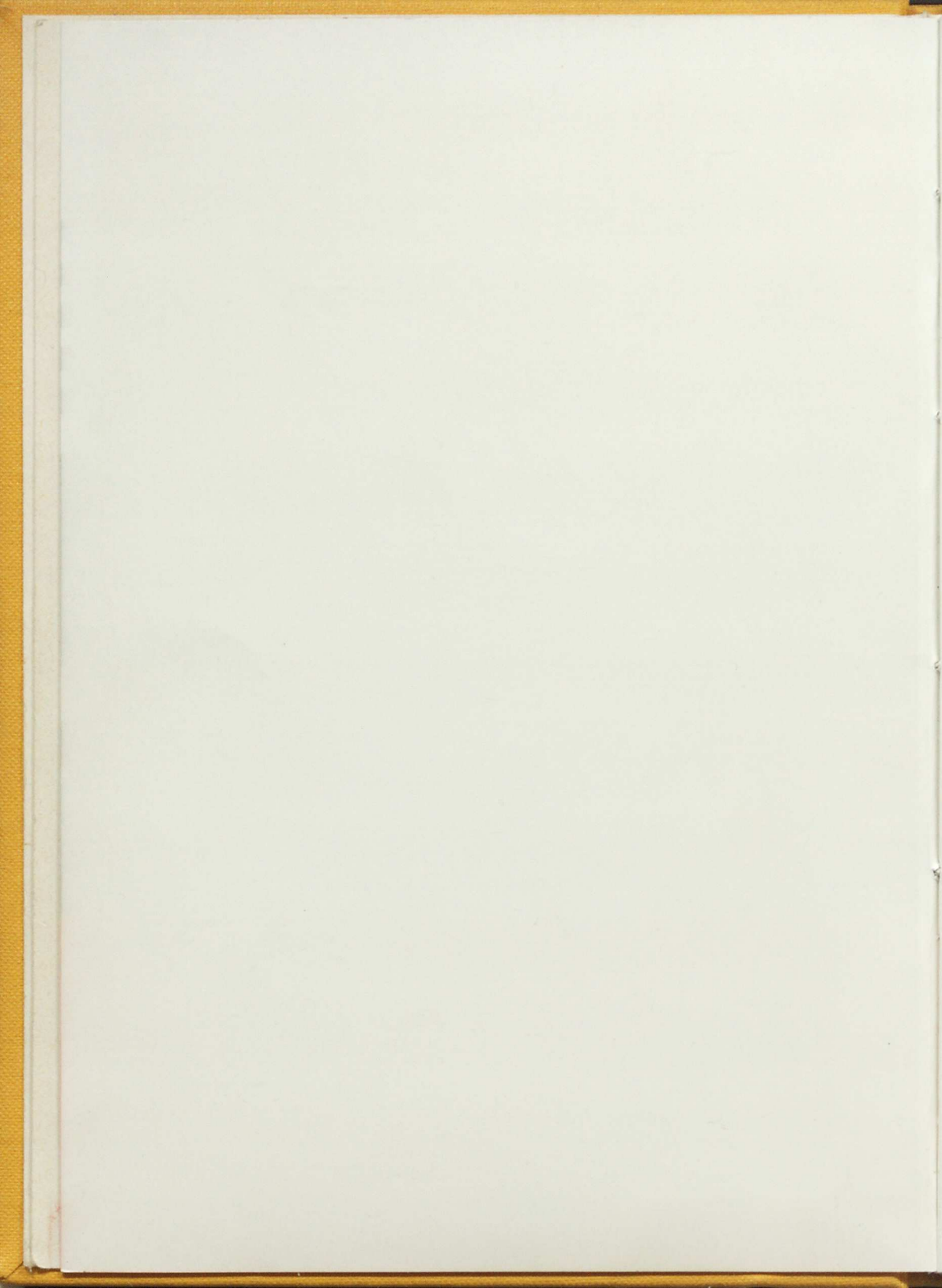


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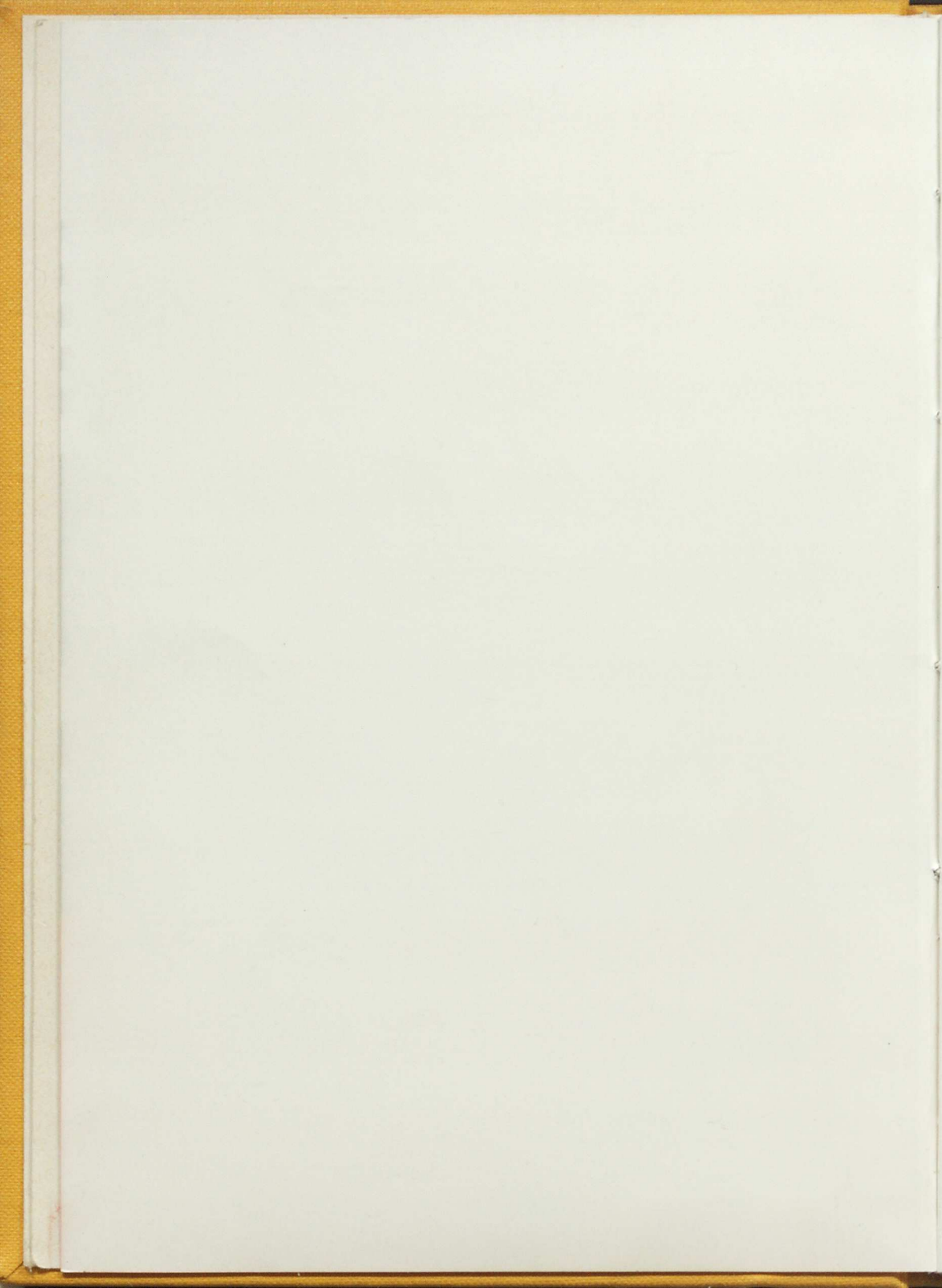






# THE INTERNATIONAL TRANSPORT WORKERS' FEDERATION ARCHIVE

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THE INTERNATIONAL TRANSPORT WORKERS'

FEDERATION ARCHIVE

*Modern Records Centre Sources Booklet No.3*

by

Nicholas Baldwin

With a preface by Volker Berghahn

Edited by Richard Storey

Coventry

1985

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The cover illustration shows (seated from left to right) : Johann Döring, Robert Williams, Edo Fimmen, Charles Lindley; (standing) Nathan Nathans; c.1924.

