

TRANSPORT WORKERS: BEYOND 2000



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TRANSPORT WORKERS: BEYOND 2000

Foreword

BY GENERAL
SECRETARY DAVID
COCKROFT



This is not the first occasion in the ITF's history that a special item for discussion has been included on the Congress agenda. At the 28th ITF Congress in Copenhagen in 1965 Frank Cousins (ITF President) introduced a document entitled "Changes in the Structure of the Transport Industries and the Resultant Problems for Transport Workers" and in Luxembourg in 1986 the 35th ITF Congress considered a document entitled "Changes Facing Transport Workers".

Despite the fact that many of the issues debated in 1965 and 1986 were similar in nature, the overall economic, political and social environment was very different. In 1965 the problems facing transport workers were confronted within the framework of near

full employment and with the confidence that workers' living standards were rising and would continue to do so. Transport workers' unions also knew that the majority of Governments endorsed the concept of an integrated transport policy which took into account society's needs.

The problems highlighted in the 1986 document "Changes Facing Transport Workers" were very different and since then they have, almost without exception, got worse rather than better. Large scale job losses in most sections of the transport industry have been accompanied by attacks on wages, working conditions and social protection as well as established trade union and collective bargaining rights. The concept of integrated transport policy and planning has been under severe attack from governments determined to privatise and deregulate the transport industry. Unions almost everywhere are on the defensive in the face of government and employer demands for greater labour market flexibility accompanied by continuing and accelerating technological change. Added to this has been the economic and social consequences of the collapse of Communism in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe, the increasing globalisation of the transport industry, and the rapid moves towards closer economic integration inside competing blocs. In such a world, the need for international solidarity between transport workers is greater than at any time in the ITF's history.

In view of the enormous political, social and industrial changes which have taken place since the 1986 Congress, and the consequences for the ITF and its ability to respond effectively, the ITF Executive Board decided to include a special item on the agenda of the 37th ITF Congress and approved a discussion document with the title "Transport Workers — Beyond 2000".

This document was not intended to be a comprehensive statement of policy but to stimulate an informed debate at Congress. It has been revised in the light of the contributions made by delegates. Chapter 4 poses a number of important questions on issues which affect the ITF's long term strategy and in due course all affiliates will be given the opportunity to contribute to this review either directly via the various Section conferences, where "Transport Workers Beyond 2000" is to be a standing agenda item, or by corresponding directly with the ITF Secretariat.

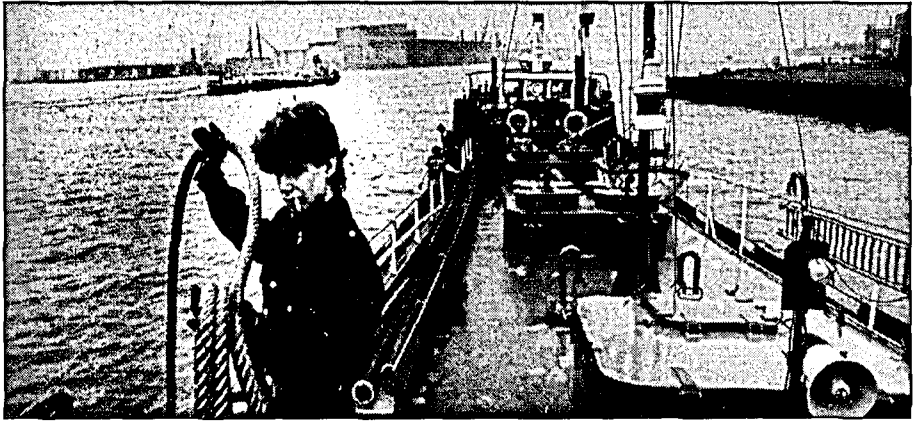
Chapter 5 is in the form of an "Action Programme" also designed to encourage debate and provide guidance to the ITF governing bodies in undertaking a root and branch review of the ITF's role, objectives and its structures.

OUTLINE

CHAPTER ONE provides a brief overview of recent economic, social and political developments affecting transport workers in general and their trade unions. In particular, it considers the implications posed by the increasing globalisation of the world economy together with challenges to established trade union structures posed by the emergence of distinct regional economic groupings typified by the European Union (EU), the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), the MERCOSUR, ASEAN and APEC etc. Other important issues affecting transport workers, such as labour market flexibility and changes in the organisation of work, privatisation, deregulation, the abuse of human and trade union rights, health and safety and the environment, are also considered.

CHAPTER TWO reviews ITF activities in the period since the 36th ITF Congress and progress made towards implementing the policies set by the Congress. It summarises the most important issues affecting transport workers in general and in each of the ITF's industrial Sections.

CHAPTER THREE examines the future role of the ITF, its affiliates and the rest of the international trade union movement in relation to industrial and regional developments. This Section of the document also considers the ITF's current strengths and weaknesses in dealing with the constantly increasing demands of its affiliates as they



try to come to grips with these changes and considers whether we have the financial and human resources to cope with these demands. Also examined are the ITF's industrial and regional structures, trade union education and research activities. Priority areas in which the ITF and its affiliates need to strengthen trade union organisation are also considered.

CHAPTER THREE also addresses the need for the ITF and its affiliates to face the challenge posed by multinational corporations and the increasingly international and intermodal nature of the transport industry. It discusses how to achieve an integrated intermodal approach to policy making which unites all the ITF's industrial Sections while retaining the Sectional autonomy which has been the ITF's greatest strength throughout its history. The document considers how we should deal with general trade union and transport-wide issues, ways of improving inter-Sectional coordination, as well as cooperation with other

international trade secretariats where the ITF's interests overlap with theirs. This Section also discusses how to bring about future improvements in the ability of the ITF to provide services to its affiliates and to reinforce the Federation's ability to co-ordinate international solidarity between unions.

CHAPTER FOUR raises some important questions for discussion by ITF affiliates concerning the ITF and its future role.

CHAPTER FIVE is in the form of an "Action Programme" which was adopted by the 37th Congress in Geneva. This Action Programme begins with a statement of the ITF's fundamental principles and calls upon the ITF Executive Board to undertake a comprehensive review of all aspects of the ITF's policies, structures and activities so as to ensure that the ITF remains relevant in a changing world. Chapter Five is also designed to encourage debate amongst ITF affiliates about the organisation's future role and direction.

Chapter One

TRANSPORT WORKERS IN THE WIDER WORLD

Introduction

1. In 'Changes Facing Transport Workers' the predominant themes were mass unemployment, third world debt and the introduction of new technology. Whilst these issues continue to be of fundamental importance to transport workers, it is not our intention to re-examine these arguments, or cover old ground, in 'Transport Workers — Beyond 2000'. However, the ITF acknowledges that these problems have not been resolved, nor have they gone away — they have got worse. The debt crisis continues to be a serious drag on economic growth in much of the developing world notably Africa, Latin America and parts of Asia, and the continued introduction of labour saving technology at a time of low growth continues to exacerbate the unemployment situation.

2. In Luxembourg in 1986, affiliates were told that unemployment in the industrialised economies was approaching 31 million and massive and persistent underemployment (defined by the ILO as employment for a wage which does not permit a household to meet its basic needs) in the developing countries was conservatively estimated to be 400 million. At the end of 1993,

the International Labour Organisation (ILO) estimated that nearly 125 million of the world's workers were unemployed and up to 30% of the total workforce of 2.8 billion were underemployed. In 1993 the OECD estimated unemployment in the industrialised countries at 38 million and in the European Union member countries alone it reached 17 million.

3. In 1986 the industrialised countries were talking of economic recovery, and indeed by 1988 there were signs of growth and unemployment was starting to fall. The economic foundations upon which that growth was being built turned out to be fragile and the upturn was brief. In the event, the recovery was a temporary respite in what has been an almost continuous decline in living standards for the majority of workers. In the developing countries there was not even the comfort of this brief upturn.

4. The prospects for transport workers as we look towards the next millennium are no better today than at any time previously. Governments the world over appear to have reached a policy "gridlock" — seemingly incapable of devising the ways and means of providing sustainable employment and economic security for the peoples of planet Earth.

Background

5. Throughout the 1980's, and into the 1990's, virtually all Western Governments pursued a 'monetarist' approach to economic and social policy, namely;

- they adhered dogmatically to monetary and fiscal controls including high interest rates on the pretext of attacking inflation;
- they made large scale cuts in public expenditure both in order to control the money supply and to "free" resources for private investment;
- they introduced 'supply side' measures designed to liberalise economic structures, remove rigidities in the labour and capital markets, and increase the role played by market forces in all aspects of economic life.

6. The consequences of these policies have been profound. Unemployment, far from being an evil to be avoided, has been a major tool of economic policy to suppress inflation and curb the militancy of trade unions. Organised workers have been viewed as an obstacle to the process of structural adjustment and high unemployment has been seen, combined with legislative attacks on trade union rights, as a means to undermine the ability of trade unions to defend their members' economic interests.

7. As we shall see, this ideology has infected almost the entire world. In the last four years this process has been accelerated

through the medium of the international lending institutions such as the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and, in Central and Eastern Europe, the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD). Squadrons of merchant bankers and management consultants oozing the dogma of the profit and loss account have been sent to the four corners of the globe to supervise the restructuring of the transport industry with little or no thought for the thousands of transport workers whose jobs they scrap with the sweep of a pen.

The world economy

8. The world economic outlook at the end of 1993 provides very little comfort. According to the International Monetary Fund (IMF) global output is expected to have grown by about 2.2% during 1993 and is projected to grow by 3.2% in 1994. This compares to 0.6% in 1991 and 1.7% in 1992. This modest increase is almost exclusively the result of growth in the developing world which rose from 4.5% in 1991 to 6.1% in 1993 (and is projected to be 5.5% in 1994), while the industrialised economies have moved from 0.5% in 1991 to 1.1% in 1993 (and 2.2% is projected for 1994). The economies in transition, i.e. Central Europe and the former USSR, have seen massive cuts in output although there has been some slowdown, from -12% in 1991 to -10.2% in 1993 with the IMF predicting a further slowing down to -1.1% in 1994.

9. The performance of the developing countries is of course an average and conceals considerable regional disparities. Much of the growth is attributable to the robust performances of the South East Asian economies notably China, Thailand, Taiwan and Indonesia. Latin America countries improved their growth rate slightly up from 3.3% in 1991 to 3.4% in 1993 but Africa has continued to stagnate with 1.6% growth in 1991 and 1993. Since population growth in Sub-Saharan Africa continues to expand at about 2.8% per year the average per capita income is actually falling. Both Latin America and Africa continue to be dogged by their respective levels of external debt. According to UNCTAD the 'countries with debt servicing difficulties — CDSB', with an aggregate debt of US\$550 billion, account for over one third of debt owed by non-OECD countries and contain about 20% of the world's population. Of the CDSB, 35 are low income countries in Africa and 20 are middle income countries in Latin America — this fact alone must cast considerable doubt on the strength of the recovery in these two regions of the world.

10. Central Europe is close to achieving positive growth with -1.8% in 1993, led by Poland, the Czech Republic and Hungary, compared with -12.6 in 1991. The former USSR is, however, still losing output at a catastrophic pace (-11.8% in 1991, -17.8% in 1992 and -13.7% in 1993) although this is projected to slow down to -2.4% by the end of 1994. Recent political events in Russia

must put even this relatively dismal forecast in some doubt.

11. In North America, the USA and Canada have had a modest recovery in growth at 2.7% and 2.6% respectively in 1993 compared with -0.7% and -1.7% in 1991. Mexico too is seeing growth of 2.3% in 1993 but at a slower rate than in 1991 when it was 3.6%.

12. Most surprisingly of all, Japan officially moved into recession in 1993 recording growth of -0.1% in 1993 compared with 4.0% in 1991. Members of the European Union were also collectively in recession after a period of low output, recording growth of -0.2% in 1993 compared with 0.8% in 1991.

13. These statistics indicate an imbalance in world economic growth which puts into question the possibility of a sustained recovery. Some commentators are optimistic that economic recovery is underway and will steadily improve over the next two or three years. Others are more pessimistic, pointing to the slow rate of growth in the USA, up from -0.7% in 1991 to 2.7% in 1993, continuing recession in much of Europe and Japan, together with the fragility of the economies in transition in Central and Eastern Europe. The perilous state of the Russian economy has, according to some commentators, potentially disastrous consequences for world economic and political stability.

*Trade and the globalisation of
the world economy*

14 The volume of world trade increased on average by 3.7% in each year between 1980 and 1990 and is forecast to have increased by over 5.5% 7.2% in 1993. This may sound like good news for those transport workers whose jobs are closely linked to trade volume. The World Bank and the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) estimate that annual world merchandise trade could increase by an additional 12% by the year 2005 as a result of the completion of the Uruguay Round of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) on 15 December 1993. The conclusion of these negotiations also led to the establishment of a General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS) to cover the area of services not previously subject to GATT rules, e.g. transport. The resultant package of trade liberalisation measures may result in increases in world trade, but for trade unions it leaves several important questions unanswered.

15. Trade unions, particularly those in transport, have always in principle been in favour of expanded international trade providing it takes place on fair terms. Concerns about gaining trade benefits as a result of the exploitation of low wages and social conditions have meant that for many years the ICFTU, supported by the ITF and other ITSs, has demanded the inclusion of a 'Social Clause' in GATT agreements allowing

Governments to restrict or halt imports from countries which do not observe recognised international minimum labour standards (see page 13). The ICFTU campaign for the inclusion of a social clause into the final conclusions of the Uruguay Round unfortunately failed — principally because of a lack of support from developing countries. If workers in the industrialised countries are to accept change, unions in the developing world need to be free to organise and bargain for improved working conditions and thus ensure that consumer markets are expanding. Without these guarantees the spectre of 'social dumping' i.e. the use of inferior wages, working conditions and social standards to gain trade advantages is an inevitable consequence. The ICFTU believes that the inclusion of a 'social clause' is one key element in strengthening the framework for an open world trade system and thus preventing a retreat into protectionism — pitching nation against nation and region against region.

16. The completion of the Uruguay Round will see the establishment of a World Trade Organisation (WTO) to replace GATT. The WTO will continue to work as GATT did on the basis of consensus and mutual agreement between member governments. However, the WTO, unlike GATT, will have stronger rules and an enforcement procedure which will prevent countries from blocking findings against them. All those countries joining the WTO must abide by the Uruguay Round of trade liberalisation talks in their entirety.

(Continued on page 14)

The Social Clause

— what it is, and what it is not

The "Social Clause" would be an integral part of all international trade agreements and would link world trade with the internationally recognised human and trade union rights. It could include the following:

- a "Joint Advisory Committee" (JAC) to advise the WTO and the ILO when a government is violating or allowing the violation of basic human and trade union rights. Representatives of developing countries would have an important role in the JAC to prevent any protectionist misuse of the "Social Clause";
- the development of a special fund financed from international trade which would enable the ILO to provide increased technical assistance to a developing country where the JAC found that it was not fulfilling its obligations;
- that only where a country consistently failed to improve its performance would any sanction be imposed. Initially, such sanctions could be suspension of some non-tariff benefits given to countries by multilateral trade agreements. Continued violation of fundamental human rights could mean the imposition of an increased tariff.

The "Social Clause" would mean that countries which are genuinely aiming to improve the living standards of their people could not

have their international trading opportunities undermined by those countries who base their advantage on low costs resulting from the violation of workers' basic human rights. It would also facilitate the growth of genuine trade unions which could play a major role in the creation of wealth and its more equitable distribution.

The "Social Clause" does not mean the imposition of a world minimum for labour standards, wages or other benefits. What it does mean is a more positive and effective social partnership between workers, their trade unions, governments and employers. It would result in meaningful collective bargaining, the more equitable distribution of the benefits of trade and since demand will be improved through increased real wages, to more effective growth in world trade. In short the "Social Clause" would lead to further economic development and protect the human rights guaranteed in the following ILO Conventions:

- Nos. 87 & 98 on Freedom of Association and the Right to Organise & Collective Bargaining;
- Nos. 100 & 111 on Equality and Non-Discrimination;
- Nos. 29 & 105 on Abolition of Forced Labour, and;
- No. 138 Abolition of Child Labour.

17. The ICFTU is working to ensure that the work programme of this new organisation contains a reference to ensuring that workers' rights are included in GATT discussions. An unlikely group of allies has come forward in the fight for the inclusion of a social clause in all GATT agreements. Japan and France have added their support to the US Government's call for the WTO to consider the link between trade and workers' rights. Despite opposition from countries such as Brazil and India, who accuse the US government of trying to sneak a new form of protectionism through the back door, the US did win the right to have the issue of 'social dumping' discussed when the WTO officially replaces GATT in 1995.

Multinational corporations and globalisation

18. Foreign direct investment has continued to grow rapidly — between 1983 and 1992 investment by multinational corporations (MNCs) grew three times faster than world trade and four times faster than world output. Multinational corporations now control over one third of the world's private investments and the turnover they generate is larger than total world exports. The largest global companies are bigger in financial terms than all but the largest nation states. In 1989 there were only 19 countries with a gross domestic product (GDP) larger than the annual global revenue of General Motors.

19. The decisions taken by MNCs on investment and the transfer of technology, products and on production methods and employment have profound implications for national economies and for living standards, working conditions and industrial relations. Often these decisions are beyond the influence of governments and trade unions. Although certain sectors of the transport industry have always been exposed to these pressures, such as shipping, other transport modes such as civil aviation and integrated transport services, which link rail, road and air transport, are also rapidly becoming controlled by a handful of multinational operators.

20. Another consequence of globalisation is the emergence of global labour markets. In shipping this has been a reality for many years, but we are seeing similar trends in other transport sectors. For example, as the airline industry becomes increasingly globalised, airlines are thinking and planning in terms of world-wide operations, employing a global workforce. With a global labour market increasingly at their disposal, the availability of cheap labour in Eastern Europe and the developing countries has become of increasing interest to airlines seeking to reduce labour costs. Aside from mergers, airlines are finding other ways to take advantage of the global labour market, including international relocation of ground based activities and cross border employment of aircraft crews. Some airlines of the former Soviet Union, such as Uzbek Airlines, are offering both aircraft

and crews to fly for any airline at much cheaper rates. This process is bringing Flags of Convenience into the airline industry.

21. An international economy demands an international response by trade unions. Intensified international competition threatens to undermine the universal application of international labour standards, has distorted development between rich and poor nations and has created severe obstacles to trade union recognition and collective bargaining. International business activity together with technological change has resulted in new methods of production, work organisation and new forms of international business linkages in search of increased productivity. These developments challenge the traditional forms of trade union organisation and industrial relations and are manifested in management demands for greater flexibility, the fragmentation of established collective bargaining structures, the redefinition of employment relationships and labour markets and new approaches to trade union avoidance as well as new forms of the organisation of work.

The trend towards regionalism

22. The world is becoming a more international and global place and it is also experiencing a strengthening of regionalism. In some ways these two tendencies are similar, but in other crucial points they are distinct and should be recognised as such. Economically, several distinct regional eco-

omic groupings are emerging typified by the European Union (EU), the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), the MERCOSUR, ASEAN and APEC etc. National boundaries are breaking down, something which the ITF welcomes, but the resulting regional boundaries create new pressures within the ITF's structures. The marriage of political and economic pressures which has given birth to these regional groups must not be allowed to fragment the international trade union movement.

23. The international trade union movement and the ITF in particular, must ensure that workers do not substitute regional solidarity for international solidarity. Clearly workers in these different regions need to develop and build links between organisations in different nations, but it is important to remember that much of the world's population will still be outside these trading blocks, particularly in Africa and, at the moment, parts of Asia.

24. The ITF has an important role to play in fostering international links that transcend the regional blocks. Workers in the emerging regional blocks must not only work more closely together regionally but also strengthen their links across the regional frontiers.

Racism and xenophobia

25. One consequence of the increasing unemployment and social deprivation arising from the slow and uneven growth in the world economy has been the growth of anti-democratic movements of an overtly racist, xenophobic or fundamentalist character. The ITF's position must be, as historically it has always been, to fight any discrimination based on colour, nationality, sex, race or creed. Trade unions and their members, by defending democracy, improving the quality of life, conditions of work, employment opportunities and social justice, and through international solidarity, will play a crucial role in defeating racism and xenophobia.

