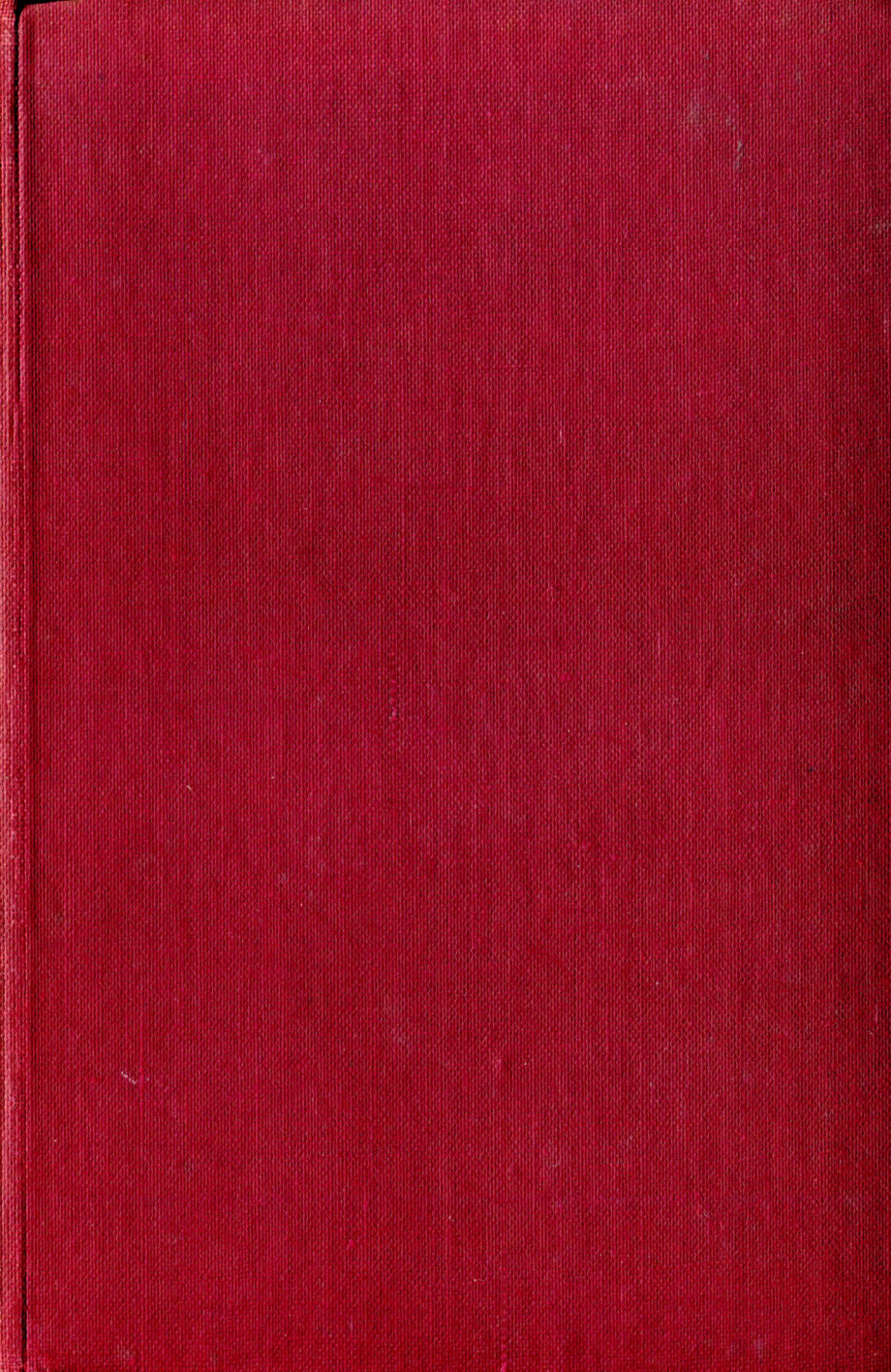




WORLD LABOUR
COMES OF AGE

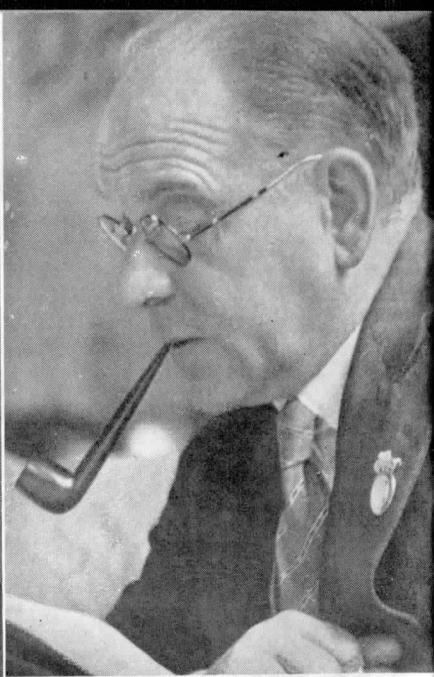
In Memory of Michael

THE THREE PRESIDENTS OF THE CONFERENCE

Top left : VASSILI KUZNETSOV (U.S.S.R.).

Top right : GEORGE ISAACS, M.P., Chairman of the T.U.C.

Bottom : R. J. THOMAS (U.S.A.).



WORLD LABOUR COMES OF AGE

BETTY WALLACE

Foreword by the Rt. Hon. George Isaacs, M.P.

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FOREWORD

I PROMISED Betty Wallace that I would write a foreword to her book. When I first saw the manuscript I began to regret the promise, but after I had read it I found it gave me great pleasure to write this short introduction. I commend this book to all Trade Unionists and indeed to all persons who wish to understand the Trade Union movement.

Betty Wallace has divided her survey into two parts. Part I is a brief but intelligent and interesting description of the Trade Unions of the World. It makes reference to their history, ideals, methods and achievements, and there is a very useful and short reference to the leaders of the Unions represented at the World Trade Union Conference. The section dealing with the Trade Unions of the U.S.S.R. is most useful. There is also reference to the effect of the war on Trade Union organisations in countries occupied by the enemy and in the ex-enemy countries.

Part II is a shrewd analysis of the World Trade Union Conference held in London in February of this year. It describes the origin of the decision to call the Conference and the work and problems of the Preparatory Committee. There is a reliable summary of the speeches of the spokesmen of the various countries and useful criticism of the statements made. Here in an abbreviated form is a most valuable record of the First World Trade Union Conference and the make-up of the Trade Unions participating.

I not only warmly commend this book, but compliment Betty Wallace on a fine piece of work.

G. A. ISAACS,

One of the Presidents of the World
Trade Union Conference.

August 7, 1945.

PROLOGUE

AN American journalist who travelled to London for the purpose of being present at the World Trade Union Conference told me this story on his arrival at County Hall after the Conference had been going for a week. The convoy was slow, the ship ran into trouble of all kinds,—foul weather, a broken rudder, some of the worst storms of the winter—and finally she lost the convoy altogether. The radio was the only contact with the Conference. One evening the off-duty crew, still in their dungarees, were crowding round the radio and hearing the smooth voice of the B.B.C. announcer telling of the differences, serious differences, that had arisen that day and that seemed to indicate the breakdown of the Conference.

The crew were worried and their faces showed it; these were men who had gone through plenty of tough spots during the war, some of them were survivors of two and three torpedoings. And they were worried about the fate of the Conference, their Conference. The junior engineer, 23 years old, and the union delegate aboard, said aloud: "Of course, they'll have differences. Who said they wouldn't anyway? But they'll override them, you'll see. They just couldn't let us down." And they sent a telegram of greetings with this simple but fundamental faith in their movement, the movement of the organised workers of all countries, to their President, Joe Curran, of the National Maritime Union (C.I.O.) and one of the American delegates to the Congress. Every member of the crew signed that telegram.

Perhaps it was at the very moment that this discussion was taking place in mid-Atlantic that Vicente Lombardo Toledano, President of the four million strong Confederation of Latin-American Workers, was telling Conference: "From the standpoint of the historical responsibility of this Conference towards the world and particularly towards the Labour Movement in those countries* we must not get away from our basic purpose

*i.e., ex-enemy countries. The differences under discussion related to the proposed invitation to trade unions developed since liberation in ex-enemy countries—Italy, Finland, Roumania, Bulgaria.

of building world labour unity . . . We have not come here, undergoing all kinds of material and psychological difficulties, only to exchange impressions and to go back to our respective countries with empty hands. I cannot, and neither can the other Latin-American delegates, go back to Latin America and tell our rank and file and our peoples in general, that after exchanging views for a period of ten days, we, the representatives of the world labour movement assembled in London, took no decisions whatever. We must take decisions. We came to build and to help to build world labour unity as the most important, if not the only basis for a just and durable peace."

As I sat in the Assembly Hall of County Hall on that first day of the Conference, on February 6th, 1945, and looked around, it seemed to me that the significance of the Conference was shown in the quiet confidence and dignified bearing of the delegates—European, Asiatic, Chinese, Negro, American, Colonial—their confidence based not on an estimation of their own powers as diplomats or statesmen (though here were many of the world's finest), but on a knowledge that behind them there lay the mass support of millions of men and women in their own countries. These millions of men and women back home knew that their delegates were meeting together in London and had wished this meeting to take place. They wanted their representatives to meet together in order to plan the future of the working man and woman the world over. It was the pennies, the annas, the cents, the kopeks and the centimes of these millions of working men and women that were paying for the 204 members of the Conference to be present together in London; that had paid for the thousands, the hundreds of thousands of miles of rail, air and sea travelling necessary before the Conference could ever get together. And while it is true that the Governments of the world helped on the vital war-time questions of visas, and priorities for seats on planes and berths on ships, yet that only happened because the delegates were important in the eyes of the world, because they had the support of the world's workers behind them; and the pennies of the simple men and women everywhere were given to make their support a reality.

Here in Britain, too, we should remember that every single trade unionist had a stake in that Conference. The British Trades Union Congress, which acted as host to the Conference, had undertaken, when they sent out the invitations, to pay all

the costs of organising the Conference, of the printing, the paper, the secretaries, the postage and the van that took the duplicators from Transport House to County Hall. You can figure out, if you like, that your union's annual contribution to the T.U.C. paid for the technical costs of whatever part of the final Conference Declarations you like best. Anyway, the important thing is that the Conference belonged to the working men and women of the world. They had made it possible by the strength of their national movements and by the solidarity of their fight against Fascism, and because of these facts the Conference was an outstanding success.

In response to the invitations sent out by the British Trades Union Congress, 204 men and women representing more than 60 million trade unionists in 42 countries* came to the World Trade Union Conference held at County Hall, London, from February 6th-17th, 1945. The trade unions of the world, the press the world over, leaders of political parties of all opinions—except the most reactionary—have acclaimed the achievements of this Conference. These achievements are all the more significant since the invitations sent out by the T.U.C. emphasised the "exploratory" and "consultative" character of the gathering. Yet there was such unanimity, such determination and such an understanding of the urgency of the world situation, that the delegates, the vast majority of whom came with mandates from their organisations, decided that they could move on to the stage of taking decisions. Since the Conference has finished, those organisations that had reservations as not being fully mandated, have obtained the necessary endorsement for the decisions of the Conference. This course of events is indeed in full conformity with the T.U.C. statement in its original invitation that "decisions taken by the Conference would not be binding upon the constituent organisations unless and until such decisions were endorsed by them."

* Countries represented according to the official list: United Kingdom; U.S.A.; U.S.S.R.; Australia; Belgium; Canada; China; Colombia; Cuba; Czechoslovakia; France; India; Mexico; Netherlands; New Zealand; Norway; Poland (see page 62); South Africa; Yugoslavia; Palestine; Cyprus; British Guiana; Jamaica; Nigeria; Sierra Leone; Gambia; Gold Coast; Northern Rhodesia; Uruguay; Iceland; Eire; Spain; Sweden; Switzerland; Finland. Italy and Bulgaria arrived in time for the Conference (Continuations) Committee; also Costa Rica, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Panama, Peru were represented by Lombardo Toledano as their official observer.

What were the achievements of the Conference?

They were two-fold—in the realm of policy and of organisation—neither complete without the other. No policy is of any use unless there exists the instrument for making that policy effective. No organisation is of any value unless the policy it is to implement is worth while.

In the realm of policy the Conference discussed in detail, in plenary session and in committee, and finally agreed upon the stand that the world trade union movement should take on the major questions of: The Allied War Effort, the Peace Settlement, Immediate Trade Union Demands in the Post-War Period, and Post-War Reconstruction. In the realm of organisation the Conference decided to set up a World Trade Union Federation truly representative of the trade unions of the world, an organisation that will have the standing necessary for participating in the councils of the world that are to-day settling the future fate of humanity.

The World Trade Union Conference met at the historic moment when the three great leaders of the United Nations were meeting at the Crimea Conference. In fact, the news of the Crimea Conference was given by Sir Walter Citrine, General Secretary of the British T.U.C., who announced that Mr. Churchill would be unable to address the Conference as he was in session with President Roosevelt and Marshal Stalin, and that Mr. Attlee would take his place. The unity of the governments and of the peoples in this historic war has been shown by the approximation of the decisions of these two meetings. There is no conflict of fundamental ideas at all between the two sets of decisions. The picture that the Crimea decisions depict is clear and satisfying to all democrats the world over. The decisions of the World Trade Union Conference fill in some of the outlines in a manner that is acceptable to the labour movements throughout the world. The identity of interests was summed up in a telegram of greetings to the three leaders, the main points of this telegram being:

"We fully support your declaration that every vestige of the hateful fascist regime must be eradicated and the practical measures which you have adopted to bring about this result and to guarantee that it shall be uprooted and completely destroyed.

"We welcome your determination to proceed at once to perfect an international organisation along the lines of the Dumbarton Oaks proposals, to prevent aggression and

maintain peace.

"We are in full accord with your declaration on liberated Europe and the Conference fully endorses the provisions of the Atlantic Charter which respect the right of all people to choose the form of Government under which they live . . . Meeting here in London, to perfect the unity and close collaboration of the working people of the freedom-loving nations, we pledge our full support to you in carrying out the decisions which you have reached."

Thus in the same historic month the peoples of the world and their elected leaders made clear the shape of the world of the future. The trade union movement is pledged to see these plans carried into full effect. The sad loss of President Roosevelt makes this task all the more imperative.

The full achievements of the Conference are so terrific that their true import is not grasped at a first reading. The fact is that before the end of the war the representatives of the working men and women of the world came together and themselves decided the face of the future as they wanted to see it. Before the blaze of peace, before the gatherings of the diplomats and statesmen, the representatives of the working class laid down the lines of co-operation between the nations in the future. Our movement, our representatives, have stood the test of war and come through with international working-class solidarity unimpaired. For before the last shots in Europe were fired, the trade union leaders of ex-enemy countries were meeting here in war-time London, where the flying bombs launched by the Nazis were still falling, and with their colleagues of the United Nations they agreed on a programme for the future. In every country in the world the true and brave trade union leaders remained faithful to their international ideals, and this faith and courage has made it possible already for the foundations of the future peace to be laid.

The new World Trade Union Federation will be a powerful instrument in the hands of our movement, and for the first time in history the working man has his own channel of direct influence on world decisions. This is a fact. It may still take time for the governments of the world to awake to this new situation and to grant the formal recognition of this fact. As I write, the Administrative Committee of the world trade union movement is seeking official status at the San Francisco Conference. Sixty millions are knocking at the door. Again the

fact is that, whether this official recognition is given or not, the statesmen of the world cannot take decisions that are far out of line with our decisions—those of the trade unions of the world—for if they do they are doomed in advance. The men and women who fought bloody battles in the armies, the navies, and the air forces, and who toiled endlessly to turn out the tools of victory will call out: STOP!

Trade unions are the organisations of the working man and woman, created by them, sustained by them. To-day the term "working man and woman" covers anyone who works for wages, salaries or fees, whether paid by the hour, the day, the week, the month or yearly. The fundamental problems of all who work for a living by hand or by brain are the same. The reason for organisation is clear, for dealing with employers a single worker is helpless; unions give the workers the bargaining strength they need to deal on equal terms with employers.

The dictionary definition of a trade union is "an organised association of the workmen of any trade or industry for the protection of their common interests." Trade unions have grown up in every country of the world, some with more, some with less ambitious programmes. They are recognised in every country, either positively, by government legislation granting their status, or negatively, by government legislation designed to persecute or to suppress them altogether. Even in Britain in 1945, and in spite of all the eulogies that our Conservative Prime Minister, Mr. Winston Churchill, has bestowed on the trade unions for their part in the war effort; in spite of the open recognition of this fact, with a trade union leader, Ernest Bevin, as our Minister of Labour and National Service during the last four years, the trade union movement suffers under severe restrictions under the 1927 Trade Disputes Act. Nevertheless there is a considerable and growing recognition of their role by all sections of the community, and the white-collar and the professional man is increasingly being drawn into the movement alongside the "workers by hand."

These trends are seen in all countries, and it is essential to an understanding of what happened in London between February 6th and 17th, 1945, at the historic World Trade Union Conference, that the main facts about the trade union movements of the world are known. The first part of this

book gives a short survey, all that is possible within these limits, of the movements in the various countries. I have attempted to bring out the salient facts and characteristics of each movement, without entering into a welter of detail that would only obscure the essential features. For those who wish to read and study further, a brief bibliography is given on page 161, although unfortunately the information available in easily accessible form is far too scanty.

June 1st, 1945.

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PART I
THE TRADE UNIONS OF THE WORLD

CHAPTER I

THE BRITISH COMMONWEALTH

(a) *Great Britain*

THE British trade union movement is the oldest in the world. Too often there is an impression that the British trade union movement sprang from the 1880's, with the successful strikes in 1889 of the match girls and the dockers. It is true that the trade union movement in its developed form of to-day owes much to these stirring events. Yet in fact, the movement began more than two hundred years ago. In their classic *History of Trade Unionism*, Sydney and Beatrice Webb trace back to the latter part of the seventeenth century "the establishment of continuous associations of workers." This was long before the coming of the steam engine. At that time England was still predominantly a self-sufficient agricultural community of small farmers and peasant proprietors, although a large class of landless labourers had already been created with the gradual break-up of the feudal system. During the transition to the capitalist system industry was largely carried on by individual craftsmen in small workshops while the bulk of goods for consumption outside the village community were produced in the workers' own homes, travelling middlemen undertaking the necessary distribution. Factory conditions were already beginning, however, with a growing distinction between employer and employed, and the emergence of a permanent class of wage-earners provided the conditions for successful combination. Conditions of work were at that time scandalous, wages in skilled trades amounting to a few shillings a week for a working day of 16 or 17 hours. With the growing complexity of industrial life, the Elizabethan system whereby "fair" wages and prices had been fixed by the Justices of Peace fell into disuse and these laws were ultimately repealed; thus the employee was left completely at the mercy of his employer. In fact, the position actually worsened, for the Combination Acts of 1710 onwards made it a criminal offence for workers to combine in their own defence, or in order to change wages or hours. In theory, the Combination Acts were directed against

employers as well as employed on the grounds that trade combinations were an encroachment on the right of the State to govern industry. In practice they militated only against the workers. The threat of the French Revolution across the channel brought even more severe penalties for the workers, and the Combination Acts of 1799-1800 covered every field of employment. The situation was no better for the fact that by this time the doctrine of "freedom of contract" had been found as an excuse for these pernicious practices.

Nevertheless, the wool workers and the tailors had formed permanent unions early in the eighteenth century, followed later by other skilled workers like shipwrights, carpenters, dyers and bricklayers, and by 1800 trade unionism had gained a hold, although not yet a firm hold, on many branches of industry. The continual series of Combination Acts is in itself a tribute to the vigilance and growing power of the working man. A turning point in the history of British trade unionism is the repeal of the Combination Acts in 1824, and from that time onwards progress has been uneven but continuous in effect.

It is a far cry from the words of G. J. Holyoake—in a lecture to trade unionists in Sheffield in 1841—that "Trade Unions . . . have generated a love of freedom, have knit together the victims of capital, when masters have forgotten honour and justice, and the world compassion and sympathy, when governments and religion were ranked as oppressors, Unions were the only barriers between the desolation of capital and machinery, starvation and the poorhouse," to the words of Winston Churchill just over a century later, when in the House of Commons on November 11th, 1942, he defined trade unions as "Those institutions which lie so near the core of our social life and progress, and have proved that stability and progress can be combined." Already this change was acknowledged in the last war, when the unions became increasingly associated with government committees, until Sydney and Beatrice Webb were able to write in their *History of Trade Unionism* in 1920 that it was "taken for granted that trade unionism must be distinctly and effectually represented, usually by men and women of their own informal nomination, on all Royal Commissions and Departmental Committees, whether or not these inquiries are concerned specifically with Labour questions." They also pointed out that the Government found itself com-

pelled to grant the Trade Unions and their leaders a position undreamt of in previous times in the determination of essentially national issues, since "The Trade Unions, in fact, through shouldering their responsibilities in the national cause, gained enormously in social and political status."

The later history of British trade unionism is widely known, and in this field there are ample books of reference so that only the briefest allusion to the various phases of this history will be made here. The repeal of the Combination Acts in 1824 was followed by a period of ambitious schemes to transform the small and isolated societies of workers into general labour federations. Robert Owen's Grand National Consolidated Trade Union, founded in 1834, reached half a million members, but failed, along with a number of others. The Chartist Movement belongs to this period. The new industrial relationships were not yet sufficiently developed for solid labour relationships to develop. The rising class of manufacturers were themselves conducting a bitter struggle against the landowners, culminating with the repeal of the infamous Corn Laws. Yet barely had the industrial revolution consolidated itself and industrial capitalism made its mark than the inevitable accompaniments followed in the shape of trade depressions. A corresponding change was to be seen in the character of the labour unions. Before the middle of the century, while concerned with the welfare of their members, they were equally concerned with future changes of society, the building of Utopias of one kind and another and filled with grandiose schemes—the Chartist Movement and the beginnings of the Co-operative movement date from this time. From the middle of the century onwards the more political trade union was replaced by what has variously been called "the new model unions" or the "business trade unions." During this period the solid trade unions that we know to-day were built up, with well-trained officials, first-class organisation, large funds, and stable systems of sick, unemployment, strike and other benefits. During this period, too, the Trades Union Congress took shape, the first Congress being held in 1868 in Manchester; while the Trades Councils on a city or district basis had been growing up in the previous decade.

Throughout their long history the trade unions have waged a continuous fight for their legal rights; a gain has usually been

followed a few years later by reactionary legislation designed once more to curb the growing strength of the movement. Nevertheless we can see the progress that has been made. Outlawed in its early days—only 120 years since, it was a criminal offence for workers to combine in their own defence—trade union recognition for collective bargaining is still more recent, yet the present statutes of the British Trades Union Congress include a rule defining the objects, of which clause (b) is:—"Generally to improve the economic or social conditions of workers in all parts of the world and to render them assistance whether or not such workers are employed or have ceased to be employed." It is little more than a century since a group of Dorset farm labourers from the little village of Tolpuddle were condemned to seven years deportation to Australia, then a wild country, for having done nothing more than to form a union. A few weeks ago the Minister of Labour and National Service, Ernest Bevin, said that "We [the trade unions] have risen from the mere deputation, asking to be received, to a position where scarcely anything can be done without our being consulted." During the past century the trade unions have achieved brilliant victories in the battle for higher wages and shorter hours of work; in the provision of health and unemployment insurance; compensation for injury, factory legislation and inspection, better educational facilities for all; and the trade unions are indeed responsible for the awakened public conscience in all matters relating not only to the welfare of their members but of all working men and women, black-coated and professional as well as the manual worker.

During this war even more than in the last the trade unions have had a record of growing participation in the direction of the economic life of the country, and many of its experienced leaders have taken high office. The production record, the lead of the Joint Production Committees, the official abandonment of the strike weapon during the war, the safeguarding of conditions for the returning soldiers, the tremendous elan of the British war effort in the factories, in Civil Defence and on the front lines, are all due in part and would not be on the same high level but for the activities and leadership given by the trade unions.

Another method of estimating their effectiveness is through their membership figures. At the end of 1939 the membership

was 4,669,186; at the end of 1943, the latest figures available, the total was 6,642,000, or an increase of nearly two millions. The figure is for the first time higher than the record figure of 6,505,482 in 1920. The increase is all the more impressive in view of the large number of trade unionists in the armed forces, who are not covered by these figures, and the fact that the 1920 membership included the Civil Service unions, with a membership at that time of 127,000, who are now excluded by the Trade Disputes Act. In passing, it should be noted that the membership figures for the British Trade Unions follows a trend to be found in all countries, with the exception of the Soviet Union: a gradual development from their beginnings, rising to a peak in the early 1920's and falling to their lowest in the world crisis of the early 1930's, followed by a rise again during this war or after liberation.

The controlling body of the T.U.C. is its Annual Conference, to which delegates from the 220 affiliated unions are sent on a membership basis. The Annual Congress elects the General Council, which transacts the business of the T.U.C. between each Annual Congress and which reports its activities for ratification each year.

The British delegation of fifteen at the World Trade Union Conference was chosen from members of the General Council of the T.U.C. This year's chairman of the T.U.C., George Isaacs, M.P., General Secretary of the National Society of Operative Printers and Assistants, the most important union in its group, was Chairman of the British delegation to the Conference. George Isaacs is a Londoner. He was elected one of the three permanent Presidents for the Conference itself, and in that important post he proved to the world his abilities as negotiator and Chairman and made full use of his inborn sense of humour and wit. He set the whole tone of the Conference in his opening and in his particularly impressive closing speech.

The Secretary of the British T.U.C. since 1926, Sir Walter Citrine, was another impressive figure at the Conference. Citrine is a deceptive personality. Tall and silver-haired, at times quiet and undemonstratively persuasive, he can suddenly startle a gathering with a speech of unconcealed forcefulness and intensity. He was without doubt one of the most experienced and knowledgeable persons at the Conference. He joined the Electrical Trades Union in 1911 and became

Assistant General Secretary of that union in 1920. In 1923 he became Assistant Secretary of the T.U.C. This long experience, added to the fact that Sir Walter Citrine has been President of the International Federation of Trade Unions since 1928, stood him in good stead throughout the World T.U. Conference. When not in Committee he would be sitting at a desk a little lower than that of the three Presidents, taking the endless notes that are the source of his ammunition. No one can fail to be impressed by the brilliance that Citrine showed throughout the Conference, and by his ability to judge a situation to find just the right moment for compromise.

The British delegation as a whole were an impressive delegation. Other leading members were Arthur Deakin, C.B.E., Acting General Secretary of the Transport and General Workers' Union, the largest British union, with a membership of over a million; Ebby Edwards, General Secretary of the new National Union of Mineworkers; F. Wolstencroft, of the Amalgamated Society of Woodworkers; Charles Jarman, General Secretary of the National Union of Seamen; Dame Anne Loughlin, of the National Union of Tailors and Garment Workers, one of the few women delegates to the Conference. Dame Anne herself presided over the annual T.U.C. Conference at Southport in 1943, the first woman to do so. Another leading figure in the British movement, Will Lawther, the newly elected president of the new National Union of Mineworkers, was present as the delegate of the Miners' International Federation.

Altogether the British delegation played a vital part in the Conference and one commensurate with the place of Britain as one of the three leading Allies in the war against world Nazism and Fascism, and commensurate also with the place of the British Trades Union Congress in the life of Britain itself. The trade union movement of the world will for ever owe a debt to the British T.U.C. for its initiative in calling this historic conference. The positive achievements of the delegation were acknowledged by all. First, in the sphere of sheer organising, the Conference was a model for war-time. Secondly, in the tone set by the main British contributions, the speakers showed that the British movement has reached maturity and that we can confidently look forward to an ever increasing participation of labour in the affairs of the nation

with a proper sense of responsibility and authority. The British T.U.C. has now shown the way forward in making it possible for the trade unions of the world to claim their right to participation in the international councils. The situation was ripe for such a development, but it needed the vision shown by the T.U.C. leaders to march forward into this new sphere.

The British delegation was, however, less imaginative in certain aspects of its policy. The delegation sometimes seemed to show an unawareness of the new stirrings in the world, especially those in the liberated countries. It seemed at times to be out of touch with the main stream of events in the trade union movements which they had invited to the Conference. Sometimes, indeed, the outsider might have thought that the British were in danger of isolation at the Conference. There was never, in fact, any such danger. Neither the British leaders nor the leaders from abroad would have allowed such a thing to happen. Only those whose interests lie in the disunity of the world's labour movement attempted to make capital out of the critical moments that did arise in the heat of argument and debate. The lesson of the Conference for every single trade unionist in this country is to take heed of these moments and to learn that however convinced we are of the certainty of our ways for our own people, they are not necessarily suitable for export. Above all, every trade unionist must learn more of the facts and the problems of the movements of other countries, of the aspirations and the strength of the labour movement abroad; and must learn, too, that the questions of contact with fellow trade unionists abroad, as well as international policy, are as much his concern as questions relating to his own wages. There is no sphere of "secret diplomacy" in the international relations of the trade union movement. It is up to each member to play his part.

CHAPTER II

THE CROWN COLONIES AND MANDATED TERRITORIES

A NOTABLE feature of the representation at the Conference was that of the *Crown Colonies*. The British T.U.C. had made special efforts on their behalf and Cyprus, British Guiana, Jamaica, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Gambia, the Gold Coast and Northern Rhodesia were represented.

Until recently trade unions were almost unknown in the colonies and any attempt on the part of workers to combine was met with violence both on the part of governments and employers. Nevertheless, there had been signs of a new spirit among the colonial peoples in their general advance towards the realisation that they were already fit for self-government. During the nineteen-thirties there were innumerable outbreaks, strikes and disturbances and the beginnings of labour organisation in the West Indies, Rhodesia and Mauritius, amongst other places. One of the main difficulties in the colonies had been the absence of any trade union legislation, which meant that the workers' organisations were not recognised for collective bargaining or in any other way. A great advance took place in 1940, when the Colonial Development and Welfare Act was passed. This Act contained a provision that no Colony should benefit from funds available under the Act unless it had adequate trade union legislation. During the previous decade there had been considerable agitation both in the Colonies and in Britain for the passing of trade union laws, and since 1940 most of the colonies have seen fit to introduce new legislation or to revise obsolete legislation. The official recognition and protection of the colonial unions has been a revolution indeed in colonial practice; but this should not blind us to the difficulties inherent in the situation. There are still countries—e.g., Palestine—with no trade union laws; there are others, of which Mauritius is an outstanding example, where the existing laws are extremely unsatisfactory, to put it mildly. In no colony are the union leaders satisfied, for in no case is the body of trade union law even as satisfactory as in

Britain, and in Britain the unions are far from complacent about their status in law. Other difficulties are inherent in the backward economic and political development of the colonies; the high percentage of illiteracy; the low standards of living; and the reactionary attitude of the majority of the employers towards the native workers. Most colonies now have Labour Departments of the administration, and in a number of colonies trade union officials from Britain have been appointed as Labour Officers. This development has been encouraged by the British T.U.C., which closely watches the development of their work. At a recent discussion organised by the Colonial Bureau of the Fabian Society with the colonial delegates to the World T.U. Conference it was agreed that the service of trade unionists as Labour Officers can be warmly commended when the trade union movement is in its early stages; when the situation is more evolved, however, what may have been assistance to a trade union movement becomes a somewhat dangerous intervention of government in trade union affairs.

The group of the negro delegates from the colonies was one of the most striking at the World T.U. Conference. Never before had there been an equivalent group in any international conference, the most noteworthy fact being that these delegates were *elected* delegates from mass organisations of their own people and not hand-picked government delegates. In the future in the international trade union movement the problems of the colonies will be raised by the colonial peoples themselves and not only by progressives from the holding countries. As a result of the growing concern of the trade unions of the world as to their responsibilities to the colonial peoples, reinforced by the presence of this strong delegation, a striking statement on the colonies was included in the Declaration on the Peace Settlement, and was reiterated in the final "Call to All Peoples," in these words:

"Our World Conference emphatically expressed the view that it is necessary to bring to an end the system of colonies, dependencies and subject countries as spheres of economic exploitation, and to facilitate immediately the developing of free Trade Unions in these countries, thereby laying the foundations upon which, in accordance with Article 3 of the Atlantic Charter, non self-governing communities and nations

can attain the status of free nations and be enabled to govern themselves and develop their own institutions of free citizenship."

The delegate from Nigeria, T. A. Bankole, would have liked to have seen a time limit put on the achievement of these aims in order to strengthen the declaration; the Conference did not think this practicable.

Another recent development of consequence for the future was the action of the British T.U.C., which invited Mr. E. E. Esua, President of the Nigerian Union of Teachers, to be part of their delegation to the 1944 full conference of the International Labour Office held in Philadelphia. At the Fabian Colonial Bureau meeting referred to above, Mr. W. Benson, the London representative of the I.L.O., said, in discussion, that although the I.L.O. could not admit the colonies to full membership as their members were all Sovereign States, nevertheless he saw no difficulty in the way of strong colonial trade unions claiming the right of sending representatives officially where subjects of concern to them were being discussed.

The *Nigerian Trades Union Congress*, with more than 500,000 members, is the strongest of the colonial movements. Nigeria is one of the richest British colonies, with 22 million inhabitants. The system of government is that known as "indirect rule." The Nigerian T.U.C. was formed in August, 1943, and at its second Annual Conference held in August, 1944, the secretary's report contains the following account of progress:

"In August, 1943, 33 Unions, representing at least 50 trades with a membership of about 200,000, were affiliated to the Congress. To-day 50 Unions, representing over 64 trades with a total membership of about 400,000, are affiliated to the Congress. . . . in 1943 we had no office, furniture, staff or typewriter. To-day, not only have we a furnished office, a new typewriter, a bicycle, a paid assistant, and a messenger, but arrangements are being made to install a telephone in our secretariat. . . . His Excellency, the Governor, Sir Arthur Richards, in his Address to the Legislative Council on March 13th, 1944, said this of us: 'Monthly meetings have been held with the Trades Union Congress of Nigeria; these meetings have been of great benefit not only to the Department [of Labour] but to Con-

gress as well, which has given valuable assistance in mediating in a number of industrial disputes.'"

Little over a year earlier, in January, 1943, the Nigerian Trades Union Congress received a letter from the government, which indicated that they could not be expected "to recognise a body about which it knows little and whose claims to speak for a section of the community are not at all clear." Thus there has been in a short time an astonishing advance. The Nigerian T.U.C. publishes a paper called the *Nigerian Worker*. It is represented on seven government committees. The average overall wage for a male labourer in Nigeria is 1/- a day, the main industries being tin, coal and gold mining, timber, docks, and transport. There is immense scope for militant trade union activity here. The President, 45-year-old T. A. Bankole, a draughtsman by profession, and M. A. Tokunboh, represented the Nigerian T.U.C. at the World T.U. Conference and made a considerable impression.

The *Gambia Labour Union* of 2,000 members was represented by E. F. Small and I. Garba Jahoumpa, who is a schoolmaster and does his organising work in his spare time. For the first few days he created quite a sensation at the Conference by wearing his ceremonial robes, a long blue linen gown. There is in Gambia an Advisory Council on labour questions. The three trade union members are outnumbered by four on the other side—two government officials and two nominated by the Chamber of Commerce. The unions want a body with a majority of their representatives and with powers of decision on general labour questions. The 2,500 members of the *Gold Coast Railway Civil Servants and Technical Workers' Union* were represented by J. S. Annan. There are four other registered unions in the Gold Coast. An official from the South Wales Miners' Federation, I. G. Jones, has been appointed Labour Officer and is helping the development of the movement.

