

# International

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# Transport Workers' Journal



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Monthly Publication of the International Transport Workers' Federation

# International Transport Workers' Journal

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*Monthly Publication of the ITF*

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## *Forthcoming meetings:*

Paris	12 September 1961,	Railwaymen's Section Committee
Paris	13 to 16 September 1961,	Railwaymen's Section Conference
Vienna	9 October 1961,	Road Transport Section Committee
Vienna	10 to 13 October 1961,	Road Transport Section Conference

## Comment

### Making up for lost time

ONE OF MANY SATISFYING FEATURES at the Lima Conference was the extremely active part played in it by a representative of the Mexican Air Line Pilots, Capt. Armando Victoria, who spoke tellingly and with deep feeling not only of the problems of his own group and industry, but also had a number of excellent things to say on trade union organization and development generally.

Listening to him stressing the need for strong and united free trade unionism in Latin America, we could not help reflecting on the great changes which have taken place in the attitude of civil aviation staffs - and more particularly air crew personnel - towards the trade union movement. It does not seem so long ago that many flying staff thought of themselves as very much a group apart - a professional class who were interested only in belonging to purely professional associations and who considered unions as being vaguely Socialistic and 'not quite the thing'. There were, of course, even then honourable exceptions, but by and large flying staff preferred to keep themselves to themselves, to organize in small and generally ineffective clubs or associations, and to remain isolated from a movement to which they as workers - and often badly exploited workers at that - naturally belong.

Today, the picture has been radically altered. Civil aviation personnel have become one of the most active and militant sections of the transport trade union movement - and this is especially true of flying staff. Pilots, flight engineers, navigators, and cabin staff have all been involved in dramatic industrial actions, often with equally spectacular results. Civil aviation personnel were perhaps slow to realize that their problems were basically the same as those of other workers and that they could only be solved by trade union action, but they are now making up for lost time at jet speed.

In Lima, Capt. Victoria spoke of new winds blowing through the Latin American continent. The same is true of his own industry, and very refreshing and beneficial winds they are.

# The ITF Regional Conference in Lima




*Two happy faces after a very successful conference had come to an end. Pieter De Vries and Fernando Azana in a real Latin American embrace during the ITF dinner which rounded off an extremely busy week*

One of the most striking features of the Peruvian trade union movement, however, is the enthusiasm which one finds among officers and members alike. One hears many stories about the 'average' Latin American's fine disregard for time, and it must be admitted that 'la hora Peruana' is a reality which has to be reckoned with. Trade union meetings in Peru do not usually begin at the time they are scheduled for, but that is not the only point of dissimilarity with union meetings in, say, Europe or North America. There is a much better side, and one which union members outside Peru could well imitate. When the meeting eventually does start (and everyone seems to know when this *should* be) it is invariably well attended and the members don't just sit and listen but take a very active part in both the business and the discussion.

A concrete and by no means unusual example. A couple of weeks before the ITF Conference started, a group of ITF representatives visited the dock workers' union in Chimbote, a small port in



*Streetscene in downtown Lima's shopping centre. Lima is a city of contrasts, full of colour and bustling activity. The centre of the city still maintains much of the atmosphere of the early Spanish colonial period*

 IT IS OF COURSE a fallacy to speak of a typical Latin American country, just as it would be equally mistaken to try to find a typical European, African or Asian country. There are in fact wide differences in outlook, national temperament, politics, social customs, and industrial and historical development between the countries of this vast continent, whose huge distances have made the airline industry one of the most important means of communication for its peoples.

For that reason, it certainly cannot be claimed that Peru – the continent's third largest country – is any sense typically Latin American, but there are nevertheless many elements there which are common to at least a large number of Latin American countries. There is, for example, the sharp contrast between extreme wealth and equally extreme poverty; the territorial and climatic extremes; the concentration of economic and political power in a comparatively few hands; the existence of a large peasant population – mainly of Indian stock and very largely illiterate; the fact that the cost of living is high and wages low; that Peru is slowly but surely developing into a modern industrial state; that its government has alternated between dictatorship and democracy – the latter being of fairly recent growth.

The Peruvian trade union movement, too, has a great deal in common with the labour movements of many other Latin American countries. It is still very young, still fairly small; it has been torn by political dissension; shackled by the former dictatorship of General Odría; dominated by Communists who collaborated with the dictator and whose yoke it has now largely thrown off. It still works under tremendous difficulties – the problem of organizing workers in a huge and sparsely-populated country; the fact that victimization and arbitrary dismissal for trade union activities is still common; the continued existence of small pockets of Communist influence, sometimes in key industries – for example in the Port of Lima, El Callao, where corrupt Communist officials are currently being strongly challenged by rank-and-file dockers.

Northern Peru whose workers are strongly opposed to Communist domination from El Callao (as one of their leaders put it with rather untypical understatement: 'The dockers of Chimbote will not make good material for the Soviet Communists').

The meeting began round about midnight in a small adobe building, by the light of a single acetylene lamp. The reason for the late start was not 'la hora Peruana', but because the employers had got wind of the meeting and tried to sabotage it by having five ships loaded with a cargo of fishmeal (a major local industry). In other words, the meeting was attended by dockers who had come straight off the job – the job being to hump 156-lb. sacks of fishmeal from shed to ship for several hours. Nevertheless, the hall was packed, the meeting was wildly enthusiastic, and when it finally came to an end in the early hours of the next day the dockers of Chimbote had become the newest affiliate of the ITF.

A further remark about those sacks of fishmeal which illustrates another point: the dockers received one Peruvian Sol for carrying one ton per man; their employer charged the shipping firm 220 Soles for the same ton!

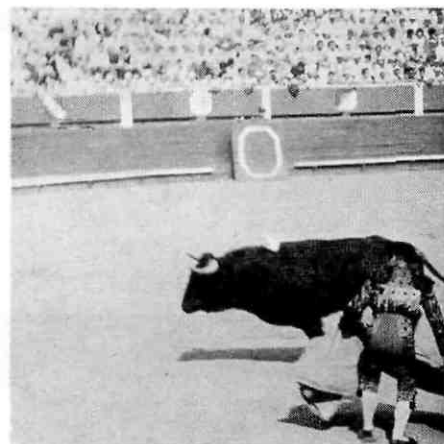
Lima, the venue of the ITF's Second Latin American and Caribbean Zone Conference and Latin America's sixth largest city, is, like Peru itself, a place of contrasts. Fine modern buildings at one end of the scale; the most hideous slums at the other. Broad avenues rub shoulders with crowded, colourful narrow streets, mainly with two names – one from the present, the other dating from the Spanish colonial period. Many reminders from the past of Pizarro and his conquistadores; many reminders too of present-day poverty: beggars squatting on the pavements; Indian women with tiny children sleeping on the streets at night. The latest u.s. and European cars cheek by jowl with battered, patched relics of thirty-odd years ago, ending their days as 'colectivos' – the communal taxis which serve as adjuncts to Lima's rather limited public transport.



*Panagra's DC 8 jet flight 'El Inter Americano' has just arrived at Lima's new international airport, known as Lima-Callao. Thanks to its central position, Lima has excellent air connections with most other Latin American capitals and the United States*

This then was the scene of the ITF's Second Latin American and Caribbean Zone Conference, a conference which would be considered an unqualified success measured by any standards. Attended by some seventy delegates from nearly forty organizations in thirteen Latin American and Caribbean countries, it was almost an ITF Congress in miniature. In fact, anyone walking in casually and seeing the large number of documents produced, the numerous plenary sessions, sectional conferences and committee meetings in progress could very easily have imagined himself back in Berne or Amsterdam. In all, some 600,000 workers in the Latin American and Caribbean Area were represented, while fraternal delegates from us railway brotherhoods and maritime unions brought the total affiliated membership represented to well over 2,000,000. Great interest was shown in the conference by the Peruvian Press and a special tribute should also be paid to the Peruvian authorities, who extended so much co-operation during the conference preparations.

But above all, the Conference was a resounding success because of the volume of hard work put into it by our new Regional Director, Fernando Azaña, and his very small band of helpers – particularly the members and officers of the Peruvian affiliates, who voluntarily gave up so much of their free time to help out with the thousand-and-one jobs which needed to be done. Brother Azaña himself would be the first to agree that all the heartaches, the frustrations, and the sleepless nights to which he referred in



*One of the rather unusual excursions arranged for delegates was to a bullfight at Lima's Plaza de Acho. The bullfight itself was in honour of delegates to the Second Latin American the Conference; three of the six bulls were dedicated to participants*

his address of welcome were made very worthwhile by the results of the Conference and the enthusiasm and drive of the delegates who took part in it.

As will be seen from the resolutions printed elsewhere in this issue, the Conference covered a tremendous amount of ground, both in the plenary sessions and in the two sectional conferences devoted to the special interests of seafarers and dockers and civil aviation workers respectively. Some of the topics dealt with – for example, one-man operation on the railways or systems of engagement for maritime workers – are fairly familiar. Less familiar to those from the socially more advanced countries is the constantly recurring emphasis on the granting of basic trade union rights and the refusal of employers to recognize or to bargain with established and responsible unions of transport workers.

The latter point is probably one of the most striking features of any discussion of the workers' position in Latin America. Whilst a few countries extend complete freedom to democratic trade unions the overall picture is not a happy one. Governmental restrictions on unions; interference with their activities; and victimization and intransigence by employers are unfortunately all too common and make the task of building up solid democratic organizations a very uphill one. Even in those countries where there is a relatively good basis for union activity, it is still often the case that certain groups of workers – particularly those in public services like transport – are denied rights which are freely granted to others.



Naturally, the Latin American trade unionists are very conscious of the disadvantages under which they are working and equally naturally they have a lot to say about them. At the same time, however, it would be a great mistake to imagine they believe that their difficulties can be overcome from outside. They know only too well that strong trade unions in Latin America can only be built up by their own efforts and that nobody can fight their battles for them. They welcome help from outside — from the ITF, from the older and more powerful unions in other parts of the world — because they realize that this can make their work easier and enable them to develop more quickly. But they also realize that such assistance by itself will not solve their problems, and that they must rely very largely on self-help and mutual aid between the trade union movements of the Latin American countries.

This was, in fact, one very heartening aspect of the Conference: that by coming together and discussing each other's difficulties the delegates quickly learned that they had many problems in common which could be solved by joint action. The maritime workers of Uruguay and Chile — who already have an exemplary hiring hall system — listened with close attention to the difficulties which their Argentine brothers were facing in this field and immediately pledged their support in overcoming them. Again, all were united in sympathy with the seafarers of Panama — who are fighting against a tremendous unemployment situation — and it was at once agreed that there should be a combined effort by maritime workers throughout Latin America to drive flag-of-convenience vessels from the ports of their continent and to aid their Panamanian colleagues in every other way possible. There was general agreement, too, on the urgent need for securing the widest possible diffusion of trade union freedoms throughout Latin America, but this again was approached from an extremely practical point of view. Nobody thought that it would be an easy task,

nor that it could be achieved in any other way than by hard struggle and the basic organizational slogging which will inevitably be necessary to create strong and viable trade unions.

The same spirit of realism was very noticeable in statements on the ITF's work and regional organization in the Latin American and Caribbean Area. There was tremendous appreciation of what the ITF had already been able to do, but there was an equally strong determination not only to see that it did even more in the future but to give it concrete assistance in that task. The transport workers of Latin America, in particular, are very much aware of the fact that the past weakness and instability of its affiliates has considerably handicapped ITF activities in the Region and that a powerful ITF regional organization can only become a reality if all concerned play their part in creating the necessary basis for it.

They, like the ITF itself, want to see the transport workers of Latin America standing on their own feet, making the fullest possible use of the tremendous trade union potential which exists in their continent, and taking their place within the ITF on terms of complete equality with its older affiliates.

A Mexican delegate referred at one point to the fact that there are new winds blowing in Latin America. They were certainly blowing through the Lima Conference to very good purpose. The transport workers of Latin America and the Caribbean have their eyes very firmly fixed on a better future than they have ever known before. They realize that they themselves have great obligations and responsibilities if that future is to be achieved quickly, and all the signs indicate that they are determined to face up to them. If the unity of purpose and sense of reality which delegates so clearly demonstrated in Lima are carried back to their own countries, there can be little

*Brother Fernando Azaña, ITF Regional Director for Latin America and the Caribbean Area, makes his report to the Lima Conference*

doubt that the creation of a really strong and united democratic transport workers' movement throughout the area is only a matter of time.

## GENERAL RESOLUTIONS

*Adopted by the  
Second ITF Latin American and  
Caribbean Zone Conference  
LIMA, 1 TO 6 MARCH 1961*

### Resolution on the Latin American regional organization

The Second Latin American and Caribbean Zone Regional Transport Workers' Conference, meeting in Lima, Peru, from 1 to 6 March 1961,

HAVING NOTED that the ITF should be represented in the Regions by roving representatives; and

CONSIDERING that there is a necessity in Latin America for the establishment of an ITF Regional Office;

REQUEST that the ITF Executive Committee recognize the special needs of Latin America and approve the creation of a Latin American Regional Office.