Labour market flexibility

26. The pressure for greater labour market flexibility has been one of the consequences of the globalisation of the economy, deregulation, and increased competition. The burden of economic adjustment is thus being placed almost entirely on the shoulders of working people. The main targets in the search for 'flexibility' have been "excessive" labour costs and "uncompetitive" wage levels, and other rigidities in the labour market such as collective bargaining, employment protection legislation, minimum wage laws and social security systems. The rationale for this action has been the notion that cheapening labour relative to capi-

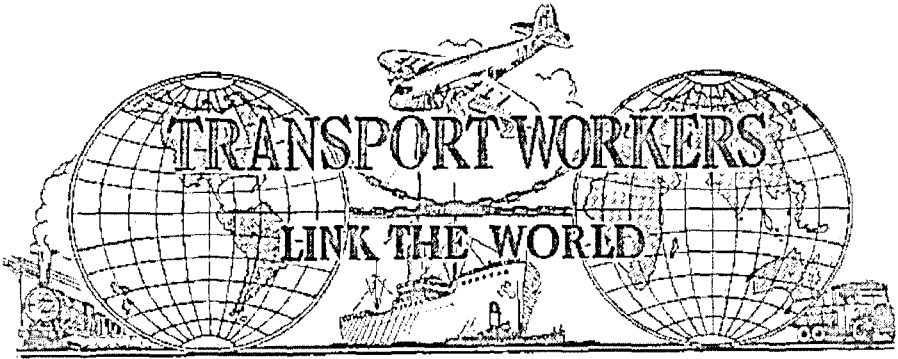
tal, and making it easy for employers to hire and fire employees, boosts economic growth and creates more jobs. The experience of the 1980's suggests this is a failed philosophy.

27. The application of this philosophy has not been restricted to developed countries. The IMF and World Bank have also been insisting that the governments of the developing countries adopt similar strategies as a condition for receiving financial assistance.

Changes in the organisation of work

28. Hand in hand with economic adjustment and the search for labour market flexibility has come profound changes in the composition and location of jobs and workers. There are increasingly more women in employment, more part-timers and temporary workers, more workers employed by sub-contractors, more non-manual workers, a shift to service industries from manufacturing, and to smaller workplaces.

29. Occupationally, more manual workers are members of trade unions than non-manual, with more men than women in membership of trade unions, and larger workplaces tend to be better organised than smaller or medium sized ones. These employment factors have serious conse-



quences for trade union organisation, undermining the working and social conditions that trade unionists have fought for over the years. Attacks on the public sector, in many countries the bedrock of trade unionism, add even greater pressures on the trade union movement. All these factors are affecting transport trade unions too — the challenge for ITF unions is to adapt to the diversity of interests among these new groups of transport workers.

Deregulation and privatisation

30. The predominant economic philosophy in industrialised countries today is in favour of liberalisation and competition. Transport, traditionally one of the most heavily regulated of all sectors, has come under intense pressure for the abandonment of any restrictions on freedom to operate services, tariff setting or other protective legislation. Developing countries, many of which are grappling with severely congested cities and massive unemployment and underemployment, are being forced to adopt market ori-

ented transport policies by the IMF and World Bank as part of the process of economic adjustment — over 70 developing countries are currently implementing structural adjustment programmes. The World Bank philosophy, based on the views of the western governments, strongly favours private transport services over public ones and small enterprises over large ones and road transport over rail with obvious implications for transport users, working conditions, and trade union organisation.

31. Deregulation and privatisation of public transport fits neatly into the monetarist philosophy since one result is a reduction in the overall level of public spending. As part of the general process transport subsidies have been cut back, particularly for the railways, while at the same time private car ownership is being encouraged. All of these developments are part of a general political process which discriminates against the poorer sections of society. Despite this, trade unions have to acknowledge that deregulation can be popular in the eyes of the travel-

ling public as a whole. The promise of lower fares and more flexible services can make these policies appear attractive. The negative aspects of deregulation, such as lower safety standards, cuts in unprofitable services, poor training and the exploitation of workers are less obvious to transport users. It is not enough for unions simply to express their opposition to deregulation and privatisation — they must also develop strategies to minimise the negative effects and they must convince governments and transport users that there is a better way to run cost effective, high quality public passenger and freight transport services.

Transport policy

32. One of the consequences of the obsession with market forces has been the abandonment of integrated transport policy by governments and international institutions. As early as 1959 the ITF published a study "Transport Policy Problems at National and International Level" which emphasised the need for co-ordination between the different transport modes and the key role that transport plays in economic and social development. It concluded that one of the problems facing transport policy was: "finding a middle road between the extremes of a planned transport industry and its complete liberalisation".

33. Unco-ordinated transport policies can produce disastrous results not only for transport quality, the environment and transport workers' social conditions, but

even for the efficient functioning of the transport market. The clearest evidence of this is in the growing road congestion which is paralysing major cities both in the industrialised and, increasingly, in the developing world.

34. Transport policy must respond effectively to the changed political circumstances without giving rise to economic conflicts and without damaging the social fabric. At the same time the natural environment must be protected. It is therefore vital to convince governments and transport users that the total and uncontrolled liberalisation of the transport industry is not a sensible option. If the economic, social and environmental needs within the transport sector are to be realised, there must be a place for public ownership, democratic planning and state intervention. At the same time there must be international minimum standards binding on all countries.

Political developments

35. In the last ten years there has been a further decline in the number of socialist or social democratic governments, and even those governments who maintain at least a nominal adherence to social democratic principles have adopted, either reluctantly or with enthusiasm, many of the free market policies of their conservative opponents. Many governments have become accustomed to ignoring the views of trade unions and have encountered as a result significant resistance to their economic and social poli-

cies. If policies of liberalisation and structural adjustment continue to dominate policy-making the likelihood is that such conflicts will continue.

36. Towards the end of 1989 an astonishing series of events took place in Central and Eastern Europe which resulted in the overthrow of totalitarianism and the germination of moves towards political democracy and free trade unionism. These developments have had profound effects, not just for the ITF but for the entire international trade union movement. One of the first acts of the emerging free trade unions was to cut their links with the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU) and its associated Trade Union Internationals (TUIs), bodies which were established in the post-war period as competitors to the ICFTU, the ITF and other ITs. As a result the ITF now has 38 affiliates from the Central and East European region including unions from Russia, Azerbaijan, Poland, Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary, Bulgaria, Romania, Slovenia, Croatia, Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia and the Ukraine.

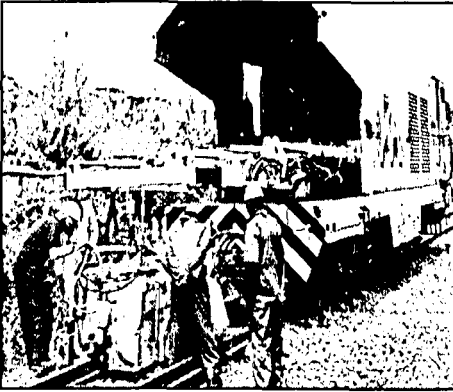
37. The affiliation of these unions has had important consequences for the ITF. Most affiliates in this region, whilst making considerable additional demands on the ITF's existing resources, make as yet only a relatively small contribution to the organisation's finances. In addition, the ITF Secretariat has limited human resources which are already running at full capacity despite the ever increasing workload caused by, in-

ter alia, these developments. There is also a genuine concern by many affiliates from developing countries that resources, previously targeted for assistance to unions in the Asia-Pacific, African, and Latin American regions will be re-directed to Central and Eastern Europe.

The abuse of trade union rights

38. That trade union rights are under attack is of course nothing new, but the current threat to these rights stands out as unprecedented.

39. The 1993 ICFTU Annual Survey of Violations of Trade Union Rights highlighted that 260 trade union activists were killed in 1992 and 2,500 were arrested for carrying out their legitimate trade union activity. In 1991 the number of deaths reported was 200 with 2,000 arrests. The 1993 report lists 87 countries which have violated trade union rights as laid down by international labour conventions and identifies South Africa, Burma, China, Colombia, El Salvador, Guatemala, Iran, Malawi, Peru and Sudan as the most dangerous countries for trade union leaders. The ITF has highlighted the plight of seafarers who work on flag of convenience ships, where the freedom of association and the right to bargain collectively is frequently denied. In this context the Governments of Burma and the People's Republic of China have been the focus of ITF complaints to the ILO Committee on Freedom of Association.



40. Whilst outright oppression of trade unionism of the most violent kind continues in many countries, there is a growing trend towards rights violations by democratically elected governments in countries where trade union movements have historically played a central social and economic role. This development must be viewed within the context of the world recession and the ascendancy of the 'monetarist' agenda which gives primacy to market forces and blames trade unions for causing unnecessary rigidities in the labour market.

41. The reality is that none of the countries that practice anti-union repression can boast of an improvement in their economic performance. On the contrary, most are in crisis. History has proved that where there are strong trade unions, there is economic and social progress, while the countries that prevent their workers from organising experience poverty and under-development.

42. The bedrock of trade union rights is provided by ILO Conventions 87, on Freedom of Association and the Right to Organise and 98, on the Right to Organise and Bargain Collectively adopted in 1948 and 1949 respectively. Trade union rights are also sanctioned in the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights which refers specifically to the right to form or join trade unions. The 1966 United Nations International Covenants on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights and on Civil and Political Rights also make extensive reference to the right to organise and the right to strike. The ITF has always regarded Conventions 87 and 98 as providing the key definition of what trade union rights actually consist of and the ITF Constitution recognises this fact.

43. There are a number of developments relating to trade union and human rights which should be of concern to ITF affiliates, namely:

- The attack on the **universality of trade union rights** by certain Asian governments who claim that international labour standards should be flexible and take into account the differing socio-economic and cultural backgrounds of countries, including their developmental stage. Countries subscribing to this view include Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines, Singapore, South Korea and Thailand;

- Recently, a number of governments have succeeded in **undermining the authority of**

the ILO by refusing to accept the validity of decisions that have gone against them. These include the governments of Canada, Cuba, China, Denmark, Germany and UK;

- The right to organise is the most fundamental of all trade union rights. If it cannot be exercised then all other union freedoms fall by default. The ILO has stated that only the police and armed forces may be excluded from the right to organise, yet numerous governments the world over have attempted to deny public sector workers this basic trade union right;

- The development of 'export processing zones' in which trade union rights are either denied or severely restricted has implications for the universality of the right to freedom of association;

- The right of migrant workers to join trade unions is limited in some countries;

- The right to join a trade union is of little value unless that union has the right to take part in collective bargaining. In many cases abuses of the right to bargain collectively have been perpetrated by employers in situations where there is no legal right to trade union recognition and where governments have either acquiesced or provided implicit support. In New Zealand the 1991 Employment Contracts Act abolished all existing collective bargaining arrangements and established that all terms and conditions of employment should be determined through individual contracts. This experience is at-

tracting considerable interest internationally and there is a real danger of the "New Zealand Model" being copied elsewhere with dire consequences for collective bargaining;

- The right to strike is also increasingly under threat. In many countries specific categories of workers are forbidden from going on strike and transport workers are amongst those targeted. The ILO has ruled that only public service workers "engaged in administration of the state" as well as workers who provide genuinely "essential services", whose interruption would endanger life and health, may be subject to limitations or prohibitions of their right to strike.

Sustainable development, the environment and health and safety

44. Sustainable development is a concept conceived to tackle the problem of guaranteeing economic development and security of employment on the one hand, without ruining the environment for future generations. In other words the global economy has to meet the needs of all people, but the economic growth required to fulfil these needs must fit within the planet's ecological limits. To do this, development must be sustainable in that it meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability

of future generations to meet their own needs.

45. The United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (the Rio Summit) established an action programme (the Rio Declaration) which, if implemented by Governments, will mean that every workplace in the world will have to change in order to ensure that the planet can meet the needs and aspirations of future generations. Of the five documents adopted at the Rio Summit, Agenda 21 is of the most direct concern to trade unionists. This 'agenda' calls on Governments to adopt national strategies for sustainable development in co-operation with trade unions.

46. Transport workers will be among those affected by the changes needed to achieve sustainable development and as such they have a vital role to play. It is therefore essential that, in switching towards a path of sustainable development, trade unions push for strategies which will also achieve sustainable employment.

47. For a long time now the ITF and its affiliates have been developing an environmental awareness — a fact reflected by the number of Congress Resolutions addressing environmental questions. These resolutions have called for:

- action to preserve the marine environment;
- the storage of nuclear waste at the pro-

duction site and an end to the dumping of nuclear waste at sea;

- an end to the transport of irradiated nuclear fuel (INF) on non-purpose built ships;
- full information to be given to transport workers concerning dangerous and hazardous cargoes;
- transport policies to be developed to minimise the negative effects of transport on the environment and for environmental issues to be given high priority within the formulation of an integrated transport policy;
- the expansion of public transport systems;
- urgent international action to control greenhouse gases;
- effective monitoring and a regulatory regime to enforce existing legislation.

48. The ITF continues to campaign within the international organisations, and through its publications, on the major environmental issues facing transport workers, namely:

- the protection of the oceans, seas and coastal areas and the protection and rational use and development of their living resources;
- the protection of the atmosphere by campaigning for action to control carbon diox-

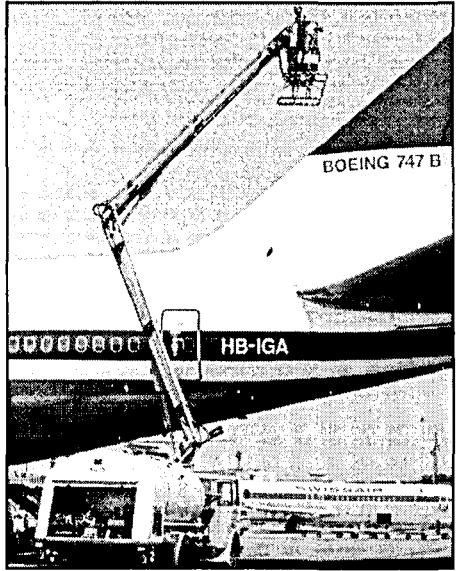
ide emissions, the depletion of the ozone layer and other forms of air pollution;

- environmentally sound production processes and management of wastes, particularly hazardous wastes and toxic chemicals, as well as prevention of uncontrolled international traffic in toxic and dangerous products and wastes;

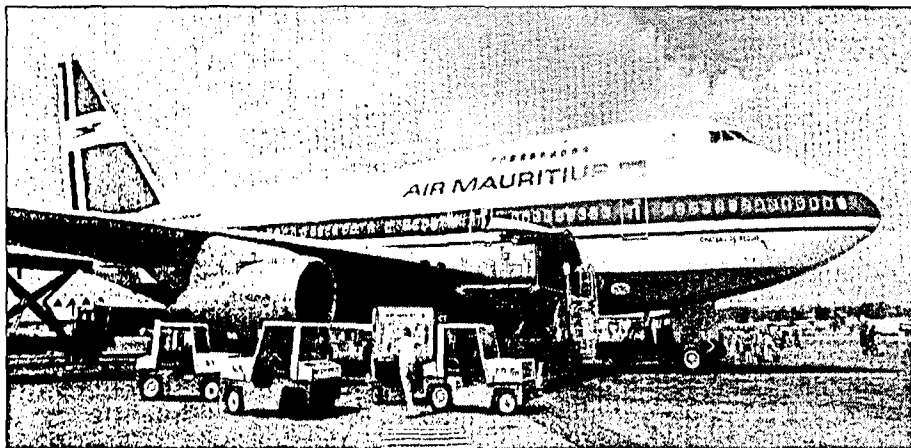
- the promotion of environmentally friendly modes of transport including coastal shipping, inland navigation, buses, trams and railways as an environmentally sustainable option.

49. Clearly if we are to be successful in tackling the problems outlined above we will have to ensure grass roots involvement and support. Broadening the collective bargaining agenda to include not only the working environment but also the external environment is one way in which ITF affiliates can influence their living environment and the quality of life. The education of rank and file members, so that they feel confident to demand that employers produce goods and services with the maximum regard to health and safety and minimum environmental damage, will play a key role.

50. The ICFTU estimates that at least 200,000 workers are killed every year at work and about 120 million people annually suffer from some occupationally related disease or injury. Not only is this situation intolerable but all too often a hazardous workplace is a threat to the environment and



the community as a whole. The role of union organised workplace safety representatives as guardians of the environment must be recognised. Strengthening the role of workers and their trade unions should therefore receive urgent priority at all levels, both internationally and nationally. Experience has shown that where trade unions are involved at the workplace in supervising health and safety, standards are high and accidents are fewer.



CONCLUSION

51. In this Section we have considered a brief overview of the economic, social and political developments affecting transport workers. It is clear that we can no longer view threats to trade unionism within the context of national boundaries. Economies are now so intertwined that global solutions must be found for global problems. We can not preside over a carving up of the world into regional economic groups. The economic orthodoxy of the day touches all continents and affects all workers and the tactics adopted in undermining working conditions, in introducing changes to traditional forms of work organisation and the suppression of trade union rights exhibit an uncanny resemblance everywhere.

52. The special challenges posed to ITF unions by changes in the structure of employment are of fundamental importance.

Affiliates have witnessed a decline in jobs in traditionally highly organised sectors of transport, such as the railways, and an increase in other sectors such as road transport where trade union organisation is often weaker or non-existent. Running parallel to these trends is the decline of public transport in favour of private provision and from large transport undertakings to small fragmented operations. These developments not only impact on the quality of transport services but they undermine trade union organisation, working conditions and levels of safety. This is well documented in the case of the shipping industry but it is also becoming a fact of life in civil aviation and other transport sectors. The big danger for the ITF is that where transport jobs are being created the workers are unorganised. If we are to survive we must re-appraise every aspect of our work to ensure that the ITF remains as relevant to transport workers of the future as we were to the transport workers of the past.

Chapter Two

ITF ACTIVITIES

Introduction

53. This Chapter reviews the most important activities of the ITF in the period since the 36th ITF Congress, both in general terms and within each of the industrial Sections, with special emphasis on assessing:

- what progress has been made towards implementing the policies set by the 36th ITF Congress, and;
- what are the most important issues affecting the transport industry and transport workers.

General and inter-Sectional activities

54. Much of the non-industry specific work of the ITF is centred on the ICFTU, issues of general concern to the international trade union movement and, in particular, on relations with the other International Trade Secretariats (ITSs). The following key issues form the backbone of the ITF's work at this level:

- transport policy
- multinational corporations
- the ILO and international standards
- human and trade union rights
- economics and unemployment
- health, safety and the environment.

55. ITF inter-Sectional co-operation to tackle problems affecting more than one group of transport workers is becoming an increasing necessity. Road and rail workers already co-operate in the ITF's Urban Transport Committee for example, and there is regular close co-operation between the Civil Aviation and Tourism Services Sections. Dockers' and seafarers' affiliates meet together regularly at joint Conferences and annually in the Fair Practices Committee (FPC) — the body charged with co-ordinating the ITF's campaign against Flags of convenience. The ITF has also organised conferences to deal with issues which affect all transport workers. In 1989 a conference on the carriage of dangerous goods was held in Geneva. This kind of industry-wide initiative will need to be expanded, and inter-Sectional co-operation and co-ordination strengthened, if the ITF is to respond effectively to the pressures outlined in chapter 1.

56. In December 1993, the ITF organised, in close cooperation with the Committee of Transport Workers' Unions in the European Community ("Brussels Committee"), the Postal, Telegraph and Telephone International (PTTI) and the International Federation of Commercial, Clerical, Profes-

sional and Technical Employees (FIET), an international seminar on the transport 'integrators' — companies such as UPS, DHL, TNT and Fedex which combine road, rail and air transport to provide integrated transport services. In January 1994, representatives of the ITF Secretariat held an informal meeting with the management of the Iberia Group in Madrid, one of a series of discussions planned with the central management bodies of international airline groups and alliances. These developments are set to continue.

57. The attention of the ITSs focused on the need to consider, in conjunction with the European industry committees, the ICFTU and the European Trade Union Confederation (ETUC), how to harmonise planned new European Union company consultative structures ("European Works Councils") with the need to strengthen worldwide global trade union organisation within multinational corporations. It is clear from the discussions at these meetings that regional economic and political structures and trade union organisations will have to complement and not compete with international solidarity.