The *Sierra Leone Trades Union Congress*, uniting 11 trade unions, was represented by a striking figure, I. A. T. Wallace-Johnson, who had recently been released from a five-and-a-half year term of imprisonment, internment and exile "all because I have been a union leader." (His original offence had been criminal libel, for blaming the chief official of the colony for the death of a native who had died while being flogged for

non-payment of taxes.) In answer to a question in the House of Commons on December 20th, 1944, the Secretary of State for the Colonies replied that Mr. Wallace-Johnson had been released from restrictions on October 21st, 1943. "To help him adjust himself to the new circumstances, the subsistence allowance which he was receiving at the time of his release would continue to be paid up to the end of January, 1945." After 5½ years of custody, freedom is certainly a "new circumstance"; and certainly being flown in a government plane to the World Conference must have been a startlingly new experience. In Sierra Leone, as in Gambia, the Government has the right to refuse registration to a union, without giving any reason; some unions have been victimised unjustly in this way. Neither the Trade Union Ordinance allowing the establishment of unions, nor that on arbitration are working satisfactorily, while Workmen's Compensation is not working at all. The Sierra Leone Government, according to Mr. Wallace-Johnson, is one of the biggest employers of labour and one of the worst offenders in this respect. Mr. E. Parry, of the General and Municipal Workers of Britain, appointed Labour Officer in 1942, has had to work under great handicaps. There is a Labour Advisory Board, whose decisions are not binding. The unions want Trade Boards established with obligatory powers.

Another delegate who had recently suffered a term of imprisonment for trade union activities was Ken Hill, the Vice-Chairman of the *Trades Union Council of Jamaica* and Chairman of the Federation of Government Employees' Organisations, both formed in 1943. The Jamaican T.U.C. groups all the unions in the island, about 25 in all, with the exception of the Bustamente Industrial Union. It will be recalled that Bustamente was the strong man of the Jamaican Labour Movement before the war and built up a considerable movement through methods little akin to trade unionism. He reported a membership of 200,000 at one time, of which many workers earning from 10/- a week were paying "union" dues of 9d. weekly. Bustamente's union was more reminiscent of the "protection" afforded, on payment, by Chicago gangsters than anything else. From 1939 the opposition to his leadership had been growing. Ken Hill, Arthur Henry, Richard Hart, and other leaders left Bustamente's union and, together with the two leaders of the

People's National Party (P.N.P.), N. W. Manley and N. N. Nethersole, set about organising a reformed trade union movement. This movement is rapidly coming of age. In its early days it faced tremendous opposition from government and employers. The Jamaican government was particularly annoyed at efforts to organise the government employees, hitherto unorganised, and banned a number of unions on the ground that their officials were not government employees. When officials had been elected from their colleagues, the government proceeded to sack them. The unions won their uphill fight, for the population was solidly behind them. Ken Hill and other leaders were arrested and interned on November 3rd, 1942, for their union activities; public opinion in Jamaica and in Britain forced their release on March 20th, 1943. The major dispute was between the Government and the Union of Railway Employees, but ultimately the Government was forced to recognise the union and the other government employee unions. Since then tremendous gains in wages and conditions have been secured by the Postal and Telegraph Workers' Union; the Relief Workers' Union; the Public Works Employees' Union; and the Government Auxiliary Workers' Union. During 1943 alone wage gains of £420,000 were secured for members. Some categories have secured an eight-hour day. There is no satisfactory body of trade union law, no central labour board and nothing to compel an employer to recognise a union for collective bargaining. An Industrial Relations Committee, consisting of workers, employers and impartial members, drew up a Labour Code, which has been in the hands of the Government since mid-1944 for action.

The *British Guiana Trades Council*, with a membership of 10,000, was represented by Hubert Critchlow, who has been secretary of the very first organised trade union, the British Guiana Labour Union, formed in 1919. He is also Vice-President of the British Guiana Trades Union Council, which was reconstituted in its present form on June 9th, 1943. Fourteen unions are now affiliated. The Government of British Guiana passed its first trade union legislation in 1921, which gave legal status to the unions, with voluntary registration but conferring certain privileges on those who did register. The previous labour history of British Guiana reads like a list of riots and disturbances on the sugar plantations with several

killed ; of sporadic strikes in the towns with subsequent arrests, deportations and even hangings.

The second trade union was registered on January 28th, 1931, the British Guiana Workers' League, and from that date onward the number of unions grew gradually. The first attempt at unity came in the 'thirties with the formation of the British Guiana Trade Union Assembly, a co-ordinating body consisting of members of the Executive Committees of the various unions, which by then included miners, transport, post office, government, waterfront and other workers. The Assembly lapsed gradually ; a further attempt to form a Trade Union Council came on February 12th, 1940, but although the objects were "to promote the interests of all its affiliated organisations and generally improve the economic and social conditions of the workers and to secure united action on all questions affecting or likely to affect those interests" only a handful of unions affiliated. In spite of this the standing of the unions has grown rapidly, and early in 1943 the Governor invited Hubert Critchlow and Mr. Edwin, of the Manpower Citizens' Association, an important registered trade union, to be nominated members of the Legislative Council. Trade union legislation has been developed and compares favourably with other colonies, even peaceful picketing being legalised in 1942. A final attempt to unite the various unions was successful with the first meeting of the reconstituted British Guiana Trades Union Council on June 9th, 1943 ; this meeting was presided over by W. M. Bissell, the Deputy Commissioner of Labour and an official of the Electrical Trades Union of Britain, to whose efforts these negotiations must be largely attributed.

Another British colony of quite different character is *Cyprus*, where, of a population of 400,000, five-sixths are Greek and have as their main political aim the union of their country with Greece. During the war Cyprus has played an important role in many respects ; 20,000 Cypriots have fought in the Allied armies, and when Rommel was knocking at the doors of Alexandria, Cyprus was turned into a fortress and a bastion barring the Nazi drive to the Middle East. The history of the trade union movement dates back to 1925, when the first trade unions were founded. They were dissolved in 1931, following a popular uprising against the British, and since then there has been a virtual distatorship, which exists to-day. In 1938 the British

Government allowed the trade unions to function legally once more and to-day the Pan-Cyprian Trades Union Committee has 12,000 members, in 90 unions, with 60 District organisations. The leadership of the Pan-Cyprian T.U. Committee, formed in 1941, is elected by secret ballot every two years. Already there is to the credit of the movement the recognition of the 8-hour day in all trades without exception ; considerable wage increases ; the creation of a Department of Labour, the appointment of a Commissioner of Labour and the enactment of certain protective legislation ; holidays with pay in a number of industries. The Cyprian movement is new but their delegate, A. Ziartadies, in speaking to the Conference, gave a glimpse of their role in Cyprus when he said "The Trade Unions are the heavy artillery of the working class. Let them speak up." He had certainly gained his place on the Conference Committee as the substitute delegate for the Mediterranean Zone of the British Commonwealth.

Mention must be made of the *Northern Rhodesia Mineworkers' Union*, represented by Bryan Goodwin. Northern Rhodesia, with the most important copper mines in the world, has been brought to the attention of British trade unionists since the deportation of Frank Maybank, General Secretary of the Mineworkers' Union in 1942, on the grounds of subversive activity ; in the view of the General Council of the T.U.C., the action of the government through the Colonial Office was totally unjustified, and the deportations of Maybank and another leader were in fact on account of trade union activities. Repeated trade union representation over nearly two years has resulted at the date of writing (May, 1945) in the new decision to allow Frank Maybank to return to Northern Rhodesia from Britain, his country of origin, to which he had been deported. The Mineworkers' Union was founded as a result of the energetic activities of Maybank and a small group of pioneers who had had trade union experience in other countries, and the only considerable group of European workers in the country—the miners—are 100 per cent. organised, the Mineworkers' Union covering nearly 3,000 members. Bryan Goodwin, the President of the Union and a member of the Legislative Council, was elected the delegate on the permanent Conference Committee on behalf of the African Zone of the British Colonies. The next step before

the trade unionists of Northern Rhodesia, as before those of other colonies, too, is the organisation of the African workers.

In addition to the colonial countries represented at the World T.U. Conference, it must be said that trade unions in a number of others are now developing and growing. Some idea of the general position can be gained from the description of the movements that were represented, however, which are a fair cross-section of the position elsewhere in the British Empire, with the proviso that they are less developed in some instances. Among organisations which applied to the British T.U.C. for invitation but did not receive them "for not possessing the necessary qualifications or not providing the necessary information," is the *Ceylon Trade Union Federation*. The President, M. G. Mendis, nevertheless sent warm greetings to the Conference indicating support for the formation of a single world trade union organisation, which should be one of the main levers in building up a durable peace and a world family of democratic nations as envisaged by the Teheran declaration. The Ceylon Trade Union Federation groups 12 unions with a combined membership of 16,380, of which the largest are: All Ceylon Tea and Rubber Workers' Union, 3,000; Colombo Harbour Workers' Union, 2,000; United Engineering Workers' Union, 2,500; Ceylon General Workers' Union, 1,800; All Ceylon Toddy Workers' Union, 1,900; Colombo Municipal Workers' Union, 2,700. The unions are organised into a number of groups—Harbour and Shipping, Engineering and Allied Trades, Tea and Rubber Export Trade, Tea and Rubber Growing and Manufacturing Trades, Agricultural, Municipal, General—and these groups elect their representatives to the General Council who in turn elect the Working Committees.

There are two other small groupings in Ceylon. The All Ceylon Trade Union Congress, which has been largely inactive since 1939. The Ceylon Indian Congress Labour Union is open only to Indian workers and confines its activities to plantations where immigrant Indian labour predominates; it is an active body.

Undoubtedly the Ceylon Trade Union Federation is the largest and most active mass organisation in Ceylon and has shown itself very desirous of being associated with the trade unions of other countries.

MANDATED TERRITORIES

The Mandated territory of *Palestine* comes within the British Commonwealth, the Mandate coming into force officially on September 23rd, 1923. The strained relations between the Jewish and Arab communities have been reflected, very unfortunately, in the relations between the trade unions of the two groups. As far as can be ascertained the position is as follows: the General Federation of Jewish Labour in Palestine (often known by its abbreviated name of Histadruth) comprises 140,500 members out of a Jewish population of some 550,000. Histadruth was founded at the end of 1920 with a membership then of 4,433. Its Constitution states:

"The General Federation of Jewish Labour in Eretz Israel, with a view to advancing the social, economic, and cultural interests of the working class in Palestine and of building a Jewish society of labour in Eretz Israel, unites and organises all workers who live by their own work and do not exploit the work of others."

Later, in a Memorandum to the Palestine Royal Commission in 1937, Histadruth said:

"The Histadruth functions are not merely those of a Federation of Trade Unions whose main task is the improvement of labour conditions of its members. . . . The Histadruth is—in aspiration and essence—an organisation binding together the founders of a National Home, the builders of a country, the liberators of a people."

There are three national unions—Agricultural Workers', Clerical Workers' and Railways, Posts and Telegraph employees'. In other trades workers are organised locally. In addition to the national and local trade unions, there also exist in every urban and rural centre of population, local Labour Councils. Works Committees exist in shops and factories. The struggle for trade union recognition has not yet ended, and labour legislation in Palestine is behind that even of the colonies. There is no trade union legislation in Palestine; pre-1939 the only labour legislation existing was an inadequate Workmen's Compensation and an unsatisfactory Women and Children's Ordinance. A Department of Labour was established as recently as 1942, arising out of the appointment of a Labour Adviser in September, 1940. As yet there is no government ruling or guidance

on minimum wages, maximum hours, health insurance, unemployment, old age pensions, trade union rights, holidays, etc. Histadruth has itself been successful in obtaining collective agreement and the 8-hour day is the general rule, overtime rates have been established, and notice of dismissal now required. Wages remain appallingly low in many parts, but are favourable in comparison with those prevailing in other parts of the Middle East.

It has been the aim of Histadruth to help to organise the Arab workers in autonomous Arab labour unions which should be allied with the Jewish organisations in a federation or league. This overall framework was to be the Palestine Labour League, founded by the 1927 Convention of Histadruth, the structure of which is one of autonomous nations' sections. Histadruth is the component Jewish section. The Arab organisation is still in its infancy, and the name Palestine Labour League has somehow come to be applied to the Arab unions. Their membership is at present 2,500. There are branches at Jaffa, Acre, Tiberias, the Dead Sea area, Colonia, and at several military labour camps. Histadruth itself publishes an Arab weekly newspaper called *Hakikath-el-Amr*, or "The Truth of the Matter," in order to pave the way to an understanding between the two communities.

Two purely Arab bodies, independent of the Federation of Jewish Labour, Histadruth, exist: the larger is the Arab Workers' Society, founded in Haifa in 1925 with a number of other branches, the largest being in Jaffa and Jerusalem. The smaller, the Federation of Arab Trade Unions, appears to function only in Haifa itself. The Credentials Committee of the World T.U. Conference was faced with a difficult task, as the Histadruth asked for the disqualification of one of the Arab groups on the grounds that it was not a bona fide trade union body but brought no information to support this statement. It was decided to allow representation to both, the larger, the Arab Workers' Society, to have one delegate and one observer, and to allow the smaller, the Federation of Arab Trade Unions, one observer. Whatever the true position, it appears that the Government, through its Department of Labour, is encouraging the Arab unions to come together. At the beginning of 1943 a Conference of organised Arab labour was held under the sponsorship of a former official of the

British Amalgamated Engineering Union, H. E. Chudleigh, Inspector of Labour for Palestine. Histadruth's comment on this Conference was that the whole question of wages and standard of living of the Arab workers (discussed at the Conference) would have had quite a different aspect if their offer of assistance to the Arab workers through the League had not been rejected. At the time of writing the position still remains confused, but undoubtedly the Jewish General Federation of Labour, Histadruth, is the only powerful movement in Palestine. The problem of unity of Jewish and Arab workers has yet to be solved by themselves.

CHAPTER III

THE DOMINIONS

Australia

AUSTRALIA has the distinction of being the premier capitalist country as regards trade union organisation. There are approximately 2,470,000 persons engaged in production and distribution, including the working proprietors, and there are more than 1,300,000 organised in trade unions. Of these, 1,100,000 are members, through their own affiliated union, of the Australasian Council of Trade Unions. Some 100,000 odd are members of the Australian Workers' Union, which for many years has adopted a policy of isolation and hostility to the general movement, and which is a catch-all organisation, and the rest members of purely local organisations.

Not only does the Australian trade union movement stand out as an example to-day, but throughout its history it has pioneered the way. Not quite as old in years—for Australia is a new country—as the movement in Britain, the early gains made in Australia have been years ahead. For example, the 8-hour day was gained in 1855 by the Operative Masons' Society in New South Wales after a short strike, and extended by the same union to Victoria in 1856. This was the first permanent gain of the Australian unions. It is slightly astonishing to trade unionists in Britain to read in a report, "That the Acts of the Legislatures in New South Wales and Queensland in 1930 providing for a 44-hour week tended to increase the average number of hours of labour per week in those States." This was the beginning of the period of attacks on workers' standards at the onset of the depression.

The Australian Labour Party was formed by the trade unions in 1891, following the defeat of a great general strike in Queensland, New South Wales and Victoria. The Labour Party is independent of the trade unions in a formal way as in England, but in fact trade unions form its background.

The early development of Australia on a *State* basis before federation in 1901 led to the early development of unions on a *State* rather than a national basis. This has resulted in the

affiliation of trade unions to the Labour Party through the State Labour Party and not nationally. This characteristic is one of the reasons why divergencies are possible between the policies of the Australian Labour Party and the A.C.T.U.

As long ago as 1875, again anticipating the English development, the secretary of the Sydney Labour Council was elected to Parliament. The Labour Party in Queensland actually gained a majority in 1899, and the first successful Labour Government sat in New South Wales in 1912. Since those days, the advent of State Labour Governments has been a natural thing. The present Labour Government of Prime Minister Curtin, for Australia as a whole, took office in October, 1941, and has been responsible, with the consistent backing of the trade unions, for the tremendous Australian war effort; there are State Labour Governments to-day in four of the six States: New South Wales, Queensland, Western Australia, and Tasmania.

Turning to trade union organisation proper, the earliest known unions date from a Cabinet Makers' Society in Sydney in 1833 and a Typographers' Society in 1836. From these small beginnings unions were formed in the majority of trades. The most vigorous period of trade unionism in the nineteenth century coincided with the gold-rush period of the 'fifties and 'sixties. After 1900 a new less militant era opened. We find that, shortly after the federation of the six Australian States and the birth of the Commonwealth of Australia in 1901, the trade union leaders within the various states attempted to take advantage of the new situation and to secure regulation of wages and working condition by law. A Commonwealth Court of Conciliation and Arbitration was set up in 1904. Since that date arbitration machinery has been at the disposal of the movement. Whether this machinery has been helpful to the working class or not is a subject of considerable debate even within the Australian movement itself. The A.C.T.U. went on record unanimously at its most recent conference demanding the drastic overhaul of the arbitration machinery. The A.C.T.U. is attempting to get a national minimum wage fixed, with higher rates as minima for the various industries.

The Australasian Council of Trade Unions (A.C.T.U.) has more than 1,100,000 members, and was founded in 1927. From 1921 onwards there had been a good deal of trade union activity

on a Commonwealth scale, but not until May 3rd, 1927, did a constitution-making assembly meet in Melbourne and create the A.C.T.U. The Constitution sets the objectives of the A.C.T.U. as the socialisation of industry—production, distribution and exchange. This objective is to be obtained by the closer organisation of the workers on an industrial basis, the consolidation of the Australian labour movement, centralised control of disputes, educational propaganda and consistent work in relation to wages and living conditions. The decisions of the A.C.T.U. are binding on affiliated bodies after acceptance by a majority of the city trades and labour councils of each State. These trades and labour councils have up to the present time been important units in the movement as they have existed since the earliest days of unionism and preceded any federal organisation. The 1943 Congress of the Australasian Council of Trade Unions took two important decisions, to transfer its headquarters from Melbourne to Sydney, the industrial heart of the nation, and to appoint a full-time secretary. A. E. Monk, the former president, was elected to this position. Membership in the Australian unions has been gradually rising since the last war, but suffered the same setback that has been noted in every capitalist country during the depression of the 'thirties. Membership rose to a peak of 911,541 in 1928, but fell to the low figure of 739,398 in 1933, following the highest unemployment figures on record in 1932. Since 1933 membership has been steadily increasing, and at the same time actual union organisation has been strengthened, with a tendency towards amalgamations and the principle of only one union for each industry.

The A.C.T.U. already showed some years back its staunch support for international trade union unity, and at its 1943 Congress went on record for an extension of the Anglo-Soviet Trade Union Committee to include Australia. The A.C.T.U. warmly welcomed the invitation to the World Conference, and two representatives were elected by ballot vote among all trade unions. One of the delegates fell ill, and finally Ernest Thornton, who had received the highest vote in the ballot, came alone. Thornton is the National Secretary of the Federated Ironworkers' Association of Australia, the largest union in Australia, with more than 100,000 members. He was born in

Huddersfield, but since emigrating to Australia as a boy had never been back to this country. The Australian movement could not have had a better representative. He was elected rapporteur for the Standing Orders Committee and, consequently, had one of the most difficult jobs at the Conference, presenting their reports to full session on a number of the most controversial questions. His personality, his toughness and his world vision helped to secure the unity which was achieved by the Conference on these vital issues, which are dealt with in Chapter 13.

As a footnote to the history of the Australian trade union movement, the famous maritime strike of 1890 should be recalled. This strike became a general strike, in which farmers, miners, transport workers and others joined and which even affected New Zealand. International labour solidarity was shown by contributions from the British unions, which, ably led by the London Trades Council, sent more than £4,000. The previous year international solidarity had been shown equally strikingly when the contributions from Australia in aid of the "London dockers' "tanner an hour" strike of 1889 totalled more than those from the rest of the world together.

Canada

There are three national trade union federations in Canada to-day—The Trades and Labour Congress of Canada, the Canadian Congress of Labour and the Federation of Catholic Workers of Canada; as in the United States the Railway Brotherhoods are independent of any outside affiliation. The trade union movement is numerically stronger to-day than at any time in Canada's history; the Trades and Labour Congress has 329,000 members; the Congress of Labour about 270,000; while the Catholic Workers cover some 50,000 and the Railway Brotherhoods some 25,000. Together with a number of smaller independent groups there are about 800,000 trade unionists in Canada to-day.

Certain features in the Canadian situation must be borne in mind; the Canadian trade union movement is not a separate movement, but is part of the larger and broader movement in the United States, and is the result of the close economic and social ties between the two countries and the identity of the habits and customs of the two peoples. Secondly, the move-

ment is relatively immature, is growing rapidly and still striving for acceptance by large masses of the people, including sections of the working class. All trade unionists cover only about 30 per cent. of the working population and that as the result of the war-time growth of the unions. Thirdly, one-third of the population of Canada consists of the French-speaking Catholics living in or near the Province of Quebec; thus religious, language and racial difficulties impede national organisation.

The early history of the movement in Canada is somewhat obscure; the direct immigration from England resulted at that time in similarities with the form of British unions, and by the 1860's local unions had been established with varying degrees of success in most of the skilled crafts. Like the American unions and the British unions of that period they overcame their early revolutionary tendencies and declared they wanted to co-operate with the employers. For example, the motto of the Typographical Society was "United to support, not combined to injure"; the Canadian unions were there to assist their members not to injure the position of the employers. Naturally in the course of defending the position of the worker they often in practise came into conflict with the employer.

The Trades and Labour Congress of Canada (T.L.C.C.) was founded in 1886 and by 1910 claimed the affiliation of 1,520 out of 1,752 unions in the country. By 1920 they covered 2,455 out of 2,918 Canadian unions and 267,247, or 72 per cent., out of 373,842 trade union members in Canada. Unions in the Trades and Labour Congress of Canada were primarily affiliates of the American Federation of Labour and, as stated above, by 1944 they claimed a membership of 329,000.

The Canadian Federation of Labour was composed of unions who left the Trades and Labour Congress in 1902, when they were advocating what might be called Canadian nationalism in the trade union movement, and opposition to the affiliation of the "international unions" of the American Federation of Labour. By 1927 they had combined with a number of other Canadian unions to form the All-Canadian Congress of Labour. To-day, after a complicated history too long to recount here, the Canadian Congress of Labour (C.C.L.) has a membership but slightly smaller than that of the T.L.C.C. and is com-

posed mainly of unions affiliated to the C.I.O.—a similar situation arose in Canada as a result of the formation of the C.I.O. in the United States with consequent expulsions of the C.I.O. unions from the T.L.C.C., and these subsequently found their way to the C.C.L. It should be emphasised that there is not in Canada the same enmity between the C.I.O. and the A.F.L. federations as there is in the States: witness the participation of both at the World Trade Union Conference.

The Federation of Catholic Workers of Canada came into existence in 1921, the 41 Catholic unions then existing forming the federation; it has grown from some 45,000 members at that time to 50,000 to-day.

For a short period there had existed in Canada the Workers' Unity League, founded in 1920 and affiliated to the Red International of Labour Unions. During its short life it did amazing pioneering work among the unorganised at a time when every job was competed for by several unemployed; when the W.U.L. entered into agreements with the international unions for transferring its membership to them in 1936, some 40,000 new members were gained for the T.L.C.C.

Three periods of militancy have characterised Canadian trade union history; that before the 1914 war, mainly for higher wages and shorter hours and for the recognition of unions, often met with brutal methods by the authorities, but were on the whole successful; the second followed the Armistice, and direct action on this occasion was political as well as economic in character, the demands including withdrawal of troops from Russia. The most famous of these strikes was the general strike in Winnipeg in 1919 when Winnipeg Trades and Labour Council took control of the municipal services. Sympathetic strikes occurred in every city throughout Western Canada. The third period occurred in the depression of the 'thirties and around the struggles of the unemployed workers and the building up of the Workers' Unity League; the most famous strike of this period was the strike of furniture workers at Stratford, Ontario, which resulted in troops being called out. The period of the formation of the C.I.O. also had its grim side, for the reaction of the employers to the challenge of industrial organisation was lynching, beatings, kidnappings, red-baitings and even murder of labour organisers.

Organised labour in Canada to-day is still split in various

organisations; particularly during the present war they have combined over a number of issues: negotiations with the Government and pressing for the formation of labour-management committees in war industries are but two examples.

The Canadian delegation to the World T.U. Conference comprised five members: the Secretary, J. A. Sullivan, and Vice-President, J. A. Whitebone, of the Trades and Labour Congress (A.F.L.), and C. Millard, J. McGuire, and P. Conroy, of the Canadian Congress of Labour. Conroy is Secretary of the C.C.L. Not only did the two delegations speak amicably of and support each other at the Conference, but when it became necessary to elect one Canadian representative to the Conference Continuations Committee, J. A. Sullivan of the T.L.C.C. was chosen, with C. Millard of the C.C.L. as the substitute delegate. On the discussion as to the future world trade union federation, P. Conroy, Secretary of the predominantly C.I.O. Canadian Congress of Labour, spoke and stated that he was speaking on behalf of both organisations represented on the Canadian delegation, and that he was authorised to say that the American Federation of Labour affiliates, the Trades and Labour Congress, were prepared to support any reasonable solution which would add to the chance not only of world unity but to the foundation of unity at home.

Neither federation was attached to any political party until recently; individual unions from both federations are affiliated to the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation, (which has recently won such striking and sweeping victories in the provincial elections), the first being the Mineworkers' Union, which affiliated in 1938. Since the C.C.F. already has won the elections in one Province, with 47 out of 52 members, and is a growing force, this partnership becomes increasingly important. At the 5th Annual Convention of the C.C.L. held in Quebec in October, 1944, a heated debate took place on the question of affiliation to the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation; affiliation was agreed upon by a small majority. However, the Political Action Committee of the C.C.L. continues its previous work without ties to any political party.

Eire

The one section of the British Commonwealth that is neutral in this war is Eire; and in spite of the prevailing restrictions

in that country, the *Irish Trades Union Congress* managed to send delegates to the World T.U. Conference. This organisation, with 260,272 members, actually covers unions both in the Irish Free State and in Northern Ireland. A further complication is that a number of the unions are affiliated through the headquarters of their individual unions to the British Trades Union Congress. The fact that Eire was represented at all is the result of an internal fight; for the Executive Committee had refused the invitation, yet the Annual Conference, meeting in July last, voted in favour by 75 votes to 16. The result has unfortunately played into the hands of William O'Brien, general secretary of the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union, who has been leading a movement to create an organisation composed exclusively of unions with their headquarters in Ireland. He has succeeded at a special conference, with a selected membership, which met in Dublin in May, 1945.* The result is going to be to split the Irish still further, for it complements the territorial partition of Ireland by partitioning in this way the trade union movement too. In fact, on the pretext of British influence being at work to result in the delegation which went to the "British-dominated" World T.U. Conference, these elements have succeeded in splitting the Irish trade union movement and prevented it from developing along progressive lines. Whatever happens in the future, it is to be hoped that all Irish unions will remain linked with their fellow workers in other countries through the new World Federation that is being created. As one of the points of general agreement is that the new Federation will allow affiliations from more than one national centre, there will be nothing to prevent such a step.

New Zealand

Very similar to the Australian movement is the trade union movement of New Zealand, united in the New Zealand Federation of Labour, with 166,810 members. The total population is about one and a half millions. There are many parallels with the Australian developments. As long ago as 1841 a strike for an 8-hour day took place in Wellington. The famous waterfront strike of 1890 had its parallel in New Zealand, and

* The new breakaway organisation is known as the Congress of Irish Unions.

the solidarity between the two countries has been manifest on a number of occasions. Small craft unions had been in existence from the 1860's onwards; smaller labour organisations even earlier. Not until the 'eighties were there signs of more permanent organisations, when Trades and Labour Councils were founded in a number of cities. A Trade Union Act giving unions a legal status was passed in 1878, but it was not until 1883 that the first union, the Lyttelton Lumpers' Union, was registered under it. The first New Zealand Trades Union Congress was held in 1885; it was convened by the Otago Trades Council and delegates from all over the country attended. A Federation of Labour was set up in 1909 but was not strongly supported by the trades and labour councils with their then conservative craft outlook, and after the failures of the strikes of 1912 and 1913—a period of great militant activity—the Federation collapsed. An Alliance of Labour, covering the national unions of the Waterside Workers, the Seamen, the Miners and the Railwaymen, was formed in 1920. The present New Zealand Federation of Labour covers both national unions, trades and labour councils, and unions covering several industrial districts. Organisational forms have changed from time to time, but since 1890 there has been a consistent upward development of trade union organisation.

The present New Zealand Labour Party, which has strong trade union support, was formed in 1916, and the first full Labour Government was elected in 1935. In spite of tremendous opposition and even financial sabotage from capitalist interests in Britain, the Government of Labour Prime Minister Peter Fraser has led the country to higher standards. Prior to the formation and ultimate success of the Labour Party, the New Zealand trade unions, as in Britain, had supported the Liberal Party, which has been responsible in its time for the introduction of important social measures, such as the Factories Act, the Shops and Offices Act, and the first Industrial Conciliation and Arbitration Act of 1894. Up to 1903 New Zealand was undoubtedly one of the first in the world, measured in terms of social legislation; from 1903 to 1938 little was added, save minor improvements. But the Social Security Act of 1938, passed by the first Labour Government, brings New Zealand once more to pre-eminence amongst capitalist countries. In New Zealand, as elsewhere, the trade unions are closely linked

with the Labour Party, and these two bodies provide the necessary backing for the maintenance and strengthening of the Labour Government—although during the war national unity has been strengthened by inviting representatives of the opposition parties to take office.

A current controversy in trade union matters is that of compulsory arbitration, and also that of compulsory trade unionism. The improved Arbitration Act of 1936, passed by the Labour Government, provides for compulsory arbitration and compulsory unionism. A recent number of the *New Zealand Transport Worker* states that "Wages and conditions of employment have been improved, but the membership has not gained a greater knowledge of the Trade Union Movement."

As regards membership, the peak was reached in New Zealand in 1939, when there were 254,000 registered members. This figure declined during the war to 214,618 in 1943, and by the time of the World T.U. Conference to 166,810.

Two delegates came from New Zealand to the World T.U. Conference, A. W. Croskery and W. A. Fox, and New Zealand has a place on the continuing Conference Committee.

South Africa

The situation in *South Africa* is not as simple as in the other Dominions, for there are several trade union federations. How has this come about? In contrast to Australia and Canada, there is a large native population; there is also a large white population and, unlike India, no native wealthy upper-class. Finally, there is the sharp division of the white population into the rich and the "poor whites." Of the total population of around 10 million, about two million are European or white; and of the eight million non-European, some seven million are Bantu or native Africans, a quarter of a million are immigrant Indians, and nearly a million are coloured or mulatto. The strains and rivalries between these sections of the population have unfortunately been duplicated in the past in the trade union movement.

The trade unions of the European sections are the only ones that have to date been able to take any part in international trade union affairs. In this sphere alone there are three federations, the South African Trades and Labour Council, the Cape Federation of Labour Unions and the Western Pro-

vince Council of Trade Unions. The first two have been affiliated to the International Federation of Trade Unions through a co-ordinating National Joint Committee, on a basis of combined membership of 120,000.

For some time now efforts have been made to achieve closer unity in the trade union movement. A new Constitution has been drawn up and approved by the National Executives of both the South African Trades and Labour Council (S.A.T.L.C.) and the Cape Federation of Labour Unions. This Constitution came into effect on April 1st, 1945. The Cape Federation of Labour Unions becomes an integral part of the South African Trades and Labour Council under the new title of the Western Province Local Committee of the Council. Exact membership is a little difficult to be accurate about since the Credentials Committee of the World T.U. Conference found it necessary to restrict the delegation of the South African Trades and Labour Council to two "since trade unions affiliated have an aggregate membership of 160,000 . . . but pay fees on the figures shown on the delegation list of 36,178." The S.A.T.L.C. Council has presented a draft Labour Code to the Prime Minister, which is at present under consideration and which contains a declaration of principles and the post-war demands of the trade unions.

The trade union movement in South Africa has had its moments of great militancy and great achievements—the epic general strikes of 1931 and 1932 organised by the Garment Workers' Union (Transvaal), in which young African women were the spearhead; the great Rand revolt of 1922 against the mineowners' proposals of wage reductions and the partial replacement of European by native labour. The lesson is clear that throughout the history of trade unionism in South Africa the separation of the unions of the white and the non-European populations has been one of the greatest sources of weakness. The problem should not be under-estimated, for the fear of the European trade unionist that their standards might be drastically cut by unity is the result of years of clever work on the part of the employers, who have been able to play one section off against the other. Wage figures give an indication of the dimensions of the problem. In 1939, 55,008 white workers received an aggregate of £21,104,467 in wages and salaries, while in the same year 425,131 non-Europeans received

£14,129,172. That is to say, that eight times as many native workers received only two-thirds of the total wage sum of the European group. However, no longer is the situation in South Africa such that the two movements ignore each other. The lessons of the Rand Gold Mines strike failure in 1920, when 70,000 native miners went on strike and lost out; and the lessons of the failure of the Rand Revolt of 1922, when European miners went on strike and also lost out, have not been forgotten. In those years the two groups did not support each other. Now the annual conventions of the European federations repeatedly call upon the Government to abolish legislation discriminating against the native unions. For example, in 1943 the annual conference of the Cape Federation reminded the Government of their pledge to help bring the war to a successful conclusion, and urged that as a party to that pact the Government should keep faith by removing some of the just grievances of the people; these included the amendment of the Industrial Conciliation Act to recognise the African trade unions; to abolish the discriminatory clauses against natives in the Workmen's Compensation Act; and the amendment of the Unemployment Benefit Act so as to include natives and labourers.

Six delegates were present at the World T.U. Conference from the South African unions, and it is notable that Mrs. Crawford, of the Western Province Council of Trade Unions, was one of the few women delegates, South Africa being alone with the Soviet Union and Great Britain in including women in their delegations.

Although two million European inhabitants of the Union of South Africa were able to send their trade union representatives to London, the eight million non-Europeans were disenfranchised in this respect. Some time before the Conference, the South African Minister of Labour announced that it was very unlikely that a visa would be granted to a delegate of the non-European unions. Yet in spite of the tremendous difficulties of organisation, which it has only been possible to touch upon here, the trade unions of the non-Europeans are growing rapidly. They are to-day co-ordinated through the Council of non-European Trade Unions, which groups at least 80 unions with a total membership of at least 150,000. The Johannesburg Council of non-European Trade Unions has more than 80,000 members, while the Port Elizabeth Council and the

Pretoria Council have substantial numbers.

There is a growing solidarity between the European and the non-European unions, the former supporting the demands of the latter to be covered by the Industrial Conciliation Act and in other matters, as we have seen. In other ways the South African Government has been forced to give *de facto* recognition to the non-European unions. Yet progress is bound to be slow in a society where the colour bar is legal, where an iniquitous system obliges natives in many parts of the Union to carry passes and where they are debarred from joining a registered trade union; where the Government has not yet seen fit to permit native volunteers to bear arms in the struggle against Fascism but allots to them the menial tasks. Yet as long ago as 1927 the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union, under the leadership of Clement Kadalie, reached a membership of 50,000. The day will come when the non-European trade unions will take their rightful place with the trade unions of the free world.

India

India, part of the British Empire, a sub-continent with a population of nearly four hundred millions, has a growing trade union movement. Not until the last war did organised trade unions as we know them in the West come into existence. It is during the last thirty years that the Indian workers have learned the benefits of organisation and the use of the strike weapon to better their conditions. An organised trade union movement was born, and the oldest and largest central trade union organisation in the country—the All-India Trade Union Congress—was founded in 1920 with 10,000 members. To-day it numbers over half a million members. The gains of organisation have been numerous. Before 1920 the hours of work per week were anything from 72 to 105. By 1920 they were reduced to 60 and by 1934 to 54 hours a week. In some war industries to-day the 60-hour week is still worked. Wages, too, have been increased to some extent, but are still appallingly low. The weekly wage in coal-mining has only in the last few months been increased from 3/9 weekly to 5/- weekly (and the shilling has approximately the same purchasing power in India as in Britain). The worker in India has no social security of any kind, no minimum living wage, no sick-

ness or unemployment benefits or insurance, and no official recognition of trade unions or of machinery for the quick settlement of grievances and disputes.