Cover illustration by courtesy of, and with the benefit of a grant from, the ITWF

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## PREFACE

The history of the European working-class and its organisations has traditionally been written primarily from the perspective of the individual countries in which they emerged. There are several obvious reasons for this bias, the most important among them being that the impact of the working-class movement has tended to be greatest at the national level. But there are also the labour historians themselves, who have found it difficult to perceive the European working-class as a transnational phenomenon. Linguistic barriers apart, probably nothing has contributed more to this perception than the collapse of working-class internationalism in 1914. This left the seemingly indelible impression that this internationalism had always been a sham and that there was hence also little point in the comparative study of European labour. If there has been some change in this respect in recent years,<sup>1</sup> it is, of course, not because the files of the ITWF have become available for research. Nevertheless, the contents of this archive, most of which came to the Modern Records Centre several years ago and have now been expertly catalogued, are a reminder that neither before nor after the First World War did the European working-class movement exist merely at the national level. Stimulated by strikes in some of Europe's major ports in the 1890s and by the activities of energetic organisers who were convinced that the transnationalisation of industrial capitalism required a corresponding effort by the proletariat, the ITWF, as an umbrella organisation of European seamen, railwaymen and transport workers, had some 1,054,566 members in 1914.<sup>2</sup>

Although the First World War dealt the Federation a severe blow, the Christiana Congress of March 1920 again brought together some 66 delegates from 24 organisations representing no fewer than 2.15 million

members. The papers described in this *Sources Booklet* permit detailed study of the ITWF and its wide-ranging activities in various countries at top decision-making level. They are particularly rich for the inter-war period, but extend into the period after the Second World War. Above all, they testify to the fact that, the collapse of two Socialist Internationals and the creation of a factionalist Third notwithstanding, international working-class co-operation was by no means over in 1918 and experienced a new lease of life with the rise of fascism. It was the Dutchman Edo Fimmen who now became the motor of the ITWF. It was also he who early-on saw fascism as an international movement and threat which he never underestimated. Although he was deeply disappointed by the passive behaviour of the German working-class movement in the face of fascism's most dangerous and radical version, National Socialism, he never ceased supporting those forces inside and outside Germany which were prepared to resist Hitler. A considerable part of the archive, therefore, contains material on the anti-fascist activities of the ITWF, in which it was in a unique position to engage. After 1933, a number of ITWF leaders travelled in Germany trying to build-up a network of activists. The Federation's seamen-members smuggled propaganda material into the Third Reich via the ports; railway workers hid leaflets for collection in Germany on Dutch trains crossing the border. Ultimately, it is true, these activities were no more than a drop in the ocean. Worse, by 1935 the Gestapo had successfully begun to crack most of the working-class resistance cells, including those supported from the outside by the ITWF and financed by its West European affiliates.

Nevertheless, for this reason the archive is also of considerable interest to historians of the anti-fascist movement and grass-roots resistance during the 1930s.



Some of the material on this subject found its way into the archives of the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung at Bonn. The Modern Records Centre, however, is rightly proud of its share of the ITWF's archives, which extends its hitherto predominantly British base to the European continent. Just as the arrival of the CBI's Predecessor Archive<sup>3</sup> has already stimulated some research to look at the operations of business associations at an international level, it may be hoped that labour history will once again develop in a similar direction. Even if working-class *organisations* are still predominantly orientated towards national problems, the history of transnational migrations within Europe since the Second World War seems to indicate that the working-class itself has already moved beyond the traditional analytical framework. If these realities are to be taken on board by labour history, the study of the ITWF and its membership should be a good starting-point, for it was an organisation which never knew national boundaries.

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1. See, e.g., D. Geary, *European Labour protest, 1848-1939* (London, 1981); J.P. Windmuller, *The international trade union movement* (London, 1980).
2. See H. Simon, 'Organised Labour against National Socialism : a case study of the International Transport Workers' Federation', M.A. diss., University of Warwick, 1983; G. Purtil, 'The International Transport Workers' Federation, 1896-1920. A view of international unionism with special reference to Britain and Australia', M.A. diss., University of Warwick, 1980. See also H. Esters *et al.*, *Gewerkschafter im Widerstand* (Bonn, 1983).
3. M. Wilcox & R. Storey, *The Confederation of British Industry Predecessor Archive* (Coventry, 1984).

## INTRODUCTION

The International Transport Workers' Federation, the most active and wide-ranging of all the International Trade Secretariats, was founded in 1896 as the International Federation of Ship, Dock and River Workers (IFSDRW), adopting its current name in 1898 when it was expanded to include transport workers in non-maritime industries. The organisation had its roots in various special conferences and federations of European seamen and railwaymen in the early 1890s, and in the international co-operation of European transport unionists during the 1896-7 dock strikes in Rotterdam and Hamburg. Its initial foundation was in London, in the hands of J. Havelock Wilson of the NSFU, in association with Ben Tillett and Tom Mann, the leaders of the 1889 London dock strike, and also with Charles Lindley, the Swedish seamen's unionist, who was to serve the ITWF for over 50 years.

Under Mann's energetic presidency the ITWF experienced a rapid growth in membership and interest, with an office in the City of London, but the takeover of Tom Chambers as the Federation's first paid secretary coincided with an equally rapid waning of support for the still-novel concept of an international union, and Chambers was soon reduced to running the ITWF in an undynamic fashion from a house in east London. By 1903/4 the frail state of the Federation, and the eagerness of German transport unionists to take on the running of the organisation, saw the secretariat moved to Hamburg on the authority of the 1904 ITWF Congress, with the German railwaymen's leader, Hermann Jochade, becoming secretary. Under Jochade, the ITWF was rapidly placed on a much more stable administrative and financial footing, expanding its affiliated membership to one million by 1914, with diligent efforts to gain affiliates in every continent.



The onset of the First World War predictably broke down associations between unionists in the war-polarised nations, and the Federation virtually ceased to function when Jochade was conscripted in late 1915. Fortunately for the future of the ITWF, Jochade had established a liaison office in the neutral Netherlands in 1914, supervised by the Dutch Transport Federation (NVV); it was from this base that the inter-war ITWF was reestablished in 1919, with an Amsterdam office, under the secretaryship of Edo Fimmen, joint secretary of the IFTU and secretary of the Dutch trade union federation. Membership again flourished in the 1920s under Fimmen's dynamic leadership, with varied affiliations being gained world-wide, and also with a much more interventionist policy than the pre-war ITWF in political and labour disputes. This culminated in a major campaign against Fascism in Germany and Spain in the late 1930s, which took up much of the organisation's resources, and whose records have been classified as a separate sub-group (MSS.159/3/C/a-b) of the archive because of their importance and unique character.

By 1939 the imminent outbreak of European war caused the secretariat to be moved to England, with a temporary war-time home at Kempston, Bedford and later London. By this time Fimmen's increasing ill-health enforced his effective retirement from active work, and he died in Mexico in 1942. His place as acting general secretary was taken by his Belgian assistant secretary, J.H. Oldenbroek. The Federation was able to survive the Second World War in better health than it had the First, with the support of the English trade union movement, and it was decided to retain the ITWF head-quarters in London after the war, in offices shared with the National Union of Seamen in Clapham. The ITWF continued to engage in world-wide campaigns after World War Two, with major campaigns on the "Seattle Conventions" for seamen,

"Flags of Convenience" shipping, and inland navigation workers' conditions; it was also instrumental in the foundation of the ICFTU, following the Communist takeover of the WFTU.

