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Stockholm	27-30 May 1964 Railwaymen's Section Conference
Vienna	8-10 June 1964 Executive Board

Comment

Strange fruit

LAST MONTH was a sad one for Africa and for all friends of Africa. Within a few short days a Communist-style government seized power in Zanzibar; military insurrection flared successively in Tanganyika, Uganda and Kenya; while in Ghana a national referendum confirmed Dr. Nkrumah's plans to turn his country into a one-party State.

Perhaps the most tragic feature of the take-over in Zanzibar and the attempted military revolt in Tanganyika was the ease with which both situations were exploited to pander to racial prejudice and to produce the mob violence against minorities which inevitably follows. Even more shocking, although less well-publicized, was the news from independent Rwanda, where more than 10,000 members of the Tutsi tribe are reported to have been cruelly massacred since Christmas.

Some African political leaders have recently shown scant interest in democracy as a form of government suited to African conditions, but the events of January have proved that one-party or one-man rule is also not the answer to the many problems which beset the newly-independent countries of this great Continent. Absolute power not only corrupts good men; it can also easily fall into the hands of those who are out to exploit personal grievances or impose their own brand of fanaticism on their fellow-citizens, and who are not fastidious about the methods they use in achieving it.

Dictatorship and racial hatred are ugly things regardless of who practices them. Africans, who have suffered from both during the colonial past, should be particularly careful not to provide ammunition for those who would like to put the clock back or to keep its hands set at one minute to midnight.


We have always believed that the best defence against internal subversion and violence is a strong independent trade union movement working within a society where all are free to express their opinions and achieve their aims by peaceful methods. An old-fashioned idea perhaps – but it works.

ITF training for Latin American labour teachers

by JACK OTERO,
ITF Representative in Brazil



Participants in the FEO Puerto Rico seminar. Left to right: (bottom) Luis Maceda Arcaya (Peru), Juan Torres Martínez (Puerto Rico), Marco Tulio Alvarado (Costa Rica), a UPR staff girl, Medardo Gomero (Peru), a UPR staff girl, Victor M. Ramos (Uruguay), Victor L. Garcia (Assistant Director, FEO Programme); (top) Miles Galvin (Director, FEO Programme), Mirto Noble (Uruguay), Martin del Pozo (Argentina), Manuel J. Medrano (ITF Office, Peru), Elmo Rivera (Puerto Rico), Mario Ayala (Puerto Rico), Jack F. Otero (ITF Representative in Brazil) (Photo: Luis Morales)

 IN THE AUTUMN OF 1963, a new kind of labour education course was planned jointly by the ITF and the Labour Relations Institute of the University of Puerto Rico. Its aim was to train trade unionists from a number of Latin American transport workers' organizations as trade union instructors and to enable them to undertake such jobs as organizing seminars, working out trade union instruction courses and education programmes for unions in their own countries, and to assist as teachers in such courses and programmes themselves.

The teaching facilities for this FEO programme, referred to by its Spanish initials which stand for *Formación Educadores Obreros*, 'Training Programme for Labour Instructors', were provided by the University of Puerto Rico (UPR). Miles Galvin, of the University's Labour Relations Institute, directed the programme and the team of instructors included Lester Zosel, International Representative of the American Brotherhood of Railway Clerks, and myself.

The ten trainees, nicknamed 'Feos' (which in Spanish means 'the ugly ones'), came from Argentina, Costa Rica, Peru, Puerto Rico, and Uruguay. Most of them were in their early thirties and none had less than six years' trade union experience. They came from unions organizing seamen, railwaymen, longshore-

men, bus employees and taxi drivers, but only two were in full time trade union employment.

The courses offered during this ten-week programme, lasting from 16 September till 22 November, were of a varied nature. They ranged from the simple description of a labour union to the political and economic concepts of democracy; or from union organizing to methods and techniques of teaching trade union subjects.

The trainees received orientation in advance, while still in their respective countries. A specialized representative of the Labour Relations Institute travelled to these various countries in order to interview the candidates and check their suitability, as well as to inform them on the kind of training they would be getting

Jack Otero lectures in Puerto Rico's University on the ITF, its history and activities



in Puerto Rico and the living conditions to be expected. It was especially important to determine their readiness to accept discipline and responsibility, since on their return they would be expected to conduct educational programmes through their own unions, probably in cooperation with the ITF. The trainees were also advised as to what material they should bring with them about the labour situation in their own countries.