During the war the Government of India failed to take any effective steps to control prices and introduce rationing. The major political parties were denied democratic rights to manage the affairs of their country. As a result the cost of living rose by 200 per cent. on an average. There was widespread distress, scarcity and famine in the towns and even agricultural areas. Employers refused adequate wage increases. Millions died of famine, malnutrition and preventable epidemic diseases. Production for civilian use and the war-front also suffered. When coal production declined, the government saw fit to send 10 to 15 thousand women to work *underground*, in violation of the International Conventions against such employment—it is, at least, forbidden that they take their children underground with them. In spite of these conditions, the All-India Trade Union Congress has done everything to increase the war effort of the country and a comparison of the strike figures during and before the war are an indication of their tremendous efforts in this direction. In face of the working conditions and wages in relation to the cost of living, the railways and other essential services would not have run with so little friction but for the constant work of the A.I.T.U.C. This is particularly impressive, because of 62 members of the Executive Council 24 are imprisoned by the British.

The General Secretary of the A.I.T.U.C. is the veteran figure and great trade union leader, N. M. Joshi, of international fame. The Government has not dared to imprison him. The A.I.T.U.C. delegate to the World T.U. Conference was its President, S. A. Dange, who has spent 13 out of 24 years in prison, for trade union activity. He was arrested at the outbreak of this war and only released in 1943. In spite of this treatment, which applies to the greater part of the leaders of the progressive movement in India, Dange was able to say proudly that the trade unions have denounced and fought Fascism in all its forms since it first appeared and that the Indian unions have made heroic sacrifices in the last five years to maintain production. Dange consistently at the World Conference, and outside, has campaigned for the political freedom necessary to let the unions play their rightful part in

leading the workers in their fight against Fascism and Nazism and in mobilising and increasing production to this end.

It is all the more regrettable, therefore, that there should have been some confusion at the Conference of the position of the A.I.T.U.C. by the presence of another delegation of an organisation called the Indian Federation of Labour. This organisation came into existence in December, 1941, and since its creation has been financed at the rate of £1,000 a month by the British Government of India. During the two years the income of the Indian Federation of Labour was £25,000 from the government and £400 from its members. This fact was stated, in reply to a question, by Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, the Labour member of the Viceroy's Council, on April 4th, 1944. Dr. Ambedkar indicated that the money was given to build up the morale of the workers "by the publication of printed literature, oral propaganda, visual publicity and the dissemination of reassuring news. I am satisfied that the expenditure achieved the object for which it was sanctioned." No accounts had been published by the Federation but the Labour member assured the Legislative Assembly that in future accounts would be prepared in the office of the Federation and would be available in the ordinary way. It is necessary to state these facts since, on two recent international occasions, the Indian Federation of Labour has appeared as an organisation representing the Indian Trade Union Movement. At the Philadelphia Conference of the I.L.O. held last April and May, the Government of India chose as the workers' representatives in their delegation the then chairman and vice-chairman of the I.F.L., Jamnadas Mehta and Aftab Ali, in spite of the strong objections of the A.I.T.U.C. A delegation was also present at the World T.U. Conference. Meanwhile, owing to the repercussions of the publicity over the Government subsidy, which continues, both Jamnadas Mehta, who was formerly President of the All-India Railwaymen's Union, and Aftab Ali, who is President of the Seamen's Union, have resigned from the I.F.L. and have called on all other unions to resign. A further sidelight has been thrown on the I.F.L. by the revelation that the Information Ministry is subsidising the daily newspaper run by M. N. Roy, the Secretary of the I.F.L., to the tune of 1,500 copies bought in bulk each day.

Another curious situation has arisen in connection with the Indian Federation of Labour. A smallish organisation known as the National Trade Union Federation came into existence in 1929 and was affiliated to the I.F.T.U. Some time later the National Trade Union Federation united with the A.I.T.U.C. As recently as March, 1944, the printed "Report of Activities" of the I.F.T.U., lists as its affiliate in India the National Trade Union Federation, which in fact had ceased to exist in 1938. The British T.U.C. originally invited two organisations, the A.I.T.U.C. and the N.T.U.F., to the World T.U. Conference. It is slightly curious, to say the least of it, for a responsible trade union international to substitute the one for the other on the pretext that in India there appear to be two Trade Union Centres, one the A.I.T.U.C., and "the other, which considers itself still affiliated to the I.F.T.U., has changed its name from National Trade Union Federation to Indian Federation of Labour and seems to have maintained its previous membership of 144,000." At the World Conference the representative of the I.F.L. himself stated that his organisation was only founded during the war, after the fall of France.

By contrast the All India Trade Union Congress, with its half-million members, lives on funds raised entirely from the working class, can move into action the five million industrial workers of India and has a long record of fighting for the betterment of working conditions and a fine industrial record during the war.

Postscript on the British Commonwealth Trade Unions.

The American Federation of Labour has taken the opportunity to cavil at the fact that 15 of the 35 countries represented were British Dominions, colonies or mandates and to try to draw the conclusion that this demonstrates "to what extent Sir Walter Citrine and his friends in the British Government strained their efforts to bolster up British representation at the Conference." This statement shows yet once again how far removed from realities the A.F.L. must be. The presence of the important delegations from the British Commonwealth was a fact, and a fact of tremendous significance for the world labour movement. Yet anyone who followed in the slightest degree the development of the Conference will know that every one of the colonial and dominion

delegations acted as a completely independent unit and had as many differences, if not more in some instances, with the British as with anyone else. What is vital is the fact that in spite of the difficulties inherent in the various levels of development of these movements, and of their varying cultural and economic backgrounds and their varying status within the Commonwealth, that these trade unions participated to the extent that they did and were recognised as independent units by the British and by the Conference.

Top left : VICENTE LOMBARDO TOLEDANO (Latin America).

Top right : LOUIS SAILLANT (France).

Bottom : SYDNEY HILLMAN (U.S.A.), *left*,
talking to SIR WALTER CITRINE (Britain).



CHAPTER IV

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

At the World Trade Union Conference, 13 men are on the record as representing the trade union movements of America, 12 from the Congress of Industrial Organisations and one from the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen. Two great organisations had refused invitations to attend—the American Federation of Labour, with more than six million members, and the United Mineworkers of America, of which John L. Lewis is the Chairman, with half a million members. How did this position arise?

The early history of the trade unions of America is as stormy in its way as that of the British Trade Unions. Unions in America began on a purely local basis, and by 1836 there were 58 in Philadelphia, 13 in Pittsburgh, and 58 in New York, unions mainly confined to the skilled trades, such as printers, carpenters, plumbers, tailors and weavers. The earliest national unions were often semi-secret organisations formed for the purpose of protecting the interests of particular craftsmen, such as the Knights of St. Crispin formed in 1867 by the skilled shoemakers. The most famous and comprehensive of these was undoubtedly the Noble Order of the Knights of Labour, formed in 1869 to prevent victimisation and which accepted membership from all wage-earners and also provided for the affiliation of individual organisations. The Knights of Labour soon lost its early revolutionary aspects and with a motto of "An injury to one is the concern of all" at the same time encouraged its members "to work in harmony with capital." It is significant that the earliest features of the organised workers movement in the States—craft basis and acceptance of the capitalist system as the framework within which to work—have been the keys to an understanding of the history of American labour right up to to-day. The organisation of the Locomotive Engineers and Firemen had, in the 'sixties, undertaken some successful militant strikes; later it came out with the affirmation "that as the interests of the employers and the workers were the same they should cease

fighting each other and should live in peace and harmony." A comparable event, and there were many more in the States, to our Tolpuddle Martyrs, was the attack in 1875 on the semi-secret organisation of the miners, the "Molly Maguires" as they were known, a group whose leading officials were tried by due process of law, found guilty of criminal acts and hanged. These labour leaders were among the first martyrs of the trade union movement of the United States.

The Knights of Labour went ahead, and recruited wage-earners on a broad basis; at its peak it covered 750,000 members by 1887, after which the membership declined rapidly, so that two years later there were only 260,000. Their policy of all-inclusive recruiting was denounced by Samuel Gompers, President of the Cigar Makers' National Union, whose "craft philosophy" was to make the craft organisation sufficiently powerful to bargain with the employers and assure a "fair" profit for their invested capital and a decent living for the skilled workers. Gompers, together with a number of other union leaders of his way of thinking, invited unions to send delegates to a Convention held in Pittsburgh on November 15th, 1881, "for the purpose of forming a National Federation to secure justice that isolated and separated trade and labour unions can never fully command." From this Convention, which included the Knights of Labour, grew the American Federation of Labour, which took this name in 1886. By 1894, the year in which the annual interchange of delegates with the British Trades Union Congress began, they claimed a membership of half a million (this excluded the Knights of Labour, who had by then ceased to be associated with the A.F.L.).

From those early days the American Federation of Labour has continued to grow and has had its ups and downs in much the same way as the British movement. For examples, top membership pre-war was in 1920, with a figure of 4,093,000, decreasing gradually to 2,317,500 at the depth of the depression in 1933. Under the Roosevelt New Deal policy, which was friendly to unionism, the membership figures gradually rose again, and at the time of the split with the C.I.O. in 1936 had risen to 3,542,000.

The well-known conflict between craft and industrial unionism, which arose within the A.F.L. and led ultimately to

the formation of the C.I.O., has its basis in certain features of early trade union history which stand out in marked contrast to that of the British movement. The British T.U.C. is a federation of affiliated organisations and any bona fide trade union may apply for affiliation according to certain prescribed forms. The A.F.L. sets out in its objects, that they include "The establishment of National and International* Trade Unions, based upon a strict recognition of the autonomy of each trade and the promotion and advancement of such bodies." It is the A.F.L. itself which grants a "charter" to each of its constituent organisations, and these charters carefully define the jurisdictional rights of each union. Annual conventions of the A.F.L. have been occasions when the various unions have set out to safeguard their own territory and to see to it that their "rights" granted by charter from the A.F.L. were not in the slightest degree infringed upon. A further reason for this substantial difference between the British and the American unions is that the greater class consciousness of the British movement has assured that the ultimate welfare of the movement would come before disastrous internecine disputes; whereas with the defined limits of the A.F.L. that their job was to organise workers into free and democratic unions for the purpose of collective bargaining for better wages and conditions, at the same time accepting "private enterprise and private initiative as fixtures within the democratic structure of our government" it became necessary from the outset to control very strictly the activities of the individual unions.

Actually, even the A.F.L. had to modify this attitude, and at the 1901 Convention at Scranton, they gave the United Mine Workers an industry-wide charter of jurisdiction. Two years later, in 1903, uneasy at the implications of this step, a resolution was passed condemning the advocates of industrial unionism and calling on trade unionists to "help to stem the tide of expansion madness, lest either by their indifference or encouragement their organisations will be drawn into the vortex that will engulf them, to their possible dismemberment and destruction."

One-third of a century was to pass before the crisis came to a head; the conflict between the two schools of thought in our own

* "International Unions" are those with affiliates in Canada and/or Mexico.

day exploded at the 1935 Annual Convention of the A.F.L. at Atlantic City. The Minority Report of the Resolutions Committee stated the case for industrial unionism and pointed to the failure of the craft method to organise more than 3½ millions out of a possible 39 millions of organisable workers after 55 years of activity! They urged, therefore, the granting of unrestricted charters to industrial unions which could accept into membership all workers employed in defined industries . . . regardless of the claims based upon the question of jurisdiction. The minority report safeguarded the existing membership of the craft unions and their potential membership in establishments where the dominant factor was skilled craftsmen; further they urged an aggressive organisation campaign in those industries where the great mass of workers were not organised. This Minority Report being rejected, 12 unions combined in November, 1935, to form inside the A.F.L. the Committee for Industrial Organisation "for the promotion of organisation of the unorganised workers in mass production and other industries upon an industrial basis . . . and to bring them under the banner and in affiliation with the A.F.L." A bitter struggle ensued within the A.F.L. and resulted, by a resolution of the Executive on August 5th, 1936, in the suspension of the 12 unions concerned "for inaugurating a state of rebellion against the A.F.L. and a breach of their contractual obligations in the charter of affiliation of each of the said Unions." These unions represented over one million members, and a third of the A.F.L. membership, and included the mine-workers, the clothing workers, textile workers, automobile workers, and the mine, mill and smelter workers. Nothing daunted, the C.I.O. went ahead, and at its first constitutional convention held in November, 1938, it emerged as the *Congress of Industrial Organisations*. There are now 41 affiliated organisations and the C.I.O. is accepted in the United States as the rising labour movement, with a recognised membership already approximately the same as that of the A.F.L. Total union membership in the States is now in the region of 14 million, and there is no doubt that the A.F.L. was stimulated to major recruiting campaigns alongside those of the C.I.O.; in this respect the rivalry was first class publicity for the trade union movement. The C.I.O. was represented at the World Conference on the basis of 6,238,000 members; the A.F.L. affiliated

to the International Federation of Trade Unions on claimed membership of 6,806,900.

This is what the C.I.O. says of itself:

"In keeping with the broad aspect of modern life, the C.I.O. has progressed from the early labour movement's pre-occupation with wages, hours, and working conditions in a given locality, to an active interest in the wide fields affecting the living standards of workers everywhere. In so doing, it has become involved in co-operation with government, with management and with professional, civic and church groups in many communities. It has proposed and supported a great deal of social legislation. It has actively entered politics. It has pioneered in the field of race relations. And it has called for close collaboration between the labour movements of the world."

The name of Philip Murray will always be associated with the development of the C.I.O. He was born in Scotland in 1886, and at the age of 10 went to work in the mines. With his family he emigrated to Pennsylvania in 1902. His active experience in trade union work started when he was 18 and to-day he is one of the outstanding trade union leaders in the United States. From 1920 until 1942 he was international vice-president of the United Mine Workers and a close associate of John L. Lewis, with whom he fell out over the hostility of the latter to Roosevelt and all that he stood for. When Lewis resigned from the presidency of the C.I.O. Murray was elected. During the dispute over industrial organisation with the A.F.L. in 1936, a Steel Workers' Organising Committee was set up with Philip Murray as Chairman; this Committee eventually grew into the United Steel-Workers of America, with a membership to-day of 936,000, of which Murray is the President. In addition to his long and outstanding record in the labour movement, which has led him to the Presidency of the C.I.O., Philip Murray has made an individual contribution on a number of issues which are quite outstanding. His name is particularly associated with the Murray Industry Council Plan and with the recent C.I.O. Re-Employment Plan. For trade unionists abroad Philip Murray's name has come to be associated with the tremendous world-wide movement which eventually resulted in the setting up of the new World Trade Union Federation. He has long been firmly convinced that

a world trade union conference would "immediately establish the organisation which can be labour's voice in international affairs." He was right.

In the absence of Philip Murray, the leadership of the American delegation to the World T.U. Conference fell to R. J. Thomas, President of the 1,200,000 strong United Automobile, Aircraft, and Agricultural Implement Workers of America. Thomas was one of three elected presidents at the Conference, and on a number of occasions made his voice and influence felt, the first time within two hours of his arrival in London, two days late owing to travel difficulties!

In contrast to Thomas, a hearty, burly figure, and American-born, stands Sydney Hillman, born in Lithuania, a tall scholarly looking man. While Thomas was keeping the Stars and Stripes flying as one of the Chairmen of the Conference, Hillman was the Committeeman and played a vital role, especially in the Committee that discussed the future organisation. Mention must be made, too, of Joe Curran, President of the 50,000 strong National Maritime Union, who found time while here to defend the Greek sailors being tried in British Courts for attempting to build union organisation on their ships (Curran explained how there are only 4 per cent. of merchant ships sailing under the American flag without union committees . . . and the charges against the Greek sailors were dismissed). Thirty-seven-year-old Reid Robinson, President of the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers' Union, who has been a trade unionist for 27 years of his brief life, having joined the Newsboys' Union in Seattle at the age of 10, did a grand job in stepping in for Sydney Hillman (also delayed) and giving the main United States contribution on the Allied War Effort debate at a few hours' notice.

While the A.F.L. refused to attend, several of their affiliated unions sent unofficial observers, and dozens of messages of goodwill were sent. For example, Courtney Ward, President of the Ohio Council of Painters, Paperhangers and Decorators, who was sent officially by his union to observe the Conference, also represented 175 A.F.L. leaders, reported back to a dinner in his honour in New York on March 14th and urged that those present take every step possible to see that the A.F.L. is represented officially when the world conference reconvenes in Paris in September. Courtney Ward then proceeded on a tour of A.F.L. unions throughout the United States to give

them first hand reports of the Conference. The time is bound to come when either the leadership of the A.F.L. must change its attitude, or, if it does not, the membership has already shown that it will find ways and means of being associated with their brother workers in other countries. The A.F.L. refused the invitation on two counts: firstly, that the International Federation of Trade Unions, to which it is affiliated, was the proper body to convene the Conference; secondly, the presence of the C.I.O. and the Soviet delegates. Since the Conference the A.F.L. has returned to the attack and further revealed its reactionary nature and anti-Soviet policies.

As a footnote to the position of the A.F.L. and C.I.O., it is important to note that they do in fact collaborate on innumerable war-time government committees and through the War Labour Board.

The other American movement that refused the invitation was the United Mineworkers of America, of which John L. Lewis is President. Lewis played a progressive role in the days when he took the leadership in the fight of the C.I.O. with the A.F.L. Since then, however, for reasons which appear to be mainly personal, but in fact are basically political, he resigned the presidency of the C.I.O. early in 1941. Lewis had threatened to resign if Roosevelt was re-elected President after the 1940 election, and called on the members of the C.I.O. to vote against Roosevelt. Although the issue appeared to the public as the result of a personal quarrel, for it was rumoured that Lewis aimed at high office, even the vice-presidency, there are clearly significant underlying differences. It should not be forgotten that he had close contact with the Fascist America First organisation and has shown no signs of regretting these contacts. Lewis kept the United Mineworkers within the C.I.O. for a time, but ultimately withdrew in the summer of 1942 over a secondary issue of some money which the United Mineworkers claimed to have "lent" to the C.I.O. in the early campaigning days and which the C.I.O. claimed was a gift. Since then, Lewis has varied his policies. Recently he applied to the A.F.L. for re-affiliation of the United Mineworkers, and this was refused in the spring of 1945. A new issue of contention between the United Mineworkers and both the C.I.O. and the A.F.L. is the claim of the Mineworkers to organise anyone employed in any industry

" in any way dependent upon the mining industry." " District 50 " of the United Mineworkers still attempts to organise the most varied elements with the undoubted object of building up a general union by encroaching on the field of other unions, and so to gain a mass following among other groups of workers in addition to the miners. From time to time there are signs of revolt within the half-million members of the United Mineworkers, but Lewis's veritable dictatorship over the organisation is still unbroken. He maintains his anti-Roosevelt, anti-British, and anti-United Nations propaganda on any and every occasion, and so long as this attitude continues he can clearly not be trusted by the workers of America or any other country.

The Railroad Brotherhoods, who have been mentioned earlier, cover about 600,000 members. There are about 20 separate organisations, the majority not affiliated to either the A.F.L. or the C.I.O. They are on the whole wealthy, stable organisations, and although in the domestic field they have kept clear of affiliations they have in general shown themselves in favour of world-wide trade union unity. Four of the main organisations, the Order of Railway Conductors, the Railroad Signalmen, the Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen, and the American Train Dispatchers' Association were to have been represented at the World T.U. Conference, but their joint delegate was unfortunately unable to come at the last moment. Another organisation, with 200,000 members, the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, was represented by Sergeant W. A. Nutter, one of their members who had been fighting in France. For purposes of collective bargaining the railroad unions combine in the Railway Labour Executives' Association.

There is no doubt that the majority of the rank and file of all American trade unions have shown themselves vitally interested in the success of the World Trade Union Conference and anxious to see the early setting up of the machinery to make the new Federation work efficiently. The recent meetings of the new Administrative Committee of the Federation in Washington and at Oakland Bay, near San Francisco have brought this achievement nearer.

CHAPTER V

LATIN AMERICA

LATIN AMERICA is the name usually given to the 20 independent republics south of the border between Mexico and the United States ; the area covered by the South American continent and the Central American republics (which together make up Latin America) is two and a half times as large as the United States. These notes are by way of introduction to the fact that the rapidly developing trade union movement of this continent will be playing an increasing and an increasingly important role in the world trade union movement. The population for the whole area is not more than 125 millions—but it is a rapidly expanding population. There is no other continent where the trade union movement has had such a violent and chequered history. To-day the national trade union movements of 17 of these countries : Argentina, Bolivia, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Ecuador, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Salvador, Santo Domingo, Uruguay, Venezuela and, since the democratic revolution in Guatemala in the spring of 1945, that country too, are linked together in the great Confederation of Latin American Workers with more than 4 million members. The countries missing are Honduras, which is virtually a colony of the American United Fruit Company ; the French-speaking republic of Haiti, with three and a half million negro and mulatto citizens ; and Brazil, with a population of 44 millions, under the dictatorship of President Vargas, and where there is a law which forbids trade unions from having any international relations.

At the World Trade Union Conference, the national movements of Uruguay, Mexico, Cuba and Colombia were directly represented ; while Lombardo Toledano, of whom more later, attended as an observer on behalf of Costa Rica, the Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Panama, and Peru. Vicente Lombardo Toledano, President of the Confederation of Latin American Workers, was present as its delegate and was elected one of the Vice-Presidents of the Conference.

The Confederation of Latin American Workers (Confedera-

cion de Trabajadores de la America Latina—C.T.A.L.) was formed as recently as 1938, when its first convention was held in Mexico City. The original 13 countries represented drew up a programme, which remains the fundamental programme of the C.T.A.L.: Defence of the democratic form of government in America, and in the entire world; struggle against Fascism wherever it is found; respect for the autonomy of each affiliated movement; the unification of the labour movement in each country; and the material and social progress of the workers and the common people of Latin America. The industrialisation of Latin America with a view to raising living standards and stabilising political conditions has been the main long-range programme of the C.T.A.L., which points out that this cannot be done without the aid of the industrialised countries of the world. The C.T.A.L. also points out, however, that imperialism must not be tagged on to financial support as in the past, since this will simply mean victimisation by foreign monopolies and "that Latin America will lose the war despite the defeat of the Axis." For this reason and for reasons of world-wide solidarity of all workers by hand and brain, the C.T.A.L. urges the greatest collaboration between the trade unions of the world, and for the last four years has consistently sought the establishment of these world-wide links. The C.T.A.L. also urges close economic co-operation between the U.S.A., Great Britain and the Latin American countries, which will not only help towards a solution of Latin American economic problems but will reduce the area of possible discord between Britain and the U.S.A.

Before the World Conference, the C.T.A.L. had already established direct relations with the Unions of North America through the C.I.O. Committee on Latin American Affairs; delegates had been exchanged since the first C.T.A.L. Convention in 1938. Lombardo Toledano himself went as a delegate to the 1944 Convention of the Trades and Labour Congress of Canada (A.F.L.) and also established close relations with the Canadian Congress of Labour (C.I.O.). A direct contact with the British T.U.C. was established for the first time at the second General Congress of the C.T.A.L., held at Cali, Colombia, in December, 1944, when Arthur Horner of the British T.U.C. attended as a fraternal delegate. The Soviet Trade Unions have warmly supported the development of the C.T.A.L. and

friendly communications have been maintained between the two groups since the formation of the C.T.A.L.

The remarkable development of the C.T.A.L. has largely been the result of the work of a remarkable man, Vicente Lombardo Toledano, still under 50, President of the C.T.A.L. since its foundation. Lombardo Toledano holds a degree in law, has been a professor, one-time Director of the National Preparatory School in Mexico City, and author; is widely travelled, a first rate organiser and orator and a great mass leader. There are few men alive to-day who command such qualities and experience. At the same time he is a matchless tactician, and these abilities were shown at the World Trade Union Conference, where he was one of the outstanding figures both because he represented an up-and-coming movement and because he ranks as a world labour leader. His capacity for work is tremendous; during the whole conference he never seemed to relax for a moment. I had occasion to see him at his hotel within two hours of his departure for the Pan-American Conference in Washington, the evening that the Conference Continuations Committee had finished its work, and he was holding a meeting with all the Latin American and Spanish delegates, whom he would not be seeing for some months; he was working up to the last minute he was in London. He has been called a visionary and an idealist; he has these qualities, but they should not blind us to his practical achievements and practical abilities.

The individual movements in the Latin American countries are as varied as can be imagined; in some countries, like Peru and Bolivia, unions work in semi-legality. The World T.U. Conference received a request from the Bolivian Legation asking if they could appoint an observer, as apparently no delegate was coming directly from Bolivia. This request was not acceded to. In some countries, for example, Argentine, Paraguay, and Brazil, the trade union movement is virtually underground. In a continent where masses of the workers earn 9d. a day in copper mines and oil-fields, they cannot be expected to pay union dues with the same regularity as their comrades in Western Europe or the United States. Some unions have no full-time officials; the labour press is limited; many have no offices other than the homes of their elected officials. In spite of all this, the Latin American unions are well established bodies, since they are rooted in the lives and interests of

the workers. Delegates and officials are regularly elected and subject to recall. The truest vindication of the strength of the movement is the fact that during the last six years there has been not a single case of strike-breaking in Latin America.

Some of the national movements have their roots several decades back; the best known movement is that of Mexico, whose first national federation was created as far back as 1918. The Confederacion Regional de Obreros Mexicanos (C.R.O.M.), with Luis Morones as its General Secretary, became a reactionary, stagnating, strike-breaking organisation. The era of stagnation came to an end in 1933, with the creation of a new national trade union and peasant organisation with Lombardo Toledano as its leader. Later still, in 1936, when it became necessary to safeguard the regime of the liberal President Cardenas against the attacks of Morones and other political bosses, a National Unity Congress of labour was held, and the Confederacion de Trabajadores de Mexico (C.T.M.), or the Confederation of Mexican Workers, with Lombardo Toledano elected as General Secretary, was born. The C.T.M. has never looked back. It now has more than half a million members and plays a leading role in the Mexican Revolutionary Party, which backs the present regime under President Camacho. Lombardo resigned the secretaryship of the C.T.M. at the end of his term of office in 1941 and devotes the greater part of his time to the development of the C.T.A.L. He was followed by the present secretary, Fidel Velasquez, a veteran labour organiser, who may be termed a moderate.

Another leading figure of the C.T.M. is Alexander Carillo, editor of the trade union and socialist paper *El Popular*, founded by the C.T.M. in 1938. A delegate to the Conference, Carillo, who has a fluent command of several languages, played an important part, intervening in the discussions on a number of occasions, and also was the elected rapporteur for the Credentials Committee.

The C.R.O.M., the organisation of Morones, still exists, but is a rump organisation with some 20,000 members. A few independent unions account for another few thousand organised workers throughout the country. One of the most interesting features of the Mexican situation is the role that the C.T.M. has played in recent presidential elections. It is doubtful if any future president could win without the backing of the

C.T.M. President Cardenas, whose term of office was over in 1940, had co-operated very fully with the C.T.M. and is indeed a personal friend of Lombardo Toledano. The present president, Camacho, comes from the same political party as Cardenas, the P.R.M., and is pledged to consolidate the gains of the Cardenas regime, but some of his actions have disappointed the unions. However, he has attended every annual convention of the C.T.M. in person.

Some figures from other countries of trade union membership are 500,000 from Cuba; 400,000 from the Chilean Confederation of Workers; and 400,000 from the Argentine. Under the influence and with the help of the C.T.A.L. complete national trade union unity has been achieved in three countries. In June, 1939, the Confederation of Cuban Workers was formed after the holding of a Constituent Congress, at which 10 of the largest regional federations and independent unions signed the Pact of Mexico City. A Unity Congress was held in March, 1943, in Quito, Ecuador, a country whose government is progressing along the road to democracy, and a national organisation was eventually set up. Similarly in 1942 after a Unity Congress in Uruguay, the Uruguayan Confederation of Workers was set up which has subsequently been influential in the recent presidential and national elections, so that pro-labour and pro-United Nations candidates were elected. In Chile, the Chilean Confederation of Workers participates independently with other democratic parties in the Popular Front which swept the last elections. In Cuba and Colombia, too, union leaders are members of parliament.

On the other hand, in addition to facts mentioned earlier in this section, the trade unions in Bolivia and Paraguay, countries dominated by army cliques, and in Venezuela, which shows a certain move towards democracy, are subject to fascist repression. In recent years the C.T.A.L. has concentrated upon exposing the Fascist menace in Latin America, and particularly the Fascist dictatorship in Argentina. At the World T.U. Conference this fight was carried on, and it is regrettable that the British delegation did not feel more able to support the case put forward for the exposure of the Argentine menace at several levels of the Conference—each previous one having failed—by Lombardo Toledano and other members of the Latin American delegations. These episodes

left an unfortunate impression that the British delegation were not entirely free from British Government influence in this matter. Whether true or not it is a pity that the impression should have been created.

The success of the 15-minute token strike held on January 25th, as a protest against the continued imprisonment of trade union and socialist leaders in Argentine, is an indication of the strength of the C.T.A.L. The strike was a continent wide success, and in Argentine itself the response was overwhelming in spite of the tremendous police repression.

CHAPTER VI

CHINA

TURNING now to *China* we find that the Chinese Association of Labour was represented at the World T.U. Conference, and that China was granted a prominent place in the Conference by virtue of the place she occupies in the United Nations. The President of the Chinese Association of Labour (C.A.L.), Chu Hsueh Fan, was one of the three Vice-Presidents of the Conference, along with Louis Saillant of France and Lombardo Toledano of the Confederation of Latin American Workers.

At the fourth Congress of the C.A.L., held in Chungking in April, 1943, membership was reported as 422,652, of whom 26,610 were women. Of these 78,229 were textile workers, 14,532 miners, 12,245 cabinet makers, 5,881 printers, 43,858 transport workers, 24,272 constructional workers, and 15,464 tailors, among other groups. Within the total there were 158,140 members of "special unions," mostly state and public utility workers, who do not enjoy the right to strike or, in some cases, to bargain collectively. Of these, railwaymen numbered 5,565, seamen 89,109, and postal workers 35,496. The position as a whole must be judged by the fact that membership of a trade union is now compulsory in China. Trade unions are governed by a complete set of government regulations, of which the following notes are but a brief summary.

The Provisional Regulations Governing the Control of Labour Unions in Time of Emergency were first promulgated by the Executive Yuan on August 21st, 1941, and have subsequently been raised to the status of a law, with various changes and additions. All labour legislation is consolidated into a new Labour Union Code, made law in 1943, and it must be said that the working out of the Code is still experimental, for under existing conditions it has been impossible to realise all its intentions. The National Mobilisation Act of 1942 introduced the new principle of compulsory union membership for all industrial workers; this is incorporated in the Labour Union Code, along with other features of the Act relating to labour.

The main points in this body of legislation may be summarised thus: Supervision and control of unions is vested in the national and local organs of the Ministry of Social Affairs, in conjunction with other bodies dealing with the regulation of production; these supervisory bodies may dissolve any union for (unspecified) "serious violations"; dissolved unions may appeal against such decisions; workers in government and defence enterprises may only belong to "special" unions, with no right to strike and limited rights of collective bargaining; ordinary unions are in some cases permitted to strike, but only after arbitration has failed and after the supervisory organs are convinced that the majority of members have voted by ballot in favour of the strike; during strikes the unions are held responsible for "refraining from actions disturbing social tranquility"; strikes are not allowed at all in "periods of emergency." Further the 1942 National General Mobilisation Act, section on Labour, states: "All workers shall join labour unions. Competent authorities shall appoint qualified persons to be secretaries of labour unions." The 1941 Regulations had already laid down as a responsibility of the government the training of officers and members of unions, the appointment of government officials to direct and supervise the work of unions and "the re-adjustment of the work and personnel of unions whenever necessary. The tasks of Labour Unions are specified under the Labour-Code as: "Raising the level of skill; raising productivity; improvement of working conditions; assistance to the government in strengthening national defence; assisting the government in the requisitioning of labour; promoting labour welfare projects."

Under the Labour Code a number of welfare measures are provided, including the 12-hour day, but there are no measures for their enforcement, although they certainly set standards not known previously.

Article VII of the 1942 Labour Regulations states: "To promote international labour co-operation, workers, with the permission of competent authorities, may set up an organisation in order to participate in the international labour movement prior to the formation of a national labour union and to make necessary associations with labour organisations in the democratic countries, such as Great Britain, the United States and the U.S.S.R." The Chinese Association of Labour, which already

existed as a grouping primarily of the "special unions," is the contact between Chungking-controlled China and the labour movement abroad. Other unions have since been affiliated to it. The C.A.L. also represents Chinese labour at the I.L.O.

The 1943 Congress of the C.A.L. discussed five major problems: labour legislation, welfare, resistance and reconstruction, organisation and training of labour, and international problems. A series of excellent and comprehensive resolutions were passed on all these subjects. In view of the organisation of the trade unions in Chungking-controlled China, naturally, the carrying out of these resolutions is a matter of government policy and entirely dependent on government acquiescence.

Little is known in detail about the North China Federation of Trade Unions, but what is known is very impressive. First-hand accounts have recently come out of the "Liberated Areas" in China, which are the regions under Communist influence in the north and north-west of China above the Yangtze River. The Japanese control most of the large cities in this area, but the rest of the area is in most effective Chinese control, with regularly elected local and centralised governments functioning. The North China Federation of Trade Unions was formed in 1943 as the union of all labour unions in this area and claims a membership of a million from amongst miners, railway workers, arsenal workers, printers, textile workers, handicraft workers, carpenters, bricklayers and other groups.* Much of the industrial activity is carried out on a small scale, but is none the less effective. The well-known journalist, Israel Epstein, who recently came out of Northern China after spending some months there, wrote in the *Calcutta Statesman*: "the most striking thing about the Communist-led areas of China is the extent to which they are mobilised for production and war. . . . We found that cultivation was more extensive than in any other part of North-West China, that people were eating better and dressing better and that a certain amount of industry had developed where there was none before." For example, cotton is not only grown, but spun and made up into

* In the spring of 1945 an important conference took place in Yen-an and a formal constitution for the new "Federation of Trade Unions of Chinese Liberated Areas" was accepted. This new Federation will be represented at Paris in September. It has 925,000 members and replaces the North China Federations of Trade Unions.

finished garments, whereas previously all cloth was imported; similarly with sugar and many other products, for the whole area is self-supporting. It is estimated that in 1944 the population was between 80-90 million and since then newly gained territory has brought the figure up to 100 million.

In marked contrast to the organisation of the Chungking unions, membership of the unions in North China is voluntary, union officials are elected by the workers and are subject to recall. A typical union of North China is the General Labour Union of Yen-an, the capital of one of these areas. According to the 1940 constitution, all workers are free to join regardless of age, sex, nationality, political affiliations or religion; the officials are elected by referendum vote "and if found unworthy of the confidence placed in them, they can be recalled immediately and others elected in their place." The central policy of the union is:

"To organise all the workers of the Border Region for active participation in the war of resistance and national construction. In order to guarantee victory, we must increase the discipline and productivity of labour, raise the political, cultural and technical level of the workers, and strengthen the bonds between the workers and soldiers. Friendly relations between capital and labour must be maintained and unity guaranteed for the prosecution of the war against the invaders."