The deposit in the Modern Records Centre was made in four stages in 1977 and 1978, the latter before the ITWF's move to smaller London offices. The archive's state and history reflect the organisation's various changes of personnel and location. Surviving material from the 1896-1904 London offices is small in quantity, but high in interest in revealing the origins of the international trade union movement. The records of the 1904-15 German Secretariat are much more extensive and well-preserved, reflecting Jochade's highly bureaucratic approach and his dedicated attempts at world-wide affiliation and information exchange. The inter-war material is particularly extensive, indicating the ITWF leadership's energy and interventionism, with long runs of correspondence and conference/committee papers, despite the loss of much material when the organisation was hastily moved to England late 1939. (The surviving archive-list of the Amsterdam office indicates the original holdings, and according to the ITWF's post-war secretary, Omer Bécu, some of the present archive was rediscovered stored on barges at Cologne after the end of World War Two, having fallen into Nazi hands in 1940.) The post-war material comprises less correspondence, but more complete series of printed proceedings, official circulars, and ITWF periodicals. The structure of the archive was somewhat disturbed in the 1960s by the break up of files during the compilation of an unpublished ITWF history, and by the piecemeal transfer of archival material on Germany to the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, Bonn, for research work on the ITWF's anti-Nazi activities: See Appendix 2.



Cataloguing has followed the Centre's standard system, although the nature of the original filing necessitates some inter-category overlap, with files of minutes often containing some correspondence and vice-versa, for example, and some ITWF reports appear in MSS.159/5, due to the organisation's close involvement in various tripartite bodies and International Labour Office or EEC activities.

The Committees responsible for the Centre are pleased to take the opportunity provided by this publication to record their thanks to the Federation for entrusting the greater part of its records to the Centre's custody and for opening the records to researchers, and to the Leverhulme Trust for its further support of the Centre's work.

#### *Access*

The archive is open to bona fide researchers, without need for prior permission from the ITWF.

Nicholas Baldwin,  
*Modern Records Centre,*  
*University of Warwick Library*



MSS.159/1 Minutes and related papers

1/1/1-187 ITWF Congresses, 1896-1977

The International Congress was the supreme governing body of the ITWF, determining policy on questions common to all transport workers and appointing committees for ITWF administration between Congresses. Archival material survives for all except the 1904 Congress; Congresses were biennial until 1932, thence triennial. Papers of the special 1919 Amsterdam conference which restored the post-war ITWF are also included here. The material comprises reports of proceedings, the Secretariats' reports to Congress, reports on agenda items, resolutions and texts of addresses, often interspersed with related correspondence on Congress arrangements and policy, and some press-cuttings. Much, though by no means all, the material survives in multi-lingual texts (primarily English, French, German, Swedish and Dutch); the post-World War II reports survive more completely in published form, and there are some reel tapes of post-war Congresses. Papers relating to the first two ITWF Congresses have been combined in bound volumes with related reports and circulars (1/1/1-2, 1896-98).

1/2/1-40 ITWF General Council, 1921-1958

The General Council was appointed by Congress as the main ITWF decision-making body between Congresses, and comprised 15 multi-national members when re-established after World War I. Files comprise minutes, resolutions, agendas, related correspondence on policy

and administration, and some special reports, e.g., on Italian Fascism by G. Sardelli (1/2/8), disputes on Fimmen's conduct of policy as General Secretary, (1/2/12 & 18), and reports on council members' visits to Spain in 1930 (1/2/16) and Baltic countries in 1932 (1/2/19).

*N.B.* General Council meetings were usually held annually, but as several Executive Committee and Management Committee meetings were often held in the same year, these meetings have been classified numerically by month; thus "GC meeting, 3/1928" is "GC meeting of March 1928", not "third meeting of 1928", etc.

#### 1/3/1-91 ITWF Executive Committee, 1901-1976

The Executive Committee was the ITWF's main administrative body between General Council meetings, meeting more regularly, usually 2-3 times annually. It comprised 6 multi-national members, including the General Secretary, and had full executive authority between General Council and Congress meetings. The Executive Committee supervised the General Secretary's day-to-day administration of the ITWF. Files exist for the majority of inter-war meetings, and post-war to 1959, with tapes of the May 1976 meeting. Contents are broadly similar to the General Council files, with more on day-to-day administrative matters, but also material on major issues, including some relating to the 1930s anti-Nazi campaign. Also included here are two files of minutes of the 1904-1915 meetings of the ITWF Central Committee, the pre-World War I equivalent of the Executive Committee under Jochade's secretariat (1/3/1-2).



#### 1/4/1-111 ITWF Management Committee, 1923-1960

The Management Committee was the smallest of the ITWF's main committees, with only 3 members, all from the country where the Secretariat was situated, to enable meetings to be held at very short notice to discuss routine administrative matters or urgent problems. A few files survive from the pre-World War II Dutch office Management Committee (159/1/4/1-6), but the bulk of this material is a complete run of minutes of the British Management Committee from 1939-60. The material is generally smaller in scale for individual meetings than the General Council and Executive Committee files, and more concerned with routine office matters, but is a useful supplement to the other committees' papers, especially during the war-time period when the General Council and Executive Committee were unable to meet regularly. The Management Committee commonly met 4-6 times annually.

#### 1/5-11 Sectional meetings

Special sections with their own committees for railwaymen, seamen and road transport workers were set up by the revised ITWF after 1919, and a more formal structure of seven sections for the various branches of the transport industry (seafarers, dockers, fishermen, inland navigation workers, railwaymen, road transport workers and civil aviation employees) was established in the years following the Second World War. Sectional conference papers from the main ITWF Congresses have also been included here when a formal sectional conference-within-a-conference was held.

- 1/5 ITWF Seafarers' Section conferences and committees, 1910-1958
- 5/1-27 Conference papers, 1910-1958
  - 5/28-33 Seafarers' Section committee meetings, 1948-1953
  - 5/A-F Seafarers' Section Sub-Committees:
  - 5/A Sub-committee on Revision of International Seafarers' Charter, 1959
  - 5/B ITWF Boycott Committee (later International Fair Practices Committee) on "Flags of Convenience" shipping, 1949-1959
  - 5/C Section Committee on Short-Sea Trades (North-West Europe) 1952-1954
  - 5/D ITWF joint meetings with International Mercantile Marine Officers' Assoc., 1928, 1944, 1946
  - 5/E India-Pakistan Seafarers' meeting under ITWF auspices, London, 1957 (1 file)
  - 5/F Joint Seafarers' and Dockers' conferences, 1932-1956.
- 1/6 ITWF Dockers' Section conferences and committees, 1946-1959
- 6/1-9 Conference reports, 1946-1959
  - 6/10-16 Section committee meetings, 1946-1957.
- 1/7/1-9 Fishermen's Section conferences and committee papers, 1938-1968.



1/8/1-35

Inland Navigation Section conference and committee papers (n.b. the filing of inland navigation material does not clearly differentiate between files on particular meetings and general correspondence files, *see also* 159/3/D/121-217).

1/9

ITWF Railwaymen's Section conference and committee papers, 1920-1961

9/1-52      Conferences, 1920-1959, including special conferences for railway clerical staff, 1926

9/53-64      Section committee meetings, 1939-1961.

1/10

ITWF Road Transport Workers' Section conference and committee papers, 1925-1961

10/1-29      Road Transport Conferences, 1925-1961, including 1925 conference for tramway-men

10/30-41      Road Transport Section committees, 1931-1958.

1/11

ITWF Civil Aviation Section conference and committee papers, 1949-1967

11/1-5      Conferences, 1949-1956, including 1954 conference for ground staff

11/6-9      Section committee meetings

11/10      Latin American Civil Aviation Conference, 1967

11/11      Joint meeting with airline pilots' federation (IFALPA) 1953.