On arrival the trainees were briefed again by UPR personnel in an effort to make them feel as comfortable as possible before attempting to teach them anything.

The first week of training was an easy one consisting mainly of general orientation. The subjects presented were quite interesting and gave the trainees an opportunity to get used to the classroom atmosphere, the teacher-student relationship, the inescapable homework and the fact that they would be doing the same thing for the following nine weeks and at an ever increasing pace. Among the subjects presented the first week was an important theme they were to remember throughout the entire course: 'Adult psychology', which formed a basis for their subsequent training.

As the weeks bore on the trainees also heard lectures on the *Economics of the*

transport industry; Union organizing; Labour law and its application; Teaching techniques; Public speaking – Lecture presentation – do's and don'ts of a good speaker; Public relations and labour journalism; Organizing a strike; Administration of labour unions; Audio-visual techniques in teaching; What is the international trade union movement?; The ITF – its plans for the future; Planning an educational programme; Democratic safeguards; Political and economic concepts of democracy and communism; Responsibilities of a trade union leader; Trade union political outlooks; and many others which were inter-related with the above subjects.

The significant thing here is that hardly one hour went by in which the trainees did not have an opportunity to participate fully in the class. Question and answer periods were introduced in all classes to enable the trainees to relax and to teach them the importance of audience-participation. Not only did the trainees ask questions, but they expressed quite frankly, I thought, their own ideas in many cases thus giving the teachers an opportunity to know them better and to help them when confused or ill-oriented. I must point out that the democratic procedures used in this programme had a deep psychological aim.



FEO trainees listen to a lecture by Jack Otero on labour organization and union administration (Photo: Luis Morales)

The trainees were allowed to express their viewpoints on all issues, sometimes beyond normal tolerance. This in my opinion was the highlight of the programme. Not at any time were the trainees prevented from saying what they wanted to, even though at times some of us did not agree with what they had to say. The point was to teach them that the democratic process allows you to speak, but that you must also be a good listener. In other words, that your rights end where the other person's rights begin.

The programme emphasized practice on the part of the students. They were requested to enact situations typical of those with which they would afterwards be confronted in reality. For example, with the guidance of UPR teachers, the trainees acted the part of organizers dealing with two prospective members attempting to make things difficult. The idea here was to correct mistakes in their approach to people in an organizing campaign.

Other dramatizations were conducted, such as a meeting with an employer designed to give practice in the handling of grievances and collective bargaining sessions. The trainees also overcame some of their inhibitions by conducting classes in front of other trade union leaders, who were studying at the University, and by conducting programmes for labour unions in Puerto Rico.

The combination of lectures, questions and answer periods, dramatizations, study at home and the pursuit of their own particular interests kept the trainees quite busy during the ten-week programme. However Bro. Galvin was careful to organize sightseeing trips at week-ends to allow the trainees one half-day free every week so that they would have no cause for complaints.

Miles Galvin (standing) directed the FEO Programme. The figures seated to the left of him are: (right to left) Lester Zosel of the American Brotherhood of Railway Clerks, who also gave instruction at the Puerto Rico course, Jack Otero and an FEO trainee



One of the most important requirements of the programme was the preparation of an individual thesis on the part of each trainee. In some cases they were allowed to work as a team of two, in order to facilitate their research. Tutors were assigned to each individual or team to help them with the outline of their assigned topic. However, the trainees themselves had the responsibility of preparing these theses, conducting the research, visiting experts in the field and writing the completed findings in a presentable and satisfactory manner.

As the programme neared its end, each trainee had been properly instructed as to the use of audio-visual aids, such as movie and slide projectors, tape recorders, blackboards, charts, maps and many other devices now being used for labour education.

The excellent organization and execution of this programme is undoubtedly the result of previous experience in the conduct of similar programmes with other ITSS.

Follow-up seminar in Panama

To give the tutors an opportunity to observe the FEO Trainees in action, and to give the latter the chance to practice away from the University environment, a special follow-up seminar was organized in Panama. This project had the

twofold aim of enabling the trainees to put their newly acquired knowledge into practice in a real setting and of affording Panamanian affiliates the benefit of an ITF seminar, which they had never before been able to enjoy in their own country. Therefore, immediately on conclusion of the FEO programme in Puerto Rico, six trainees, accompanied by Brothers Lester Zosel, Miles Galvin and myself travelled to Panama. The six trainees had to return to their respective countries and the stop-off in Panama could be made at very little or no expense at all.

