant (Chairman, Rapporteur) introducing the report of the Joint Conference of the Seafarers' and Dockers' Sections, drew attention to the two resolutions which had been adopted after a brief report by L. White on matters of interest to both Sections. The first resolution called for a continuation of ITF policy on Panlibhon shipping. This resolution had first been adopted by the Seafarers' Conference. The Joint Conference had amended it and then adopted it unanimously. The second resolution dealt with the concept of the "genuine link" In 1959 the Law of the Sea Conference had adopted an important convention which, among other things, stipulated that there should be a "genuine link" between a ship and the state of registry. This concept of the "genuine link" had later been defined in its social context by the ILO. The resolution adopted called for the United Nations through IMCO to define the concept of the "genuine link" in its economic and legal sense.

After a discussion on certain matters affecting some American maritime unions, it had been unanimously agreed that the dockers would associate themselves with the recommendation of the seafarers asking the Executive Committee to press forward with the application for affiliation from the Canadian Maritime Union.

During the election of the Fair Practices Committee, M. A. Khatib of the Pakistan Transport Workers' Federation had suggested that there should be a representative from Asia on the Fair Practices Committee but after discussion he had agreed not to press this point. The Joint Conference had also given consideration to the emergency resolution on Peru.

He recommended the adoption of the Report.

The Report of the Joint Conference of the Seafarers' and Dockers' Sections with the two attached resolutions, was then adopted.

The President then called upon S. Greene to introduce the:

Final Report of the Resolutions Committee (See page 293)

S. Greene (Chairman, Rapporteur) introduced the Final Report of the Resolutions Committee Meeting of 2 August including the emergency resolution on the situation in Spain, the draft of which had been submitted by the Venezuelan Transport Workers' Federation.

Congress then adopted the Final Report of the Resolutions Committee and the attached resolution on the situation in Spain.

The General Secretary pointed out that all the draft resolutions contained in Documents XXVII C-6, 6a, and 6b, had now been dealt with by the various Committees and Sections apart from that relating to restrictive legislation in Aden. In addition, the Secretariat had drafted a resolution expressing solidarity for the Colombian workers and their families who had been affected by the recent earthquakes.

The General Secretary then read out the text of this resolution.

Congress adopted the resolution.

A. A. Thabet (General and Port Workers Union, Aden) gave details of the situation in Aden since the enactment on 14 August 1960 of the Industrial Relations Ordinance, a measure which had been forced on organized labour by military terror. Apologising for arriving late at Congress, he explained that the delay had been due to a strike in which his organization had been involved. As a result of the Industrial Relations Ordinance, many employers had cancelled collective agreements entered into earlier whilst others, who had been negotiating for a long period with the trade unions on matters such as the provision of end-of-service benefits and family medical benefits, had used the legislation as an excuse not to proceed with these negotiations. Two employers had dismissed 500 workers and as a result of strikes which had ensued, many trade unionists had been either deported or imprisoned. Under the Industrial Relations Ordinance it was possible for any eight men to form a union. This could give rise to splintering of the trade union movement unless the workers struggled resolutely against such a development. The speaker then cited a number of cases of repressive measures adopted by the authorities. For calling a 24hour strike, the General Secretary of the Building Workers Union had been sentenced to twenty-nine months imprisonment. For calling a one-hour walk-out of workers employed in a refinery, the members of the executive committee of another union had been imprisoned for twelve months. The members of an emergency trade union committee had been sentenced to one year's imprisonment for refusing to give an undertaking in Court that they would not call out their members on strike. On 23 July of this year there had been a general strike which had been practically 100% effective. In spite of the peaceful intentions and discipline maintained by the strikers, the authorities had called in the armed forces to keep order. He appealed to Congress to express its solidarity with the workers of Aden in the difficulties arising from these repressive measures.

The resolution was adopted.

The President, introducing Item 10 of the Agenda, Elections, drew the attention of Congress to Document XXVII C-24 which had been distributed to delegates and which set out the list of nominations to the General Council.

S. Wall (National Maritime Union of America) stated that the absence of the President of his Union, J. Curran, had nothing to do with the fact that his name did not appear on the list of members for the General Council nominated by the North American Group. Brother Curran had had to return home because of pressing commitments after having been away, among other things, to attend the Congress of the ICFTU, since early in June. The speaker thought that it would be in order to make an observation on the document before Congress. Within the North American Electoral Group it had been his organization's contention that the maritime industry was by no means insignificant and should therefore be represented on the General Council. The railroad group commanding 600,000 votes had not been able to agree with this suggestion and his organization's delegation had, therefore, left

the meeting in order not to be present at the carving-up of their organization after the General Secretary, acting as special parliamentarian to the Group, had indicated that only accepted nominees would reach the floor of Congress. He wondered whether anxiety to exclude the NMU from the General Council had not led those in the North American Electoral Group to overlook the spirit and intent of Clause 4 of Rule VII of the ITF Constitution which called for a reasonable reflection in the General Council of the geographical and industrial composition of the membership of the Federation. The speaker also thought that the document distributed to Congress ought to have given a clear indication of the organizations represented by the members nominated in order to afford Congress an opportunity of deciding whether the composition of the General Council was in conformity with this provision in the Constitution. His organization would continue to support the activities of the ITF Seafarers Section as they had done up to now. He reminded Congress that his organization had been in the front line of many conflicts of the ITF and that no resolutions had had to be amended in order to gain the support of his organization.

Jakub i Jakubsstovu (Faroe Islands Fishermen's Union) referring to Group 3, Denmark, Faroes, Iceland and Finland, in the list of members nominated for the General Council suggested that in place of E. Borg (Denmark) and M. Jensen (Denmark) there should be representatives of the Faroe Islands and Iceland respectively. It would be more just, he thought, if the two large countries in the Group had each a member and deputy-member, leaving one member for one of the smaller countries and a deputy for the other.

The President pointed out that this suggestion could not be dealt with by Congress. The matter should have been brought up within the European Electoral Group.

J. S. Thore (Swedish Seamen's Union) expressed surprise at Brother Jakubsstovu's objection because the choice of members for these countries had been agreed within the Electoral Group. The Scandinavian Group had been 100% behind the proposal contained in the list and Brother Jakubsstovu had not raised any objection there.

Jakub i Jakubsstovu (Faroe Islands) said that he had been unaware of any meeting of the Scandinavian Group in connection with this matter. He had attended the meeting of the European Electoral Group and had tried to raise this matter there but, probably because of his involvement with his Danish colleagues in another dispute, had been recommended by the General Secretary to take up this question with the other members of the Scandinavian Group. He had tried to do this afterwards, but had had no success. He repeated that it would be only fair for Iceland and the Faroe Islands to be represented on the General Council and compared their claim to representation with that of Luxembourg which, in spite of its relatively small size compared with Belgium and the Netherlands, had secured one seat on the General Council.

The General Secretary, replying, regretted that Brother Jakubsstovu had not been able, for one reason or another, to bring his case up in the European Electoral Group. However, there was no provision in the Constitution for Congress to deal with such a proposal as that which he was now raising once the Electoral Group had agreed on its nominations for the General Council.

Replying to Brother Wall, the General Secretary said that he and other members of the Secretariat had attended the meetings of the North American and European Electoral Groups solely as representatives of the Secretariat, partly because they wished to see how the procedure under the new Constitution worked and to give advice if difficulties arose in regard to procedure. There had been no intention to interfere with the decisions of these groups nor had there been any such interference on the part of the Secretariat. At these meetings he had made it quite clear to the Groups that they were autonomous and that the Secretariat was only present to give advice when necessary.

The President then drew attention to the list of members for the Executive Board.

The List of members for the Executive Board and General Council was agreed by Congress.

The President then announced the names of those nominated by the British unions to serve as auditors: Ray Gunter (Transported Salaried Staffs' Association, Great Britain), J. V. Bailey (Union of Shop, Distributive and Allied Workers, Great Britain) and G. Lipman (National Union of Seamen, Great Britain).

The Appointment of these auditors was then agreed by Congress.

The President expressed confidence that those elected to serve on the General Council, Executive Board and as auditors would do so to the best of their capacity during the coming three years.

The President then announced that Congress would now proceed to the election of a General Secretary. Drawing attention to the statement of the Executive Committee on this matter which had been sent out to affiliated unions, he emphasized that it was the prerogative of Congress to elect the General Secretary. Nevertheless the Executive Committee had felt in a position to make its views known in the following statement:

"Having regard to the abilities displayed by the present General Secretary in the performance of his duties and his evident capacity to exercise his functions satisfactorily for some time to come, the Executive Committee is of the opinion that the ITF would benefit from a further period of his services which would also provide more opportunity to assess the qualities of those who might succeed. The Executive Committee has, therefore, asked the General Secretary whether he would be ready to remain in office for another term."

The President then drew the attention of Congress to Document XXVII C-7 containing a proposal by the Railwaymen's Section of the Belgian Organization, Secteur Cheminots de la Centrale Générale des Services Publics, nominating Brother Hans Imhof, Assistant General Secretary, for the post of ITF General Secretary. He then called upon Brother Tonneaux of the Belgian organization to comment on his organization's proposal.

A. Tonneaux (Secteur Cheminots de la Centrale Générale des Services Publics) confirmed his organization's nomination of Brother Hans Imhof for the post of General Secretary of the ITF. His organization was of the opinion that Brother Imhof had given ample demonstration in his work, particularly within the Railwaymen's Section, of his maturity, experience and competence. Furthermore, his organization could not associate itself with the statement of the Executive Committee on the General Secretaryship. The speaker emphasized that at the Berne Congress it had been expressly understood that Brother De Vries was being appointed General Secretary on an interim basis and for one term of office only.

The President then called upon Brother Imhof to state whether he accepted the nomination.

- **H. Imhof** (Assistant General Secretary) stated that he would accept the nomination. He would also accept the decision of Congress on this matter and, whatever the decision of Congress was, he undertook to continue to give his best to the Federation.
- W. Hogarth (National Union of Seamen, Great Britain) said that the President should call officially for nominations before opening the general discussion.

The President asked for nominations. The name of Brother L. White was put forward by the National Union of Seamen, Great Britain and the name of Brother R. Laan by the Tanganyika Railway African Union.

These nominations were accepted.

R. Laan (ITF Director of Regional Affairs) appreciated the chance afforded him along with the other candidates, of giving his views on this question, all the more because up to now none of the candidates had been invited by the General Secretary, the Executive Committee or the Management Committee to express their views on the future of the ITF. He thought that the best approach at this difficult moment would be for him to be completely frank and for Congress to be frank in making its decision so that at the end of this Session it would be possible to know where the ITF was going. Even if he belonged to that category described in the statement of the Executive Committee as not having sufficient experience to be considered at this stage, he nevertheless considered that he had had some practical experience in his life in handling complicated organizational matters. The very complicated situation in which the ITF found itself now with regard to the election of the General Secretary had been experienced before, during the Berne Congress, when it had been described as a "circus". He hoped that this situation was not going to be regarded as normal and repeat itself. If this were so, it would be a cause for shame.

He did not wish to dwell on what had happened at Berne when he himself had been a delegate. Now he was a candidate, one of those about whom rumours had been circulating persistently during Congress.

He hoped that all this was not going to be repeated in 1965, giving to the outside world the impression that the solidarity of the mighty International Transport Workers' Federation was breaking down on a question of personalities or rather, lack of personalities. Between 1962 and 1965, work at the ITF headquarters in London would have to go on. If Congress accepted the statement of the Executive Committee, this would mean that the battle of succession would start up immediately after Congress and Congress would be faced again with exactly the same situation in 1965 as it was facing now. He did not consider this a reasonable way of tackling the problem and reminded Congress of the extremely difficult situation in which such a decision would place those who were trying to do their jobs properly at the ITF headquarters.

He was convinced that these views would be shared by the other candidates and emphasized that all the candidates for office had friendly relations with one another. He appealed to the Executive Committee and Congress to discharge their responsibilities. At Berne, Congress had insisted that nothing be done to impair its prerogative of exercising these responsibilities. However, in exercising these responsibilities Congress was faced with an extremely complicated situation. The existence of three candidates in addition to Brother De Vries indicated that there were divergent views with regard to the future leadership of the ITF. Some thought candidate A was the best person to lead the ITF for the next three years, some thought candidate B would be more suitable and some backed candidate C. The Executive Committee were backing candidate A.1. The whole matter now was a question of procedure. If Congress proceeded to the election of the General Secretary from the four candidates this would give it no possibility of making a clear choice for the future: because he was backed by the Executive Committee, it was almost certain that the present General Secretary would be re-elected, but this would only mean that Congress was postponing its decision for another three years leaving the three unsuccessful candidates in an unacceptable position.

Realizing that he was not a delegate and thus did not have the right to speak as such, he wished with all humility to propose a change in procedure. He was realistic enough to appreciate that the change in the ITF Constitution adopted by Congress was a major one and that the new machinery of the Federation would require some running in. For example, the Executive Board had now been increased to 23 members, 14 or so of whom were serving for the first time. However, he questioned the necessity of giving to the General Secretary three years for the purposes of getting the new machinery working properly. He thought it would be a good idea if the Executive Committee would decide to recommend that Congress should elect Brother De Vries as General Secretary and then the new Executive Board would fix a date by which Brother de Vries' period of office would expire. Then Congress would have a clear choice for the future. Only in this way would Congress have a possibility of choosing the right man from the other three candidates.

The President drew the attention of Congress to Paragraph 1 of Rule XI which stated that the General Secretary was eligible for re-election and confirmed that the Executive Committee had asked the General Secretary whether he was willing to remain in office and that the General

Secretary had indicated that he was willing to do so. The Executive Committee was, therefore, backing Brother De Vries' candidature. In addition, the Venezuelan Federation of Transport Workers and the Scottish Horse and Motormen's Association had nominated Brother De Vries

N. Wälläri (Finnish Seamen's Union) stated that he had attended all congresses of the ITF since 1932 and had never before heard a discussion such as that he had heard to-day about who could or could not nominate candidates. The fact that Brother De Vries had been elected at Berne two years ago in no way meant that he could not be re-elected. There was nothing in the Constitution to prevent his re-election and his organization, the Finnish Seamen's Union, intended to vote for Brother De Vries. The Executive Committee had the right to nominate candidates for the General Secretaryship. Those who suggested that the Executive Committee did not have this right were depriving the members of the Executive Committee of a right which all delegates to Congress had. In his opinion all the nominees put forward were in order and it was now up to Congress to proceed with the election.

E. Ulbrich (Austrian Railwaymen's Union) agreed with previous speakers that this was a time for plain speaking. Recalling the circumstances under which Brother de Vries had been elected General Secretary, in particular the fact that Brother Becu had suddenly decided to go over to the ICFTU although he had up to the last maintained his intention of staying on with the ITF, he reminded Congress of the decision taken at Berne that Brother de Vries was to be elected for one term of office on the understanding that after two years it would be possible to find a permanent General Secretary either in one of the Assistant General Secretaries appointed at Berne or in another candidate put forward by an affiliated organization. In view of the decision taken at Berne he could not understand at all the statement on the General Secretaryship made by the Executive Committee and circulated to affiliated organizations. He doubted moreover whether all delegates present at Congress had even read this statement. If the younger officials at the ITF Headquarters, as was implied in the statement, were not yet ready to assume the functions of General Secretary, then it would have been better to tell them this straight out. In the statement, the Executive Committee was now suggesting that Bro. de Vries should serve for another term of office. But if it had not been possible to find a suitable candidate for General Secretary in the past two years, was it reasonable to suppose that it would be any easier to find such a candidate in the next three years?