58. Within the ICFTU there has been much debate about the influence international government bodies exert on national policy and the need to convince them of the importance of the social dimension and of the important role which the trade union movement has to play in developing it. The inclusion of a "social clause" in GATT agree-

ments, as discussed in Chapter One, has been one key element of this campaign.

59. The importance of involving trade unions in the debate over sustainable development and protection of the environment has also been the subject of much debate within the ICFTU. The ITF was an active participant in a recent ICFTU conference on 'From Rio to the Workplace', which took place in Manchester, UK, in September 1993.

60. Another important aspect of the ITF's general work is focused on the International Labour Organisation (ILO). The ILO is one of the most important instruments in the battle to defend workers' rights, establish minimum labour standards, create secure and worthwhile employment and foster dialogue between government, employers and trade unions. Unfortunately, the ILO's voice has not always been heard as forcefully as it should within the other international institutions whose policies affect workers' jobs and living standards. As it celebrates its 75th anniversary in 1994, it is vital that the ILO reasserts its primary role as the leading international body dealing with social matters. In Chapter One the Secretariat highlighted the campaign by employers and some governments to undermine the ILO. The ITF is working closely with the ICFTU and the other ITSs to ensure that strengthening of universal labour standards remains a central objective of the ILO in the years ahead. Equally important is the need for a more effective programme of ILO Sectoral Activi-

ties. The international trade union movement must support the strengthening of the ILO's profile while continuing with its own initiatives such as the joint ICFTU/ITS Washington office designed to advance trade union concerns to the staff of the World Bank and International Monetary Fund which will open in the Spring of 1994 and in which the ITF is actively involved.

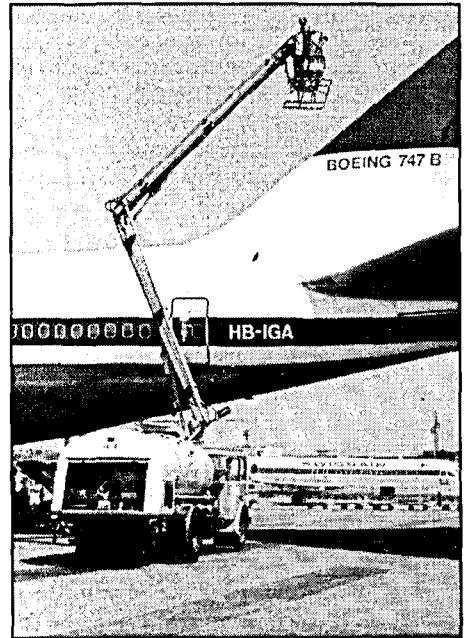
Civil Aviation Section

Section Structure

61. At the 36th Congress, in response to the dramatic changes in the restructuring of the civil aviation industry, a number of decisions were made to strengthen the structure of the Section.

62. It was agreed that general Section meetings should be held at least once a year (instead of only once between Congresses). At least one of these meetings would be a formal Section Conference. A Section Steering Committee was set up to assist and guide the Secretariat in pursuing Section activities between Section Meetings.

63. Section meetings have been held each year, including one Section Conference. In reality there has been little difference between Section Committee meetings and the full Section Conference, with similar (high) levels of attendance and preparation. How-



ever, these effectively annual Section Conferences have proved very necessary to keep up with the pace of policy making required to meet the dramatic changes in the industry. The Steering Committee has met three times since 1992 and has established itself as being of good practical value in pushing the Section's work along.

64. It was also agreed that the Section needed to hold more regional activities. We have managed to hold regional Civil Aviation Conferences in every region (Latin America and the Caribbean, Africa, Asia-Pacific). A regional committee has now been established in each region, which it is hoped will improve regional ITF activities.

65. Omitted from the list of regional activities are Europe and North America. In Europe ITF work is co-ordinated closely with the Committee of Transport Workers' in the European Community — the "Brussels Committee" (CTWUEC) and while the ITF's geographic span is larger than that of CTWUEC, it has avoided the duplication of ITF European regional meetings for civil aviation. However, as a result of the enormous amount of activity on aviation in Europe very close co-ordination has developed between European unions. North American and Canadian unions do not currently fit inside any current ITF regional structure and are therefore not involved in any specifically regional ITF activities.

66. The Technical Committees have continued to pursue issues specific to certain categories of worker. The Cabin Crew and Ground Staff Technical Committees have continued to meet annually. The Flight Deck Technical Committee has met twice since 1990 and its future is under question. Changes in technology and in the organisation of air traffic control have meant the ITF has responded to this area. A joint ITF - Public Services International (PSI) conference was held on air traffic services in 1993 and a continuing panel of experts will carry on work in this area.

Air Transport Policy

67. At the 1990 Congress the Section called for "a comprehensive international policy" based on the need for a rational approach

to the regulation of air transport and to defend against the negative impact of transnational airline mergers and acquisitions. The last four years have seen massive changes in the structure of world air transport.

68. The Section first of all set out to produce a comprehensive analysis of the nature of the changes taking place in the industry and some practical proposals for an international union response. The November 1992 Section Conference debated an ITF document on "The Globalisation of the Civil Aviation Industry and its Impact on Workers". The same topic was the theme of all the Section regional conferences. A number of unions have also held national educational activities based on the discussion document.

69. The debate has provided at both international and regional level an agreed analysis of the nature of the changes taking place in the industry and has provided a unified strategic trade union response to this process. This response has included proposals for the improvement of international solidarity action, organisational initiatives such as links between unions in international airline groupings, and industrial policy such as concerning the cross border recruitment of cabin crew.

70. This strategic response to the negative effects of globalisation needs to be accompanied by a clear and comprehensive union policy on regulation for air transport.

This is part of the current work programme. There will be a particular need for it as those promoting "open skies" step up their attacks on the current bi-lateral system.

International Lobbying

71. An important role of the ITF is to lobby on specific regulatory matters. These efforts, however, have been hampered by the prevailing political climate among governments in support of deregulation and liberalisation, along with vehement opposition by employers to anything which might increase costs. This climate has not favoured the social dialogue which was previously very strong within the industry.

72. Two key campaigns for cabin crew, for example, concerning the need for international cabin crew licensing and the need to produce minimum and maximum hours for flight time limitations have made little progress. The campaign for an international cabin crew licence received a major set back at the International Civil Aviation Organisation (ICAO) World Assembly in September 1992 when member states voted not to study the need for a cabin crew licence. The ITF is currently reassessing its strategy for this campaign. The ITF has succeeded in getting ICAO to agree to update its cabin crew training manual, though not, as yet, to make these recommendations on training into ICAO Standards.

73. In October 1990 the ITF attended the ILO Meeting of Experts on Civil Aviation

on the social effects of structural change in civil aviation. This meeting ended, due to a blank refusal on the employers' side to accept any of the points of concern made by the trade unions, without any agreed conclusions. This failure effectively meant the collapse of any real possibility for a tripartite forum on civil aviation. The Section is concerned at the general lack of resources now given to civil aviation by the ILO.

74. Predictions that work at a European level would intensify have proved very accurate given the avalanche of recent and current European-level legislation and regulatory reform. Within the last four years the European Commission has completed the liberalisation of the aviation market in the EU, while the Joint Aviation Authorities (JAA) is in the final stages of drawing up Europe-wide rules governing safety and airworthiness, including flight time limitations. At the time of the 1990 Congress, the Joint Committee for Civil Aviation (JCCA) had been set up but had not met and the ITF was involved in only one working group of the JAA.

75. Both the JCCA and the JAA have generated an enormous workload as the ITF has sought to exert union influence on these important bodies. The ITF is involved in sitting on a plethora of working groups and committees. The setting up of the JCCA was in face of opposition from the employers, and therefore its continued existence is to some extent a success. In the JAA the ITF has had to press hard for representation on

JAA bodies, but has succeeded in gaining representation on key working groups and important JAA committees.

76. Union representation on both these bodies is meant to have been part of a commitment to social dialogue at European level. However, despite an enormous amount of work put into these bodies, we have got remarkably little out of them. The JAA only gives unions a consultative role and on key issues such as flight and duty times has largely ignored union comments. The JCCA is hamstrung by the constant need of the Commission for joint trade union-employer positions at a time when employers are completely uninterested in such a dialogue. Discussions on such matters as cabin crew licensing and working time rules have met with a completely uncompromising attitude from the employers.

77. The Section has also paid more attention to the media and to other forums for putting over the trade union position. Relationships have been developed with the industry press and the ITF has been featured in a number of major articles in key journals such as *Airline Business*, and invited to speak at conferences organised by *Airline Business* and *Avmark International*.

Disputes and Industrial Action

78. The period since the last Congress has seen a significant increase in the number of disputes in which the ITF has been asked to intervene. This has been closely related

to the increased pressure on employees' conditions and collective bargaining rights, resulting from intense international competition. A number of disputes have involved attacks on basic trade union rights (e.g. Cathay Pacific, Nationair, Aerolíneas Argentinas, Turkish Airlines, Aeroplex in Hungary). Other disputes, particularly in Europe (e.g. TAP, Air France) have been as much against the wider political decisions affecting civil aviation as for immediate industrial causes.

79. It has been clear, given the lack of effective social dialogue, that union resistance to the effects of liberalisation will also need to rely on the capacity of unions to threaten effective industrial action, including international solidarity. We can point to strikes at Aeroplex in Hungary, Aerolíneas Argentinas and Cathay Pacific where international solidarity clearly had some influence on the companies, while union gains at British Airways, Air France, Lufthansa, USAir and American Airlines significantly affected the industrial climate well beyond their own company.

80. In Europe there have been attempts at co-ordinated union action against political decisions in the European Union. These have had to adapt to the fact that there is a wide variation in the legal possibilities for political strike action, and a similar variation in trade union cultures within Europe which work against completely uniform forms of action.

81. The Section has initiated a number of discussions on the need to target international solidarity action more effectively, as well as to develop forms of international support short of boycott or strike action. The Secretariat has also tried to improve its technical capacity to respond to disputes.

Health and Safety

82. While priority has been given to the major political-economic changes taking place, the ITF has also tried to give some more technical support to affiliates. The 1990 Congress called for more work on health and safety. The Section has set up an Occupational Health and Safety Working Group. A meeting of this group was held in April 1993 in Copenhagen. The group set up a panel with responsibilities for collating and co-ordinating materials on health and safety.

New Technology

83. Although there were calls at the 1990 Congress for more attention to be paid to new technology, this did not prove to be a major priority in the period. New technology effectively rendered the long-standing campaign for a three man cockpit crew largely moribund. A proposal for a seminar on computer reservation systems was effectively subsumed into the larger debate on globalisation.

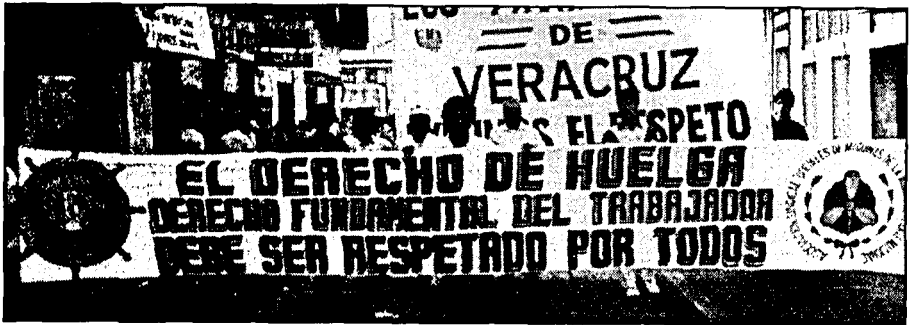


Collective Bargaining

84. The Section agreed to develop a questionnaire for a comprehensive survey of working conditions. The Secretariat produced the first survey in 1992. The survey is a major project, and it has proved unrealistic to produce an annual survey. The Secretariat is currently in the process of compiling the 1994 survey of working conditions.

Summary

85. The overwhelming concern in the Section in the period since the last Congress



has been responding to the dramatic structural and regulatory changes overtaking the industry. The theme of globalisation has dominated all our activities, while European liberalisation has generated an enormous amount of work in the form of lobbying and putting forward union positions at a European level. However, there is clearly an extremely difficult climate in civil aviation with those aiming at liberalisation giving little or no space to social dialogue.

86. The changes in the Section structure proved absolutely vital to keep up with the pace of policy making required to meet the rapid changes taking place in the aviation industry. With the assistance of the Steering Committee, and the Technical Committees, the Section has been able to handle conducting a thorough analysis of industry changes and an array of strategy proposals and policies in response to these changes. Regional activity has been revived with a spate of regional meetings in the last twelve months and the formation of regional committees.

87. The enormous increase in workload has been met with little or no increase in the human and financial resources available for civil aviation work — a situation which cannot continue.

Dockers' Section

Section Structure

88. Annual Dockers' Section Meetings (including one Section Conference) have been held in conjunction with the ITF Fair Practices Committee and, most years by a Joint Seafarers' and Dockers' Meeting. As in other Sections, there has been little difference between Section meetings and the full Section Conference.

89. The ITF Secretariat has recognised for some time that the Dockers' Section has relied too heavily on dockers' unions in the industrialised countries in the past. To combat this, the Secretariat has been expanding the work of the Section to develop the interchange of ideas and information be-

tween port workers' unions worldwide. Dockers' Section Regional Conferences have been held in Latin America and the Asia-Pacific region; and an African Dockers and Seafarers' Conference was held on 16-18 November 1993 in Lomé, Togo.

90. Regional structures have developed over the four years since 1990. A meeting of the European Dockers' Regional Conference was held in Rotterdam in November 1990, and a European Dockers' Regional Committee meeting took place in London on 20 November 1991. Following a recommendation of the 1991 Dockers' Section Meeting to the Executive Board on the effective representation of Asia-Pacific dockers' unions, the Executive Board asked the Asia-Pacific Regional Committee meeting in Auckland in February 1992 to consider this matter. The Auckland meeting recommended that the ITF Secretariat convene an Asia-Pacific Dockers' Committee to meet from time to time as determined by the ITF budget. This Committee was elected at the Asia-Pacific Rim Regional Dockers' conference on 5-7 October 1992. In addition, a Latin American Dockers' Regional Conference was held in Vitoria, Brazil, on 2-4 September 1992. The Conference agreed to set up a Dockers' Regional Committee, made up of one representative from each of the Latin American sub-regions.

Section Policy

91. The 36th ITF Congress held in 1990 adopted resolutions calling for the creation of an EC Joint Committee of the ports in-

dustry, and proposing a European port workers' charter.

92. These policies have been vigorously pursued. The European Port Workers Charter, adopted at the European Regional Conference in Rotterdam in November 1990, which upholds the principles of ILO Convention 137, was translated by affiliates into nine European languages. At the 1993 Section Conference delegates decided to extend the scope of the Charter to cover unions worldwide. In the light of continued attacks internationally on dockers' job security, wages and working conditions, the defence of the principles of ILO Convention 137 has been essential to the unions over the past four years, and the Worldwide Port Workers' Charter provides a unified basis around which unions can organise.

93. Several meetings with representatives of the European Communities took place to discuss the possible establishment of a Joint Committee, but opposition, particularly from German and British members of the Standing Committee of European port employers, blocked these moves. Although the Commission's White Paper "The Future Development of the Common Transport Policy" (COM [92] 494 final, 2 December 1992) specifically mentions a joint committee for the industry, DGV has recently said that following the entry into force of the Maastricht Treaty and the accompanying Social Agreement, Social Dialogue structures will have to be reviewed, and no new organs will be created until this has been clarified.

94. The Dockers' Section continues to be essential to the success of the Foc campaign. The support of the Section for the campaign — whether direct, through industrial action, or consisting of pressuring port authorities and companies, drawing attention to substandard tonnage or just being the point of contact for seafarers, remains absolutely vital.

95. In addition to supporting the Foc campaign, the Dockers' Section continues to work closely with the Seafarers' Section in other areas. In accordance with resolutions of the 1990 Congress on *toxic waste* and the *carriage of irradiated nuclear fuel on non-purpose built ships*, dangerous goods transport has been the target of several port union actions over the period under review, and the Secretariat has acted as a liaison and information point between dockers' and seafarers' unions in these cases. The specific environmental as well as health and safety concerns often involved have meant an increased degree of cooperation with special interest groups such as Greenpeace.

96. A strategy to address the use of seafarers to carry out cargo-handling work traditionally done by dockers has been another strand of policy that has come very much to the fore over the period under review. Successive meetings of the Fair Practices Committee focused on the question of cargo handling by seafarers and condemned the use of threats and/or inducements to oblige seafarers to handle cargo in ports. Reports from affiliates about incidents of this na-

ture have increased significantly over the four years. In response it was agreed that a clause would be added to all ITF approved collective agreements to try to prevent this practice. Affiliates are still very concerned about the growing tendency to use seafarers for this kind of work, and it is possible that the Secretariat will have to set up a system of monitoring such incidents.

International Lobbying

97. Over the four years under discussion, the ITF has been involved in IMO and OECD port health and safety initiatives, and members of the Secretariat have attended relevant international conferences on topics such as training and technology. This activity has tended to focus on such issues and not on the specific industrial problems of privatisation and deregulation. However, the ILO has agreed to hold a meeting during its 1994-1995 Session on the Ports Industry. The meeting, scheduled for November 1995, will concentrate specifically on the *social and labour effects of port restructuring*. The ITF has been asked by the Maritime Branch of the ILO to contribute material for the documentation of this meeting, and to suggest topics to be included.

Privatisation and Deregulation

98. Worldwide, trade union rights and working conditions in the ports industry continue to be vastly undermined by deregulation and privatisation, as ports com-

pete to undercut each other. Port unions came under attack at an extreme level in 1991, with some Peruvian, Mexican and Nigerian trade unions coming under heavy physical attack from state forces. Trade unionists in New Zealand have faced oppressive and heavy-handed tactics from employers. Other countries have clearly been gearing up for privatisation; Argentina, Brazil, Mexico and Panama have passed legislation allowing terminal operation to be sold to private concerns, whilst the United Kingdom has slowly been selling off its ports, including infrastructure. Port unions in France, Italy, Spain and Portugal have faced reforms restructuring their port organisation and labour supply. Other countries' governments, like India and Turkey, have expressed their intention to privatise their public ports, while the pressure of the World Bank and the IMF on the Caribbean ports has meant sizeable job losses in that region. The opening up of the Eastern Bloc has further complicated the picture of privatisation and deregulation.

Disputes and industrial action

99. Over the period under review, of those cases reported to the ITF, most industrial action taken by dockers' unions has been over issues related to privatisation and deregulation (over a third of reported disputes). Trade union rights, including the right to collective bargaining agreements, was the cause of dispute in just over a quarter of the cases; pay issues were equally important. Job security was at the root of

fewer disputes, as were general issues such as social security and unemployment.

Health and Safety

100. The ITF has been involved in measures such as the redrafting of the International Maritime Organization's port safety recommendations. The measures, "Recommendations on the Safe Transport, Handling, and Storage of Dangerous Goods in Port Areas" are being updated and expanded, making the publication more user-friendly. A delegation of ITF trade unionists, organised through the Trade Union Advisory Committee to the OECD, attended an OECD meeting on chemical safety in port areas, in Naantali, Finland on 18-21 October 1993. The Secretariat also intends to carry out a health and safety survey of ports unions.

New Technology

101. A policy on the use of new technology has become equally important to dockers' affiliates in the context of the changing role of port workers and increasing job flexibilisation. New technology was the subject of a special conference organised in Hamburg in May 1993. Following this meeting, the 1993 Section Conference adopted a resolution on new technology, highlighting the importance of involving trade unions in such processes of change. A model agreement on new technology was subsequently developed.

Collective Bargaining

102. In the context of change, there is a tendency for dockers' affiliates to negotiate framework or collective agreements whose emphasis is on *job security* in the industry. The Secretariat has been carrying out an annual survey of working conditions since 1986, and in general, the majority of ITF portworkers' unions have continued to negotiate improvements in wages and working conditions for their members.