Preparations had been hastily made for the seminar which was to be held from 26 to 29 November. Hotel accommodation and premises for the seminar had been secured, unions contacted and candidates recruited. By the time the FEO team arrived on 25 November all preparations were complete. The Panamanian Newspapermen, affiliated to the International Federation of Journalists, had lent their building for the seminar, and the participants were ready to start.

It is to be noted that this seminar was planned to include most of the teaching techniques emphasized during the FEO programme in Puerto Rico. The participants were encouraged to take as active a part as possible, in order to help them with their individual problems.

Films were projected to illustrate the lectures presented by the FEO trainees. Dramatizations were also staged, these having a remarkable success during the three days of the seminar. The attendance was 97%, and while I agree that you cannot teach a subject in three days, I can say with confidence that the Panamanians learnt a lot and went home with a message they will not forget easily. Their enthusiasm was tremendous, for they knew they needed what we were able to give them. A great many requests were made for another seminar.

We had originally planned to take 20 students, but the demand was so great that in the end we stretched it to 43. Their ages varied between 16 and 45, and they belonged to unions organizing taxi drivers, port workers, seamen, fishermen, bus drivers and civil aviation personnel.

The FEO trainees performed commendably and their enthusiasm and interest was quite encouraging; they are ready to take on other assignments. After ten weeks of intensive work at the University of Puerto Rico, they would have been justified in slowing down or in declining to accept further responsibility. Yet, though driven at a tremendous pace they did not stop to complain for they, too, were enthusiastic about this project and were anxious to make their contribution towards the cause of free labor.

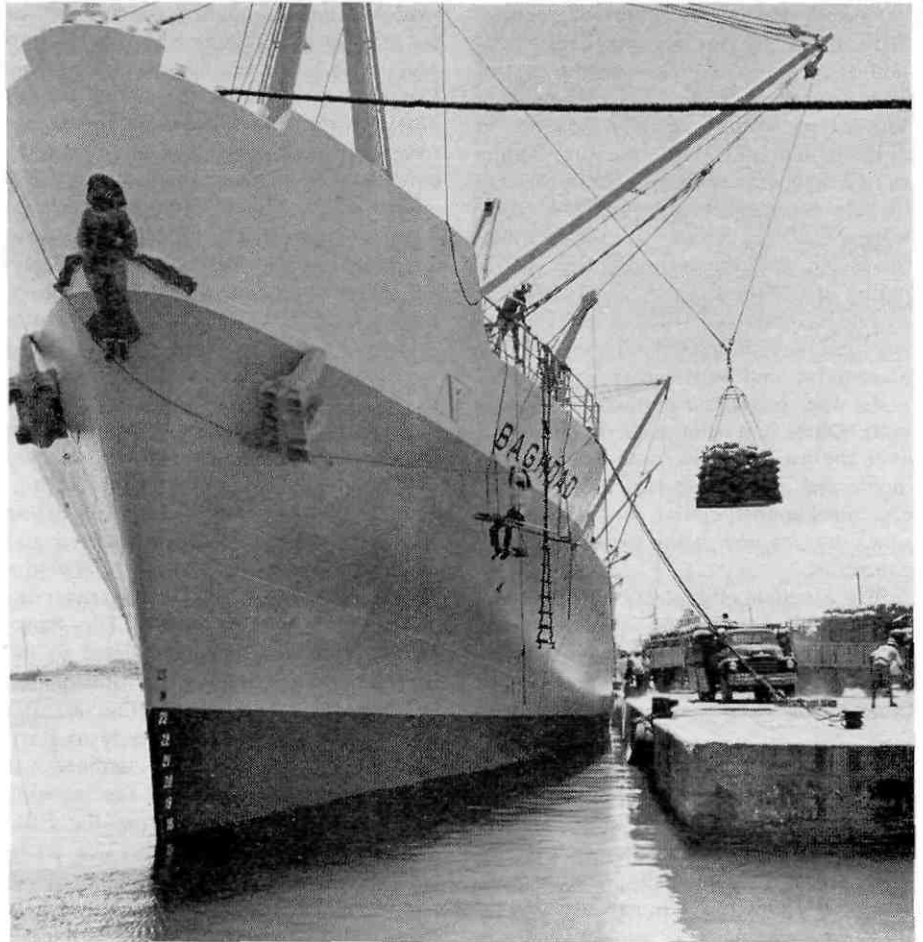
Brothers Galvin and Zosel and myself helped out with the lecturing, although the FEO team managed the bulk of it very well on their own. Special mention is warranted for the people in Panama who so readily gave their kind cooperation. The management of the Newspapermen's centre not only put their facilities at our disposal, but got us twice on television and provided us with extensive press coverage. The Interamerican Journalists' Organization allowed us the use of their offices as a headquarters and the American Labour Attaché supplied film projectors.