There were now four candidates, all of whom, according to Brother Laan, were friends and he, therefore, thought that the decision of Congress in electing one of these four candidates could not bring any adverse effects for the ITF because, as friends, all the candidates would respect the decision of Congress and then make it their business to work together for the interests of the Federation. He, therefore, proposed that there should be an end to discussing this matter and Congress should proceed to the election of its new General Secretary. However, he thought it should be made absolutely clear to the successful candidate

that he ought not to think that he had been elected General Secretary of the ITF for life. If he did not meet the requirements made of the ITF General Secretary, the next Congress would have to seek another one. The person receiving the majority of votes in a card vote would be the General Secretary according to the Constitution, but this election would carry with it the obligation to work for the ITF. If the General Secretary did this, that was his best guarantee of being re-elected at the next Congress.

Congress then proceeded to the voting.

The President then announced the results of the ballot which were as follows:

Pieter de Vries	1,622,600
Hans Imhof	1,588,100
Laurence White	523,800
Reint Laan	26,600
Abstentions	34,000
Spoilt papers	500
The total vote taken was:	3,795,600

The President confirmed that Pieter de Vries had been elected General Secretary and congratulated him.

P. de Vries thanked those who by voting for him had expressed their confidence in his ability to continue as General Secretary of the ITF for a further period. Although his majority had not been very big, the result of this democratic election would have to be accepted. He appealed to those who had voted for other candidates to do everything in their power to help him run this important and beloved international federation. He promised that he himself would do all he could to continue his work for the expansion of the ITF. He hoped that it would be possible to do this with the cooperation of his colleagues in the office and the staff there because, as he had already pointed out in Berne after his election, it was necessary to have the help and cooperation of all in the office in order to do the work properly and bring benefit to transport workers all over the world.

One speaker had referred to the possibility of his being a candidate for a further term of office. He gave a solemn undertaking that there was no possibility of his seeking a further term of office and that he would do his utmost to find the right person to succeed him, someone on whom it would be possible to depend and to whom the ITF could be safely entrusted.

The General Secretary then presented the ITF Gold Badge to A. E. Lyon of the United States, Sir Thomas Yates of Great Britain, H. J. Kanne, of the Netherlands, S. Klinga of Sweden and T. Nishimaki of Japan. As Brother Lyon was not able to attend Congress, G. Harrison accepted the Badge on his behalf. The General Secretary himself under took to give the Badge personally to Sir Thomas Yates who was also unable to be present. Since Brother Nishimaki had had to leave Congress owing to his unfortunate illness, Brother Kamisawa accepted the Badge on his behalf.

The General Secretary said that it was a great privilege for him as General Secretary of the ITF to present a number of distinguished members with the ITF Gold Badge as a mark of the value which the Federation placed on the loyal and devoted service they had given.

He had made numerous requests to Brother A. Lyon to attend Congress but, unfortunately, he had been unable to be present because of the urgent work he had to do in the United States. Born in Nebraska sixty-two years ago, Brother Lyon had begun work as a signal helper on the Southern Pacific Railway in 1919 and had later held a number of positions in the Brotherhood of Railroad Signalmen of which he became President in 1934. Elected Vice-Chairman of the RLEA in 1940, Brother Lyon had become its Executive Secretary in 1945, a post which he had held until this year when he had been appointed by President Kennedy to serve as Labour Member on the Railroad Retirement Board. He had served as Labour Adviser under three United States Presidents occupying an impressive number of labour advisory posts, e.g., on the Trade Union Advisory Committee on International Labor Affairs of the Department for Labor and the Labor Advisory Committee to the Treasury Department. He had been a Member of National Commissions for the Pan-American Railway Congresses. During the war he had served on the National Defence Commission from 1940 to 1941. He had been elected a member of the ITF Executive Committee at the ITF Oslo Congress in 1948 and had shown throughout a keen interest in the ITF Regional Affairs programmes.

Sir Thomas Yates was born in 1896 and was, therefore, the same age as the ITF. He had been at sea from the age of 17 until he became a full-time official of the British National Union of Seamen in 1929. He had held a number of positions in the Union until he became its General Secretary in 1948, a position he occupied until his retirement at the end of 1960. In 1957 he had been Chairman of the British Trade Union Congress and had been knighted for his services to the British trade union movement in 1959. He had been a delegate at many ILO Conferences concerned with seafarers questions and had been Joint Chairman of the ILO Joint Maritime Commission. He had been a member of the ITF Management Committee for many years and as its Chairman had been an ex-officio member of the ITF Executive Committee. He had also formerly been Chairman of the ITF Seafarers Section. The General Secretary undertook to present the ITF Gold Badge personally to Sir Thomas on his return to England.

Of Brother H. J. Kanne, the General Secretary said that he would not dwell on his long acquaintance with Brother Kanne in the Dutch trade union movement. For ten years he had been a member of the ITF Executive Committee until his retirement in 1962. He had also been ITF Vice-President from 1958 to 1960. He had been President of the Netherlands Transport Workers Union from 1945 to 1962, a former Chairman of the Staff Council of the Netherlands State Railways and a member of the Executive Council of the Netherlands Trade Union Congress.

S. Klinga was born in 1899 and after working as a boy in the saw-mills had been a bus-worker from 1924 to 1937 when he became Sundsvall Branch Secretary of the Swedish Transport Workers' Union,

an organization which had always had particularly close relations with the ITF through its former President Charles Lindley. After being appointed Union Organizer in 1946, Brother Klinga was elected President of the Union in 1953, a position which he occupied until his retirement in April 1961. He had also been a member of the Executive Committee of the Swedish Federation of Labour from 1956 onwards. Within the ITF he had been a member of the ITF Road Transport Workers' Section Committee from 1954 until his retirement and a member of the ITF Executive Committee from 1958 until now.

Brother Nishimaki, the General Secretary pointed out, had been taken ill during Congress and had had to return to Japan for urgent medical attention. Asking Brother Kamisawa to accept on his behalf the ITF Gold Badge, the General Secretary reviewed Brother Nishimaki's career in the trade union movement. Born in 1899 he had first entered the services of the Japan Seamen's Union in 1927 and was a full-time official until 1940 when the Union was dissolved by the Government. From 1940 to 1945 Brother Nishimaki had served on a Government Body concerned with seafarers questions, and after the war had played a leading role in re-establishing the Japanese Seamen's Organization under its new name, All-Japan Seamen's Union. Afterwards he had served as Director of the Union's international affairs and had been a delegate at the 1946 ILO Maritime Conference in Seattle. For a number of years he had served on the ITF General Council and in 1959 he had been co-opted as Asian member on the ITF Executive Committee. He had also been a member of the Executive Board of the ICFTU and a member of the ILO Joint Maritime Commission. He had attended all ITF and ICFTU Congresses since 1948.

- G. Harrison (Railway Labour Executive Association) said that he would be particularly pleased to deliver the Gold Badge to Brother Lyon on his return to the United States and would convey to him the eloquent words used by Brother de Vries. He was certain that Brother Lyon would be moved by this recognition of his services to the ITF and that he would regard the ITF Gold Badge as a great honour. On behalf of Brother Lyon and of all the unions which were members of the RLEA he thanked the ITF for conferring this great honour upon him.
- S. Klinga (Swedish Transport Workers' Union) expressed appreciation at this wonderful surprise. During the years he had taken part in the ITF's work he had come to realise how important the rôle of the ITF was for the transport workers of the world. He was convinced that the solidarity and comradeship which were evident throughout all the ITF's activities would continue in the future and that the ITF would continue to be of decisive importance for all its affiliates in different parts of the world. Many of the delegates attending Congress were new to him, others were old friends. He wished all of them every success for the future, and thanked the ITF for the great honour shown him.
- H. J. Kanne (Netherlands Transport Workers' Union) expressed appreciation of this acknowledgement of his contribution to the activities

of the ITF now that he had retired from active service. He was grateful for Brother de Vries' kind words and proud of the distinction which had been conferred on him. In return he had to say that he, for his part, had every reason to express his gratitude to the ITF. He was proud to have so many friends in the international trade union movement.

R. Kamisawa (All-Japan Seamen's Union) said that Brother Nishimaki would be retiring in October as President of the All-Japan Seamen's Union and that this would have been the last ITF Congress he would have attended. He was sure that Brother Nishmaki would accept with great pleasure this Gold Badge. He himself undertook to do his best to be a worthy successor of Brother Nishimaki on the Executive Board and expressed his sincere gratitude on behalf of Brother Nishimaki.

The President then drew the attention of Congress to the fact that there were no proposals with regard to Item 11, Headquarters of the Federation and that therefore the ITF headquarters remained in London.

The next item on the agenda was the place of the next Congress.

The President called upon Brother S. F. Andersen to speak.

S. F. Andersen (Danish Seamen's Union) expressed appreciation of the friendliness and hospitality shown by the Finnish organizations which had done so much to making Congress a success. On behalf of the Danish affiliates of the ITF, he extended an invitation for the next ITF Congress to be held in Copenhagen and confirmed that the Danish organizations would do everything to provide the same measure of hospitality as the Finnish hosts had done at this Congress.

The President thanked Brother Andersen on behalf of Congress. He was convinced that the Executive Committee, which had the task of deciding where the next Congress was to be held, would take great pleasure in noting the very kind invitation of the Danish organizations.

F. Azaña (ITF Director for Latin America and the Caribbean Zone) informed Congress that the United States Government had recognized the military junta in Peru. Knowing the American Ambassador in Lima to be a staunch Democrat and that President Kennedy must have consulted the latter before making this decision, he thought that this indicated that there had been some changes in the situation in Peru. He had spoken on the telephone with Brother Medrano that morning and it now appeared that the ITF Lima Office was open, that there was no censorship, and no persecution. It was possible that the resolution adopted by Congress on the situation in Peru had had some effect. However, the ITF had a duty to its affiliates in Peru and he, therefore, asked Congress to send a message to the Peruvian Ambassador in Helsinki, interceding on behalf of ITF affiliated organizations in Peru, requesting the military junta to respect their freedom and reiterating our desire for the speedy return of democracy to Peru. He had also learnt that the police were now occupying the home of the General Secretary of the Argentine Seafarers' Union (SOMU) and he, therefore, asked Congress to send a cable to the Argentine Government urging them to lift the order of arrest hanging over the General Secretary of SOMU. Both these appeals were being made at the request of all the Latin American delegates.

The President proposed that this matter should be referred to the General Secretary for further action.

Congress agreed.

F. Laurent (French Railwaymen's Federation, FO) congratulated Brother Dekeyzer who had been elected President at the last ITF Congress on the courtesy and skill with which he had presided over the Plenary Sessions, ensuring that the rules of procedure were observed and that everything functioned democratically and normally whilst allowing all speakers complete freedom to express their views.

The President thanked Brother Laurent for his kind words. During the two years he had served as ITF President he had done his best to fulfil his task with only one object in mind: to serve the interests of all transport workers without distinction of nationality, race or creed, and without favouring one branch of transport workers at the expense of any other. He had tried to represent the proclaimed ideals of the ITF not only in presiding at meetings of the Executive Committee and its subcommittees, but in all outside meetings where he had had the honour to represent the ITF. He realized that he had been elected President in 1960 under special circumstances. He had not solicited the position. It might well be that the General Council might now feel the need to return to the situation prevailing before his election. Whatever the decision of the General Council, he undertook to continue to serve the ideals and aims of the ITF.

This Twenty-Seventh Congress of the ITF was drawing to a close. He thanked all the speakers for the brevity and relevance of their contributions and the discipline and spirit of cooperation which had been manifest all along and had made it easier for him to do his job.

He wished to extend special thanks to the Finnish Reception Committee and the Finnish unions presided over by Brother Wälläri for their efficient work to ensure the smooth running and success of this Congress. Thanks were also due to Brother Düby, the Vice-President, for assuming his part of the responsibility for the work of Congress and to the General Secretary for the far from easy task he had had in preparing for Congress. Last but not least he expressed sincere appreciation for the contribution of the Assistant General Secretaries and all the staff of the Secretariat as well as the interpreters and translators and the ladies and gentlemen of the press who had given world-wide publicity to the work of Congress. He hoped sincerely that the text of the resolutions adopted by Congress would be reproduced and given wide publicity all over the world. On behalf of the ladies, he extended special thanks to the Finnish organizations for the opportunities which had been afforded to them by the Finnish organizations to make their stay in Finland an extremely pleasant one. Indeed, all delegates would return to their own countries with lasting memories of this magnificent country and its friendly people.

The ITF, he was convinced, would continue not only to work to improve the standard of living of transport workers but also to secure a greater measure of social justice for all peoples throughout the world. He was also convinced that transport workers were those called upon to carry to the corners of the earth the gospel of peace, freedom and democracy. We should not forget the gigantic task which faced us in the future. Although transport workers were in favour of technical progress, they were determined that it should serve peaceful purposes. This was the great goal which man was at present trying to achieve. This Congress had demonstrated the fighting spirit of the transport workers. He appealed to delegates to keep on fighting and show to the world that the members of the ITF were ready to undertake any sacrifice in order to attain their goals. He wished all delegates a safe return to their homelands. He then declared the Twenty-Seventh Congress of the International Transport Workers Federation closed.

GENERAL COUNCIL

The General Council met on the afternoon of 3 August 1963 in Helsinki. The agenda comprised the election of the ITF's President and Vice-President and consideration of a recommendation from the Executive Committee that the membership of certain organizations should be declared to have lapsed.

Election of President and Vice-President

F. Cousins (Great Britain), S. F. Greene (Great Britain) and R. Dekeyzer (Belgium) were nominated in the election of the President. Brother Dekeyzer stated that he declined the nomination.

In the vote which followed, Brother Cousins was elected President of the ITF by 24 votes to 12.

H. Düby (Switzerland) was elected Vice-President unanimously.

Lapse of membership

In accordance with Rule V, Paragraph 2 of the ITF Constitution, the General Council agreed, on the recommendation of the Executive Committee, that the affiliation of the following organizations should be declared to have lapsed by virtue of their failure to meet their financial obligations to the ITF:

Federazione Nazionale Lavoratori Autoferrotranvieri ed Internavigatori (Italy);

Mechanical Transport Department Workers' Union (Sudan):

National Maritime Union (Ceylon); and Airways Workers' Union (Nigeria).

Reports of Section Conferences and Committee Meetings

FIRST REPORT OF THE CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE

Congress agreed that the Credentials Committee should be composed of the following members: J. Arranz (Latin America); M. Trana (Norway); B. Majumder (Asia); M. A. Ndabambi (Africa); D. Secord (Canada); A. Lissandre (France); W. J. P. Webber (Great Britain); C. W. van Driel (Netherlands); E. Wall (Ireland).

At its first meeting the Committee was informed that there had been a mistake in the nomination of the Asian member of the Committee and that Brother D. U'ren should have been the nominee, not Brother B. Majumder.

Present at the first meeting were: J. Arranz (Latin America); M. Trana (Norway); M. A. Ndabambi (Africa); D. Secord (Canada); A. Lissandre (France); W. J. P. Webber (Great Britain); E. Wall (Ireland); D. U'ren (Asia).

Brother W. J. P. Webber was elected Chairman and Rapporteur.

The Chairman pointed out that the number of delegates which an organization was entitled to send to Congress and the number of votes which a delegation could have in the event of a card vote were governed by Rule VI of the Constitution. Both provisions depended on "paid-up" membership which was also defined in that rule as being members paid for at the standard rate of affiliation fee. If a union paid at only a proportion of the standard rate, its entitlement to delegates and votes was reduced by the same proportion. For convenience, unions with a small membership had had their voting strengths rounded up to the nearest 100 and others to the nearest 1,000 and so on. Again for convenience, payment of £6 sterling in the quarter immediately before Congress (the quarter to be taken into account, according to the Constitution) had been taken as giving entitlement to 1,000 votes.