1/12/1-18

ITWF European Transport Co-ordination  
Committee papers, 1943-1969

The ETC Committee was set up in 1943, with 16 members including the ITWF's secretary and assistant secretary, under the presidency of John Marchbank, to plan for the reconstruction of the European transport system after the War and encourage future multi-national co-ordination of European transport. The committee had seven war-time meetings before presenting a report (12/1-6), and an EEC Co-ordination Committee met periodically post-war (12/14-18). Also included here are records of the ITWF's European Recovery Conference, held at Luxembourg in 1948 to debate the effects of the "Marshall Plan" on the European economy and transport industry (12/7-13).

1/13/1-12

ITWF regional conferences; including delegations to Italy post-World War II, and Latin-American and Asian regional conferences in the 1950s.

1/14

British ITWF Section meeting on assistance to Chinese people, 1937 (1 file).

1/15

Belgian, Dutch, Danish, French and Polish Central Transport Workers' organisation (for European seamen based in war-time Britain, under ITWF auspices), 1940-45 (1 file).



- 1/16 Joint Council of the Three Internationals (war-time propaganda council of transport workers, metal-workers, and miners, 1943-1944) (1 file).
- 1/17 Regional Affairs Committee, 1959 (1 file).
- 1/18 ITWF (Mediterranean anti-Communist) Vigilance Committee, 1951 (1 file).

MSS.159/2 ITWF Financial Records

- /2/1-8 Main entry account books, 1920-1938
- /2/9-18 Cash books, 1921-1941
- /2/19-29 Contribution books, 1924-1952
- /2/30-34 Audited accounts, 1920-1921
- /2/35-48 Miscellaneous financial records, including membership and affiliation fee statistics, 1904-1905, 1909, various petty cash books and 1930s balance sheets.

MSS.159/3 Correspondence (including subject files)

3/A Correspondence of London Secretariat, 1896-1904

The original ITWF Secretariat had its offices in Bridge Street in the City of London until 1901, then in a private house at Ilford. Tom Mann as President was the effective leader of the early ITWF, with the Federation's first paid secretary, Tom Chambers, subsequently taking over the day-to-day running of the ITWF until his resignation in 1904; Ben Tillett then temporarily took control as acting Secretary until the Secretariat's transfer to Germany. 19 files survive from this period, mainly containing material formerly in the possession of Charles Lindley, the co-founder and later President of the ITWF. They comprise Lindley's correspondence with European and American trade unionists from 1892 onwards on the international movement's policy, organisation and activities, and on current labour disputes, including with Tom Mann, Ben Tillett, J. Havelock Wilson and Andrew Furuseth. Other files include translations of articles by Tom Mann for the Swedish journal *Transportarbetaren*, correspondence between Mann and Samuel Gompers, and some correspondence files of Tom Chambers, including on financial problems, the 1899 withdrawal of German unions from the ITWF, and files of printed strike returns on European disputes from 1903 and on arrangements for the 1904 congress which decided upon the move to Germany. Also one general file of pre-World War I photographs, circulars, posters and membership cards from the ITWF and other unions.

3/B Correspondence of German Secretariat, 1904-1915  
(Hamburg 1904-1910, Berlin 1910-1915)

ITWF Secretary during this period was Hermann Jochade,



(b.1869), the head of the German railwaymen's union. Jochade continued to participate in ITWF affairs after 1919, and died in Nazi hands in 1939. 111 correspondence files survive from his secretaryship, the majority comprising routine administrative correspondence with a wide variety of transport unions in several continents, relating to affiliation to the ITWF and information exchange on current local trade union activity and labour disputes. This includes correspondence on several of the major European labour disputes of the period. Particularly noteworthy are correspondence with Australian unions, including a letter from Tom Mann in Australia on local trade union movement (B/1, B/2, B/13); correspondence with James Sexton of the National Union of Dock Labourers 1905-1914, including on obstruction of blacklegs from England during 1907 Hamburg dock strike (/13-18); correspondence with Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants 1905-1912, including on Richard Bell's resignation from the union and his deputy E.E. Paul's subsequent work for the newly-established British Labour Exchanges (B/20); correspondence with Andrew Furuseth of the International Seamen's Union of America 1905-1915, including on U.S. and Canadian disputes and attitudes to the First World War (B/28, B/102); correspondence with Harry Gosling of the British Watermen and Lightermen's Union, 1906-1914, including on blockade of Port of London Authority order for German equipment (B/54); correspondence with National Sailors' and Firemen's Union, 1907-1915, including with Havelock Wilson, Edmund Cathery and Father Hopkins on 1911 British dock strike, wage equalisation between British and European ports and treatment of captured seamen during World War I (B/63, B/78, B/91); correspondence with Ben Tillett of Dock, Wharf, Riverside and General Workers' Union, 1907-1914; including on 1911 strikes, Tillett in

Australia, 1914 dock dispute, attitudes to NSFU (B/64, B/10); correspondence with other international trade secretariats and related organisations, including TUC and British Labour Party (B/76); various correspondence with Robert Williams of NUR/NTWF on policy, conference arrangements and proposed 1914 visit to Berlin (B/87, B/93, B/106).  
*N.B. files often have German translations of incoming correspondence in other languages.*

### 3/C Correspondence of Amsterdam Secretariat, 1919-39

Secretary during the most turbulent period of the ITWF's history was Eduard Carl (Edo) Fimmen (b.1881) who had previously had an active career in Dutch and international clerical workers' unions, being from 1908 head of the International Secretariat of Commercial and Office Employees, and from 1915 Secretary of the Dutch Trade Union Federation. From 1918 to 1923 Fimmen was joint secretary of the IFTU with Jan Oudegeest, concurrently with his ITWF post, until his resignation in 1923 over attitudes to the Soviet Union. Fimmen's chief assistant until his death in an air-crash in 1937 was fellow Dutchman, Nathan Nathans. Nathans was appointed head of the ITWF railwaymen's section in 1920 on the strength of his record as Secretary of the Dutch Union of Railway and Tramway Employees, and became assistant general secretary in 1930. On Nathans' death, J.H. Oldenbroek was appointed as assistant secretary, subsequently becoming acting general secretary as a result of Fimmen's increasing ill-health. ITWF Presidents in the inter-war years were Robert Williams of the NTWF until his resignation in 1925 on becoming manager of the *Daily Herald*, then C.T. Cramp, the general secretary of the NUR, and following his death in 1933, Charles Lindley, the Federation's veteran co-founder, and President of the Swedish Transport Workers' Union.



Surviving records are particularly full for this period, with 441 correspondence files giving notably extensive coverage of the ITWF's activities from 1919 to 1930; the majority of the archival material from the 1930s concerns the ITWF's anti-Fascist activities in Germany and Spain, and this has been listed as a separate sub-group because of its importance and distinct character *see below*, 159/3/C/a-b.