In the Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region, the government issued a labour policy in May, 1941, that set out "to safeguard and improve the workers' livelihood, increase production and strengthen the workers' organisations so that they may become the backbone and mainstay of the anti-Japanese democratic political structure." All enterprises, whether private or government-owned, in which unions are set up, are taxed 6 per cent. of the total wage-bill, which is given to the union for use in developing educational and cultural projects. The individual members pay their own fees in the normal way for the regular costs of administration of the union.

It is a profound pity that the British T.U.C. did not invite the North China Federation of Labour to the World Conference, for the larger of the two Chinese Federations with 1,000,000 members was thus excluded. For although the Chinese Federa-

tion of Labour claims an executive committee member for these regions, they admit having had no contact since 1941—and anyway the *central* Federation has only been in existence since 1943. The achievements of the free unions of Northern China, together with the stupendous fight waged against the Japanese by the guerilla armies, is one of the greatest achievements of the democratic nations in the war against Fascism—at a time when there is not a country on the side of the United Nations which has not added pages of glorious deeds to its history. Chu Hsueh-Fan, President of the Chinese Association of Labour, once said that so far as the C.A.L. was concerned, the main problem before the Conference would be "to raise the living standards of the peoples of Asia; for so long as labour in the Far East is depressed, workers' standards can nowhere else be secure." The same contrast can be applied to trade union organisation, and the China of the future must undoubtedly build up a united and free trade union movement that will be able to play a role in the international labour movement justified by the grandeur of the Chinese nation and her historic fight against the Japanese.

CHAPTER VII

EUROPE

SEVERAL books would be needed to trace the historical development of the European trade unions. In some measure they are better known than the greater part of the trade union movements so far described. For the purpose of this present record, an account of the position to-day is more necessary than the historical background: for the vast changes wrought in the European movement through the brutal contact with Fascism have brought new vision, new tasks, a new destiny in fact to the working people of Europe which has little in common with the past. A new unity, too, has been forged in the blood and tears of millions of martyred men and women. A new sense of urgency is abroad.

As a generalisation it would be possible to distinguish three categories of trade union movements in Europe to-day: the unions in the liberated countries, such as France, that were legally dissolved but which in fact went underground and never relinquished the fight against the Nazis; the newly constituted unions in countries, such as Italy and Bulgaria, which were under Fascist dictatorships before this war, and where there were no legal unions during the last two decades; and the unions in the neutral countries of Sweden, Switzerland, and the special case of the so-called neutral country, Spain.

It is fitting that this account should start with *France*. As I write it is barely nine months since D-Day and the beginning of the military operations that led to the liberation of France. Yet in this short period, after four years of savage, ruthless occupation and persecution, particularly of all working-class leaders, the Confederation Generale du Travail (C.G.T.), the French T.U.C., already has four and a half million organised members. This feat is all the more impressive when we recall that two and a half million adult Frenchmen have been deported to Germany and that hundreds of thousands were killed during the war. The peak membership pre-war was around five millions in 1936, and had fallen to 3½ millions in 1939.

During the war the French unions played the leading part in the underground fight against the Germans. The strike weapon, which in the past had been used to secure better wages and conditions, now became a military weapon against the Nazis. The wave of strikes in France in 1944 was under the immediate direction of the illegal C.G.T. Twenty five thousand miners in the North were involved in a strike lasting 10 days; similarly in the La Mure region of Lyons. Similarly at Berigny-les-Dijon, 2,000 railwaymen struck to prevent the death sentence on seven of their comrades being carried out. These are but two instances among dozens. The waves of strikes and demonstrations of 1940, 1941 and 1942 were followed up by consistent sabotage in factories, power stations and on the railways, the strike weapon still being used when it could be most effective. Workers were the first to form partisan units in France and to point the way to the best method of fighting for the liberation of France. The Vichy Government formally dissolved the C.G.T. by decree on August 16th, 1940; the French Government in exile invited the C.G.T. to appoint representatives to the Consultative Assembly, for the C.G.T. never accepted its dissolution, and also, in advance of liberation, the Government agreed to leave the purge of labour leaders—for there were a limited number who had collaborated in the Vichy regime and supported Vichy unions—to the working class itself. The government also agreed in advance of liberation that as regards the employers' organisations, the necessary purging could *not* be left to their organisations.

During the struggle innumerable trade union leaders, national and local, fell martyrs to the Germans. Among those who are best known they tortured to death or shot Timbeau, Secretary of the Metal Workers' Federation; Michel, Secretary of the Leather Workers' Federation; Poulemarche, Secretary of the Paris Chemical Workers' Union; Vercruis, Secretary of the Textile Workers' Federation; Granet, Secretary of the Paper Workers' Federation; and Pierre Semard, the great leader of the French railwaymen. The work of these heroes and martyrs was continued by hundreds of others, who knowingly ran the same risks. It is no accident that the President of the French Council of National Resistance is one of the two acting general secretaries of the C.G.T., Louis Saillant.

1945 is the year of the 50th anniversary of the C.G.T. whose

first Congress was held in Limoges in 1895. The C.G.T. consists of national industrial federations, and also Department (County) federations, each trade union being affiliated to its national industrial federation and to the Department federation. The C.G.T. after the liberation of France set to work immediately; its first National Confederal Committee, comprising representatives from all the industrial and Department federations, met in Paris, on March 27th, 28th, and 29th for the first time since liberation. The Committee endorsed all the activities of the C.G.T. directed towards the greatest measure of military and economic mobilisation of resources towards the defeat of Hitler and building up the economy of France. At the same time the C.G.T. is fighting for the just demands of the working class, not in a spirit of asking a privileged regime for them, but demanding equality of sacrifices from all sections of the population. Further, the C.G.T. is foremost in the fight for civil liberties. The C.G.T. calls for an extension of the joint production and factory committees set up since liberation and production far in excess of the quotas. Minimum wages and equal pay are being campaigned for. Further, the programme of the C.G.T. includes the nationalisation of the banks, key industries, sources of power, raw materials, social insurance and transport, and for the intensifying of the purge of all industrial and administrative bodies. In the international field, the C.G.T. is campaigning for the rupture of diplomatic relations with Franco Spain and consolidation of the security organisations of the United Nations. In the trade union field, France has already set on foot permanent contacts with Britain and the U.S.S.R., through conferences in Britain and in the Soviet Union, and through the Anglo-French Trade Union Committee, and the French-Soviet Trade Union Committee; has received in France delegations from the Soviet trade unions and the C.I.O.; taken part in meetings in Rumania, Bulgaria, and Italy, and established contact with the new movements in these countries. On top of all this, France played a leading role at the World T.U. Conference; not only was Louis Saillant one of the vice-presidents of the Conference, but France has two places on the Administrative Committee which is planning the new World Federation; the headquarters of this are in Paris. Saillant is the acting secretary and the next world trade union conference will take place in

Paris in September. It is scarcely necessary to add here that the standing of the reconstituted C.G.T. and its work both during illegality and since liberation is so high that there were no dissentients at all to these proposals.

A word is necessary about the Catholic C.G.T., which in 1936 had 500,000 members. During the occupation there was complete unity of action between the two bodies; they issued a joint publication and joint appeals. The C.G.T. has since proposed a fusion of the two organisations. This has been refused by the Christian (Catholic) Trade Unions, although they have agreed to co-operation on specific programmes. This refusal is much regretted by many rank and file members of the Christian unions as well as by the whole membership of the C.G.T.

The C.G.T. had a strong delegation of 12 to the World T.U. Conference, a delegation representative of all shades of political opinion within the C.G.T.; and this delegation worked with complete unity and unanimity. Louis Saillant has already been mentioned. A young man of 34, secretary of the Paris Woodworkers' Federation before the war, he is now an internationally known figure and has made a considerable impression at the international gatherings he has attended. His leading colleague is Benoit Frachon, a militant of long standing and experience and one of the C.G.T. secretaries before the war. Frachon is one of the main architects of unity in the French T.U. movement. The General Secretary of the C.G.T. remains Leon Jouhaux, world famous before the war, still a prisoner in German hands.*

The record of the *Belgian C.G.T.* has been as striking in its own country as that of France. Since liberation, three existing trade union centres have united, only the Christian C.G.T. remaining outside. Both federations were represented at the World Conference.

Before the war there were a number of different trade union movements, of which the most important were the Confederation Generale du Travail Belge, affiliated to the I.F.T.U., and the Confederation Syndicale Chrétien, *i.e.*, the Catholic Trade Unions. During the war the C.G.T.B. became largely inactive as a central body and the fight against the Nazis was led by

* Leon Jouhaux has now been released and has taken up once more his position as General Secretary of the C.G.T.

the factory committees in each industrial unit, known as the *Comités des Luttes Syndicales*; after liberation these committees came together and formed the *Confédération Belge des Syndicats Uniques*, or the *Confédération of United Trade Unions*, and started out with a membership of 175,000. These organisations were led by militants of the underground movement, including many communists. Another central federation which emerged from the war-time struggle was the *Mouvement des Metallurgistes Unifiés*, the *United Metalworkers' Union*, with 60,000 members in Liège, Namur, and Charleroi alone.

The war-time experience soon brought the various federations together, and on April 29th, 1945, a Fusion Conference was held in Brussels and created one central organisation, the new *Fédération Générale du Travail de Belgique*. A programme has been agreed upon, which includes the socialisation of banking and industrial trusts, planned control of foreign trade, social security, social legislation and workers' participation in industrial management. It is independent of every political party and its members may belong to any, save the Fascist. All its officers are elected each year and are subject to recall. A unified structure is being worked towards gradually, on the basis of industrial unions with local trades councils.

A fourth organisation joined in the Fusion Conference, the *Union of Public Employees*, which includes the civil servants. Thus the only organisations outside the new Federation are the Catholic trade unions and a small group known as the *Syndicats Libéraux*. The experience of the Belgian trade unions, by which the war-time militant activity and experience of the *United Trade Unions* has been brought together with the peace-time experience and stability of the pre-war *C.G.T.*, is very valuable and one which is leading to real unity in the Belgian working-class movement.

The situation of the *Dutch* trade unions is at the moment of writing not very clear. There still exist two trade union centres, though the Catholic Trade Union Confederation is very much the smaller. At the time of the Conference a nationwide railway strike was taking place, which the Nazis seemed unable to do anything about. The Dutch trade unions, too, have a fine record of sabotage during the war.

Czechoslovakia was represented by the *Czechoslovak Trade*

Union Centre in Britain; in exile, three groups united during the war, the socialist, the communist, and the Benes trade unions. This step is but a reflection of the unity that has grown within *Czechoslovakia* during the struggle against the Nazis, and there will certainly emerge from *Czechoslovakia* a strong, united and militant trade union movement after the war.

Norway was similarly represented by its trade union movement in exile; although, owing to the character of Norwegian economy, one of its strongest pre-war unions, the *Seamen's Union*, has continued to function with a substantial membership during the war, naturally with headquarters outside Norway, in London. The British *T.U.C.* similarly invited the *Polish Trade Union Centre* in London, but the trade unions of Poland subsequently repudiated the London delegate, J. Stanczyk, a member of the London Polish "Government."

Of the second group of European trade unions, a distinction must be drawn between those whose governments have been allies, and the ex-enemy countries. Of the former, the most important was *Yugoslavia*. The *United Workers' and Employees' Syndicates*, grouping 325,000 members already, is the outcome of years of militant and largely underground activity. The trade union movement in *Yugoslavia* dates back to about 1870. The Serbian trade unions lasted until the beginning of the last war; from 1902 Croatian unions existed as independent and active bodies; and in *Slovenia* there were two organisations under the *Austro-Hungarian Empire*. The respective national units united in the new *Yugoslavia* of 1918 into one body, the *Central Workers' Syndicalist Council*, which achieved a membership of 300,000 and was responsible in its brief history for five general strikes. It was banned by a reactionary government in 1920. A year later, some groups from the old council succeeded in forming the *Independent Workers' Syndicate*, which, although terrorised by the authorities, carried on excellent work until 1929. With the abolition of the *Yugoslav* constitution after a *coup d'état* by King Alexander, these Syndicates were banned and their property confiscated. A government-controlled movement of one kind or another has existed in *Yugoslavia* from 1920 until the downfall of the dictatorship. The underground democratic trade unions played a prominent part in the *National Liberation* struggle and, apart from their military contributions, brought

about unity inside the trade union movement, so that all political parties, from Communist to Christian Socialist, and all religious and national groupings, from Slovene Catholic to Moslem, are represented in its ranks. Two of the three Yugoslav delegates were in the uniform of the National Liberation Army. Tone Fajfar, the Christian trade unionist, who appealed to the Christian trade unionists of the other countries to join ranks with the majority trade union movements, spoke before the Conference in his uniform, the Partisan Medal of Honour on his chest. Each of the three delegates had played a vital role and was typical of their movement. They left no wonder to the observer as to why Marshal Tito's army had achieved such miracles against the Nazis and in building up national unity.

The controversy over the admission of the trade union movement from Liberated *Poland* is dealt with in fuller detail in Part II. What are the facts regarding the situation in Poland? There exists the new Central Council of Trade Unions in Poland, which was founded at a Conference in Lublin on November 20th and 21st, 1944. From the first days of liberation, the trade unions began to reorganise themselves. District councils covering the unions in a whole district or voyevodship were set up, and prior to the Conference were already working in Lublin, Belostok and Rzeszow. By February, 1945, there were more than 250,000 members, the National Union of Railway Workers leading with 50,000 members. The district councils now are working all over Poland. A link with the past has been maintained and the November Conference elected well-known trade union leaders as their officers: Dolinski, of Warsaw, as Chairman, and K. Witaszewski, of Lodz, as Secretary.

Two other countries must be mentioned briefly. Although not represented at the Conference, it is well known that the Danish trade unions, both in *Denmark* under Nazi occupation and in exile, participated in the anti-Nazi fight (particularly the Danish Seamen's Union, which has a proud record during the war; it has published a lively anti-Fascist paper regularly, has its elected representatives on the Danish Council and all its members have been militant in the struggle against the Nazis).

The trade unions in *Austria* have been working under new

conditions and in new forms under the Nazi occupation, but the details are not yet known abroad. A radio broadcast from the Freedom Radio, which is the clandestine transmitter of the Austrian Freedom Front, the national resistance movement, agreed that there should be no representatives at the World T.U. Conference; the broadcast continued: "Since there is no legitimate representative body of the Austrian trade unions, nobody can take part as our representative. The trade unions of Austria will arise again out of the struggle. The determined fight in the factories, the formation of trade union groups to fight the Prussian slave-drivers—that is the basis on which a trade union movement will be rebuilt." The names of many trade union leaders martyred for their work in the underground movement are known already; the full story will be known one day in the future. Since the liberation of Austria the trade union movement has been built up again and it looks as though unity will be achieved between the several groups that functioned before the Nazi occupation and before suppression by the Austrian fascists after 1934.

The difficulties of estimating the Greek trade union situation have been increased by the blackout of news imposed not only by the German occupation but by the Metaxas dictatorship, which effectively ruled the country so that there was in fact no trace of democracy since August 4th, 1936. During the visit of the delegation of the British T.U.C. headed by Sir Walter Citrine in January/February, 1945, contact was made both with the government-sponsored Greek Confederation of Labour, headed by Hadjidimitriou, and the Anti-Fascist Labour Federation, ERGAS, whose leaders are the old-time Greek trade union leaders. These leaders were well-known in the international trade union movement before the war, and included, according to the report drawn up by Sir Walter Citrine, "Kalomiris and Stratis, who were officials of the Greek Confederation of Labour in 1935, when the Confederation was affiliated to the I.F.T.U., and Theos, an official of the United Trade Union Federation, which was linked with the Communist Party." The trade union bodies led by this group are the legal descendants of the pre-dictatorship trade union movement, the Greek Confederation of Labour, but owing to the confusion caused by the followers of Hadjidimitriou, who used the same name (after they had usurped the

authority and the offices of the genuine leaders with the backing of the reactionary sections of the Greek Government and their armed guards) it is simpler to leave them the name and distinguish the anti-Fascist trade unions by the initials ERGAS.

As a result of the efforts of Sir Walter Citrine and his colleagues, elections have been held for the new leadership of the trade union movement. According to an agreement reached between the T.U.C. delegation, the Greek Government, the Provincial Executive Committee of the Greek Confederation of Labour (led by Hadjimitriou) and the former Executive (led by Kalomiris) as to the manner in which these elections should be conducted, the T.U.C. undertook to send over at least one member to the supervisory committee; and it was further agreed that the elections should be held under the control of the judicial authorities, represented by judges who will be appointed by the Supreme Court. The T.U.C. sent out Bert Papworth, of the Transport and General Workers' Union and member of the General Council; H. V. Tewson, assistant general secretary; and a member of the staff, Vic Feather. The reports made by Papworth on his return to England reveal the unwillingness of the present Government to facilitate the elections, which have, however, gone through in spite of all difficulties. It should be noted here that a multiplicity of trade unions exist in Greece in comparison with other countries. Thus "trade unions" will be formed within a town and for a single trade, so that they often conform to a branch of a union in Great Britain or a "local" in the United States. They are federated both on a local town basis, and in several instances, nationally, on a trade basis. Candidates were put forward in these elections both for the Labour Centres (Trades Councils) and for the national Congress, and lists of candidates were entered by ERGAS, by Hadjimitriou, and by one or two smaller groups. The results at June 1st, 1945, showed that 25,666 votes were cast in Athens and Piraeus for ERGAS, and 8,085 for all others, including the Hadjimitriou unions. Figures for representatives for the Labour Centres are 302 for ERGAS and 75 for all others; and for Congress are 197 for ERGAS and 57 for all others. The voting in Hadjimitriou's own union, the Bakers' Union, was 662 for ERGAS and 311 for himself.

The work during the war of the Federation of Greek Maritime Unions must be mentioned. The Federation comprises four unions—Engineers, Navigating Officers, Wireless Operators and the Seamen—and was founded in 1942, following on the dissolution of the unions set up under the Metaxas dictatorship. It is affiliated to the International Transport Workers' Federation and to the International Mercantile Marine Officers' Association. Of 7,000 members, more than 1,000 have been killed and 600 disabled. The Union has collaborated loyally with the British, Greek and allied governments and has a splendid war record; it firmly supports the ERGAS leadership.

Ex-Enemy Countries

The position of the ex-enemy countries came in for a great deal of discussion at the World T.U. Conference, and after a full discussion, which is reported in Part II, invitations were sent off to them. The representatives of the Finnish National Trade Union Confederation were the only ones to reach the Conference in time, and they only arrived two days before the end. However, international working-class solidarity was shown by the fact that the Finnish, Bulgarian and Italian delegates, who had by that time arrived, were invited to join the Conference Continuations Committee and take part in the deliberations regarding the building up of the new World Federation.

The position of the *Finnish National Trade Union Confederation* is certainly a little unusual, since during the whole course of the war with the Soviet Union, the Finnish unions were functioning openly and legally. However, the general secretary, Eeri Vuori, who is now Minister of Communications and Public Works, consistently opposed the war policy of the social-democratic leader, Vaino Tanner. Changes are taking place in the leadership and anti-Soviet leaders are losing their support. The membership is around 85,000.

The position of *Italy* is quite different. The Italian General Confederation of Labour held its first official Congress in Naples from January 28th to February 1st, 1945; this is the first trade union congress in Italy since Mussolini dissolved the former Confederation of Labour in 1923. Already more than 1,300,000 members have been recruited by the unions. After the liberation of Rome last summer, three Joint Secretaries had

held office provisionally when the Italian Confederation was re-formed, and they were unanimously re-elected by the first official Congress. They are Achille Grandi, Christian Democrat, Giuseppe Di Vittorio, Communist, and Oreste Lizzadri, Socialist. A provisional conference was held last September, attended by Will Lawther and Tom O'Brien, on behalf of the British T.U.C., Schevenels, secretary of the I.F.T.U., Antonini, vice-president of the A.F.L., and Baldanzi, vice-president C.I.O. At this Conference a resolution supporting the unity of the Socialist, Catholic and Communist unions was agreed unanimously. A programme of social legislation was agreed by the 1945 Congress, the main points of which are: to ensure continuous employment, a guaranteed minimum wage and allowances for a worker's family during forced unemployment; old age pensions; adequate social insurance; professional training for young persons; regulation on working conditions for women and children; the rate for the job—to apply both to women and young persons; and acknowledgment that the worker has prior claim over the employer to consideration by the State. The delegates to the Congress were on the basis of eight for every 50,000 members. International labour unity was also discussed and the Congress decided to ask for an invitation to the World Conference. The two delegates who finally arrived were Giovanni Canini, socialist and councillor of the Rome Municipality, and secretary of the National Federation of Tramway Workers; and Lamberto Gianitelli, catholic, member of the General Council of the Confederation.

The two delegates of the *Bulgarian General Workers' Union* reached London in time for the Conference Continuations Committee, to which they were then invited. They went back to the first open and large Congress of the Bulgarian trade unions in the whole history of their country, when the General Workers' Union Congress opened in Sofia on March 16th. Trade union history began some 40 years ago, but from 1923 to 1944 trade unions have only existed under varying conditions of illegality. It must not be forgotten that the great international working-class leader, George Dimitrov, was the first general secretary of the Bulgarian unions after the last war and made the first successful exposure of Hitler on the world scene.

The clandestine unions produced many of the finest leaders

of the resistance movement against the Nazis. For example, the leader of the illegal Tobacco Workers' Union, Anton Yugov, now Minister of the Interior, was one of the main resistance leaders. From the middle of 1942, when the "Patriotic Front" was formed—a coalition of all democratic organisations, all of them of course already functioning in illegality—the movement against the Nazis grew in strength and activity. The Patriotic Front finally came to power in September, 1944. The railwaymen, under the leadership of their union, were the first to give the signal to strike, and paralysed the entire Fascist administration by only allowing the partisan troops to make use of the railways. Groups of workers helped the partisans, and actually the resistance movement overcame most of the Germans before the arrival of the Red Army. On taking power the Patriotic Front immediately issued a call for the election of free trade unions; within three months over 200,000 members were enrolled, and now, organised on an industrial basis, there are 300,000 in 30 affiliated unions. An executive was elected at the March Congress to take over officially from the provisional General Council of 18, elected at a provisional meeting some months ago. The main body of this leadership, all well-known workers in the resistance movement, was ratified. The Bulgarian trade union movement, which has already achieved so much in conditions of illegality, now has its first opportunity to help in the constructive programme of building up their democratic state.

Finally, the trade union movement of *Rumania*, which, unfortunately, did not succeed in getting its delegates to London as the notice was so short, has also come of age. After nearly three decades of illegality a membership of over half a million has been built up in a few months. A national congress was held in Bucharest on January 20th, attended by French delegates, who happened to be on their way through Rumania from a conference in Moscow with the Soviet trade union leaders. Out of this Congress in Bucharest the new General Confederation of Rumanian Workers has been formally constituted. The basis from which the new Confederation starts its work is the organisation of trade unionists in several thousand factory and works committees. The free trade unions are now an integral part of the National Democratic Front, which has

been responsible for the democratisation of the successive governments.*

Neutral Countries

The trade unions of *Sweden*, with 1,053,266 members, and of *Switzerland* were present as delegates for the second week of the Conference. The position of neutrality taken up by their countries has kept them isolated from the main swim of events in the tremendous struggle against Fascism. They are welcome in the world fraternity of trade unionists. In both countries trade unions are part of the accepted way of life. In Sweden particularly, which has had a social-democratic government for many years, the trade unions have led the way to the achievement of the extremely high standard of living, in comparison with other countries, that the working class has gained. Franco Spain was not represented; but *Republican Spain* was very much present at the World Conference, when representatives from the Spanish trade unions came from their exile in France and from Mexico and were made very welcome. Recent news from Spain shows that though part of the leadership of the Spanish trade unions are in exile, and doing good work for the cause of Republican Spain, leadership of the Spanish workers in their struggle against Franco comes from within Spain itself too. In September, 1943, underground groups which are continuing the fight against Franco came together and formed the Supreme Junta of National Union. Representatives on Spanish soil of the republicans, socialists, communists, Catalans, Basques, U.G.T. (General Workers' Union) and C.N.T. (National Labour Federation) have thus joined together. The trade unions are as usual in the forefront of the struggle against Fascism by means of strikes, sabotage and other forms of resistance.

* *Footnote on Germany*: Since this chapter was originally written, the Allied victory has been won. Already in the past few weeks trade union organisations have started to work in several parts of Germany. Many of the new leaders are men who for ten years have been in Nazi prisons and concentration camps—trade unionists, communists and socialists. They are now working together unitedly for the rebuilding of a democratic Germany.

CHAPTER VIII

SOVIET UNION

SOVIET trade unions play a vital role in the Soviet state and being trade unions within a socialist state they are consequently the more effective in looking after the interests of their members, the working people. There is naturally a fundamental difference between the role of the Soviet trade unions and the role and functions of the trade unions in a capitalist state. However close the co-operation is between the government and the unions in a capitalist state, the functions of the unions involves a constant struggle with the "employing class." There is no employing class in the Soviet Union. "The Soviet trade union is not formed to fight anyone, and has no inducement to prevent the competition among workmen for particular jobs. The pecuniary interest of its members is found in the productivity of soviet industry in general, which is made up of the productivity of all the factories in which they work; and it is this aggregate productivity, not anybody's profits, on which the standard wage-rates of all of them will directly depend." In these words Sydney and Beatrice Webb characterised the difference between the Soviet and the British trade unions in their famous work *Soviet Communism—A New Civilisation?* published in 1935. This generalisation remains true to-day, and the amazing job that the Soviet trade unions have done in war-time has only made it clearer to the capitalist world that there is indeed a complete identification of interests between the soviet trade unions and the soviet citizen in general. During war-time, the soviet trade unions have taken the leading role in increasing productivity; the war-time emergency merely served to emphasise the fundamental situation, which is clearly stated in these words of N. M. Shvernik, then Chairman of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions in an address in November, 1932, when he said that the workers must realise that "as the sole owners of the means of production, they must take responsibility for the maintenance of these means."

The slow beginnings of trade unions in Russia took place under conditions of illegality and constant police persecution

in the last decades of the nineteenth century; by the time of the 1905 revolution they were sufficiently influential, if we accept in this category all forms of "combinations of industrial wage-earners," as to play a considerable role in the struggle. The first collective agreement in the history of the working-class movement in Russia was signed as the result of a strike of the oilfield workers of Baku in December, 1904. This strike "was like a clap of thunder heralding a great revolutionary storm," the events of January, 1905, in St. Petersburg. During this period the first All-Russian Trade Union Congress was held in Moscow, in 1905, representing some 600 separate unions and about 250,000 members. Subsequently victorious reaction came down with vigorous police measures, and from 1908 onwards succeeded in sending the trade unions underground once more. The struggle for trade union organisation went on despite all manner of persecution, and in face of these difficulties, the total membership in February, 1917, numbered a few tens of thousands. Between the outbreak of the February, 1917, revolution and the October revolution trade unionism spread with great rapidity and by June there were already 967 separate organisations with an aggregate membership of a million and a half. The Third All-Russian Trade Union Conference was held in June (the Second Conference had taken place in 1907) and elected a standing committee to guide the policy of the movement. During some months a conflict arose between the role of the Factory Committee and the trade unions, and after the October revolution they were united, the former becoming the primary units of the latter. In January, 1919, the first All-Russian Congress of Trade Unions was held, and a stable centralised direction of the movement was elected. There have been many changes of form and organisation during the last 25 years, but the fundamental basis for the trade unions remains the same. To-day there is one reference to trade unions in the Constitution of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics which defines their position clearly. Article 126 runs: "In conformity with the interests of the working people and in order to develop the organisational initiative and political activity of the masses of the people, citizens of the U.S.S.R. are ensured the right to unite in public organisations—trade unions, co-operative associations, youth organisations, sport and defence organisations, cultural, tech-

nical and scientific societies."

Membership of trade unions is entirely voluntary, although there are definite material advantages to be gained. Contrary to the development which has been noticed in the history of trade unions in every other country—thereby bringing out a further contrast between the capitalist and the one socialist country—trade union membership has consistently risen and there was no large drop in membership in the 'thirties.

1917 ..	1,475,000	1927 ..	9,827,000
1918 ..	1,946,000	1933 ..	15,900,000
1919 ..	3,706,779	1935 ..	20,272,000
1920 ..	5,122,006	1938 ..	23,758,000
1922 ..	5,846,000	1940 ..	25,000,000
1925 ..	6,950,000	1944 ..	27,562,000

There are over 31 million wage and salary earners in the Soviet Union, so that the percentage of those organised in unions is about 87 per cent.

What do the trade unions do? To quote the Webbs once more: "It may be answered that the soviet trade union, like the British, is emphatically the organ of the wage-earners as such; it is based on optional individual membership and subscription; it appoints and pays its own officials and manages its business by its own elected committees; it conducts, through its highest committees and its national officials, the collective bargaining with the employing organisations by which the general scheme and standard rates of wages are fixed. Piece-work rates are settled in each factory, job by job, after discussion with the union's local officials and not without their consent; these officials may actually be specialist "rate-fixers," for whom the union organises a special training; it takes part, through its chosen representatives and appointed officials, in almost every organ of government; finally, its essential function is that of maintaining and improving the workers' conditions of life—taking however the broadest view of these, and seeking their advancement only in common with those of the whole community of workers."

Far from there being less collective bargaining by Soviet trade unions than by unions in capitalist countries, there is in effect more. They are directly represented on all the state planning bodies which decide the General Plan for industry each year or over a period of years. Since the entire net

product of the community's industry belongs to the whole of the people, there is no question of deductions for profits or rents; but it is obviously recognised that the whole produce cannot be distributed as personal wages, for capital expenditure is necessary for re-equipping and extending industry; for defence purposes; for the extensive social services, including the whole educational network, the medical services, public expenditure on leisure facilities; housing and sanitation; and, in general, the social services and social insurance, to which the workers do not contribute a penny individually. The trade union representatives play an active part in the detailed discussions necessary to work out these allocations. There is no unemployment and could not be under this system, so that it is obviously to everyone's advantage to see that the annual wealth of the community is distributed in the most equitable and profitable way for all concerned. These discussions take place nationally, regionally, locally and in the individual factory where there are meetings in which all can participate and voice their opinion before final allocations are made.

In addition to the important role that the Soviet trade unions play in the general industrial planning, they are charged with specific services for their members. These include protection against accidents—the unions themselves appoint the equivalent of the British factory inspectors—legal advice; running of holiday, convalescent, and children's homes; leisure, sports and educational facilities; canteens; children's creches and many facilities for mothers who are working. In addition the unions undertake the responsibility for the day to day questions of industrial discipline.

Since 1933 the unions have been responsible for the whole administration of the Social Insurance Funds. Each enterprise pays over to the Fund an average of 8 per cent. of its wages bill and this fund covers sickness, accident, maternity, medical and funeral benefits, as well as old age and disability pensions. These benefits are paid on a generous scale, trade union members getting on the whole favourable scales of payments. In addition, the entire medical service of the country is free to all. The tremendous administrative responsibilities of the trade unions is revealed by the 1944 budget figures—the trade union budget was almost 1,500 million roubles and the

social insurance fund administered by the union amounted to 3,500 million roubles. The trade union budget includes, in addition to membership subscriptions, charges of admission to an infinite variety of sports and cultural functions, and income from other similar sources as well.

In war-time the unions have added tremendous new responsibilities to their existing tasks. They have undertaken the welfare of the families of the service men and women; a large part of the organisation of Civil Defence has been in their hands; they have organised a great scheme of individual and group allotment-gardening to increase the food supply, and in 1944 more than 16 million persons had their own gardens; they have organised the training of more than 160,000 nurses, and in addition men, women and girls spend much of their leisure helping in the hospitals and convalescent homes. Further, the unions have undertaken greater responsibility than before in the control of all canteens, dining-rooms and food stores. Hundreds of thousands, indeed millions, of members become active voluntary workers in the administration of all these schemes. For example, each establishment elects a committee for running the social insurance scheme, and these committees elect social insurance delegates who do the actual administrative work in their spare time after working hours; in 1940 there were 675,000 social insurance delegates. There are at present more than half a million public controllers in the food campaign, mentioned above, again all voluntary spare time officials. In 1938, when membership was 23 million, there were more than 4½ million voluntary active workers.

Another field of trade union activity, scarcely mentioned as yet, is the movement to increase production and industrial efficiency, which started many years ago and which during war-time has risen to greater heights. Since 1919 the movement known as Socialist emulation has been going on—the workers voluntarily make greater efforts and show resourcefulness in overcoming production difficulties, challenging one another. "Shock brigades" were an extension of this movement, entering into competition with each other to increase production or reduce costs. Often complete enterprises challenged one another. The Stakhanov movement developed in 1935, the essence of which is the application of more rational

methods of organisation of labour and the utilisation of machinery. During the present war Socialist emulation has been widely publicised and resulted in increasing war production and industrial capacity. The general enthusiasm of the trade unionists meant the successful evacuation of the factories from the west to the Urals, Siberia and other regions deep in the heart of the country. Public recognition is given to industrial heroes and heroines in the shape of decorations, and they are worn as proudly as those given for military deeds. Since the Soviet workers are working for themselves and for their own Socialist State, these achievements and sacrifices are taken for granted and with enthusiasm.

There is a very simple organisational structure in the Soviet Trade Union Movement. All workers in a given factory or enterprise belong to one union, irrespective of craft. Thus, for example, all the workers in a steel works, including the clerical workers, will belong to the Steel Workers' Union. When a worker goes from one factory to another, which turns out different goods, the worker will transfer to another, appropriate union, paying no fresh entrance fee and retaining all his union rights. Those who provide services for the workers in a given establishment but do not take part in production themselves, belong to their appropriate union, *e.g.*, the Catering Workers' Union, and not to the union of the industrial establishment. Each enterprise has its own works committee or factory committee, which sends its delegates to the regional council, which in turn sends delegates to the Republic Council of each union. Finally, there is an All-Union Congress, which is the highest authority for each union. The supreme authority for the trade union movement of the Soviet Union as a whole is the All-Union Trade Union Congress, whose meetings are held about every two years for the purposes of determining policy. The Congress also elects the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions to conduct the business of the movement in accordance with policy laid down between meetings of the All-Union Congress.

There is also a lateral structure by which the activities of the various trade unions within each area are co-ordinated; these district trade union councils approximate to the British trades councils, but they are concerned almost exclusively with trade union business. There are to-day about 3,000 of

such inter-union district councils, nearly 200,000 factory and local committees and 184 central trade unions. The average membership fee is about 1 per cent. of monthly earnings.

Membership of a union entails definite obligations and duties, which are undertaken voluntarily since membership is voluntary; each member undertakes (a) faithfully to discharge his duties as a Soviet citizen as defined in the Constitution of the U.S.S.R.; (b) to cherish and fortify public Socialist property as the sacred and inviolable foundation of the Soviet system; (c) to help to strengthen the defensive power of the Socialist country; (d) to observe labour discipline and fulfil the obligations laid down in the collective agreement and the Labour Code; (e) to strive to improve his general education and professional skill; (f) to attend the general meetings of the union and carry out their decisions; (g) to obey the rules of the trade union, observe trade union discipline and pay trade union dues punctually. There is nothing comparable to these obligations and duties on the part of members of any trade union anywhere else in the world.

It is because the Soviet trade unions are unique in this respect, and indeed in every way, since they are the only unions functioning in a socialist state, that such a detailed account has been given of their organisation. These obligations are taken seriously by their members, and it is no uncommon thing to find that the regular monthly meetings of trade union branches have a 100 per cent. or near 100 per cent. attendance. Add to this that all officers of the unions are elected, make regular reports directly to their membership, and are subject to recall at any time should their services prove unsatisfactory, and we find the secret of the successful functioning of democracy in the Soviet unions in spite of their tremendous membership, which at first sight makes contact between officials and rank and file members appear difficult.