The Committee was informed that at the time it met, 235 delegates from 408 unions in 45 countries had registered their attendance at Congress. In addition there were 46 advisers. A number of delegates and advisers had still to arrive.

The Committee then examined the credentials of the organizations and their delegates as given in the provisional attendance list. It was agreed to recommend that the credentials of a number of organizations which had been admitted to membership of the ITF at the Executive Committee meeting on 23 and 24 July should be approved. The Committee asked the Chairman to interview a number of delegations whose credentials were in some doubt. He is to report the results of these interviews and his recommendations, if any, to the next meeting.

The Chairman was asked for his opinion on the validity of the credentials of the adviser to the delegation from the Trinidad Seamen and Waterfront Workers' Union who was thought to be an official of

the Seafarers' International Union of North America which was suspended from membership of the ITF by the Executive Committee in April 1961. The Chairman pointed out that the position of advisers was governed by Rule VI, para. 6 of the ITF Constitution and it was further possible under para. 9 of the same rule for a delegate to represent an organization other than his own. The Committee agreed that although no specific qualifications for either delegates or advisers were laid down in the Constitution, it was generally assumed that advisers should belong to the organizations whose delegations they were to advise.

FINAL REPORT OF THE CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE

The final meeting of the Credentials Committee took place on 26 July. Present were: W. J. P. Webber (Chairman), J. Arranz, A. Lissandre, M. A. Ndabambi, D. Secord, M. Trana, D. U'ren, C. W. van Driel, E. Wall.

The Chairman reported that he had interviewed five delegations at the Committee's request. The arrears of affiliation fees of four of the organizations concerned had been paid and the delegate of the fifth organization had given satisfactory assurances that the amount to be paid in order to satisfy the requirements set in the Constitution for the seating of delegates would be paid soon. He therefore recommended that this delegate should be seated and the Committee approved this recommendation.

There have been several changes in the number and composition of delegations since the provisional list of delegates was prepared. These are to be incorporated in a final list which will be prepared shortly.

The Credentials Committee is now satisfied that the credentials of delegates and advisers to Congress are in order. It can report the presence at Congress of 251 delegates and 50 advisers from 130 organizations in 45 countries. The total voting strength of the delegations is 3,784,200.

A number of delegates and advisers who had announced their intention to attend had still to arrive by the evening of 26 July. The Committee agreed to authorize its Chairman to examine further credentials if necessary.

W. J. P. WEBBER

Rapporteur

FIRST REPORT OF THE RESOLUTIONS COMMITTEE

Members: G. Gerdes (Germany); N. Wälläri (Finland); B. Majumder (India); R. Deseau (France); H. Hernandez (Venezuela); H. Afifi (Egypt); J. Curran (USA); S. F. Greene (Great Britain); C. W. van Driel (Netherlands); F. Eichinger (Germany); D. Benetatos (Greece).

The Resolutions Committee met for the first time on 27 July 1962. All members were present.

Brother S. F. Greene was elected chairman and rapporteur.

The Committee considered the proposals contained in Congress documents Nos. XXVII C-6, 6(a) and (b).

Document C-6

It was agreed that Proposals No. 1 (Amendment of the ITF Constitution: Congress) and No. 2 (Restrictive Legislation in Aden) should be considered by Congress in Plenary Session; No. 3 (Seafarers' right to vote) by the Seafarers' Section; and No. 4 (Road transport workers' conditions in Malaya) by the Road Transport Workers' Section.

Document C-6 (a)

With regard to Resolution No. 5, concerning the ICFTU African Labour College, the Committee doubted whether the ITF was the appropriate body to sponsor courses. It agreed to recommend Congress to refer this proposal to the Executive Committee for its consideration.

It was agreed to make a similar recommendation on proposals Nos. 6 and 7, the first of which had budgetary implications and the second of which seemed to call for action by the Secretariat.

Document C-6 (b)

It was agreed that the proposal from the Mexican Airline Pilots' Association should be considered by the Civil Aviation Section.

Brother Hernandez submitted a draft resolution from the Venezuelan Transport Workers' Federation concerning Spain. The Chairman informed him that under Rule VI para. 13 of the Constitution it was for the Executive Committee (which acts as Congress Standing Orders Committee) to decide whether an emergency resolution should be submitted to Congress. The Executive Committee would therefore have to decide this point with regard to the resolution submitted by Brother Hernandez before it could be considered by the Resolutions Committee.

FINAL REPORT OF THE RESOLUTIONS COMMITTEE

Present: S. J. Greene (Chairman); B. Majumder; R. Deseau; F. Eichinger; G. Gerdes; D. Benetatos; H. Afifi; H. Hernandez; C. W. van Driel; N. Wälläri.

The Resolutions Committee considered the draft resolution submitted by the Venezuelan Transport Workers' Federation on the situation in Spain. The Executive Committee, acting as Congress Standing Orders Committee, had agreed that the resolution was of an emergency character.

The Committee discussed the resolution and made slight textual amendments. The resolution as amended is attached to this report.

The Resolutions Committee agreed that the resolution should be submitted to Congress in plenary session.

S. J. GREENE

Rapporteur

Resolution on Spain

THE ITF Congress, meeting in Helsinki from 25 July to 4 August;

SALUTES the courageous workers of Spain who, despite the long years of oppression which they have suffered under Franco, have recently given the entire world new proof of their fighting spirit, their trade union solidarity and their determination to resist tyranny; and

REAFFIRMS the complete opposition of the ITF both to the continued existence of totalitarian rule in Spain and the brutal repressive measures which the Franco regime has taken against Spanish workers who went on strike to improve their present miserable conditions;

THE CONGRESS also re-emphasizes the unalterable determination of all free transport workers to resist any attempt to admit Spain into the European Economic Community or any similar organization so long as the people of that country do not enjoy full democratic rights and freedoms;

CALLS UPON all governments of free countries to refrain from any action which could give aid or comfort to the Franco government; and

LOOKS FORWARD with confidence to the day when the transport workers of Spain, together with the whole Spanish people, will have thrown off the yoke of Fascism and the transport workers can once again resume their rightful place as members of the ITF.

Venezuelan Transport Workers' Federation

ROAD TRANSPORT WORKERS SECTION CONFERENCE

Delegates of the Road Transport Workers' Section held their Conference on Saturday, 28 July, beginning at 9 a.m. Fifty eight delegates attended from the following countries: Austria, Belgium, Brazil, Ivory Coast, Denmark, Finland, Germany, Great Britain, Indonesia, Ireland, Japan, Kenya, Malaya, Netherlands, Norway, Peru, Spain (Exile), Sweden, Switzerland, Uruguay and the United States.

In addition, Brothers P. Seton of the Transport Bureau of the European Economic Community and Th. Rasschaert, Secretary of the Committee of ITF Unions in the European Economic Community, were present during the discussions.

After the meeting had been opened by the Section Secretary, the Conference unanimously re-elected Bro. H. W. Koppens Section Chairman and Rapporteur.

Report on Activities

Section Secretary H. Imhof introduced the Report with a survey of the various questions which had been dealt with during the period covered by the Report and at a meeting of the Section Committee in May, 1962. There followed an extremely animated discussion, during which the following points were dealt with:

(a) European Agreement on Working Conditions of Crews of Vehicles in International Road Transport (AETR).

The Conference welcomed the announcement that eight European countries, namely Belgium, France, Federal Germany, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Poland, Sweden and Great Britain had signed the above Agreement prepared by the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe (ECE), by the time the period for signing the Agreement had expired on 30 June, 1962. Although the Agreement represented a major step forward, its text was not in every respect satisfactory to the affiliated unions. The Conference's views are expressed in the resolution which is attached to this Report. The resolution was adopted unanimously and with no abstentions.

(b) The Construction of Lorries, Buses and Tractors from the point of view of the Professional Driver.

The Conference noted with approval that the competent Committee of the Transport Division of the Economic Commission for Europe had declared itself ready to examine the requests of the ITF-affiliated unions, as set out by the ITF Secretariat in a communication dated 1 June, 1962. The Secretariat was instructed to continue its efforts to secure the inclusion of corresponding provisions in the ECE Recommendations.

(c) The Status of Professional Drivers.

The Conference was unanimously agreed that a small working party composed of members of the Section Committee should work out an appropriate basis for further work on this question. The Working Party will be composed of the following members: Koppens (Netherlands), Beck (Great Gritain), Brosch (Austria), Pettersson (Sweden), Kugoth (Germany), together with the Section Secretary.

(d) Cooperation with the Public Services International (PSI) in dealing with questions affecting employees of urban transport undertakings.

After the Section Secretary had reported on the proceedings of the Joint ITF/PSI Conference held in Frankfurt a/M. at the end of October 1961, the view was once again expressed that it would be desirable if the national unions catering for employees of urban transport undertakings could agree to affiliate all these workers with the ITF. This unified affiliation would be more effective in dealing with the relevant problems than mere cooperation between the two ITSs.

Whilst dealing with this question the Conference was informed that Brother Paul Tofahrn, General Secretary of the PSI, was at present in hospital in Berlin after suffering a heart attack a few days previously. The Conference decided to join with the ITF Railwaymen's Section Conference in sending a telegram wishing him a speedy recovery.

(e) The ITF and questions relating to Road Transport in the European Economic Community.

Following up on the statements made in Plenary Session by Brother Philipp Seibert, the Secretary of the Committee of ITF Unions in the European Economic Community, Bro. Rasschaert, gave some additional information on special aspects of concern to the Road Transport Section in connection with the harmonization of working conditions. The Conference noted with approval that it is intended to keep the European unions in countries outside the European Economic Community duly informed on all developments.

Proposals

The Resolutions Committee had referred to the Section Conference a proposal relating to working conditions in road transport in Malaya (Doc. XXVII—6b, item 4.) The Conference gave favourable consideration to the wish of the Malayan Transport Workers' Union that the ITF should do something to counteract the worsening of working conditions in long distance road transport in that country. The Conference requested the Executive Committee to consider appropriate steps on the basis of this proposal.

Date and Place of the next Section Conference

In view of the fact that the date of the next section conference will depend on Congress's decision whether ITF Congresses in future are to be held at two-yearly or three-yearly intervals, the Conference decided not to fix the date of its next meeting at this juncture, leaving this instead to the Section Committee. Great pleasure was expressed at the invitation of the Danish Transport Workers' Union to hold the next Section Conference in Copenhagen.

Election of the Section Committee

After receiving nominations it was agreed to compose the Section Committee as follows:

Country	Member	Substitute
Austria	L. Brosch	A. Peham
Belgium	G. Hendrickx	J. Geldof
Denmark	E. Borg	N. Jensen
Finland	O. Aarnio	U. Rautiainen
France	P. Felce	R. Boucard
Germany	G. Kugoth	A. Christ
•	2	H. Vomberg
Great Britain	F. Cousins	A. G. Beck
Israel	S. Perry	
Italy	E. Leolini	R. C. Caimmi
Netherlands	H. Koppens	J. de Later
Norway	H. Bakke	_
Sweden	H. Pettersson	H. Erikson
Switzerland	E. Hofer	_

Any other business

At the request of the Austrian Transport Workers' Union it was decided to address a questionnaire to affiliated unions requesting information on the trade union affiliation of certain commercial transport and warehouse workers. Brother Brosch stated that he would be willing to supply the details necessary for the preparation of the questionnaire.

The Conference closed at 12 p.m

H. W. KOPPENS

Rapporteur

Resolution

THIS CONFERENCE OF ROAD TRANSPORT WORKERS held in conjunction with the 27th Congress of the International Transport Workers' Federation in Helsinki, Finland, from 25 July to 4 August, 1962,

TAKES NOTE OF the conclusion of the "European Agreement concerning The Work of Crews of Vehicles engaged in International Road Transport (AETR)", which, on 30 June 1962, at the end of the period during which it had been open for signature, had been signed by eight governments;

RECOGNIZES that this Agreement, when it comes into force after ratification by the authorities of the member states of the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe (ECE), creates the necessary conditions for the establishment of uniform provisions on driving time, rest periods, as well as numerous further aspects including particularly the use of uniform control documents in international road transport;

THANKS the participating governments as well as the Transport Division of the ECE for their many years of efforts to work

out provisions regulating road transport, efforts which have now taken an essential step forward with the conclusion of this Agreement;

REGRETS, however, that certain provisions of the Agreement fall short of the demands which the ITF-affiliated unions must expect a socially progressive regulatory instrument to meet and that the Agreement therefore lags behind the regulations prevailing in a number of countries.

THE CONFERENCE CALLS UPON THE PARTICIPATING GOVERNMENTS:

 to promote ratification of the Agreement so that it will enter into force not later than 1964;

 to reject all tendencies from the employers' side which could entail worsening of existing better national provisions (particularly with regard to driving time and rest periods) in order to bring these into line with those laid down in the Agreement;

3. to take immediate steps so as to finalize, by such time as the Agreement shall have come into effect, the necessary measures for securing the observances and effective implementation of its provisions.

DOCKERS' SECTION CONFERENCE

The Dockers' Section met on Saturday morning, 28 July. Thirty-two delegates attended from 17 countries: Argentina, Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, Germany, Great Britain, Greece, Holland, India, Indonesia, Malta, Norway, Pakistan, Philippines, Sweden and Uruguay.

T. O'Leary (Great Britain) was re-elected Chairman of the Section for the ensuing period. W. Hulsker (Holland) was elected Vice-Chairman and Rapporteur and presided over the Conference. A representative of the ILO was also present.

The Report on Activities for 1960-61 and the first half of 1962 was approved. It gave rise to discussion of the following items.

Seventh session of the ILO Inland Transport Committee (Geneva, May 1961)

The Section noted the results of this session and recorded its disappointment that the discussion on the social consequences of technological development had not been more fruitful from the workers' point of view. It expressed the hope that future sessions of the ILO Committee would be attended by more representatives of dockworkers.

Mechanization of dock work

Deploring that the resolution on this subject, sponsored by the dockworkers' representatives present in Geneva and expressing the viewpoint formulated at the ITF Dockers' Section Conference in Oslo in March 1961, had not been dealt with for procedural reasons by the ILO Inland Transport Committee, the Section agreed that the matter should be pursued at every possible opportunity through the ILO. It was further agreed that dockworkers' unions should strive to avert redundancy and other adverse effects of mechanization by means of provisions in collective agreements for shorter hours, longer holidays and earlier retirement on adequate pensions and by insisting on full and timely consultation of dockworkers' unions on all measures affecting working methods and practices in the industry. Information was given on recent developments in the sphere of mechanization in different countries and it was agreed that this should be submitted in writing and circulated by the Secretariat.

Safety and health of dock work

The Section noted with satisfaction the resolution adopted by the ILO Inland Transport Committee on the subject of the ILO Code on the Safety and Health of Dock Work. It expressed the hope that the Code would be kept up to date with technical developments, especially in respect of unhealthy and unpleasant cargoes and that its provisions would be observed in countries where standards were still below standard.

North Sea Ports

Concern was expressed that hitherto insufficient attention had been given to the harmonization of social conditions in the port industries of the European Economic Community and it was agreed that representations should be made to the EEC Commission. In addition the interests of dockworkers will continue to be represented through the Joint Committee set up by the ITF affiliates in the EEC countries. Information was given on progress being made with the introduction of the forty hour week and five day week in North and Baltic Sea ports in accordance with the joint programme formulated by the unions concerned.