### Resolution on Colombian river and railway workers

The Second Latin American and Caribbean Zone Regional Transport Workers' Conference, meeting in Lima, Peru, from 1 to 6 March 1961,





(1) The General Secretary, Brother Pieter De Vries, welcomes delegates and guests at the formal inaugural ceremony held in the Teatro de Colón. With him on the platform are Bro. Taboada, the Chairman of the Conference; officials of the Peruvian trade union movement; and the Peruvian Minister of Labour (immediately behind table microphone)



(2) The General Secretary photographed with a group of ITF representatives and officers of Peruvian affiliates following his arrival at Lima-Callao Airport. The streamer behind the group is welcoming delegates to the Conference



(3) Brother Julio Vetter Vargas of the Peruvian Civil Aviation Workers' Federation in gay mood during an after-dinner speech. Not so long ago, Bro. Vetter was dismissed from his job in the control tower at Lima-Callao Airport because of his trade union activities and was reinstated only after considerable union pressure

(4) Captain Armando Victoria (centre) of the Mexican Airline Pilots' Association is here seen with members of the Uruguayan maritime workers' delegation. In his opening speech to the Conference Capt. Victoria called upon all the transport workers of the Americas to unite and assist one another through the ITF

(5) Brother Luis Ballesteros, General Secretary of the Panamanian National Maritime Union, notes a point for reply during one of the speeches at the plenary session. Bro. Ballesteros asked the Conference support the Panamanian Seamen in their fight against unemployment

(6) Ernest Lee (left), Inter-American Representative in Lima of the International Federation of Commercial, Clerical and Technical Employees; William Sinclair, Inter-American Representative of the





Public Services' International; and Cal Tanner, Vice-President of the US Seafarers' Union were among fraternal delegates to the Conference

(7) Heberto Sein, Chief Interpreter, and two of his colleagues seen at work in one of the booths. A special word of thanks is due to Bro. Sein for his tireless and always cheerful efforts to make the interpreting side of the Conference a real success

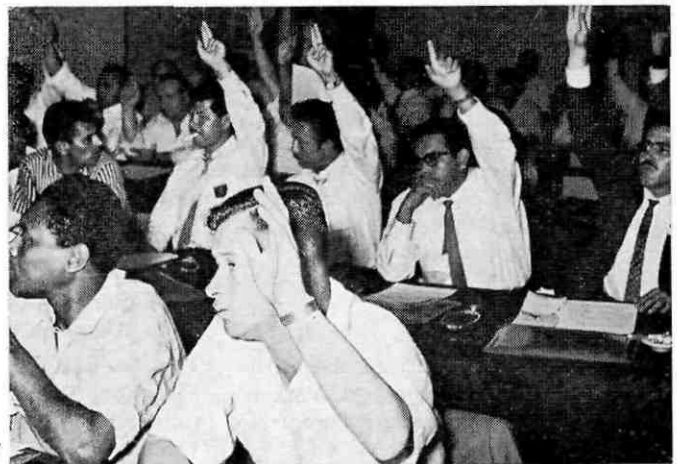
(8) At the microphone is Brother Alexander Wilson, General Secretary of the Curacao Traffic and Transport Workers, and equally at home in English, Spanish, Dutch and Papaminto (the Curacao lingua franca). Brother Wilson's union is one of the newest of the ITF's affiliates

(9) Time out for a snack for Bro. Hassan Ali, General Secretary of the British Guiana Air Transport Union, Bro. Wilson of Curacao, and Bro. Taboada of the Peruvian Tramwaymen's Federation

(10) Bro. Wenceslao Moreno of the Chilean Maritime Confederation addresses the Conference on the problems of his members. The dispute with both Chilean and foreign shipowners in which his union is engaged was the subject of an emergency resolution adopted by the Conference

(11) Voting on a resolution during the last day's plenary session, when the report of the Resolutions Committee was presented. In this photograph can be seen representatives of the Peruvian, Mexican, Colombian and Uruguayan delegations

(12) Captain Armando Victoria of Mexico introduced and spoke in support of several of the resolutions which were put forward by the Civil Aviation Section Conference





HAVING HEARD reports on the situation facing the organizations of river and railway workers in Colombia,

REQUESTS the ITF Executive Committee that it aid the workers of the Colombian river transport industry as well as the seafarers and its affiliates ULTRAFLUMAR and the Union of Merchant Seafarers, by means of a communication to the Colombian Parliament stating that it is the aspiration of the workers organized in the abovementioned unions that the principles laid down in the Draft Law No. 248 should be applied;

REQUESTS the ITF Executive Committee also to send a communication to the Colombian river navigation companies, demanding that they introduce and apply a system of collective contracts, the said communication to be directed to the Asociación Nacional de Navieros, ADENAVI, in Barranquilla, Colombia; and furthermore,

REQUESTS the Executive Committee to take similar action on behalf of the railway workers of Colombia who are in the same position as the employees already referred to.

#### **Resolution on Costa Rican railway workers' claims**

The Second Latin American and Caribbean Zone Regional Transport Workers' Conference, meeting in Lima, Peru, from 1 to 6 March 1961,

HAVING LISTENED to reports presented by the National Railwaymen's Union of Costa Rica which show that its efforts to secure improvements in the wages and working conditions of its members have so far been unsuccessful due to certain prohibitions by the Government and the negative attitude of the Railways Board of Management;

RESOLVES to support the members of the National Railwaymen's Union of Costa Rica in the achievement of their aims, and to send an immediate cable to the Railways Board of Management calling on them to give favourable consideration to the union claims.

#### **Resolution on transport workers' conditions of employment**

The Second Latin American and Caribbean Zone Regional Transport Workers' Conference, meeting in Lima, Peru, from 1 to 6 March 1961,

HAVING CONSIDERED the nature of the work performed by office personnel and other salaried employees;

RECOMMENDS that there should be equality of rights and conditions of employment; RECOMMENDS ALSO that governments should introduce training schemes for workers in order to give them the opportunity of obtaining improved qualifications and thus advancing to better positions.

THE CONFERENCE CONSIDERS that the best way of implementing these recommendations would be through the creation in each country of a centralized ministry of transport; and

TRUSTS that the governments of those countries where such ministries do not exist will take the necessary steps for their creation in order that the workers' aspirations should be fully realized.

#### **Resolution on Latin American dictatorships**

The Second Latin American and Caribbean Zone Regional Transport Workers' Conference, meeting in Lima, Peru, from 1 to 6 March 1961,

AFTER HAVING CONSIDERED reports on conditions of employment in various countries governed by dictatorships;

RECOMMENDS that the ITF Executive Committee make fresh approaches to the governments of all countries in which the workers are oppressed, with the aim of ensuring that the latter enjoy peace and full freedom to exercise their human rights; and

URGES the workers of all the countries concerned to supply the ITF with up-to-date reports on this question. In addition, the Conference;

REAFFIRMS its opposition to any dictatorship, whether of the right or of the left; and URGES all affiliates of the ITF to use every

opportunity of expressing these sentiments, and to give every support to members of free and democratic unions still fighting against totalitarian systems and methods, wherever these exist.

#### **Resolution on freedom of association and the right to organize**

The Second Latin American and Caribbean Zone Regional Transport Workers' Conference, meeting in Lima, Peru, from 1 to 6 March 1961,

HAVING CONSIDERED the application of International Labour Conventions Nos. 87 and 98 in the Latin American and Caribbean Area,

RESOLVES

(1) *To call upon* upon those governments which have ratified, either partially or wholly, Conventions 87 and 98 but which have not fully applied them or have promulgated repressive internal laws which contradict the provisions of the Conventions and result in their non-application, to implement them in their entirety; and to request those governments which have not yet accepted the Conventions to do so as a matter of urgency, thus performing a supremely important act of social justice and democratic re-affirmation;

(2) *That the delegations* attending this conference affirm their complete solidarity and the uniting of their efforts with all workers' organizations fighting for trade union freedom, and that they request the ITF to ask the ILO Conference meeting in Argentina in April to give close attention to the complete ratification of Conventions 87 and 98 and of all other Conventions and Ratifications which affect transport workers; and

(3) *That the countries participating in the* ILO Conference should comply with the Constitution of the International Labour Organization with respect to workers' representation.

#### **Resolution on trade union rights of transport workers**

The Second Latin American and Caribbean Zone Regional Transport Workers'



Conference, meeting in Lima, Peru, from 1 to 6 March 1961,  
 DEPLORES the situation existing in certain countries whereby transport trade union organizations are denied the freedom of union organization enjoyed by other industrial unions in the same countries;  
 STATES that there is no basis for such discrimination; and  
 RECOMMENDS that the Executive Committee of the ITF take energetic steps to remedy this situation and to obtain full trade union freedom for all transport workers.

#### Resolution on Avianca workers

The Second Latin American and Caribbean Zone Regional Transport Workers' Conference, meeting in Lima, Peru, from 1 to 6 March 1961,  
 CALLS UPON the President of Aerovías Nacionales de Colombia (Avianca) to use all means at his disposal to avoid the creation of unemployment among his workers; and  
 RESOLVES to give complete support to the action undertaken by the Avianca Workers' Union and the National Association of Aviation Mechanics vis-à-vis the Company.

#### Resolution on the situation of Colombian and Panamanian seafarers

The Second Latin American and Caribbean Zone Regional Transport Workers' Conference, meeting in Lima, Peru, from 1 to 6 March 1961,  
 CONSIDERING that the Union of Merchant Seamen of Colombia has submitted to the Flota Mercante Grancolombiana S.A. a series of claims which comprise the most pressing and just aspirations of the Colombian seafarers and that the Company has persistently declined to enter into discussions, refusing to recognize the union as the accredited representative of its members;  
 THE CONFERENCE RESOLVES  
 (1) To request the ITF Executive Committee to give the Colombian Merchant Seamen's Union all the support which it requires in its struggle to defend the interests of Colombian seafarers, and



**RECUERDO DE LA SEGUNDA CONFERENCIA LATINOAMERICANA  
 Y DE LA ZONA DEL CARIBE  
 DE SINDICATOS DEL TRANSPORTE**  
 REALIZADA DEL 1 AL 6 DE MARZO DE 1961  
**LIMA-PERU**

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 Medardo Romero, Director Regional de la ITF, Secretario General  
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especially in regard to the claims submitted to the Flota Mercante Grancolombiana, as well as to consider the possibility of boycott action leading to the complete paralysis of loading and unloading operations by affiliated seamen's and dockers' unions in those European and American ports trafficked by vessels of the Company should the latter not give immediate attention to the demands submitted by their seafarers; and

(2) *To communicate* the present resolution to the President of the Republic of Colombia, to the Minister of Labour, to the Colombian National Congress, to the Board of Management and Managing Director of the Company, to the dockers and seafarers' organizations of the United States, to the other transport workers' unions of the American continent, and to the Colombian Merchant Seamen's Union;

(3) *Furthermore the conference*, having heard reports from the Panamanian seamen's representative on the difficulties experienced by the seafarers of that country in obtaining work on ships flying the Panamanian flag, requests the ITF Executive Committee to consider an approach on similar lines to the Panamanian President and Government, requesting that immediate attention be given to the grave problem of unemployment facing Panamanian seafarers.

#### **Resolution on trade union freedom for Costa Rican railwaymen**

The Second Latin American and Caribbean Zone Regional Transport Workers' Conference, meeting in Lima, Peru, from 1 to 6 March 1961,

HAVING BEEN ADVISED of the anti-union policy adopted by the British owned Northern Railway Co., as well as of the fruitless attempts by the Costa Rican Railwaymen's Union to ensure that the workers of this Company may organize themselves;

RESOLVES to give the maximum possible support from the ITF and its affiliates for the achievement by these workers of the benefits deriving from their inherent right to be union-organized.

#### **Resolution on Chilean maritime dispute**

(Approved by the Conference as an Emergency Resolution)

The Second Latin American and Caribbean Zone Regional Transport Workers' Conference, meeting in Lima, Peru, from 1 to 6 March 1961,

HAVING NOTED that the Maritime Confederation of Chile is in a state of conflict with both national and foreign shipowners regarding a series of claims submitted at the end of the last year; and

HAVING NOTED ALSO that the legal and economic situation of the seafarers has not met with the understanding of the said shipowners operating in Chile, despite the fact that the Chilean Government has recognized the justness of the workers' demands;

CONSIDERING that the intransigent attitude of the shipowners has led to the taking of legal strike action by the seafarers, which action has now been suspended for a period of ten days with the aim of finding a solution to the dispute; and

CONSIDERING ALSO that the shipowners, in view of the solidarity demonstrated by the seafarers, have tried to profit from the temporary suspension of the strike by using every possible means to have the Chilean Government issue a decree designating the maritime industry as a public service;

THEREFORE RESOLVES

(1) To recommend members of the ITF throughout the whole world not to discharge any cargo proceeding from a Chilean port; and

(2) to bring this resolution to the immediate attention of the Government of the Chilean Republic.

#### **Resolution on the engagement of maritime workers**

(Submitted by the Seafarers' and Dockers' Conference)

Considering that in connection with the system of engaging seafarers established by the Genoa International Convention No. 9 of 1920, the conference has ob-

served, from statements made by the delegates of different countries, that it is the aspiration of their organizations that the hiring of seafarers and dockers should not be an object of profit, nor should it be under the exclusive control of the government, the ship-owners, or corrupt elements;

That the conference has observed that, although some governments in Latin America have ratified the Convention, they have refused to incorporate in national legislation the practical implementation of the principles contained in the Convention, thus doing serious harm to the rights of seafarers;

That likewise, the Conference has observed that the situation of the workers is more unbearable in those countries which have not ratified the Convention.

#### **The conference resolves**

1. To request the Executive Committee of the ITF to require of governments which are not complying with the Convention, as well as those which have ratified it, the complete implementation of its provisions, and the full incorporation in national legislation, of its principles, without prejudice to a request to the ILO for similar action. In those countries where there is a system superior to that established in the Convention, such a system should continue. Where this has not already been done, similar provisions should also be applied to dockers.

2. To request affiliated organizations to support the action mentioned in the foregoing point.

*At its meeting in Tel Aviv this month the ITF Executive Committee considered the resolutions adopted in Lima. In addition to approving or noting those reproduced above, it decided to remit resolutions concerning one-man operation and civil aviation workers to the appropriate Sections. In the case of a further resolution concerning the vessels operated by Alcoa International, Inc. it was pointed out that this was a matter for consideration by the ITF Jurisdictional Committee.*

# The Finnish bus industry



*The central bus station at Kuopio, impressive as a piece of architecture and a reflection of the importance of the rôle which the bus now plays in the Finnish transport system*

**FINLAND**, the most easterly of the Scandinavian countries, has a standard of living not much lower than that of neighbouring Sweden. Since railway lines in Finland are relatively few and far between, the long-distance bus has come to play a crucial role in the country's public transport system. This development has, moreover, been accentuated by the extent to which goods traffic has always had to go by road: quite a few fair-sized towns in the provinces have no railway connection with the rest of the country, so that the bus stations in these places are also used as goods depots. Even if the goods traffic carried by the long-distance buses is, naturally, limited to parcels and small consignments, this traffic nevertheless represents a considerable proportion of the total volume of goods carried by road.

The bus plays a greater part in the Finnish transport system than in any other European country. In 1958 the country had 35,000 route kilometers served by public and privately owned bus undertakings, as against a railway network of only 5,000 kilometers. Out of the total 531 bus enterprises operating in Finland, 28 per cent are small firms with only one or two vehicles, and a further 34 per cent operate with three to five vehicles. The largest of these undertakings has 77 vehicles.

In 1958 there were 4,712 buses in operation. Of these 3,755 were privately owned, 390 belonged to the Post Office, 27 to the State Railways and 540 to municipal public transport undertakings. During the year 363 new buses were put into service, and 239 old vehicles were withdrawn. Altogether, during 1958

Finnish buses, almost 4,000 of which are diesels, carried approximately 4 million goods consignments. From Helsinki alone, no less than 350,000 goods consignments, each weighing an average of 25 kilos, were despatched by bus to the provinces.