Many of the files date from the initial period of ITWF reconstruction following the First World War, and deal with the re-establishment of affiliations and associations world-wide and with arrangements for conference and constitutional matters. There are considerable holdings relating to major labour disputes in the 1920s. Particularly notable are those relating to: the British miners' strike of 1921, including correspondence with the Miners' International and European unions (C/167 and rpt. in C/60); British dockers' wage claims, 1922 (C/145, C/161, C/170); strikes in French and Dutch Ports on the 40-Hour week issue and the related ITWF "8-Hour Day" campaign (C/199-250, also C/152-156 on 1921 Brussels 8-Hour Day conference, and C/273 and C/417 on 8-Hour Day and railwaymen); the General Strike of 1926, including strike bulletins published by the ITWF and correspondence with A.J. Cook, Frank Hodges, Walter Citrine and Havelock Wilson, and with European unions on attempted blockade of coal imports to Britain (C/289-291). There are also extensive files of correspondence with other international labour organisations on policy and current activities and disputes, including the International Labour Office (C/74, C/171-172), the IFTU (C/375), other International Trade Secretariats (C/10, C/264, C/351-352, C/370, C/386), and the

Joint Maritime Commission in conjunction with the International Mercantile Marine Officers' Association on seafarers' conditions under ILO auspices, with Fimmen representing the workers' group (C/164, C/265-268, C/281, C/376). Other files include correspondence with or about Havelock Wilson (C/6, C/156 on wage equalisation, C/185 on Wilson's relations with other parts of the international movement, and C/288 with the Amalgamated Marine Workers' Union, including Emanuel Shinwell, on the conduct of the 1926 shipping dispute and Wilson's lack of militancy); extensive material on the ITWF's campaign against the Horthy régime's "White Terror" in Hungary 1920-22, including correspondence with European unionists and politicians, publicising events in Hungary and attempting to blockade food and arms supplies to Hungary (C/76-137); a group of files on various 1920 interventions in European labour disputes (C/63 i-x); intervention on behalf of unionist Hans Frey arrested in Lorraine, 1921-22 (C/168); correspondence with Andrew Furuseth of International Seamen's Union of America, including on role of international federations 1921-22 (C/187); correspondence on labour problems in southern Africa, including forwarded correspondence of "Class War Prisoners Release Committee" and appeal to General Smuts, 1925 (C/253-254) and on South African and Rhodesian conditions, 1930-31 (C/327); Fimmen's draft speeches and polemics on the labour movement, 1923-25 (C/270); material on post-World War I Germany, including on war reparations issue (C/277); and effects of Dawes Plan on Germany's railway system 1926-36 (C/297-299); Fimmen's Far East tour, 1930-31 (C/341-350); the Mussolini régime in Italy (C/322, C/359, C/429); also many other files on contacts with individual national unions and correspondence with affiliates and ITWF Committee members on working conditions and policy.



*N.B. listing is broadly chronological, except where obvious subject groupings extending over a period of years are kept together.*

3/C/a-b ITWF anti-Fascist campaign (Germany and Spain),  
1933-1945.

3/C/a ITWF anti-Nazi activities, 1933-1945  
(including Hans Jahn papers)

By the early 1930s the ITWF and Edo Fimmen's main preoccupation had become the struggle against Fascism, motivated by the Federation's early awareness of Fascism's threat to the entire European labour movement and by the direct effects on the ITWF itself of considerable loss of revenue and affiliates in Germany and Italy. The ITWF's anti-Nazi activities were markedly different in character from their earlier "political" interventions in the 1920s, and primarily involved the formation of "underground" networks of unionists in the German transport system to circulate anti-Nazi literature and recruit associates, in the ultimate hope of creating a sufficient cadre of supporters to initiate a workers' takeover in the event of Nazism's (prematurely expected) collapse. The campaign was motivated very largely on the ITWF's own initiative, with little support from the International Labour Office or IFTU, and with little collaboration with other exiled German political groups, who were regarded by Fimmen as excessively sectarian or pro-Communist.

From 1933-35, action revolved around contacting German associates and exiles in surrounding countries for information on the situation in Germany, and supporting the pre-existing "underground" groups headed by former "Gesamtverband" union members, Adolph Kummernuss and Wilhelm Voss, in the Baltic Ports. These groups were broken up by the Gestapo in 1935, and the focus of

attention inside Germany switched to the more highly-structured and nationwide-represented railwaymen's groups headed by Hans Jahn, until this in turn was broken up by infiltration. By the late 1930s, most ITWF support was given to German seamen's groups in European ports outside Germany itself, notably that based in Antwerp with access to Rhine shipping, though some "inland" activity continued until 1939, with backing for the group supervised by former SPD member, Karl Molt, in central-southern Germany. The ITWF published a journal *Fascism* in 5 languages from 1934-35 (initially called *Swastika*) to publicise events in Germany (ref. 159/4/330-410), and also specialist publications, *Schiffahrt* and *Fahrt-Frei* for German seamen and railwaymen, and various illicit pamphlets for distribution inside Germany.

3/C/a/1-92 includes correspondence with German associates on the period immediately following Hitler's takeover; reports and publications from inside Germany on local conditions, the fate of former unionists, and opinion amongst transport workers and the general public on the Nazi régime, 1933-39; copies of illicit publications for German distribution; reports on the effects of Fascism in other European countries, including Britain; extensive correspondence with, and reports of, German seamen's groups in Antwerp and other Rhine and Baltic ports, including lists of shipping with data on crew's political attitudes and extent of literature-smuggling; runs of *Fahrt-Frei* and *Schiffahrt* publications, full series of Antwerp Group's work reports (*Arbeitsbericht*); also drafts and data for articles for *Fascism* and some Nazi publications.

3/C/a/93-126 comprises papers of Hans Jahn, leader of the main "underground" group in Germany from 1933-38.



Jahn was formerly secretary of the Works Council of the German Railwaymen's Association, and secretary of the General Civil Servants' Federation (ADB) organisational department. Jahn became a war-time member of the ITWF's General Council, and from 1948 to 1959 was president of the German Railwaymen's Union. The Jahn papers include a report on the state of his "underground" group in 1936, correspondence and reports on activities to Fimmen, Nathans and others, additional material relating to the "Antwerp Group" of German seamen, and correspondence with, and reports from, other exiled German trade union and political groups in England post-1939; also correspondence with British trade unionists and labour groups, and with the BBC on broadcasts to Nazi Germany, including with P. Gordon-Walker and Ritchie Calder (n.b. Jahn commonly employed the pseudonym "Fritz Kramer" in correspondence).

C/a/127-144 comprises printed anti-Nazi publications, some disguised, produced by the ITWF and other groups for circulation inside Germany (provenance in not always evident because of disguised places of publication, etc.)

*For anti-Nazi material, see also Fascism in 159/4 below, general ITWF conference and committee papers during the 1930s in 159/1/1-3 above, and correspondence on help for German emigrés in Edo Fimmen's personal papers, 159/6 below.*

3/C/b ITWF activities in the Spanish Civil War, 1933-39

ITWF actions in support of the Republican cause in Spain were akin to the Federation's interventions in the 1920s, mainly involving the attempted mobilisation of transport workers to blockade supplies to the Franco forces, and the pressurisation of affiliates for financial and moral

support to the Republican side. 30 files comprise extensive correspondence with (mainly European) affiliates, financial contribution returns from affiliates, some correspondence with Spanish officials, reports from within Spain, some copies of Spanish Republican journals and pamphlets, and correspondence on the fate of refugees from Spain, 1939-1940.

### 3/D Correspondence of the British Secretariat, 1939-70

Surviving correspondence of the post-war ITWF is somewhat sparser than from the inter-war period, dating mainly from the immediate post-war years and containing a higher percentage of circulated printed material, but there is nonetheless a holding of 286 files. Following the ITWF's flight from Amsterdam, war-time offices were established at Crossland Fosse, a country house near Bedford. By the end of the war, the ITWF had been able to move back to temporary offices in London, and the permanent secretariat was subsequently settled in shared premises with the National Union of Seamen at Maritime House, Clapham Common, where it remained for 30 years. J.H. Oldenbroek became officially General Secretary on Fimmen's death in 1942, remaining until 1950 when he became the first General Secretary of the newly-established International Confederation of Free Trade Unions. He was succeeded as secretary by Omer Bécu, a notable figure in Belgian seamen's unions and the International Mercantile Marine Officers' Association in the 1930s, who had already been ITWF president since 1947. Bécu joined Oldenbroek at the ICFTU as President in 1953.