Summary

103. Since the 1990 Congress, unions have been responding to the dramatic structural and regulatory changes overtaking the industry. ITF affiliates worldwide have reported that governments in many countries have been gearing up to deregulate their ports. In the developing world debt problems continue to hamper economic growth. The consequences of structural adjustment programmes, introduced by the IMF and World Bank exacerbate these problems, particularly since the consequences are often the privatisation of state owned companies, the reduction or complete elimination of government controls, regulations and state subsidies and the massive loss of jobs. Port workers in the developed countries have also had to live with the consequences of the deregulation of the transport and ports industries most notably in the UK, France and New Zealand. Some noticeable survivors, however, have proved that by ne-

gotiating and accepting changes in the system of port organisation, trade unions can survive reform.

104. In the past the ITF has supported its affiliated unions as much as possible in their struggles against attacks by employers and governments on their jobs, working conditions and basic trade union rights.

Tourism Services Section

Section Structure

105. The ITF Tourism Services Section is concerned with an important, but limited part of the tourism industry — those tourist-related services which have grown in importance in recent years with the growth of tourism itself. Travel agencies are certainly included within its scope, so too are tourist guides and other employees of holiday companies. Other sectors, such as car rental, have also been considered as falling partially within the Section's scope.

106. This complicated industrial structure inevitably produces confusion as far as the trade union organisation is concerned. Tourism does not fit neatly into any existing classifications used by trade unions. It contains many workers organised in ITF-affiliated trade unions (seafarers, civil aviation employees, rail and bus workers) as well as a great many other unions (chiefly those in the hotel and catering industry represented internationally by the International



Union of Food, Agricultural, Hotel, Restaurant, Catering, Tobacco & Allied Workers' Associations — IUF). In some countries travel bureau employees as well as tourist guides are organised in commercial or salaried employees' unions which are members of the International Federation of Commercial, Clerical, Professional and Technical Employees — FIET. These divisions do not cause problems for the ITF, as relations between the ITF and the organisations listed are very close; they do, however make activities difficult to carry out in practice.

107. Over the period under review, the ITF Secretariat has met informally many times with staff from the IUF and FIET. Joint meetings have been held and joint projects

discussed. Working groups on tourist guides and tour managers have been held.

108. At the ITF Tourism Services Section Conference in 1993, to which IUF, FIET and ITF affiliates in other Sections were invited, the establishment of a closer working relationship between the ITF, IUF and FIET with respect to the tourism industry was recommended. In particular, the meeting decided to establish a Joint Steering Committee, with input from all three organisations, to be set up as soon as approval from the other two organisations' governing bodies had been given.

109. Many issues concerning our tourism affiliates, and in particular questions relating to tourism training, qualifications and licensing, are currently being discussed at European Union level. To deal with these questions, and those concerning minimum social standards for the industry, the ITF has provisionally agreed with the IUF and FIET a proposal for a European Tourism Liaison Committee to deal with these questions.

Section Policy

110. Employment in the international tourism industry is characterised by large numbers of low paid, unskilled jobs, large numbers of part-time temporary and seasonal jobs, a high proportion of women workers and young people, little or no vocational training, long and unsociable hours, inadequate sickpay, maternity pay or retirement

benefit schemes, and fragmented workplaces. It is also characterised by a very low level of organised workers. The Section has been developing a policy over the last four years to address these problems.

111. Major strands of the Section's policy include focusing on quality tourism, linking consumer and worker protection, improving training and qualifications for tourism workers, and emphasising the importance of health and safety aspects. Organising in tourism, developing social and environmentally-beneficial tourism, and paying special attention to the needs of women, are vital, as is the development of polices to deal with multinational companies.

112. The Section has carried out a limited survey of working conditions and distributed a short list of union nominees in different countries (Denmark, Great Britain, Ireland, Spain) willing to assist tourism workers employed abroad.

Disputes and industrial action

113. Major disputes in this sector over the past four years have principally concerned trade union rights — and in particular, the right to belong to a trade union. The biggest cases of this have been with large hotel businesses in the US (Nikko Hotels, San Francisco Parc 55 Hotel). On the IUF's request, the ITF also wrote to Italian affiliates about a Wagons-Lits dispute over working practices, and protested to the Finnish gov-

ernment over employer attempts to downgrade wages and working conditions nationally.

Summary

114. The success of ITF activities in this field depends very much on coordinated policies and activities carried out in cooperation with the other ITSs organising in the sector. Without this organisation, little can be accomplished. Currently, we are moving from a phase of informal joint activity into a phase when that joint activity will be formalised and strengthened.

*Seafarers' Section / Special
Seafarers' Department*

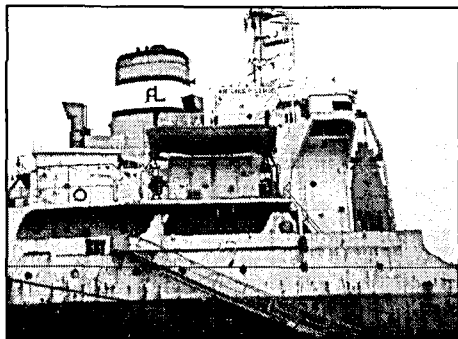
Section Structure

115. The usefulness and specific functions of the Section Committee, the composition of which is rather large and unwieldy, is under review and the ITF Secretariat has found it easier to convene the Section Conference to deal with major policy issues. It has not been necessary to convene the Maritime Policy Committee since it has been possible to resolve most maritime policy issues through the medium of the Section Conference or other Section meetings, together with the Fair Practices Committee (FPC) or its Subcommittee (FPC-SC).

116. During the period under review it has been necessary to make structural adjustments within the Section Committees. A Cruise Ship Working Party, a Steering Committee of the European Seafarers' Regional Committee, a Working Party on European Ferry Services (with participation from the ITF dockers' affiliates) and a Working Party on the ITF Safe Ships Policy have thus been created. Also, the Standing Committee on Maritime Mobile Offshore Units and its subsidiary bodies have also been subjected to structural change. Furthermore, the ITF now has an IMO Coordinator and several IMO Monitors assigned to particular IMO Committees and subcommittees. The ITF has also created a network of IMO Contact Persons among the ITF's seafarer affiliates which is extremely effective when it comes to lobbying for support for ITF proposals among national shipping administrations.

Maritime Transport Policy

117. The mainstay of the ITF maritime transport policy is undoubtedly its many policy statements over the years decrying the use of Flags of convenience. In 1983 at the 34th Congress the ITF adopted the "Madrid Policy", which seeks to assign the right to crew Flag of convenience vessels as between its affiliates in the countries of beneficial ownership and those in the crew-supplying countries. In 1990 the FPC adopted the "Tokyo Guidelines", which provided clarification of the practical implementation of the Madrid Policy. The ITF Secretariat has



spent a great deal of effort on trying to achieve a uniform interpretation of the Madrid Policy and as a consequence the policy is now being reviewed.

118. Several attempts have been made by the ITF Secretariat and its affiliates concerned to redefine ITF policy on the so-called second and parallel registers following the adoption by the 36th Congress of a resolution urging affiliates in countries operating second registers to sign agreements which did not fall below the acceptable level for total crew cost agreements. At the 1993 meeting of the Fair Practices Committee a resolution was adopted to the effect that all second and parallel registers, which did not apply contractual and legal rights to the seafarers which accorded with ITF policy, would be designated as Flags of convenience.

119. On the European scene the ITF Secretariat has devoted much time and attention to the efforts to create a European Shipping Register — EUROS — to ensure that any

directive on this issue does not disadvantage European seafarers. In addition the Section has begun work on developing policies on cabotage — prompted by the recent EU decision to lift cabotage restrictions — and on bareboat charters.

International Lobbying

120. The Section has traditionally pursued social and economic issues through the International Labour Organisation (ILO) and health and safety issues mainly through the International Maritime Organization (IMO), but also through the ILO. More recently the division of responsibilities between the ILO and the IMO has become somewhat blurred and the ITF has found that many human factor issues, such as fatigue, cut across both organisations. The ITF is therefore seeking to foster cooperation between the two UN agencies in the overall interest of the world's seafaring community.

121. On maritime policy issues the Section has also been able to lobby the members of the Maritime Transport Committee of the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) via the Trade Union Advisory Committee (TUAC) and it has also been able to participate in the revision of the International Convention of Maritime Liens which was undertaken jointly by the UN Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) and the IMO. Increasingly, the ITF has made its views known through participation as lecturers

and panellists at various international industry-based conferences, seminars and symposia — such as Maritime Cyprus, the Australian Ships of Shame Conference, the Norwegian Safety Summits and various conferences organised by Lloyd's of London. Other lobbying activities have consisted of close contacts with the media, direct approaches to governments and provision of lecturers to the UK based Cambridge Academy of Transport.

Health and Safety

122. Several of the resolutions adopted by the 36th Congress dealt with various aspects of maritime safety — notably fire safety and safety of passenger ships and tankers.

123. The political ramifications following the fire on board the Ro-Ro ferry "Scandinavian Star" ensured a relatively smooth sailing for a number of ITF initiatives designed to prevent such disasters in the future. The 18th IMO Assembly adopted a resolution on the training of crew members designated to assist passengers in emergency situations. The ITF has gone one step further and has demanded that all seafarers be given basic safety training within the context of the revised International Convention on Standards of Training and Watchkeeping (STCW). The ITF has also sponsored one of the consultants whose task it is to advise the IMO subcommittee charged with the revision of the convention in order to ensure that the ITF's views are represented first hand.

124. The cause of many ship casualties is often the failure by flag states to apply internationally agreed minimum safety standards. Following pressure from the ITF the IMO is now actively considering setting up an International Ships Information Database and has already created a new subcommittee dealing with Flag State Implementation (FSI).

125. In pursuance of the 36th Congress resolution on carriage of irradiated nuclear fuel (INF) on non-purpose built ships, the ITF has raised the matter with the IMO and the 18th IMO Assembly adopted an INF code of practice which also applies to plutonium and liquid waste. Although the code does not require the use of purpose built ships, it will be revised in the near future, when the ITF will have another opportunity to push for a ban.

126. The ITF Secretariat is also involved in an ILO project on drugs and alcohol. Furthermore, it has provided expert advice to the EU Economic and Social Committee on the subject of minimum training requirements for seafarers and was responsible for the drafting of the European seafarers' response to the EU Commission's paper "A Common Policy on Safe Seas".

Offshore Oil and Gas Industry

127. The drive to unionise this sector is continuing and the ITF Secretariat has now put the final touches to a revised ITF collective bargaining agreement for maritime mobile

offshore units. It is currently in the process of revising its safety and training policy. On the political front, the ITF Standing Offshore Committee has declared its opposition to further oil exploration on the Burmese continental shelf in solidarity with Burmese seafarers and the Committee has also drawn attention to the potential exploitation of offshore workers in the Timor Gap. The ITF's involvement in the offshore industry has also encompassed diving matters. An ITF collective bargaining agreement for divers is currently being formulated and the ITF has become a member of the European Diving Technology Committee (EDTC).

Cruise Ships

128. The drive to organise the cruise ship industry has gained further momentum following the September 1993 meeting of the ITF Cruise Ship Committee. Cruise Ship Campaign Co-ordinators have been designated among the ITF Foc inspectors, a publicity campaign is underway and guidelines have been adopted concerning ITF acceptable working conditions for cruise ship personnel in accordance with the so-called "foot in the door" doctrine. Also, the ITF, in conjunction with the Norwegian Seamen's Union Miami office, is establishing a Cruise Industry Database to assist affiliates organising in this sector.

129. An ITF working party on European Ferry Services has just begun work on safeguarding jobs and working conditions of

European seafarers in the wake of the lifting of cabotage restrictions and on the development of a safety programme for European ferry services.

Port State Control

130. The ITF participates in meetings of the European Port State Control Committee under the auspices of the ILO and it has also joined an IMO correspondence group on port state control. The ITF has actively been campaigning for the extension of the port state control concept on a truly worldwide basis to ensure that no substandard vessel escapes scrutiny. A partial victory can be claimed by the ITF to the extent that port state control systems have been established in Latin America and the Asia-Pacific region and further systems are contemplated for the Caribbean, North Africa and Middle East. However, the extent to which the ILO Convention No. 147 will be incorporated in those systems is still an unknown factor.

Europe

131. As a result of growing pressures from the ITF's European seafarer affiliates for concentrated action to preserve employment for European seafarers and to rid European waters of sub-standard ships, the ITF Secretariat has had to commit substantial resources towards activities on behalf of European seafarers. However, clarification of the division of work between the ITF and the Brussels Committee, and the de-

gree of co-operation which exists between the two Secretariats, should ensure that European seafarers' needs are adequately catered for in the future.

Collective Bargaining

132. The 1991 meeting of the ITF Fair Practices Committee (FPC) formulated a clear definition of the ITF benchmark (US \$1,000) and required total crew cost agreements to be broadly comparable to the ITF standard collective agreement with regard to other terms and conditions than wages. The 1993 FPC meeting endorsed a set of guidelines designed to facilitate the achievement of the non-wage ITF standards. It also endorsed similar guidelines on the funding element. In 1993 the benchmark was raised to US \$1,100 and the principle of a uniform total crew cost agreement for each country endorsed.

133. With effect from January 1994 an ITF no-fault insurance scheme was introduced and because of initial opposition to the scheme by some shipowners, ship managers and P&I Clubs many negotiations were stalled and renewal dates of total crew cost agreements passed, creating a serious problem for the ITF Secretariat and its affiliates concerned. Whilst the process of negotiating ITF acceptable total crew cost agreements for Asia-Pacific and Central and East European seafarers is progressing at a steady pace, the same cannot be said in respect of Latin American, Caribbean and African seafarers.

The Flag of Convenience Campaign

134. The ITF campaign against Flags of convenience and sub-standard shipping has continued unabated although there has been a marked drop in the number of ITF standard collective agreements signed. Instead, owners and managers have flocked to the ITF to seek approval for a variety of total crew cost agreements (TCC's) covering various crew nationalities. Crews from Central and Eastern Europe have come on the market in large numbers and the ITF can claim some credit for maintaining benchmark standards without which the market rates would have slipped further.

135. The search for ever-cheaper flags has, however, resulted in an upswing in the number of sub-standard ships and shipping operations thus increasing the workload of the ITF Seafarers' Section/Special Seafarers' Department and its affiliates concerned in the areas of maintaining maritime safety standards, ships' inspections and dealing with seafarers' claims.

136. On the positive side the moves towards improved and more comprehensive port state control are to be welcomed, as is the proactive attitude adopted by the IMO Secretariat in dealing with safety and related issues on a priority basis.

137. It is obvious that the ITF will have to devote more attention to the further development and refinement of ITF policy on Flags of convenience and second and parallel registers and regional shipping policies. It will also need to keep up its pressures for the orderly recruitment of competent seafarers, and the trade union organisation of the cruise ship and offshore oil and gas industries. Further maritime safety initiatives and increased standardisation of collective bargaining agreements and the procedures governing the approval and application of such agreements will also need attention.

138. The ITF Secretariat has organised several regional and national seminars on the subject of the ITF Foc campaign — Australia, New Zealand, Baltic States, Central and East Europe and the UK in addition to convening the ITF Worldwide Foc Inspectors' Seminar on an annual basis. Also, several new Foc Inspectors have been brought to the ITF Secretariat for induction training. Implementing practical training will be a priority in the future with more emphasis on regional and national educational seminars. *Single subject workshops* dealing with relevant issues on a regional or national level will also be considered as will linking together those countries that have similar legal frameworks.

139. A comprehensive review of the ITF inspectorate is long overdue. In this regard the ITF will need to consider the geographical spread and coverage of its inspectors in

response to changing patterns of trade in order to ensure the most strategic locations of inspectors. Ensuring cost effectiveness of the network of inspectors will also need to be a priority. It is also clearly in the interests of the world's seafarers that those individuals offered to the ITF as inspectors are suitably qualified with appropriate industrial experience for the duties they will ultimately have to perform. In the same way it is crucial that those chosen for this work have the support of seafarer and docker affiliates. They must be given the necessary resources to do their job properly not only in terms of the necessary human capital but also in terms of physical resources and the required level of industrial support and solidarity. With these objectives in mind the ITF will also need to ensure that the Foc campaign is properly co-ordinated at the international level.

140. A review of the Foc campaign has already begun with the establishment, by the FPC in 1993, of the Foc Campaign Review Committee which held its first meeting in March 1994. This meeting acknowledged that in improving the effectiveness of the Foc campaign its current scope needs to be extended. Currently a relatively small number of countries are recognised as 'hot spots' for boycott action. In many other countries inspectors concentrate on enforcing existing collective agreements and securing back pay settlements where possible. Whilst this 'policing' activity is a very important and necessary part of the Foc

campaign it does nothing to expand the number of ships with ITF approved agreements. There are two reasons why the campaign has developed in this way. In some countries the legal/industrial framework is not conducive to boycotts or other forms of industrial action in support of ITF standards. In many countries, however, it is possible that affiliates have not fully explored the possibilities, or provided the necessary resources, to exploit fully potentially favourable industrial or legal climates.

141. As a first step towards rectifying this situation the ITF has recruited the services of an in-house legal adviser to explore the possibilities that exist for widening the scope of the campaign. More effort will be put into activating a network of lawyers, designated by ITF affiliates, with a view to establishing a co-ordinated and strategic legal attack against Foc shipping. These lawyers, co-ordinated by the in-house ITF legal adviser, will determine what possibilities exist within the various national legislations for widening the scope of the Foc campaign. At the same time the ITF will need to ensure a degree of co-ordination at the level of the national affiliates involved in the Foc campaign.

142. On the administrative side, a great deal of investment in human and financial resources has also taken place. Staffing levels have been increased substantially and a new computer system, which will provide up-to-date information on all ships with ITF approved agreements, is near completion.

This system will provide on line information for ITF inspectors on a 24 hour basis and will greatly enhance the ITF's ability to co-ordinate action against Foc's.

143. In addition the ITF continues to expand its Foc related publications. The production of the flag of convenience campaign brochure, which is currently available in 18 languages, has been very well received with circulation approaching 300,000. The Seafarers' Bulletin is now in its ninth year of production and in 1994 will be translated in 13 languages with a print run of 350,000. The sixth edition of the 'Message to Seafarers' publication, which provides seafarers with a list of all ITF inspectors and flag of convenience contacts, was published in December 1993. The Message is now being published every six months. Standing orders for the Message are currently at about 50,000. Letters from seafarers requesting ITF maritime publications have also significantly increased.

Fishermen's Section

Section Structure

144. The 36th ITF Congress confirmed the then existing Sectional structure and confirmed the membership of the Section Committee and the Section Steering Committee. Furthermore, it was agreed to nominate the Section Vice-Chairman as the Fishermen's representative on the ITF Seafarers' Section Maritime Safety Committee.



During the period under review the Section structure has been further adjusted with the reconstitution of the ITF Fishermen's Section Sub-Committees on Marine Environment Protection, and Safety and Health. The Section Conference also appointed a Working Party to consider ITF acceptable working conditions on fishing vessels flying Flags of convenience. Recognising the need to establish regional co-operation among European fishermen, the Section Conference also set up an ITF European Fishermen's Regional Committee which in turn elected its own Steering Committee.

ITF Fisheries Policy

145. The foundation of the ITF Fisheries policy was laid already at the 35th ITF Congress and was completed at the 36th ITF Congress, when it was agreed that the ITF

and its fishermen's affiliates should actively promote the policy at national and international level. During the subsequent inter-Congress period it was found necessary to propose further amendments to the policy as a result of important developments within the industry and these amendments were incorporated in the policy by agreement at the 1993 ITF Fishermen's Section Conference. The 1993 Section Conference also outlined further areas of policy development, including the flagging of fishing vessels fishing on the high seas.

146. On the question of whaling, the 36th ITF Congress endorsed an ITF statement on whaling which had been agreed by the previous Section Conference. The subject was again discussed at the 1993 Section Conference when the Icelandic fishermen's representatives pointed to the need to maintain a balanced ecosystem with regional frameworks for the management of marine mammals based on the principle of "coastal whaling" and the Japanese fishermen's representatives opposed the establishment of a whale sanctuary in the Antarctic Ocean and spoke in favour of further scientific assessment of whale stocks and the resumption of rational utilisation of Minke whales. In view of the above comments the 1993 meeting of the ITF Fishermen's Section Steering Committee entrusted the ITF Secretariat, the Section Chairman and Vice-Chairman and the Chairman of the ITF European Fishermen's Regional Committee to update ITF policy on whaling in consultation with the ITF's "whaling" affiliates

in time for the annual meeting of the International Whaling Commission (April/May 1994).