The number of passengers carried by these vehicles rose from 190 million in 1957 to 206 million in 1958. At the same time the average length of each passenger journey rose from 12.6 kilometers to 14.2 kilometers. Of the total number of kilometers covered by Finnish buses during long-distance routes, 5.1 million were accounted for by buses on short routes of up to 30 kilometers and municipal transport accounted for the remaining 1.6 million kilometers.

The densest traffic is naturally in Helsinki itself, where 10 per cent of Finland's

total population lives. At the Helsinki bus station — the largest in Finland — there are every day 2,500 arrivals and departures, approximately 400 of them long distance buses. The longest route is 300 kilometers, and on this route there are 6 or 7 services a day. A large part of the traffic to and from the Helsinki central bus station is, of course, suburban and commuter traffic so that whilst the bus station presents some hectic scenes at the rush hours in the early morning and evening, for the rest of the day the yard is largely occupied by stationary vehicles which are not in use outside the peak travelling periods.

As a result of the major rôle which bus traffic plays in Finland, a great number of bus depots have been constructed which are not only architecturally impressive but extremely well equipped to provide the most efficient service. At present there are 27 of these which are owned and operated by local authorities, with a much larger and steadily increasing number run

*(Continued on page 104)*



*The bus station at Riihimäki to the north of Helsinki. Recently constructed, this station incorporates all modern facilities for passengers. 27 of these busstations are presently owned and operated by local authorities.*



# Our attitude to Cuba

By JUAN ANTONIO ACUNA, General Secretary, Uruguayan Trade Union Confederation



*Tank units taking part in a parade marking the second anniversary of the triumph of the Cuban revolution. This Soviet-style celebration is but one indication of the growing communist influence in Castro's regime*



THE CUBAN REVOLUTION has recently been the cause of much public controversy in Uruguay. Mass demonstrations, riots and attacks on the University and Communist Party headquarters have already, at the cost of much bloodshed, become part of the history of our political struggles. Those who, acting on foreign authority, defend the present Cuban revolutionary government, have by their despotic action and ironically under cover of our democratic liberties, taken the life of a democrat. Following upon all these events came the Government's decision to declare the Cuban Ambassador and the First Secretary of the Soviet Embassy personae non gratae, and to expel them from the country within 48 hours. In our opinion it is up to the judiciary to substantiate any criminal charges and punish the guilty, while Parliament should take whatever action falls within its own field. In no case is strike action appropriate. The communist trade unions are suggesting this in a treacherous attempt to create political disturbances among the workers, under the pretence of advocating 'aid to Cuba' or 'opposition to the reactionary policies of the International Monetary Fund', etc.

However, we are now in the throes of a much more dramatic controversy whose implications concern a whole continent: to be for or against the Cuban revolution. This issue, although it appears at first sight to be a simple one, poses a question of fundamental principle which we cannot and must not evade and which has not ceased to hold good, despite the attempts of various national and international political interests to distort and obscure the picture of the Cuban revolutionary process. Attitudes to the Cuban revolution take three forms: two radically opposed ex-

tremes and a third which we may call reason and common sense.

The first of these groups maintain that the Cuban revolution must be defended at all costs, without admitting of the least criticism. Their approval is unconditional; worse, it is sycophantic and spineless; it is an absolute denial of rationality and of the critical mind of the free man; they are willing to bow down and worship before the altar of totalitarianism which appeals to the unthinking, weak animal required by political absolutism for the attainment of total power. When confronted with

incontrovertible evidence of the glorious revolutionary movement's tragic degeneration into despotism after the leaders set themselves up as dictators, they claim that this is necessary for the final victory of the revolution. Otherwise, they say, it would not be possible to carry out the radical transformation of the economy and life of Cuba for the benefit of its people, the most important steps of which have been the measures of agrarian reform, the nationalization of industries and foreign business concerns and the fight against 'Yankee imperialism'. They maintain that a dictatorship is necessary for the transition from the bourgeois-capitalist state to the socialist state, accepting Lenin's dictum that 'the end justifies the means', and denying any suggestion that the Cuban revolution is bound to follow a similar course — perpetual dictatorship — to that of Soviet Russia. The unquestioning supporters of the Castro regime who make up this first group accept all this as well as the fact that in Cuba all

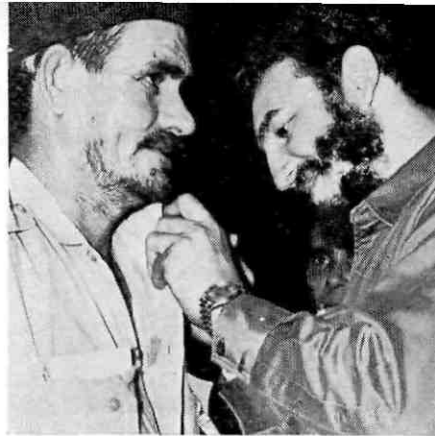


*Cuban tobacco workers. Despite sweeping measures of agrarian reform and mass nationalization of foreign businesses, Cuban workers are no better off under Castro than they were under Batista's régime as far as and trade union liberties are concerned*

they proclaim as sacred and inviolable is being desecrated and violated; they accept that the Castro regime has ruthlessly interfered with the trade union movement (CTC) — which the ex-dictator Batista never did; that it has outlawed all trade union rights, such as the right to strike, the right to govern their own affairs and to elect their own officers, and the right of free association; that the Army has interfered with the running of trade unions and that certain government officials (nearly always communists) have been forced on them; that workers and trade union leaders who have not unquestioningly submitted to the government have been imprisoned and persecuted, as happened in the case of David Salvador, a leader of the revolution from its inception, who had been confirmed as General Secretary of the CTC by its first revolutionary congress in the middle of 1959, but who was deprived of his position and imprisoned by order of the government when the Army took over the trade union centre in order to enable the communist element to rise to the top; they admit that the government have interfered with the University of Havana and destroyed its autonomy, as they did with the judiciary and with all the organs for disseminating ideas, criticism and information; they admit that every aspect of Cuban life today reflects the single-minded political monopoly of the totalitarian state, shored up by denunciations, espionage, bayonets and tanks.

The unquestioning defenders of the present Cuban regime show extraordinary irresponsibility and lack of scruple in their acceptance of all this; they do not trouble to check up on the supposed 'social conquests' which, like the agrarian reform, are meant as proof that the country is moving towards socialism, while in fact the peasant — like the city worker — is a much deprived of his rights and liberties as he ever was under the tyrannical Batista regime.

They admit everything, with the deliberate exception of historical experience and in particular the example of the Soviet revolution itself (upon which they claim



*Castro handing out awards to leaders of the sugar workers' union in Havana as recognition of their part in achieving increased output. The workers of Cuba, although delighted to be rid of Batista, must have felt sore disappointment as it became clear that things were not to be so different after all*

that the new Latin America will be modelled) which, after forty years of ruthless and bloody tyranny has become the most powerful, sinister and menacing state of all time. Its tentacles have reached out and captured 12 former independent nations, hundreds of thousands of towns and hundreds of millions of human beings. They also ignore the fact that in Russia everything is explained away on the pretext that the construction of socialism, as a step towards communism, justified the dictatorship of the proletariat — in other words, the savage and tyrannical methods which, although supposedly in their interests, in fact deprive the workers of all future chances of obtaining freedom, since throughout his life the individual is forced into the mental and spiritual pattern required by the Absolute State. The State permits them only the ideas and feelings of a fanatical, inhuman automaton which will render it unquestioning obedience.

Others who defend the Cuban government see it as leading the great Latin American revolutionary crusade and they are therefore prepared to accept the more unsavoury aspects of the regime. They are prepared, out of self-interest and love of political intrigue, to collaborate with any movement which supports the Castro regime — communists, Peronists and all the sects and political adventurers to be found in the continent. Meanwhile they level harsh and bitter criticism at the President of Venezuela, Rómulo Betancourt, for his energetic resistance to all Cuban or communist or Trujillist intervention in the internal problems of his country. This unscrupulous attitude is dictated more by political calculation than by honest support of the Cuban revolution.



*Just as Batista's dictatorship required a well-equipped Army to maintain its stranglehold, the new regime in Cuba finds armaments essential, both to give its leaders a greater feeling of security and to show the people where power really lies. The name of the regime has changed, but the methods used are the same*

They think that by collaborating with the Communists on behalf of Castro they will be able to gain the support of the workers whom the communists are inciting to strike. This, quite apart from its dishonesty, is the most ridiculous and stupid way of playing at politics.

In direct opposition to this group are those who maintain that the Cuban revolution must be resisted with every possible weapon. But not because they dislike the fact that a dictatorial regime has been established in its name, that the government has interfered with the trade unions, that the right to strike has been established in its name, that the government has interfered with the trade unions, that the right to strike has been abolished, that the workers are no longer allowed to have a say in determining their own wages and working conditions, that wages have been frozen and that the state has intervened in the running of the university, etc., etc. No — they simply oppose the revolution because of the expropriation of the great property owners and the nationalization of national and foreign multi-millionaire enterprises. The truth is that the great majority of those who want to destroy the Cuban revolution, who rant and storm against it, have never taken the slightest interest in the principles of freedom and democracy which they now claim to defend. They have not lost any sleep in the past over whether the trade unions were free or government-controlled, or whether they were operating under a democratic or a dictatorial regime, as long as their own sacred and inviolable capital interests were respected. They did not care a scrap about the kind of life the people of Cuba were subjected to under

the sanguinary regime of Batista, any more than they care about what is happening in Paraguay, Nicaragua or the Dominican Republic, which are suffering under tyrannies just as savage and hateful. They are quite happy with any state of affairs which allows their all-powerful imperialistic business interests to do as they please, exploiting the people without any hindrance from the corrupt lackeys of officialdom.

Nor did their hearts bleed for Cuba during Batista's time. Their consciences were not alarmed that the press — with a few honourable exceptions — had been bought over by the dictator. Only now do they suddenly join the side of the angels and protest as loudly as anyone when Castro destroys the freedom of the press as he had already done with the freedom of the trade unions. At first they were all in favour of the revolution, once it had taken over, but they quickly changed their tune when it laid hands on their property and refused to support newspapers which had been subsidized by the dictator Batista. The people who for various reasons are fiercely opposed to the Cuban revolution, lack all moral authority and do not deserve to be taken seriously, particularly when it is remembered that some of them are near fascists. They were the ones who advocated repressive measures against the free trade union movement, called for intervention from outside in Cuba and, in short, represent the most reactionary forces in the political, social and economic fields.

We cannot, therefore, align ourselves with either of these groups. But we do identify ourselves with the group which stands for what we have called reason and common sense. The Cuban revolution, as far as it was a liberation movement for the benefit of the Cuban people and an example to the rest of Latin America, has our wholehearted support. But as free, responsible citizens, not blinded by prejudice or dogma, we shall attack the betrayal of the ideal by a Soviet-influenced dictatorship which is as bad as that of Batista.

### Scandinavian inquiry into seafarers' accidents



IN OUR LAST ISSUE under the heading 'What do seafarers die of?', we drew attention to the disturbing implications of a recent investigation by Dr. Anders Otterland of the University of Gothenburg into mortality among Swedish seafarers. Since one of the more disquieting features of Dr. Otterland's report was its indication of a disproportionately high accident mortality rate among seafarers, it is gratifying to record that this problem is going to be tackled without delay. A joint Scandinavian study-group has been set up to inquire more closely into accident rates in the merchant fleets of the four Scandinavian countries, and to suggest what can be done to bring these rates down. Dr. Otterland himself has been appointed as the Swedish member of the team, and he will be joined by three other experts from Denmark, Finland and Norway.

### Contradictions



IN A COMMUNIQUÉ ISSUED BY THE 'STATE COUNCIL' OF EASTERN GERMANY at the end of last month, it is stated that the achievement of what they call a Socialist Society is not without difficulties and contradictions. That seems to us to be true enough.

The 'State Council' also established that a socialist consciousness does not develop uniform lines. That also seems to be true since any kind of consciousness does not develop uniformly among all human beings. The question we would like to ask, however, is what kind of contradiction is it that exists between the 'contradictions' in democratic societies and the 'contradictions' in the 'People's Democracies'? After all, according to Communist 'laws of social development' it is typically characteristic of pluralistic, free societies that they develop 'inherent contradictions and difficulties' which are a sign of their inevitable decay. But in the 'People's Democracies' — not to speak of the Soviet Union — there aren't supposed to be any

social contradictions and so therefore — or perhaps that isn't the case after all. Apparently not.

Nevertheless, something which for one type of society spells inevitable decay is apparently only a diversion leading to a 'higher' form of society for those living under Ulbricht's rule. And just how does Ulbricht succeed in making these 'contradictions', this 'non-uniform consciousness' and all the attendant 'difficulties' disappear so easily in a People's Democracy? No problem about that. He simply says: If citizens offend against the laws and the bases of existence of the collectivity, then the full force of the State's laws must be applied against them. And of course Ulbricht himself decides what these 'bases of existence' are. In other words, Ulbricht abolishes the contradictions which always exist in any society, despite the fact that from a purely objective point of view these same contradictions possess the very useful quality of saving society from becoming mummified. What he wants is to have all the inhabitants of the Eastern zone lined up at attention as if they were on an Army parade ground, blindly obeying his orders.

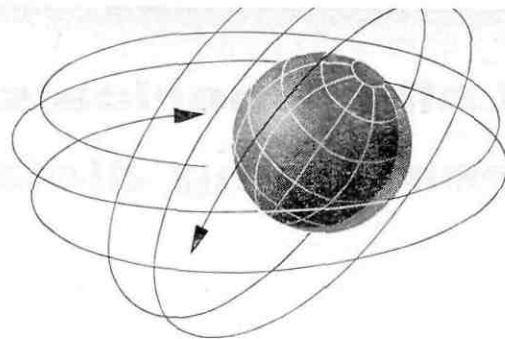
From *Welt der Arbeit*, published by the West German Federation of Labour

### OECD instead of OEEC?




THE CONVENTION to establish a successor to the present Organization for European Economic Cooperation is at present awaiting ratification by the parliaments of the eighteen countries concerned and it is anticipated that this process will be completed by the autumn. The new organization will be known as the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) and will be made up of the eighteen European countries who belonged to the OEEC, together with the United States and Canada. The broad objects of the organization are to contribute to sound economic expansion in both member and non-member countries and to the expansion of world trade on a multilateral and nondiscriminatory basis.