Working Methods

During a discussion on the relative merits of time and piece work, in which the delegates from Argentina, India and Malta took part, special attention was drawn to the ILO Recommendation on the Productivity of Dock Work requiring observance of certain principles and consultation of dockworkers' unions when introducing new working methods. The Argentine delegate referred to the methods of recruiting dockworkers in the ports of his country, where it was common for dockers to have to pay several middlemen to get a job. The Conference pledged all possible support to the Argentinian organization in its struggle for a union-controlled hiring hall for the port industry.

International trade union solidarity

The Section noted with approval the steps taken in order to ensure the maximum efficacy of international trade union actions undertaken under the auspices of the ITF.

During the discussion mention was made of difficulties experienced in connection with solidarity and industrial actions affecting Burma, the Philippines and Uruguay. The Conference stressed the need for full and timely consultation and coordination between unions concerned and the ITF, and referred these matters to the Secretariat for further attention.

Exchange visits

Noting once more the advantage to be gained from vocational training and study visits abroad by dockworkers, it was agreed that requests on the subject should be addressed to the ITF. Attention was also drawn to technical aid facilities available under schemes of the ILO. The Pakistan delegate requested that the ITF consider the possibility of arranging for an experienced trade union adviser to be sent to help with organizational and technological problems in his country.

Radio-active materials

The Conference adopted a resolution endorsing a set of principles previously formulated by the Railwaymen's, Road Transport Workers' and Civil Aviation (Ground Staff) Sections. It further appointed a deputation consisting of W. Hulsker (Holland) and H. Hildebrand (Germany) to attend the Joint Inland Transport Conference which was to discuss the matter further, later during the Congress. (The resolution is reproduced below.) It also associated itself with a resolution which was to be discussed by the Seafarers' Conference and was designed to ensure that application of the Convention on the Limitation of the Liability of Nuclear Ship Operators would not be prejudiced by provisions of national social security schemes. (The resolution is reproduced below.)

Pipelines

It was noted that this question was to be dealt with at the Joint Inland Transport Conference during Congress and the already-appointed deputation was requested to follow the discussion from the dockers' point of view.

Flag-of-convenience ships

The Conference received a report on recent developments in connection with the flag-of-convenience question and noted that it would be further discussed at the Joint Dockers' and Seafarers' Conference during Congress.

Greek dockers

After the delegate from Greece had given information on difficulties experienced in negotiation with port employers in that country, a resolution was adopted expressing complete solidarity with the aims of Greek dockworkers. (The resolution is reproduced below.)

Section Committee

The following were appointed to the Dockers' Sectional Committee:

E. Tolosa (Argentina

R. Gryc (Austria, substitute A. Peham)

R. Dekeyzer (Belgium)

E. Borg (Denmark) S. Tompuri (Finland)

H. Hildebrand (Germany)

T. O'Leary (Great Britain, Chairman)
C. Dimitriou (Greece)

M. Chatteriee (India)

W. Dwidjojuwono (Indonesia)

V. Esposito (Malta)
W. Hulsker (Netherlands)

K. Kjöniksen (Norway) M. A. Khatib (Pakistan)

R. S. Oca (Philippines)

N. Peterson (Sweden)

G. Cabrera (Uruguay, substitute F. Ferreira)

The wish was expressed that the Committee should be convened as early as the programme of ITF meetings permitted.

W. HULSKER Rapporteur

Resolutions

Transport of radioactive materials

This Conference

NOTES with approval the attention given to the question of transporting radioactive materials by the Railwaymen's and Road Transport Sections of the ITF, and

CONSIDERING that this problem is also of concern in relation to employment in the port industry,

SUPPORTS the conclusions reached by the ITF sections before mentioned, and

INSTRUCTS the Dockers' Section to work closely with the other ITF sections in developing this subject in the interests of dockworkers.

Liability in case of incidents with nuclear ships

HAVING regard to the provisions of Article VI of the Convention on the Liability of Operators of Nuclear Ships, adopted at Brussels on 25 May 1962,

This Conference

RECOMMENDS that affiliated organizations take steps to have their national social security schemes examined in order to ensure that they contain no provisions which might prevent dockworkers from recovering in full for all nuclear injuries that they may suffer in the course of their employment; and

INVITES the organizations to report their findings to the ITF in order that, if necessary, coordinated action may be taken, pre-ferably through the ILO, to safeguard the interests of dock and other workers in this connection.

Grievances of Greek dockers

This Conference

HAVING received a report from Greek dockers' representatives concerning unsatisfactory working conditions prevailing in the greater part of the port industry of their country,

NOTING that the conditions complained of, fall short in important respects of standards which exist in the ports of socially advanced countries and which have been formulated in the ITF Social Programme for Dockers and in various recommendations and resolutions adopted by the Inland Transport Committee of the ILO;

EXPRESSES its strong support for the proposals which have been put forward by the Greek Dockers' Federation in recent negotiations concerning:

Reduction of the loads—at present amounting to as much as 100-200 kilogrammes—which dockers are still required to man-handle in ports outside Piraeus; The need for washing and dressing rooms for dockers;

One month's annual leave with pay as enjoyed by other categories of Greek workers; Steps to prevent hardship to dockers resulting from technological

development.

SEAFARERS' SECTION CONFERENCE

The Seafarers' Section met on the afternoon of Saturday, 28 July, 1962. Over 100 delegates, representing 37 officers' and ratings' unions in 24 countries, attended. Mr. T. Bratt of the ILO also attended.

Section Officers

D. S. Tennant (United Kingdom, MNAOA) was elected as Chairman-Rapporteur and J. Curran (United States, NMU) as Vice-Chairman of the Section.

Report on Activities

The Report on Activities for 1960-1961 and the period up to Congress was adopted.

Discussion took place on the following matters:

(a) Relations with certain United States maritime organizations

After the General Secretary and other speakers had informed the meeting of further activities by the European representatives of the International Division of the Maritime Trades Department it was decided that the Executive Committee should be informed of these. During the discussion on the statement adopted by the last meeting of the ITF Executive Committee on relations with certain United States Maritime Organizations, D. N. Second (Canadian Brotherhood of Railway, Transport and General Workers') pointed out that re-affiliation of the SIU as envisaged in the statement should not mean the automatic affiliation of the Union's Canadian District. Until such time as the Canadian District had undergone a radical transformation of its leadership and policies, his union would oppose its affiliation to the ITF. J. Curran, a member of the Executive Committee, referred to the Executive Committee's decision to defer approval of the request for affiliation by the Canadian Maritime Union and urged the Section to recommend the Executive Committee to approve this application for affiliation forthwith. After some discussion the Conference decided unanimously to recommend the Executive Committee to approve the affiliation of the Canadian Maritime Union.

(b) Liability of nuclear ship operators

After some discussion on this subject, the Conference adopted an appropriate resolution, the text of which is given at the end of this report.

(c) Asian Seamen in European Ships

B. Majumder (National Union of Seamen of India) referred to the tactics of shipowners who, when the Asian maritime trade unions took action on this question, simply went elsewhere for their crews. He urged that the ITF should put pressure on Asian governments to implement the recommendations on employment of seamen adopted by the ILO Asian Maritime Conference in 1953. R. Laan (ITF Director of Regional Affairs) pointed out that in his recent tour of Asia he had been informed that all countries in Asia with the exception of Hong Kong and Indonesia had implemented these recommendations and that talks were now being held with the British Colonial Office with regard to Hong Kong where it was hoped that the situation would soon improve. After further discussion it was agreed that the Committee on Asian Seamen should resume its work and report back to the next Section Conference.

(d) Argentine Seafarers

F. Azaña, ITF Latin American Representative, and J. Arranz (Argentine Seamen's Union, SOMU) outlined difficulties affecting Argentine seafarers after their own hiring hall had been taken over by the Government and the General Secretary threatened with arrest. It was agreed to recommend Congress to request affiliated organizations to give full support to the Argentine seafarers' union in their struggle

for the return of their hiring hall, increases in salaries and the lifting of the order of detention of the General Secretary. It was also decided to place on record the Section's appreciation of the ITF Representative's work in Latin America.

(e) Transport of Radio-Active Materials

After some discussion it was decided not to adopt a separate resolution on this question in view of the special conditions affecting maritime transport of such materials. N. H. Åkesson (Swedish Masters' Association), H. Hildebrand (German Transport Workers' Union, OeTV) and C. W. van Driel (Netherlands Seafarers' and Fishermen's Union) were elected to serve on a deputation to the Joint Conference of the Inland Transport Sections to take note of proceedings there in connection with this question and to report back to the Section. It was also decided that the Section's future action on this question should be in conjunction with the IMCO Committee of Experts.

(f) Flag Discrimination

J. Curran urged that in future attempts should be made to keep this question as distinct as possible from the question of flags of convenience. He pointed out that the views of certain governments and unions in relation to flag discrimination had been cited in a negative way in a recent United States court in dealing with a flag-of-convenience issue. D. S. Tennant pointed out that the British maritime unions had made it perfectly clear that their view that the law should follow the flag did not apply to the flags of convenience. It was decided that the Secretariat should prepare a report on this question to serve as a basis for discussion at the next Section Conference.

(g) Pipelines

The Conference adopted a resolution on this question, the text of which is included at the end of this Report. N. H. Åkesson, H. Hildebrand and C. W. van Driel were elected to serve on a deputation to the Joint Inland Transport Conference to convey the Section's views on this question and report back to the Section.

(h) IMCO Meetings

After some discussion on the need for coordinating the approach of the respective national seafarers' organizations to the matters dealt with at these specialized committees and sub-committees and the possible ways of attaining such coordination it was decided that unions in all countries should insist on participating in such meetings and that the ITF should be kept informed of such participation and provided with the necessary documentation.

(i) ILO Joint Maritime Commission

C. W. van Driel recalled that at the last session of the JMC two resolutions had been put forward by the shipowners and the seafarers on air conditioning of crew quarters. They had not been voted upon, however, but sent to the Governing Body of the ILO with a recommendation that both be incorporated in the report on the session, so as to enable further consideration to be given to the question at national level. The Conference therupon adopted a resolution asking that the question be kept under review by the ILO and seafarers' organizations.

(j) JMC Tripartite Sub-Committee on Seafarers' Welfare.

D. S. Tennant reported on the action being taken in the UK regarding the JMC's Tripartite Sub-Committee's resolution on international cooperation in relation to seafarers' welfare. After discussion on the best method of bringing about effective coordination of the efforts being made by various organizations to provide a seafarers' welfare centre in Europort in the Netherlands, the Conference adopted the resolution given at the end of this report.

Proposals submitted

The Conference approved a resolution concerned with Seafarers' right to vote submitted by the British MNAOA.

Special Seafarers' Section

After a report on recent developments in the ITF campaign against flags-of-convenience shipping, the Conference referred two resolutions on Panlibhon shipping to the Joint Dockers' and Seaferers' Conference.

Section Committee

It was agreed that each affiliated country should nominate two members to the Section Committee. The following nominations have so far been received:

S. F. Andersen, E. Berthelsen (E. Pedersen, Deputy)—Denmark; N. Metslov, G. Jerem—Estonia; N. Wälläri, Y. Fyhrqvist—Finland; H. Hildebrand, H. Wiemers—Germany; D. S. Tennant (Chairman), W. Hogarth—Great Britain; D. Benetatos, M. Petroulis (P. Kalapothakis, Deputy)—Greece; Z. Barash, Israel; F. Giorgi—Italy; R. Kamisawa, M. Kaneko—Japan; Th. Sønsteby, L. Lerstad—Norway; A. H. Mirza, S. M. S. Zafer—Pakistan; R. S. Oca—Philippines; J. S. Thore, N. H. Åkesson—Sweden; J. Curran (Vice-Chairman), S. J. Wall—U.S.A.

Resolution on Peru

It was agreed that the Seafarers' Section would consider the resolution adopted by Congress and referred to the Section together with the Dockers' Section at the Joint Meeting of the two Sections.

D. S. TENNANT

Rapporteur

Resolutions

Liability of Nuclear Ship Operators

HAVING regard to the provisions of Article VI of the Convention on the Liability of Operators of Nuclear Ships, adopted at Brussels on 25 May 1962,

This Conference

RECOMMENDS that affiliated organizations take steps to have their national social security schemes examined in order to ensure that they contain no provisions which prevent seafarers, including those employed in nuclear ships and those in conventional ships, from recovering in full for all nuclear injuries that they may suffer in the course of their employment;

and

INVITES the organizations to report their findings to the ITF in order that coordinated action, if required, may be taken at international level, and preferably through the ILO, to ensure that seafarers and dockers may without legal hindrance recover full com-

pensation in conformity with the provisions of the Convention should they suffer nuclear damage in the course of their employment.

Pipelines

This Conference

HAVING noted the attention given by other sections of the ITF to the construction and operation of pipelines and the implications for other forms of transport,

OBSERVES that this development is also likely to have repercussions on the shipping industry, especially on coastal routes, and associates itself with the basic principles enunciated by the Railwaymen's, Road Transport Workers' and Civil Aviation (Ground Staff) Sections of the ITF on the subject:

- 1. Before permission is granted for the construction of a pipeline, it must be clearly demonstrated that such construction
 - (a) is in the general economic interest;
 - (b) affords a guarantee that transports may be effected under more favourable economic conditions than by existing means of transport;
 - (c) takes place within the framework of a social programme affording guarantees that the social consequences resulting for staff employed in transport undertakings hitherto engaged in handling the traffic will be countered by prompt and satisfactory adaptive measures.
- 2. All existing pipelines of importance as well as those to be constructed in the future are to be subject to government regulation within the framework of a system of concessions in order to ensure non-discriminatory treatment of users and to avoid surplus capacity.
 In addition, they are to be integrated in a plan aiming at the coordination of the means of transport in order to ensure an harmonization of obligations and duties with those of other carriers. The view of companies that the construction of a pipeline is no more than a measure of internal rationalization of operations is to be rejected.
- Representatives of all forms of transport, including shipping, should be given the right of consultation, through the establishment of the appropriate machinery, when pipeline concessions are sought.

Air Conditioning of Crew Quarters

This Conference

CONSIDERING that the installation of air conditioning in crews quarters, especially in hot and humid zones, increases the efficiency and well-being of the crew members,

CONSIDERING further that air conditioning should be installed in the crew accommodation of all new ships and, where not deemed impracticable by the appropriate authority, in existing ships and in ships undergoing substantial repairs or structural alterations,

NOTING the attention already given to the question by national seafarers' organizations and by the September 1961 session of the Joint Maritime Commission of the ILO,

REQUESTS the Governing Body of the ILO to collect further information on the question of air conditioning in ships and to place the question once more on the agenda for the next meeting of the JMC, and

FURTHER CALLS upon affiliated seafarers' organizations to keep this question under constant observation and to inform the Secretariat of the ITF of any progress made.

Seafarers' Welfare

This Conference

HAVING noted with great satisfaction the resolution on international cooperation in seafarers' welfare, adopted unanimously by the Welfare Sub-committee of the Joint Maritime Commission of the ILO and subsequently endorsed by the Commission itself and the Governing Body of the ILO;

REQUESTS seafarers' unions to use their influence with their respective countries, by urging that action be taken on the line of the JMC Sub-committee's resolution and submitting proposals for such joint international welfare projects for consideration;

EXPRESSES the hope that the next meeting of the JMC Welfare Sub-committee will be held as soon as possible in 1964 and given reports on the implementation of previous decisions; and

DIRECTS the ITF Secretariat to bring this resolution to the notice of the ILO.

Seafarers' Right to Vote

This Conference

REALIZING it is apparent that many seafarers, because of the nature of their employment and because of the arrangements which are often used for actual polling, are deprived of their democratic right to vote in national, state or local government elections, therefore

CALLS UPON governments to take all the necessary steps to ensure that seafarers have every opportunity of exercising their democratic right to vote as citizens of the free world by means of personal, postal or proxy votes or other appropriate methods; and

PLEDGES full support to affiliated organizations in their endeavours to ensure that the rights of seafarers as citizens are fully implemented.