In conclusion I should like to express my appreciation of the efficiency and attentiveness of the Labour Relations Institute staff at the University of Puerto Rico. They saw to it that all the ITF's requirements were scrupulously catered for, and I must add that, though I went to the University of Puerto Rico as an instructor, during my stay there I was able to learn many new techniques of labour education and broaden my knowledge of the field.

The FEO Team conducted the Panama seminar mostly on their own. Here Medardo Gomero, of Peru, is lecturing on the history of the labour movement. The Panamanian students participating were enthusiastic about the course and showed great appreciation



Labour in Cyprus



Port scene in Famagusta. At present there are six main groups of trade unions: the communist-dominated Federation, the ICFU-affiliated Cyprus Workers' Confederation (CWC), the Turkish Trade Union Federation, the Federation of Independent Trade Unions, a small group which broke away from the CWC, and a number of unaffiliated unions
(Photo by courtesy Cyprus High Commission in London)

St. Nicolas Cathedral, Famagusta. Trade unionism in Cyprus dates from the year 1932 when a trade union law was enacted which provided a legal basis for the movement. This was superseded in 1941 by a new trade union and disputes Act which was based on contemporary British legislation



ANCHOR THE REPUBLIC OF CYPRUS, much in the news recently, is an island in the northeastern Mediterranean, with a population of nearly 600,000. About eighty per cent of these are of Greek origin and about eighteen per cent of Turkish origin; the remaining two per cent are Armenians, Jews, Maronites and non-Greek Europeans. About two thirds of the population live in rural areas, and the rest in and around the major cities. The largest of these is the capital, Nicosia, with 81,700 inhabitants.

Cyprus has been an independent republic since August 1960 and is a member of the British Commonwealth. Before that it was under Turkish rule from 1571 to 1878 when the United Kingdom took over administration of the island. By treaties between the Republic of Cyprus, Great Britain, Greece and Turkey, both union with Greece and partition to separate the Greek and Turkish communities on the island are precluded. Care was taken when the republic's constitution was drawn up to maintain a balance of influence between Greek and Turkish Cypriots in all sectors of public life. The House of Representatives has 35 Greek

and 15 Turkish members and there are two communal chambers which are responsible for determining taxes for the needs of their respective communities and exercise authority over religious, educational and other communal questions. The public service is staffed by seventy per cent Greeks and thirty per cent Turks.

Agriculture is by far the most important economic activity on the island, and provides work for just over half of those gainfully employed. Light manufacturing industries have expanded rapidly under the five year plan begun in 1961, but most factories are still very small;

few employ more than fifty workers. Mining, construction, commerce and the service industries employ the rest of the island's labour force. A certain amount of unemployment resulted from the reduction of the British garrison in 1959 when the emergency ended, but during 1962 and 1963 the number of people seeking jobs fell substantially and now stands at about 4,000. In recent years emigration has been on the increase, chiefly to the United Kingdom, the Commonwealth, the United States and Greece, in that order. Thirteen thousand Cypriots emigrated during 1961, and Cypriots living abroad are important as a source of sterling and other currencies which they send home to friends and relations in Cyprus.

The demand for skilled labour is constantly increasing. Since independence, the authorities have drawn up bold plans to meet this need. The literacy rate is high — about 80 per cent in the six largest cities. Elementary education is free, but secondary education is on a fee-paying basis, although scholarships are provided. There are no universities, but there are three Greek and two Turkish technical schools, all with modern equipment for scientific and technical courses. No firms are so far operating any organized training or apprenticeship schemes for young entrants.