## Argentine Air Force will aid CIRM

 LATEST GOVERNMENT TO PROMISE assistance to the International Radio-Medical Centre (CIRM) in Rome is that of Argentina, which has authorized the Centre to make use of its Air Force rescue aircraft for the urgent removal and transport to hospital of seriously ill and injured seamen aboard ships of all nationalities sailing off the Argentinian coast. The rescue service along the coasts of South America will also be greatly facilitated by the rapid teleprinter link between Rome and Buenos Aires which has been made available by 'Italcable'.

Last year, the work of the Centre included, inter alia: the sending of more than 8,000 medical messages; the treatment of 928 patients; and 28 air-sea missions undertaken with the cooperation of Air Force, Navy and Customs authorities.

## New industry-wide pension plan in Norway


 A NEW INDUSTRIAL PENSION PLAN has been voluntarily negotiated and approved by both the Norwegian Federation of Trade Unions and the Employers' Confederation. Scheduled to come into operation on 1 January 1962, the scheme will initially cover some 240,000 workers employed by members of the Employers' Confederation, and under certain conditions may also be extended to other groups of workers. Actual pension payments will start on 1 January 1964. The agreement may be revised after a period of five years.

Speaking at a press conference, the Norwegian Prime Minister said that the government welcomed the plan as a good beginning towards universal supplementary pensions. He told reporters that a pension amounting to 60 per cent of wages before retirement would be a worthwhile goal to aim at, and stated that other large groups such as fisherman and farmers might well explore the possibility of introducing a similar scheme.


The new pension agreement is designed to provide additional income for workers entitled to receive both old-age pensions

and supplementary municipal pensions. To earn the maximum pension under the scheme (2,400 kroner or £120 per year), members of the plan have to pay premiums for 2,000 weeks or forty full working years. One-tenth of the premium weeks required for the maximum have to be paid before any pension can be drawn. Total weekly premiums amount to 4s. 6d., of which one-third is paid by the worker and the remainder by the employer.

## International cooperation on protection from atomic hazards


 EURATOM and the International Labour Organization have signed an agreement to promote cooperation between the two organizations in all matters relating to the protection of workers from the dangers of atomic radiation. The agreement provides for consultation between the two bodies, for each to be represented at meetings convened by the other to deal with this question, and for the regular exchange of legal and statistical data.

## Their worst enemy?

 ZIM, THE ISRAELI SHIPPING LINE, is expanding fast. The company has now a fleet of 38 ships totalling 270,000 tons, three quarters of which is less than five years old, and they have just placed an order for the delivery of a new 23,000 ton flagship which will be called *Shlomo Hamelech*.

By 1963, Zim expects to have 500,000 tons under its flag, and in the next few years the company will be needing another 2,500 seamen to carry on its operations. Commenting on this, a director of the line pointed out that Israeli seamen preferred to work in the merchant navy for five or six years, after which they usually liked to settled down on dry land and raise families — 'It has often been said that woman is the worst enemy of Israel's merchant shipping'.


## Solidarity fund for non-unionists

 THE WEST GERMAN BUILDING WORKERS' UNION has put forward a sug-


gestion that non-union workers should also be asked to contribute to union funds. The argument behind the proposal is that, since non-unionists enjoy all the advantages won by the union, they should also help to support the union. The amount which the building workers' union suggest should be paid by non-union workers into a special solidarity fund works out at approximately half the contribution of a union member.

The unfairness of the present situation, where all enjoy the benefits which only some pay for, may be seen from the fact that whilst, according to a recent survey, 72% of those engaged in the building industry approved of the unions' achievements, only 32% were union members. The Building Workers' Union has a number of impressive achievements to its credit, including a scheme which enables this traditionally seasonal industry to keep going in winter through the establishment of a bad weather fund. This fund, into which all workers pay, could serve as a model for the solidarity fund. Its existence is certainly an argument which could be used against those employers who maintain that the employers and the unions cannot negotiate an agreement which would be binding on a third party i.e. the non-unionists.

## German trawlers get fishing rights in Norwegian waters

 GERMAN TRAWLERS will have the same fishing rights as British trawlers in Norwegian territorial waters when the Norwegian fishing limits are extended to 12 miles off coast this year. The new agreement means that German trawlers too will be able to fish between 6 and 12 miles off the Norwegian coast for a period of ten years.

## Census of Greek seafarers

 A RECENT CENSUS of Greek seamen puts their total number at 70,860 officers and men. There are eight thousand fully certificated officers, and some twelve hundred more who are not in possession of full certificates.


# Latin America's remaining dictatorships



*General Rafael Leonidas Trujillo (right), dictator of the Dominican Republic, on a visit to Spain. He is here seen in conversation with General Franco. Trujillo is probably the dominant partner in the infamous 'Dictators' International'*

trampling boots of this 'Benefactor of the Fatherland', as he is known to his admirers, and his pernicious influence has tainted a large area of the Caribbean. Although he has not been President himself throughout that period (his brother has held the office since 1952), there is no doubt that it is he who in fact rules the country. His power is absolute. There is one political party – Trujillo's party – to which all members of the national parliament belong. A number of opposition groups have tried to form parties from time to time, but have quickly been wiped out, no matter how unimportant they might have appeared. There are four newspapers – all pro-government.

One might have expected a benefactor of the fatherland to use such great power to improve the lot of his fellow-countrymen. Certainly the Trujillo family and a close circle of their associates are quite satisfied with the situation. But it seems that the ungrateful workers in this earthly paradise think they have something to complain about. The Dominican Republic is a member of the International Labour Organization and has even ratified a few

 IT IS VERY EASY for observers accustomed to the stability of parliamentary democracy to dismiss Latin America as a fiery continent where politics consist of violence, conspiracy, intrigue and corruption and where the people stage revolutions from time to time for the sheer hell of it. But to say that is to disregard the turbulent history of the Latin American countries. For three centuries they were exploited by colonial governors and when they finally gained their independence foreign economic powers moved in and took over, with the complicity of native groups who were more concerned about promoting the interests of themselves and their families than those of their country. The Latin American nations took on 'semi-colonial' status, subject to internal feudal domination instead of external colonial rule. The 'great families' grew up, intimately linked with large sectors of the armed forces. The interests of foreign traders and privileged national groups coincided and resulted in the development of the dictatorships which we know today. Latin America became known as a place where a man could make a quick fortune if he was not too particular about what he did for it, and adventurers of every kind flocked in from the Old World – the impoverished aristocrats, the ambitious, the 'black sheep' and the fugitives from justice.

But their effect on the continent was not wholly detrimental, for with them came revolutionary doctrines and a new conception of government from the Old World. Painfully, and at the cost of much bloodshed, the majority of those feudal regimes have been overthrown and the peoples of Latin America are at last beginning to know what it is to control their own destiny. In recent years the world has witnessed the fall of dictatorships in Argentina, Colombia, Honduras, Peru and

Venezuela. However, there are still several countries which, in one form or another, continue to be governed by the 'great families' and by the armies allied to them. These relics of an unhappy past are in these days the object of unrelenting attack by democrats throughout the continent.

Perhaps the most infamous of the remaining Latin American dictatorships is that of Generalísimo Rafael Trujillo. For thirty years the Dominican Republic has been crushed and mutilated beneath the



*General Stroessner of Paraguay (left) on the occasion of a visit by the then President of Argentina, Juan Perón. Argentina is now free from dictatorship, although Peronism is by no means dead yet but Stroessner's iron grip on Paraguay shows no signs of relaxing*

of its Conventions, including those on the abolition of forced labour and the right of the worker to join a trade union and bargain with his employer over his wages and working conditions. But this is a pure formality, presumably designed to keep the eyes of the world off labour conditions in the Dominican Republic, for an ICFU mission which visited the country in 1957 reported that forced labour was practised in sisal plantations and rice fields; that there was no real freedom of association, since the trade unions which were allowed to exist were not genuinely representative of the workers' interests, being run by the employers or controlled by the government; and that no system of collective bargaining existed.

Life and liberty are precarious privileges for anyone who expresses the mildest objection to the outrageous methods of the dictator. In 1959, a fairly liberal Labour Minister — he must have slipped into the government by accident — who had suggested that the regime was less than perfect was murdered, almost certainly on Trujillo's orders. The weapons of imprisonment, torture and assassination have all been enthusiastically employed against political opponents and thousands have been forced to choose between exile or the attentions of Trujillo's police force. Human rights and civil liberties are given a rather limited interpretation — the citizen of the Dominican Republic has the right to live as the government tells him and is at liberty to agree with the opinions of the Generalísimo.

Trujillo's neighbour in Haiti, President Duvalier, came to power in 1957 following the overthrow of the ferociously oppressive regime of President Paul Magloire. The country was thrown into complete disorder for a while, but it did seem at the start of Duvalier's term of office that an attempt was being made to introduce a more liberal form of government. Since then, however, the ruling party has come to feel so insecure that it will not tolerate any opposition. The tragic result has been that all social organizations of whatever kind have been

regarded by the government as a potential threat to the regime and the trade unions have been among the first to suffer from the attentions of the police. Not long ago the General Secretary of the National Union of Haitian Workers (UNOH), Nathanael Michel, was arrested by plainclothes policemen, detained for 23 days and then released 'on parole' and on conditions which kept him for a further six weeks in a small village with no means of support. At the same time, the offices of the UNOH were invaded by the police, records and documents were taken, and the offices closed down. A number of other trade union leaders have been similarly treated. President Duvalier seems to consider that his primary duty is to ensure that no organizations, including trade unions, which he does not control, should be allowed to become strong because of the danger that they might become the instruments of a rival to power. Living standards in Haiti are incredibly low and the workers have now been deprived of all means of remedying their conditions through the action of genuine trade unions, despite the fact the Haiti is a member of the ILO and has ratified conventions guaranteeing freedom of association and the right of collective bargaining.

The Somoza regime in Nicaragua is somewhat similar to that in Haiti, for although there is some semblance of democratic machinery in the nation's constitution, in practice the government is dictatorial and repressive. Here too there is no room for free trade union activities, and expressions of opposition to the regime are met with violence and imprisonment. Many Nicaraguan citizens have been forced to live in exile for the sake of their political beliefs, and although there have been sporadic attempts to overthrow the Somoza government, with the weight of the army and the police against them any such risings have been easily suppressed.

400,000 Paraguayans, representing one quarter of the total population of Paraguay, are at present living in exile. This

*Dictator Luis Somoza of Nicaragua. Although there is some semblance of a democratic structure in Nicaragua, in practice the regime is as repressive as Trujillo's. Opposition of any kind is met with imprisonment or worse, and it goes without saying that trade unions are not allowed to operate freely*



fact alone would be enough to demonstrate that life under the tyrannical regime of General Alfredo Stroessner is something less than ideal. But there is abundant evidence that Stroessner's advent to power in 1954 — as the leader of an Army revolt — brought no blessings to the ordinary people of Paraguay. Since that date there has been a 50% reduction in real wages. And to ensure that the workers cannot possibly have grounds for objecting to this apparent lack of concern for their welfare, 70% of the national budget is devoted to the maintenance of the police force and the army, whose job it is to make the people understand that Stroessner is Good for Them. Those who remain unconvinced must either leave the country or lose their freedom or their lives. Among the exiles are many trade unionists who can understandably see no possibility of building a worthwhile labour movement in such an atmosphere. Their leaders have established the Confederación Paraguaya del Trabajo (CUT) in exile in anticipation





*Dr. Fidel Castro addressing newspaper editors in New York. The overthrow of the Batista regime in Cuba was greeted warmly by democrats throughout the Continent, but pleasure quickly turned to bitter disappointment when it appeared that the revolution was being taken over by the communists*

of the time when democracy will return to their native land. They will then have a ready-made structure to ensure that the workers can claim their rightful place in a new society.

The case of Cuba is rather different, and far less easy to pass judgment on. Until the revolt which brought Dr. Fidel Castro to power at the beginning of 1959, Cuba had been ruled by one of the most hated of the Caribbean dictators, Fulgencio Batista. Castro's revolution was at first greeted with enthusiastic approval by democrats throughout Latin America who saw in the downfall of Batista yet another breach in what had seemed the impregnable wall of the 'Dictators' International'. And Castro's dramatic gestures — sweeping nationalization and expropriation, drastic agrarian reform, and price stabilization — led millions to believe that here at last was a man with the courage to give his country a clear start. He spoke of Cuba always in the context of Latin America's century-long struggle to free itself from foreign and domestic tyrannies, and his oratory inspired those who longed for the shame of dictatorship to be utterly banished. His crusading spirit and the tremendous support he received from his own people made him appear for a while like a Messiah. But it was not very long before the revolution began to turn sour. Annoyed by the reaction abroad to his expropriation of foreign business interests and more unsavoury aspects of the régime, Castro and his lieutenants turned to what appeared friendlier quarters. The people who are always ready to cash in on popular movements were only too pleased to offer 'disinterested' assistance. The revolutionary leaders began to feel unsure of themselves and started to take the by now almost traditional steps of eliminating all internal opposition. And once again, high on the list of 'subversives' were the democratic trade unions. Executions, imprisonment, exile — this sad trio have once again entered upon the Cuba

scene.

The existence of totalitarian regimes has long been deplored by democratic trade unionists in the free countries of Latin America and in the world at large. The Inter-American Regional Organization of Workers (ORIT), the regional branch of the ICFTU, has come out countless times against repression in these countries in its resolutions and public statements. It has sent missions whose dual purpose was to expose the conditions in which these oppressed peoples were living and to bring to the workers messages of solidarity and hope from their more fortunate fellows. It has appealed to the ILO to investigate the application of its Conventions in the dictatorships and reported the suppression of freedom of association and the right to organize. It has protested against the denial of human rights and civil liberties and has welcomed the overthrow of other reactionary régimes. Finally, it has assisted exiled trade unionists to maintain their organizations and do what they can to protect their fellows who remain under the threat of imprisonment or worse. Nor have labour organizations outside Latin America been slow to voice their disgust: the ICFTU and the ITS's have repeatedly passed resolutions condemning the Dictators' International and have done what they can to support the democratic forces in areas which seemed to be threatened from outside. And the United States AFL-CIO has played a special role in urging the Organization of American States, to suspend all dictatorships from membership 'until such time as a democratic regime, freely elected by the people, is installed in their place'. In a resolution passed in 1959 the AFL-CIO declared its belief that collective action should be taken to restore freedom and human rights in those American countries still under the yoke of a military fascist dictatorship, and recommended their diplomatic isolation by the OAS.