FISHERMEN'S SECTION CONFERENCE

The Conference of the Fishermen's Section was held on Monday afternoon, 30 July. Delegates from the following countries were present: Belgium, Denmark, Faroe Islands, Finland, Germany, Great Britain, Italy, Japan, Netherlands, Norway, Pakistan. Also present was T. Bratt (ILO).

Section Chairman

E. Haugen (Norway) was re-elected Chairman. In his absence R. Dekeyzer (Belgium) was elected Vice Chairman and Rapporteur.

Report on Activities

The Report on Activities for 1960-61 and the early part of 1962 was adopted after discussion on the following points:

(a) Territorial Waters and Fishing Zones

The Secretary informed the Conference of the latest developments in connection with the proposed third UN Law of the Sea Conference to consider this problem. The UN had negatived the ITF's request for its holding on the grounds that there was no UN organization able to consider the problem. The ITF Secretariat had therefore circulated affiliated fishermen's organizations requesting them to urge on their countries' governments the need for such a conference. In connection with the resolution on the six-plus-six proposal adopted at the Section Conference, Esbjerg, March 1962, the Faroese and Italian delegates pointed out that they had

intended to vote against the resolution. The Conference emphasized, as already at a number of previous Section Conference meetings, that special account must be taken of countries whose national economies were particularly dependent on their fishing industries.

(b) Fishermen's Questions at the ILO

The Secretary reported that a meeting of the second ILO Committee on fishermen's question was to be held in December 1962 with the following agenda: Accommodation, safety on board, accident insurance, vocational training and competency certificates. It was noted that there might also be a preliminary discussion on the question of the manning of fishing vessels.

(c) Modern Developments in the Fishing Industry

Discussion centred on the question of co-operative development, vocational training and subsidies to fishing concerns. The Conference agreed that the establishment of co-operative systems should be encouraged in countries such as Pakistan and that the request for an adviser on organizational and technological matters made by the Pakistani representative should be forwarded to the ITF Secretariat for consideration. It was pointed out in answer to an enquiry from the Italian fishermen's representative that a number of documents and publications on subsidy methods, technological developments and co-operatives had been published by the UN Food and Agricultural Organization in Rome and were available in a number of languages including Italian.

Section Committee

Delegates were asked to submit nominations in writing for elections to the Committee. The following have so far been received:

- R. Dekeyzer, Vice Chairman (Belgium)
- E. Borg (Denmark)
- J. Jakupsstovu (Faroes)
- B. Johansson (Finland)
- H. Hildebrand (substitute—H. Wiemers, Germany)
- P. Henderson (Great Britain)
- O. Sinesio (Italy)
- K. Takahaski (Japan)
- A. de Boon (Netherlands) (substitute, C. W. van Driel)
- E. Hauge, Chairman (Norway)
- J. H. Shirazi (Pakistan)

R. DEKEYZER

Rapporteur

CIVIL AVIATION SECTION

The Civil Aviation Section meeting opened at 9.15 a.m. on Monday, 30 July. There were present 46 delegates representing 34 unions from the following countries: Great Britain, Sweden, Malta, Ireland, Holland, Austria, Finland, Colombia, Kenya, United States of America, Mexico, British Guiana, Indonesia, India, Israel, Italy, Germany, France and Canada.

Before commencing the meeting Bro. L. White informed the delegates of a suggestion that had been made to form ground personnel and flying personnel into two separate sections. He explained that from a practical point of view normal procedure called for separate meetings of the two groups between congresses and a combination of the two groups whenever this was necessary.

The meeting agreed that the section should remain as at present constituted.

Bro. L. White then called for nominations for a chairman.

Bro. J. K. Post (Nederlandse Bond van Vervoerspersoneel), was nominated and as there were no other nominations, he was elected and took the chair.

After thanking the delegates for their confidence in him Bro. J. K. Post called for nominations for vice-chairman, flying section. Bro. D. S. Tennant, Merchant Navy and Air Line Officers' Association, Great Britain, and Bro. R. Deseau, Syndicat National des Officiers Mecaniciens de l'Aviation Civile, France, were nominated. Bro. D. S. Tennant was elected by a vote of 27 to 6.

The Chairman asked the meeting to stand in memory of Bro. Gambart de Lignières.

The Chairman called for nominations for vice-chairman, ground staff, and Bro. E. Padilla, Sindicato Nacional de Trabajadores "Avianca", Colombia, was nominated. Bro. White pointed out that the representative of this union had been nominated for a Cabin Attendants' Sub-Committee, but could not attend any of the meetings. Bro. Padilla stated that the union could have a man at our meetings if the ITF pay travelling and attendance expenses. It was pointed out to Bro. Padilla and the delegates by Bro. White that at all ITF normal meetings the expenses of all those attending were to be borne by the union which sent them to the meeting.

There followed a discussion as to the necessity of having a vice-chairman, ground staff, as the chairman was from that group. The result of the discussion was that no vice-chairman, ground staff, was required.

The Chairman welcomed Captain Z. L. Zeyfert and Captain O. Forsberg from the International Federation of Airline Pilots Associations.

The Chairman, Bro. J. K. Post was elected rapporteur. The printed Report on Activities was then taken by the Chairman subject by subject.

During the consideration of the Report on Activities Bro. Helge Pettersson, Svenska Transportarbetareforbundet, explained to the meeting the terms of the agreement which the Swedish Transport Union had negotiated on behalf of flight engineers in the Scandinavian Airline System which had the effect of replacing the specialist flight engineer on SAS jet aircraft by a third pilot with a flight engineer's licence, except on the company's service between Lisbon and Rio de Janeiro. The displaced flight engineers under the agreement have received

guaranteed employment and guarantees on salaries up to normal retiring age.

This led to a general discussion on crew complement during which most of the delegates expressed their concern that such developments were contrary to the ITF specialist policy and not in the best interests of Civil Aviation.

- Bro. D. S. Tennant explained the situation in the United Kingdom stating that they would fight all the way to retain the specialist crew concept. He appealed to delegates representing all categories of Civil Aviation personnel to work together in the interests of all concerned instead of becoming more and more divided, particularly on this subject.
- Bro. A. Sirac (Syndicat National des Officiers Radios de l'Aviation Civile), France, spoke about the need for creating a new flight category which would embrace communications, engineering and possibly navigation, in order to solve the crew complement question and he proposed a resolution on this subject. Bro. White pointed out that although the crew complement question needed urgent consideration, the suggestion put forward had such implications that it required much time if it were to have full consideration and suggested the question be left to a further meeting, possibly during October. Bro. A. Sirac agreed.
- Bro. R. Old (Association Sindical de Pilotos Aviadores, Mexico), then proposed his organization's resolution on crew complement which had the object of accepting the principle that specialists were no longer needed and that the third crew member should be pilot trained.

There was a long discussion on this resolution in which representatives of most organizations took part. Appeals were made to the Mexican delegates to withdraw their resolution, but Bro. Victoria made a further supporting speech.

In the meantime a draft resolution supporting the ITF present policy on crew complement was circulated.

At the end of further discussion Bro. E. J. Hickey (International Association of Machinists, United States), proposed that the Mexican resolution be referred to the next section meeting and that the draft resolution of the Secretariat on crew complement should be adopted. This proposition was seconded by Bro. R. Deseau and carried.

In the discussion on the item of the Report dealing with cabin attendants, Bro. White referred to the activities of the Sub-Committee and a document laying down basic employment requirements and stated that it was suggested that this document should be attached to the Section Report to be presented to the Congress Plenary Session. Bro. R. R. Smeal, Canadian Air Line Flight Attendants' Association, moved that this course should be adopted. Bro. P. Barbier, Syndicat National du Personnel Navigant Commercial, France, seconded, and this was carried.

Brother R. R. Smeal then for the information of the Section referred to the work of that same Sub-Committee on the question of

the provision of licences for cabin attendants and the presentation of the conclusions reached to ICAO.

A resolution was considered calling upon ground staff organisations to ensure that all ICAO maintenance regulations were compiled with and requesting affiliated organizations to report on their activities on this matter to ITF Headquarters.

This was moved by Bro. Z. Barash (Histadrut, Israel), seconded by Bro. E. J. Hickey, and adopted.

At this juncture Bro. J. K. Post drew the attention of the ground staff organizations to the need to have representation at ITF ground staff meetings.

The Chairman called for the adoption of the Report on Activities. This was moved by Bro. A. Holmes, Transport and General Workers' Union, Great Britain, and seconded by Bro. J. M. Flynn, Indian Flight Engineers Association. The report was unanimously adopted.

A draft resolution on the carriage of radioactive materials was considered. This was moved by Bro. E. J. Hickey and seconded by Bro. F. G. Page, Transport and General Workers' Union, Great Britain.

The meeting appointed the Chairman and Bro. Deseau to attend the combined Inland Transport Conference, where the transport of radioactive materials was to be discussed.

A resolution on airline mergers was then considered. After a slight amendment, the resolution was moved for adoption by Bro. E. J. Hickey, seconded by Bro. D. S. Tennant, and adopted.

A further resolution confirming the ITF activity of placing proposals before the ICAO for the amendment of the licensing regulations for flight engineers and also the proposals for the licensing of cabin attendants was considered. This was moved by Bro. van der Kolk, Vereniging van KLM Pursers en Hofmeesters, Holland, seconded by Bro. R. Deseau, and adopted.

A resolution put forward by Bro. G. L. Fogg, Indian Flight Engineers' Association dealing with the consequences of the interchange of aircraft was considered. After some discussion on this matter, during which the main aspects of the problem were mentioned, it was decided that it would be better to have a full discussion on the subject at the next section meeting.

Bro. L. White reported that the only proposal for the consideration of the Section Conference was that put forward by the Mexican Pilots Organization and this had been dealt with during the discussion on the Report on Activities.

In dealing with the question of the election of a section committee Bro. L. White referred to the difficulties involved in this matter by the existence of so many categories each of which would naturally with to be represented. After some little discussion the meeting accepted Bro. White's explanation and no section committee was elected

It was suggested by Bro. R. Lapeyre, Federation der Travaux Publics et des Transports, France, that the next meeting should be a

meeting of the full section, as there were items which could be usefully discussed by both ground and flight representatives. The representative of the Asociacion Sindical de Pilotos Aviadores, Mexico, thought it better that the discussions should take place separately. Most delegates agreed with Bro. Lapeyre that the meeting should be a full section meeting and with his suggestion that it should be held in Paris towards the end of October. The Conference makes this recommendation to the Executive Committee.

Under 'Any Other Business' Bro. Abul Hassan Ali (Guiana Air Transport Trade Union, British Guiana) referred to the need for attention to be given by both ITF and the ICFTU to developments taking place in the Caribbean area involving the merging of airlines as well as other matters and arising out of which there seemed to be a general tendency towards the growth of communism.

Bro. D. S. Tennant gave notice to the meeting that he intended at the next section meeting to raise the question of having Civil Aviation technical matters dealt with within the ITF, suggesting the possibility of technical assistance being provided within the Secretariat by the affiliated organizations paying supplementary contributions.

Before closing the meeting the Chairman appealed to affiliated unions to comply with the request made by himself and Bro. White that there should be a regular supply of information from affiliated organizations to the ITF so that the preparation of documents can be facilitated.

The meeting terminated at 1.15 p.m.

J. K. POST Rapporteur

Resolutions

Crew Complement

THIS twenty-seventh Congress of the International Transport Workers' Federation, held in Helsinki, July/August, 1962;

HAVING taken note of developments in certain countries adversely affecting the concept of specialist crew complement on modern aircraft;

RECALLING that the ITF has since its twenty-fourth Congress in Vienna in 1956 consistently called for aircraft to be manned by specialist crew members;

NOTING that the vast majority of the world's airline operators apparently share this conception;

RECOGNIZING the duty to the travelling public in the matters of safety and regularity;

REITERATES that maximum safety and operational efficiency can be assured for the travelling public only by employing specialist crew members;

DECIDES to draw the attention of Civil Aviation Authorities and other responsible bodies to this unanimous view of civil aviation workers of all categories, flight and ground, and to work towards the full implementation of this policy; and

PLEDGES full support to affiliated organizations in their activities directed towards the operation of this fundamental principle.

Transport of Radioactive Materials

This Conference

NOTES with approval the attention given to the question of transporting radioactive materials by the Railwaymen's and Road Transport Sections of the ITF; and

CONSIDERING that this problem is also of particular concern

to civil aviation personnel;

REQUESTS the Civil Aviation Section to work closely with the other ITF Sections in developing this subject in the interests of civil aviation personnel.

ICAO Regulations

THIS twenty-seventh Congress of the International Transport Workers' Federation, meeting in Helsinki, July/August, 1962;

RECOGNIZING that in the interests of maximum safety and efficiency the need for crew members of all categories to be in possession of qualifications of a standard sufficient to provide the fullest competency in the performance of their specialist functions;

RECOGNIZING also that the regulations promulgated by the International Civil Aviation Organization form valuable bases from which licensing requirements are drawn;

NOTING that present International Civil Aviation Organization regulations do not include licensing requirements for cabin attendants:

CONSIDERING that the important role played by cabin attendants in safety procedures and general passenger welfare requires the adoption of internationally recognized minimum standards of qualifications;

DECLARES that :--

- 1. The ICAO regulations in relation to the qualifications required for a flight engineer's licence should include provisions requiring basic civil aviation engineering training.
- ICAO regulations should provide for the licensing of cabin attendants and include minimum standards of qualifications and training;

SUPPORTS the proposals on these two matters already put before the International Civil Aviation Organization by the International Transport Workers' Federation;

URGES the International Civil Aviation Organization to give early and favourable consideration to the proposals with a view to their inclusion in the Personnel Licensing Regulations contained in Annex 1 to the Civil Aviation Convention.

Ground Staff

THIS twenty-seventh Congress of the International 'Transport Workers' Federation, held in Helsinki, July/August, 1962;

RECOGNIZING that the ICAO maintenance licensing regulations require certain levels of qualifications for maintenance personnel either by way of individual licensing or by the State ensuring that any approved organization maintains the appropriate levels of competence;

NOTING that in modern aircraft technological changes are constantly taking place;

AFFIRMING that ground maintenance is a vital factor in promoting maximum safety in the operation of aircraft;

CALLS upon all affiliated ground staff organizations concerned with aircraft maintenance to ensure that in their countries the ICAO maintenance regulations contained in Annex 1 and Annex 6 to the Convention on Civil Aviation are fully operated in accordance with the needs of the constant technological changes; and

REQUESTS the affiliated organizations concerned to notify ITF Headquarters of any activity they undertake in this connection.

Mergers

THIS twenty-seventh Congress of the International Transport Workers' Federation, held in Helsinki, July/August, 1962;

NOTING the increasing tendency in various parts of the world for airlines to merge one with the other;

RECOGNIZING that such mergers often give rise to the re-organization of labour employed in the affected airlines;

AFFIRMING that the personnel concerned should have maximum protection against possible adversity arising as a consequence of mergers;

STIPULATES that there must be negotiations with the workers' representatives at the appropriate stage in any contemplated merger to ensure that the interests of labour are adequately safeguarded.

RAILWAYMEN'S SECTION CONFERENCE

The Conference took place on the afternoons of 28 July and 30 July 1962. It was attended by 128 delegates from 30 countries. Also in attendance were: R. Bratschi, member for many years of the ITF Executive Committee, Brothers P. Seton of the Transport Division of the European Economic Commission and Th. Rasschaert of the Committee of ITF Unions in the European Economic Community.