Files include correspondence with war-time European seamen's groups (D/7, D/9, D/10, D/18-19, D/26, D/55-56); some general war-time correspondence, including instructions to contacts in Europe on campaign plans following



the opening of a Second Front in Europe, 1943-44 (D/41); several files on projects for post-war political and transport reconstruction in Europe compiled by assistant secretary, Paul Tofahrn (D/13, D/29-31, D/44-47; *see also* Appendix 1); correspondence on the international trade union split between the WFTU and ICFTU, 1946-49 (D/77-78; *see also* 159/5/2/155-165 below on WFTU meetings with International Trade Secretariats); a sub-group of files of ITWF conference resolutions on transport topics (D/79-88) and subject files on the ITWF's various transport sub-sections (D/89-93); one file on the U.S. Teamsters' Union scandals and its expulsion from the U.S. labour federation, 1957-59 (D/114); correspondence on Indian labour disputes including appeals to President Nehru, 1947 and 1956 (D/100, D/116). An extensive series (D/121-217) concerns the European Inland Navigation industry and joint ITWF campaigns in collaboration with the ILO and European employers/unions to improve the pay and conditions of Rhine and Danube boatmen, 1956-1970 (*see also* 159/1/8 above). A group of very miscellaneous and fragmentary files containing items from all periods of the ITWF's history resulted from the abstracting of items from the main series of files during the 1960s for the writing of an unpublished ITWF history (D/218-255), including some fragmentary pre-World War I items and additional items from the anti-Nazi campaigns. There is also a full series of ITWF circulars to affiliates from 1943 to 1959 (D/256-286) concerning all the major events in which the Federation was concerned, notably post-war reconstruction, "Flags of Convenience", shipping, transport workers' pay, safety and conditions, anti-Communist campaigns, current strikes and solidarity actions; obituary circular on Ernest Bevin, emphasising his ITWF role (D/269).

MSS.159/4 ITWF Publications

From the time of Hermann Jochade's secretariat, the ITWF maintained an active publications policy, taking its role as an international information exchange seriously, and being able to finance this as a result of its high level of income from affiliates by the standards of other international trade secretariats.

Jochade issued a weekly newsletter (4/1-3, 1904-1909 issues surviving in German, 1904-1906 in French and English), and Fimmen revived the *Newsletter* in 1921. This was retitled the *ITWF Journal* in 1928, and suspended in 1933 as a consequence of declining income following the 1929 depression and the loss of German union support after Hitler's seizure of power. (4/25-75, in English, French, German, Swedish and Spanish texts)

From 1934 to 1945, the Federation devoted its publishing energies to *Fascism*, a fortnightly periodical in six languages (as above, and Dutch) describing conditions in Nazi Germany and to a lesser extent Spain and Italy. (4/330-410, 1934 issues entitled *Swastika*)

From 1924, the ITWF also published a fortnightly *Press Report* of news items for circulation to affiliates and the world's press for use in their own publications; an almost complete English text series survives in bound form from 1924 to 1975, with additional *Supplement* volumes from the 1930s (4/116-169), with less complete French, German, Spanish and Swedish texts and 1930-40 issues in Esperanto (4/170-325).



The ITWF *Journal* reappeared in 1944 as the continuation of a joint wartime publication of the IFTU and the ITS, *Transport Workers Link the World*, edited by Paul Tofahrn. The holding includes a bound volume of 1945-48 issues, and an almost complete series from 1959-1975, and also German issues (*Zeitung*) from 1949-50 and 1956-74 (4/76-115).

Other post-war ITWF periodical series include *Air-Terre-Mer*, a publication aimed against Communist influence on Mediterranean transport workers 1951-53 (4/411-413), and various periodicals of ITWF regional offices in New York and South America (4/414-429).

The 1920s were particularly prolific for ITWF publications, including a series of pamphlets on wages, working conditions and wider economic and political issues (*Documents* series, 1920-22, and *Documents*, new series, 1924-31). Notable titles include *Impressions of Soviet Russia* and *The British Transportworkers' Federation and the Triple Alliance* by Robert Williams (4/434, 436), *The state of the railways and the working conditions of railwaymen in Germany* (4/435), and a 3-volume review of European railway systems (4/440-442). A general pamphlet on the ITWF's role, *The International Transportworkers' Federation, its character, its aims, its aspirations* by Nathan Nathans, was published in similar format in 1922 (4/431). The Federation also published editions of its reports on transportworkers' working conditions to the International Labour Office's conference of 1928, complete with "futurist" cover-designs (4/447-452).

4/453-525 comprise other ITWF publications of varied character, including some editions of pre-First World War annual reports, statute books, address and telegram code books, introductory leaflets to the Federation, and published reports on specific economic/industrial relations problems. The latter include a report by the ITWF's research officer, Max Zwalf, on *Reparation of war debts from the labour point of view* (4/471, 1932); reports on the Spanish civil war by Nathan Nathans, *El Transporte en la Guerra* and *Spanje*, 1936 (4/475-476); multi-lingual ITWF texts of the International Seafarers' Charter, 1944-60 (4/485-494); reports of delegation to Germany, 1946 (4/439); reports on *Transport policy problems at national and international level*, 1959 (4/498-501) and *Containerisation*, 1968 (4/515-519). Also included here are the brief illustrated history of the ITWF by Omer Bécu of 1953 (4/502-506) and the final proofs of volume 1 of the unpublished ITWF history written by its press officer K.A. Golding, covering the period 1896-1918 (4/526) (n.b. the 1966 issue of the ITWF *Journal* contains extensive historical articles on the ITWF for its 70th anniversary issue, including some of the material compiled by Golding for the unpublished history (4/ 87 vi)).

#### MSS.159/5 Publications of other organisations

A substantial part of the ITWF's library stock was transferred together with the archive material, including extensive publication series of the International Labour Office and the various international trade union federations, and also numerous publications from the labour movement and trade unions of individual nations worldwide.



5/1 International Labour Office publications,  
1919-1967

The holding contains almost certainly the most extensive range of ILO publications available in Britain, with substantial material on both labour in general and specific aspects of the transport industry; a reflection of the ITWF's maintenance of close relations with the ILO and its participation in various tripartite bodies with employers' organisations under ILO auspices.

- 5/1/1-233 printed volumes of proceedings of the International Labour Conference, 1st-51st sessions, 1919-1967.  
(English and French texts, some with additional reports on agenda items and Directors' reports)
- 5/1/234-302 minutes of ILO Governing Body meetings, 1943-1962 (91st-151st sessions, largely English text)
- 5/1/303-334 ILO *Yearbooks* and *Annual Reports* 1921-1940 (English, German and French texts, with additional "*Statistical Annual*" supplement in later years)
- 5/1/335-369 ILO *Annual Bulletin*, 1925-1967 (largely complete English and French texts)
- 5/1/370-424 ILO general and regional publications not specifically transport-related; legislative series, reports on conventions, post-war recovery plans, USSR, Far East, "8-Hour Day" campaign.

- 5/1/425-742 ILO publications on aspects of transport industry:
- 1/425-584 Seafaring, primarily records of the ILO Joint Maritime Commission of workers/employers, with heavy ITWF representation on the workers' group. 1/425-480, minutes and reports to meetings of JMC 1st-18th sessions, 1921-1955. 1/481-584, other reports on seafaring matters, wages, working conditions, welfare in ports, special conferences, including 1945 Maritime Conference at Seattle and 1956 Technical Maritime Conference, London
- 1/585-634 Fishing, ILO reports on conditions in the fishing industry, 1951-1966
- 1/635-665 Dockers, ILO reports on portworkers' wages and conditions, 1921-1969
- 1/666-702 Inland Transport, 1928-1966, mainly records of the ILO Inland Transport Commission 1st-8th sessions, 1945-1966
- 1/703-720 Railwaymen, reports on wages and conditions, 1921-1939, including records of the ILO's Automatic Couplings Committee with ITWF consultation, 1933, and of the 1939 ILO technical conference on rail transport, Geneva
- 1/721-734 Road-transport workers, reports on wages and conditions, 1938-1939
- 1/735-742 Civil Aviation, reports submitted to ILO special civil aviation conferences, Geneva, 1956 and 1960.