International Lobbying

147. Like the Seafarers' Section, the ITF Fishermen's Section has pursued social and economic issues through the International Labour Organisation (ILO) and health and safety issues mainly through the International Maritime Organization (IMO). Further lobbying efforts are required within the ILO in order to secure implementation of the Resolutions adopted by the 1988 meeting of the ILO Committee on Conditions of Work in the Fishing Industry — on working conditions, recruitment, safety and health and vocational training. As far as the IMO is concerned the ITF lobbying will concentrate on the introduction of regional standards for fishing vessel safety in the wake of the adoption of the 1993 Protocol to the Torremolinos Convention and the updating of the Code of Safety of Fishermen and Fishing Vessels (in association with the ILO and the UN Food and Agricultural Organisation).

148. Ever since the involvement of the EU in the area of fisheries policy the ITF and its affiliates have also pursued the European fishermen's interests in co-operation with the "Brussels Committee" through the EU Joint Committee of Fishing Vessel Owners and Fishermen and its various subsidiary bodies. These activities have of late intensified with the current crisis in the European

fishing sector, with too many vessels chasing diminishing fish stocks and the collapse of the pricing system due to the importation of foreign catches.

149. An important new area for lobbying activities is the UN Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO) which is dealing with small-scale fisheries and which is also attempting to secure international agreement on the flagging of vessels fishing on the high seas with a view to promoting compliance with internationally agreed conservation and management measures and acceptance of the concepts of genuine link and effective control.

Health, Safety and the Environment

150. The Section's work on safety and health, through its Sub-Committee on Safety and Health, will be concentrating on the ITF's involvement in the revision of Part B of the FAO/ILO/IMO Code of Safety for Fishermen and Fishing Vessels and in the development of regional standards for the application of the Torremolinos Convention on Fishing Vessel Safety (initially for the Asia-Pacific Region and Europe respectively).

151. At the 36th ITF Congress the ITF Action Plan on Marine Pollution was endorsed and since then the Section has attempted to come to grips with the formulation of the fishermen's views on an ITF environmen-

tal policy, and the 1993 meeting of the Section's Sub-Committee on the Protection of the Marine Environment mapped out the various stages in the process of producing a final text for approval by the 37th ITF Congress.

152. Following the adoption by the 36th ITF Congress of a motion concerning the Carriage of Irradiated Nuclear Fuel (INF) on non-purpose built ships the 1993 meeting of the Sub-Committee on the Protection of the Marine Environment agreed to continue its work on this subject and also adopted a set of recommendations addressed to the ITF Seafarers' Section relating, inter alia, to the tracking of INF vessels, personnel training and construction of casks.

153. In addition to the work on INF the Section is also monitoring developments with regard to harmful marine organisms in ballast water for the purpose of promoting work on a new chapter in the MARPOL Convention.

154. In the context of the EU, fishermen's affiliates are also involved in the work on the EU Working Hours Directive and have expressed concern at the EU decision to rescind the Safe Water and Clean Beaches Directive.

Collective Bargaining

155. Following the flagging out of a considerable number of fishing vessels to FOC

countries and the employment of non-domiciled fishermen, the Section is currently formulating an ITF model collective bargaining agreement for fishermen.

Summary

156. The ITF and its fishermen's affiliates are facing an uphill struggle in coming to terms with the direct impact and side effects of the present worldwide crisis in the fishing industry. The problem is exacerbated by problems relating to pollution and climatic change. Governments and certain sectors of the industry are to blame — jobs and market structures have been jettisoned in a sale of fishing rights and dumping of catches to gain hard currency. Multinational companies tend to dictate terms in the fishing industry nationally and internationally. Every effort must be made to organise the fishing industry's workers into bona fide organisations which will bring added strength to the ITF. The ITF and its affiliates must educate the industry's workforce and pursue the ITF safety, health and environmental programmes. At the same time the Section must counter moves to liberalise the industry into an unfettered operation under free flags and unregulated working conditions without any concern whatsoever for the preservation and proper management of the resources of the sea.



Road Transport Workers' Section

Section structure

157. The Road Transport Workers' Section consists of a Section Conference, a Section Committee and a Steering Committee. The Section Committee and Section Conference each meet formally once between ITF Congresses; the Steering Committee meets as necessary. There is also an Urban Transport Committee linking the Railwaymen's and Road Transport Workers' Sections.

158. On a regional basis there have been some changes recently. In the Asia-Pacific region, the former Inland Transport Committee was found to provide insufficient opportunity for road transport workers' affiliates to discuss in detail all the issues of importance. Accordingly, the ITF is making provision for separate meetings and it is planned to hold the first in November

1994. In Africa the ITF has had an established pattern of conferences and seminars for a considerable period of time and the 3rd African Road Transport Workers' Conference was held in Nairobi in January 1991. In Latin America there is also an established pattern of conferences, and the 5th Latin American Road Transport Workers' Conference was held in Mar del Plata in December 1991. In Europe, pursuant to the October 1991 Executive Board decision, a European Committee of the ITF Road Transport Workers' Section was established at a meeting in Geneva in March 1993.

Section policy

159. The structure of company ownership in road transport, both the road haulage and passenger transport sectors, is one of extreme fragmentation. Even in industrially-developed countries such as Finland, Italy and Spain over 95% of undertakings in the haulage sector are estimated to own 5 vehicles or less. In a large proportion of African, Asian and Latin American countries there is a vast predominance of very small undertakings and owner-drivers. Undertakings employing wage-earning drivers and offering any stability of employment are in a very small minority. Even in Europe, subcontracting and the engagement of self-employed labour by the larger undertakings is reported to be on the increase.

160. The structure of the industry has a profound effect on the stability of employment

and on working conditions. This situation is exacerbated by politically-motivated measures to liberalise and deregulate. Where workers are covered by collective agreements it is increasingly difficult to maintain the application of the conditions of the agreements, let alone improve them, in the face of unregulated competition from the small undertakings and owner-drivers. It is known that many of the small undertakings are prepared to operate at below-cost levels, at least for part of the time, in order to keep themselves in business. There is therefore a great deal of pressure on the larger undertakings, and consequently on their employees, to ignore, to a greater or lesser extent, the standards which still remain applicable to the industry.

161. In the face of this situation of ferocious competition, made worse by an excess of transport capacity, the ITF has two fundamental objectives:

- The achievement of an effective system of regulation applying to the working conditions of all operators, and in particular the regulation of maximum duty times and minimum rest periods;
- The reintroduction of minimum enforceable tariffs, particularly for the carriage of freight, in order to ensure that operators who respect industry standards are not undercut by operators who ignore them.

162. The achievement of these objectives is a formidable task, but unless progress is

made, conditions in the industry can only deteriorate further. As the regulation versus deregulation controversy is very much a political question, the Section recognises the need to maintain pressure on political authorities in order to bring about a change in attitudes. It is also important to attempt to persuade road transport operators that it is in the future interests of reputable undertakings to accept certain regulated standards. To this end, the ITF has encouraged contacts with the International Road Transport Union (IRU) and, although it is recognised that any progress will involve a lengthy process of discussion, the employers have demonstrated a certain willingness to respond positively.

163. The Section has become increasingly aware of the increase in international transport by road, of both passengers and goods, and also of the lack of protection afforded to many drivers once they cross the frontier of their home territory. Evidence taken from the years of existence of the European Community has demonstrated that international traffic by road has grown at a faster rate than domestic traffic. With the creation of trade groupings in other regions, such as MERCOSUR (Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay and Uruguay) and the North American Free Trade area (Canada, Mexico and the USA), this phenomenon is likely to be repeated. The Section has therefore placed particular emphasis on developing an international standard and an important achievement was the adoption in 1992 by the ILO's Inland Transport Committee of

its "conclusions concerning the social and legal protection (including repatriation) of inland transport workers engaged in international transport during their temporary periods abroad".

164. The formation of economic groupings has highlighted the wide disparities between wages and working conditions applying to road transport workers in adjacent countries, for example Argentina/Paraguay and USA/Mexico. Given that one of the purposes of the agreements establishing these groupings is to liberalise the transport market, which may ultimately lead to widespread cabotage, there is considerable concern regarding the development of social dumping. It is therefore a prime objective of affiliates to achieve harmonisation of social conditions towards the highest standard. A related development, not widespread at present but growing, is the introduction of so-called "plates of convenience", whereby operators register vehicles in countries with lower social standards and/or less strict safety requirements with the intention of using the vehicles in their own countries or in international transport, thereby undermining established conditions.

165. Affiliates have set a particular objective of improving the design of vehicles, with particular emphasis on impact-resistance, ergonomics of the driving cab/compartment and comfort of operation for drivers of different nationalities. As far as truck cabs are concerned, in collaboration with technical staff of the Swedish manufacturer

Scania, specifications have been established, subject to final review. In May 1991 the Section Committee set up a Bus Construction Working Group and it has made considerable progress towards establishing a number of basic specifications. More recently the Urban Transport Working Group has agreed on the need to draw up specifications for the driving compartments of trams. In all cases the objective is to persuade manufacturers to build and operators to buy vehicles which conform to ITF-approved specifications, thereby improving the working environment.

International representation

166. With the exception of the European Union, there is no international "regulatory" body which establishes conditions under which the road transport industry operates. Certain intergovernmental agencies are instrumental in facilitating the conclusion of voluntary agreements under their auspices and in supervising the granting of permits for participation in international transport operations. Otherwise conditions are fixed by national legislation or by bilateral agreements.

167. The ITF Road Transport Workers' Section maintains relations with the following international organisations:

- UN Economic Commission for Europe (ECE)
- European Conference of Ministers of Transport (ECMT)

- European Union (EU)
- International Road Transport Union (IRU)
- International Organisation of Motor Vehicle Manufacturers (OICA)

168. Recently the ITF and the affiliates from the countries concerned have agreed on the need for a permanent representative at the Mercosur.

Globalisation and privatisation

169. The term "globalisation" is beginning to take on importance in the road transport sector. In particular the four "international integrators" — UPS, Federal Express, TNT and DHL — operate on a global basis and in many countries have demonstrated considerable hostility towards the trade unions. Some international shipping companies have extensive road haulage fleets and the major oil companies such as Shell, Exxon, BP, etc. have traditionally maintained very large road tanker fleets in many countries, although there is now a growing trend to contract these operations out to private companies.

170. In an industry which, apart from certain urban and local regional passenger services, is dominated by the private sector it may appear anomalous to talk of privatisation. However, the process is of immediate concern to affiliates in Central and Eastern European countries and in the independent republics formerly part of the USSR. State-owned transport undertakings and transport departments of other indus-

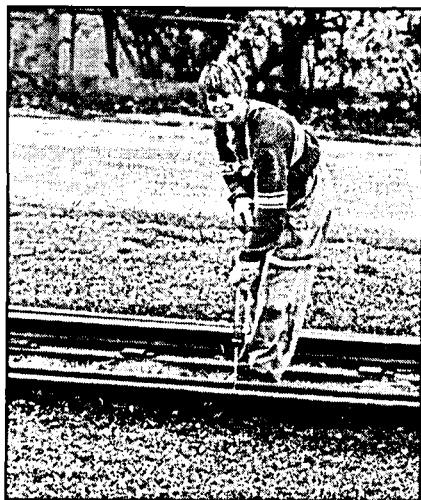
tries are being privatised at a fast rate, presenting affiliates in the countries concerned with a considerable responsibility for negotiating collective agreements with a multiplicity of local managements of varying degrees of competence. In India, ITF affiliates are confronted with a concerted policy of privatisation of state-owned bus companies and the ITF organised a first seminar for the unions concerned in January 1994.

Railwaymen's Section

Section structure

171. The Railwaymen's Section consists of a Section Conference, a Section Committee and a Transport Policy Sub-Committee. The Sub-Committee, Section Committee and Section Conference each meet formally once between ITF Congresses. The Urban Transport Committee provides a formal link between the Railwaymen's and Road Transport Workers' Sections.

172. On a regional basis there have been some changes recently. In the Asia-Pacific region, the former Inland Transport Committee was found to provide insufficient opportunity for railwaymen's affiliates to discuss in detail all the issues of importance. Accordingly, the ITF is making provision for separate meetings and the first consisted of a seminar held in Tokyo in October 1993. In Africa the ITF has had an established pattern of conferences and seminars for a



considerable period of time and the 5th African Railwaymen's Conference was held in Accra in October 1993. In Latin America the railways have suffered drastic reductions in activity and employment, due principally to a lack of funding for modernisation and unrestricted competition from unregulated road transport undertakings. In some countries where the railways formerly played an important role in national transport, they are now providing what can only be described as a skeleton service. The consequence for the ITF has been a considerable reduction in affiliation. In this situation, it is necessary to re-examine what form of international trade union representation and forum can give support. In Europe, pursuant to the October 1991 Executive Board decision, a European Committee of the ITF Railwaymen's Section was established at a meeting in London in May 1992.

Section policy

173. In accordance with the policy decision made at the 36th ITF Congress, the Section has focused its activities on the broad question of "action to promote the railways and oppose privatisation". The state of the railway industry, and therefore of levels of employment and conditions of employment, is critically dependent on government policy both with regard to inland transport in general and to railway finances in particular. This is especially true in those countries where the railways are publicly-owned and the great majority of ITF railwaymen's affiliates represent members who work for publicly-owned railways. One of the principal objectives of the Section has been to examine and develop the arguments which can be deployed in support of the retention of railways in public sector ownership.

174. There has been a fundamental restructuring of the railways in a substantial number of countries since the 1990 Congress and the process appears set to continue. In some cases the impetus for this restructuring has been purely political in the sense that the motivation has been ideological: namely, that the particular government considers that transport activity is a private sector activity and not the responsibility of the state as far as the economic existence of the undertaking is concerned. In other cases the motivation has been to ensure that the railway undertaking can be managed in an effective way as far as its commercial operations are concerned while continuing to

fulfil its functions as a means of transport responding to public service obligations. It is impossible to generalise; every country presents a distinct situation.

175. During the course of the Section's discussions it has always been apparent that affiliates have two general objectives in mind:

- The protection of their members' jobs and conditions of employment;
- The security of the railways' future within a properly regulated transport system.

176. The two objectives are closely connected but, nevertheless, demonstrate the Section's awareness of the need to work internationally at both the industrial and political levels. This awareness has been practically demonstrated by the high level of international solidarity which has been given on questions as diverse as, on the one hand, the right to wear union badges at work without fear of discrimination and, on the other hand, the modernisation of the railway network within a national transport plan.

177. The ITF is acutely aware of the situation of railway workers in developing countries where the influence of the international lending agencies has been most pernicious. Almost without exception, railwaymen's affiliates in such countries have experienced the power of the lender over the borrower. This power is manifested in the

conditions which the lending agencies impose as a requirement of their agreement to lend. The conditions rarely reflect the real needs of the recipient country and all too often reflect the ideological bias of the donor. The Railwaymen's Section has therefore adopted a clear policy of support for affiliates in developing countries in combating the imposition of unacceptable conditions as a precondition for loans.

International representation

178. The railway industry does not have an international regulatory body with the authority to establish safety rules, etc. With the exception of the European Union countries, all conditions are fixed at the national level other than those which govern international traffic. In the case of such traffic the conditions are either negotiated on a bilateral basis between undertakings and/or governments or through the International Union of Railways (UIC) which has certain standard agreements and terms.

179. The ITF Railwaymen's Section attempts to influence governmental policy on transport in general and on the railways in particular through the intergovernmental organisations and industry associations which are competent. For this purpose, the ITF maintains relations with the following:

- UN Economic Commission For Europe (ECE)

- European Conference Of Ministers Of Transport (ECMT)
- European Union (EU)
- International Union Of Railways (UIC)
- Pan American Railway Congress Association (ACPF)
- Union Of African Railways (UAR)

Globalisation and privatisation

180. The term "globalisation" is not appropriate to be applied to developments regarding the railways. For a considerable amount of time, many larger railway undertakings have operated consultancy/technical assistance subsidiaries which have worked under contract to other railways, particularly those in developing countries, or have provided expertise within the framework of aid projects. However, in the 1990s certain privatisations of railway undertakings or of certain railway operations have taken place, for example in Argentina and New Zealand. It is notable that the consortia which have been involved in these privatisations are international in nature and that certain United States railway undertakings are almost without exception part of the consortia. The same names recur regularly — Wisconsin Central, Iowa State, Morrison-Knudsen, Burlington Northern. The Spanish state railway company RENFE is also actively seeking involvement abroad, particularly in Latin America.

Inland Navigation Workers'

Section

Section structure

181. The Inland Navigation Workers' Section consists of a Section Conference, and a Section Committee. The Section Conference meets once between ITF Congresses; the Section Committee meets as necessary.

182. On a regional basis, the ITF holds a Latin American Inland Navigation Workers' Conference in the period between each Congress and the 2nd Conference was held in Porto Alegre in November 1991. In Europe affiliates meet under the auspices of the Rhine Shipping Committee and of the Rhine-Main-Danube Working Group, depending on the questions to be dealt with. Also in Europe, pursuant to the October 1991 Executive Board decision, a European Committee of the ITF Inland Navigation Workers' Section was established at a meeting in Geneva in November 1993.

Section policy

183. The type of navigation performed on inland waterways is determined by the type of waterway, that is to say whether the waterway is also navigable by large or small sea-going vessels or whether navigation is restricted to non-sea-going vessels. The type

of navigation has a very important influence on the structure of ownership of vessels, with high levels of owner-operators in regions such as western Europe and Asia where non-sea-going vessels predominate and high levels of shipping company operations in regions such as Latin America where a number of rivers are navigable for at least part of their length by relatively large ocean-going ships. In eastern Europe the state-owned fleets are already being privatised in some countries and in other countries are likely to be offered for sale if the private sector shows interest. In western Europe affiliates have reported an increasing tendency for shipping companies to sell off their ships to employees. In Russia and other ex-USSR republics, many ships formerly used solely for inland navigation are now being converted for ocean going operations.

184. In Latin America, on the Paraná-Paraguay waterway system, affiliates have reported a degree of flagging-out, in particular towards the Bolivian and Paraguayan flags, as shipowners seek to employ crews at lower rates of pay and with inferior social conditions. Bolivia, which has no navigable connection with the main river systems, is threatening to become a flag-of-convenience for South American inland navigation.

185. For many affiliates, particularly in the more industrialised countries, the prime concern is to safeguard their members' jobs and employment opportunities in the face

of ownership changes, flagging-out and automation. The possibilities for co-operation and the appropriate trade union response are to a large degree determined by the characteristics of the different waterway systems. A longer-term objective is to establish international agreements governing working conditions so as to prevent social dumping. However, for such agreements to be effective in view of the influence on the industry of the owner-operator sector, it is essential that they be underwritten by governments. The waterways particularly affected are the Rhine-Main-Danube in Europe and the Paraná-Paraguay in South America. In the case of the former, an Agreement on working conditions exists for the Rhine only, but is long out-of-date, so it is a question not only of replacing it but also of extending it to the Danube. In the case of the latter it is a question of making use of the possibilities presented for initiatives in the transport and social fields by the establishment of the Mercosur economic grouping.

International representation

186. The European Union (EU) and the Central Commission for Rhine Navigation (ZKR) have regulatory functions with regard to international navigation in the economic, social and technical fields. The Danube Commission has a quasi-regulatory function in the economic and technical fields, but its future responsibilities are unclear in

view of the political changes in central and eastern Europe. The Inter-governmental Committee of the Paraná-Paraguay Waterway has certain economic and technical functions. Certain intergovernmental agencies are instrumental in facilitating the conclusion of voluntary agreements under their auspices. Otherwise conditions are fixed by national legislation or by bilateral agreements.

187. The ITF Inland Navigation Workers' Section maintains relations with:

- UN Economic Commission for Europe (ECE)
- European Conference of Ministers of Transport (ECMT)
- European Union (EU)
- Central Commission for Rhine Navigation (ZKR)
- Danube Commission.