A minimum wage act came into force in 1941 which authorized the British Governor of the island to fix minimum rates of pay for any occupation, either generally or in a specific area, whenever he was satisfied that wages paid in that occupation were unreasonably low. This power was used infrequently and since independence no new minimum wage legislation has been enacted. The powers given to the Governor have now passed to the President of the Republic. Hours of work for most non-manual workers are about 39 to 40 a week and of industrial workers at between 45 and 50. Government salaried employees are paid a cost-of-living allowance determined by the level of the retail price index, and wage scales of hourly rated government employees are also adjusted to the index. Most of the bigger private industries have clauses in their collective contracts which provide for wages to move with prices. Workers in the public service, including transport, and in mining, building and manufacturing receive 8 paid public holidays and from 8 to 15 days' annual leave a year.

Trade unionism in Cyprus dates from

the year 1932, when a trade union law was enacted which provided a legal basis for building a trade union movement. Before that workers had tried to organize but their efforts usually failed or resulted only in the formation of social clubs. In 1932 only one trade union was registered, and there were no registrations in the two succeeding years. This was partly because the main support for trade unionism came from the militant left-wing party AKEL (Progressive Party of Working People) and this fact hardened employer opposition, and partly because such industry as existed was on a very small scale, with paternalistic labour relations, which discouraged workers from organizing.

It was not until 1938 and 1939, when increasing numbers of Cypriots were supporting themselves entirely on wages, that the trade union movement began to gain momentum. In 1939 thirty-two new unions were registered. By the end of that year there were forty-six registered unions with a total membership of 2,544. Also in that year an unsuccessful attempt was made to coordinate the activities of all these unions at a Pancyprian Conference of Trade Unions, held in Famagusta.

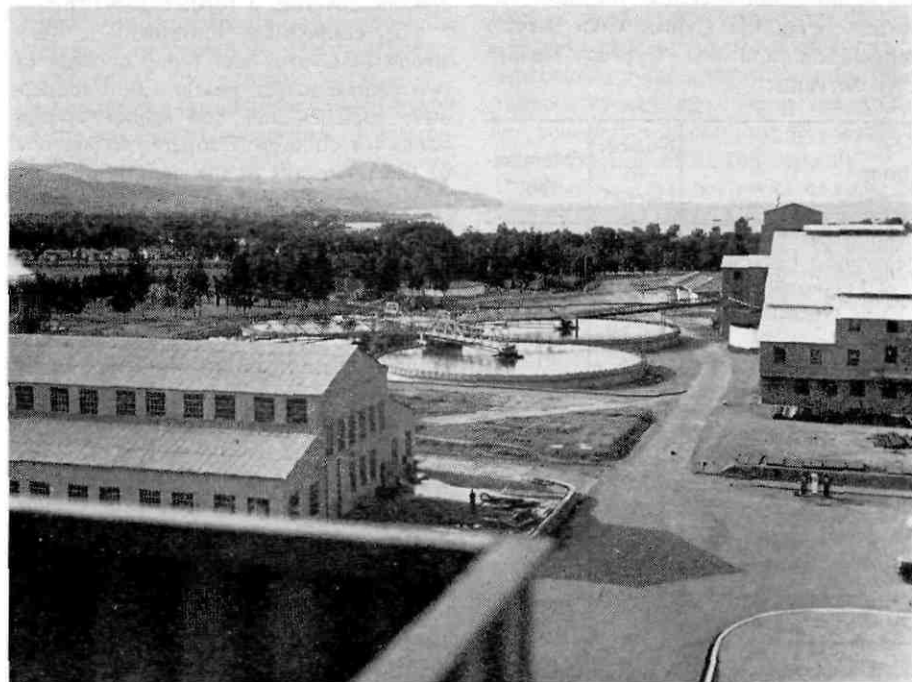
The war period was marked by several important developments in the trade union movement. In 1941 a new Trade

Union and Trade Disputes Law was passed to replace the Act of 1932. Based on contemporary British trade union legislation, the new law set forth in detail the rights, obligations and privileges of trade unions. Also in 1941 a second attempt was made to establish a trade union federation, at a conference in Nicosia. This established the Pancyprian Trade Union Committee (PTUC). However, three years later the PTUC split over support for Communist AKEL candidates in the municipal elections, and a separate group called the New Trade Unions was formed. In 1943 the Confederation of Turkish Trade Unions was established, primarily in opposition to the Enosis (union with Greece) policy of the Greek trade union leaders. In addition to these groups there were eight independent unions.

After the war the number of unions grew from 143 (15,480 members) in 1945, to 354 (65,380) in 1960. Excluding agriculture, nearly half the total number of workers were members of trade unions in 1961. The highest percentage of organization is in mining and construction, followed by manufacturing, service industries and some sectors of government employment.