The Soviet delegation of 35 to the World T.U. Conference included seven women. Complete equality of rights between men and women is guaranteed by the Soviet constitution, and the possibility of exercising these rights is ensured by granting equal right to work and equal payment for work, as well as to all other benefits under the State. Their leading role in the trade union movement, both in the leadership and as workers on the job, has more than vindicated this policy.

For many years the President of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions was N. M. Shvernik, well known at international conferences in Geneva and to the British movement as the result of his two war-time visits, once with a delegation of 13 Soviet trade unionists in December, 1941, and once as a fraternal delegate to the 1943 Southport Congress of the T.U.C. On the election of Shvernik to important functions in the Supreme Soviet, he resigned and at the end-of-March, 1944, Plenary Session of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions, Vassili Kuznetsov, Chairman of the Metal Workers' Union, was elected to fill his place.

At the World T.U. Conference, Kuznetsov was called upon to play a role of tremendous importance, as one of the three presidents. His knowledge of English stood him in good stead, and added to this was his first-hand knowledge of the western world, learned while studying metallurgy at the Carnegie Institute in Pittsburgh where he took a master's degree in engineering. Kuznetsov was a former steelworker, sent by the People's Commissariat of Heavy Industry to study in the United States. He became head of the Elektrostal Plant laboratory, and was awarded the Stalin prize for developing and introducing production of new grades of steel. At the same time he continued his active trade union work and became the elected president of the Metalworkers' Union. Linked with his experiences in the United States, which has undoubtedly been extremely useful now that he has come into the forefront of the world's trade union movement, there is a long and hardworking background in the Soviet Union. Kuznetsov was still a boy when the Revolution took place, and his early experience in trade union organisation took place during those lean years when the workers were literally starving, when the raw materials to get the machines going were not available and when it was not uncommon for a delegation from a factory to travel hundreds of miles to Moscow to get matters changed. Having undergone these experiences, having lived through 25 years of growing Soviet achievement and seen the energies that should have been concentrated on building a better life for the citizens of the Soviet Union forced to sidetrack for the defence of the people and the defeat of the Fascist invader—Vassili Kuznetsov is well fitted for the role that he is playing in the building of the new World

Trade Union Federation that will bring to all workers the world over a better life.

Vassili Kuznetsov, still a young man, led the Soviet delegation in a manner which won everyone's admiration. His leading colleagues were equally outstanding. E. Sidorenko, Secretary of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions, and M. P. Tarasov, Chairman of the Union of Railwaymen of the Centre, were particularly active in committees; Mme. Beliaeva, Chairman of the Printing Workers' Union, Mme. Tsvetkova, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Union of Textile Workers, and Mme. Sakharova, youngest members of the delegation, were attentively listened to when they addressed plenary session. Also present was A. Danilov, editor of the trade union fortnightly, *War and the Working Class*. The whole delegation was remarkable in its contribution to the Conference and it is invidious to specify further.

The blood and tears of the working class have been shed and their sacrifices made in peace as well as in war, in all countries the world over, to build up our great movement. The workers of the world have made possible the military victory over the Nazis. Their united strength will make possible the final victory over Fascism everywhere. The unity of the 60 millions of organised workers now welded together in the World Trade Union Federation, which was the outcome of the London Conference, rests on the solid basis of the movements within each country that have been described here. World Labour has come of age.

WORLD LABOUR COMES OF AGE

PART II

WORLD LABOUR MEETS IN CONFERENCE

CHAPTER IX

WHAT WAS THE POSITION OF INTERNATIONAL LABOUR UNITY?

THE grim years of war between Dunkirk and the sweeping of the Nazi hordes over most of Europe and historic D-Day were years of isolation and misery for many of the trade unions of the world. It is true that the trade unions of the free countries not only kept on but they developed their contacts with each other. But whole sections of the movement were forcibly cut off. In their own ways individual trade unionists and trade unions were working to free the world from Nazi tyranny. But there were many barriers between the unions of different countries. Some of these barriers were the physical barriers of Nazi Panzer divisions, of their U-boats and bombing planes; a few, very few, were the barriers of treachery and collaboration; other barriers there were that were much older and went back to pre-war days. For in those uneasy days of peace between the two wars there was no unity among the trade unions of the world.

As Sydney Hillman said to Conference, in a powerful speech introducing the debate on the Basis for World Trade Union Federation: "History, that harsh teacher, has taught us a costly lesson in the last tragic and bloody decade, of the lesson that unity among all the democratic forces of the world is the one condition without which peace and progress are impossible. . . . It is sufficient for us here to recognise this fundamental fact that the international labour movement was a weak and ineffectual force in the anti-Fascist struggle because it lacked the unity that is our sole source of strength." What then was the position?

For all practical purposes the International Federation of Trade Unions (I.F.T.U.), known also as the Amsterdam International, was the only international trade union federation with links transcending continental boundaries. The I.F.T.U. was predominantly a European body. Its only extra-European affiliates were the American Federation of Labour and the National Joint Committee of the South African

Trade Union (both joining within the last seven or eight years); the Trades and Labour Congress of Canada, which is affiliated to the A.F.L.; the small National Trade Union Federation of India (until 1938, when it united with the All-India T.U.C., which was not affiliated); the New Zealand Federation of Labour and the General Federation of Jewish Labour in Eretz Israel. The Labour Federation of the Argentine was a paper member for a number of years; and the Mexican Workers' Confederation (Confederacion de Trabajadores de Mexico) was a member for a brief period before the war.

The peak membership of the I.F.T.U. in its whole history was in 1919-20 with 22 or 23 millions. At the beginning of 1933 the membership had dropped to 14 millions. Subsequently, with the loss of the German, Austrian, Balkan and Baltic unions, the membership fell to 8,400,000. It rose gradually until in 1937 the figure claimed was 19 millions. Since then, with the course of the present war, it fell again to 11 millions in 1940. Once more it has been rising gradually, and the figure claimed at the World Conference was 17,846,619.

It is important to note that the I.F.T.U., by virtue of its very nature, its programme, its constitution, the character of sections of its leadership, could never become an all-embracing international. To take one simple point: according to its constitution, only one trade union centre from a country could be affiliated, and consequently the C.I.O., to quote but one example, was excluded. A change in the constitution to bring about affiliation was precluded by the reactionary stand of the A.F.L., which consistently refused to envisage such a change which would allow the C.I.O. to enter. Similarly it was the A.F.L. which blocked the invitation to the Soviet trade unions, when the matter was raised by the British T.U.C. at the 1939 Zurich Conference, the last I.F.T.U. Conference to be held.

Nineteen million sounds a fair-sized figure for any international organisation, however. Are the criticisms voiced by Sydney Hillman, and many other, more violent, criticisms, which there is not space here to cover, justified? In the first place, let us look at the trade union forces that remained *outside* the I.F.T.U.

The Soviet Trade Unions had a membership of 27,562,000 in 1944. Twenty seven millions! A figure larger than the

highest figure ever claimed by the I.F.T.U. There have been some people who have expressed their fears at the size of the Soviet trade union movement, and felt that they would overbalance any organisation, and indeed any conference, in which they participated. Here I would like to recall the telling words of Louis Saillant, President of the French National Council of Resistance and Chairman of the French delegation to the Conference. He said to Conference early in the first week:

"Turning to the second point, the question of voting—that involves the whole question of the size of the Soviet delegation at this Conference and it seems to be filling some people with alarm. I do not know whether it is suggested that the Soviet delegation is likely to vote in favour of measures contrary to the interests of the working class or not, but we would point out that the existence of Russian workers in huge armies has been of quite a little assistance to us in the present war, and we think it may be of equal assistance to us to have a large Soviet delegation at this Conference."

Then there is the slight question of the C.I.O. with its 6,238,000 members! To say nothing of the 800,000 strong Railroad Brotherhoods and the half a million membership of the United Mineworkers of America. The Confederation of Latin American Workers is outside, with more than 4 million members. So are the Australasian Council of Trade Unions with 1,100,000 members; the Canadian Congress of Labour, with 350,000 members; and one can scarcely overlook the Nigerian Trades Union Congress with half a million members. Even this summary, and far from complete list, adds up to a total of well over 40 millions, more than twice the membership of the I.F.T.U.

There are signs, too, that some of the trade union centres that before the war were affiliated to the I.F.T.U. are no longer satisfied with the position. The French C.G.T. delegation made the position quite clear. In a leading speech to the National Confederational Committee of the C.G.T. held in Paris on March 27th, 1945, Louis Saillant repeated the view that the I.F.T.U. was no longer capable of meeting the needs of the international trade union movement, and that in France, during four long years, they had been struck by the inability

of the I.F.T.U. to face up to the situation, let alone to make fighting appeals, at a time when it was necessary to fight body and soul for life itself. Benoit Frachon said, in plenary session at the World Conference: "You may ask, why a new organisation? It should be a new one; it we look at the facts plainly and without prejudice we are bound to admit that before the war labour had no effective international instrument to fight against Fascism." Leon Jouhaux, General Secretary of the C.G.T. attacked the I.F.T.U. in July, 1939, for its passivity in face of Fascist aggression and for having, in this way, facilitated the appeasement policy of Munich. E. Vazhenin, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Munition Workers' Union of the U.S.S.R., wrote in an article on "International Trade Union Unity" in the January 1st issue of *War and the Working Class* that the I.F.T.U. "actually pursued a policy of complete non-resistance to the sinister forces of Fascism . . . and it could not have been otherwise, as the leaders of this International in practice subordinated their policy to the Munichism of Chamberlain and Daladier!" The French C.G.T. are prepared to quit the I.F.T.U. if their membership is holding up the creation of a true International in the slightest degree.

The pre-war headquarters of the I.F.T.U. had been in Paris since 1933 and previously in Amsterdam (hence its name of the Amsterdam International); with the fall of France the I.F.T.U. moved to London, where the T.U.C. gave it refuge at Transport House. Due to the impossibility of regularly convened meetings of any kind, an Emergency International Trade Union Council was constituted in London on July 23rd, 1942, and this body has held skeleton-like meetings on a number of occasions since. The main criticisms of European trade unionists towards the war-time role of the I.F.T.U.—in addition to those cited above—are summed up in the one word: inactivity. Add to inactivity, inability to give leadership at a time when leadership is essential. The silence of the I.F.T.U. meant the muzzling of the powerful voice of European labour. It is true that the I.F.T.U. did collaborate with the B.B.C.—a number of the trade secretariat affiliated to the I.F.T.U. even took a leading part in planning a weekly labour programme, which lasted 15 minutes. This activity did not meet the needs; it was microscopic in relation to what was

needed. Other suspicions have been raised, too, that the I.F.T.U. has been too lenient with collaborationists within its own ranks. The collections of money that were sent to favoured groups of underground fighters served to underline the necessity for aid on a more grandiose scale.

These weaknesses of the only existing pre-war organisation for international contact, plus war-time difficulties, plus deliberate sabotage on the part of the A.F.L., had left a sad impression. To quote Sydney Hillman once more:

"We must face the fact—in all frankness—that Labour is not exerting the influence of which it is capable in shaping the policies that are now being made or in the work of the agencies now being established for their administration. Thus Labour was not represented at Dumbarton Oaks, Bretton Woods, or the international food and airplane conferences. This is not because Labour in many of our countries is not well organised and influential in its own right. It is because we lack a powerful international organ which unites us all and which can speak with authority in support of our common objective. Any further delay in the establishment of such a body delays Labour's full participation in shaping the peace settlements which are now being made and which may determine the course of history for generations to come."

The general pre-war picture was in nowise changed by a consideration of the *International Trade Secretariats* (I.T.S.). There were 29 of these Secretariats, with headquarters in varying countries, and they were international bodies acting on behalf of the trade interests of the workers belonging to a particular section of industry. Thus, the various miners' unions in different countries had the right to affiliate to the Miners' International Federation; the transport workers to the International Transport Workers' Federation; and metal workers to the International Metalworkers' Federation. These three I.T.S. were the only ones to show any measure of activity through the war years; and it must be said that their activities were not great enough to make an iota of difference to the stated criticisms of the I.F.T.U. Indeed a reading of the official reports of the I.F.T.U. covering their activities shows that these amounted to putting together a few information bulletins, and maintaining contact "as far as this is possible."

Thirteen of the I.T.S. were represented by one delegate each at the Conference, but their seats were largely vacant during the sessions. J. Oldenbroek of the Transport Workers, and Will Lawther of the Mineworkers were two delegates who played any considerable part in the debates. While Oldenbroek took the point of view and the defence of the I.F.T.U. on every occasion, insisting that the future would be served by an I.F.T.U. refurbished in some way, Will Lawther bluntly said: "Simply because some organisation which may have been built up in days gone by has come to regard itself as the holy of holies, we cannot allow it to stand in the road of what is imperative progress."

It is clear that in the future World Federation there must be some place for an international grouping of the various trades and industries; there seems no role, however, apart from particular trade interests, that such groupings can play as autonomous bodies within the future Federation, as they have suggested. Certainly their past activities have not shown them competent to undertake these functions they seem so anxious to assume. There are metalworkers in the liberated countries, who have undergone bitter experiences during these past few years, who cannot see the useful role of their International Metalworkers' Federation during these past years—with a secretary who is a Swiss watchmaker! However worthy the gentleman in question, it is not surprising that metalworkers and steelworkers cannot feel much enthusiasm for this form of organisation.

Briefly, then, this is an account of the situation before the calling of the World Trade Union Conference, in which step the British Trades Union Congress took a historic decision.

Top left : ERNIE THORNTON (Australia).

Top right : TONI FAJFAR (Yugoslavia).

*Bottom : MRS. R. CRAWFORD (South Africa), left,
talking to DAME ANNIE LOUGHLIN (Britain).*



CHAPTER X

HOW DID THE CONFERENCE HAPPEN?

WHEN the Soviet Union entered the war, the T.U.C. took immediate and urgent steps to break down the isolation between the trade union movements of the two countries. The General Council presented an emergency resolution to the 1941 Edinburgh Congress of the T.U.C. on "The International Situation," one section of which proposed the setting up of an Anglo-Soviet Trade Union Committee. This resolution was unanimously and enthusiastically accepted. The relevant passage runs:

"This Congress, mindful of the pledge given by the Trade Union and Labour Movement to support Soviet Russia in every possible way, offers organised collaboration with the Russian Trade Union Movement. Congress therefore cordially endorses the proposal of the General Council for the establishment of an Anglo-Russian Trade Union Council composed of an equal number of representatives of the All-Union Central Council of the Trade Unions of the U.S.S.R. and the British T.U.C. General Council, and providing for the exchange of views and information upon the problems with which the Trade Union Movement in each country is called upon to deal, and affording the opportunity for joint counsel and co-operation on matters of common concern, on the definite understanding that there shall be no interference on questions of internal policy and organisation which must remain the exclusive responsibility of each body."

The Anglo-Soviet Trade Union Committee was set up immediately following the Blackpool Conference, the Soviet Trade Unions accepting the proposals so enthusiastically that the first meeting took place as early as October 15th, 1941, at the Palace of Labour in Moscow. At that meeting an eight-point programme of main objectives was agreed upon, covering mutual assistance in the joint war effort against Hitler Germany, all possible assistance to the people of the countries under Nazi occupation, and mutual assistance and mutual

information of the trade union movements of the two countries. Several meetings of this Committee have been held in the Soviet Union and in this country since that date, and delegations have visited each other's country, creating definite goodwill and mutual interest.

The position in the United States was complicated by the existence of the two trade union centres. The British T.U.C. has had traditional links with the A.F.L. since 1894 and till recently had practically no contact with the C.I.O. at all. An approach was made to the A.F.L. with a view to extending the Anglo-Soviet Trade Union Committee by bringing in the American unions. The A.F.L. would not agree to this on two counts—they would not accept direct contact with the Soviet trade unions, nor would they invite the C.I.O. to share their international contacts with them. Finally, as the result of the suggestion of the A.F.L. and accepted by the T.U.C., a Joint Committee representative of the British T.U.C. and the A.F.L. was set up. Its first meeting was held in Washington on February 10th, 1943, between Sir Walter Citrine, representing the T.U.C., and delegates from the A.F.L. The T.U.C. has come in for much criticism for having accepted the formation of this Committee, which virtually excluded not only the C.I.O. but also the Railroad Brotherhoods, the great Confederation of Latin American Workers, and more than half the Canadian unions, that is to say, all those which are affiliated to the C.I.O. and not to the A.F.L. The C.I.O. pointed out that they were treated on equal terms by the American Government with the A.F.L., and that if the T.U.C. found it impossible to get a committee representing all American labour they should have accepted that position and not in effect interfered with internal matters by discussing with the A.F.L. matters of direct concern to C.I.O. members. In fact, there appears to have been only one meeting of this committee in 1943, when much useful information was exchanged but no practical programme worked out.

Through all these newly created international contacts, and others that had been possible during these war years, the General Council was undoubtedly aware of the fact that the majority of the world's working class were clamouring for firmer international links. The proposal for a World Trade Union Conference was placed on the agenda of the 1943 South-

port Congress of the T.U.C. by the National Union of Public Employees, whose General Secretary, Bryn Roberts, had been one of the two fraternal delegates to the A.F.L. Convention in 1942. N.U.P.E. withdrew its own resolution in favour of the Emergency Resolution put forward by the General Council on "Trade Unions and the War Situation," part of which took over the N.U.P.E. proposals. The relevant part of the General Council resolution runs:

"The Congress reaffirms its resolve to strive to make the coming peace worthy of the high aims for which the Allied Nations have declared themselves to be fighting. On behalf of the organised millions of working people this Conference represents we make our claim to a voice in the settlement of the terms and conditions of peace, and a share in the formulation and application of national policy to ensure economic security, social justice and higher standards of life for all.

"To this end, the Congress requests its General Council to give immediate attention to the possibility of convoking a World Conference of the representatives of the organised workers of all countries as soon as the war conditions permit, with the object of considering the most pressing problems both of policy and organisation affecting the interests of the working people, and thereby to promote the widest possible unity, in aim and action, of the International Trade Union Movement."

Bryn Roberts seconded the resolution, which had been put to Congress by Sir Walter Citrine, and referred to the terms of the N.U.P.E. resolution which mentioned by name the organisations to be invited, to include the C.I.O., the C.T.A.L., and the Railroad Brotherhoods as well as others. N.U.P.E. further mentioned three of the four objects for discussion ultimately agreed upon for the World Conference, and also demanded "the creation of the necessary machinery to enable effective collaboration to be instituted."

The Emergency Resolution was passed unanimously by the 75th Annual Congress of the T.U.C. and work proceeded forthwith. On Wednesday, October 27th, less than five weeks after the ending of Congress, the General Council of the T.U.C. decided to issue the necessary invitations to implement this decision, and on November 3rd, 1943, preliminary

notices convening the conference and inviting delegates to London for June 8th, 1944, were sent out. At this time, Sir Walter Citrine made a statement to the General Council that: "As to the character of the conference, it should be made clear at the outset that this would be advisory and consultative. This would mean that decisions taken at the conference could not be binding upon the constituent bodies unless and until they had endorsed such decisions." The preliminary invitation emphasised that the Conference would be purely exploratory and consultative in character, but reiterated that by this was meant that decisions taken by the Conference *would not be binding unless and until ratified by participating organisations*. The General Council further pointed out that the reason for this provision was that they feared that otherwise difficulties might be caused and a number of organisations might refrain from attending in order to avoid what they might regard as possible undesirable commitments.

The response to these original invitations was overwhelming. The T.U.C. soon realised that they would have on their hands an extremely representative conference, in spite of war-time difficulties of transport and communications. The support and encouragement was sought, and obtained, of the British Government, in order to facilitate visas and transport facilities, which are entirely in their hands.

Meantime the war situation did not remain static. With the intensification of D-Day preparations, a day, when it came, welcomed by workers everywhere, a ban was laid on the departure from Britain of ALL non-government travellers. This ban included diplomatic representatives even of Allied countries and was unprecedented in history. In these circumstances, the T.U.C. felt it necessary to postpone the Conference, not because delegates could not reach the country, but because they were not in a position to guarantee the date of departure "as forthcoming events were unpredictable." So it came that a special meeting of the General Council on May 4th, 1944, decided to postpone the Conference and, at first, cables, and later, explanatory letters were sent to all concerned.

Some of the delegates had already left and were well on their way. S. A. Dange, the President of the All-India Trade Union Congress, and the delegates from the Indian Federa-

tion of Labour, were well on their way when they heard of the postponement, and decided to continue their journey in order to study conditions in this country. Dange has become well known to thousands of trade unionists in this country as a result, and certainly the British trade union movement is clearer as to the facts of the Indian situation than they would otherwise have been. Two Australian delegates had reached the States, and although they turned round to go home, travel difficulties at that time delayed them some months. So that when Conference finally opened on February 6th, 1945, Ernest Thornton, National Secretary of the Federated Ironworkers' Association of Australia, the only delegate to arrive as his colleague had been taken ill by all these emergencies, had spent literally six months travelling in order to attend the Conference! Fortunately for the trade union movement generally, all distances are not so great!

All the circumstances leading up to the calling of the Conference and to its subsequent postponement were reported by Sir Walter Citrine to the 1944 T.U.C. Conference which opened in Blackpool on October 16th, 1944, and were endorsed by the Congress. The Congress also endorsed suggestions, which are dealt with later, establishing a Preparatory Committee, including representatives of the Soviet and American trade unions in addition to the British T.U.C., to prepare the World Conference. As a result of all the work previously put in by the T.U.C. and the co-operation achieved through the Preparatory Committee, it was possible to convene the Conference finally for February 6th, 1945, and on that day the formal opening took place at County Hall, London.

CHAPTER XI

WHAT WAS THE CONFERENCE LIKE AS IT MET?

THE World Trade Union Conference, the largest labour gathering ever held in terms of membership represented, was unique in many other ways. It met in war-time, in a capital city that was still under bombardment from enemy bombs. Several times during the Conference debates the building shook and many of the delegates had unpleasant experiences at other times by finding themselves too near to these unpleasant reminders of Fascist barbarism.

Through the courtesy of the London County Council, which has a Labour majority, the Conference was able to meet at County Hall, the Headquarters of London's administration. The staff was unfailing in its courtesy by shepherding the delegates in the right direction when they found themselves lost in the seemingly endless maze of corridors. County Hall is an imposing grey granite building overlooking the Thames nearly opposite the Houses of Parliament. The Council Chamber is circular with most comfortable red leather seats. The Continental delegates felt immediately at home, for as a general rule their council chambers and houses of parliament are circular. The effect of London's Council Chamber was to bring about an atmosphere of unity into the debates, and there was no evidence of splitting off into splinter parties that has been the pre-war tradition on the continent, due, so many people hold, to the gradations possible in a circular chamber.

Be that as it may, another advantage of the circular chamber was that the interpreters were able to gather the various language groups around them, and when the speeches were not too long, they were translated on the spot, as were the Chairman's short remarks, introducing speakers and so on. When there was a long speech, such as those introducing the main subjects of discussion, then the delegates would move off into separate rooms, the French-speaking delegates together, the Spanish-speaking, the Russian, and the English. These were the four official languages of the Conference, but any

delegate could speak in his own language provided he could produce someone to interpret from his own language into one of the four mentioned above. As may be imagined very easily, all this took a great deal of time.

It had its uses too. Smoking was not allowed in the Council Chamber, so that these excursions were very welcome. Also there were constant discussions and informal exchanges of views going on outside in the corridors and in a great antechamber just outside the Council Chamber with a pleasant fire at each side. This antechamber was lined with imposing oil portraits of the previous Chairmen of the London County Council and these portraits and the oak panelling were a fitting frame for the living picture groups that were constantly passing in front of them. The Conference lasted for two weeks; starting on a Tuesday morning, it went right on to the evening of the second Saturday following, with no breaks except for an organised visit to a cup-tie on the first Saturday afternoon. On the Sunday afternoon a great International Demonstration was held at the Coliseum Theatre, where a packed audience of London trade unionists was able to hear some of the leading figures of the Conference. The Declaration of this Demonstration, received with tremendous applause and voted unanimously by the audience, is given as an Appendix, with other official documents of the Conference.

Coming back to the antechamber of the Council Chamber, it was here that the world's journalists were able to meet and chat with the delegates. This contact was a most important part of the Conference, not only because there were journalists who had travelled across the Atlantic and from liberated Europe to report the Conference, but because the first news and reports that the trade unionists of the world would get of the way in which the Conference was going would be from the world's press; and radio. I have already recounted a true story of the effect that a radio report had on a group of listening seamen. There must have been thousands, hundreds of thousands, of similar groups all over the world, tuning in to hear the reports of the Conference, hoping to hear some reference to the spokesmen from their own country—their spokesmen—and being very proud indeed when they were lucky enough to listen in at the right time to hear their compatriot's words. The press comments on the Conference were, on the whole,

very favourable. The most glowing tributes came, of course, from the correspondents of labour and trade union papers; and perhaps the most glowing of all from those who had been sceptical of the success of the Conference, and who had not been as convinced of the inherent ability of the working class to get things done as our junior engineer had been.

It was here, too, that arrangements were made by the B.B.C., by the American and Canadian Broadcasting Corporations, and by radio men of all nationalities to get the delegates to speak on their impressions of the Conference directly back to their home countries. These broadcasts were very important, too. It is certainly the first international conference in which there has been such a close link between the participants to the Conference and their people at home.

It was here in the antechamber, when they were mixing and talking freely with one another, that one was able to get to know the delegates and their characteristics. In the Council Chamber, whether viewed from the floor or from the press and public galleries, one got correctly an impression of an abiding seriousness and fixed attention to the business in hand. If the seats looked empty some of the time, it was because the work of the Conference was going on in plenary session and in a number of committees meeting at the same time. Never has there been an international conference where delegations took their work so seriously.

In passing, it was a pity that the public galleries were always so empty; perhaps it had not been generally enough known that there was accommodation for members of the public. In fact, although there was provision in the Standing Orders, none of the sessions were private. Only meetings of the committees were private.

A remarkable feature of the Conference was the interest of members of the armed forces. Privates and officers of all nationalities, came along, and as we go to our House of Commons and send in a card to our M.P. in the hopes that he is there and will fix us up with a Visitor's Ticket, so the armed forces of all nationalities came along and asked for their delegates. The most busy members of the Conference were seen shaking hands and chatting with their rank-and-file members and at least half the public that did manage to find the public galleries was in uniform.

There were many official and unofficial contacts at the Conference which all emphasise the importance of the occasion. The Rt. Hon. C. R. Attlee, M.P., Deputy Prime Minister and Leader of the Parliamentary Labour Party, brought the greetings of "His Majesty's Government in Great Britain and Northern Ireland and to wish you in their name all success in your deliberations." Mr. Attlee was deputising for Mr. Churchill, who was away at Yalta. The General Council of the T.U.C. gave a luncheon to the delegates, at which Ernest Bevin, Minister of Labour and great trade union leader spoke. Bevin warmed the heart of his hearers by speaking as a member of the working-class movement, "our Movement," and went on to say that "I know of no other body in the world, diverse as we are in colour, race, creed and nationality, where men stick together as the working people have got to do." He also stressed the necessity for the Conference to produce, as a result of its work, the "council of working class unity, based, I suggest, most firmly on economic necessity and economic desire for the advancement of the standards of life." The opening session of the Conference was addressed by Dr. Somerville Hastings, the labour Chairman of the London County Council, who welcomed the delegates in the name of London. Later on during the Conference, the three presidents and the three vice-presidents were received by His Majesty the King. Then during the meetings of the Conference Continuations Committee these officers were invited to a lunch by the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Eden, and the ambassadors of the major powers, and at this lunch Mr. Eden and the ambassadors were asked to convey to their respective governments the request of the world trade union movement for official recognition at the San Francisco Conference.

Two hundred delegates were able to see films, not released to the public, of the fire blitzes on London and the effects of the flying bombs, at a special showing arranged by the Fire Brigades' Union and the London Regional H.Q. of the National Fire Service.

During all the Conference, too, innumerable personal contacts between British organisations and individuals and the delegates, and between the delegations were being made, all of which are immensely valuable in strengthening international solidarity in the years to come.

CHAPTER XII

THE PREPARATORY COMMITTEE

PERHAPS this is an appropriate place to point out that there were signs in other parts of the world that the organised workers were aware of the lamentable situation of the lack of world-wide unity and contacts. I have already referred to some remarks of Sydney Hillman on this subject, and in the same speech, that introducing the subject of the World Federation for discussion in full session, Hillman said :

" Ever since 1942 the C.I.O. has consistently and insistently called for the creation of such an international Labour body. Some two years ago, President Philip Murray made formal representations to our friends of the British T.U.C. requesting that a meeting of world Labour be convened for that purpose. At our Convention in 1942, and again in 1943, and in 1944, we unanimously adopted resolutions calling for international labour unity through an all-embracing organisation. At our 1944 convention we declared : ' The C.I.O. supports the project of a new single, powerful international Labour body that shall include all the unions of free countries on a basis of equality, excluding none and relegating none to a secondary place, and capable of defending the interests of the common man.' "

Then in February, 1944, the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions of the U.S.S.R. suggested to the General Council that the Conference should be convened under the joint auspices of the T.U.C., the C.I.O. and the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions. The T.U.C. would not agree and this question was referred to the fourth meeting of the Anglo-Soviet Trade Union Committee, which met at Transport House on October 2nd, 1944. An agreement was then reached that a Preparatory Committee be formed consisting of the British T.U.C., the All-Union Central Council and the trade unions of the U.S.A. (the latter's representation being on the basis of two from the A.F.L., two from the C.I.O., and one from the Railroad Brotherhoods). This Committee met, in fact, in London, on December 4th, 1944, and as is well known the

A.F.L. refused this invitation too. The Railroad Brotherhoods accepted in principle, but were unfortunately unable to be present.

Vassili Kuznetsov, in his address of fraternal greetings to the 1944 Blackpool Trade Union Congress, had warmly greeted the initiative displayed by the T.U.C. in calling the World Trade Union Conference as the first step in establishing collaboration between the trade unions of all countries. He also said that the organised workers in all democratic countries must be united in a single powerful international organisation which must be a militant body " capable of defending the demands of the working class."

The setting up of the Preparatory Committee still left the British Trades Union Congress as the convening body, but it had the important role of making recommendations to the World Trade Union Conference on questions concerning the procedure to be followed at the Conference. Their work did not bear at all on the merits of questions which would be discussed at the Conference itself.

Apart from technical, non-controversial matters which were necessarily dealt with before the Conference, the Preparatory Committee made a number of recommendations to the Conference, through the Standing Orders Committee elected by the Conference itself. The main recommendations that were accepted without discussions were :

- (i) *Presidents.* That the officers of the Conference should be three Presidents, one each from Great Britain, the U.S.S.R., the U.S.A., and three Vice-Presidents, one each from France, the Latin-American countries and China.
- (ii) *Standing Orders Committee* to be elected by Conference and composed of nine persons, representing the following delegations or groups of delegations :— U.S.A., G.B., U.S.S.R., France, Rest of Europe, British Commonwealth, Latin-American countries, China and International Trade Union bodies. *Credentials Committee* to be elected by Conference of five persons, one representative each from U.S.S.R., U.S.A., G.B., France and China.
- (iii) *Agenda.* The Preparatory Committee approved, with minor amendments, the Agenda proposed by the

British T.U.C. and already circulated with the preliminary invitations for discussion, so that the *final* Agenda read :—

- Item 1. The Furtherance of the Allied War Effort.
- Item 2. Attitude of the Trade Unions towards the Anticipated Peace Settlement, for instance : General organisation of world peace ; Allied occupation of ex-enemy countries ; Reparations ; Treatment of Germany ; Representations of the trade unions at the peace conference and at the preparatory commissions or conferences for relief, rehabilitation and post-war reconstruction.
- Item 3. Basis for a World Trade Union Federation.
- Item 4. Immediate Trade Union Demands for the Post-War Period.
- Item 5. Problems of Post-War Reconstruction ; General principles for the social and economic demands in the national and international fields, the fundamentals of social security and full employment.

(Items 4 and 5 were subsequently merged, both as regards discussion at the Conference and the Declarations accepted by general consent by the Conference.)

- (iv) *Composition of Committees.* It was agreed that in conformity with the procedure that is customary at international conferences each item should be the subject of general discussion in the full Conference, after which it would be referred to a Committee, which will, in due course, submit its report to full Conference for consideration. It was agreed that the following speakers were nominated to introduce the general discussion, as follows :

Furtherance of Allied War Effort : One main speaker each from U.S.S.R., U.S.A., G.B., and Committee to consist of five members, U.S.S.R., U.S.A., G.B., China and France.

Attitude to Peace Settlement : Sir Walter Citrine. Committee to consist of 14 members, the Standing Orders Committee to make recommendations as to its composition.

Basis for World Trade Union Federation : Philip Murray (in his absence Sydney Hillman). Committee to consist of 14 members.

Trade Union Demands and Post-War Reconstruction : Sir Walter Citrine. Committee to consist of seven members.

- (v) Other decisions concerned the official languages of the Conference, the invitation to the Prime Minister to address the Conference, the Coliseum Demonstration, and confirming that the British T.U.C. under the supervision of Sir Walter Citrine should undertake the secretarial duties of the Conference.

The Preparatory Committee also endorsed the scale of representation at the Conference ; this scale had been worked out by the T.U.C. on the basis of a minimum delegation of two for a trade union membership up to 250,000, of three up to 500,000 members, of four up to 750,000 members, of five up to a million members ; one additional delegation for every half-million members up to five million, and thereafter one additional delegate for every million members over five million. The Confederation of Latin-American Workers and the I.F.T.U. were invited to send two delegates each ; and the International Trade Secretariats established in Great Britain were invited to send one delegate each. Neutral countries were invited to send delegations to the second week of the Conference, when the post-war questions and trade union unity were to be discussed, these delegations to sit as observers for the first week of the Conference during the discussion on the Furtherance of the Allied War Effort.

The original decision to exclude representation of trade union bodies from ex-enemy countries was reversed by the Conference in the light of subsequent events. A number of countries failed to satisfy the T.U.C. of the credentials of their organisations, and some of these will be making approaches with more detailed information to the new Federation for admission. The General Council of the T.U.C. decided to invite *all* bona fide trade union bodies, and where more than one national centre existed both were invited. The General Council asked all movements to rise above their domestic and national difficulties since :

" This was a supreme testing time in the history of the

trade union movement, and that the depth of our faith in trade unionism would be revealed by the extent which all concerned were ready to rise superior to internecine difficulties and national obstacles. Unless the trade union, representing the working classes, found it possible to sit together in conference, to commune on our common international problems and to try to find a constructive policy to rebuild our great International Movement, the prospects for humanity were dark indeed."

CHAPTER XIII

CONTROVERSIAL QUESTIONS

It would be a mistake to overlook that there were grave differences on a number of questions between the delegations. This is not a perfect world and the Labour Movement is not perfect either. The fact that these differences were overcome amicably, merely underlines, as George Isaacs said in his closing remarks as Chairman, that: "The one or two little items of discord have merely served to emphasise the great amount of unity that exists among us." The diversity of character and outlook among the unions represented was great; they ranged from the somewhat conservative, traditionalist attitude of the British T.U.C.; the Soviet trade unions, playing a vital and indispensable role but in a socialist and not a capitalist economy; the reconstituted unions of liberated Europe, with a new and more militant way of looking at things than in the past; the C.I.O., born of a struggle between Craft versus Industrial organisation, yet more vitally interested in straightforward "politics" than almost any other unions represented, coming straight from playing the leading role (through its Political Action Committees) in securing the re-election of President Roosevelt; the Confederation of Latin-American Workers, with a tremendous hydra-headed struggle on its hands against Fascism in its own countries, against some reactionary governments, and for the betterment of wages and living conditions of workers of an industrially backward continent; and the colonial unions, with their fight for winning the war against Fascism as a preliminary over their own fight for national liberation and independence.