Apart from the harsh restriction of civil liberties inevitable under a regime where all opposition must be destroyed, there is

a further evil which adds to their horror, but which helps the dictator, directly and indirectly, to maintain his stranglehold. Dictatorship is expensive. Not only must the dictator, his family and his political associates be able to live well from day to day; they must think of the future. The profession is a hazardous one and a nest egg must be set aside and transferred to a safe place in advance. Peron, for example, had hundreds of millions of dollars in banks in the United States and Switzerland when he fled from Argentina. Vast sums have to be spent on self-glorification and self-protection. A monumental style of public buildings is characteristic of dictatorial régimes. The huge halls, triumphal approaches, colonnaded façades and heroic statues earn huge profits for contractors and suppliers — the dictator and his friends again. And of course millions go into the maintenance of a well-paid, well-equipped and smartly uniformed army — not to mention the police force. A dictator can fairly easily manipulate public funds for his own purposes, and usually leaves the country in economic ruin. Meanwhile the people are kept in abject poverty in the expectation that hunger will deter them from protesting.

The dictators do not, however, confine their activities to their own unfortunate countries. To them the existence of democracy anywhere represents a threat to their own security and though one would think that the idea of international solidarity was alien to them, they are prepared to band together when it suits them. When Batista fled from Cuba, he knew that he would find a welcome from Trujillo, and the Latin American dictatorships have always been a favourite refuge of fascists from all the world. But this is not the limit of their solidarity. They are actively engaged in attempting to overthrow democratic governments in neighbouring countries, nor are they particular about their allies. Trujillo was almost certainly behind the recent attempt on the life of President Rómulo Betancourt of Venezuela, and he was not immediately



## Profile of the month

concerned that his death would have caused rejoicing among the Communists who are also sabotaging Betancourt's government. The Dictators' International is a constant threat to stability in the Caribbean and there was good justification in the fears expressed that an attempt would be made by it to reinstate dictators who have already fallen.

One of the most unfortunate facts which have to be considered in accounting for the continued existence of these dictatorships is the extent to which they are bolstered up from outside, by people who have a stake in maintaining the status quo. Foreign business interests make up the greater part of this support since they help to entrench the dictators in power by bringing valuable capital into the country in return for favourable trading conditions — low labour costs being one of the main attractions. These companies are not interested in abstract ideals like democracy or civil rights. Profit is the all-devouring god.

Most serious of all, the dictators have been able to gain a certain amount of indulgence of their own unpleasant regimes by trumpeting their anti-communism. The United States government, rightly concerned at the extent of communist activities in Latin America, has too often seen these activities as the only evil to be fought and has failed to recognize that not only are the dictatorships of Trujillo and his friends just as evil in themselves as any regime the communists might set up, but that their continued existence provides fertile ground for communism to grow in. It is fortunate indeed that the U.S. labour movement has maintained a fine sense of proportion in its attempts to help its Latin American brothers.

For the last thing the people of Latin America want is to be told what is good for them. They have been prevented from deciding their own destiny far too long and must now surely be allowed to work out for themselves what form of government is best suited to their own conditions. Interference, no matter how well-meant, can only provoke resentment.

SEEING FERNANDO AZAÑA AT WORK IN LIMA it was difficult to realize that he has not lived there all his life or that he has not been doing his job as an ITF Regional Representative for years. And yet — unbelievable though it seems to those who know what he has already achieved and the obstacles which he has had to overcome — when the Lima Conference started Fernando had been acting as the ITF's Regional Director for Latin America and the Caribbean for no more than four months, and part of even that short period he had spent in travelling to other Latin American countries.

The task of organizing a trade union conference in Latin America is the very opposite of a sinecure. There are so many snags, so many possible setbacks whose existence the outsider does not even begin to suspect. To have succeeded in such a task — and to have succeeded so well — within a few short weeks was an amazing achievement for a relative newcomer working virtually singlehanded (because none of his temporary and very inadequate helpers would claim to have done more than a fraction of the work he himself got through).

It would be easy to use superlatives about Fernando, because so many of them would be justified. We know a number of people who would go through fire and water for him, and not only because they know that he would do the same for them. He never spares himself and those who work with him give everything they've got, because they know that he does not ask of them anything which he would not be prepared to do ten times over himself. He inspires loyalty and confidence because for him human beings are supremely important; he has an instinctive sympathy and fellow-feeling for all who come to him with their troubles. By nature he is gentle, courteous, thoughtful for others, and above all self-deprecating; where the interests of the ITF and its members are involved, however, he can be pugnacious, hardheaded and obstinate.

He is never too busy or too tired to meet trade unionists or to discuss and help with their problems. For him that worn phrase 'the servant of the membership' is a living reality which he

practices daily and uncompromisingly. He worries — not about himself but about those he works for and whether he will be able to do everything he wants to for them.

All the time you are around Fernando, you keep asking yourself: 'When is he going to let up? How much longer can he keep this up before he falls asleep on his feet?' Somehow, the questions never get answered. Fernando just keeps going and the next day you find that he bobs up again as if nothing had happened — ready for the next round.

He sees his initial task in Latin American and the Caribbean as one of consolidation, but consolidation in his sense does not simply mean maintaining and strengthening what already exists — it also means expansion and progress. New affiliates are already coming in, both from Peru and the other countries he has so far been able to visit.


Each of them is the result of personal contact, personal effort and personal persuasion. The affiliation of the Chimbote dockers, for example, lay at the end of a 300-mile motor trip through the Peruvian desert; that of the River Officers of Iquitos followed a much longer journey into the steamy Amazon jungle. They are the fore-runners of many others.

Fernando himself will probably be embarrassed by what has been written about him. But that was not the object. We just want him to know that what he is doing is very much appreciated and that a lot of people think a great deal of him, both as a colleague and as a friend.

# The strike of Alitalia ground staff



*The head of a procession of Alitalia maintenance and ground service staff marching to the headquarters of the airline. The strike was called as a protest against management obstruction in negotiations for a new contract*

 ON 13 MARCH ITALIAN CIVIL AVIATION UNIONS, including the ITF-affiliated Civil Aviation Workers' Union (CISL), called a strike of approximately 1,300 members employed on maintenance and ground service duties at the Rome airports of Fiumicino and Ciampino.

Union representatives had been attempting since the beginning of the year to get the Italian company Alitalia to negotiate a new and improved collective agreement for the men concerned, since the previous contract had expired on 31 December 1960. Preliminary negotiations took place on the unions' claim for the payment of a special allowance for workers required to travel the extra distance to the new airport at Fiumicino, but the Alitalia management's offer was so ludicrous that the unions were obliged to call two short token strikes in January, which were also partially designed to spur the company into opening negotiations on the general collective agreement.

Following these strikes, talks were resumed in the presence of the Minister of Labour, but these broke down shortly afterwards with Alitalia's refusal to make any offer even remotely approaching the unions' claims. Alitalia then took a number of steps which threatened to disrupt

the whole structure of labour representation and collective bargaining at the airports. They tried to prevent the airport inter-union committee from carrying on its activities; they held up promotion and stopped payments for extra work; and they threatened that unless the unions demands concerning the travel allowance were dropped they would not discuss the renewal of the general collective agreement.

The unions were naturally not going to submit to this kind of treatment and announced a five-day strike to begin on Monday, 13 March; the period of the strike was subsequently extended to 22 March.

Throughout the dispute the ITF had been in touch with its Italian affiliate and when the strike was finally decided upon the Federation undertook to do all it could to get support from its other affiliated organizations. Cables were therefore sent to civil aviation affiliates

throughout Europe, Asia and America requesting them to support the just aims of their Italian colleagues by refusing to service Alitalia aircraft and ensuring that no extra services were laid on to replace Alitalia flights.

Twenty hours of continuous negotiations between management and unions, in which the Minister of Labour again took part, resulted in a preliminary agreement covering most of the disputed claims, and the strike was called off on 22 March.

The agreement contains the following improvements: time-rated workers are to receive a pay increase of six per cent, and a reduction in working hours from forty-eight to forty-five a week without loss of pay; the payment of a special annual bonus equal to one hundred hours' pay; the creation of an insurance fund to which employees contribute 1.5 per cent of their pay and the employers an equal amount. Salaried staff also receive a six per cent increase in pay; working hours remain forty-two per week as before but will in future be spread over five days instead of six as previously; these men will also receive one month's salary extra each year as a special bonus. In addition, salaried and other staff employed at the airports receive a daily travelling allowance of 200 lire. All employees are to be paid a sum of 30,000 lire for pay lost during the strike. (There are 1,750 Italian lire to £1 and 624.84 to u.s. \$1). Negotiations are continuing on the remaining points at issue.

On the successful conclusion of the strike, Bro. Pieter de Vries, ITF General Secretary, cabled the Italian Civil Aviation Workers' Union, congratulating them on this notable success, and cables were also sent thanking other affiliated unions who had taken solidarity action in support of their Italian colleagues.



1. Bro. G. Lagorio of the ITF-affiliated Italian Civil Aviation Workers' Union addressing a meeting of strikers. Bro. Lagorio's union played a leading part in the dispute with Alitalia over improved working conditions for airport ground staff

2. Strikers reading a union notice. Threats by Alitalia which would have endangered the whole structure of labour relations at the Rome airports of Fiumicino and Ciampino precipitated the strike, which lasted for over a week and ended in victory for the unions

3. A section of the meeting which decided to prolong the strike beyond the five days originally planned. At the request of its Italian affiliate the ITF cabled its other civil aviation affiliates asking them to do all they could to support the Alitalia workers' strike

4. Waiting outside the headquarters of the Alitalia airline company, after the demonstration. The preliminary settlement which ended the strike brings substantial improvements in pay and conditions to salaried and other workers at the airports



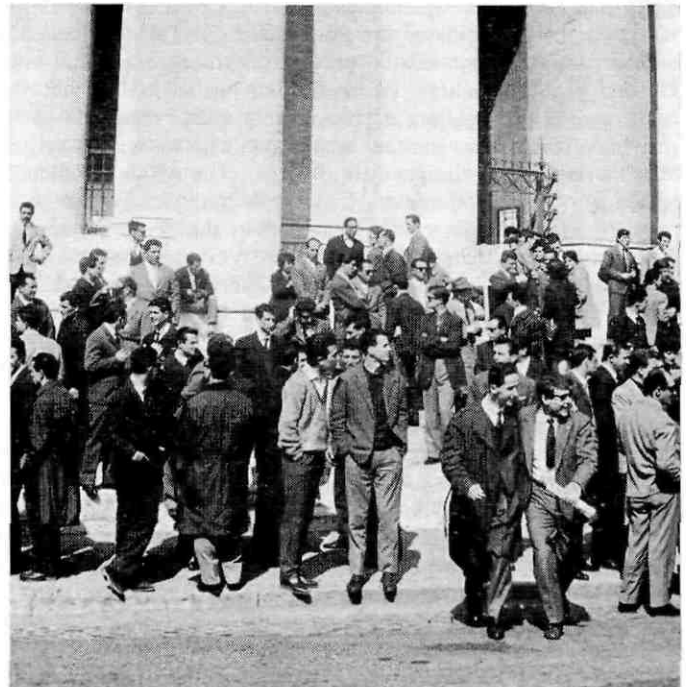
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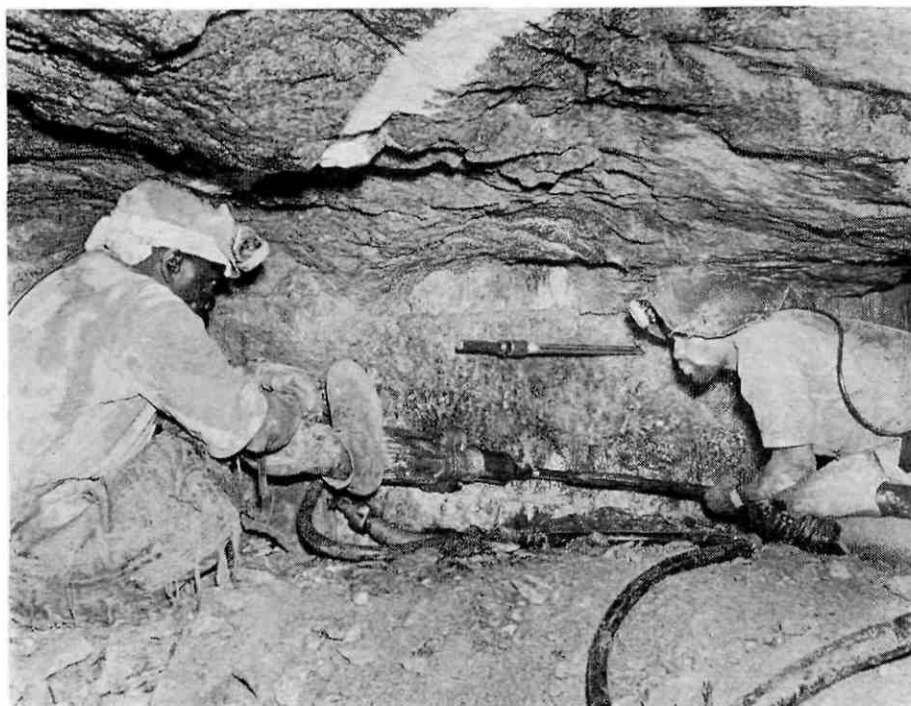


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# The economics of slavery




*In return for supplying the South African mining industry with cheap labour, the Portuguese administration in Mozambique gains from the South African traffic directed via the two ports of Lorenzo Marques and Beira*

outward resemblance with the brutal Franco. There is, however, little to choose between the brutality and cynicism of their respective regimes, and not very much in the poverty and backwardness of their respective countries. Fortunately for the world, Franco has not had all that much scope for colonial bullying. Salazar, on the other hand, inherited an empire which he has been able to put to good use, and the skill he has shown in exploiting the 'natives' of his 'overseas provinces' has been matched only by the cunning of a diplomacy which has put abroad in the world the usefully vague idea that there is in the Portuguese heart a deep-rooted benevolence towards 'simple people' altogether incompatible with racial oppression. Alas, by all accounts, that benevolence is as enigmatic as Dr. Salazar's saintliness: it is doled out, as in South Africa by authorities armed with all the traditional instruments of correction. Like the South Africans in their dealings with 'simple' people, the Portuguese colonial authorities are great believers in corporal punishment, and it is a mere formality for 'natives' who are 'lacking in respect' for Europeans. However, it would be unfair to accuse the present Portuguese administration of being interested in cruelty for its own sake. Dr. Salazar's special talents, as far as they go, are for economics rather than sadism. Given the condition of slavery that is widespread today in Portugal's African colonies, the cruelty inevitably follows. The slavery in its turn is a matter of economic necessity, and the necessity arises from the anachronistic economic policies which Salazar's totalitarian regime obliges him to follow at home.