At the end of 1960 there were five distinct groups of trade unions in Cyprus (see table). Largest is the Pancyprian

Part of copper mine installation, Cyprus. After agriculture, mining, construction, commerce and the public service industries employ the bulk of the island's labour force. Joint consultation and collective bargaining are not very well developed except in government service and construction (Photo: Cyprus Information Service)



Federation of Labour (PEO), a direct descendant of the left-wing PTUC, which is affiliated to the World Federation of Trade Unions. The PEO's policy is to encourage the formation of industrial unions. The main strength of its membership is in the construction industry, mining and among government workers. The PEO provides social insurance funds and clinics and dispensaries for the benefit of members.

The second largest group is the New Trade Unions, or Cyprus Workers' Confederation (SEK). This body is affiliated to the ICFTU. Its strength is broadly based, and it has considerable membership among agricultural workers. Early in 1962 a split occurred within SEK and a new group known as the Democratic Federation of Labour (DEOK) was formed, taking with it about 10 per cent of SEK's membership.

Another significant trade union group is the Cyprus Turkish Trade Union Federation (KTIBF), which is the descendant of the earlier Confederation of Turkish Trade Unions. It was registered in 1955. Membership is restricted to Turkish Cypriots and is broadly based in many industries.

The Pancyprian Federation of Independent Trade Unions, registered in 1957, has no definite political orientation. Membership is drawn from Greeks, Armenians, and Maronites and is largely concentrated among employees in public utility services. There are also a number of large trade unions belonging to no national centre, the most important being the Cyprus Civil Service Association and the Cyprus Turkish Civil Servants.

Group	Number of unions*)	Membership *)
Pancyprian Federation of Labour (PEO)	30	35,544
Cyprus Workers' Confederation (SEK)	246	15,587
Pancyprian Federation of Independent Trade Unions	16	2,416
Cyprus Turkish Trade Union Federation (KTIBF)	38	4,381
Others (includes civil service unions)	24	7,452
Total	354	65,380

*) Figures from 31 December 1960



Coppersmith at work. Excluding agriculture, nearly half the total number of workers in Cyprus are members of trade unions. The highest percentage of organization is in mining and construction, followed by manufacturing, service industries and some sectors of government employment (Photo by courtesy Cyprus Information Service)

The strongest employer association is in the building industry; others are in the engineering, catering, entertainment, and electrical industries. 1960 saw the formation of the Cyprus Employers' Consultative Association, which by the end of the following year had 46 'direct' employer affiliates and nine trade associations covering a further 330 firms.

The cooperative movement is very strong in Cyprus and today consists of two central banks, nearly 1,000 cooperative societies and 860 school savings banks for children. Cooperatives are one of the mainstays of the agricultural system, extending generous short and long-term credit, and they have also formed marketing unions for carobs, potatoes and vine products.

Before the Second World War, collective bargaining agreements between employers and unions were extremely few. Where they existed they usually contained only a clause governing notice of dismissal and two on wages and hours of work. During recent years, however, collective bargaining on a wider range of issues has become more common, and some agreements in force now cover such items as grievance machinery and procedure. The Ministry of Labour not only has power to act as mediator or arbitrator in labour disputes, but can al-

so take sides and influence the course of disputes. The right to strike is guaranteed by the Constitution of the republic, and is used frequently, except in 'essential services' when compulsory arbitration may be invoked. Pressure is building up to introduce a more effective system for the peaceful settlement of disputes, and joint consultation between employers and workers.

The government has bargained with its employees since 1949 through 'Joint Labour Committees' on which management and union representatives serve in equal numbers. An effort has been made to hold this up as a model for private industry but it has become widespread only in building; however, joint committees do exist for workers in catering, agriculture, mining, transport, shoes and clothing and printing. Topics discussed by these committees include wages and conditions of work; safety, health and welfare; discipline; training and efficiency; and anything else relating to improving working relations and conditions.

The growth of the Cyprus Employers' Consultative Association has helped in this move towards more organized regulation of wages and working conditions. Joint Industrial Councils to handle nation-wide collective bargaining are planned.


In 1947 an Act was passed which prescribed minimum standards of safety, hygiene and welfare in certain fields of employment, mainly government service. This was superseded in 1956 by a more comprehensive Factories Act which considerably strengthened the powers of the Factory Inspectorate, and set standards for sanitation, cleanliness, ventilation, safety, etc. All accidents at work had to be reported to the Chief Inspector of Factories.