Election of Section Chairman, Vice Chairman and Rapporteur

Brother Richard Freund, Section Chairman since 1959, announced that on account of his age he wished to retire from his offices as Section Chairman and Committee Member. After consultation with the Section Committee he proposed Brother Robert Degris of the French Railwaymen's Union F.O. to succeed him as Chairman. Brother Degris was unanimously elected with applause and was also designated Rapporteur. He then thanked the retiring Chairman for his many years of valuable service in the ITF Railwaymen's Section.

On the proposal of the French delegation, Brother Sidney Greene, General Secretary of the British National Union of Railwaymen, was unanimously elected with applause to the office of Section Vice-Chairman.

Report on Activities

Introducing the discussion on the Report on Activities, the Section Secretary, H. Imhof, referred to the problems discussed at the meeting of the Section Committee in May 1962. In the following discussion eleven speakers took part and the following questions were among those discussed:

(a) Recent strikes in Spain

The Conference noted with great satisfaction the information given by the Spanish Delegation (in exile) to the effect that the recent disturbances had led to considerable improvements in the basic wages and pensions of Spanish railwaymen. The speaker expressed gratitude to the ITF for the solidarity action taken by the Federation.

(b) The situation of Greek railwaymen

The merging of the two separate Greek Railway Administrations might give rise to renewed defensive measures by the Pan-Hellenic Railwaymen's Federation in the event of this merger being associated with a worsening of the conditions of employment of some of the employees. The Greek Delegation therefore requested the ITF to take appropriate steps if the case arose.

(c) Repercussions of Modernization; Young Railwaymen

The German Delegation wished to have investigations carried out into the repercussions of modernization in the different countries. They wished particular attention to be paid to the recruitment of young staff and the training of these. They also expressed the wish that the European unions and the ITF would encourage and support the organization of international meetings of young railwaymen.

(d) Aid given by the ITF for the solution of specific professional questions

The Delegations of Malaya, Argentina, Bolivia, and Central Africa informed the Conference of the difficult problems facing their respective unions at present and requested the ITF to support them by sending trade union experts to their respective countries.

(e) Transport problems in the European Economic Community and in other European countries

The Austrian Delegation expressed the wish that the unions in countries which were not members of the European Economic Community would be kept better informed on the work of ITF-affiliated unions in member-countries of the EEC and that possibilities would be sought of affording them an appropriate form of participation when questions of social harmonization were dealt with.

(f) Railwaymen's trade union rights

The Canadian Delegation welcomed the proposal to prepare a report on railwaymen's trade union rights, and referred to the increasingly common practice of the Canadian Government to revoke the right to strike laid down by law at precisely the decisive moment, thus denying the railwaymen's unions their strongest weapon.

After the discussion, the Report on Activities was adopted together with an expression of thanks to the Section Secretary for his work.

Continuation of the Meeting, Monday, 30 July, 1962, 3 p.m. Railwaymen's Social Charter

The Section Secretary began by recalling the wish expressed by the Section Conference in July, 1960, in Berne that the Secretariat should attempt to prepare, in cooperation with the affiliated unions, a schedule of demands which would be of assistance to railwaymen in defending themselves against the grave consequences arising from the modernization and rationalization of railways. He touched upon the energetic but, for all practical purposes, fruitless efforts made in this sphere during the Seventh Session of the ILO Inland Transport Committee in May 1961. The conclusions adopted there on this problem, conclusions which had been dictated by the Employers' Group, had been unanimously rejected by the International Railwaymen's Conference held in Paris in September 1961. At the same time the Secretariat had been instructed to draft the Charter which was now before the Conference. The Section Secretary stated that in his six years of activities in the ITF Railwaymen's Section he had never known any section

project receive so much support or give rise to so many proposals from affiliated unions as this Social Charter. After referring briefly to its contents, he called upon the Conference not only to adopt it but to make effective use of it at national level.

Brothers Rathbone (NUR, Great Britain), Smith (Canadian Brotherhood of Railway, Transport and General Workers) and Alonso ("La Fraternidad", Argentina) expressed full support of the Charter which they described as one of the most important documents of the Railwaymen's Section. However, it was necessary to do more than merely adopt this fighting document. It was particularly important to see that it was implemented at national level. This was greeted with loud applause.

In the subsequent voting the Railwaymen's Social Charter was adopted unanimously without abstentions. The text is attached to this report.

Date and Place of the Next Section Conference

The Chairman, R. Degris, pointed out that, in view of the uncertainty as to whether ITF Congresses in future would be held at two-yearly or three-yearly intervals, it was not possible to fix the date of the next conference now. He requested the Conference to leave the decision to the Section Committee.

This was agreed.

There was no response to the Chairman's request for proposals for the venue of the next conference. It was therefore decided to leave this also to the Section Committee to decide.

Election of the Section Committee

The Chairman drew the attention of the Conference to the present composition of the Section Committee and inquired whether there was any desire to include further countries on the Committee. In this connection the question arose whether the Section Committee should in future be composed of titular and substitute members. It was decided that it should be, but it was to be left to the different unions to nominate substitute members at this juncture or to decide as the occasion arose on the designation of a substitute member to attend a particular meeting of the Committee. Acting in accordance with this procedure written nominations were received, as a result of which the Conference was able to approve the following composition of the Section Committee:

	Ĉountry	Member	Deputy
A.	Europe		• •
	Austria	E. Ulbrich	
	Benelux	A. Tonneaux	G. J. H. Alink
		(Belgium)	(Netherlands)
	France	R. Degris (FO)	F. Laurent (FO)
		(Chairman)	G. Thevenet (Cadres)
	Germany	F. Berger	F. Eichinger
	-		W. Matthies (OTV)
	Great Britain	S. Greene (NUR) (Vice-Chairman)	W. J. P. Webber (TSSA)
	Italy	B. Costantini	E. Zanetti
•	Scandinavia	M. Trana	G. Kolare
		(Norway)	(Sweden)
	Switzerland	E. Haudenschild	·

	Country	Member	Deputy
В.	North America		
	USA and Canada	D. S. Beattie (RLEA	A)
<i>C</i> .	Latin America		
	Argentina, Chile	H. Alonso	R. Martinez
		(Argentina)	(Uruguay)
	Uruguay, Bolivia,		N. Chanca
	Peru	(Bolivia)	(Peru)
	Colombia, Ecuado:	r,H. Hernandez	A. Salinas
	Venezuela	(Colombia)	(Venezuela)
	Mexico, Central		E. Abarca
	America	(Mexico)	(Costa Rica)
D.	Asia		
	India	P. R. Cupta	M. S. Hoda
	Indonesia	R. A. Santoso	_
	Japan	K. Suzuki	
	Korea	Sang Kyu Oh	
E.	Africa		
	Kenya	J. Akumu	Name of the last o
	Rhodesia	M. A. Ndabambi	
	Tanganyika	S. J. Katungutu	
	Tunisia	M. A. Hellal	

Miscellaneous

The General Secretary of the Argentine Seafarers Union and the General Secretary of "La Fraternidad" (Argentina) requested the Conference to support the two following requests:

- (1) The Railwaymen's Section should pledge their support for the revocation of a warrant for arrest taken up against the General Secretary of the Argentine seafarers and urge that his trade union immunity be restored to him.
- (2) The Railwaymen's Section should urge the ITF Executive Committee to consider creating a Latin American Consultative Committee.

The Conference agreed to bring these wishes to the notice of the competent bodies by including them in this Report.

R. DEGR1S
Rapporteur

ITF Social Charter on the Rationalization and Modernization of Railways

The railways in most countries are one of the essential foundations of economic development and social progress. They can, however, only accomplish their tasks if they are placed in a position to undertake constant modernization of their operations and thus increase their carrying capacity and the quality of the service rendered.

Quite apart from the regulations prevailing in various countries and regulating the relations between the railways and the state authorities, railways have the character of enterprises serving the collectivity. They form an essential part of the economic infrastructure of the nation. For this reason the authorities have a great influence on the railways since they are entrusted with maintaining

the general interests of the country and its population. These authorities are also responsible for making it possible, within the framework of a far-sighted and dynamic transport investment policy, for the railways to develop into efficient modern enterprises.

The immediate responsibility for the efficiency, safety and modernization of railway operations lies with the management of the undertaking concerned. The management must be ready and able, with the support of the authorities, to make use of modern methods and techniques for a constant improvement of their operation. The management, however, must also be conscious of its material and moral responsibility towards employees who are entitled to be treated not just as the labour factor, but primarily as human beings and also to participate in the fruits of increased productivity. The practical efficiency of all efforts to modernize and rationalize railways will, therefore, depend to a large extent on the sincerity and determination of railway managements to keep trade unions and, where applicable, their established representatives on joint consultation councils closely informed on all proposed measures and to come to an agreement with these on measures to be taken in the interests of the employees. The railwaymen's trade unions are, in principle, ready and willing to support the efforts of management to modernize and rationalize railway operations. This readiness is, however, not unconditional. A necessary condition for any cooperation is that planning should not be limited to technical and economic aspects but that the social consequences of these for employees should also receive thorough preliminary consideration and, further, that the trade unions' demands should receive due consideration.

The railwaymen's trade unions affiliated to the International Transport Workers' Federation note that, according to the view of railway management in certain countries, rationalization and modernization methods have as their sole purpose an improvement in the profitability of railways. Such an attitude must lead to acute industrial disputes because it demands ever greater efforts from the personnel concerned without giving them in return a share of the results of increased productivity to which they are entitled as a result of their increased efforts. The ITF affiliated railwaymen's unions reject such an attitude and declare their solidarity with brother organizations which find themselves obliged to take up the fight against it. In all questions relating to the modernization and rationalization of the railways, they declare their allegiance to the principles contained in the following SOCIAL CHARTER:

- 1. The modernization of railways must be planned within the framework of a comprehensive investment programme which takes account of the total economic requirements, and, when necessary, any existing need for increased employment possibilities. The human being must be regarded as the most important factor in any such planning. Employment security, the avoidance of loss of earnings and the social security of the employee must, therefore, be in the foreground of all considerations.
- 2. Any reduction in the labour force resulting from the introduction of new methods and techniques must be the object of careful planning. Notice of dismissal or other measures entailing suspension or termination of employment should not occur. Reductions in the labour force, insofar as these must be regarded as unavoidable, should take place through:
 - normal wastage;
 - changes in recruitment;
 - voluntary resignation;
 - premature retirement on pension;
 - transfers, when they are unavoidable.
 - In the case of voluntary resignation and premature retirement and transfers, compensation and guarantees must be given to the employee. These must have been previously agreed in good time with the trade union and accepted by the employee in question.
- 3. In the case of transfers to other types of employment, the employee should suffer no loss of income or acquired seniority rights if temporarily placed in lower rated duties. If the transfer involves a change of domicile the employee should not have to bear any expenses or losses arising from this.

- 4. Special agreements should be worked out between management and the unions on re-training programmes which afford employees affected by reductions in staff an opportunity of free re-training for other occupations. During re-training the employee should suffer no loss of earnings.
- 5. The classification and evaluation of duties must take account of the increased demands made on the employee as a result of new methods and techniques. In the classification of duties particular consideration is to be given to such factors as continuous mental strain, fatigue and the consequences of increased responsibility in all duties involving safety of operations.
- 6. The fair participation of employees in the results of increased productivity is of decisive importance for railwaymen and their trade unions. Participation in the product of rationalization measures serves the purpose of stimulating a positive interest among the employees and promoting their co-operation. The participation of employees in the results of increased productivity must be afforded by:
 - (a) The reduction of the working week without loss of earnings. This should be adapted to increases in productivity. In countries where the economic situation gives rise to a shortage of employment opportunities, the reduction of working hours should be implemented as a measure for creating opportunities of employment, the resulting increases in costs to be compensated from public funds. In no case should the working week exceed 40 hours where rationalization measures have been introduced.
 - (b) Increases in real wages.
 - (c) Improvements in social benefits afforded to employees of the undertaking, particularly improved pension rights and social security benefits to which surviving dependents are entitled.
 - (d) Better compensation for overtime, nightwork and work done on Sundays and Public Holidays.
 - (e) Improved promotion possibilities and the organization of courses for additional vocational training.
- 7. As long as rationalization measures give rise to reductions in staff no work previously done by railway employees should be contracted to outside firms. Existing contracts with outside firms should be revised with a view to extending the railway undertaking's own production, particularly in regard to equipment and components.
- 8. The use of auxiliary personnel should be limited to the extent that a sufficient number of qualified workers employed on a permanent basis should be available at any time. Continuous employment at a fixed annual income must not be jeopardised by fluctuations in the volume of traffic. This represents that part of the fixed costs of railway operations to be attributed to the employee. As such, it is at least as important as the capital changes attributable to installations and rolling stock which also remain unaffected by fluctuations in the volume of traffic.
- 9. Rationalization leads to a steady intensification of the pressure of work and to increased responsibilities. This gives rise to additional risk of accident and sickness. Accident and sickness benefits for railway employees must, therefore, be brought up to a high standard. Employees who, as a result of accident or sickness, can no longer be employed in their previous occupation are, as far as their health allows, to be retrained at the expense of the undertaking nd to be re-employed in an appropriate capacity without loss of earnings or any other acquired rights. In addition, regular medical examinations should be conducted in order to protect employees.

This SOCIAL CHARTER is to remain as the statement of policy of the ITF affiliated unions until such time as it is possible to work out with employers and government representatives within the framework of the International Labour Organization, a progressive international instrument dealing with the social and occupational consequences of the use of new methods and techniques in railways. The ITF affiliated unions undertake to fight for the implementation of this Charter and in doing this to afford one another every possible assistance.

JOINT INLAND TRANSPORT SECTIONS CONFERENCE

This Joint Conference of the three inland transport sections which had been called primarily to arrive at a decision on common principles with regard to the construction and operation of pipelines and with regard to the transport of radio-active materials was extremely well attended. Among those participating were also delegations from the seafarers' and dockers' sections.

Election of the Chairman and Rapporteur

Brother S. Greene of the British National Union of Railwaymen was elected Chairman and Rapporteur.

Trade union principles with regard to pipelines

The Assistant General Secretary, Brother H. Imhof, referred in his introduction to the treatment of this important question by the respective inland transport sections. After the Railwaymen's and Road Transport Workers' Sections had reached agreement on a common text, the Inland Navigation Section adopted a number of amendments at their Section Conference in May 1962. The most important of these amendments entailed the deletion of the statement in the second paragraph to the effect that pipelines were not to be regarded as transport on own account. The Secretariat had therefore subsequently tried to formulate a compromise draft from the two existing texts. This new draft was being submitted to this Conference together with the two existing texts.

Brother Harrison (RLEA) began by expressing his basic agreement with the principles contained in the new draft, although he wished to recommend that these should not be confined to the transport of oil. He referred to developments in the United States where a pipeline had already been put into operation for the carriage of pulverized coal mixed with water. At present discussions were taking place on another plan for constructing a 450 miles long pipeline for the transport of coal from West Virginia to New York. If this pipeline were built, approximately 3,000 railwaymen would lose their jobs. It was therefore a question of resisting all such proposals where the traditional carriers were in a position to ensure the economic transport of the goods concerned without new investment.

The Conference agreed to this extension of the resolution and the necessary amendments entailed in the text.

Brother Smeding (Netherlands) advocated the deletion of the statement contained in the last sentence of the second paragraph to the effect that the view of the companies that the construction and operation of a pipeline is no more than a measure of internal rationalization is to be rejected. Brothers Seibert and Mikkelsen of the German Railwaymen's Union advocated the retention of this statement, because it represents a considerable clarification of our point of view.