5/1/743-768 League of Nations and United Nations  
reports on transport, 1921-1966:

included here as these were the ILO's nominal  
parent bodies, the series includes reports on  
inland navigation, international transport  
network competition and co-ordination, and  
some general UN Economic and Social Council  
reports.

5/2 International trade union federations  
(IFTU, WFTU, ICFTU, IFCTU)

2/1-123 International Federation of Trade Unions  
(IFTU) 1912-1945:

/1-62, reports to and of IFTU congresses and  
conferences (1st-8th congresses) 1917-1939,  
and some files relating to Emergency Internat-  
ional Trade Union Council during World War II;

/63-82, annual reports and yearbooks; 63-72,  
annual reports of IFTU predecessor organisation,  
ISNTC (International Secretariat for National  
Trade Union Centres), 1903-1912; 73-82, IFTU  
yearbooks, 1922-1936;

/83-90, IFTU periodical publications, *The Inter-  
national Labour Movement*, 1926, and *The International  
Trade Union Movement*, 1921-1939 (largely English text);

/91-123, miscellaneous IFTU publications, including  
rule books, circulars to affiliates and related  
correspondence (some pre-World War I), booklet by  
Edo Fimmen, *The International Federation of Trade  
Unions; development and aims*, 1922 (98-102, in five  
languages), regional and national reports, including  
on British trade unionism by Walter Citrine, 1926  
(113-114) and histories of IFTU;

*Twenty-five years of international trade unionism* by J. Sassenbach, 1926 (110-112) and *45 Years International Federation of Trade Unions* by former secretary Walter Schevenels, 1956 (123).

2/124-184 World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU), 1945-1966:

The WFTU, established at the end of the Second World War as a more broadly-based successor to the IFTU, was rapidly split by disputes over Communist domination and the attempted absorption of the existing international trade secretariats, including the ITWF, into its international trade centres, leading to the eventual establishment of the rival International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, to represent non-Communist national unions and international secretariats.

/124-154, reports to and of WFTU Congresses, and some council and regional meetings, 1945-1966;

/155-166, papers relating to General Council and Executive Bureau meetings, 1946-1958, mainly concerning WFTU Trade Departments;

/167-176, WFTU periodicals and publications on single-issue topics;

/177-184, publications and articles on the WFTU by other organisations.

2/185-246 International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) 1949-1969:

The ITWF was affiliated to the ICFTU from the latter's inception, and ITWF officials were closely involved in its creation; Omer Bécu and J.H. Oldenbroek continued their ITWF partnership as secretary and President of the ICFTU in the 1950s. The



archival holding comprises reports to and of the 1st-7th ICFTU congresses, and some reports and minutes of regional/ITS meetings.

2/247-261 International Federation of Christian Trade Unions (IFCTU) 1925-1964:

A short series of conference reports, journal issues, introductory leaflets and declarations of principle of the Federation, representing international (mainly European) Christian trade unionists.

5/3 Miscellaneous regional and national trade union publications

Over 1200 publications produced by worldwide trade unions and labour organisations, including trade union annual reports, histories of national unions and transport industries, biographies of leading unionists and some more general publications on labour politics. Material is listed alphabetically by country or region, then chronologically by organisation within the national or regional grouping (n.b. publications are listed under subject rather than country of publication, therefore a French publication on American unionism will appear under "United States", for example). A subsidiary series, "Modern Documentation" (3/1257-1278), comprises folders of leaflets, press-cuttings, and journal issues (often with anniversary histories) by or about national unions worldwide, largely of post-1960 date, but with some earlier items from European unions.

There are particularly copious holdings of publications on Belgian, Dutch, German, Swiss, Scandinavian, British and American Labour movements, with most

other European nations represented, and also more limited material from Latin America (notably Argentina), Africa and Asia (mainly Indian and Malayan). The German material includes two boxes of Nazi workers' organisation periodicals from the 1930s (3/426-437) and the Dutch material has extensive administrative records of Dutch organisations exiled in Britain during the Second World War, here as a result of ITWF General Secretary J.H. Oldenbroek's involvement with these groups (3/726-747).

The archive also contains European material of a more general character, notably publications and periodicals (3/221-278) of the Moscow-based "Red Labour International" organisation, including periodicals for transportworkers attempting to rival those of the ITWF, *The International Transport Worker* and its Supplement, *The International Seafarer* (1923-1930, in English and German language). The European publications also include reports of early international transportworkers' meetings in the 1890s prior to the formation of the ITWF (3/166-173), and series of EEC-related publications on transport (3/285-296).

British publications (3/476-564) include John Burns' bound volume of "*Clarion*" pamphlets, Tom Mann leaflets for the Independent Labour Party, issues of the *Seamen's Chronicle* 1896-97, *Seafaring* 1897-98 and *The Dockers Record* 1901-17, Ben Tillett's history of the 1911 dock strike, 1911-12 issues of the NSFU journal *The Seamen*, NSFU leader Havelock Wilson's autobiography *My stormy voyage through life*, National Transport Workers' Federation reports of meetings and periodicals 1913-14, booklet *The Nine Days* by Miners' leader A.J. Cook on the General Strike, 1929-30 issues of *TGWU Record*, and souvenir booklet on the Tolpuddle Martyrs centenary celebrations, 1934.



MSS.159/6 Edo Fimmen papers

Fimmen's personal papers are often not easily divisible from the main ITWF correspondence series, as his work took up such a great part of his life, and files often contain both personal material and correspondence on ITWF business matters. The surviving files largely date from the last few years of Fimmen's life, from 1935-42, and provide a useful supplement to MSS.159/3/C and 3/C/a above, although from late 1939 Fimmen's active participation in ITWF affairs was limited by a series of strokes, and he was eventually obliged to leave England for a rest cure in Mexico, though retaining his title of General Secretary until his death there in 1942.

The bulk of the material is correspondence with current and former ITWF colleagues, other European trade unionists and political figures, Dutch friends and religious organisations, and members of his family.

6/1-5 contain general files of correspondence and personal "memorabilia", including a few items from Fimmen's pre-ITWF career in the Dutch Labour Movement; 6/1-2 include a 1919 watercolour portrait of Fimmen, cartoons of Fimmen's role in the 1920-22 Hungarian "White Terror" campaign, and 1923 correspondence with Karl Radek of the Soviet government. 6/6-37 largely comprise correspondence with colleagues, friends and family on current issues, and increasingly Fimmen's health, interspersed with labour movement pamphlets, newspaper items and some religious leaflets collected by Fimmen. Some correspondence concerns the situation in Germany and assistance to German exiles in the 1930s, notably 6/14-16 and 6/28-29. 6/29 also contains

correspondence with Charles Lindley on the death of former ITWF secretary Hermann Jochade in 1939, and 6/37 has a copy of Fimmen's last letter to Lindley from Mexico in 1942. Other correspondents include John Marchbank, Hans Jahn, Sir Walter Citrine, Ben Tillett, Walter Auerbach, Willi Eichler, Karl Weigl, León Jouhaux and Robert Bratschi.

159/6/38-40 comprise copies of Fimmen's published pamphlets from 1920-28 on labour movement and political topics, including *War against War*, *The United States of Europe* and *World capitalism and the world international*. 6/41 contains a lengthy series of press-cuttings of Fimmen's obituary notices, and worldwide letters of condolence to the ITWF from friends and affiliates. 6/42-43 is the unpublished French text of a biography of Fimmen by Lily Krier-Becker, wife of the Luxembourg labour minister, Pierre Krier.