Legislation has also been introduced at various times since the war to regulate hours of work where these were considered to be excessive, to prohibit the employment of children under the age of thirteen, and to protect women and juvenile workers.

The Social Insurance Act of 1956 introduced the compulsory coverage of virtually all employed persons and provides benefit for marriage, maternity, sickness, unemployment, widowhood, orphanhood, old age and death. The Act is administered by the Ministry of Labour and Social Insurance, through which all claims for benefit are processed. A Workmen's Compensation Act came into effect in 1944 (amended in 1951) which provides compensation in cases where workers are injured, disabled or killed in the course of their work.

This body of social legislation is administered by the Ministry of Labour and Social Insurance, which has four divisions: the Employment Division administers the employment exchanges and is responsible for the government's role as the island's largest single employer; the Industrial Relations Division has responsibility for helping to prevent and settle trade disputes; the Factory Division enforces legislation relating to health, welfare and safety; and the Social Insurance Division administers the social insurance scheme.

A revolutionary force

 SPEAKING BEFORE A SUBCOMMITTEE of the US Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare dealing with a proposal to set up a special Presidential Commission on Automation, President Al Hayes of the ITF-affiliated International Association of Machinists recently spelled out the essential difference between former industrial revolutions and the startling – and often frightening – developments which have taken place during the last few years in the field of automation.

President Hayes said inter alia that when automation was in its initial stages soon after World War II, most experts assumed that society would adjust to the electronic computer in about the same way that it had adjusted to power machinery. It was assumed that there would be some economic dislocation in some industries and communities, and possibly some suffering for individual workers displaced, but that in the long run automation, like mechanization, would create more jobs than it destroyed.

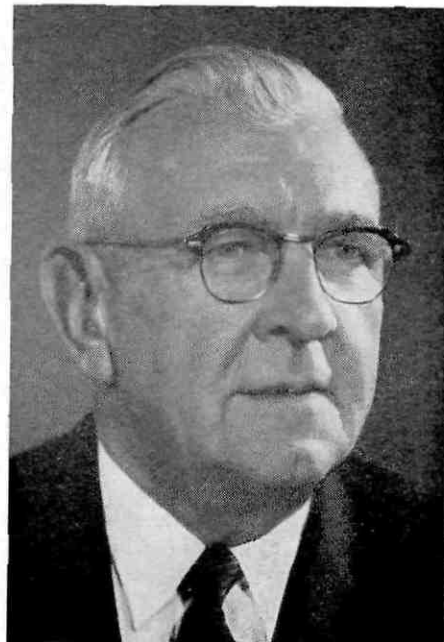
Today, however, many of these same experts have come to recognize that automation is not just a new kind of mechanization but a revolutionary force conceivably capable of overturning our social order. Whereas mechanization made workers more efficient, and thus more valuable, automation threatens to make them superfluous.

Despite earlier assumptions that automation would create more jobs than it would destroy, experience indicates that it is actually destroying about 5 jobs for every position it creates. According to the most conservative estimates, 200,000 factory jobs are now being lost to automation every year.

And this, of course, says Bro Hayes, is only the beginning. Automation's impact is now spreading beyond blue-collar occupations in manufacturing industries to white collar functions in office, service and distribution industries. Hardly a day goes by without some new development to further automate office, managerial and white collar jobs. The machinist (engineer) displaced by the automatic lathe will soon be joined by the bookkeeper displaced by the computer.

Though organized labor is well aware of the possible adverse effects of automation, the labor movement is not opposed to automation and other forms of technological change. To the contrary, we welcome technological advance because we know it can release mankind not only from mindnumbing, backbreaking labor, but from the toils of traditional scarcity as well. But we also know that the problems automation raises will not be solved without active government participation.

Millions have already been displaced one or more times by the so-called 'little black box'. Millions of others live in a suspended state of insecurity, fearful that loss of their jobs will be followed by inability to find another. Because of this fear many workers are resisting technological change. Many of our most



Al Hayes, President of the International Association of Machinists, believes that automation is not just a new kind of mechanization but a revolutionary force capable of overturning our social order

serious and costly labor disputes in recent years have been rooted in the reluctance of workers to accept labor-saving devices which could lead to their eventual displacement.

So long as workers are required to bear the full cost of technological change (in the form of technological unemployment), we can expect continued contention in the work places of America. So long as workers are turned out of their jobs with little or no provision for helping them to make a transition into other methods of earning a living, the American economy will continue to operate at only a fraction of its full capacity.