## **Paying for Portugal's keep**

One of the characteristics of the Portu-

 PORTUGUESE AFRICA consists of Angola, Mozambique, Guinea, the islands of Sao Tomé, Príncipe and Cape Verde. Of the total population of almost 11 million, less than half a million are Portuguese. And yet Portugal has no colonies. The 'citizens' of what it calls its 'overseas provinces' enjoy full and equal rights with the citizens of Metropolitan Portugal. Leaving aside the fact that 'citizens' rights in metropolitan Portugal are not worth very much, the fact remains that in the 'overseas provinces' there are very few inhabitants who have even this questionable status, the vast majority being assigned to a special class which is officially labelled 'native' and which is obviously thought of as sub-human. In fact, it is arguable whether these 'natives' are not even worse treated than the great unhappy majority in the South African Union. Moreover, just as Dr. Verwoerd is able to parry any attempts at outside interference in his country's 'internal' affairs, the Portuguese have managed to use the hollow fiction of the status of their 'overseas provinces' for similar ends.

Although every reasonable body knows that present-day Portugal is not a democratic country, a strange idea persists even among relatively enlightened circles that the Portuguese have dealt fairly with the large numbers of non-European peoples with whom their long colonial history has brought them into contact. In rendering this unjustified praise to the Portuguese, many liberal people no doubt base themselves on the Brazilian example of racial harmony and equality, forgetting

that Portugal and Brazil have no longer anything in common beyond a common language.

Portugal has turned out to be Europe's most tenacious dictatorship: like his neighbour, General Franco, Dr. Antonio de Oliveira Salazar is still firmly in the saddle and he was there long before Franco. Dr. Salazar, who has been variously described as, 'a saintly bachelor', 'a man with no vices', and, more significantly, as 'the only free man in Portugal' has little

guese national economy is that it is permanently in danger of complete collapse. During the thirty three years that Dr. Salazar has been in power, Portugal has seen few of the economic changes that have virtually transformed life in practically all the other nations of Western Europe. Portugal has lagged behind largely because economic expansion is not compatible with the sort of political government Dr. Salazar stands for. Reactionary economists who measure human well-being only in terms of stable currencies often claim that Dr. Salazar has made the escudo 'strong'. So he has; and the cost of this 'strength' can be measured in three decades of national suffering, in such things as Europe's highest rates for illiteracy and infant mortality. As for the 'simple people' overseas, the price that they have paid will never be reckoned. The Portuguese defend their role in Africa as a 'civilizing' mission, but, by their own system of reckoning, they have succeeded



Dr. Salazar, the shy and scholarly dictator who has guided the Portuguese destiny for the past thirty-three years. Originally an economist by profession, Dr. Salazar believes in making Portugal's 'overseas provinces' pay for the upkeep of a totalitarian state in Europe

in 'civilizing' less than one per cent of the population of their territories there — and the Portuguese have been in Africa for four centuries! In fact Portugal's role in Africa has been to make whatever there was to be made, and this role has become increasingly urgent as metropolitan Portugal's national economy begins to appear to the free world as the ramshackle system it is. Without the overseas territories to back it up, the escudo would certainly not look so strong: in 1959 Portugal's trade deficit amounted to 4.5 million escudos; taking the escudo area as a whole, however, the visible trade deficit was only 1.3 million escudos. In other words, the 'overseas territories' are paying for Portugal's keep.

#### The silent land

Although, largely as a result of the *Santa Maria* episode, the attention of the world has recently been focussed on the Portuguese colony of Angola, we can probably learn more about the workings of Portuguese colonialism in Africa by looking at the state of affairs in their other large African territory, Mozambique. Here, the barrier of silence which Dr. Salazar has so skilfully erected around his colonies has been effectively breached thanks to the enterprise of a visiting American anthropologist who was curious enough to keep his eyes open during his stay and 'indiscreet' enough to publish his findings afterwards.\*)

The main interest of this report lies in its demonstration of how the brutality of the regime in Mozambique rests finally and completely on squalid economic exploitation. This alone reduces all the pious whitewashing of motives and intentions indulged in by the authorities in their official publications to the mendacious nonsense they in fact are. Perhaps the best way of approaching the true character of the Mozambique regime is through its own lies and half-truths.

The first lie is that, officially, slavery or forced labour do not exist. Nor, at first

sight, does there seem to be any formal system corresponding to South Africa's *apartheid*.

The casual visitor to Mozambique... stands a chance of leaving the 'province' with a fairly good impression. Newly arrived visitors from the Union of South Africa are especially susceptible to the illusion that they have entered a haven of racial harmony. For in Mozambique there are few examples of the overt mechanisms of apartheid which have become the classic symbols of race war in Southern Africa. Absent from the post office, the banks and the public buses are signs announcing "Europeans Only". While every issue of the South African dailies is crammed with fresh reports of crimes, riots, boycotts, trials and race legislation, months go by in Mozambique without the appearance of a single newspaper account of racial tensions. Despite the suppression of an occasional report by the censor, a daily calm really does prevail. Mozambique is one of the safest places in Africa as far as white persons and property are concerned...

Yet these impressions of interracial harmony are hopelessly unfounded. In Mozambique "Europeans Only" notices are not needed in order to maintain an almost perfect separation between the African mass and the Europeans. For example, a bus ride in Lourenco Marques costs the equivalent of one-fourth of the average African's daily wage. Whites transact their business at the post office and through African runners and servants. At the movies, soccer games, restaurants, hotels and other semi-public places, prices and clothing act as efficient color filters. There is no need for establishing native "locations" as in the Union; perfect residential segregation follows automatically from urban zoning laws and rents!

Africans from outside Mozambique who do not speak Portuguese (and are in any case exempt from the restrictions applying to the natives) are apt to be deceived about the real situation in the colony, and so 'frequently lend themselves to spreading the myth that in Mozam-

\*) Marvin Harris, 'Portugal's African Wards' (American Committee on Africa)



The prosperity of South Africa's gold mines ultimately depends on an abundant supply of cheap labour. 100,000 Africans are 'exported' annually from Mozambique for service in the miledeep shafts of the Rand. Since 1902 more than 81,000 have lost their lives there

bique there is no "color bar".

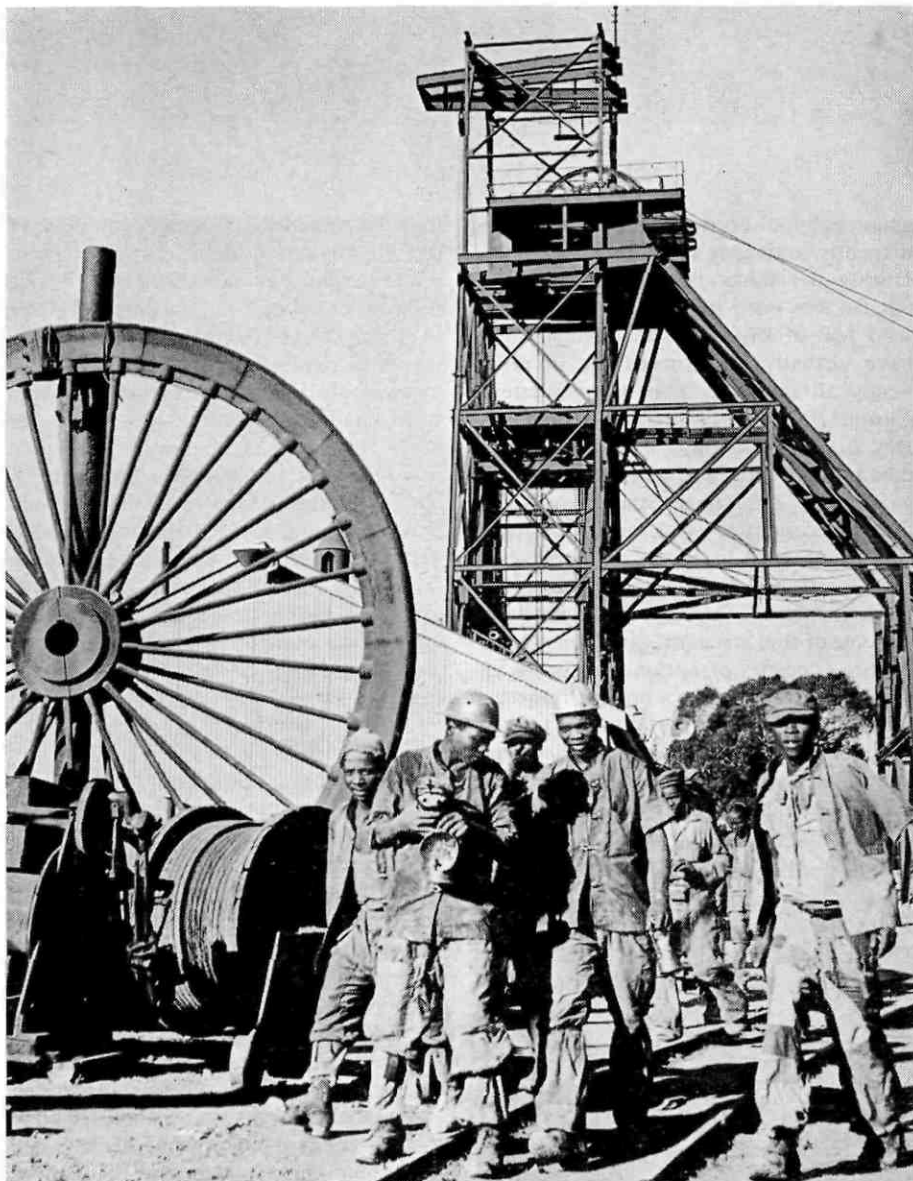
'As for the Portuguese themselves, few have the chance to probe Mozambique's social realities. With Portugal under the thumb of one of Europe's oldest dictatorial cliques, those who know most usually say and write the least. Censorship, a welltrained state police, and a system of both African and European informers discourage even mild criticism from the white colonists. Moreover, most of the Portuguese colonists, including those who are opposed to the Salazar regime, have little to gain from speaking up on behalf of the native peoples. The European population in Mozambique enjoys a level of material welfare far above the average for continental Portugal. With several servants per household and as many cars per capita as in the United States, the white colonists quickly adjust to the degraded and servile condition of the African mass. It doesn't take much to convince them that the African wants to be treated as a child, needs to be beaten when he does something wrong and must be locked up at night for his own good.'

The visitor to Mozambique has his work cut out of he wants to find out what exactly is going on:

'...many of the key institutions in Mozambique have an illegal or at best extra-legal existence. Forced labor, to mention only the most obvious example, cannot be discussed with officials because it officially does not exist. In addition, many of the most vital aspects of administrative policy are contained only in confidential intramural memoranda. Official and semi-official spokesmen rarely disseminate more than superficial information. Surrounded by an elaborate legal facade which professes much of benevolent and even altruistic intent, they habitually leave unmentioned the manifold discrepancies between theory and practice.'

#### Assimilation and the 'Indigenato'

By insisting that their overseas 'provinces' are integral parts of Portugal, the Salazar regime has hitherto successfully prevented



the United Nations from inquiring into Portugal's 'internal' affairs. In fact, whether or not they are to be thought of as living 'inside' Portugal, the vast majority of the inhabitants of Portuguese Africa are certainly not Portuguese citizens. They are classified as *indigenas*, ('natives'), and come under the *indigenato*, a system of administrative and legal controls which rests on the assumption that the mass of Africans are culturally, morally and intellectually unprepared to exercise Portuguese citizenship. The Portuguese presence in Africa is officially described as a civilizing mission whose objective is to convert the mass of *indigenas* into Portu-

guese citizens. This conversion or 'assimilation', as it is called, requires the 'native' to learn to speak Portuguese properly and to adopt 'the habits and customs presupposed for the application of Portuguese common law'. So far less than one-tenth of one per cent of the population of Mozambique has achieved this status, and it will be seen that the philosophy of the *indigenato* assumes that there is no possibility of the African ever achieving maturity outside the framework of the Portuguese state. In other words, independence or self-rule is out for good.

Acting on the assumption that the typical African will never be anything

more than a child, the Portuguese, have drawn up a whole body of codes ostensibly aimed at 'protecting' him and 'guiding' him towards moral and social maturity. Naturally, all codes, decrees and regulations concerning 'natives' are full of high-sounding declarations of benevolence and serious moral purpose: 'natives' are to be encouraged to adopt industrious habits, but they are not to be forced to perform to work which is not of their own choosing; they are to be paid decent wages and work under decent conditions. In practice, of course, it works out very differently.

Mozambique is divided into some eighty rural and urban districts and in each district a local official has complete control over everything of importance in the lives of his thousands of native 'children':

'... He has the power to accuse, apprehend, try, and sentence delinquents. No indigena can enter or leave his district without his or his chief-of-post's permission. He has the power to regulate all commercial transactions involving indigenas and "civilized" persons, including the sale and purchase of land, machinery and consumer goods. Only with his permission may his wards exercise a particular occupation or profession. He controls all bank deposits and is the executor of all legacies. He can draft laborers for public service and directs the labor of those in penal servitude. He assigns areas and types of crops to be planted and orders or prohibits the sale of cattle. (This last, as will be seen later, is of crucial importance). All large-scale feasts and ceremonies must receive his authorization. And finally, he is, in practice, the sole judge of whether or not an indigena possesses the qualifications for becoming a legal citizen.' Obviously, there is a lot of power here concentrated in one pair of hands, and the system openly invites abuse.

#### Masters and servants

The Regulations of Native Workers Act of 1944 has a lot to tell about the situation of the Africans of Mozambique and

their relations with the white population. The Act provides for a native registry and passbook system, classifies occupations and defines the mutual obligations of 'masters' and 'servants'. Among other things, the 'servant' must '... obey orders ... zealously watch over his master's property ... never leave the house without permission ... and have the maximum respect for his master and the people who live with him.' In practice, it is just this relationship which all 'natives' (whether they are 'servants' are not) are required to have with all Europeans. Any disobedience or 'lack of respect' is summarily punished with an instrument known as the *palmatorio* and it is worth nothing that these beatings are given, not for criminal offences, but more or less 'informally' as part of the day-to-day routine.