188. Recently the ITF and the affiliates from the countries concerned have agreed on the need for a permanent representative at the Mercosur.

Chapter Three

THE ITF'S ROLE IN THE 21ST CENTURY

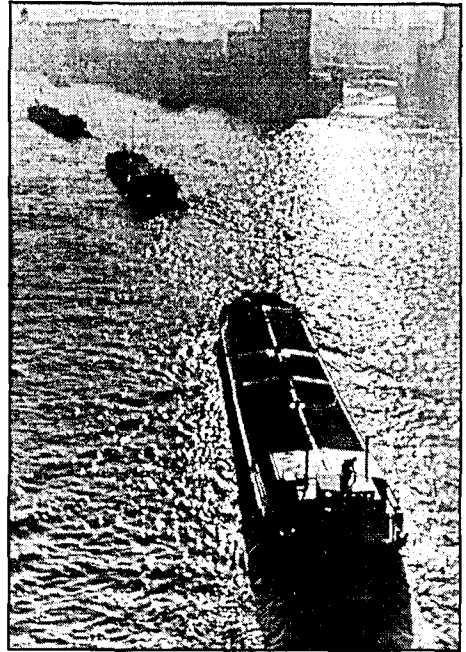
Introduction

189. This Chapter discusses the future role of the ITF and its affiliates in relation to industrial and regional trends described earlier. In particular this Chapter will consider the ITF's response to the pressures being exerted on its regional and industrial structures in an attempt to ensure that they remain appropriate in a changing world.

International solidarity

190. The organisation of direct international solidarity between affiliates has always been at the centre of the ITF's activities. The key question for today's transport workers, in the face of a concerted attack on trade unionism by governments and employers, is how do we re-enforce the ITF's ability to co-ordinate international solidarity?

191. Part of the answer lies in defending the universality of international labour standards. The ITF must counter those who argue that universal labour standards must be flexible and take account of socio-economic and cultural differences. In addition the ITF, and its affiliates, must re-affirm the crucial importance of international solidar-



ity and co-operation in fighting the negative effects of the globalisation of the transport industry and the threats posed by multinational corporations.

192. Trade unionism is under attack from governments and employers wedded to the "neo-liberal" free-market agenda. As a result, many of our affiliates are experiencing a significant deterioration in industrial relations and the respect accorded to trade unions. Despite this, in many parts of the world trade unionism is growing, and as it does so trade unions are increasingly interested in the experience of other trade unions in different countries facing similar

challenges. The ITF will need to respond to these needs and ensure that it continues to provide appropriate and efficient information services to its affiliates.

193. Another potential threat to effective international co-operation and solidarity comes from the development of regional economic groups. The inevitable calls from our affiliates for trade union structures capable of dealing with these developments puts a strain on the ITF's current structures. There is of course nothing wrong with establishing trade union structures to represent transport workers in the emerging economic groups. However, if the result is the fragmentation of the ITF into an 'umbrella' organisation, instead of a "global" organisation capable of delivering global solidarity, then clearly we must resist these developments. In their place the ITF must develop a structure which is flexible enough to allow affiliates in the various regions to co-ordinate their work and develop policy at the regional level and provide for the co-ordination of trade union policy and activities at the international level.

194. The ITF's strength lies in the extent to which we can deliver global solidarity to support demands that cross national boundaries. To face the challenge posed by globalisation of the world economy the ITF will need to count on the support of its strongest affiliates to help the weaker ones. However, the political, economic and legal climate of the 1990s will continue to make the required level of international solidar-

ity harder to achieve and yet all the more essential.

195. The ITF will therefore need to consider how it can increase the resources available to build on the ITF's ability to deliver practical and effective international solidarity. In this regard, one possibility is the establishment of an 'International ITF Solidarity Fund'. Such a fund, which could be developed out of the existing Edo Fimmen account for regional activities, could receive voluntary contributions from affiliates, to be used to support industrial and legal action, together with educational and organisational activities throughout the world. This would underline the ITF's role as a global organisation representing all transport workers. On the other hand the fund could be available to support target projects in specific regions and countries as the need arose.

196. The challenges outlined in Chapter 1 require trade unions to adapt their structures to changing realities and to use their resources more efficiently. This process must include a re-affirmation of solidarity on an international basis and should be recognised as being necessary to the survival of the trade union movement in all countries. In doing so, the ITF should build on its historic co-operation with the ICFTU and the other ITSs in order to strengthen the international trade union movement.

*An integrated, intermodal
approach to policy making*

197. The ITF has traditionally concentrated most of its policy making activities in the different Sections — whilst this may have advantages in representing the day to day concerns of affiliates it can sometimes result in the lack of a broader policy perspective. The co-ordination of transport policy already occurs at the regional level but perhaps now is the time to consider also a more global and intermodal approach to transport policy making.

198. The international character of the transport industry makes it easier to exploit workers without even requiring them to change their country of residence. Global labour markets exist in the shipping, civil aviation and fishing industries and other transport sectors are witnessing similar developments with the opening up of national boundaries within regional economic groups. This increases the scope for “social dumping”. The challenge for trade unions is to work out policies which produce rapid economic and social development while not undermining the standards already achieved.

199. The world’s urban transport problems of road congestion within many cities and inadequate and expensive public transport services can be contrasted with a totally different situation in Central and Eastern Eu-

rope and some developing countries where the level of private car ownership has, until now at least, been very much lower. It is vital that the governments of these countries avoid the mistakes of the developed nations and develop integrated transport policies which take full account of social and environmental conditions as well as providing high quality jobs.

200. The strengthening of democratic trade unionism is essential in this process. Transport unions must be involved in the planning and development of the transport sector.

201. The following key principles represent a starting point in the establishment of an integrated ITF transport policy:

- Environmental and energy policy considerations must be given full weight alongside economic factors in transport planning. Future transport policy must be consciously and responsibly managed. It should provide for the increased use of transport modes which do not damage the environment as well as for the efficient use of existing capacity, and plan for future traffic growth within a rational framework. Maritime, inland and air transport must be integrated in transport networks, enabling users to benefit from the specific advantages of each transport mode.

- Public authorities, at national and regional level, must be ultimately responsible for the co-ordination of transport infrastructure

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investment. Investment decisions must not be based solely on assessments of future demand, but should take into account environmental, regional and social policy considerations together with public transport needs. Investment in infrastructure and transport integration must be agreed in co-operation with regionally-based democratic public bodies. Even where infrastructure is privately financed, planning and control must remain in the hands of the public authorities. Unhealthy competition between private concerns must not be allowed to jeopardise the building of comprehensive and integrated transport systems.

- The construction of new transport infrastructure must be planned on the basis of criteria which take into account geographical position as well as regional and economic considerations. Investing in peripheral areas and as far as possible redressing the imbalanced concentration of industry and population in industrial areas, must be given priority.

- A co-ordinated investment strategy should be developed in consultation with the trade unions and other interested bodies. This policy should take account of the future need to integrate transport systems at the regional level.

- Investments in transport technology must take account of future as well as current economic, environmental and social needs. Technologies which improve transport safety and raise the overall quality of trans-

port services and working conditions, as well as those designed to make the transport system and its constituent parts more sensitive to the needs of the environment, should take priority.

- Investment in professional training, integrated training policies, and systems of qualification and licensing should be introduced. New qualification needs should be addressed, and appropriate training schemes developed to include specific training on new technology.

- Any integrated transport policy must give the highest priority to transport safety, in the interests both of transport users and of workers. Stringent new safety regulations should be adopted at national and regional level for each mode of transport. Such regulations should be strictly enforced by specifically responsible bodies at both national and regional level. The safety implications should influence all decisions affecting the relationship between individual transport and efficient public transport.

- The principle of transparency i.e. that total income, including public funding, should cover total costs should apply to all transport undertakings. There should be a uniform system for allocating use of infrastructure costs according to the principle of territoriality. All external costs (i.e. accidents, noise, pollution, environmental impact etc.) should be charged to infrastructure users. Charges and levies for the use of infrastructure should be made on the

basis of the full costs incurred. The full additional costs imposed on transport undertakings by their public service obligations should be calculated and paid by the public authorities to the undertakings concerned. There should be full transparency in the accounts of all transport undertakings.

- Unfair competition based on the exploitation of substandard wages, working conditions or social provisions should be eliminated. Minimum standards — which must not be used to erode existing national provisions — within all competing transport undertakings, in all sectors of the transport industry, should be established as a safeguard. Transport workers must be fully covered by minimum regulations governing the limitation of working hours and the provision of minimum rest periods. Exemption from such regulations should only be given in exceptional cases and with the agreement of the trade unions concerned and should provide at least equivalent protection for the workers concerned. Special provisions should be introduced to protect transport workers working at night against the effects of fatigue. Efficient inspection systems and deterrent sanctions should be introduced and monitored by national governments to ensure compliance with social regulations and other minimum standards.

- Special measures should be taken to enforce transparency of the beneficial ownership of transport undertakings. The operation of labour-only subcontracting agencies in transport, as in other industrial sectors,

should be outlawed. In particular, measures to guarantee a “genuine link” between the ownership of a vessel or aircraft and its country of registration should be established.

The ITF's industrial and regional structures

202. At the centre of the ITF's current industrial activities are its eight industrial Sections covering; railwaymen; road transport workers; inland navigation workers; dockers; seafarers; fishermen; civil aviation; and tourism services. In addition the ITF Constitution establishes a special department known as the Special Seafarers' Department to administer the practical aspects of the flag of convenience campaign.

203. Each industrial Section usually holds at least one meeting in the inter-Congress period. In some cases industrial Sections meet together to tackle problems affecting more than one group of workers — road and rail workers co-operate in the ITF 's Urban Transport Committee for example, and there is regular close co-operation between the civil aviation and tourism services Sections. Dockers' and Seafarers' affiliates meet together regularly at joint Conferences and annually in the Fair Practices Committee (FPC) — the body charged with co-ordinating the ITF's campaign against Flags of convenience. The question is, whether or not this current level of co-op-

eration and co-ordination is sufficient to meet the challenges of the future.

204. The above industrial structure gives a high degree of Sectional autonomy — arguably this has been one of the ITF's greatest strengths. However, this has in the past led to many general issues being discussed on a Section by Section basis rather than from the perspective of the whole transport industry. For example, issues such as transport policy, trade union rights and the environment cannot, it is suggested, be considered at the level of the industrial Section. To deal with general subject matters effectively requires structures which permit all transport workers to participate in the debate and agree common policies. Thus, one of the challenges for the future is to retain Sectional autonomy while ensuring the maximum possible co-ordination, co-operation and solidarity across the whole of the transport industry.

205. The work programme for each industrial Section is established by a Section Conference held in conjunction with Congress. These Section Conferences also elect a Section Committee to supervise the work programme in the inter-Congress period. Specialised committees, sub-committees and working groups etc. may also be established by the Section Committee to supervise various specific aspects of the work programme.

206. Many of the ITF's industrial Sections highlighted in Chapter two that their structures have been re-examined in an attempt

to strengthen them and ensure that they remain appropriate to meet the demands made on them by affiliates. There has been some streamlining of Section structures, with more regular meetings, in an attempt to keep pace with the speed of policy making in the transport industry. In addition, and in an attempt to co-ordinate and strengthen the work of the industrial Sections at the regional level, most Section Committees have established regional industrial committees which in turn have a relationship with the appropriate regional committee. *The relationship between these structures has to be clearly determined so as to ensure the continued unity of actions of the ITF Sections.*

207. Unlike some organisations within the international trade union movement the ITF does not have a formal regional structure. In its place the ITF has developed an ad hoc structure reflecting some, but not all, of the various regions of the world. In addition various governmental economic groupings are being developed which cut across the ITF's traditional regional divisions but which require a trade union response. A process of formalising these arrangements has already begun, with the regions reviewing their structures and activities. A summary of these developments is provided below.

The current situation in the regions

Africa

208. This region has suffered by not having a functioning regional committee to co-ordinate the work of the region at the sub-regional level. Given the cultural, political and economic diversity of the continent this is a crucial factor. In addition the following factors are of key importance to the future development of the region:

- Strengthening relations with the Organization of African Trade Union Unity (OATUU) which deals with Pan-African labour issues. With strengthened relations, the ITF could and should be able to establish or gain consultative status with agencies such as the African Airlines Association, Union of African Railways, African Port Management Association, to name a few. These links are vital and should be pursued if the ITF is to make good impact in the new African world order by providing effective protection to African transport workers within the confines of African transport industry and in the general activities of multinationals in the continent.
- There is need to strengthen the ITF Southern Africa Committee in order to effectively face the enormous trade union and political reconstruction task in the region. This need becomes even more urgent with posi-

tive changes taking place in South Africa. The Committee's co-ordination activities will also stretch to both Mozambique and Angola, the former requiring as of now, concrete assistance from the ITF in the gigantic task of establishing democratic trade unions for transport workers.

- The granting, in November 1994, of formal consultative status to the ITF by the Southern Africa Transport & Communications Commission (SATCC), the Maputo, Mozambique based specialised agency of the Southern African Development Community (SADC) represents an important step forward in this sub-region.

- In East Africa there is now a new sense of realism. The three countries are increasingly moving to forge closer co-operation, particularly economically. Their labour centres (COTU-Kenya), (NOTU-Uganda) and (OTTU-Tanzania) have already established the East African Trade Union Consultative Council. With the restructuring of the Tanzanian labour movement (which will facilitate membership of Tanzanian transport trade unions in the ITF), transport workers in the sub-region can work closer for their common trade union objectives.

- In West Africa, a Federation for transport workers was founded with the help of the ITF in 1979. The Federation has remained largely weak as a result of political and economic difficulties as well as linguistic differences. There is an urgent need to reorganise or restructure the Federation into a

viable Committee which can be linked up with the Organization of Trade Unions of West Africa (OTUWA) with headquarters in the Republic of Benin.

- Arab Africa remains an area that ought to receive the ITF's attention. Presently, there is virtually no North African affiliate although the Egyptian Railwaymen and Civil Aviation unions' applications for affiliation are now being processed. There is, therefore, a need to revive our relations with North African transport unions. The League of Arab Trade Unions is an organization with which the ITF's association is desirable for this objective.

209. Responding to the development of sub-regional economic groups such as the South African Development Co-ordination Council (SADCC), the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), with their objectives of fostering closer economic, social and political co-operation, must also become a priority for ITF African regional structures.

Asia-Pacific

210. In October 1993 the ITF Executive Board established an Ad Hoc Review Committee on the ITF's Asia-Pacific structure and activities. The Committee has been invited to examine the following questions and make recommendations to the Executive Board:

- Matters concerning the re-establishment of the ITF Asia-Pacific Regional Office in the region together with, if necessary, the establishment of sub-regional offices or other structures to meet the growing trend towards sub-regional economic groupings.

- Steps to be taken to strengthen the existing Regional structures including the Regional Conference, the Asia-Pacific Regional Committee (APRC), and regional Sectional committees.

- Financial questions including concrete proposals for increasing the contribution of Asia-Pacific affiliates towards ITF activities in the region by, for example, the establishment of an ITF Asia-Pacific Solidarity Fund.

- Any other measures which could, in the opinion of affiliates, strengthen the ITF's ability to assist with the building of strong and democratic transport workers' unions in the Asia-Pacific region.

211. The Ad Hoc Review Committee on the ITF's Asia-Pacific structure and activities has now begun the review process.

Europe

212. The situation in Europe is more complex as a result of the existence since 1958, of an organisation, the Committee of Transport Workers' Unions in the European Community (CTWUEC) — the "Brussels Committee", which, whilst linked very

closely with the ITF is not formally a regional ITF body. The "Brussels Committee" was originally established by ITF affiliates in the European Community countries to deal with matters relating to the EC's Common Transport Policy but was later expanded to include a small number of "Christian" unions in the EC which were associated with the World Confederation of Labour. More recently still, in anticipation of the creation of the European Economic Area, the scope of the Committee was extended further to include the member countries of the European Free Trade Association.

213. In October 1991 the ITF Executive Board, in accordance with the resolution on "European Transport and Trade Union Policy" adopted by the 36th Congress, re-activated the ITF European Committee and recommended that each industrial Section consider establishing a European Committee.

214. The establishment of these ITF European structures, although in direct response to demands by ITF European affiliates, brought with it the obvious risk of duplication of work since the vast majority of members of the Brussels Committee are ITF affiliates. This issue is more important for the future, than perhaps it has been in the past, due in the main to the increased level of activity in the European Union as the pace towards European integration gathers speed.

215. In an attempt to minimise duplication of work and maximise co-operation between the two secretariats a set of guidelines which formalise the working relationship between the two organisations were adopted in 1994. These guidelines lay down two basic principles:

- that the Brussels Committee's task is to maintain relations with the institutions of the European Union (EU); and,
- that the ITF's task is to develop international trade union policy, to maintain relations with non-EU institutions in Europe, and to coordinate international solidarity.

These guidelines will obviously need to be kept under review in the light of experience.

Latin America

216. The low level of activity in the Latin America region has had serious political consequences for the ITF and its affiliates, with other organisations stepping in to fill the void. This problem has been reinforced by the absence of any standing structure permitting ITF unions in Latin America to provide an input to the ITF's governing bodies. The Executive Board, recognising the seriousness of this situation, began in 1993 a comprehensive and urgent review of the ITF's structure and activities in Latin America. In October 1993 the Board consulted ITF affiliates in the Latin American region on a set of draft proposals. Since

these proposals included the idea of creating an inter-american structure, ITF affiliates in the Caribbean and North America were also asked for their views.

217. An analysis of the replies received was presented to the 7th ITF Latin American Regional Conference held in San José, Costa Rica in March 1994. The Conference unanimously endorsed the rebuilding of the ITF's structure in Latin America, including the establishment of a new regional office, together with the possible retention of one or more sub-regional offices to deal with particular economic groupings. It also supported the establishment of national co-

ordinating committees of ITF affiliates in each country and of a Latin American Regional Committee made up of one representative from each country plus the Latin American members of the ITF Executive Board. The Conference also agreed unanimously with the idea of extending the regional structure to encompass the Caribbean and North America. Observers from US affiliates present at the Conference also strongly supported this move. The Conference urged the Executive Board to implement the changes in Latin America as soon as possible as a first step towards the medium term objective of establishing an inter-american region.

Draft ITF Education Programme

Broadly speaking, an ITF Education Programme should have the following objectives:-

- *Building strong and effective campaigning unions, democratically controlled by their members and free of control by government, political parties and employers;*
- *Developing the attitude and the basic knowledge and skills of union leaders, activists and members, so as to strengthen democracy and accountability within the union;*
- *Strengthening the attitude and position of activists by giving them an insight into their position and interests as workers in the labour and social relationship;*
- *Developing the knowledge and skills of union leaders and activists necessary for the day to day defence of the interests of union members;*
- *Eliminating of all forms of discrimination;*
- *Creating conditions in which union leaders, activists and members are challenged and motivated to put forward and discuss with each other new ideas and new concepts to develop general union policy and strategy;*
- *Promoting the maximum possible solidarity between democratic trade unions in the transport industry and beyond at national and regional levels;*
- *Building a relationship between transport unions all over the world based on solidarity and partnership.*

The ITF's education activities

218. The value of educating trade unionists, both at the level of the union official, and the rank and file activist, is acknowledged as being fundamental for a strong and well organised trade union movement. Not only is education a precursor for effective trade union organisation but it is also essential for a healthy and vibrant trade union movement.