The vote resulted in a very large majority for the retention of the sentence in question.

Brother Cousins requested the Conference to delete the second sentence of the third paragraph according to which transport undertakings should be accorded the right to participate in the operation of pipeline undertakings in order to offset traffic losses arising from the construction of pipelines. He stated that such a provision would oblige a nationalized pipeline undertaking to allow private concerns to participate in the running of the undertaking. The British Delegation would never agree to such a solution. However, this proposal did not receive a majority in the subsequent voting.

The Principles subsequently adopted by a large majority and endorsed also in their principle by the Seafarers and Dockers' Sections are reproduced below.

Transport of Radioactive Materials

The Assistant General Secretary, Brother Imhof, began by referring to the treatment of this important problem in the different ITF Sections. The question had first come up at the Conferences of the Railwaymen's and Road Transport Workers' Sections in the autumn of 1961. Shortly afterwards the Civil Aviation Section associated itself with the resolutions of the two sections previously named. The Joint Conference of Dockers and Seafarers held in July 1962 had decided to deal with this problem during their Section Conference in Helsinki.

In order to arrive at a uniform resolution for all ITF Sections concerned, the resolution adopted by the Road Transport Workers' Conference was being submitted to this Joint Inland Transport Conference as a basis for discussion. The question had moreover been dealt with in the Sectional Reports of the Report on Activities for 1960 and 1961. Our efforts at international level were proceeding in cooperation with the competent department of the ICFTU.

Brother Van Driel (Netherlands) stated on behalf of the Seafarers' Section that the Seafarers' Section could associate itself with the principles of the draft resolution under consideration. However, since the problem arose in a different way in shipping and since the matter was therefore also being dealt with by the Intergovernmental Maritime Consultative Organization (IMCO), the Seafarers' Section felt itself obliged to reserve the right to submit, if necessary, further proposals in conformity with their interest.

The Conference took note of and approved these statements.

The resolution, reproduced below, was then adopted unanimously.

Miscellaneous

There were no further speakers. The Chairman thanked the Conference for the speed with which they had worked through the business.

S. GREENE

Rapporteur

Guiding principles concerning the construction and operation of pipelines.

Before permission is granted for the construction of a pipeline, it must be clearly demonstrated that such construction

- (a) is in the general economic interest;
- (b) affords a guarantee that transport may be effected under more favourable economic conditions than by existing means of transport;

(c) takes place within the framework of a social programme affording guarantees that the social consequences resulting for staff employed in transport undertakings hitherto engaged in handling the traffic will be countered by prompt and satisfactory adaptive measures.

All existing pipelines of importance as well as those to be constructed in the future are to be subject to government regulation within the framework of a system of concessions in order to ensure non-discriminatory treatment of users and to avoid surplus capacity. In addition, they are to be integrated in a plan aiming at the coordination of the means of transport in order to ensure a harmonization of obligations and duties with those of other carriers. The view of the companies that the construction and operation of a pipeline is no more than a measure of internal rationalization of operations is to be rejected.

Representatives of all forms of transport should be given the right of consultation, through the establishment of the appropriate machinery, when pipeline concessions are sought. In order to spare agricultural land and to reduce costs of construction. a special investigation should be carried out in every case before a concession is granted in order to ascertain whether pipelines could not be laid in part or completely along existing transport routes.

Resolution on Transport of Radioactive Material

This 27th Congress of the ITF meeting in Helsinki from 25 July to 4 August 1962.

CONSIDERING that the expected development of the medical, industrial and scientific uses of radioactive materials will give rise as from now to problems of transporting such materials;

JUDGING that in addition to the hazards inherent in the substances themselves, hazards arising from irradiation, contamination, criticality, there are risks for the untrained personnel engaged during loading, unloading or in the event of breakages during transit.

CONSIDERING that transport workers are most immediately concerned with the measures necessary to afford them protection.

DEMANDS that trade union organizations should be invited to participate at all national and international levels to study, discuss and prepare any draft regulations relating to the transport or handling of radioactive materials;

INSTRUCTS the Secretariat of the ITF to follow the development of this problem while keeping close contact with affiliated organizations and the competent international organizations and to pay particular attention to:

- special training for the handling of such transports;
- formal guarantees in respect of packing and safety measures;
- regular medical inspection of the personnel in question;
- the safe transport of such consignments, coupled with the provision of special compensation and social guarantees where this ultimate aim has not yet been achieved;
- the provision and maintenance of special protective equipment.

INLAND NAVIGATION SECTION CONFERENCE

The Conference of the Inland Navigation Section was held on Monday morning, 30 July. Delegates from the following countries were present: Argentina, Austria, Finland, Germany, Great Britain, Netherlands and Pakistan; also present were P. Seton (Transport Division of the EEC), T. Rasschaert (Committee of ITF unions in the

EEC), and T. H. Bratt (ILO). The section placed on record its disappointment that a number of countries concerned with inland navigation were not represented.

Section Chairman

H. Hildebrand (Germany) was re-elected Chairman of the Section.

Report on Activities

The Report on Activities for 1960-61 and the first half of 1962 was adopted, after discussion on the following matters:

(a) Danubian Navigation

Brother Brosch (Austria) referred to the special problems of workers on the Danube, which concerned political questions as much as difficulties connected with working conditions.

(b) ILO Agreements on Rhine Navigation

The Section Secretary reported that the ITF had submitted two requests to the Administrative Centre of the Central Rhine Commission which was responsible for implementing the agreement on social security. The first was that individual members of delegations should vote separately instead of the national delegations voting as a group as at present. Secondly, the ITF had asked to be granted observer status. These two requests were to be considered by the next meeting of the Administrative Centre, where it was hoped they would get a favourable reception.

There was an exchange of views on the relations between ITF unions and the Christian organizations representing inland navigation workers who took part in national delegations, and on the part to be played by the ITF unions in the countries of the European Economic Community.

(c) Continuous and Semi-continuous Navigation

T. Smeding (Netherlands) referred to the tripartite conference on manning held under the auspices of the Central Rhine Commission. He requested that arrangements should be made for representatives of ITF unions attending the next tripartite conference to hold a preliminary meeting in order to work out a common attitude on manning in continuous and semi-continuous navigation and this was agreed. He also stressed the necessity for thorough inspection to be carried out so as to ensure that agreed standards were properly observed.

Resolutions

It was agreed that discussion on the new draft resolution on pipelines should be left to the joint meeting of the Inland Transport Workers' Sections.

The following resolution on the transport of radioactive materials was adopted:

"This Conference of the Inland Navigation Section, held in conjunction with the 27th ITF Biennial Congress in Helsinki, notes with approval the attention given to the question of transporting radioactive materials by the Railwaymen's and Road Transport Sections of the ITF, and

Considering that this problem is also of particular concern to

inland navigation workers;

Requests the Inland Navigation Section to work closely with the other ITF sections in developing this subject in the interests of inland navigation workers."

Inland Navigation in Argentina

The Conference heard a brief account of the situation existing in the inland navigation industry in Argentina. Some of their problems were similar to those of European countries where waterways passed through several countries, but pay and conditions in Argentina were fifty years behind those of Europe. The Section Secretary undertook to send the Argentine union copies of documents and other information relating to the inland navigation industry in the more advanced countries, and to offer what assistance he could in relation to specific problems which the Argentine union was facing.

Inland Navigation in Pakistan

M. A. Khatib (Pakistan) reported that in his country, too, inland navigation workers were operating under appalling conditions, and asked that a trade unionist from one of the more advanced countries should spend some time in Pakistan to study conditions and help with organizational difficulties. It was agreed to refer this request to the ITF Director of Regional Affairs.

Section Committee

H. Hildebrand (Germany, Chairman), J. Arranz (Argentina), A. Peham, subst. R. Gryc (Austria), H. Diers (Germany) and Feiz Ahmed (Pakistan) were elected members of the Section Committee. Further nomination will be submitted in writing at a later date.

International Programme of Action

At the Section Conference in Hamburg in May this year it had been agreed to set up a small committee to draft a programme of action for the Inland Navigation Section. This committee would have to investigate conditions in inland navigation in different parts of the world and then decide whether its action programme should be on a world-wide or regional basis. It was agreed that this committee should consist of L. Eggers (Belgium), H. Diers (Germany), and P. Moll (Netherlands).

H. HILDEBRAND

Rapporteur

JOINT SEAFARERS' AND DOCKERS' SECTIONS CONFERENCE

Bro. D. S. Tennant, Merchant Navy and Air Line Officers' Association, Great Britain, was elected Chairman and Rapporteur.

Bro. L. White gave a short report recapitulating the main points of the reports given to the two separate section meetings and referred to the two resolutions which had been adopted at the Seafarers' meeting for remission to this joint conference.

Resolution No. 1 dealing with the continuation of the present ITF policy for Panlibhon ships, which had been amended at the Seafarers' Section meeting, was discussed. During the discussion it was proposed that the paragraph, which has been deleted by the Seafarers' Section, should be reinstated. This proposal was accepted by the meeting.

There was some discussion on the question as to whether the phrase in the resolution "Flags-of-Convenience" should be changed to "Panlibhon". Fears were expressed that the use of the phrase "Flags-of-Convenience" could be interpreted in certain quarters to include the flags of traditional maritime countries. On the other hand, although it was generally recognized that the word "Panlibhon" was understood as referring to the sort of shipping that the ITF campaign was directed against, the flags involved were now on a wider basis than the flags of the three countries whose initials form the word, "Panlibhon".

Finally the words, "Flags-of-Convenience", were retained in the resolution,

The resolution was adopted.

The second resolution dealing with the subject of "genuine link" between a ship and a state of registry was then considered.

Brother L. White explained that at the International Law of the Sea Conference, held in Geneva, 1958, a Convention of the High Seas was adopted. Article 5 of this Convention provided for this "genuine link" concept. The ITF, through the ILO, had obtained some definition, but this was confined to social matters. He explained that the resolution was an attempt to obtain a definition of the "genuine link" on an economic and legal basis to help in dealing with these ships.

The resolution was adopted.

Bro. L. White read the names of the present members of the Fair Practices Committee and stated that Bro. H. Wiemers, Gewerkschaft Offentliche Dienste Transport und Verkehr, was nominated by his union to replace Bro. Nicolaisen as docker member. He also referred to the fact that there had previously been a place on the Fair Practices Committee reserved for a nomination from the International Longshoremen's Association. He further stated that there had previously been Bro. P. Hall, Seafarers' International Union of North America, among the members on the Fair Practices Committee.

The meeting *approved* the re-election of the members whose names had been stated to the conference.

Bro. J. Curran, National Maritime Union of America, suggested that the place reserved for an International Longshoremen's Association nominee should still be reserved and this suggestion was agreed to by the conference.

Bro. T. H. Goff, Merchant Navy and Air Line Officers' Association, stated that his organization thought there should be a representative from Canada on the Fair Practices Committee. Bro. D. N. Secord, Canadian Brotherhood of Railway, Transport and General Workers, agreed that they would like to have a representative on that committee and proposed their president, Bro. W. J. Smith. This nomination was accepted.

- Bro. M. A. Khatib, Pakistan Transport Workers' Federation, suggested that there should be a representative from Asia on the Fair Practices Committee.
- Bro. L. White explained that the ITF activities in its Panlibhon campaign had been concentrated on the European and North American ports because of the concentration of shipping in those areas and the close liaison that existed between all dockers and seafarers organizations in those areas and he thought the widening of the Fair Practices Committee membership could possibly lead to a weakening of the concentrated effort needed.
- Bro. M. Chatterjee, Calcutta Port Shramik Union, India, stated there was in fact close cooperation between some dockers' and seamens' unions in Asia and that they had collaborated in dealing with ships on certain occasions.

The Chairman agreed with Bro. White's observations on this matter and asked Bro. M. A. Khatib if he wished to press his point. Bro. M. A. Khatib signified that he did not wish to do so.

The following are the members of the Fair Practices Committee elected at this joint conference:—

Seafarers: Brothers

W. Hogarth, U.K. Seamen D. S. Tennant, U.K. Officers

W. Cassiers, Belgium

C. W. van Driel, Netherlands

H. Wiemers, Germany T. Sonsteby, Norway M. Petroulis, Greece F. Giorgi, Italy W. J. Smith, Canada

J. Curran, U.S.A.

Dockers: Brothers

T. O'Leary, U.K.
G. de Crom, Belgium
H. Hildebrand, Germany
E. Larsson, Sweden
W. Hulsker, Netherlands
Nominee I.L.A. U.S.A.

The Chairman then brought before the conference the emergency resolution on Peru. Bro. Hildebrand, ÖTV explained that the Dockers' Section had concluded that this matter could be dealt with through normal ITF procedure for dealing with solidarity actions. Bro. J. Curran thought it not wise to single out Peru. He recognized that the Peruvian question was urgent, but pointed out that there were other dictatorships. Overall ITF policy was against all dictatorships, fascists, communists or militarists. It would be necessary at some time to consider a policy designed to deal with such situations. In the meantime he thought the dockers' conclusion could be accepted, but urged all organizations to approach their governments in efforts to prevent the recognition of the military junta in Peru.

This was agreed.

Bro. D. N. Second explained to the conference the Seafarers' Section decision in support of the immediate affiliation to the ITF of the

Canadian Maritime Union sponsored by the Canadian Labour Congress. He went on to describe certain acts of violence performed by the SIU, Canada, and he explained the establishment of the Canadian Maritime Union by the Canadian Labour Congress to afford the Canadian seafarers an opportunity to have a responsible trade union to represent them, and appealed to the dockers to support the seafarers' decision.

- Bro. J. Curran explained the attitude he took when the question was discussed by the Executive Committee. He stated that the application for affiliation made by the Canadian Maritime Union should be dealt with on its own merits and not be linked with any other question.
- Bro. F. Cousins, Transport and General Workers' Union, Great Britain, supported Bro. J. Curran referring to the need for quick decisions in such matters so that the union itself could be helped in its work
- Bro. R. Dekeyzer, Belgische Transportarbeidersbond, explained that the Executive Committee members, in taking their decision to delay their decision on the application for affiliation by the Canadian Maritime Union, had acted strictly according to the ITF Constitution. When the Executive Committee considered the matter, the attitude of the Canadian unions which had been consulted was not known. During the Congress it had become known that they were in favour of the affiliation taking place. In these circumstances the Executive Committee could review the matter.
- Bro. P. de Vries said that there was a decision now from the Seafarers' Sectional meeting and a possible decision from this joint conference, which of course would be dealt with by the Executive Committee at its meeting at lunch-time on Wednesday.

The dockers agreed to support the seafarers' decision to recognize the agreed acceptance of the Canadian Maritime Union's application for affiliation.

The meeting then terminated.

D. S. TENNANT Rapporteur

Resolutions

Panlibhon Shipping

THIS twentyseventh Congress of the International Transport Workers' Federation, held in Helsinki, July/August, 1962;

CONSIDERING flag-of-convenience shipping;

NOTED with satisfaction that because of ITF activities some five million gross tons of such shipping had been placed under traditional maritime flags with the consequent benefits to the crew members;

NOTED in addition that some three hundred flag-of-convenience ships have acceptable collective agreements covering the wages and working conditions of crew members;

AFFIRMS that the still large amount of merchant tonnage registered in flag-of-convenience countries continues to adversely affect legitimate world shipping and seafarers' conditions;

EXPRESSES determination to continue its campaign against this shipping;

CONSIDERS that national control of ships to meet an emergency can be fully effective only when it is exercised by the country of the ships' flag; and

CALLS again on maritime governments, especially the United States Government, to create the conditions which will facilitate the registration of flag-of-convenience ships in their countries which are owned and/or controlled by their nationals.