It is hardly necessary to go into the detailed workings of the pass book system which, as everybody knows, is the key technique of the South African *apartheid* system. Suffice it to say that by this means the 'native' cannot without official sanction leave his employer or change his address without escaping detection (and punishment). The 'native's' freedom of movement, geographical and occupational, is thus completely restricted. If the authorities want it that way, he stays where he is. A further restriction is that on freedom of speech. 'Undesirables' are liable to summary deportation to the penal colony of Sao Tomé. Commitment is quite arbitrary. No hearing and no witnesses are required to prove that a native is 'undesirable'. All natives are aware that there are plenty of informers and police spies circulating in their midst. They therefore think twice before uttering any criticism of the regime in public.

Another factor helping the 'native' to adjust himself quietly to those 'social and individual habits presupposed for the integral application of the public and private law of Portuguese citizens' is the education system. All 'natives' are entitled to an education which seems to consist in instruction in the Portuguese language, the Catholic faith, and in what appears to

be a great deal of superstitious nonsense. Instruction in the 'natives' own language is strictly forbidden, except significantly, religious instruction. For the rest, the 'native' has to grapple with his 'education' in Portuguese. The fact that, in spite of this education, more than 99% of the African population remains illiterate, speaks for itself. The calibre of this instruction may perhaps be judged by these official instructions on the teaching of history:

'... It should not be concluded, however, that certain episodes which historical criticism holds to be doubtful or even unacceptable need be avoided. By ... the color with which legend has surrounded them, their narration will produce in minds which are necessarily uncultured, the light and the fervor which a knowledge of rigid facts will not achieve.'

#### Working together

Under such an administration, the prospects of achieving any genuine racial harmony in Portuguese Mozambique seem to be no less bleak than in the Union of South Africa. What finally gives the game



One may wonder what claim Portugal, one of the poorest and most backward countries in Europe, can really have to 'civilize' the African. One thing is certain: the wealth which the present regime extracts from its overseas colonies by exploiting their inhabitants, does not go towards bettering the lot of the ordinary Portuguese people at home



away, however, is the extent to which the Portuguese administration in Mozambique is ready to cooperate with South Africa in the ruthless economic exploitation of the race they affect to despise. One of Mozambique's major 'exports' is in fact the labour of its African population, the people who are not considered worthy of Portuguese citizenship, although, of course, one can be sure that their foreign earnings are welcome in Lisbon.

Cooperation between the Portuguese government and the mining interests of South Africa dates back to an infamous agreement signed at the turn of the century and renewed four times since then, last in 1940. Under the 1940 agreement the South African mining industry is allowed to recruit an annual maximum average of 100,000 Mozambique 'natives' and in return the South African government guarantees that 47.5% of the sea-borne import traffic to the Johannesburg area will pass through the Mozambique port of Lorenzo Marques. For these recruits the Portuguese are paid so much a head by the South Africans, who allow the Portuguese to collect their taxes from the recruits while they are still within the Union — the South Africans also turn over half the recruits' earnings to the Portuguese authorities for payment only after they return to Mozambique.

It is difficult to place too high a value on what the South Africans gain from this: for the success of the South African mining industry has always in the last resort depended on having an abundance of cheap labour at its disposal. To make the mines pay off, vast amounts of ore had to be broken off and brought up from enormous depths for processing, and the limit to production was set only by the amount of cheap labour available. In the early days of the mining industry, three quarters of the labour force came from Mozambique. The mortality rate among these workers has been estimated to have been as high as among combatants in the

Officially, there is no forced labour in Angola and Mozambique, but any 'native' can 'for his own good' be directed to serve in any way the administration thinks fit. This direction is an essential part of the 'civilizing mission' the Portuguese claim in Africa.

Second World War. Since 1902 more than 81,000 Mozambique workers have perished on the Rand. Admittedly, there have been improvements in working conditions since 1902, but in one significant respect, these workers are even worse off now than formerly — their real wages are lower today than they were sixty years ago.

What the Portuguese get out of it is the guarantee of traffic for the port of Lorenzo Marques — we have a typical *quid pro quo* in the agreement of 1940 under which, in return for an increase (from 90,000 to 100,000) in the permitted maximum number of recruits, the South African government agrees to export so many thousand cases of citrus fruits through Lorenzo Marques.

#### The shibalo hunters

All in all, it seems that there are sufficient obvious examples of mutual 'good will' between the two regimes to justify their being considered jointly. There are also striking examples of similarity in their internal 'labour' policies. The practice of hiring out 'native' labour to the South African mining industry is, in fact, only part of the Portuguese administration's repressive policy towards African labour. Even greater iniquities are permitted under the official contract system which supplies cheap labour to domestic consumers under the fiction of inculcating in the 'native' those industrious habits which are claimed to be part of the Portuguese 'civilization'. Under this system, which is known as the *shibalo* system (*'shibalo'* is the Bantu word for tributary worker), any male native between the ages of 15 and 55 whom the administration considers idle or not gainfully employed is liable at any time to be rounded up and forced into whatever kind of employment the administration has in mind for him. For these purposes the authorities have over the years built up an entire complex apparatus based on the fundamental principles of intimidation and coercion; the native's self-confidence and security have been steadily undermined by ceaseless attacks on his independence. He never

knows where he is. He never knows when 'they' are coming for him, or where they will send him. He *does* know that he cannot resist, for any sort of resistance renders him liable to summary reprisals for which there is ample provision in the vague arbitrary legal code which is supposed to 'protect' him from exploitation but in fact condemns him to it:

'... All that is necessary in order for the shibalo system to function is for the administrator to have the power to indict Africans as malingerers without having to prove it in a court of law. Under existing laws, natives so accused are faced with the alternative of being conscripted for public works or of "voluntarily" signing a contract with private employers. These laws indirectly equip the administrator with almost complete discretionary power over the African's mode of employment. If shibalos are needed for government road work, or for work on the railroads, harbours, and sanitation brigades, the administrator is legally empowered to conscript such workers out of the ranks of the "malingerers". On the other hand, in order for a private firm to receive a contingent of shibalos, its recruiters merely need be present at the administrative center when a group of suspected malingerers are rounded up and brought in. To meet critical shortages, there are only moral restraints against the recruiter and administrator reaching prior agreement as to when the shibalo hunt ought to take place. Although the native affairs department maintains a small staff of inspectors who are charged with preventing violations of the indigena's right to select his own employment, shibalos are in no position to make any complaints. When the inspector gets to them they have already signed (by proxy) a contract which is indistinguishable from contracts drawn up for free laborers. To complain under these circumstances involves the indigena in direct accusations against his administrator, the man who, without genuine judicial review, may have him beaten or declared "undesirable". Moreover, most indigenas are not even aware of the fact



that the shibalo system is illegal. As long as they can remember, there has always been the danger of being caught by the shibalo hunters. They accept it as they accept other "natural" phenomena such as floods, droughts and disease, trying as best they know how to reduce its noxious effects.

Against a juridico-philosophical background which insists that the African has not the right to be "idle", the endless repetition of guarantees for freedom from forced labour stand out either as the product of hopeless ignorance on the part of the lawmakers of the conditions which prevail in their territories or a deliberate attempt to deceive the international community.'

One of the ways in which theoretically, the 'native' can escape from the system is to be the possessor of fifty head of cattle; in practice, however, this means of escape is seldom open to him: even supposing he is lucky and *can* get together the necessary number of cattle, it is always possible for the local official to intervene and direct him, on some pretext or other,

to reduce his herd. He is thus once again at the mercy of those who run the 'contract' system. We have all heard about the way the South African police supply farmers with cheap labour by picking up natives for a real or imaginary breach of some obscure, grotesque ordinance and then at the station confronting the luckless individual with a terrible 'either/or'. In Mozambique, there is quite clearly no need to fall back on grotesque discriminatory legislation on the *apartheid* pattern: here, anybody is liable to forced labour whom the authorities consider as 'idle', and 'idle' for these purposes simply means being a 'native'.

The devastating scale of this systematic persecution of the 'native' can be seen if we note that, according to official returns, out of less than 600,000 male Africans listed as resident in regions South of the Zambezi, only 33,000 were listed as 'agriculturalists'. This means, in effect, that less than 5 per cent of the adult able-bodied males in Southern Mozambique are legally entitled to remain at home with

their families. The remaining 95 per cent either find employment in the urban centres, or are caught by the *shibalo* hunters or driven into the arms of foreign recruiters. In practice the Portuguese have found it impossible to confine the 'export' of labour within the limits set out in their agreements with neighbouring countries. Altogether, the total number of Mozambique 'natives' employed in South Africa and Southern Rhodesia works out at something like 400,000. The means that something like two-thirds of the total population of able-bodied males in Southern Mozambique are employed in foreign territories. If to these are added the number working as 'servants' in the cities, and the even more unfortunate *shibalos*, it will be found that perhaps as many as three-quarters of the entire adult male population of Southern Mozambique is engaged in some form of migratory wage labor involving protracted absence from their homes.

### Forced crops

North of the Zambezi, the persecution of the African population takes a different form. Here we have a different kind of forced labour, although the underlying principles are the same: the reckless exploitation of human beings for the sake of paltry economic gain, carried out once again on a massive scale. What both kinds of exploitation have in common, moreover, is a monstrous neglect of the most fundamental human need: the need for food. As far as the South goes, one can say that every pair of hands recruited or coerced for service elsewhere means one pair of hands missing at home to till the soil and raise the crops that the people who are left behind (the women and children, the aged and the sick) need in order to live. In the North the men are allowed to stay at home, but they are not allowed to grow crops of they can actually eat.

An outsider, without knowledge of the abysmal depravity and cynicism which the Portuguese have displayed in their dealings with their African 'servants',



The docks at Beira. The ports of Beira and Lorenzo Marquez are two of Portugal's money spinners in Africa which help to cover Metropolitan Portugal's trade deficits. Once again the cheap labour of the African workers is the explanation of the profitability of these two ports

would be rather at a loss to know what to make of the Portuguese cotton development plans in Mozambique. One perhaps comes closest to the irresponsible spirit in which this lunatic enterprise is being conducted if one regards it as essentially a gamble at somebody else's expense.

Cotton is a viable commercial enterprise in Mozambique for the same reason that the low grade ores of the Transvaal mines have come to be the most important source of gold in the world. There is nothing about Mozambique which makes it especially well-suited for cotton cultivation except the presence of a huge, defenseless labor force. Indeed the regions in which cotton is being planted are ecologically marginal areas, subject to sharp fluctuations in weather patterns and to other natural calamities. Since its inception, the cotton campaign has actually amounted to a vast ecological experiment in which the government and the concession companies have attempted by crude trial and error methods to determine which zones are best suited for cotton cultivation. After ordering the indigenas of a particular district to plant cotton, the concessionaires merely wait for the results at harvest time. If the cotton grows, the workers are ordered to plant it for a second year. If it does not grow, the indigenas are permitted to revert to their normal agricultural routine. Since the concession company merely provides seed, but pays no wages, they have little to lose if the experiment is a failure in a particular district. It is the indigena who assumes all of the risk and who may, consequently, suffer with an empty stomach.

... Despite the continuing resistance of the African cultivators and the sharp annual fluctuations, the cotton campaign is considered to be a great success by Portugal's present government. Mozambique and Angola today produce enough short staple cotton to meet all of Portugal's domestic needs. The fact that the African indigena has done all of the work, taken all of the risks, and received prac-

tically nothing in return is not regarded as a serious drawback.'

In defence of this system, the Administration has produced some rather sophisticated arguments:

'It is not certain that the natives are the exclusive sufferers of the risk entailed in the concession zone. The problem has been fundamentally misstated. In fact, it is necessary to make it clear that while the concessionaire intervenes in the production by means of propaganda, the one, the only and the true producer is the native. The 'concessionaire', situated within the industrial milieu, while influencing the agricultural process... neither can nor should participate in the risks which are part of agriculture, but only in those which properly belong to industry...' These arguments, however, seem to have made little impression on the Bishop of Beira who has evidently been able to see the results of the system with his own eyes:

'Right at the outset I want to affirm that there are aspects of this activity which can only with difficulty be justified in the light of Christian sociology. The first of these aspects is that the risks of production fall only upon the natives. It is true that the authors of the Decreto... attempt to defend this and other weak points of the present system of cotton production. But they don't succeed. The motive which justifies the fact that the native is obliged to shoulder the risk is said to be that he is "the one, the only, and the true producer" of cotton. "The concessionaire situated within the industrial milieu... neither can nor should participate in the risks..." one knows that it is the concessionaire. But how can one believe this when every-who designates the place, assigns the acreage, furnishes the seed, arranges the work, determines the time, watches out for the preservation of the crop, orders the harvest to begin, etc., etc.? In practice, at least, what difference is there between the activities of these natives and those who work as contracted laborers on the farms? None. Or better yet, a difference does exist: the contract laborers receive

clothing, food and board; here, nothing of this is supplied; whether the farm produces or does not produce, the contract workers receive a salary; here they receive the price of the cotton if the seeding is successful, and in case it isn't, as occurs in bad years for this kind of crop, they receive nothing.

... The vulnerable aspects of the problem don't stop there. Whoever has frequent contact with certain of the cotton zones has no difficulty in recognizing that the principal effort of the native... is absorbed by the cotton and that there remains not much time or effort to grow the food which is needed by him and by others. I know a region which used to be a granary for lands afflicted with hunger. After the cotton campaign was begun there, the fertile fields ceased to supply food for the neighboring populations and the people of the region itself also commenced to feel hunger. There belongs to my diocese a region in which for six months the black spectre of hunger reaped the lives of the inhabitants...

Finally the last consideration of this unfortunate subject: I know of districts in which the native... received as payment for his harvest from 50 to 90 escudos. And in the same region, and in the same locality, if the native worked at planting other crops, he could grow in an equal area of land, and perhaps with less effort, from 2,000 to 4,000 escudos worth of products.'