219. The ITF's educational activities, like its regional activities, have been somewhat ad hoc in nature and have lacked co-ordination at the international level — in today's climate this is unacceptable. Steps have already been taken to correct this situation — the ITF Executive Board appointed an Education and Projects Officer in March 1993 with a brief to develop and co-ordinate the ITF's education activities. A key component of this objective will be the development of an 'ITF Education Policy' setting out the aims and objectives of an ITF Education Programme. An outline education programme is being developed by the Executive Board details of which are given on page 66:

220. In fulfilling the above objectives the ITF will need to allocate resources efficiently to avoid duplication and ensure cost-effectiveness. In this respect the ITF will need to co-operate with other organisations involved in trade union education work, and with the donor organisations, to achieve a

proper balance in spreading the available resources for education activities. One of the key aims of any ITF education programme should be to achieve awareness and conviction among trade union leaders, activists and members of the need for an international co-operation and solidarity between transport workers based on a commonality of interests. In the long term the ITF's Education Programme could include the following main elements:

- Improving basic knowledge necessary to run a trade union e.g.
 - *how to organise a union;*
 - *financial management and book keeping;*
 - *trade union education policy;*
- The training of trade union educators;
- International co-operation between unions e.g.
 - *within the region;*
 - *within a trade block e.g. NAFTA and EU etc;*
 - *within a multinational company;*
- Improving knowledge and experience of technical skills e.g.
 - *collective bargaining;*
 - *communicating with members, employers, authorities, and media;*
 - *health and safety;*
 - *the environment;*
 - *the labour market;*
 - *"flexibilisation";*
 - *liberalisation; privatisation and deregulation;*
 - *structural adjustment programmes;*
 - *transport policy;*
 - *vocational training;*

- *workers' participation;*
- *new technology;*
- Improving knowledge of, and attitude towards:
 - *human and trade union rights;*
 - *racism and xenophobia;*
 - *position of women transport workers;*
 - *consequences of corruption.*

It is proposed that one of the pre-requisites for ITF support for national and regional education activities will be a "programme mix" which takes into account the above key elements.

Women transport workers

221. ITF activities in this field have always been limited. A Women Workers' Conference held in 1975 has been the only specific event organised for women transport workers at the international level. Regionally, and notably in Africa, seminars concentrating on women trade unionists in the transport industry have been organised, but this activity has never been coordinated at the world level.

222. In recent times, there has been little demand from ITF affiliates for specific initiatives on women workers. The ICFTU has provided one forum for the discussion of general issues affecting women trade unionists, such as maternity, pay, and sexual harassment. Specific problems affecting women transport workers have to an extent

been dealt with within the industrial Sections in the ITF, but not at a general, inter-Sectional, and specifically *female*, level. No official structure has been developed. One important reason for this is the fact that the proportion of women members in the ITF is relatively low (around 7%) compared to the other ITSs and the trade union movement as a whole, a fact revealed in the survey conducted by the ITF in March 1991. This survey showed that the International Federation of Free Teachers' Unions (IFFTU, now Education International) had the highest number of women members, at 50 per cent, followed by the IUF (45%) and the PSI (40%). The PTTI's representation stood at 25 per cent, ICEF at 20 per cent, and IFPAAW (International Federation of Plantation, Agricultural and Allied Workers, now part of the IUF) at 15 per cent. The ICFTU, representing all industries, has 33.4 per cent of women members.

223. The 1991 survey of other ITSs, including the ICFTU, also requested information on their policies on women's representation. Of those that replied, only the ICFTU, ICEF, FIET, IUF and Euro-PTTI have seats reserved on their executives for women. In addition the ICFTU together with IUF, EURO-PTTI, IFFTU and Euro-FIET have formal structures catering for women either at the international and/or regional levels to provide an input into their decision making bodies.

224. It is clear that although the majority of members of trade unions in transport are

still men this will not always necessarily be so. Unions who do not take into account changes in the structure of employment, or do not fight for the rights of their women members, will risk being unrepresentative of the workforce as a whole.

What is a transport worker?

225. Linked to the issue of women, but also to changes in the organisation of work highlighted in Chapter 1, is the question of who or what is a transport worker. At the same time as transport workers are facing changes in the organisation of work and the structure of employment, more and more jobs within transport are becoming technical or supervisory in nature. In addition, there is a blurring of the boundaries between traditional transport sectors and other industries, such as postal and parcel delivery services.

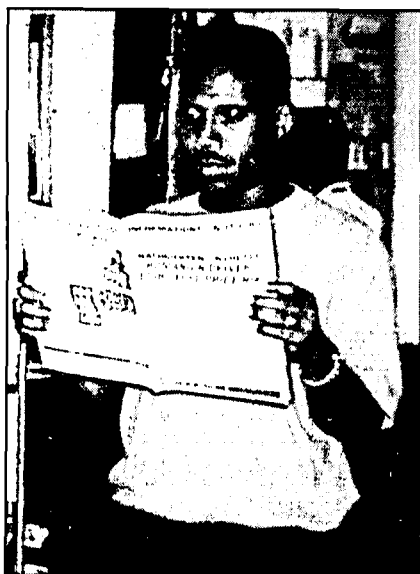
226. The ITF will need to respond to these developments by expanding its activities beyond those of its traditional core membership e.g. drivers, dockers, railway workers and seafarers etc. These problems are primarily for national trade unions but will have important consequences for the ITF, and the international trade union movement, which will require close co-operation with the other ITSs. This process has already begun with the ITF forging ever closer links with ITSs whose sphere of influence overlaps our own e.g. PTTI and FIET in respect of the 'International Integrators' and IUF in the fishing and tourism industries.

Improving the ITF's service to affiliates

Communications and information technology

227. In the 1950s, mail from the ITF to affiliated organisations took up to two weeks to arrive. International telephone calls needed to be booked in advance and telegrams were expensive and virtually impossible to send in anything other than English. Today with facsimile, telex, electronic mail and international direct dialling, the ITF receives hundreds of instant communications every week on top of the mountain of correspondence received by regular mail. Whilst these technical developments are very welcome — because they also improve the ITF's ability to deliver services to its affiliated members — they have also placed additional burdens on the work of the Secretariat. Affiliates now expect the ITF Secretariat to be able to respond to an appeal for information and/or solidarity within hours.

228. Developments in information technology have revolutionised the way the ITF and its affiliated unions communicate with each other. The task of trade union research has also been transformed. Today, increasingly, the trade union researcher acts as a filter for the organisation, responsible for screening out huge amounts of information and selecting material which will be useful to the organisation.



229. The ITF must respond to these changes by developing the ability to respond rapidly to information requests from affiliates. It is important for the ITF to expand the existing use of electronic mail and it should be ITF policy to encourage affiliates to connect to electronic mail services and to provide assistance to affiliates to enable them to make use of information technology.

The challenge posed by multinational corporations

230. Hand in hand with the globalisation of the world economy has come the growing dominance of multinational corporations. This has been highlighted in both Chapters 1 and 2. Whilst for some trans-

port sectors multinational operators have become, or are becoming, a fact of life, the key question for all transport workers is what response is required from trade unions to the increasing importance of MNCs in the transport industry.

231. One reason for locating companies abroad is to avoid import restrictions and tariff barriers. Another is to secure cheaper labour costs, avoid trade unions, avoid taxes and exploit lower health and safety and environmental standards. This "runaway" tendency, all too familiar to ITF seafarers' affiliates, can clearly place MNCs at loggerheads with the trade union movement with its stated objective of defending and furthering internationally the economic and social interests of its members.

232. Whether they are good or bad, MNCs are a key feature of the world economy. The future for collective bargaining requires that trade unions have access to the real decision makers together with greater transparency on the part of the MNC. The ITF must therefore join together with the ICFTU and the other ITSs in demanding transnational information and consultation procedures for all its affiliates and in establishing international standards of accounting and reporting for MNCs. The ITF will need to establish new information services for affiliates which can provide up to the minute data on the transnational transport operators and their activities and develop a campaign strategy to counter their negative impact.

Chapter Four

KEY QUESTIONS FOR THE ITF AND ITS AFFILIATES

Introduction

233. As the ITF looks forward to the next millennium, there are number of additional issues which need to be considered in the light of the discussion in Chapters 1, 2 and 3. It is important that affiliates have an opportunity to express their views and provide the necessary guidance to the Executive Board. In order to assist in the debate a number of key questions have been highlighted below — this list is not meant to be exhaustive. ITF affiliates are requested to consider the following key issues:

- reviewing the ITF's industrial and regional structures;
- building solidarity;
- assessing the financial and human resources needed to improve services to affiliates and meet future demands;
- women transport workers;
- trade union organisation.

ITF structures

234. In Chapter two the industrial Sections outlined their activities and priorities for the future. Nearly all acknowledged the need to strengthen the Sections and many of them

had already started that process. Some Sections have taken steps to improve co-operation with other industrial Sections, e.g. in the case of the Fishermen's Section, the Vice-Chairman has been nominated as a representative on the Seafarers' Section Maritime Safety Committee thereby establishing a link between the two in acknowledgement of shared concerns and interests. This kind of practical co-operation needs to be extended if the ITF is to respond to future challenges.

235. As many of the Sections acknowledged, the industrial structures need to be streamlined and strengthened in order to cope with rapidly changing transport policy. They must work efficiently and quickly in order to stay ahead of the developments outlined earlier. In doing so the ITF must consider the following issues:

- Are existing divisions relevant? Do they reflect the reality of the structure of today's transport industry in view of the trends outlined in earlier Chapters?
- Is there any advantage in merging some Sections? e.g. Dockers, Fishermen, and Seafarers to form a Maritime Workers' Section?
- Do some Sections need to be restructured to reflect internal differences (e.g. passenger and goods road transport)?
- Should some Sections be renamed to reflect changes in the structure of employment as well as to avoid gender-specific ter-

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minology? e.g. perhaps the Railwaymen's Section should be renamed the Railway Workers' Section and the Dockers' Section should become the Port Workers' Section, and similarly the Fishermen's Section could be renamed the Fisheries Workers' Section?

236. The ITF has no formal structure capable of facilitating debate on issues of a general nature affecting all transport workers. In order to provide such a forum should the ITF:

- develop a formal inter-Sectional structure where general issues affecting all transport workers can be discussed?
- develop structures targeted at multinational transport undertakings?

237. The ITF regional structures need to be flexible enough to permit affiliates in the various regions of the world to co-ordinate their work and develop policy at the regional level, whilst at the same time co-ordinating trade union policy and activities at the international level. Only a structure where industrial policy was developed at the international level, having been discussed at the national/regional level, will guarantee international co-ordination. The key question for the ITF is how to integrate its Sectional and regional structures in a way which complement and strengthen each other.

238. Currently each industrial Section meets during Congress for a half day Conference, mainly to elect its Officers for the

forthcoming inter-Congress period and to endorse the Section's work programme. The time available is rarely sufficient to complete this work. The regions, however, because of the ad hoc way in which they have developed do not, unlike the industrial Sections, have any opportunity to meet during Congress except for the purpose of elections.

- Is this something that needs to be changed?
- Should the regions hold conferences during Congress? or,
- Should the holding of Section Conferences during Congress be abolished?

239. Co-ordination at the national level is a requirement of the ITF's Constitution but there are many cases where, for one reason or another, affiliates in a country do not meet formally or on a regular basis. Clearly one way of building solidarity at the national level would be for unions to meet regularly to discuss ITF related matters, resolve disputes and agree their policy.

- How can the ITF more actively promote the establishment of national co-ordinating arrangements between its affiliates?

240. The above issues also raise the question of whether the ITF's general structures remain relevant. Although amendments to the ITF Constitution are introduced from time to time at Congress, no fundamental

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examination of the utility of the various ITF governing bodies has taken place for many years. This may be an appropriate time to begin this process. For example, the ITF Executive Board meets twice a year, and the cost of convening its meetings has in recent years exceeded the entire cost of the ITF's non-maritime section activities. Could the number of meetings be reduced without weakening democratic control? Should the system of election to the Executive Board be modified? The ITF Management Committee, once a very important body in its own right, has in recent years met only for a few hours prior to the Executive Board for example to interview candidates for officer positions. Should its role or composition be reviewed? The Executive Board seldom has time for general discussion about transport or social policy since its agenda is usually dominated by the supervision of the Secretariat's activities and issues such as requests for affiliation. Should new policy making bodies be created to fill this gap? The General Council, which is smaller than the Congress but larger than the Executive Board, was clearly an important body in the past when convening special Congresses would have been prohibitively expensive and time consuming. Since 1962, when it last met, however, the only function which it has fulfilled is that of acting as an 'electoral college' at Congress for Executive Board elections. Has the time come to review its role?



To summarise:

- Does the Executive Board need to be expanded?
- Should the system for electing the Executive Board be changed?
- Should the EB meet more or less often?
- Should the EB establish a subcommittee, or some other body, to deal with policy issues?
- What should be the future role of the Management Committee? Should it be expanded? *Should its composition be reviewed?*
- Given that the General Council hasn't met since 1962, is it necessary? *Has the time come to review its role?*

Building solidarity

241. Globalisation requires a global response from the labour movement. The ITF for its part must build solidarity, not only to counter the negative consequences of regionalism and multinationals, but because it is the only way workers can defend their jobs and provide economic security.

- How can the ITF further build solidarity between its affiliates?

242. Many aspects of trade union work have in the past been solely the concern and responsibility of national trade unions and are now international concerns. This is especially evident in the organisation of workers into trade unions which must become the subject of increasing international trade union co-operation.

- What can the ITF do to assist affiliates in organising the unorganised?

243. Services capable of providing up to the minute information on various campaigns and requests for assistance will need to be developed. The use of fax, electronic mail and "bulletin boards" providing information on multinational corporations, and examples of protest messages are the kind of rapid and accessible information systems that will form the cornerstone of the ITF's services to affiliates in the coming years.

Financial and human resources

244. The Secretariat, both in London and the regions, is under a great deal of pressure from a greatly increased workload. For example, in October 1988 the Seafarers Section/SSD reported to the Executive Board the outcome of 9 ITF meetings (excluding meetings where the Secretariat represented the ITF). In October 1992 the equivalent report contained 19 ITF meetings, an increase of 111%. Whilst this example is only a snapshot of the overall level of ITF activities it is illustrative of the increased demand for meetings from affiliates. It is clear that affiliates are finding that the ITF's activities are more and more relevant to their every day work.

245. In addition, the volume of communications the Secretariat receives from its affiliates has increased dramatically. In 1989 the Secretariat, excluding the Seafarers and SSD (who record the incoming mail separately), received 5,200 pieces of correspondence. In 1993 this had risen to 8,950, an increase of 72%. Equally the number of ITF Circulars sent to affiliates has increased by about 54%; in 1990 the ITF sent out 165 official circulars and by 1993 this had increased to 254.

246. During the period 1986 to April 1990 the ITF welcomed 39 new affiliates. Between March 1990, and August 1994 however, a further 102 trade unions joined the ITF family. Furthermore another 95 unions are currently seeking affiliation. A signifi-

cant number of these unions will pay at reduced rates and many will not be able to pay in hard currency.

247. At the same time the overall staffing level of the ITF Secretariat has shown only a modest increase in size. At the end of 1989 it stood at 49. In April 1994 it was 53 and the increase is almost entirely due to higher staffing levels in the Special Seafarers' Department (SSD).

Women and young transport workers

248. The questions that the ITF's affiliates will have to address, both at the ITF Women Transport Workers' Conference in August 1994 and in the future, include:

- What kind of structure should the ITF develop to ensure women and young transport workers' representation, and how should this relate to the ITF's existing structures?
- Should women's issues be treated separately, or should the ITF develop a wider equal opportunities strategy, addressing the problems of young workers, and racism?



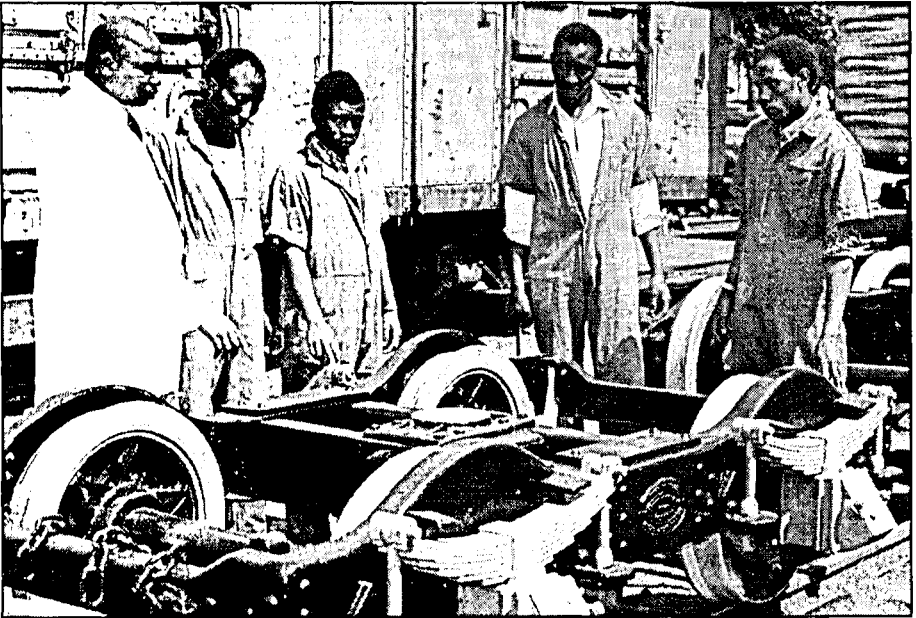
- How should the ITF and its affiliates organise and recruit women and young workers?

- What policies can be developed to achieve greater equality, both in sectors dominated by male workers, and where relevant, in those dominated by female workers?

249. The conclusions of the Women Transport Workers Conference in August 1994 are attached (see Annex).

Trade union organisation

250. Trade unions have witnessed fundamental changes in the labour market and in the organisation and structure of employment. If unions are to be relevant to the transport workers of the future then they must adapt to the prevailing climate. As we look towards the year 2000 the trade union movement as a whole is facing its greatest ever challenge. The key questions are:



- How can transport trade unions adapt to ensure they remain relevant to the new types of transport workers and how can they go about organising them?
- How can the ITF assist its affiliates in this process?

Future action

251. Some of the changes suggested above could be implemented by the Executive Board, others will of course require amendments to the ITF's Constitution, either at the 38th ordinary Congress or subsequently. It is anticipated that they will form part of a longer term assessment and review of the ITF's structures and activities as outlined in the Action Programme (Chapter 5).

Chapter Five

ACTION PROGRAMME: "BUILDING SOLIDARITY"

Introduction

252. The first four chapters of 'Transport Workers: Beyond 2000' identified some of the key issues facing the ITF and its affiliated unions today and posed questions for Congress delegates. Chapter 5 does not try to provide answers to all of the questions posed, but instead highlights the main areas of policy and organisation where action by the ITF and its affiliates may be needed and proposes a procedural framework within which any necessary changes can be implemented.

The Programme

253. The Action Programme was presented to Congress in the form of a draft statement by the Executive Board. The statement, which was adopted unanimously by the 37th Congress, is reproduced here:

254. *The 37th ITF Congress, meeting in Geneva from 4 — 11 August 1994,*

Considering the importance of the issues raised in the Congress discussion document 'Transport Workers: Beyond 2000' for the future of the ITF and its affiliated unions;

Recalling that the ITF was born in 1896 through the demonstration of international solidarity between transport workers;

Reaffirming the fundamental principles which lay behind the ITF's establishment, which are:

- promoting respect for trade union and human rights;
- working for peace based on social justice and economic progress;
- helping ITF affiliates defend the interests of their members;
- providing research and information services to ITF affiliates, and;
- providing general assistance to transport workers in difficulty

Recalling that membership of the ITF is and must remain open to any trade union organisation with members in the transport industry which upholds democratic principles and which subscribes to the aims of the ITF and noting that the majority of the world's working population is still outside trade union organisation and representation;

Noting that major economic, social and political changes are taking place which challenge the ITF, and the rest of the international trade union movement, to reassess their structures, activities and means of action;

Believing that, in the light of the growing globalisation of the world economy, and the

privatisation and deregulation of large parts of the transport industry, international solidarity between transport workers' unions is as important today as at any point in the ITF's history, but that transport workers' unions face increasingly hostile conditions to the achievement of such solidarity;

Appreciating that, faced with the constantly growing demands from affiliates and the limited financial resources available from them, new approaches and ideas are needed if the ITF is to respond effectively;

Calls on the ITF Executive Board:

- To begin a comprehensive Review of all aspects of the ITF's policies, structures and activities;
- To establish a timetable for implementing any changes it believes are necessary to ensure that the ITF is able fully to respond to the present and future needs of its members;
- To report back on progress to the next ITF Congress;
- In its Review, to pay particular attention to the following points:

Building solidarity in the wider world

A MORE ACTIVE ROLE IN THE INTERNATIONAL TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

1. While maintaining its unique position in relation to the transport industry, the ITF should play a more active role in the wider political and industrial world. Chiefly this must mean forging even closer links with the rest of the international trade union movement, working in close co-operation with the ICFTU, ETUC, TUAC, national trade union centres and the other international trade secretariats, on campaigns and policies designed to :

- Defend the role of the International Labour Organisation in the international community as the only body within which workers are represented as of right;
- Persuade governments to adopt internationally co-ordinated policies aimed at achieving full employment with decent wages and working conditions;
- Isolate countries which violate basic human and trade union rights; and secure the inclusion of a 'social clause' in international trade agreements negotiated through the World Trade Organisation;

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- Secure full trade union participation in the planning and introduction of Structural Adjustment Programmes by the IMF and World Bank;
- Improve international co-ordination of trade union organisation within multinational corporations;
- Fight racism and xenophobia in all its forms;
- Resist neo-liberal economic policies designed to marginalise the workforce under the slogan of greater labour flexibility;
- Combat deregulation, privatisation and attacks on the public services;
- Improve general occupational safety and health protection and environmental standards;
- Work to secure world peace and an end to the global trade in arms and weapons of mass destruction and to see that resources currently spent on arms are diverted to development assistance and defence industry diversification.