Who indeed could doubt that differences would arise?

There were three questions which were handed over to the Conference for solution; or, to be more accurate, world events were moving so rapidly that the recommendations of the Preparatory Committee proved to be out of date. These questions were whether or not to invite the reconstituted trade unions of the ex-enemy countries; the request of the trade unions functioning in liberated Poland to be represented; and the

question of voting. How were these matters solved? For they were solved, and solved in such a way as to leave no bitterness or ill-feeling behind.

When the matter of inviting the ex-enemy countries came up at the sessions of the Preparatory Committee, it was decided to leave the matter in the hands of the T.U.C. to pursue enquiries as to the desirability, in all the circumstances, of invitations being issued to these bodies. The Standing Orders Committee of the Conference, to which the work of the Preparatory Committee came up for endorsement, did endorse their action in excluding from the Conference the delegates of enemy and ex-enemy countries, but added this addendum for discussion by the full Conference, "However, the fact that great changes have occurred since the original arrangements for the Conference were made and that an invitation to bona fide unions in ex-enemy countries would encourage the development of trade unions in such countries, the Committee recommends to the Conference that invitations be extended to the Trade Union Movements of Finland, Bulgaria, Rumania, Hungary and Italy." This recommendation came forward with the approval of the Standing Orders Committee, of which Mr. F. Wolstencroft, General Secretary of the Amalgamated Society of Woodworkers and member of the General Council of the T.U.C., was elected Chairman, and of which W. Schevenels, General Secretary of the I.F.T.U. was a member. In bringing this recommendation to the Conference, Ernest Thornton, Australian delegate, elected Rapporteur for the Standing Orders Committee, pointed out that no criticism was implied of the previous decisions, but that members of the Committee had brought further information. The French delegate reported having attended in person a Congress of the Rumanian Trade Union Movement in Bucharest a few weeks previously and further reported that both the Rumanian and the Bulgarian T.U.C.'s. had been reconstituted and had already several hundreds of thousands of members; the C.I.O. delegate reported that C.I.O. delegates had visited Italy and guaranteed a bona fide reconstructed and active trade union body there; while the Soviet delegate amplified the information regarding Finland, Bulgaria and Rumania. In Part I further details are given of the development of these movements.

In point of fact this, with the other two controversial

questions mentioned above, were the subject of general discussion as part of one report. Sir Walter Citrine weighed in with a long and carefully worked out case which was the basis for the stand the General Council had taken in convening the Conference. The gist of the case, as regards the ex-enemy countries, was that it was straining their credulity too much to expect that these countries, which had been under dictatorship for years, some of which were now only partially liberated, could have already developed mature, democratic, stable trade unions in the sense that entitled them to be represented at the Conference, or to send delegates with a mandated programme and competent to discuss the range of questions before the Conference. Furthermore, was the Conference prepared to consider the logic of the position, for if it endorsed these new recommendations, it would mean that the view of the Conference was that the deliberations of the Big Three taking place at that moment, on the whole realm of questions surrounding the peace settlement, should be taking place not amongst the Big Three alone but with delegates from ex-enemy countries as well!

Comrades Saillant of the French delegation and Tarasov of the Soviet delegation gave the Conference plenty of facts about the new trade union situation in these countries, and Saillant made the telling point that *this* was a Conference representative of workers' organisations only, and not of States or Governments, and therefore representative of nothing more than the workers who had sent them there. He also impressed the Conference profoundly when he added that: "Turning to the case of Italy, if there is one country which should feel doubts about Italy, that country is France, which in May, 1940, was the first victim of the Italian stab in the back. Nevertheless, the French delegation, in virtue of the principle that this is a Conference not of States or Governments, but of workers, considers that we must make a distinction between the new independent trade union organisation which has come into existence in Italy and the Fascist organisations which existed formerly. The French General Confederation of Labour refused to identify the working class of any country with the dictatorship which formerly oppressed that working class."

Here came one of the highlights of the Conference. No one

saw the way out. The majority of the speakers had in fact supported the Standing Orders Committee, yet in face of the blanket opposition of the British T.U.C. what was to be done? At this moment, R. J. Thomas, President of the American delegation, Vice-President of the C.I.O., arrived, in all his bulk, on the scene. Within two hours of being in London, he stood on the platform, having already had consultations with the leading delegates, and proposed that all non-controversial sections of the report of the Standing Orders Committee be accepted so that the business of the Conference could proceed, and that the status of the ex-enemy countries and Poland be referred back to the Committee for further discussion, he added these telling words: "Not only do I think that we can come to an agreement; we must come to an agreement. . . . Do not permit us, or the delegates from the Trades Union Congress, or from the Soviet Union, or from any group from any other country, depart from this Conference and say when they get back to their country that we, the lovers of freedom and democracy cannot get together. Because that, my friends and fellow-workers, is what Hitler would like to hear us say. . . . We must stick together. If the people who wield the power in our several countries to-day can get together, there is no reason why we the workers cannot also get together."

Sir Walter Citrine immediately rose and on behalf of the British delegation said that they had raised the question not in any captious spirit but from a sense of the gravity of the principles involved. They had given consideration to the helpful suggestion of their friend Mr. Thomas, and were prepared to accept the compromise in the spirit in which it was offered.

If Conferences were human and able to breathe sighs of relief, this would have been the moment for one, for when Sir Walter Citrine got up to speak the atmosphere was tense with expectation. The compromise was readily accepted by the whole Conference, and the members of the Standing Orders Committee went back to their committee room. Later that afternoon they came back and Ernest Thornton once more went to the rostrum, and in firm tones reported that: "I wish to report that the Committee had quite an amicable discussion of these two questions, and I am happy to report arrived at

complete agreement on those questions. On the first question, there was some discussion about the bona fides of the Trade Union Movements in the ex-enemy countries, also whether any doubt about this question should lead to an invitation to the organisations to send representatives only as observers. After discussion, the following decision was arrived at, and is recommended to the Conference: 'That the Trade Union Movements of Finland, Bulgaria, Rumania, and Italy shall be invited to send representatives, who shall present their credentials to the Credentials Committee, which shall examine their bona fides and decide whether the representative shall be seated as delegates or observers.' The Committee felt that the bona fides of those organisations should not be pre-judged, as there had been no pre-judgment of a number of other organisations who had been invited to this Conference, but they should satisfy the Credentials Committee as to their position. I emphasise, Mr. President, that this decision was arrived at unanimously by the Committee."

The Conference endorsed this recommendation, and a few minutes later the official invitations were being sent off. Of course, the trade union movements in the countries concerned had known the matter would be coming up, and had already had discussions with members of the Conference some weeks, indeed, months, past. Their delegates were elected and mandated, and they were only awaiting the official invitation to take off. It was already at the end of the third day of the Conference. The Rumanian delegates did not manage to arrive at all; the Bulgarian and Italian delegates arrived in time for the "Continuations Committee" which met when the Conference ended. But the two Finnish delegates arrived on the last day but one. There was a solemn moment when George Isaacs, who was presiding at the time, announced their presence and invited one of them to address the Conference for a few moments. Comrade Harma of the Finnish Trade Union Confederation, after bringing greetings, added, "When we got to know that the Conference was discussing the representation of Finland in some form, our interest naturally greatly increased, not only among the workers but among the people generally. When the formal call from the Conference came, it was a greater joy for us than you can possibly imagine." The Soviet delegation was foremost in its applause, and it was a moving

moment when the Finnish comrade made a dignified bow towards them in response.

Now as to Poland, here was an even more delicate question. The Preparatory Committee had actually received a cable from the Provisional Central Commission of Trade Unions in Poland asking for an invitation.* The Committee left the question, as with the ex-enemy countries, to the T.U.C. The Standing Orders Committee in this connection, too, in the light of additional information, and without criticism of previous arrangements, recommended an invitation. In the same speech, previously quoted, Sir Salter Citrine said on the subject of Poland :

" In respect of Lublin, is it reasonable to put this Conference into an atmosphere charged with dissent and with difficulty ? It is a well-known fact that the Governments have not yet agreed to the principle of the recognition of the Lublin Government. Yet we are expected, apparently, to commit ourselves to an even more difficult principle of discrimination. We are expected to recognise a Trade Union Movement which appears to have been built up in a matter of weeks into a durable democratic organisation at a time when the country was plunged into the midst of war. I say it is not reasonable to expect the British Trades Union Congress to assent to that principle. It may be that at an appropriate stage the Lublin Trade Union Committee would be admitted. But the only information we have had has been received through Moscow by telegram—a claim to represent blank number of trade unionists. It is reasonable to expect that some consideration will be given to it, some opportunity to that movement to prove its stability before it can be recognised as ready to take part in our deliberations. We may, as I was about to say, have to reach that conclusion at some stage, but I suggest to you it is entirely premature to expect us to do it now."

After the matter, together with that of the ex-enemy countries, had been taken back to the Standing Orders Committee, they reported back with a compromise recommendation that the Polish Seamen's Union in Great Britain, which is undoubtedly a bona fide organisation of Polish seamen, affiliated to the

* Details of the trade union movement in Poland are to be found on page 62.

International Transport Workers' Federation (and therefore to the I.F.T.U.) over a period of years, and also now affiliated to the Central Council of Trade Unions in Poland itself, be invited to send a delegate. This recommendation came with the unanimous backing of the Standing Orders Committee. Unfortunately agreement could not be reached. Arthur Deakin, on behalf of the British delegation, raised serious objections and finally suggested the reference back. The next day, Thornton reported to full Conference that :

" The Standing Orders Committee had a long discussion this morning and unanimously directed me to make this statement. The Committee has again discussed the question of Polish representation at this Conference, and finds it impossible to arrive at a completely satisfactory solution to this problem which would be accepted by general consent at the Conference. This deadlock arises because one important delegation firmly holds the view that because the Preparatory Committee left the question of invitations to the British T.U.C. no question of additional invitations should be raised, and it is not prepared to agree that the list of invitations be extended further. Without expressing any view on the attitude of the delegation referred to, or the merits of the question, of inviting a delegate from Poland, the Committee believes that further discussion at the Conference on this subject can only be harmful to world trade union unity and give the press more material to imply basic differences in our ranks. The Committee therefore proposes that no further action be taken on the matter of additional invitations other than those covered by decisions already taken by the Conference."

This decision has undoubtedly surprised workers all over the world. When Kuznetsov reported back to the central committees of the Soviet unions at a large meeting in Moscow he emphasised that it was the goodwill of the delegates and the desire of the working masses for unity that had made it easier for the conference to overcome differences of opinion and by means of mutual concessions to find agreement. The delegates at this meeting could understand that, but they were unable to disguise their surprise that Poland should nevertheless have been represented at the Congress by Stanczyk, as a delegate from the Polish Trade Union Centre in Great

Britain, since Stanczyk, although the pre-war General Secretary of the Polish Miners' Federation, has been an official of the Polish Government in London throughout the war, and still was at the time of the Conference.

The third controversial question handed over to the Standing Orders Committee was that of voting. In the original Draft Standing Orders sent out by the T.U.C. for endorsement by the participants in the Conference, Clause 19 read :

" 19. Decisions shall be taken at the Conference only by general consent, and not by a majority vote."

As a result of serious consideration by the Preparatory Committee, this Clause was amended to read :

" 19. Decisions shall be taken at the Conference only by general consent. Any three or more delegations shall have the right to demand a roll call vote, each delegation to vote as a unit. General consent shall not be considered as having been obtained for any proposition unless at least two-thirds of the national delegations vote in its favour ; provided that no proposition shall be rejected unless the dissentients represent at least one-third of the national delegations represented and comprise at least one-third of the total membership of the national organisations represented. In the event of any proposition not receiving general consent, it may by a majority vote of the national delegations be remitted back to the Committee concerned."

At one moment of the Conference it appeared as though the question of voting might turn into a major issue, but in fact this workmanlike solution of what " general consent " means was accepted unanimously by the Conference. Unfortunately a section of the press, whose interest it was to see the Conference fail, tended to exploit the potential difficulties inherent in the question of voting at such a Conference. In fact, at no time during the Conference was it necessary to call into use these carefully laid down rules to determine general consent. The good sense of the delegates and the general desire for unity to make the Conference a success resulted in agreement either straight away, or by a number of compromises in which every side graciously gave some points away for the sake of the over-riding general interests of the world-wide trade union movement.

CHAPTER XIV

FURTHERANCE OF THE ALLIED WAR EFFORT

THE Hall was full that morning when Vassili Kuznetsov opened the discussion on the Furtherance of the Allied War Effort. The Preparatory Committee had certainly chosen well in proposing that the Chairman of the Soviet delegation lead off on this subject.

Kuznetsov opened by pointing out that the attention of the working class of all countries was centred on the Conference and that they expected a clear and decisive lead. He went on to recount very briefly the course of the war, the sufferings of the Soviet people, the great battles for Moscow, Leningrad, Sevastopol, Odessa, Kursk, Kiev and Minsk, and the turning of the war with the tremendous advances of the Red Army, which have resulted not only in liberating the whole of the Russian Motherland from the Fascist invader but have also liberated Rumania, Bulgaria, Finland and Hungary and led them to declare war against their former ally, Fascist Germany. " The Red Army has won and is winning these historic victories, thanks to the fact that it has had the devoted support of the entire people of our country, because at the head of the Soviet people and the Red Army stands the great Stalin." Kuznetsov went on to tell of the home front, the evacuation of the war factories and putting them into operation in the Urals and Siberia and other far off regions in the hinterland of the country, and of the building of dozens of new blast furnaces, mines, power stations and railways. All this was made possible by the leadership given by the Soviet Trade Unions, and by the All-Union socialist emulation for increasing assistance to the front and for the steady growth of industrial capacity. The All-Union socialist emulation arose on the initiative of the men and women workers, engineers and technicians of the most important enterprises who saw the need for it. Millions of working hours and thousands of tons of materials have been saved, and industrial capacity tremendously increased. Kuznetsov then outlined the tremendous scope of the social insurance and welfare activities of the

Soviet Unions, which there is not space to more than mention here. He pointed out that due to their efforts monthly wages rose on an average 54 per cent. from 1940 to 1944. He went on to pay high tribute to the allied nations, both on the home front and in the front lines, on the sea and in the air. He paid tribute, too, to the great help rendered in the fight against Fascism by the working class in the countries that have been and are being liberated from the fascist leaders. Kuznetsov then went on to urge still greater efforts in all fields, for "The war is not yet finished. Any prolongation of the war means further destruction, suffering, and the death of millions of people, some hundreds of thousands of homeless orphans, more sacrifices for the working class. . . . Our slogan still remains: 'Everything for the front, everything for victory.'" War production must be increased until full victory over the enemy is achieved; the trade unions must help the governments in their relentless struggle against all pro-fascist elements who are slowing down the war effort; they must continue their fight for improving pay and working conditions; the trade unions of liberated countries must urge the restoration of their industries for war production and insist on national armies that can participate directly in the fight and they must ensure the complete destruction of Fascism in all its forms. The working class and the trade unions of neutral countries must wage a struggle against the policy of their governments of rendering any form of help to Hitler Germany and against their countries being used as refuges for the fascist criminals.

And now Vassili Kuznetsov came to perhaps the most significant part of his speech, for he pointed out that the only hope left to the Nazis, both now and after military victory, is a split in the ranks of the Allies. "These plans of the enemy must not and will not be realised. The Allied nations will strengthen even more the friendship which is necessary for the victorious conclusion of the war and the establishment of a stable and lasting peace. **THE MOST IMPORTANT FACTOR IN STRENGTHENING THIS UNITY OF THE FREEDOM-LOVING PEOPLES IS THE NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL UNITY OF THE WORKING CLASS. THE QUESTION OF TRADE UNION UNITY IS PARTICULARLY PRESSING AND ACUTE TO-DAY.**"

This opening speech was received with tremendous enthusiasm. There were eight speakers in all in this discussion, Comrades Arthur Deakin for the T.U.C., Reid Robinson for the C.I.O., Chu Hsueh Fan of China, Pauwels of the Belgian Confederation of Christian Trade Unions, Dupuy of the French C.G.T., Conroy of the Canadian Congress of Labour, and Pillai of the Indian Federation of Labour. It is significant that the majority of these speakers came back to the necessity of establishing true international labour unity in order to ensure final victory. Reid Robinson, for example, said "The unity of the United Nations can be properly buttressed only when the trade unions are all linked together by a new, broad, effective organisation. When such an organisation is functioning, the last foul hopes of the fascists will be blasted. . . . If we do that we will give a tremendous impetus to the production efforts of the homefront workers—those fighters against Fascism whose place is in the factory, the mine or mill." Comrade Dupuy, after having stressed the high price which France had paid in this war, and the efforts she is still making, emphasised that "Our aims must be the moral and political destruction of Fascism," and then urged the necessity of international trade union unity in an organised form to ensure these aims. On much the same lines, Conroy spoke of the necessity of "the maximum of world-wide unity."

Coming back for a moment to the main gist of the speeches, Arthur Deakin, General Secretary of the Transport and General Workers' Union, the largest union in the world, speaking officially for the T.U.C., gave a stirring account of the British war effort. British Labour and the Trade Unions had entered the National Government of this country as equal partners for the purpose of furthering the principles for which our movement stands. He spoke of the tremendous increase in production, the work of the Joint Production Committees, the long hours worked to the point of inefficiency so that they had had to be scaled down, of the role of our 7,250,000 women between the ages of 14 and 50 who are in our industry and in the Services, with an additional million housewives doing part-time work; he spoke, too, of our tremendous military effort, and of the three-quarters of a million casualties which, related to our population, is a formidable figure. Deakin told how only one in five of our employed population are providing in any way for

the home market. Finally, he told the Conference of our determination to prosecute both the war against Germany and the war against Japan to their final conclusions, and how the labour movement has told the Government that "we accept the control of employment in the period between the end of the one war and the other, in so far as it is necessary for maintaining the essential war services of the country."

Reid Robinson gave Conference the favourite American expression "Let us look at the record," and went on to summarise the enormous war-time production record of the United States—an army of 12 millions, a *munitions* army of six millions, millions more in transport and utilities. Hours of work have been increased, with considerable overtime, while productivity per man-hour was nearly doubled in the war industries. The C.I.O. has maintained its "No Strike" pledge, in face of the most outrageous provocations. More than 6,000 labour-management committees are functioning with the sole object of increasing production. The C.I.O. has more than 600,000 of its members in the armed forces, so that their pledge for still greater efforts to bring the day of victory nearer will surely be fulfilled. Finally, Reid Robinson stressed how the Conference had before it a clear path toward furthering the allied war effort, in pressing forward to positive solutions to world labour unity, and to give new hope for the common men and women of the world through their fight for political and economic democracy.

Chu Hsueh Fan, of the Chinese Association of Labour, spoke of the struggle China had waged since July, 1937, when Japan launched her unprovoked attack on her, at a time when China was totally unprepared for war. Now she has an army of 300 divisions with five million men in the field and a million men in reserve units or training camps. China, too, had to move most of her industries into the interior, and soon after 1937 the trek to the interior started, involving 452 privately owned industrial plants. 120,000 tons of material had to be moved, in many instances on the bare backs of workers. The trade unions were in the forefront of this task. Industry expanded even in the most difficult and primitive conditions, and there are now 1,359 privately owned plants and 108 units of heavy industry owned by the Government. He added "What we lack in machinery, we make up with human

labour. And it is the workers, thousands of them trade union members, who bear the brunt of the sweat and toil."

After further discussion, this question was referred to the Committee under the Chairmanship of Reid Robinson, who presented a draft Declaration which was finally accepted by the Conference. The full text is as follows:

1. This historic conference meets at a moment which is witnessing the triumph of the armed forces of the United Nations in every theatre. In Europe we are witnessing the last convulsions of the Hitlerite regime under the hammerblows that are being struck against it. The mighty Red Army has launched one of the greatest and most sustained military offensives of all times, has struck into the heart of Germany and is now battering at the last defences that lie before Berlin. In the West, the Anglo-American armies have beaten back Runstedt's counter-offensive and are launching a co-ordinated blow against the very heart of German industry.

2. The Allies are inexorably tightening the ring of fire and steel they have forged round the Wehrmacht. We hail the announcement that Prime Minister Churchill, Marshal Stalin and President Roosevelt have reached full agreement on the military measures required to finish off Germany. The Soviet blow from the East, augmented by the Anglo-American blow from the West, both carried forward with relentless determination, will be the decisive and final offensive which wrests unconditional surrender from the German state and ends the war in Europe.

3. In the Far East, the armed forces of the countries which are at war against Japan have stemmed the tide of repeated offensives of the Japanese on the mainland of China, are completing the liberation of the Philippines, and are clearing Burma of the Japs. They have re-opened the Burma Road, and, from sea and air, are carrying the war to the China coast and to the Japanese homeland itself. Final victory against Japan is assured. The war against her must be prosecuted with the same vigour by the nations at war with her as the war in Europe until unconditional surrender is wrested from her as well.

4. The dawn of the day of mankind's deliverance from the aggressors is already brightening the horizon. But every

hour by which that dawn is delayed costs the lives of thousands of our finest young men in the Armed Forces and causes the degradation, masstorture and slaughter of hundreds of thousands of people in the occupied lands and of those people transported to enemy countries. The task before us is to finish off the enemy at the first moment that lies within the power of a united and determined people.

5. The people of each of the United Nations have made their contribution in blood and suffering to the common cause. Each has written a new chapter in the history of human courage and love of freedom. The British, to-day and in the year when they stood alone against the rain of death from the skies; the Russians, who absorbed the full weight of Hitler's armies and have driven them back across 2,000 miles of scorched and blackened land; the Chinese, who for eight long and terrible years, almost with their bare hands, have gallantly resisted the mechanised might of Japan; the people of the United States, who have wrought a miracle of production, equipped their own armed forces and furnished vital munitions and supplies to their Allies; French, Belgians, Norwegians, the Poles, the Danes, the Greeks, the Czechs, the Yugoslavs, the Dutch, the Italian partisans, the people of all of the occupied lands who carried on their heroic struggle against Gestapo terror and the collaborationist traitors and who have participated with such magnificent heroism in their own liberation; the people of the British Commonwealth, of Latin America and of the Colonial countries—all have performed their war-time tasks with energy, skill and devotion.

6. This list is long; each chapter is bright with glory. History will record that all have given to the fullest in accordance with the demands made upon them in the fight against Fascism. The workers of the United Nations have borne the main burden of the war against the enemy. They have given their lives in millions on the battlefield. Under the leadership of the Trade Unions, they have toiled tirelessly at their tasks in shop and factory to supply the front with all its needs, and, in the occupied lands, the workers have been in the forefront of the Resistance Movement to liberate themselves and their countrymen from the brute oppressors. The World Trade Union Conference hails the achievements

of these heroic workers of the United Nations. We call upon them as victory approaches not for a moment to pause or slacken their efforts but to work with even greater energy and application, thus dedicating themselves to the single task of increasing production and combating every attempt to curtail the output of war material and armaments or to relax the all-out mobilisation which speedy victory requires.

7. We salute the heroic armed forces of the United Nations, whose courage and determination have won the undying gratitude of all freedom-loving people. On behalf of the sixty million workers whom we represent, we pledge that we shall work unceasingly to supply the armed forces of the United Nations with their needs until the day when the enemy lays down his arms in final defeat. We further pledge to fight for the protection of the rights of the men and women in the armed services and to safeguard their interests as they return to civil life.

8. To speed the day of victory, the World Trade Union Conference calls for all necessary assistance required to raise and fully equip armed forces in the liberated countries, so that they too may have the means to participate fully in carrying the war to the enemy. We call also upon the people of the countries at war with Japan for the maximum possible assistance in the form of arms and munitions to the heroic Chinese people in furtherance of their struggle against the Japanese invader.

9. Full mobilisation of the workers is inseparable from the defence of their vital economic needs. The Trade Unions must, therefore, fight to establish and maintain wage levels consistent with adequate living standards; equal pay for equal work without discrimination because of nationality, race or sex, or against minority groups; better housing and social insurance, the proper rationing of food supplies, and the strict enforcement of all collective agreements and Government orders and decrees for the protection of workers.

10. We call for the application of policies in liberated countries and territories which will mobilise the full support of their people in the war effort. These policies must include (a) the immediate establishment of the freedoms of speech, press, assembly, religion, political association, and the right

to organise Labour Unions ; (b) the formation of Governments which have the support of the people ; and (c) the provision of foodstuffs, supplies and raw materials to meet the needs of the people and thus enable the full utilisation of the manpower and productive facilities in these areas.

11. We call upon the Governments of our countries to reconsider economic and other relations with Franco Spain and Argentina and all other Fascist countries which, under the pretence of neutrality, are rendering aid and assistance to our enemies. We further call upon our Governments to take prompt and vigorous steps to prevent any neutral nations, such as Sweden and Switzerland, from continuing to supply Hitler's Germany with food and raw material, and to exact from them guarantees against giving refuge to war criminals.

12. The World Trade Union Conference recognises that the unity of the United Nations is the foundation for our victory in the war, and that the enemy is prolonging the struggle with the sole hope of splitting that unity and retrieving a " diplomatic " triumph from military defeat. We therefore pledge our every effort to preserve and strengthen this essential unity, and to conduct a determined struggle against these forces within our own lands which seek to weaken our unity and sow seeds of distrust and suspicion amongst us. The surest guarantee that the bonds which unite us will remain firmly forged is the unity of the workers of the United Nations. Meeting here in London on a basis of firm friendship and complete equality, we must act to strengthen that unity and to now give it such organisational form as will guarantee to the freedom-loving people of our nations the speediest possible victory in the war, and to establish a just and enduring peace which alone is worthy of the effort and sacrifice by which their liberation was achieved.

Subsequent events have proved the rightness of this policy. The enemy, defeated on the field of battle, is attempting in every possible way to split the allies. The working-class movement has shown the way forward by its continuing solidarity and the building of the instrument for unity ; the leaders of the united nations showed us the way forward at Crimea. The warnings of the Conference, now that the fighting

is over, must be heeded more than ever. There must be no diplomatic triumph for the Fascists to replace their military defeat.

CHAPTER XV

ATTITUDE TO THE PEACE SETTLEMENT

JUST as the opening of the discussion on the Furtherance of War Effort had been a tense and expectant moment, so there came a dramatic moment in the Conference when Sir Walter Citrine rose before the Committee and made the opening statement in the debate on the Attitude to the Peace Settlement. This is a vast subject, vital to the lives of every man, woman and child alive to-day and to all the future children of the world. Citrine's statesmanlike treatment of the subject—in which he did not give final conclusions, but rather stated the main problems and gave indications of the lines on which the British trade union movement is working—won approval from the majority of the Conference and indeed from the working-class movement of the world. There was general agreement, he said, that the Peace Settlement must achieve the complete liquidation of Fascism and Nazism and the foundation of a world order in which all nations, great and small, can enjoy security and freedom, with equal opportunities to make their own individual contributions for the common good. In greater detail, the pre-requisites for a Peace Settlement can be summarised in 9 points: (1) The complete and utter military defeat of Germany; (2) Her blood-guilty war leaders and war criminals must be brought to justice; (3) Restitution of all stolen property, individual and public; (4) Reparation to the extent of all that is humanly possible, in services, goods and money; (5) Complete disarmament; (6) Germany must be demilitarised; (7) Democratisation of German life to assure the institutions of free citizenship, re-establishment of a free Trade Union Movement, freedom of cultural and political association, of press and public meetings; (8) Re-education of German youth; (9) Germany thus transformed must be re-integrated ultimately in the European community and the new world order that the United Nations will establish at the coming Peace Settlement.

Citrine went on to point out that the entire problem of the Peace Settlement is bound up with the policy of unconditional

surrender, which must for ever shatter the legend of Germany's military invincibility. Unconditional surrender must be followed for a considerable period by allied military control and also allied political administration of Germany. It will be inside Germany, as well as in the higher councils of the allies, and not within the four corners of a formal document called an armistice, that the Peace Settlement will take place. "It seems necessary, therefore, that the trade unions must be associated in a consultative and advisory capacity with the administration, military and civil, concerned with the occupation of Germany, as during that occupation the short-term programme of peace will be put into execution." Machinery to this end will be necessary on an international scale in addition to any arrangements that may be made by national centres with their respective governments.

Several main problems arise in connection with the organisation of the Peace. They concern demilitarisation of Germany and the problem of the future of her industrial areas, where her high war potential was developed; frontiers; and the position of Prussia and the Junker class. Citrine developed these problems and discussed in detail some of the solutions that have been put forward and then turned his attention to Reparations. He gave full consideration to this question, emphasising the need for constant review of the whole machinery of reparations by a competent and expert representative body—with this body the trade union movement must be associated for purposes of consultation, information and advice. "It is contrary to experience to suggest that reparations cannot be paid or accepted. Reparations are of the character of external debt. . . . I attach much importance to the claims for services by German workers in reconstruction and repair of the countries that have been ravaged and brought near to ruin by Germany's armed forces." Arrangements will be necessary to enable the trade unions to see that the employment of German labour is not exploited or forced to carry on under inhuman conditions. Finally Sir Walter Citrine said that "We seek from the German working class such assurances as will justify their re-admission into our internationally organised movement . . . we want to see established as speedily as circumstances permit a free trade union movement in Germany."

Many speakers took part in the debate which followed on this opening. Mme. Beliaeva, Chairman of the Printing Workers' Union of the Soviet Union, demanded, in the name of the Soviet women, retribution, and the defeat of Fascism not only in the military, but in the political and moral sense also; S. A. Dange, India, emphasised the necessity for the trade union movements to consider their tasks in relation to their own Governments as well as to Germany and Japan, and in relation to reactionary forces that still exist; Locker, of the General Federation of Jewish Labour in Palestine, referred to the position of the Jews at the end of the war and appealed for a settlement that will give all Jews who wish, a home and freedom from fear; Tarasov, on behalf of the Soviet delegation, asked the Conference to endorse the measures taken by the three leading United Nations towards the creation of an International Security Organisation; to support the quickest possible eradication of all vestiges of fascism in the liberated countries and for the restoration and the strengthening of democracy and national unity (in these countries) under the leadership of democratic governments elected by the people and also for the economic rehabilitation of these countries. Further he urged that reparations be first received by the countries damaged most, prolonged occupation of Germany under an Allied Military Administration, severe punishment of war criminals, and other measures to prevent any new aggression. There must also be the reconstruction of the whole educational system and the liquidation of fascist literature and all Nazi organisations; further, there must be positive anti-fascist propaganda with the aim of the final ideological defeat of fascism. Finally, the trade union movements of the world must be ready to play their part in relief, reconstruction and post-war rehabilitation; and to this end there must be strengthened international unity of the trade unions themselves.

A number of delegates spoke in order to affirm that the point of view of their delegation was substantially that expressed by Sir Walter Citrine. They included James Carey, on behalf of the C.I.O., who assured the Conference that they were fully aware that without full participation by America, the road to reconstruction in Europe and Asia would be hard and might lead to disaster; and that the C.I.O. was conducting

Top: Arrival of first delegates from ex-enemy countries. TOIVE KARVONEN (Finland), *centre left*, being greeted by KONRAD NORDAHL (Norway), together with other Scandinavian delegates.

Bottom left: LEN HILL (Jamaica).

Bottom right: S. A. DANGE (India).



a determined fight against these forces in America at work against international collaboration ; Albert Gazier, of the French C.G.T., who insisted that there can be no question of discussing peace conditions and the peace settlement without the collaboration of the organised workers' movement nor without the participation of France ; Stanczyk, of the Polish Trade Union Centre in Great Britain ; Mukerji, of the Indian Federation of Labour ; Chu Hsueh Fan, President of the Chinese Association of Labour, who demanded treatment for Japan similar to that outlined for Germany—and also declared that the Emperor of Japan must be brought to trial and punished, and the whole military caste that centres around the Mikado, and the whole system that results in the Mikado being treated as a god, must be entirely eliminated, with the object of the establishment of a Republic in place of the Empire ; Gaston Tessier, of the French Confederation of Christian Trade Unions ; and J. McGuire, of the Canadian Congress of Labour.

The discussion was enlarged by a number of speakers, who introduced new and related questions while agreeing with what had already been said by Citrine and others. H. Pauwels, of the Belgian Confederation of Christian Trade Unions, demanded that the world's stock of raw materials be organised in such a way that all the countries, and particularly those which have for years been under German occupation, are given a chance of rising again and playing their rightful part in the economic life of the world. John Asfour, of the Arab Workers' Society of Palestine, spoke against the "reactionary Zionist Movement" that the Arabs feel is ousting them from their own lands and demanded different solutions to the Arab problem at the coming peace settlement. Two delegates raised the question of the Colonial countries, A. Ziartides, of the Pan-Cyprian Trades Union Committee, and Ken Hill, of the Jamaican Trades Union Council. Ziartides pointed out that "the representatives of the working people of independent nations must feel it your sacred duty to see to it that we colonial peoples break our chains and join you as free nations." He demanded the restoration of elementary civil liberties of freedom of speech, press and organisation to be restored to Cyprus and the application of the Atlantic Charter and the Teheran agreement to that country. Ken Hill proposed that

any peace settlement ought to take into account the question of self-determination for all colonial and subject peoples. "Not one, but all imperial powers ought to give a pledge that the peoples of the territories they administer are as rapidly advanced to self-government as possible." Further, he suggested that all social legislation in the ruling powers should be introduced into the colonies within a specified time, and that for the general question of self-determination for colonial peoples, consideration should be given to a time table of progress.

Another important question was introduced by Lombardo Toledano, President of the Confederation of Latin American Workers, who pointed out that fascism is not the prerogative of the German nation alone. He referred particularly to Portugal, Spain and Argentina. From a formalistic and structural point of view, Portugal is the most perfect Fascist state. Can we believe, asked Lombardo Toledano, that fascism will not be born again as a danger to the world if we allow Spain and Portugal to remain with the fascist regimes they have to-day? Then there is the case of Argentine, little known in Europe, where, for the first time in the western hemisphere, a regime has been set up which has as its official aim the destruction of democracy. The traditional dictatorships of Latin America have been the result of the semi-feudal and semi-colonial nature of the economic organisation of those countries. The new Argentine state is quite different. Parliament and all political parties, even the conservatives, have been dissolved; there is no freedom of the press, of association, of expression, of religion; German money and technicians are helping in the building up of the army and a tremendous rearmament industry. What is all this for? It is with the idea of preparing Argentina as a basis of serious conflicts in the future. The speaker ended by demanding the effective control of international monopolies, and a complete understanding between the industrial democracies and the semi-colonial and semi-feudal nations regarding the future democratic organisation of the world.

At the end of the preliminary discussion a Committee of 14 members was elected by the floor of the Conference, and a few days later Albert Gazier, who had been elected Rapporteur on behalf of the Committee, came back to the Plenary session

with a draft Declaration. The full text of the amended Declaration is here given:

1. That millions of working people represented at this Conference by accredited Delegations from forty national Trade Union organisations in the United Nations and fifteen international Trade Union bodies, have maintained a steadfast purpose through the long struggle now drawing to its close.

2. In furtherance of that unfaltering purpose, this World Conference has considered the tasks still waiting to be done by the armed forces and the working people of the United Nations to accomplish the complete destruction of German militarism and Fascist tyranny and also the measures to be taken for the establishment of a just and lasting peace.

3. This World Conference, having given consideration to the social and economic problems of the peace, deems it essential that responsible and qualified representatives of the Trade Union Movement shall be associated with the peace settlement in all its phases.

4. By a continuation of the close collaboration and decisive action of Governments and peoples which have brought the United Nations in sight of victory, this World Conference believes that the aims which the working people have held steadily in view will be achieved.