#### MSS.159/10 Press-cuttings

An extensive series of 111 files covers a variety of topics on transport workers and wider economic and political issues, as well as the ITWF's own activities. 10/7-17 comprise cuttings on individual trade unionists 1920-23, including Edo Fimmen, J.H. Thomas, Charles Lindley, Samuel Gompers and J. Havelock Wilson; 10/19-21 concern Fimmen's 1925 visit to Soviet Russia and related press campaigns about his Communist leanings; 10/24 and 10/28 contain reviews of Fimmen's published pamphlets. Many of the ITWF Congresses from 1900-1974 have surviving files of reviews of proceedings by the international and labour press



(10/1, 6, 29-31, 33-35, 90, 98-108). Numerous files are related to the Second World War, notably the "war problems" series on pensions, compensation, treatment of alien seamen, etc. (10/70-77), and a series of regional files of cuttings on wartime conditions in various countries and continents (10/78-87). There is also a bound volume of cuttings from ITWF publications of 1950s news items (10/97), and obituary cuttings in bound volumes for ITWF President, C.T. Cramp (1933) and Assistant General Secretary Nathan Nathans (1937), and an unbound file of obituary cuttings on the Spanish trade union leader and former ITWF official, Trifon Gomez (1954) (Cramp, 10/39, Nathans, 10/40, Gomez, 10/94).

#### MSS.159/12 Photographs and films

The ITWF photographic archive comprises scenes and group portraits of many of the ITWF's congresses, conferences and regional/sectional meetings, and also individual portraits of its leading officials and associates. These include photographs of Edo Fimmen, Nathan Nathans, Tom Mann, Charles Lindley at various ages, and J. Havelock Wilson in India. There are also some scenes of the 1896 Rotterdam dock strike, and other events, such as the unveiling by Fimmen of a memorial to Samuel Plimsoll and a gathering in honour of Hermann Jochade's 25th anniversary as an ITWF official. Additional photographs are of the ITWF office premises in Amsterdam, Bedford and Clapham, and a short series on early 20th century British public transport.

12/13-22 comprise a small group of ciné-films on ITWF congresses, Indian seamen, Japanese broadcasting, Finland in 1940, and U.S. industrial relations training.

12/a/1-2 are gramophone recordings (probably unplayable) of Edo Fimmen's memorial service in London in 1943, and a 1950 recording on American railways.

## APPENDIX 1

### TOFAHRN PAPERS IN THE MODERN RECORDS CENTRE (MSS.238)

Paul Tofahrn (1901-79) spent the greater part of his working life in the service of the international labour movement, including a substantial period on the staff of the ITWF, 1928-31, and during and after the Second World War, 1939-56, as Assistant General Secretary. His papers relate to various aspects of his work and interests and include a substantial section dealing with ITWF business, which complement the official record. The principal topics covered are listed below.

*International Transport Workers' Federation* : a variety of files, including correspondence with Charles Lindley and Edo Fimmen; material with reference to differences of opinion with J.H. Oldenbroek and O. Bécu about the administration of the ITWF; peace aims; Joint Council of the Three Internationals (for wartime broadcasting); relationship of ITWF with WFTU; ITWF New York Office; files re Tofahrn's appointment and resignation; private journal, mainly re ITWF affairs, 1941-3. Covering dates 1930-76, mainly 1940s : IT/1-25.

*International Federation of Trade Unions* : documentation relating to the IFTU and the Emergency International TUC, 1941-5 : IF/1-4.

*World Trade Union Conference* : papers relating to two conferences, 1945 : WF/1-6.

*International Union of Food & Drink Workers* : Press Reports (English and German), 1932-6 : I/1.

*Public Services' International* : miscellaneous documentation : I/2-4.

*Belgium* : unionisation of Imperial War Graves Commission English staff, 1936-7; Belgian Socialist Party, mainly post-war : B/1-4.

*Personalia* : including correspondence about appointments : P/1-11.



## APPENDIX 2

### RELEVANT ACCESSIONS IN THE ARCHIV DER SOZIALEN DEMOKRATIE (FRIEDRICH EBERT STIFTUNG), BONN

Through the advice and assistance of Hartmut Simon, Dr Friedhelm Boll and Werner Krause, FES Archivist, the Centre has recently learned of the relevant holdings of the Stiftung described in this Appendix and obtained copies of the appropriate finding-aids (MSS.159X). This assistance is gratefully acknowledged.

#### 1. *Part of the International Transport Workers' Federation archive*

From the introduction to the FES catalogue of its ITWF holdings it appears that an ill-considered split, contrary to archive principles, was made in the ITWF archives in the late 1960s. Materials were transferred to the FES on the basis of their German text, with the result that some items transferred relate to non-German trade unions and individuals. (It should be noted that much German material remained with the main ITWF archive and has been deposited in the Centre.) The main strengths of the FES holding relate to illegal trade union activity after the Nazi seizure of power and the post-1945 renewal of German trade unionism.

The arrangement of the FES segment of the ITWF archive is as follows (some sections contain few items):

- |      |   |
|------|---|
| I, 1 | ITWF correspondence 1906-33               |
| I, 2 | MSS. and articles                         |
| I, 3 | Printed material                          |
| I, 4 | League against Imperialism, 1929 Congress |

- II, 1 ITWF correspondence, 1933-9
- II, 2 ITWF publications (Press Reports, etc.)
- II, 3 Miscellanea
- II, 4 Received publications
- III, 1 Correspondence, 1940-5,  
misc. MSS.,  
pr. material
- III, 2 Broadcasting : various texts and MSS., 1942-5  
Reports from occupied Europe, 1942-4
- IV, 1 Post-war : correspondence
- IV, 2 ITWF Congresses, etc.
- IV, 3 Pr. material
- IV, 4 Post-war period : founding and rebuilding of  
trade unions in Germany
- IV, 5 Post-war period: social situation, nutrition,  
etc.
- Appendix : photocopies, etc.



## 2. *Walter Auerbach Nachlass*

Auerbach (1905-75) was editor of the ITWF Information-Service *Fascism* in Amsterdam, 1933-9, and subsequently in England, where he developed many contacts with UK and international trade union, socialist, and administrative bodies. From 1946 to 1948 he was vice-president of the Central Office of Labour in Lemgo. From 1948 he was for more than two decades secretary of state in the Labour and Social Ministry of Lower Saxony. The *Nachlass* falls into two parts, pre-and post-1946, corresponding to his career. The main sections of Part 1, as listed by the FES, are as follows:

- General & personal correspondence, 1925-46
- Publications and manuscripts, 1929-46
- ITWF business in relation to *Fascism*
- General trade union work in exile
- IFTU
- ILO
- German Educational Reconstruction
- Anti-Nazi broadcasting
- Political education in POW camps in UK
- Union of German Socialist organisations in Gt. Britain
- Material issued by a variety of organisations, 1933-46
- Nazi material (1 file)
- French resistance material (1 file)
- German Labour movement and social structure, 1945-6
- Personalalia, cuttings and other miscellanea.

### APPENDIX 3

#### RELEVANT MATERIAL IN THE FEDERAL GERMAN ARCHIVES (BUNDESARCHIV), KOBLENZ

Information kindly supplied by staff of the  
Bundesarchiv.

1. *Small group of Firmen papers*

Reference : Kl. Erw. 577

Contents :

Bd.1            Notes and letters, c.1937. Topics  
                 include warnings of the danger of war,  
                 peace efforts, international and  
                 national trade unionism, the struggle  
                 against National Socialism.

Bd.2            Correspondence, 1923-35.

2. *Nachlass of Hans Albert Kluthe, Liberal and press  
proprietor*

These papers include correspondence with Walter  
Dirksen, ITWF, 1939.

Reference : NL Kluthe 8, 28, 47.

### APPENDIX 4

#### RELEVANT MATERIAL IN THE INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL HISTORY, AMSTERDAM

Information kindly supplied by the International  
Organisations Dept.

Miscellaneous material relating to ITWF, 1896-1976,  
including small group of Therèse Asser, ITWF secretary,  
with English text of biography of Firmen.



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