CUTTING ACROSS TRADITIONAL BOUNDARIES

2. Since the trends identified in 'Beyond 2000' — privatisation, deregulation and globalisation — also affect the traditional boundaries between International Trade

Secretariats, the ITF should build on the work already begun with other ITSs to develop joint campaigns, policies and strategies for particular groups of workers and industries where overlapping jurisdictions or common interests may exist. This should involve, amongst others:

- working with IUF for workers in the fishing industry;
- Working with FIET on workers in the ports/distribution sector;
- Working with ICEF in relation to the offshore oil and gas industry;
- Working with PTI and FIET on the problems of workers in international integrators/couriers/package delivery;
- Working with the PSI for public sector urban transport and air traffic services workers;
- Working with the IMF in relation to the shipbuilding and aerospace industries.

POOLING RESOURCES

3. Using the model of the joint office in Washington which has already been established with some other ITSs and the ICFTU, the ITF should seek ways of strengthening its co-operation with other international trade union bodies in other fields such as:



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- producing trade union education activities and materials;
- sponsoring joint organising campaigns;
- pooling practical resources with other ITS's in matters such as sending missions or establishing representation in new countries or regions .

BUILDING WIDER COALITIONS

4. Since success in achieving the objectives of trade union policies requires not only industrial strength, but also the support of public opinion, the ITF, together with the rest of the international trade union movement, must also forge closer links with other bodies whose interests may coincide with its own on particular issues. Such wider coalitions should include other interest groups such as transport users, environmentalists, women's groups, human rights activists, religious organisations, freedom and democracy movements.

Building solidarity within the ITF

THE ITF'S GOVERNING BODIES

5. The current governing bodies of the ITF have evolved over many years of change. They do not necessarily meet the needs of the ITF as it approaches the 21st century. Some changes have already been proposed

at the Geneva Congress. In the light of these decisions, and of other ideas which may be put forward, the Executive Board should therefore:

- review the general structure of the ITF's governing bodies;
- make proposals to a future ITF Congress for any amendments to the ITF's Constitution which it considers necessary.

A MORE INTEGRATED APPROACH TO POLICY MAKING

6. Within the transport industry, the ITF has long urged on governments the need for a co-ordinated and integrated approach to transport policy making. The Executive Board should consider how best to ensure that this philosophy is reflected in the ITF's own internal structures, without losing the historic autonomy of the ITF Sections which have been one of its principal strengths. Such an integrated approach could include, for example:

- Bringing together experts from the different ITF industrial sections to provide advice to the Board and other ITF bodies on integrated transport policy questions;
- Producing, on a regular basis, publications and policy statements dealing with different aspects of transport policy on an ITF wide basis;

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- Encouraging ITF Sections to develop their activities and work programmes within a common ITF-wide framework, making the maximum use of the ITF's common resources and emphasising the unity of the Federation;

- Encouraging greater interchange of ideas between different Sections through measures such as inter-sectional conferences, seminars, publications and campaigns;

- Developing more ITF activities relevant to all Sections such as problems of 'non traditional' transport workers, part-time and temporary work, contract work, problems affecting women transport workers, ethnic minorities and young people; occupational safety and health; environmental protection, etc;

- Developing between Sections, with the Brussels Committee, and with other ITSs, international consultation, information and negotiation bodies to deal with multinational transport undertakings.

STRENGTHENING THE REGIONS

7. Unlike the Sections, the ITF's regional structures are relatively new. The ITF should continue to strengthen the structures, through the establishment of regional and where necessary sub-regional committees, and the strengthening of Regional offices and representatives. In the past the term 'Regional Activities' within the ITF has

been used exclusively in relation to developing countries. This should no longer be the case. Every ITF affiliate has the right to be part of an ITF regional structure which should complement and not conflict with, the Sections. As part of its review, the Executive Board should examine measures which will :

- Strengthen and develop ITF regional structures, including regional and, where appropriate sub-regional committees as well as regional section activities;

- Integrate unions currently outside ITF regional structures, such as those in North America and the Caribbean;

- Take account of the particular needs of sub-regions with special problems (like Central and Eastern Europe) or which cut across existing ITF regional boundaries (like Black Sea Co-operation, NAFTA or APEC).

FINANCING SOLIDARITY

8. The financing of regional activities has for many years come from two main sources: a standard contribution of 30% of affiliation fee income into the 'Edo Fimmen Account', together with external contributions from donor organisations (mainly government financed but trade union controlled). These latter contributions are not normally available to finance basic regional infrastructure, but have been a major factor in the trade union education and organisation work which has traditionally been the

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main feature of ITF activities in the developing countries of Africa, Asia-Pacific and Latin America.

9. Finance will continue to be a major constraint on expanding regional activities and new ways must be found to pay for both traditional and new forms of international solidarity work. In particular the Board should take steps to:

- Convert the Edo Fimmen 'Account' into a separately structured ITF International Solidarity Fund but still financed through a percentage of affiliation fee income;
- Expand its terms of reference to include unions in all regions which are in need of education, organisational or other help;
- Invite ITF affiliates from the richer countries to make voluntary contributions to the Solidarity Fund with the possibility of 'ear-marking' such contributions for particular regions, sections or types of project;
- Examine ways of providing on a more systematic basis financial and practical assistance to ITF affiliates in serious disputes.

DEEPENING THE ITF'S RELATIONSHIP WITH ITS AFFILIATES

10. A key element in building solidarity within the ITF is strengthening its relations with its affiliates at national level. Often only a few officials of each affiliate have any day

to day contact or information about what the ITF is or does. The ITF Secretariat has only limited influence over this. The key to achieving a deeper relationship in which more officials and activists are aware of the ITF lies at the national level. In many countries, ITF materials are not available in a national language, something which further limits the communication possibilities.

11. Although the ITF Constitution specifically recommends national affiliates to work together closely on ITF matters, only a few actually do so. The Executive Board should therefore:

- Strongly encourage the establishment of ITF Co-ordinating Committees in each country where more than one affiliate exists;
- Give these Committees greater responsibility for acting as a channel for communication to and from the ITF;
- Encourage and where possible assist the Committees to co-operate in translating ITF materials into the national language where appropriate and/or producing specific materials about the ITF for national use;
- Give the Committees the task of identifying new potential ITF affiliates in their own country or in neighbouring countries with which they have relations.

THE SECTIONS

12. The ITF Sections have always been, and remain, at the heart of the Federation's activities. It is the strength of the Sections and the relevance of their work for the day to day organising and bargaining activity of affiliates which distinguishes the ITF from organisations with a more general vocation.

13. It is important that each Section should conduct a thorough review of its own programmes, actions working methods and resources and indeed many have already begun to do so. Considering each section in isolation, however, is not enough. The eight sections vary in size from over 30% of the ITF's membership to under 1%. The contributions which they make to the ITF's overall resources varies accordingly. The ITF Review must therefore examine not only the internal function of each Section but also its relative position within the ITF, its resourcing, methods of work, relationship with other sections and even its name. As part of its Review, therefore, the Executive Board should:

- Request each Section to review its own structures and working methods and to report the results of that review to the Board;
- Take action to amend, after consultation with the relevant Sections, those Section names which are gender specific;
- Consider, in consultation with the relevant Section(s), the restructuring of Sections including the possible merger of Sections with similar interests.

RESEARCH/ PUBLICATIONS/ COMMUNICATIONS

14. The ITF already provides many services — publications, research, communications, information about disputes, etc. — to its affiliates. Modern technologies make such services easier to deliver while enormously expanding the demands for them made on the ITF Secretariat. In addition to its many traditional roles, the ITF is acting more and more as a consultancy service for those of its affiliates who do not have access to the necessary technical expertise. The Executive Board should consider what further types of service affiliates need, as well as how they can be delivered most effectively. This should include:

- Developing new types of general, Sectional and regional ITF publications;
- Making more use of electronic publishing media to disseminate information;
- Providing consultancy services on new technology, communications, press and media and other issues both by the ITF Secretariat and by exchanges of expertise between ITF affiliates in different countries;
- Working with affiliates to improve the dissemination of international information from the ITF to the direct 'consumers' within unions who have most need of it.

EDUCATION

15. Although trade union education has long been a major part of the ITF's regional activities, only recently have steps been taken to put the ITF's education policy on a coherent basis. The majority (by number of unions not by size) of the ITF's membership comes from developing countries and depends to a large extent on the ITF to provide help with education. Many affiliates from developed countries too could benefit from greater technical help from the ITF in giving an international dimension to their educational activities. The Executive Board should therefore:

- Support the continued development of a comprehensive ITF Education Policy aimed at affiliates in both developed and developing countries;
- Encourage the greater involvement of ITF affiliates in the Education Programme through the establishment of an Education Committee or similar body linking unions from donor countries, representatives of the different regions, and other interested affiliates;
- Encourage greater involvement of affiliates in providing lecturers, materials and other educational resources for the ITF Education Programme;
- Encourage national committees of ITF affiliates to play a more active role in the co-ordination of trade union education activities;

- Encourage the development of education materials specifically tailored to the needs of ITF affiliates but drawing on the expertise of other trade union organisations.

FINANCIAL AND HUMAN RESOURCES

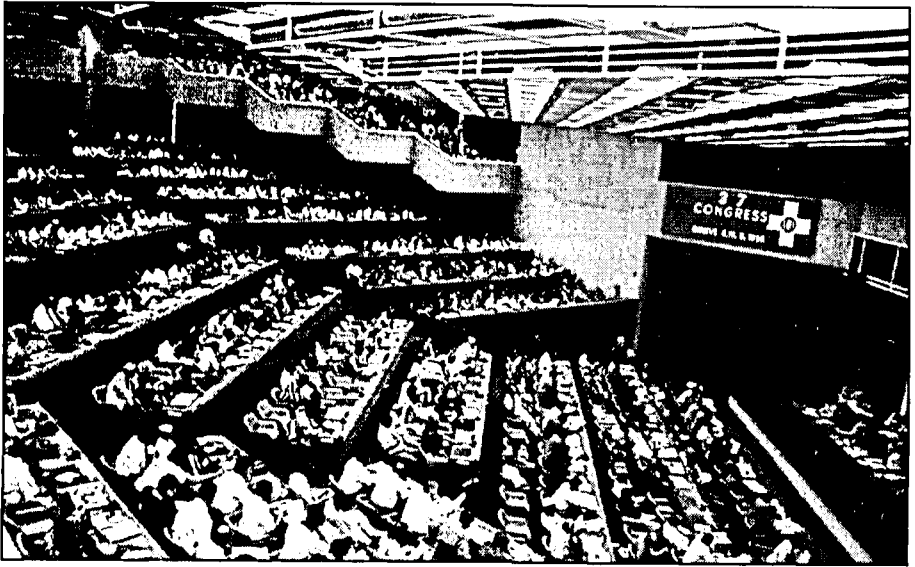
16. Every year sees greater and greater demands placed upon the ITF structures, particularly the Secretariat in London and the regions, by affiliates. The resources available do not, however, expand sufficiently to take account of them. Some of the extra workload can be dealt with by streamlining, increasing efficiency, making greater use of new technologies or simply prioritising work into the most important areas, but this is not enough. Simply expanding the number of ITF employees to cope with the workload is also not a practical option.

17. Yet the ITF possesses a vast and virtually untapped source of human and financial resource — its affiliates. If the unions will the end, they must also will the means to that end. As part of its review, therefore, the ITF must consider new ways of securing greater direct involvement of affiliates in its day to day work and of encouraging closer bilateral contacts between ITF affiliates. Such involvement would, of course, also serve the secondary objective of providing affiliates' staff and officers with a much clearer insight into international questions, so facilitating the building of true international solidarity. The Executive



Board should therefore:

- Review the size, structure and functioning of the ITF Secretariat and Regional offices to ensure that they can cope with the demands placed on them by affiliates and that they respond to changes proposed elsewhere in the Review process;
- Secure short and longer term secondment of staff or officers of ITF affiliates to the ITF London and regional offices;
- Encourage unions to send staff members and officers to the ITF for periods of training, including language training;
- Involve ITF elected officers, including Executive Board members and Section officers, more often in carrying out representation and other functions on behalf of the ITF;
- Promote temporary exchanges of staff between the ITF Secretariat and affiliated unions and between ITF affiliates in different countries;
- Promote bilateral social, education and other exchange type visits between different ITF affiliates.



18. The ideas raised here are not intended as an exhaustive list of the areas in which changes can be made in the way in which the ITF operates. Some of them may be considered unimportant or irrelevant. They do, however, constitute a beginning of a general and continuing assessment of the ITF's overall functioning; an assessment which has only one objective — to make the International Transport Workers' Federation an even more effective tool in the hands of its affiliated organisations in achieving the objective for which it was established almost 100 years ago — to build international solidarity.

19. The Review which is suggested in this Action Programme is no more than the

beginning of what should become a continuous process. Some of the measures which it will produce will take years to implement and will require major changes, including perhaps amendments to the ITF Constitution. Others will be relatively quick, easy and cheap to bring into effect. All of them, however, will involve a high degree of commitment by the ITF's 400 plus affiliates. Although the responsibility for conducting this Review will rest with the ITF Executive Board, it will be necessary for it to produce progress reports to Congress. The first opportunity will be at the special Centenary Congress which is to be convened in 1996. It would also be a particularly appropriate moment in history to take stock not only of where the ITF has come from but also of where it is going.

Conclusions on the ITF and Women Transport Workers

THE ITF WOMEN
TRANSPORT WORKER'S
CONFERENCE, MEETING
IN GENEVA ON 1-2
AUGUST 1994,

*NOTING the specific problems
faced by women transport
workers, including:*

— The low level of women's participation in the transport industry, together with the tendency of many transport unions to focus on organising in areas of traditional transport occupations which are historically male-dominated, both of which result in a low level of women in transport unions, at grass-roots level and particularly in senior trade union positions;

— The under-representation of women in transport unions compared to their presence in the workplace, resulting in an urgent need for many ITF unions to develop policies to recruit and retain existing mem-

bers, and accurately record numbers of women members;

— The reluctance of unions to nominate women as participants in ITF and other international meetings and the resulting lack of experience of women trade unionists on international questions;

— The difficulties experienced by unions attempting to organise women workers, which in particular result from the "double" workload of family responsibilities and employment, making trade union participation difficult for many women;

— Inadequate training opportunities, particularly in the light of restructuring, resulting from the introduction of new technologies, and practical obstacles which are put in the way of women wishing to improve their skills, job security and status, which often leads to demoralisation;

— The high incidence of sexual harassment in male-dominated workplaces — which are common in the transport industry;

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— Widespread discrimination in employment, recruitment, vocational training and promotion opportunities in the transport industries;

— Problems for women with caring responsibilities relating to shift work, long and unsocial hours and travelling, together with discrimination against part-time workers who are mainly women;

— The lack of childcare facilities both in the community and at the workplace, and the absence of exclusive sanitary and changing facilities for women at the workplace;

— The low priority given to occupational health hazards particularly affecting women workers.

BELIEVES that ITF unions can address these problems by implementing the following measures:

— Focusing their demands and strategies on the particular characteristics of women's employment in the different transport sectors, and ensuring that these issues are an integral part of their collective bargaining policies (for example, combatting sexual discrimination and implementing equal opportunities committees at company level),

— Education and empowerment of women workers at grass roots, union, sector, national, regional and international level by organising seminars which focus on women's issues, trade union awareness, leadership training and confidence building. Trade unions should encourage active participation by women in such programmes,

— Empowerment of women by ensuring their inclusion on delegations to national, regional and international trade union meetings and conferences which address mainstream topics, as well as those which deal with specific women's issues,

— Developing organising policies that are based on personal contact and on the formation of core groups of trade union educators, activists and networks to carry out these policies,

— Using the opportunities created by the introduction of new technology to organise for reduced working time without loss of earnings, and for a more equal distribution of working hours between men and women,

— Encouraging cooperation across the transport sectors as well as within them, coordination and cooperation with women's groups and community groups and by including male trade unionists in the work of organising women,

— Encouraging capable women to stand for election to leadership positions, to better reflect the proportion of women's member-

ship, by supporting policies that will result in the participation of women in trade unions at all levels, including the collective bargaining process,

— Focusing on occupational health hazards and issues relevant to women workers specific to each transport sector, taking account of new technology and including, for example, pregnancy, breastfeeding, pre- and post-natal care, the menstrual cycle and the menopause,

— Negotiating effective procedures for dealing with workplace harassment and campaigning to raise awareness of sexual harassment in the workplace, including within the union, together with education of all members (men and women),

— Focusing on common issues affecting women, organising sustained campaigns through the distribution of trade union literature,

— Highlighting violations of the rights of women workers and trade unionists.

ALSO NOTING the important role of the ITF and its affiliated unions in the promotion of equality between men and women and fairness on the job as well as in society;



RECOMMENDS :

— That an Charter on affirmative action be prepared for the use of affiliates as a guide for the implementation of an international equal opportunities strategy,

— The creation, by the ITF, of a Women's Transport Workers' Committee and Women's Transport Workers' Network. The Committee should be an advisory committee to the ITF Executive Board and should be constituted in the same way as other ITF Committees,

— That the Women Transport Workers' Network be made up of ITF Network Coordinators, representing countries/sub-regions/regions. These Coordinators should act as ITF contact-persons, and facilitate the exchange of information between unions as well as with the ITF on issues of interest to women transport workers,

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— That the ITF Women Transport Workers' Network promote the interests of women transport workers by encouraging examples of best practice and disseminating information about such examples,

— That the ITF Women Transport Worker's Committee, in cooperation with the Network, develop measures to identify priorities and ensure these are addressed at all levels within the ITF's structures, including at the ITF Executive Board,

— That all ITF affiliates in the same country should aim to hold women's network meetings, to be organised by national ITF Coordinating Committees, to address these problems at country level. ITF Network Coordinators may be nominated by such meetings of women affiliates in the same country, or by ITF Women's meetings as appropriate,

— That the ITF Women Transport Workers' Committee coordinate these network meetings at regional and international levels. Adequate resources should be made available at Secretariat level through the creation of a Women's Department, which should function on an equal level with the ITF's other Sections and Departments,

— That, where possible, Regional Women's Transport Workers' meetings be held prior to the ITF Regional Conferences so as to enable women delegates to participate

in the ITF's Regional Conferences and to ensure women's concerns are taken into account,

— That a Women Transport Workers' Conference be held prior to each ITF Congress and should include on its agenda reports from the ITF Women's Department and the Network Coordinating Committee,

— That the ITF, in cooperation with affiliates, regularly organise seminars for women at all levels, including leadership training, training for trade union educators or "train the trainers" courses, together with specific skills courses and vocational training,

— That affiliates act to ensure that women are proportionally represented at all ITF conferences and seminars,

— That the ITF review its Constitution to ensure that women are proportionally represented on the ITF Executive Board to reflect the composition of union membership,

— That all ITF publications should pay adequate attention to the problems experienced by women workers, including examples of positive experiences,

— That the language of all ITF publications, including the ITF Constitution, be revised and monitored where necessary to ensure gender neutrality and parity.

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