5. The people of the United Nations will not relax their efforts in this final stage of the fight against aggression. They will shrink from no sacrifice that is necessary to bring about the unconditional surrender and capitulation of the common enemy, realising that any form of appeasement or compromise will be injurious to the cause of the freedom-loving nations by lulling them into a sense of false security and lessening their vigilance against the danger that aggression will be renewed.

6. In the confident hope that victory will bring permanent peace, this World Conference pays homage to all who have fought and suffered in the fight for freedom. The Trade Union Movement will hold in everlasting honour those who have fallen in battle, by land and sea and in the air, and those who have suffered martyrdom at the hands of a cruel enemy. The Conference pays its heartfelt tribute also to all who have served in the armed forces of the United

Nations; in the Mercantile Marine; in the Resistance Movements in occupied countries; in the Civil Defence organisation; in productive industry, and in the transport and distributive services. By their valour and endurance, on the battlefields and in every form of war service, and by their heroic sacrifices, men and women alike have won the right to demand that the victory of the United Nations shall lead to the creation of a world organisation capable of ensuring a stable and enduring peace. The war has been fought by the working people, and peace cannot be organised without their co-operation and effective participation in the counsels of the peace-making Governments.

7. This World Conference welcomes therefore the historic Declaration made by the Prime Minister of Great Britain, the President of the United States, and the Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, following their Conference in the Crimea. In that Declaration this World Conference finds the assurance that the sacrifices and sufferings of the working people will not have been made in vain.

8. In full agreement with the inflexible determination expressed by the heads of the three Allied Powers at the Crimea Conference to destroy German militarism and Nazism, we do not doubt that the Occupying Authorities will take all necessary measures to disarm Germany and disband all her armed forces; break up for all time the German General Staff; remove or destroy all German military equipment; and eliminate or bring under Allied control all German industry that can be used for war purposes. But vital Trade Union interests are involved in the process of disarming and demilitarising Germany.

9. We direct attention specifically to the fact that measures must be taken:—

- (i) to bring to justice all war criminals and those guilty of Nazi atrocities;
- (ii) to liquidate the whole Nazi system and to dissolve all Nazi organisations with the complete confiscation of their funds and property;
- (iii) to place under the control of the United Nations not only German heavy industry but the German transport system, the banking system, and land and pro-

perty owned by German trusts and cartels, and by financial magnates and Junkers;

- (iv) for the utilisation within the limits imposed by effective demilitarisation of German industrial and all other resources for the rehabilitation of all countries the Germans have devastated and plundered; and
- (v) for the setting up of machinery to secure the full compensation from Germany for the damage it has caused to the Allied countries, with priority to those that have suffered most.

In the Allied occupation and control of Germany, the countries that have been directly injured by German invasion and occupation and have effectively opposed the occupation should have representation.

10. On all these matters we consider it essential that the voice of the Trade Unions shall be heard and heeded by the Occupying Authorities.

11. Further, we consider that the Trade Union Movement should be consulted about the arrangements to be made to secure, by the use of German materials and German manpower, the restoration by Germany of all that has been destroyed in countries against which she has waged war. In the view of this World Conference, the employment of German labour, if used in restoration work, must be placed under international supervision with Trade Union participation in the determination of Labour standards in a way that will not reduce the standards of other workers. Such labour must not be allowed to degenerate into slave labour.

12. Connected with such necessary organisation of German workers is the task of liquidating completely and irrevocably the German "labour front" and establishing under international Trade Union supervision a democratic Trade Union Movement in Germany as speedily as possible during the period of occupation.

13. This World Conference insists that Trade Union funds and property taken from the workers by the Nazis must be recovered and placed at the disposal of the Trade Unions of those countries from which the funds and property were taken, to be used in rebuilding free and democratic Trade Union organisations.

14. Concerned with the stern punishment of all war

criminals, high and low, this World Conference believes that Trade Union help and counsel will be necessary to ensure, without the spirit of vengeance, that none of the guilty shall escape due punishment. No right of asylum shall be invoked for the protection of war criminals.

15. Moreover, this World Conference is convinced that the Trade Union Movement can render indispensable assistance in the reconstruction of the whole system of education in Germany, whereby the young generation of Germans will be purged of the infection of militarism and Nazism, and a radically different educational programme, with revised text-books, can be brought into operation, and all teachers and lecturers who have supported Nazism shall be expelled from German schools and universities.

16. The Trade Union Movement likewise seeks the opportunity to assist in the organisation and conduct of anti-Fascist propaganda, in the cleansing of Fascism from German literature and in the arts, and in the use of German theatres, cinemas, radio and press, for the inculcation of democratic ideals and of racial and religious equality which have been derided and set at naught in the Fascist ideology.

17. From the Crimea Conference have come binding guarantees that the Allied Governments will forthwith enter upon the task of establishing a general international organisation to maintain peace and security.

18. This World Conference rejoices in the declared purpose of the Allied Governments to give effect to the principles of the Atlantic Charter, by recognising and defending the right of all peoples to choose the form of Government under which they will live. The resolve of the Allied Governments to secure the restoration of sovereign rights and self-government to the peoples who have seen their democratic institutions ruthlessly uprooted, and jointly to assist the people in every liberated country to create the conditions in which stable and representative Governments, resting upon the free consent of the people, can come into existence, will have the support of the Trade Union Movement.

19. This World Conference unanimously acclaims the decision of the three Allied Governments to summon a Conference of United Nations at San Francisco to prepare the Charter of an international organisation in accordance with

the general principles formulated at Dumbarton Oaks. We fully endorse their decision to bring the Government of China and the Provisional Government of France into association with them in this great enterprise.

20. The Trade Union Movement will look to the San Francisco Conference to set the seal of final agreement upon the policy which the leaders of the three Great Powers have consistently pursued since they framed the Atlantic Charter, and reaffirmed and amplified at the Moscow and Teheran Conferences, in which their unity of purpose was strengthened. In those historic meetings, the desire of the peoples of all countries, great and small, for collaboration and active participation on the part of their Governments in the sacred task of ridding the world of tyranny, slavery, oppression, and racial and religious intolerance, found expression; and this World Conference is profoundly convinced that with the coming of peace the freedom-loving peoples over all the earth will give their support and countenance only to those Governments that will co-operate in framing and maintaining the Charter.

21. This World Conference, indeed, considers it to be the duty of the Governments of the United Nations to deny recognition to States whose political and economic systems are opposed to the principles embodied in the Declarations made at the Atlantic meeting and the Conferences of Moscow and Teheran. The struggle for the uprooting of militarism and Fascism, which has involved the working people in uncountable sacrifices, is an integral part of their struggle for a stable and lasting peace, and of their fight to remove the last vestiges of militarism and Fascism, and to exterminate all covert and overt "fifth column" influences in all countries.

22. This World Conference urges most strongly the speedy establishment of the Dumbarton Oaks plan for the constitution of a general Assembly of all peace-loving nations, with equal rights. Only when such an Assembly is in being can such questions as general disarmament, regulation of armaments, and other essentials of security be adequately dealt with.

23. Among these essentials this World Conference attaches supreme importance to removal of the economic

causes of war. The Trade Union Movement cannot forget that one of the basic causes of war is the scramble for markets by monopolising interests.

24. This World Conference therefore considers it to be one of the earliest obligations of the Assembly presently to be established to investigate and put a term to the activities of international cartels and monopolies which militate against the public interest under whatever guise they may function.

25. In the view of this World Conference, it is likewise necessary to bring to an end the system of colonies, dependencies and subject countries as spheres of economic exploitation, and to facilitate immediately the development of free Trade Unions in those countries. In the coming peace, the foundations must be laid with all possible speed, and in accordance with Article 3 of the Atlantic Charter, of a world order in which non-self-governing communities and nations can attain the status of free nations that will enable them to govern themselves and to develop their own institutions of free citizenship.

26. This World Conference is of opinion too that after the war, thorough-going remedies must be found, through international action, for the wrongs inflicted on the Jewish people. Their protection against oppression, discrimination and spoliation in any country must be the responsibility of the new International Authority. The Jewish people must be enabled to continue the rebuilding of Palestine as their National Home, so successfully begun by immigration, agricultural resettlement and industrial development; respecting the legitimate interests of other national groups and giving equality of rights and opportunities to all its inhabitants.

27. This World Conference has taken note of the fact that the plan of world organisation outlined at Dumbarton Oaks includes the setting-up of a Security Council vested with power to maintain peace; that it is proposed to appoint permanent representatives of Ministerial status and experience at the headquarters of the International Organisation; and that a Military Staff Committee is also to be established composed of the Chiefs of Staff of the States with permanent members, to advise and assist the Security Council on all questions relating to its military requirements and for the

strategic direction of armed forces placed at its disposal. This World Conference welcomes this as evidence of the determination of the three Allied Governments to enforce peace and maintain security.

28. This World Conference is especially hopeful that the proposal in the Dumbarton Oaks plan to set up an Economic and Social Council to make recommendations on international economic, social and other humanitarian problems, will be implemented as speedily as possible. The Trade Union Movement has a particular obligation to assist the development of this organ of the new international body, and demands representation in all its stages.

29. This World Conference urges the use of this instrument for the initiation of great schemes of international economic reconstruction, embodying the principles of public control and administration, and applying them particularly to the great river systems in which the interests of many nations are inextricably involved.

30. Finally, this World Conference, having regard to the constitution, aims and functions of the new World Organisation, considers it to be of vital importance that the Trade Union Movement shall be closely and continuously connected with its activities, and especially with the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council. On behalf of the Trade Union Movement, this World Conference therefore urges that provision shall be made for effective Trade Union representation in the Assembly of the International Organisation and that qualified and responsible representatives of the Trade Union Movement shall be associated with both the Security Council and the Social and Economic Council.

31. This World Conference, in furtherance of this objective, resolves to seek from the three Allied Governments an undertaking that accredited representatives of the Trade Union Movement will be received into their councils at the forthcoming San Francisco Conference in an advisory and consultative capacity.

32. This World Conference recalls the Declaration made by the Deputy Prime Minister of Great Britain, in his address to the delegations here assembled, that the great machinery of consultation built up by the Trade Unions

through many years has been a factor of vital importance in the winning of the war. This World Conference feels that such recognition of the assistance and advice made available by the Trade Union Movement in every phase of war activity, confirmed by similar statements from other Allied statesmen, warrants the expectation that this collaboration will continue as the United Nations turn to the task of carrying through the great change-over from war to peace, and set their hands to the rebuilding of a world in ruins, and the renovation and renewal of the life of all mankind in freedom and security.

33. It is the view of the Trade Union Movements of those members of the United Nations which are at war with Japan that the principles outlined above, as applying to the peace settlement to be imposed on Germany, are equally applicable to Japan, and, in particular, that the Mikado shall not be allowed to escape his responsibility for the acts of Japanese militarism, that the Japanese Empire shall be replaced by a democratic republic and that the terms of the Cairo Declaration shall be rigidly applied in regard to those territories which Japan has seized in the course of her campaigns of aggression.

During the discussion on the Declaration there were two main controversial questions. The most acute difference of opinion arose over the Jewish National Home. The Declaration was supported by the representatives of the C.I.O. and the Canadian Congress of Labour, as being in line with the expressed policies of those organisations; and opposed by the two Arab trade union movements and by the Indian Federation of Labour. Asfour pointed out that the Balfour Declaration said "to establish *in* Palestine a National Home for the Jews," not, as the Declaration says, "the rebuilding of Palestine as *their* National Home." An amendment was proposed by Alexander Carillo, to add to the sentence calling for the continuance of the rebuilding of Palestine as the National Home of the Jewish people, the words: "respecting the legitimate interests of other national groups and giving equality of rights and opportunities to all its inhabitants." This solution was finally accepted by common consent by the Conference.

The second controversy arose over the position of the

I.L.O. and was referred to the report on "Post-War Reconstruction" as being more appropriate there than with reference to the report on the "Peace Settlement." Other minor amendments were settled amicably in Plenary session and were incorporated in the final report.

CHAPTER XVI

POST-WAR RECONSTRUCTION AND IMMEDIATE
TRADE UNION DEMANDS

THE debate on this question was opened by C. N. Gallie, General Secretary of the National Union of Railwaymen of Great Britain. In a long and competent speech he summed up the objectives of the social and economic policy of the trade union movement in the post-war world as falling under four heads: *Social security, or freedom from want; Equality of educational and vocational opportunity for men and women alike; Full employment based on a steadily rising standard of living; Public control of certain vital key industries.* Gallie asked that each of these objectives be pursued wholeheartedly within each nation, while recognising that their realisation within any nation depends on international co-operation. A strong trade union movement in each country is also essential with close fraternal relations between them. Furthermore, effective international economic and social organisations are needed and thus the same motives that direct our domestic policy will also inspire our international policy. Gallie referred to the achievements in this field and pointed out that it was a triumph that the representatives of 44 nations had been able to agree at Bretton Woods—even if certain aspects of their policy left room for comment—on the setting-up of two new institutions, the International Monetary Fund and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. Long-term loans to the undeveloped countries, or indeed to any country, must be subject to the observance of internationally agreed labour standards and social conditions.

There were a number of speakers in the discussion, and many more were unable to speak owing to the exigencies of time. One group of speakers came from the colonies, the first of whom, I. A. T. Wallace-Johnson, of the Sierra Leone T.U.C., pointed out that the colonies, far from being "small nations" were numerically speaking very great, and industrially also great. Sierra Leone and the Gold Coast are the two greatest iron-ore producing countries of the world, for example. He

appealed to the Conference to assist in the building up of strong, independent trade union movements in the colonial countries as the only guarantee that the social and economic well-being of the colonial workers would be advanced and safeguarded. He also asked the Conference to endorse and support the following demands: (a) the abolition of the colour-bar and racial discrimination in public and private employment; (b) abolition of forced labour, child labour, peonage and other forms of slavery, open and disguised; (c) abolition of flogging and other forms of punishment for breach of labour contracts, as well as penal sanction for such breaches. Finally, he asked for all trade union and social legislation in the colonial areas to be brought into line with that of the metropolitan countries, self-determination for the colonial peoples as laid down in Clause 3 of the Atlantic Charter respecting the right of all peoples to choose their form of Government, and that a time-limit be declared by the signatories of the Atlantic Charter for the implementation of these principles. "Justice, like peace, is indivisible and the world to-day cannot remain half free and half slave. We urge this claim because we believe firmly that one of the main causes of modern war is the conflict over colonies—a conflict that can be resolved most judiciously by applying the principle of self-determination to the inhabitants of such areas." T. A. Bankole, of the Nigerian Trades Union Congress, covered much of this ground, and demanded also the establishment of the principle of "Equal pay for equal work, without discrimination of nationality, race or sex," the introduction of adult suffrage and the removal of the income qualification for voters, and also a comprehensive educational scheme for each colony. Bankole finished his remarks with: "The cause of freedom in the colonies is as important as it is in liberated countries. Let it therefore be never recorded in history that this Conference, from sheer lack of moral stamina, has funkled and failed to plead the righteous cause of the colonial peoples." J. S. Annan, of the Gold Coast Railway Civil Servants' and Technical Workers' Union, demanded, in addition to the proposals of his colleagues, the setting-up of Minimum Wages Boards; labour representation on the Legislative Councils; the stabilisation of internal economies; the setting-up of a competent international Board of Trade which will regulate, control and distribute the

tropical and other natural resources of the world, and labour representation on this Board. Finally, he spoke of the necessity of better health and educational standards.

The speakers from the Colonies were not disappointed in the final Declarations of the Conference. Nor were they disappointed with the support they received from the floor of the Conference itself. A striking contribution was made by Joe Curran, of the National Maritime Union of the C.I.O., who hit out against all forms of racial discrimination. He spoke of the favourite device of reactionary employers, that of setting one racial group against another in order to prevent union organisation and the raising of living standards; of the divide and conquer technique of fascism; of the stand that the C.I.O. had always taken, that there must be no discrimination in employment regardless of race, colour or creed, nor in trade union membership either; "The workers of no nation can say that their freedom and democracy are safe so long as slave conditions or exploitations and organised discrimination persist anywhere in the world. This world has shrunk. Let us give new meaning to that great working-class slogan. An injury to one is an injury to all." Finally Curran suggested that in the future World Trade Union Federation there should be a specific and well supported department working exclusively towards the wiping out of discrimination wherever it is found operating to the detriment of the working classes. The trade unions cannot leave to any other force the defence of their vital interests in the post-war period. In fact, no post-war progress will be possible unless the poisons of Hitler racism are exposed, isolated and removed, not only from the lands that have fallen under the foul rule of the swastika, but from the midst of our own countries."

Other speakers included two from the Soviet Union—L. V. Markov, who pointed out that the main demands that the national trade unions must make in the post-war world are threefold: the rehabilitation of the national economy, the planned transfer of national economy from a war to a peace footing, and employment for all. He went on to give details of how these problems are being and have been tackled in the U.S.S.R.—and Mme. K. F. Sakharova, introduced by George Isaacs as the baby of the Russian delegation. Mme. Sakharova spoke particularly of the role of the young men and women

of the Soviet Union in the war effort and of the tremendous sacrifices they had made and their great achievements in production and in the fighting lines. For the future, certain specific needs of young people must be fought for by the trade unions—firstly, that those young workers who went into industry in war-time should not be turned out at the end of the war, and further that there must be work immediately for all those who return from the war; secondly, that the pay-rate of young workers be fixed in relation to skill and productivity and not in relation to age; thirdly, and arising particularly out of the dislocation caused by the war, special conditions of general and technical education must be prepared; and fourthly, shorter hours of work for young people to enable them to benefit from health, cultural and educational facilities; while, finally, education should be directed towards fostering the international spirit. Mme. Sakharova concluded by saying that young people of the Soviet Union have no doubt that the young people of all freedom-loving countries will be in the first ranks of the workers of the world in the solution of these problems.

Other speakers were Amaro del Rosal, of the Spanish General Workers' Union, who urged that Spain was not a neutral country but in effect a belligerent, since Franco is fighting on the side of Hitler, and asked the Conference for a resolution that would help the Republicans to keep up their fight against fascism by condemning Franco, "the first of the Quislings"; S. K. Pramanik, of the All-India T.U.C., who asked not only for special consideration for the colonial problems but also for the vast exploited peoples of Asia and Africa; A. Haywood, who gave the official point of view of the C.I.O., and who asked for full freedom for world labour to be represented at all world planning conferences; and who also outlined other post-war objectives in the field of social security.

The Committee elected by the Conference to prepare the draft Declaration was composed of seven delegates under the chairmanship of A. Haywood, of the U.S.A. It brought in an excellent, and in the main, non-controversial report, although there was considerable discussion on the status of the I.L.O. Arthur Deakin, on behalf of the British T.U.C., asked for an assurance that the International Labour Office would be used to the fullest possible extent to ensure the implementation of

certain of the proposals. He was supported by Oldenbroek, of the International Transport Workers' Federation and Brodier, of the French Confederation of Christian Workers, and opposed by the C.I.O. delegation and the Soviet delegation. The latter pointed out that the existing statement, which did not make any specific reference to the I.L.O., left it perfectly open for those organisations who were represented to use the I.L.O. to further the agreements reached at the Conference; while for those who were not represented, such as the C.I.O. and the Soviet trade unions, their position was also safeguarded. In the end, and after some clarification of the various issues by Sir Walter Citrine, it was agreed by the Conference that the nations which are affiliated with the I.L.O. should do all they can to give effect to the programme through the I.L.O.—as well as by all other means.

The Declaration is here quoted in full.

1. Recent momentous events on both the Eastern and Western battlefronts have brought feelings of pride and joy at the great achievements of Allied land, sea and air power which has secured the liberation of many of those countries whose populations have so long been the direct victims of Nazi occupation and persecution.

2. The victorious advance of the armies of the United Nations has revealed to the world the scale of exploitation and devastation to which they have been subjected by the enemy. Without exception they have been stripped of their rolling stock, food supplies and other goods, accompanied by the wholesale deportation of skilled manpower.

3. Complete disruption of the economic and social life of the liberated countries necessitates the provision of immediate relief. Whilst we welcome the work already done by UNRRA in this direction, that organisation, because of the lack of adequate supplies and its narrowly restricted powers has been unable to cater fully for the absolutely essential needs of the liberated peoples.

4. This World Trade Union Conference therefore calls upon the Governments of the United Nations to do all within their power to provide relief on an increasing scale to the liberated countries and to those sections of populations of other countries which have been direct victims of Nazi persecution. UNRRA, which should operate in consulta-

tion with appropriate bona fide Trade Unions, should be endowed with more effective powers than it has at present in order to expedite relief where it is most urgently needed. We fully support the resolution adopted by UNRRA "that at no time shall relief and rehabilitation supplies be used as a political weapon, and no discrimination shall be made in the distribution of relief supplies because of race, creed or political belief."

5. Effective measures will also be necessary to ensure the planned repatriation of the populations of the liberated countries, numbering tens of millions, who have been deported or exiled on account of their trade union or anti-Fascist activities or for the purpose of supplementing Germany's manpower. The governments concerned should make adequate provision for their maintenance and reinstatement in industry.

6. In all countries, including Colonial territories, it is essential that the change-over from war to peace production is planned in such a way as to provide for the distribution in industry of the millions of demobilised servicemen, repatriated prisoners of war and workers forcibly driven into Germany.

7. This Conference demands that all governments establish an adequate measure of public control and direction with the participation of trade unions, to carry into effect this process of industrial reconversion. Sufficient control must also be exercised over prices so as to avoid inflation and a speculative profit boom such as occurred at the end of the last war.

8. Governments will have a special responsibility to all who spared neither their strength nor their lives in the struggle to secure victory over Fascism. Free medical aid and adequate sickness benefits should be granted to disabled servicemen and their dependants for the whole period of their disablement as well as free training to requalify them for industrial employment. Those who have been permanently disabled should be granted life benefits ensuring a normal life for them and their families.

9. The problems of permanent economic reconstruction must be faced in the same spirit as those of the transition period. The working classes have made untold sacrifices

in the cause of human freedom during the present war. A post-war world must be created which will be worthy of all who have fought and toiled to save democracy and civilisation from destruction.

10. In that world working people everywhere desire and are entitled to live in peace and security, without fear of unemployment and penury, and under conditions in keeping with their dignity as human beings. This World Trade Union Conference, therefore, asserts their right to be free of all forms of economic servitude and to earn by their labour an income adequate for their needs and requirements and commensurate with their skill and effort.

11. Governments must accept unreservedly the full responsibility for ensuring that in their countries and dependencies there are suitable jobs at adequate rates of pay for all able-bodied men and women who require them. They must take all steps necessary permanently to implement this responsibility, including the planning in the public interest of large-scale investments. They must pursue appropriate financial and fiscal policies to ensure that the purchasing power of the workers, who constitute the main body of consumers, rises steadily with increasing productivity.

12. Work for welfare—which will be our common objective when normal peace conditions return—will mean the establishment of high standards of housing and nutrition such as will provide the material basis for the health and happiness of every citizen. In the years immediately following the end of hostilities the speediest reconstruction of the homes destroyed during the war and the development of housing construction on a scale sufficient to provide ample living accommodation for all people must be a paramount aim of Government policy. Similarly, there must be established sufficient control over the prices and distribution of food, clothing and other goods in wide consumers' demand to ensure that the needs of the people are met, and to this end there must be trade union and public participation in all such controls. Furthermore, encouragement should be given to the development of producers' and consumers' co-operatives to assist in this task.

13. This Conference further emphasises that increasing production fully justifies, and indeed demands, the exten-

sion of the leisure hours of working people. Accordingly, it demands the speedy and universal introduction of a maximum working week of forty hours without loss of pay. This demand is made without prejudice to the claim for a shorter working week by trade unions in countries where economic and industrial development makes this possible and desirable. Every worker should be guaranteed an annual holiday or vacation at full pay of at least two weeks' duration with appropriate arrangements for casual workers. All public holidays should be paid for.

14. Social security is another essential foundation stone of every society. However well national economies may be organised there will always be some men and women who are unable to work. It is therefore essential that a single and comprehensive system of State social insurance should be established in every country and financed mainly by contributions from Governments and employers. This system of social insurance must guarantee a normal existence for all working people whenever they are unable to secure this by their own labour, as a result of unemployment, temporary or permanent loss of the capacity for work, old age, industrial accident, sickness and the like. Provision should also be made for comprehensive medical and rehabilitation services free for all who need them. The health and safety of workpeople must be properly safeguarded by legislation which also provides for adequate supervision to secure its enforcement. Preventative measures must be undertaken by the government to diminish sickness and fatal accidents to a minimum. Governments should provide sanatoria and rest-homes for workers without charge. They should provide adequate grants paid periodically to families who have lost their breadwinners and to orphans until their coming of age. The welfare of children must be one of the primary concerns of all Governments and therefore protected by the payment of family allowances and by the provision of kindergartens, nurseries and ample child-welfare facilities. Finally, this Conference emphatically demands that there should be Trade Union participation in the control and management of all such social insurance and social welfare schemes.

15. In considering the problems of post-war reconstruc-

tion this Conference is acutely aware that in many countries, and their dependencies, the control of industry by private monopolies has become a menace to industrial expansion, the democratic way of life and to national security. It therefore calls upon Governments to take action appropriate to the political and economic conditions prevailing in their country, to safeguard the public against monopoly exploitation. This may take the form of legislation to prevent the formation of monopoly, to control and regulate it where it exists, or to eliminate it completely by the transference of the industries in question to public ownership.

16. This Conference is conscious of the fact that many of the above objects and demands require for their realisation the establishment of public bodies for the planning, direction or control of economic life. It insists that in all such bodies adequate provision should be made for the participation of Trade Unions as the guardians of the interests of working people.

17. Whilst all these objectives and demands will be pursued wholeheartedly by the trade union movements in each nation according to its degree of social and economic development, this Conference recognises that their full realisation ultimately depends upon the establishment of effective international co-operation both in the political and economic fields. We consider that the unanimity reached at the Crimea Conference is a happy augury for the future of international co-operation. Co-operation between Governments, however, to be effective and lasting will need to be based upon intimate and friendly co-operation between the peoples of different countries. This Conference therefore asserts that a strong Trade Union Movement in every country with close fraternal co-operation between them is indispensable for economic and social progress throughout the world. It is concerned to ensure that Trade Unions can be freely established in every country, and where necessary it will seek to secure a recognition of that right by bringing to bear all the power at the disposal of the World Trade Union Movement.

18. The paramount need for international co-operation in economic affairs for the purpose of minimising the devastating effects of general trade depressions is universally

acknowledged. This Conference therefore calls upon all Governments to co-operate for national economic co-ordination capable of promoting a steady expansion of foreign trade; of regulating international trade and tariffs; of reaching international agreement to regulate the conditions and prices of staple commodities entering into international trade; of making long-term loans for the economic and industrial development of colonial territories and backward countries, conditional upon the observance of internationally agreed working conditions; and of promoting the orderly migration, under adequate safeguards for all concerned, of people from country to country.

19. In conclusion this World Trade Union Conference which demonstrates so effectively the unity of organised Labour throughout the world proclaims the following charter of basic Trade Union and workers' rights, the recognition of which it is determined to secure in all countries and their dependencies.

- (a) Workpeople shall be free to organise themselves in Trade Unions and to engage freely in all normal Trade Union activities, including that of collective bargaining.
- (b) Workpeople shall be free to establish co-operatives and any other mutual aid organisations.
- (c) There shall be freedom of speech, press, assembly, religion and political association.
- (d) Every form of political, economic or social discrimination based on race, creed, colour or sex shall be eliminated, and in this sense equal pay for equal work shall be established. In cases where young people are doing adult work they shall receive the adult rate of pay.
- (e) There shall be equality of educational and vocational opportunities for all people.
- (f) There shall be suitable employment available at adequate rates of pay for all requiring work.
- (g) There shall be adequate protection in all the circumstances of life where this is required to guarantee social and economic security to every citizen.

CHAPTER XVII

BASIS FOR WORLD TRADE UNION FEDERATION

THE background for this discussion has already been covered by the first section of Part II on the Position of International Labour Unity. By the time that the question of the Basis for a World Trade Union Federation came up for discussion on Monday afternoon of the second week of the Conference, the foundations for a successful conclusion of the discussion had already been laid in the mutual work that had been accomplished during the first week of the Conference. It was evident that however different the approach to this matter, the Conference could not break up without laying the permanent foundations for future collaboration. The attitude expressed by the ship's engineer in mid-Atlantic was unquestionably endorsed by the Conference as a whole. Even those who were opposed to the formation of a new international had to agree that the present position was a constant danger and menace to the position of international labour.

This historic discussion was opened by Sydney Hillman. His general approach has already been indicated on pages 85 and 96; his opening statement went much further and laid down a complete plan of action for reaching not merely agreement but proposing steps for the achievement of the World Federation. At its 1944 Convention the C.I.O. had declared that they supported "the project of a new, single, powerful international Labour body that shall include all the unions of free countries on a basis of equality, excluding none, and relegating none to a secondary place." The pre-requisites of such an organisation are four: That it must be established at once; that it unite in one body all Labour organisations that are sincere opponents of fascism and consistent defenders of the rights and interests of the working masses; third, that it shall be democratically constituted; that, while assuring the widest democracy in its procedure, an effective international federation must be capable of acting quickly and decisively, without hesitation or prolonged consultation. In addition, it is necessary, of course, for the international federation to have

a correct programme which serves the needs and protects the interests of the workers it represents.

Sydney Hillman dealt with the thorny question of the I.F.T.U. in some detail. Could the I.F.T.U., which already existed, reorganise or reconstruct itself to fulfil the conditions enumerated: In his view, the answer was clearly NO. Apart from all other reasons which could be cited, the I.F.T.U. were still unable to agree among themselves on the details of their own reorganisation and had postponed the question until September of this year. This unfortunate situation is largely due to the position of the A.F.L. leadership, with its narrow factional feuds, petty jealousies and anti-Soviet bias; nevertheless, the C.I.O. stated that there would always be a place in the new Federation reserved for the A.F.L. when it changed its mind.

Finally, Hillman put forward certain definite proposals to reach the desired ends: that the Conference decide to create a new world Labour organisation, subject to ratification by the national trade union bodies; that a Committee be designated, representative of the Conference, to act as a Continuations Committee pending ratification of a sufficient number of national centres, after which it would become the provisional executive; that the committee so designated be empowered to take all steps necessary to implement the decisions of the Conference and to call a constitutional convention for the new world labour organisation and to that end to prepare a draft constitution for submission to all organisations invited to attend the Conference. These proposals "will permit us to proceed without further delay, hesitation or equivocation, to establish a powerful international labour organisation which can speak, and act with authority on behalf of the workers and the common men and women of the world. . . . The workers, who have had so great a part in winning the war, cannot leave it to others—however well-intentioned they may be—the sole responsibility for making the peace."

The case against the new world federation was stated by Schevenels, General Secretary of the I.F.T.U. He pointed out that the governments of the world had not been effective in stopping fascism, so why should the I.F.T.U. or any other voluntary international organisation be blamed for failing in that field? And as for the argument that they could not

reach agreement on how to re-adjust the I.F.T.U. to meet the changed requirements of to-day, that served to show how many difficulties lie in the way of realising world Trade Union unity? He sincerely believed that the I.F.T.U. could be adjusted into the desired world federation, but if there is a better way to Trade Union unity "we are quite willing to submit."

Many delegates took part in the debate. Those who supported the point of view of Schevenels were K. Nordahl, of the Norwegian delegation, but actually one of the I.F.T.U. delegation, who stated that the Norwegian delegation was in favour of a world association which embraces the I.F.T.U. and all other bona fide national trade unions, but he felt that until it was finally achieved, the I.F.T.U. should continue to exist, and J. Oldenbroek, of the International Transport Workers' Federation. A number of delegates thought that the debate was a little irrelevant, since, as A. Lindberg of the Swedish Trades Union Congress said, "If the form of organisation, the constitution, rules and machinery of the new Trade Union International are correct, and provided the people in it are the people we want—I do not see that it matters by what name we call it."

Of the delegates who supported the proposition of Sydney Hillman, Ernest Thornton, of the Australasian Council of Trade Unions, urged the necessity for the new united organisation to lift Labour's voice on every question of peace, and also to help to build new unionism in the liberated areas, not only in those countries where trade unionism existed before, but in such countries as those adjacent to Australia, where no unionism was allowed before fascism overran them—New Guinea, New Caledonia, Java, for example. "The advancement of the workers of the world and the interest of the workers of the world are the interests of mankind, so we are not serving any selfish interest if we build such an organisation as has been proposed here, and carry out such a policy as is being hammered out here." J. S. Annan, of the Gold Coast Railway Civil Servants' and Technical Workers' Union, said: "The workers of the union that I represent are of the view that an international organisation of Labour should be formed immediately and there should be no more delays, for delays are dangerous." A. Rabinovitz, of the General Federation of

Jewish Labour of Palestine, hoped that they would find the way to put into practice the case so eloquently made by Sydney Hillman. Benoit Frachon, of the French C.G.T., answered some of the points raised by Schevenels when he told the Conference "To-day the Labour Movement can and does collaborate with Governments in the war effort and will do so in the post-war reconstruction, but it was not always so, and it was not so before the war. When it is a case that Governments do not have a proper regard for the interests of Labour, then it is not the place of the Labour Movement to trail helplessly behind the Governments, but to mobilise the opinion of the working class against the Government to get the policy changed. . . . All the facts point to the necessity of this Conference setting-up a new World Labour Federation; the circumstances demand it and it is what world Labour is waiting for." Vassili Kuznetsov, of the All-Union Council of Trade Unions of the U.S.S.R., pointed out that the delegates of 60 million workers were present at the Conference, which was therefore the fullest and most representative conference of the international working class that history had ever known. "The working class of the whole world will judge the results of the Conference in the first place by whether it is able to unite the international working class and form a single powerful organisation. At our Conference we must elect an Executive International Trade Union Committee." Kuznetsov proposed also a smaller Sub-Committee (the larger committee to be representative of all unions at the Conference) to be the organising centre of the world labour movement and the tentative leading body of the World Federation of Trade Unions. Kuznetsov endorsed Hillman's proposals for drawing-up the constitution and calling a further World Trade Union Congress. "Although the first world war led to disunity in the Labour Movement, and following it international ties were re-established with difficulty, in the present war all the Labour organisations of the democratic countries have united in the struggle against the common enemy, Fascism. Therefore, nothing stands in the way of the speediest formation of a powerful World Federation of Trade Unions."

At this stage of the discussion, Sir Walter Citrine spoke, not, as he said, as President of the International Federation of

Trade Unions, but on behalf of the British T.U.C. This was an eagerly awaited speech, as it was well known that the British delegation were opposed to the idea of winding up the I.F.T.U. and had supported the plan to attempt its reorganisation to fill present needs. Citrine did indeed say that it was unreasonable to ask the British T.U.C. to commit themselves to a new International, and by implication to discard the I.F.T.U. and International Trade Secretariats, which, whatever their faults, had been the only functioning bodies of trade unionists in the international field for the past 25 years. "We have a right to see the completed article and to ensure that it will be better, stronger and in every way more efficient before we relinquish the old. . . . I can assure you that the British T.U.C. will contribute loyally and diligently towards building such an all-inclusive international body. But what of the meantime? . . . I realise that our present international organisation is incomplete. I therefore make these proposals." The proposals put forward by Citrine differed from those of Sydney Hillman and others in that the Provisional Committee should be representative not only of the National Centres but also of the international bodies represented, i.e., the I.F.T.U. and the Trade Secretariats, and that this provisional Committee should be the interim authority for the World Trade Union Conference. The functions which this Committee should undertake were roughly the same as those outlined by Sydney Hillman, with the addition that the draft Constitution should be submitted for amendment, if desired by the constituent bodies (of the Conference). A Conference should be called for the adoption of the final Constitution. The distinction between the two sets of proposals was clearly that whereas Hillman explicitly asked the Conference to agree "to create a new world labour organisation," Citrine's proposals speak of "the proposed World Trade Union Federation," which might mean either a *new* Federation or a refurbished I.F.T.U. Citrine added suggestions for the Committee, which showed that out of 18 places, four would go to the I.F.T.U. and the International Trade Secretariats. The interesting proposal was also added that the Committee could make collective recommendations to the Great Powers, as circumstances demanded and would be empowered to call an emergency Conference if necessary.