### No longer forgotten

In his conclusion, Dr. Harris remarks that the *indigenato* is to be regarded as 'one of the most systematic and thorough attempts to erect discriminatory barriers against the well-being and social progress of the great mass of the Negro population':

'In reaching this conclusion we must not be thrown off by the protest of the Portuguese themselves in Mozambique to the effect that they do not "hate" the Negro, and that they are therefore not racists. It is true that one rarely encounters white colonists in Mozambique who spontaneously emit evidence of a strong, active odium for the Africans. There is,

however no dearth of prejudicial and defamatory stereotypes regarding the Negro race's intellectual, physical, and spiritual qualities. Although admitting exceptions, the clear majority of whites in Mozambique regard the Negro as inferior and accept his inferior social position as irrefutable proof of the fact. The Negro is regarded as an eternal child, amusing in his backwardness, sometimes loyal and hardworking, but never the complete equal of a white, never desirable as a wife though acceptable as an illicit lover; in short, a good servant when well-disciplined, who is likeable as long as he doesn't try to take your hand when you offer him a foot. These attitudes coupled with the arbitrary beatings, the discriminatory wages, the forced labour, the curfews, the denial of freedom of movement, the unilateral contracts, the compulsory crop system, the separate and unequal educational system, and the subjection to arbitrary, personal justice on every hand, leave little room for the Portuguese or their well-wishers to maneuver.


Many colonists delude themselves into believing that the indigena likes the way he is being treated, that he likes the Portuguese better than the other whites, and that the high level of civil order to be found in Mozambique is proof of the amicable relations between white and African. All of the evidence, however, points in the opposite direction, namely, that some 500,000 Africans from Mozambique prefer to work for the English, who "pay better, treat you better, and fire you instead of beating you when they're dissatisfied." The Portuguese brand of paternalism may have had its virtues under slavery, but in a world of depersonalized wage labor, personal relations left over from slavery have lost their charm unless they are accompanied by a decent standard of living. As for the high degree of civil order in which the Portuguese administration takes such great pride, there is ample evidence that it derives not from the perfection of personal relations, but from the perfection of intimidation, re-

pressive techniques, and the success with which the African elite has been rendered neutral by emigration, deportation, and lack of education...

What is finally important in assessing the disastrous results of the Portuguese mission in Africa — for all the indications are that this brutal cynicism, the widespread ramifications of which we have, thanks to Dr. Harris, been able to examine in some detail, is not peculiar to Mozambique, but has its equally hideous counterpart in Angola, from where messages of distress have recently been leaking out to the free world — what is important is that this atrocious mockery of the dignity of man is not, as Dr. Harris puts it, 'the product of the temperament of a particular cultural or biological complex' but rather 'a phenomenon which is produced in relation to fairly well-defined circumstances of a socio-economic nature'. To find the real cause of this bestial treatment of human beings we have to turn to the social and economic backwardness of metropolitan Portugal. As long as the Salazar regime remains in charge of the Portuguese economy it is difficult to see how the Portuguese could afford the economic sacrifice they would be called upon to make in adopting a colonial policy more in keeping with the spirit of our age. At the same time, however, much the Salazar regime has become inured to its own brutalities at home and in the 'overseas territories', it must by now be aware that it is, by its own wasteful excesses, in the process of killing of the goose that lays the golden eggs. Perhaps Salazar, obsessed with the idea of hanging on to power to the bitter end, does not really care what happens when he has had his day. To the extent that the governments of the free world have tolerated the Salazar regime in Portugal, it will be difficult for us to refute completely the charge that we too are implicated. We have a plain duty to make it clear to Dr. Salazar that we know what is going on in his silent colonies, that the African people in these territories are no longer forgotten and that they will have our full

support in their struggle for freedom and human dignity.

## Freedom or patriotism?

 WHENEVER THERE IS A CONFLICT between freedom and patriotism, the proper place for trade unions is on the side of freedom. Such is the case when Nazism, Fascism or other totalitarian ideologies seize control of the State. That is the explanation of the struggle carried on by the trade unions against Nazism and Fascism, and of that in which they are still engaged today against other authoritarian systems.

That is why genuine trade unionism, while not involving itself in political struggles, should nevertheless keep a close watch on political institutions. If these change, it is not important so long as the modifications do not affect basic liberties. Generally speaking, the terms 'parliamentary régime', 'Presidential régime', 'monarchy' or 'Republic' are only unimportant methods of choosing the men to whom power is entrusted. The man-in-the-street is free to prefer the one or the other. The trade unionist is indifferent to the preference so long as the actual power wielded remains unchanged. Labels after all, are not the goods themselves. On the other hand, the trade union movement revolts and moves into action whenever not only the label but also the product is tampered with. It is in this sense that trade union neutrality certainly has its limits. All types of government are good for trade unionism so long as they leave basic freedoms intact, including the freedom to extend them. Our American friends get on very well with their Presidential system just as our Dutch and British friends with their monarchies. Our Swiss friends live perfectly happily in their Republic. That is because all of them — American, British, Dutch and Swiss alike — are limited in their actions only by their sense of responsibility. They are, at one and the same time, both free men and patriots. That is precisely what we too want to be.

Pierre Felce writing in *Syndicaliste des Transports*



(Continued from page 85)


by private companies. The accompanying photographs shows some of these bus stations outside Helsinki. The great majority of them have facilities for the storage of cycles and skis, since, in the provinces, these means of transport are often indispensable for the travellers for the journey between the bus station and their homes.

The one-man bus has become very common in Finland, particularly on long-distance routes and on routes serving sparsely populated rural areas where the function of the bus service is either to carry people directly to and from their place of work or to provide feeder services to the nearest railway station.

The future development of the Finnish bus industry will depend of course to a large extent on future public investment in road construction. Up to now a chronic shortage of capital has caused investment in this direction to lag behind the country's growing requirements. Recent plans for combatting a certain measure of unemployment have included an important scheme for the construction of new roads and the improvement of existing ones. It is perhaps worth mentioning in this context that in certain regions there are often periods when bus traffic is brought to a standstill because the roads are impassable.


The considerable amount of tourist traffic conveyed by road vehicles tends to be concentrated during the summer and early autumn months. Those contemplating a holiday in Finland will be glad to know that tourist agencies abroad are able to book reserved seats on Finnish long-distance coaches which are not allowed to carry standing passengers. In the towns, of course, standing passengers have to be carried to deal with the rush hour traffic.

### Fishing stakes ban in Malaya


 THE MALAYAN GOVERNMENT has decided to ban the use of stakes for fishing in its territorial waters. The

reasons for this, according to the Minister of Agriculture is that this form of fishing make things more difficult for fishermen using other techniques. It has been estimated, for instance, that broken and abandoned stakes have been destroying nets worth between five and seven million Malay dollars (at least £600,000) every year. Only one State in the Malayan Federation has so far not agreed to the ban, because it believes that the fishermen in its area depend on stake fishing for a livelihood. The Ministry of Agriculture, however, pointed out that fishermen who were operating with nylon drift nets from motorized craft 15 to 20 miles offshore were able to earn as much as Malay \$800 (about £100) for a 20-day trip, this amount to be shared by two fishermen. This was a great improvement on the earnings that could be expected from stake fishing.

### Trade union programme for Nigeria

 PLANS TO COORDINATE the activities of the international free trade union movement in assisting the Trades Union Congress of Nigeria in its organizing programme are now being put into effect. The plans were drawn up at a meeting held in Lagos recently when H. P. Adenola, President, L. Borha, General Secretary and other members of the executive board of the TUC of Nigeria met Omer Becu, ICFTU General Secretary, Pieter de Vries, General Secretary of the International Transport Workers' Federation and William Miller, representative of the International Federation of Petroleum Workers. The TUC(N) programme of activities for 1961/62 was taken as the framework within which all the actions of individual unions, supported by the International Trade Secretariats, are to be carried out.

### An honest day's work

 I THINK ON THE QUESTION of featherbedding that no laboring man wants to featherbed. If the American character is manifest in any area it is manifest in the desire to do an honest day's work.


That is a traditional aspect of our society. That relates to all aspects, all people, whether it is the man who works in a blue collar or in a white collar.

This is part of the same problem that is involved in automation. The people will insist upon traditional practices when they feel this is the only way of safeguarding their jobs and there are not adequate programs for seeing to it that they enjoy a reasonable amount of security.

Given programs that will give assurance to men who work for a living that their needs, their human needs, will be safeguarded and protected, I think whatever amount of featherbedding exists will diminish.

Arthur J. Goldberg — US Secretary of Labor

### Fish landings by conveyor belt

 TWO EUROPEAN FISHING PORTS — Grimsby in Great Britain and IJmuiden in Holland — are experimenting with the use of conveyor belts to provide automatic landing of fish. The methods used in each case are, however, slightly different. In IJmuiden, for example, the trawler *Nicolaas Sr.* has been equipped with a conveyor belt and working in conjunction with a special installation ashore has been successful in handling herring and mackerel. The conveyor belt is connected directly with the covered fish market in the port. At Grimsby, the belt used to convey fish from the ship to land will be adjustable according to the level of the ship in relation to the quayside. It has been stated that the equipment will not result in any reduction in the labour force since the increased speed of landing fish would release men to help to stack it once it was ashore.

We must apologize to readers for the late appearance of this issue. This was due to pressure of work in connection with the meeting of the ITF Executive Committee in Tel Aviv.

# International Transport Workers' Federation

President: R. DEKEYZER

General Secretary: P. DE VRIES

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**7** industrial sections catering for

RAILWAYMEN  
ROAD TRANSPORT WORKERS  
INLAND WATERWAY WORKERS  
PORT WORKERS  
SEAFARERS  
FISHERMEN  
CIVIL AVIATION STAFF

- Founded in London in 1896
- Reconstituted at Amsterdam in 1919
- Headquarters in London since the outbreak of the Second World War
- 243 affiliated organizations in 71 countries
- Total membership: 6,500,000

## *The aims of the ITF are*

to support national and international action in the struggle against economic exploitation and political oppression and to make international working class solidarity effective;

to cooperate in the establishment of a world order based on the association of all peoples in freedom and equality for the promotion of their welfare by the common use of the world's resources;

to seek universal recognition and enforcement of the right of trade union organization;

to defend and promote, on the international plane, the economic, social and occupational interests of all transport workers;

to represent the transport workers in international agencies performing functions which affect their social, economic and occupational conditions;

to furnish its affiliated organizations with information about the wages and working conditions of transport workers in different parts of the world, legislation affecting them, the development and activities of their trade unions, and other kindred matters.

## *Affiliated unions in*

Aden • Argentina • Australia • Austria • Barbados • Belgium  
Brazil • British Guiana • British Honduras • Burma • Canada  
Ceylon • Chile • Colombia • Costa Rica • Cuba • Curaçao  
Denmark • Ecuador • Egypt • Estonia (Exile) • Faroe Islands  
Finland • France • Germany • Ghana • Great Britain • Greece  
Grenada • Honduras • Hong Kong • Iceland • India  
Indonesia • Israel • Italy • Jamaica • Japan • Kenya  
Luxembourg • Malaya • Malta • Mauritius • Mexico  
The Netherlands • New Zealand • Nicaragua • Nigeria  
Norway • Nyasaland • Pakistan • Panama • Paraguay • Peru  
Philippines • Poland (Exile) • Republic of Ireland • Rhodesia  
St. Lucia • South Africa • South Korea • Spain (Illegal  
Underground Movement) • Sudan • Sweden • Switzerland  
Tanganyika • Trinidad • Tunisia • Uganda • United States of  
America • Uruguay • Zanzibar

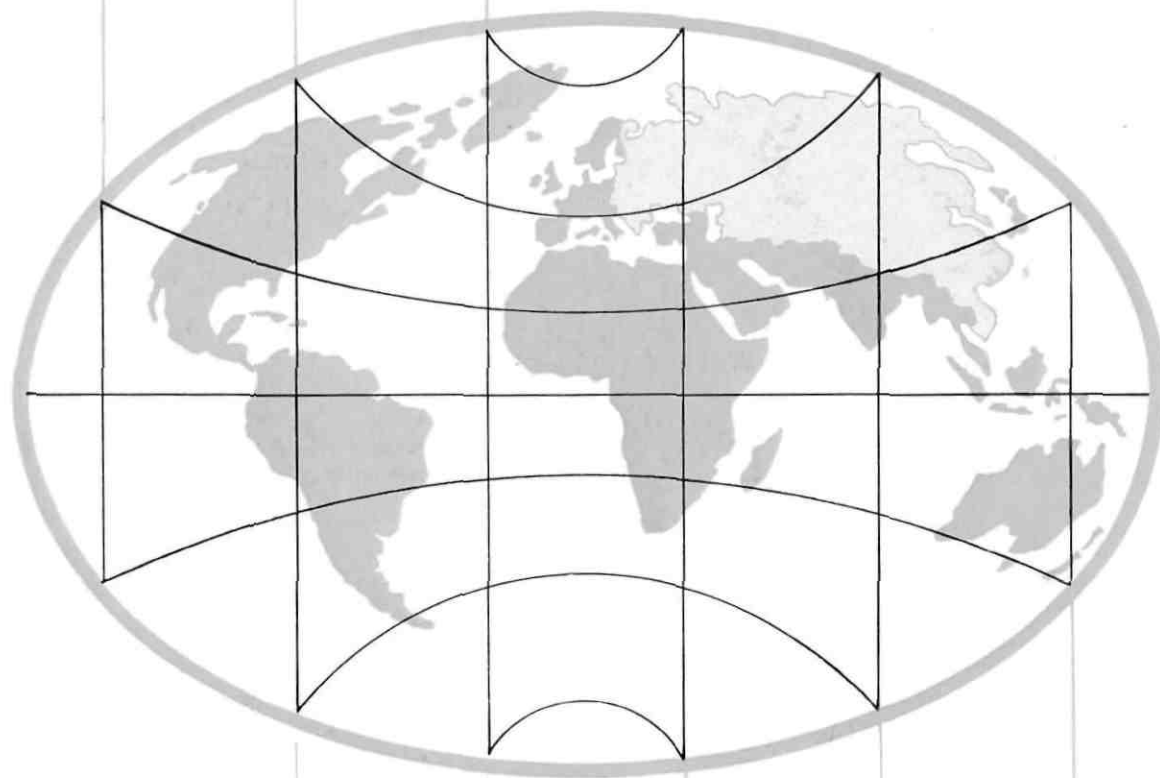
# Publications for the world's transport workers

International Transport Workers' Journal

Internationale Transportarbeiter-Zeitung

ITF Journal (Tokyo)

## Editions of Journal



Pressebericht

## Editions of Press Report

Pressmeddelanden

Communications de Presse

Transporte (Mexico City)

Press Report Two separate editions in English issued in London and Singapore