Panlibhon Shipping

THIS twentyseventh Congress of the International Transport Workers' Federation, held in Helsinki, July/August, 1962;

RECALLING that the United Nations Law of the Sea Conference, held in Geneva, 1958, embodied in Article 5 of the Convention of the High Seas the principle that there should be a "genuine link' between a ship and the state of registry;

NOTING that since the adoption of this important principle consideration of a definition of what the "genuine link" should be has been given only as far as certain social and safety conditions of seafarers are concerned through the International Labour Organization Recommendation 108;

CONSIDERS that a definition on economic and legal grounds is long overdue;

CALLS upon the United Nations either through the International Maritime Consultative Organization or by arranging another Law of the Sea Conference to give early attention to this matter; and

PROPOSES that as a minimum and in order to provide the "genuine link" for the recognition of the ships' nationality the countries should have:

- In addition to the acceptance of the ILO Recommendation 108, ratified in a manner acceptable under the requirements of the particular United Nations agency, a minimum number of specified maritime conventions,
- 2. Provided the necessary machinery for the implementation of the Conventions and the ILO Recommendation 108,
- Required those registering the ships to have their principal place of business in the registering territory,
- 4. Ensuring that the effective control of the ship(s) be exercised from the registering territory,
- 5. Required that at least fifty per cent of each company's board of directors shall be nationals of the registering country.

LIST OF DELEGATES

Country and Organization	Delegates	Advisers
Aden General and Port Workers' Union	A. A. Thabet	A. K. Suleman
Argentina La Fraternidad	H. Alonso A. Martin	
Sindicato des Obreros Marítimos	F. Bravo J. Arranz A. Monestrina	
Circulo de Electricistas Argentinas Sindicato Unico Portuarios Argentinos	J. Arranz (Proxy) E. Tolosa)
Australia Flight Stewards' Association	Th. Duffy	
Austria Gewerkschaft des Eisenbahner Gewerkschaft der Bediensteten im Handel,	J. Matejcek F. Lehner R. Freund E. Ulbrich L. Brosch	
Transport und Verkehr	K. Hosztynek J. Steiner A. Wladar	
Belgische Transportarbeidersbond	R. Dekeyzer G. Hendrickx	
Secteur cheminots de la C.G.S.P.	W. Cassiers A. Tonneaux P. Bourdouxhe P. Potums	
Centrale Belge du Personnel des Tramways, Vicinaux et Autobus	J. Cloes R. Dekeyzer (pro	xy)
Bolivia Sindicato del Lloyd Areo Boliviano	J. Sanjines	A. Zeballos
Brazil Confederação Nacional dos Trabalhadores em Transportes Terrestres	M. Lopes de Oli	veira
British Guiana Guiana Air Transport Trade Union Seafarers' Union Transport Workers' Union	Abul Hassan Ali Abul Hassan Ali Abul Hassan Ali	(proxy)
Canada Canadian Brotherhood of Railway, Transport and General Workers Canadian Air Line Flight	W. J. Smith D. N. Secord R. R. Smeal	T. Mills
Attendants' Association Railway Labor Executives' Assoc.	F. H. Hall	
Colombia Sindicato Nacional de Trabajadores "Avianca" Union de Marinos Mercantes de Colombia	E. Padilla J. Gome:	- R. Carra(quilla 1 - Vancça)
Denmark Sømaendenes Forbund i Danmark	S. F. Andersen N. Hansen	

Country and Organization	Delegates	Advisers
Dansk Arbejdsmands- og Special-arbejder Forbund Søfyrbødernes Forbund i Danmark Dansk Sø-Restaurations Forening Dansk Lokomotivmands Forening Dansk Jernbaneforbund	E. Borg C. Christensen E. Berthelsen E. Pedersen E. G. Petersen E. Rasmussen H. Hansen	K. B. Knudsen E. Madsen H. P. Pedersen
Egypt Officers and Seamen Mercantile Navy Staff Syndicate	H. Afifi	H. Ganem F. Atta
Estonia (exile) Eesti Meremeeste Union	N. Metslov	A. F. Suurna
Faroe Islands Forouya Fiskimannafelag	Jakub i Jakubsst	ovu
Finland Finska Järnvägsmannaförbundet	R. Tuori P. Keijonen	
Finska Lokmannaförbund	K. Hautakangas G. W. Widing T. Muje	
Finlands Sjömans-Union	N. Wälläri B. Johansson	O. Keitele H. Lofstrom
Finlands Bilbranscharbetareförbund Flygmekanikernas r.f. Finlands Hamnarbetsledareförbund Lots- och Fyrmannaförbundet Finlands Skeppbefälsförbund	O. Aarnio I. Hyvonen K. Ritganen E. A. Suhonen M. Hentula Y. Fyhrqvist	A. J. Ahti U. Rautiainen S. Tompuri K. Kivimaki E. Osterberg O. A. Aalto R. Reims
Finlands Radiotelegrafistförbund Finlands Maskinbefälsförbund	T. P. Nuotio K. Tepponen	E. Vinko H. Heinricksen U. Larte P. Lindroos F. R. Neirama E. A. Koivisto E. Ek N. Krook L. Janhunen O. Hamalainen
Finnish Railwaymen's Federation	M. Alpinnen	L. J. Havia
France Fédération Syndicaliste F.O. des cheminots Fédération Autonome des Cadres Syndicat National des Officiers Radios de l'Aviation Civile Syndicat National des Officiers Mécaniciens de l'Aviation Civile Syndicat National du Personnel Navigant Commercial Syndicat National des Pilots de Ligne	F. Laurent R. Degris R. Decoudun A. Lissandre A. Sirac R. Deseau P. Barbier Ch. Ebue	
Fédération des Travaux Publics et des Transports FO	R. Lapeyre	

Country and Organization	Delegates	Advisers
Germany Gewerkschaft der Eisenbahner Deutschlands	Ph. Seibert F. Eichinger R. Buhler Miss L. Raupp H. Vomberg F. Berger X. Bruckschlegel H. Loheide H. Pohland B. Pausmer H. Bracht G. Schafer P. Distelhut	E. Amft W. Mikkelsen K. Schulz W. Gunkel G. Magnus
Gewerkschaft Öffentliche Dienste Transport und Verkehr	W. Drechsler G. Gerdes H. Hildebrand H. Kluncker G. Kugoth Ch. Mahlstedt W. Matthies H. Mollers A. Roepert R. Schill	H. Diers W. Hill A. Reppel H. Wiemers H. Tomaschewski W. Reckeweg E. Walter
Great Britain National Union of Seamen	W. Hogarth W. Sinclair W. B. McDaid A. A. Gibson	
Merchant Navy and Air Line Officers' Association Radio Officers' Union National Union of Railwaymen	J. Nash D. S. Tennant J. Buchan T. H. Goff H. O'Neill S. F. Greene W. Rathbone J. Oldbury	
Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen Transport Salaried Staff's Association	A. Stephen J. H. Sherwood F. S. Evans W. J. Evans R. J. Gunter	J. Marvil
Transport and General Workers' Union	W. J. P. Webber H. Kent R. Kincaid F. Cousins L. Forden A. Holmes F. J. Howell F. G. Page C. W. Prescott G. C. Price	·
Union of Shop, Distributive and Allied Workers	F. Wright E. Higginbottom A. E. McVie C. Stuart I. V. Bailey Miss. I. A. Shears	
Scottish Horse and Motormen's Association	Miss I. A. Shears A. H. Kitson W. Frew	
Greece Panhellenic Seamen's Federation	M. Petroulis D. Benetatas P. Kalapothakis	A. Cazakos

Country and Organization Delegates Advisers Federation of Greek Dockers C. Dimitriou C. Stathopoulos St. Dimitracopoulos B. Vassiliadis Federation Panhellenique des Cheminots G. Dimitracopoulos India National Union of Seamen of India Maritime Union of India All-India Railwaymen's Federation Calcutta Pork Shramik Union B. Majumder D. S. Tennant (proxy) M. S. Hoda M. Chatterjee Transport and Dock Workers' Union J Indian Flight Engineers' Association G. L. Fogg H. J. Flynn Indonesia B. K. J. Tambunan R. A. Santoso Persatuan Buruh Kereta Api Serikat Buruh Pemerbangan M. Pradjasasmite Serikat Buruh Perhubungan dan Transport W. Dwidjojuwono S. Suparto Irish Transport and General Workers' P. Dooley E. Wall Union Israel Z. Barash W. Perry Israel Seamen's Union Transport Workers' Union Z. Barash (proxy) Railwaymen's Union Federazione Italiana Lavoratori del Mare G. Lagorio F. Giorgi Sindacato Autonomo Unificato Ferrovieri B. Costantini V. Fragolino Italiani Federazione Nazionale dei Liberi Sindacati Dr. G. Sinesio Lavoratori della Pesca Japan T. Nishimaki All-Japan Seamen's Union R. Kamisawa National Railway Workers' Union Federation of Municipal Workers' Unions K. Suzuki K. Suzuki (proxy) National Railway Motive Power Union K. Suzuki (proxy) Kenva J. Akumu Railway African Union W. E. Malemo Transport and Allied Workers' Union Kwang Cho Lee Kwang See Kim Korean Railway Workers' Union Sang Kyu Oh Luxembourg Fédération Nationale des Cheminots et des Ph. Seibert (proxy) Travailleurs Luxembourgeois des Transports

Railwaymen's Union of Malaya Transport Workers' Union

General Workers' Union, Port and Industries Section

Mexico

Asociacion Sindical de Pilotos Aviadores

D. U'ren D. U'ren (proxy)

V. Esposito

R. Old

A. V. Galvan N. A. Guzman

Country and Organization	Delegates	Advisers
Netherlands Centrale van Zeevarenden ter Koopvaardij en Visserij	C. W. van Driel J. A. van Nugteren C. J. M. Krijgsman	
Nederlands Bond van Vervoers-personeel	G. J. H. Alink W. Hulsker H. W. Koppens J. de Later I K Post	
Vereniging van KLM Pursers en Hofmeesters Vereniging van KLM Boordwerk- tuigkundigen	Th. Smeding J. J. van der Kolk H. Glimmerveen	W. A. Wegerif Y. Metselaar
Association of KLM Stewardesses	Miss N. J. M. Cotto	ar Miss J. Kield
Norway Norsk Sjømannsforbund	G. Hauge T. Haugen Th. Sønsteby	A. Jacobsen
	K. H. Andersen K. Kjaeraas	
Det Norske Maskinistforbund Norsk Styrmandsforening Norsk Transportarbeiderforbund	L. Lerstad N. Nilsen Kj. Kjøniksen	ν.
TOTOK THINSPOTATIONALITY SUM	M. A. Bakke S. Wilsgard W. Olsen	
Norsk Jernbaneforbund	M. Trana T. Kristiansen	•
Norsk Lokomotivmandsforbund	O. W. Larsen H. H. Moum O. Anfinsen	
Pakistan Pakistan Transport Workers' Federation	M. A. Khatib	
Peru Sindicato Unico de Trabajadores en Autobuses del Peru	R. Antunez	
Philippines Transport and General Workers' Organization	R. Oca	
Rhodesia Railway African Workers' Union	M. A. Ndabambi	
Spain (underground) UGT Ferroviarios y Transportes	A. H. Vizcaino	
Sweden Svenska Sjöfolksförbundet	J. S. Thore E. Raberg	
Sveriges Fartygsbefälsforening Svenska Maskinbefälsförbundet Svenska Transportarbetareförbundet	N. Peterson	Control of
	H), Sveneso.	

Country and Organization	Delegates	Advisers
Svenska Järnvägsmannaförbundet	G. Kolare O. Gunnarsson R. Cederlund L. Linderstal H. Kjellvard W. Loof	
Handelstjänstemannaförbundet	M. Mattsson H. Lindholm N. Roth	B. Heggestad V. Sandström
Switzerland Verband der Handels-, Transport und Lebensmittelarbeiter der Schweiz Schweizerischer Eisenbahnerverband	E. Hofer H. Düby E. Haudenschild M. Gentsch W. Kobi W. Meier	
Tanganyika Tanganyika Railway African Union	A. Hussein	
Trinidad Seamen and Waterfront Workers' Trade Union	G. Munroe G. Palmer	
Tunisia Fédération Générale des Cheminots de Tunisie	M. Hellal	
United States National Maritime Union of America	W. Perry J. Curran S. Wall E. Miller	B. Raskin H. Haddock
Transport Workers' Union of America Railway Labor Executives' Association	M. Guinan T. S. Howieson G. M. Harrison E. L. Oliver L. L. Zosel	Miss N. Spatz
American Radio Association International Association of Machinists Flight Engineers' International Association Amalgamated Association of Street, Electric Railway and Motor Coach Employees of America	E. J. Hickey (pro J. Curran (proxy, E. J. Hickey G. Iverson H. B. Mann O. J. Mischo	
Uruguay Federacion Ferroviaria y Ramas Anexas Sindicato de Recibidores de Ganado Sindicato de Obreros y Obreras de Frigorifico Artigas Sindicato Autonomo de Obreros del	R. Martinez A. Medina C. Rodriquez	
Omnibus Sindicato de Acarreadores de Ganado Sindicato de Marineros de Carbon Sociedad Obreros Carboneros del Monte-	E. Casanova F. Carreras R. Moreira R. Moreira (pro.	xy)
video Sociedad de Capataces de Estiba Sociedad de Obreros Toneleros del Monte-	F. Ferreira L. Garate	
video Sindicato Autonomo de Estibadores del Uruguay Association Guardianes del Montevideo	G. R. Cabrera G. R. Cabrera (p	

Country and Organization	Delegates	Advisers
Venezuela Federación de Trabajadores del Transporte de Venezuela Federación de Trabajadores Portuarios de Venezuela	H. Hernandez H. Hernandez (proxy)	

GUESTS

Official Guests

Mr. T. Bratt, International Labour Office. Th. Sellin, US Labour Attaché. K. Kenny, British Labour Attaché.

Guests of Honour

Mrs. L. Krier, Luxembourg.

R. Bratschi, Switzerland, former President of the ITF.

J. H. Oldenbroek, Holland, former General Secretary of the ITF and former General Secretary of the ICFTU.

G. Joustra, Holland, former member of the Executive Committee.

K. Weigl, Austria.

I. Hyvonen, veteran member of Finnish affiliates.

E. Kallio,

O. Peltonen,

Fraternal Delegates

S. Nedzynski, Assistant General Secretary of the ICFTU.

J. Mikhelson, International Centre of Free Trade Unionists in Exile.

M. Carulias, Argentinian TUC.

H. Perez, Argentinian Tramwaymen.

O. Forsberg and Z. L. Zeyfert, IFALPA.

Karaboué, Transport Workers' Union of the Ivory Coast.
 Kramer, Public Service International.

Observers

P. Seton, Transport Division of EEC.

T. Rasschaert, Trade Union Advisory Committee of the EEC.

Members of Executive Committee (not belonging to national delegations)

Sir Thomas Yates, Great Britain.

S. Klinga, Sweden. H. J. Kanne, Netherlands.

ITF Secretariat

P. de Vries

H. Imhof R. Laan L. White R. Santley K. Golding Miss M. Änderson F. Azaña O. Baeriswyl Miss J. Bailey Miss J. Banks C. Iddon Mrs. L. Kant A. Klatil E. Laflamme Mrs. E. Lanyi

B. Laughton H. Lewis Miss F. Magonet J. Otero Mrs. E. Pinnington Mrs. I. Ryder A. Selander J. Soares W. Spilsbury Mr. B. Suleyman W. Townsend Miss J. Weaver Mrs. R. West Miss H. Winkler W. Wünsche T. Yamazaki

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