During the remainder of this discussion, attention was focussed on the speech of Lombardo Toledano, who welcomed the valuable suggestions made by Walter Citrine, but pointed out that the Conference now had a dilemma to solve: "whether one existing International should continue to exist or whether a new World Trade Union International should be created." The existence of the one would be at the expense of the other inevitably. For this reason his delegation were in opposition to the idea of the I.F.T.U. being part of the formation Committee for the new International, for very serious problems would arise by the very presence of the I.F.T.U. in the new International. He was thinking particularly of the disruptive activities of the A.F.L., drawing a clear distinction between its leadership, to which he was referring, and not to its membership. Lombardo Toledano went on to say that it was not proper for the Conference to pass judgment on the I.F.T.U., which was the product of the historic period between the first and second world wars. "It is the result of that period and it is not for us to come here and find out if any errors were made and who was responsible for them. Our task is a far superior and higher one. We believe we must forge a new weapon."

J. Kosina, of the Czechoslovak Trade Union Centre in Great Britain, and Tone Fajfar both pointed out that in their countries there was now complete trade union unity, the Christian Federations having decided to join their ranks with their fellow unionists in a united organisation. Both spoke of the necessity of creating a new organisation for the future. "There is no return to old forms of International Trade Unionism, which have not stood the test of events of the last few years," said Kosina, and the whole Conference remembered that the Czech trade unions had in the past been firm supporters of the I.F.T.U. Fajfar emphasised the necessity of having representation on the Provisional Committee of the Balkan nations, bearing in mind what they had contributed to the common struggle in this war.

Two other speakers must be mentioned. Will Lawther, of the Miners' International Federation and leading British trade union leader, who said that "whatever is to be the form of Committee or Commission that is to discuss this matter, the miners believe it is imperative that we should go ahead in the

shortest possible time in order to get into being an International that would be all-embracing. Of course, there are traditions that stand in the road, but there have been traditions in other respects, which, during these last five years have been broken to such a degree that they will never raise their heads again."

Finally, J. Brodier, on behalf of the Christian trade unions, asked for representation on the Provisional Committee so that the Christian trade unions could help to work out the new International, for "we believe that the workers are animated by a desire for union; that the future of the workers lies in their becoming members one of another, and of their forming, within a world committee, a body to bring together the distinct and autonomous organisations, without distinction of creed or colour." As will be seen later, the Committee did invite the Christian trade unions, in a consultative capacity. Their contributions were not always helpful to the idea of a world federation including themselves, and they were sometimes unable to indicate whether they really would participate or not.

The International Confederation of Christian Trade Unions was founded at a Congress at The Hague in June, 1920, and has included the Christian (that is to say, Catholic) trade unions of Germany, Austria, Belgium, Spain, France, Holland, Hungary, Italy, Switzerland, and Czechoslovakia. At the time of the World T.U. Conference they were reduced to the French, the Belgium, and the Dutch Christian unions, the Christian unions in Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, and Italy having decided to unite with the secular unions, and the position of a number of others remaining uncertain.

The discussion ended after three days in Plenary session and went to a Committee of 11 members, while a number of extra delegates were co-opted and the main officers of the Conference spent a good deal of time in the Committee. At the end of another three days of animated discussion under the chairmanship of Sir Walter Citrine, the Committee was ready. At the Plenary Session on the very last day, Sydney Hillman, as Reporter for the Committee, opened the debate by saying that he was very gratified to be able to give a unanimous report with no divisions in the Committee. "It holds out greatest hope, not merely for Labour, but for the world, that,

coming here from all the different parts of the earth, representing so many nations with different backgrounds and different Governments, in a very short time we could find a basis for agreement on all these matters that trouble Labour and the world." The full text of the Declaration as endorsed by the full Conference is quoted here:

PREAMBLE.

The organisations represented at the World Trade Union Conference, held in London in February, 1945, are in full agreement on the objectives we seek. They are objectives which we, as workers, share with all freedom-loving peoples; speedy and uncompromising victory over our enemies; an enduring peace; the eradication of Fascism in all its forms; international collaboration in the economic sphere which will utilise the rich resources of the world for the benefit of its people, yielding employment with rising standards of living and real security to the men and women of all nations; a democratic society which will assure political and civil equality and full cultural opportunity for all the people of the earth.

The Conference recognises that the International Labour Movement cannot act with full effectiveness in the attainment of these objectives unless it is organised for that purpose.

The Conference is sincerely convinced of the vital importance to world Labour of uniting, in one World Federation, the Trade Union bodies of freedom-loving nations, irrespective of considerations of race or creed or of political, religious or philosophical distinctions.

The Conference records its earnest desire and firm resolve to work together for the creation of a powerful democratic World Trade Union Federation at the earliest practicable date. It envisages the necessity, pending the organisation of such a Federation, of providing an instrument which can speak with authority on behalf of the Trade Union organisations here represented, and take appropriate action to implement the decisions of this Conference when they are ratified by the constituent organisations.

The World Trade Union Conference has fully considered the basis for a World Trade Union Federation and has made provision for its recommendations to be carried into effect

after ratification by the constituent bodies, and with the object of attaining organic world Trade Union unity at the earliest practicable date.

The Conference DECIDES :

(1) That a World Trade Union Conference Committee shall be immediately established, fully representative of the composition of this Conference and selected in the manner stated below :

(2) That the Committee shall commence its work immediately on the conclusion of this Conference ;

(3) That the Committee shall act as the authority until the World Trade Union Conference is reconvened ;

(4) That the Committee is empowered by the Conference :

(a) to collate the recommendations of the Conference, to submit them to the constituent bodies for ratification, and to prepare and submit a report to the reconvened World Trade Union Conference ;

(b) To make such collective representations as circumstances may necessitate to national Governments or international agencies and organisations ;

(c) To act as agent of the Conference to ensure Trade Union representation at the coming Peace Conferences and at all preparatory commissions or conferences ;

(d) To implement such of the Conference recommendations as are adopted by constituent bodies ;

(e) To prepare a Draft Constitution for the World Trade Union Federation, which it is the purpose of the Conference to establish ;

(f) To circulate the Draft Constitution to constituent bodies for their approval, giving the latter the opportunity to submit amendments if they so desire ;

(g) To reconvene the World Conference not later than the end of 1945 for the consideration of such amendments as may be received, for the adoption of the final Constitution and for the transaction of such other business as may be appropriate at that time ;

(h) To appoint such Sub-Committees as it may deem to be necessary, including an administrative committee authorised to exercise all of the powers of the full Committee between the meeting of the full Committee ;

- (i) To convene an emergency World Conference if, in the opinion of the Committee, world developments should make such a course necessary ;
- (j) To issue invitations to attend the reconvened Conference and to affiliate with the new organisation to such bodies, in addition to those represented at this Conference, as the Conference or the Committee may determine ;
- (k) The headquarters of the Committee shall be in Paris ;
- (l) The question of the full-time Secretariat shall be referred to the Committee.
- (5) Any finances required by the Committee shall be in the form of voluntary contributions only.
- (6) The Composition of the WORLD TRADE UNION CONFERENCE COMMITTEE is as follows :

U.S.A.	..	..	..	..	3
United Kingdom	..	..	..	..	3
France (C.G.T.)	..	..	..	..	3
U.S.S.R.	..	..	..	..	3
Canada	..	..	..	..	1
Australia	..	..	..	..	1
India	..	..	..	..	1
Rest of British Commonwealth	..	..	..	..	2
Latin-American countries	..	..	..	..	3
China	..	..	..	..	1
Belgium	..	..	..	..	1
Netherlands	..	..	..	..	1
Norway	..	..	..	..	1
Sweden	..	..	..	..	1
Switzerland	..	..	..	..	1
Yugoslavia	..	..	..	..	1
Czechoslovakia	..	..	..	..	1
Spain	..	..	..	..	1
Iceland	..	..	..	..	1
Ireland	..	..	..	..	1
Bulgaria	..	..	..	..	1
Italy	..	..	..	..	1
Rumania	..	..	..	..	1
Finland	..	..	..	..	1
I.F.T.U.	..	..	..	..	2
International Trade Secretariats	..	..	..	..	2

C.T.A.L.	1
International Confederation of Christian	
Trade Unions	1

(Consultative Member—with right to speak but no vote)

(7) The attention of the Conference has been directed to the consideration that participation in the work of the reconvened Conference on the question of the basis of a World Trade Union Federation may be interpreted as a voluntary acceptance in advance of the majority decision of that Conference when it takes place. It is the unanimous view of the World Trade Union Conference that an all-inclusive World Trade Union Federation is a necessity, but the autonomy of all organisations to accept or reject the Constitution of the proposed body, is a clear and accepted fact.

The Conference decided further to set up a continuations committee, to be known as the World Trade Union Conference Committee, which should start its work straight away; that the World Conference should be reconvened in September, in Paris; that the headquarters of the Committee should be in Paris. In effect, therefore, the outlines of the new World Federation could already be seen. When the Committee got down to work it appointed Louis Saillant to be its Secretary, it appointed an Administrative Committee, smaller than the full Committee, which consisted of 42 members. The Administrative Committee of 16 members has met in London, Paris, Washington and at Oakland Bay, next door to San Francisco, already. It has drafted a constitution which has already been sent to trade union centres around the world for their comment and amendment, and preparations are well under way for the reconvened World Conference in Paris, in September, 1945. The draft Constitution states that the prime purpose of the World Federation is "to organise and unite within its ranks the trade unions of the world, regardless of considerations of race, nationality, religion or political opinion; to assist workers wherever necessary, in countries socially or industrially less developed, to set up their trade unions; and to carry on the struggle for the extermination of all Fascist forms of government and every manifestation of Fascism. . . . To combat war and the causes of war by giving full support to the establishment of a powerful and effective international organisation

armed with all necessary powers to prevent aggression and maintain peace."

Thus the debates on the Basis for a World Trade Union Federation have not only been well and truly laid, but already the future is opening out and in the words of George Isaacs, in closing the great gathering, on the Saturday evening in February, 1944, when the Conference finally finished its work, "It is getting dark outside; that may be so outside, but inside it is not the shadows of the night that are stealing across our sky; inside the dawn is breaking, light is shining."

CHAPTER XVIII

CONCLUSION

THERE is little new to say at this stage of the story of the coming of age of the world trade union movement. By the time this book is published the reconvened World Trade Union Conference will be meeting in Paris, and the new Federation will be about to be born. Every step taken in every country in the world in the building of the trade unions, from the smallest of unions with a couple of dozen members to the great industrial unions of a million and more, has been a step in the direction of building the Federation of the unions of the world. The movement has come a very long way from the days of the Tolpuddle Martyrs, of conspiratorial meetings in candlelight; from meetings in caves and cellars away from the vigilant eyes of the Gestapo with the menace of the torture chamber ever present; from meetings of small groups of brave men and women prepared to defy their own brand of national dictatorship. The movement has come a long way during this last decade, so that the enlightened judgment of Chief Justice Hughes, speaking in the Supreme Court of the United States on April 12th, 1937, in the Jones-Laughlin Labour Board Case is already out-dated. Chief Justice Hughes said: "Long ago we stated the reason for labour organisations. We said that they were organised out of the necessities of the situation, that a single employee was helpless in dealing with an employer . . . that union was essential to give labourers opportunity to deal on an equality with their employer."

This statement is still true; and will remain true so long as the economic relationships within the nations remain as they are. Yet a great step forward has been taken; trade unions are still needed for purposes of representation to the employers. But the ordinary man and woman throughout the world has realised, if dimly in places, that in addition to earning a living, whether a bare pittance or a reasonably comfortable existence, that they are citizens of the world too.

We believe that all men and women are born equal. We

believe that they have an equal contribution to make in building a better world. An outstanding genius here and there may be able to break through all the barriers that stand in the way of the man born in humble circumstances. But the complexities of modern life make this impossible for more than a very few. Organisation is needed for the average man and woman to make their contribution to governing the society he lives in. Political parties, of course, play a vital role in this sphere. Yet for the man who works in factory, mine or office, his own organisation, his trade union, is even nearer to him.

So that from the smallest branch meeting, through to the national councils of individual unions; from the highest committee of the national unions to the federation of all national unions in a country; and from the governing body of the national federations through to the World Trade Union Conference there is a direct line of communication. The branch resolution of to-day can become the policy of the world trade union movement of to-morrow.

For the first time in history the working class of the world has its own organisation able to take part in discussions with the governments of the world on a world scale. This is the historic new achievement of the trade union movement. A new period of constructive building is opening before us. Every man and woman can play their part and our movement has built the organisational forms necessary to make that part effective. The future is really in our control. We dare not miss this chance.

June 1, 1945.

POSTSCRIPT

ON October 3rd, 1945, the reconvened World Trade Union Conference meeting in Paris unanimously accepted the Constitution of the World Federation of Trade Unions, and turned itself into the first Congress of the World Federation. This was a day that had been looked forward to for many decades by trade unionists from all over the world—labour unity on a truly international scale, one organisation embracing trade unionists from the western European democracies, from the Soviet socialist state, from colonies and dependencies, from Asia, Africa and Australia and from the whole of the American continent.

The Constitution was finally agreed upon as a result of long and difficult discussions. Drafted originally at the Washington and San Francisco meetings of the London-elected Administrative Committee, copies had been sent by air-mail all over the world. Every line, every word of the Constitution was subject to a detailed examination by trade unionists of every political tendency, and more than 75 Amendments from 23 organisations had to be thrashed out by the Paris conference.

At the time of the London Conference there had been great rejoicing that, at the same time as the governments were meeting and making their great agreements for the future of world security at the Crimea Conference, world labour had also found not only a basis for their own world agreement but also that the political bases of labour agreement proved to be—roughly speaking—the same as that of their governments. Now a different experience awaited us. The meeting of the Big Five in London, of the Foreign Ministers of the great powers, broke down. And at the very same time, all the difficulties of the Paris meeting were triumphantly overcome and the historic unity of world labour was at long last achieved.

In the space of this short postscript there is not room to enter into all the details of the difficulties that had to be overcome. Very broadly speaking the difference lay between the well-established, financially-stable, relatively slow-moving British Trades Union Congress, supported by the Scandinavian

countries and the (European) South African trade unions, on the one hand, and the new dynamic movements of the rest of the world on the other. Caution and prudence were urged by Sir Walter Citrine, who would have been satisfied with a provisional organisation, a provisional Executive and a pro-tem General Secretary. There was the delicate question of the absorption of the staffs of the old International Federation of Trade Unions also to be considered, as well as the manner of transformation of the international trade secretariats, existing independent organisations of miners, metal-workers, transport workers and so on, into trade departments of the new World Federation. Opposed to this procedure were the rest of the Conference—the French, the C.I.O., the liberated countries, trade unions from Italy, Finland, Bulgaria and Rumania, the Confederation of Latin-American Workers, the Chinese, the colonies, India and the Soviet trade union movement. All these were in favour of immediately setting up the World Federation as a permanent body, with permanent appointments of staff, a definite Executive and with the headquarters in Paris.

It should be noted that in the preparations for the Conference a registered scale of representation and voting had been agreed upon, which meant that no one organisation, however powerful, could by its own weight carry a majority vote. In this way, although the Soviet trade unions have a membership of nearly thirty millions, and the total membership represented at the Conference was sixty-six and three-quarter millions—they had a right to 42 delegates and 208 votes only. Great Britain, with seven million members, had a right to 24 delegates and 120 votes and the C.I.O. with six million members had a right to 22 delegates and 110 votes. Thus the British T.U.C. and the C.I.O. together had a right to 46 delegates and 230 votes, as against the Soviet 42 delegates and 208 votes. The detailed scale was very carefully worked out, so that the smallest organisations could play a real part in the Conference and in the World Federation.

The General Secretary is elected by the General Council and not by the Congress. Thus it is within the power of the General Council to revoke his election without waiting for the next Congress in two years' time and, to this extent also, one of the main points in the British case was met. Regarding the

controversy on the future of the international trade secretariats, it was solved by the appointment of Walter Schevenels, General Secretary of the International Federation of Trade Unions, to a special post, with the task of conducting the negotiations on behalf of the World Federation both for the absorption of the staffs of the I.F.T.U. and the secretariats into the new Federation; and also the transformation of the secretariats into the trade departments of the Federation. All this will take time for, to take but one example, the Conference of the International Transport-workers' Federation does not take place until May, 1946, and no one can take a decision on the fate of the I.T.F. until then. It is obvious that goodwill and previous mutual co-operation will do much to bring about a happy solution to these problems.

It is understood that the International Federation of Trade Unions will not vote itself out of existence for the time being, but that its General Council will await the development of the new World Federation before taking any irrevocable step on its own.

Louis Saillant, one of the C.G.T. Secretaries, President of the French National Council of Resistance, was unanimously elected General Secretary of the Federation, and the headquarters will be in Paris. Citrine was elected Chairman of the Executive, and these two men, together with the seven vice-chairmen, make up an Executive Bureau of nine. The vice-chairmen are Leon Jouhaux of France, Vassili Kuznetsov of the Soviet Union, Vicente Lombardo Toledano of Mexico, Sydney Hillman of the C.I.O., de Kuypers of Holland, Chu Hsueh-Fan of China, Di Vittorio of Italy. There are twenty-six members of the Executive, including three representatives of the Trade Departments, when they are set up, the others being elected on the basis of geographical groups, but responsible to the Congress as a whole; and the General Council, which meets at least once yearly, is composed of at least one delegate (more on a sliding scale according to membership) from each affiliated organisation. The Congress itself is to meet once in two years.

Perhaps more important than the question of these differences, which were ultimately resolved, is the political basis of the new Federation. The Preamble is a fundamental document and states:

"The World Federation of Trade Unions exists to improve the living and working conditions of the people of all lands and to unite them in pursuit of the objectives sought by all freedom-loving peoples as set forth in the Declarations of the London World Trade Union Conference in February, 1945.

These aims and objects can only be fully attained by the establishment of a World Order in which all the resources of the world will be utilized for the benefit of all its peoples, the vast majority of whom are workers by hand and brain whose protection and whose progress depend upon the union of all their organized forces nationally and internationally."

The prime purposes of the Federation include the "extermination of all fascist forms of government and every manifestation of fascism, under whatever form it operates and by whatever name it may be known," "to combat war and the causes of war and to work for a stable and enduring peace and to carry on a struggle against reaction and for the full exercise of the democratic fights and liberties of all peoples." The World Federation has taken the only possible view of its function that stands any chance of success in the world to-day, *i.e.*, that it cannot attain its other fundamental objectives of "permitting the rich resources of the earth to be utilized for the benefit of all its peoples, providing full employment, rising standards of life, and social security to the men and women of all nations" without assuring world peace and the extermination of fascism everywhere.

As compared with the London Conference, where 37 countries sent delegates, 56 were represented in Paris, with a total membership of 66½ millions. The additional representatives came largely from the newly-liberated countries, from the colonies, the Middle East and from Latin America. Phenomenal progress was reported by the delegates from Italy, Rumania, Bulgaria, Hungary, Poland and Czechoslovakia. The Rumanian T.U.C. had gained 1,267,000 members by the time of the World Conference; the Italian T.U.C. now has 5,200,000 members; the Hungarians 888,513 by last July; the Czechoslovaks 1½ millions; the Bulgarians more than 400,000; the Polish trade unions had 1,011,516 members on September 1st; and the Yugoslavs 600,000. This remarkable growth was questioned by Sir Walter Citrine, who remarked that organisations were present at the Conference which had never been heard of by people quite well informed about the international trade union movement—movements which had arisen, phoenix-

like, springing up from the ashes of devastated Europe. Although the representatives of the movements concerned were able to bring ample evidence of their growth and influence in their own countries, and this evidence was corroborated by American, Russian, French and other delegates who had recently visited these countries, Sir Walter persisted in his doubts, and the Executive has been given wide powers of inquiry into the status of trade unions everywhere. The countries in question welcome inquiries, for they are only too anxious for the world to know of the tremendous work that has been going on since liberation. A number of speakers, including Ernest Thornton from Australia, and Louis Saillant from France, replied that surely this tremendous growth was a matter for enthusiasm and not for criticism.

Another group of countries that has an extended membership is Latin America; in London only Uruguay, Cuba, Mexico, Colombia succeeded in having representatives present, although the Confederation of Latin-American Workers indirectly represented the whole continent. There came to Paris, in addition to the above, delegates from Guatemala, Costa Rica, Panama, Ecuador, Chili, Brazil, Bolivia, Porto Rico, Dominica and, arriving just before the end of the Congress and after great difficulties, came three representatives of the underground trade union of Argentina.

Yet another important development has taken place since February with the Chinese trade unions. As a result of recent negotiations in China, the communist-led trade unions from the liberated areas of North and Central China are in process of affiliating to the Kuomintang-sponsored Chinese Association of Labour, and Tong-Fa, chairman of the unions of the liberated areas, arrived in Paris as one of the three delegates of the C.A.L.

Altogether, the tremendous desire for unity that has been manifested by rank-and-file trade unionists throughout the world had a fitting reply in the final results of the Conference. Unity in itself is not enough, but that question so often asked: "Unity for what?" is well answered by a glance at resolutions unanimously passed by the Congress. The aims and purposes of the Federation, as already quoted from the Preamble to the Constitution, have been filled out by a comprehensive series of resolutions which set tasks only capable of fulfilment by the greatest possible activity on a national as well as an inter-

national level. Beginning with a condemnation of the remaining fascist powers, all democratic governments are urged to break off all relationships with the Franco government, trade unions are asked to make the necessary representations to their governments, and support for the newly-elected Republican Government in Mexico is urged. The fascist regime in Argentine is again condemned and the rupture of diplomatic relations is urged. The actions of the Greek and Iranian governments in interfering with the domestic affairs of their trade union movements is condemned, as also their refusal to allow the duly-elected delegates to travel to Paris. Complete national independence and the right of self-determination is demanded, with special reference to Porto Rico, Indonesia and Indo-China; and the Executive Committee was urged to make representations to the United Nations on all these matters. Workers everywhere were urged to be vigilant against all manifestations of racial discrimination, and to work against the power of the monopolies and trusts. Another resolution asks the Executive to investigate the economic and political conditions in the colonial and semi-colonial countries and to make appropriate recommendations to the Governments. Finally, a proposal was made for the calling of an Asiatic Trades Union Conference.

Considerable attention was paid to the ways and means of securing representation for world labour at the various peace-settlement conferences and on the United Nations' organisations generally. Sydney Hillman had been most emphatic in his arguments for the immediate setting up of a permanent organisation—that, so long as the Federation remained provisional, the governments of the world were not going to grant recognition in the form of giving world labour a place on its councils. Now that the Federation is definite, the least that can be expected will be a place in an advisory capacity on the Economic and Social Council, whose terms of reference now include the possibility of consultation with non-governmental organisations. The resolutions of the Congress also demand on behalf of world labour a place, in an advisory capacity, on the General Assembly, and a place with voting rights on the Economic and Social Council. As the resolution puts it: World Labour has an inalienable right to participate in the work of the United Nations' organisations.

Events have moved quickly since George Isaacs, in closing the London Conference, said that "the dawn is breaking, light is shining"; with the end of the military fighting the dawn of a new world has been ushered in and we can indeed look forward to glorious daylight, provided that we do not falter in the task we have set ourselves in the world labour movement. Our precious unity for building a new world has been achieved at the price of millions of human lives, lives of men, women, children and babes-in-arms. Our trust is to those who have died that we might live, and if every one, from the newest recruit to the most responsible leader, is determined not to fail; if we each take our responsibilities seriously—then we can succeed.

October, 1945.

APPENDIX I

DECLARATION OF DEMONSTRATION

February 11, 1945

This assembly of representatives of the workers extends its hearty welcome to the World Trade Union Conference, whose gathering together of the representatives of the International Trade Union Movement demonstrates the solidarity and unity of purpose which has sustained the people of the United Nations in the long struggle which is now drawing to its close, in complete and final victory of the armed forces that have fought so courageously and resolutely in defence of freedom, and for the vindication of the principles of democracy and free citizenship.

This assembly pays its heartfelt tribute to all who have fought in the cause of freedom, whether in the armed forces, in the civil defence organisation, in the fire-fighting services, the merchant navies, in productive industry and in the transport services. By their sustained and unflagging effort and their unflinching endurance of danger and grievous sacrifice, the war in Europe is being won, and we rejoice that the time now has arrived when the responsible representatives of the Trade Union Movement of the World can come together for free deliberation upon the tasks now to be undertaken, to lay the foundation of security and permanent peace.

This assembly affirms its profound conviction that world peace can be established on an enduring basis, and the social and economic conditions within which dictatorship and tyranny have arisen can be averted only if the aims and purposes for which the workers have organised in their Trade Unions are fully recognised, and the Trade Unions themselves are enabled to develop their strength and influence. Weakness in Trade Union organisation, and divisions among the organised workers anywhere in the world, are a danger to Trade Union strength and united working-class action everywhere.

New possibilities have been opened to the Trade Union Movement of the world in the course of the long struggle. All over the world it has been made manifest during the war years that industry cannot be planned to the best advantage, neither can the productive resources of any country be mobilised and utilised to full capacity, unless at all stages the active participation of the workers is assured. Defence of the elementary standards of life and labour for the working people, and continuous improvement in wages, hours of labour and conditions of employment will continue to be a prime function of the Trade Unions. But they also demand for the working people, through their Trade Union organisations, a higher status as responsible partners in industry. And this assembly pledges itself, therefore, to the support of the proposals which the World Trade Union Conference is framing, with the object of unifying the action of the International Trade Union Movement, and the strengthening of the workers' organisations everywhere, for the attainment of freedom of life and equal opportunity for all people.

APPENDIX II

THE WORLD TRADE UNION CONFERENCE CALLS TO ALL PEOPLES

From the World Trade Union Conference, which has concluded its immediate tasks in London, we address this message to the people of all lands who are of one mind in their hope and desire that a new world shall arise from the devastation and ruin wrought by the war. The Second World War has involved all nations in the gravest crisis of human history. In their long and terrible struggle against the aggressor Powers the United Nations have fought for freedom and their own way of life. They have successfully withstood the most dangerous assault ever made upon the foundations of democracy and free citizenship. They have resisted the most determined attempt ever made to lead mankind back into servitude and to impose upon the free nations a political system, an economic order, and an ideology which, had they achieved their purpose, would have given domination over all free peoples into the hands of those who have claimed by their armed might to exercise the rule of a self-styled "superior race," or to fulfil a so-called "historic destiny."

Our World Trade Union Conference brought together from the ends of the earth accredited representatives of organised millions who steadfastly opposed this Fascist tyranny, and at great cost have broken the Fascist aggression. We came together in our World Conference from many lands. We represented all races, colours, and creeds. We spoke to one another in different languages. But we were united upon the objectives which we, as workers, share with all freedom-loving peoples. Our deliberations in the World Conference enable us to declare, with emphasis, and without reservations, that the Trade Union Movement of the world is resolved to work with all like-minded peoples to achieve a complete and uncompromising victory over the Fascist Powers that sought to encompass the destruction of freedom and democracy; to establish a stable and enduring peace; and to promote in the economic sphere the international collaboration which will permit the rich resources of the earth to be utilised for the benefit of all its peoples, providing full employment, rising standards of life, and a social security to the men and women of all nations.

To achieve these ennobling aims and purposes, our world conference pledged the organised millions we represent to support the heroic armed forces of the United Nations in the battles still to be fought to secure full and final victory. The Soviet blow from the East reinforced by the Anglo-American blow from the West, and the liberating armies of France, Yugoslavia, Rumania, and Bulgaria, must become the decisive and speedy offensive which wrests unconditional surrender from the German State and ends the war against Germany.

In the East, final victory over Japan is also assured by the countries that are at war against her. These countries will prosecute their offensive with the same vigour until unconditional surrender is wrested from her as well.

In furtherance of the inflexible purpose of the United Nations to bring the war against Fascism to a triumphant conclusion, we call upon the organised workers represented in our Conference to spare no effort to supply the needs of the armed forces, confident that in their loyalty to the principles of freedom and democracy which have sustained them in all forms of war service, they will continue to make every necessary sacrifice to win the final victory which will bring permanent peace.

To speed this day of victory our World Conference called for all necessary assistance required to raise and fully equip armed forces in the liberated countries, and particularly France and Italy, so that they too may have the means to participate fully in waging war. Our Conference called also upon the people of the countries at war with Japan to give maximum assistance in the form of arms and munitions to the heroic Chinese people in furtherance of their struggle against the Japanese invader. We call for the application of policies in liberated countries and territories which will mobilise the full support of their people in the war effort. These policies must include (a) the immediate establishment of the freedoms of speech, press, assembly, religion, political association, and the right to organise labour unions; (b) the formation of governments which have the support of the people; and (c) the provision of foodstuffs, supplies and raw materials to meet the needs of the people and thus enable the full utilisation of the man power and productive facilities in these areas.

Our Conference was in unanimous agreement with the declared resolve of the three Allied Powers at the Crimea Conference to destroy German militarism and Nazism, and to take all necessary measures to bring all war criminals and those guilty of Nazi atrocities to justice and stern punishment; to disarm Germany and disband all her armed forces; to break up for all time the German General Staff; to eliminate or destroy all German military equipment; and to bring under Allied control all German industry that can be used for war purposes. Our Conference likewise affirmed its agreement with the decision of the Crimea Conference to set up machinery, and to secure full compensation from Germany for the damage it has caused to the Allied countries, with priority to those that have suffered most.

The Trade Union Movements of those nations at war with Japan affirmed their view that the foregoing principles must likewise be applied to Japan, and in particular that the Mikado must be held responsible for the acts of Japanese militarism, that the Japanese Empire shall be replaced by a democratic regime and that the Cairo Declaration shall be rigidly applied to restore the territories which Japan has seized in the course of her campaign of aggression.

Our World Conference placed on record its profound conviction that the freedom-loving peoples of the earth should give their support and countenance only to those Governments, political parties and national institutions, which are pledged to wage war against Fascism in all its forms, until it is rooted out of the life of all countries.

Our World Conference declared its view that it is the duty of the Governments of the United Nations whose solidarity in war and peace provides the guarantee that a new system of order and law will be established throughout the world, to deny recognition to States whose

political and economic system, as in Franco-Spain and the Argentine, are opposed to the principles for which the United Nations have made such grievous sacrifices and sustained such heavy burdens.

Our World Conference unanimously endorsed the Dumbarton Oaks plan for an effective international organisation to prevent aggression, maintain security and enforce peace. Only under such a plan can the sovereign rights and self-government of peoples, who have seen their democratic institutions ruthlessly uprooted, be safeguarded.

Our World Conference wholeheartedly welcomed the declared purpose of the Allied Governments to give effect to the principles of the Atlantic Charter and jointly to assist the peoples in every liberated country to create the conditions in which stable and representative Government, resting upon the free consent of the people, can come into existence.

Our World Conference, taking account of the economic and social problems that will confront all the nations when the war is won, considered the measures that must be taken to avert a post-war economic crisis which would place the world's peace again in jeopardy. The Conference therefore adopted a constructive programme for world economic co-operation to secure the industrial development of the undeveloped countries, for full utilisation of the material resources of every nation with an effective organisation of human labour whereby economic production will be carried on at maximum capacity, and full employment and rising standards of living made possible in all the lands.

Our World Conference emphasised the special responsibility of Governments to all the men and women in the armed forces who have spared neither their strength nor their lives in the struggle to achieve victory. The Conference called for the provision of free medical aid and adequate sickness benefits for disabled ex-servicemen and their dependants for the whole period of their disablement, as well as free training to qualify them for industrial re-employment; with life benefits for the permanently disabled which will ensure a normal life for them and their families.

Our World Conference emphatically expressed the view that it is necessary to bring to an end the system of Colonies, Dependencies and subject countries as spheres of economic exploitation, and to facilitate immediately the development of free Trade Unions in these countries; thereby laying the foundations upon which, in accordance with Article III of the Atlantic Charter, non-self-governing communities and nations can attain the status of free nations and be enabled to govern themselves and develop their own institutions of free citizenship.

Our World Conference was unanimous also in resolving to fight for the establishment and effective implementation in all the countries of the world, including the Colonial and semi-Colonial countries, of a system of Labour legislation to protect the worker in all trades and occupations. Freedom of association, with the fundamental collective rights which the people are entitled to exercise, and the opportunity for the Trade Unions and workers' organisations to develop freely, and effectively participate in the shaping and the direction of the economic policies of their respective countries, can be secured only in this way.

Upon the all-important task of promoting the organic unity of the International Trade Union Movement our World Conference has taken

decisive action. It unanimously resolved to create a World Trade Union Organisation including all the Trade Unions of free countries on a basis of equality, regardless of race, creed or political faith, excluding none and relegating none to a secondary place. We are calling into existence, as speedily as practical steps can be taken, a powerful international organ which unites all, and which can speak with authority in support of our declared objectives. We established a World Trade Union Conference Committee of 45 members representing all groups of delegates, and with headquarters in Paris. This Committee will reconvene the World Conference in September, 1945, to adopt a Constitution and set up the permanent organisation. Meanwhile, it will act as the spokesman of the Conference for the implementation of its decisions. Through it the International Trade Union Movement will make its claim to a share in determining all questions of the peace and post-war settlements, and for representation at the Peace Conferences and all international commissions and agencies concerned with the peace settlement in all its phases, beginning with the San Francisco Conference in April.

Our World Conference made this claim in the conviction that the peoples of the United Nations have a right to be heard in the making of the peace. Our claim is founded upon the conviction of the Trade Unions especially, that they have a constructive contribution to make in the rebuilding of the world. By a continuation of the close collaboration and decisive action by which the Governments and peoples of the United Nations have brought victory within their reach, our World Conference believes the new and onerous responsibilities, which the future will bring, can be adequately met, and all difficulties successfully overcome.

The World Trade Union Conference pays tribute to all those who have fallen in defence of the cause of liberty represented by the struggle against Fascism. It renders homage to the glorious armies of the United Nations, to their guerilla fighters, to their resistance movements, and to the members of their Civilian Defence.

Organised Labour has made its full contribution both in the field of the armed struggle and in that of production by creating and sustaining the gigantic forces which have already brought Fascism to its knees and will tomorrow destroy it completely and for ever. Our historic Conference, meeting in the midst of the armed struggle still raging, is itself a demonstration of the unity of the working class and evidence of the moral victory of the United Nations over the evil forces of Fascism. Organised Labour, with so great a part in winning the war, cannot leave to others—however well-intentioned they may be—the sole responsibility of making the peace. The peace will be a good peace—an enduring peace—a peace worthy of the sacrifices by which it has been won—only if it reflects the deep resolve of the free peoples, their interests, their desires, and their needs. We, therefore, send forth from our World Conference this appeal to all the workers of the world, and to all men and women of good will to consecrate to the building of a better world the service and sacrifice they have given to the winning of the war.

SIGNED FOR THE WORLD TRADE UNION
CONFERENCE BY ITS COMMITTEE.

February 22, 1945.

The books included in this short list are those easily available in England and are either still on sale currently or may be consulted in libraries. Two specialised libraries on the trade union and labour movements are the T.U.C. and Labour Party Library, at Transport House, Smith Square, S.W.1, and the Marx House Library, 1, Doughty Street, W.C.1.

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