Automation has been with us since the end of World War II. Though it has brought about great changes in industry and in the composition of the work force, we have not yet really come to grips with the problems it raises.

It is time we do so. At this point, we need a commission which will truly pioneer in the new concepts that must inevitably follow upon the further application of automation in our economy.

The next issue of the ITF Journal will include articles on: professional training for drivers; the fishing limits question and labour in Thailand.

Spotlight on shipboard automation

New automated ships in the United States

+ THE AMERICAN SHIPPING CONCERN, Lykes Bros. Steamship Co., Inc., has announced the award of a contract to build eight new ships in which engine room automation will be more extensive than in any other American cargo ship yet in service. The vessels will be equipped with an engineered, integrated system of main propulsion machinery with centralized engine room control. The latter will enable engine room operations to be controlled by one man. A spokesman of the company said that the intention was to 'permit more reliable operation of the plant with fewer men. . . For the first time officers on the bridge of a US cargo ship will have fingertip control of the speed and direction of the ship, without the assistance of the man in the engine room.' In fact the extent to which automated processes are to be introduced in these ships could provide considerable savings for the owners in labour costs. However, the National Maritime Union and the Marine Engineers' Beneficial Association, both ITF affiliates, have had talks with Lykes on the question of manning scales for the eight ships. Agreement was reached which would permit a reduction in crew complement of 30 per cent, in other words the crews would consist of 32 men

On board the British-built MAHOUT, constructed for Thos. & Jno. Brocklebank Ltd., a pneumatic system provides control of the main engine from the bridge by means of a single lever (Photo: Fairplay)



per ship as against the normal complement of 46.

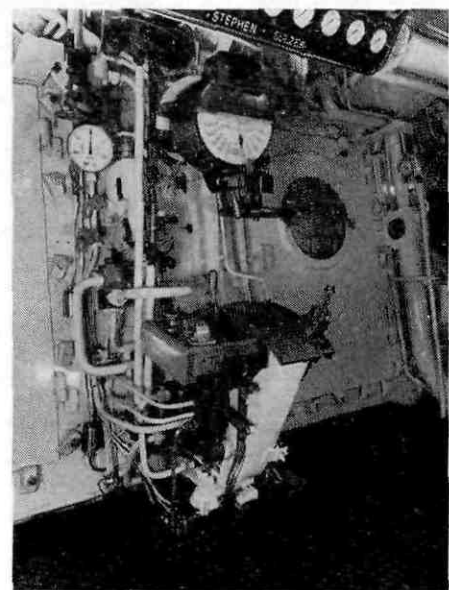
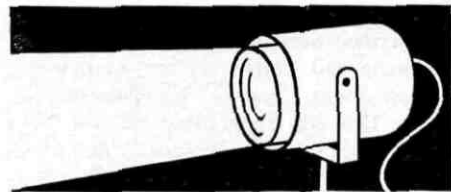
The last of these ships is scheduled for delivery in March 1966. They will be of 14,000 tons dwt and they will operate on Lykes' far eastern runs from the United States Gulf ports.

Japan's automated ships

Shipboard automation has had considerably more far-reaching effects on seafarers' jobs in Japan than in the United States. The Mitsui Steamship Company has recently taken delivery of a 66,000 dwt tanker, the *Tenryusan Maru*, which is to be operated by 33 officers and men. This is an even more drastic reduction in crew than that effected for her sister ship, Mitsui's *Taikosan Maru*, which was completed last February. The *Taikosan Maru* then had the smallest crew complement in the world for a vessel of her size. She can operate with a crew of 35.

These two vessels were built by the Mitsui Zosen yards. Ishikawajima Harima Industries also built a number of ships with remote control and automated systems during 1962-63, and have a program for several more to be completed in 1964-65. The 57,900 dwt tanker *Takaminesan Maru*, delivered to Mitsui early in 1963, requires a crew of 37. The 51,000 dwt tankers, *Koei Maru* and *Zuiei Maru*, completed in 1962, also operate

Control equipment cabinet (bottom cover removed). The MAHOUT's engine control system has been developed to provide simple remote control of a standard Sulzer RD-type engine (Photo: Fairplay)



All sequential operations in manoeuvring the engine are carried out automatically; but the system can be operated from the engine room control position (picture), if desired (Photo: Fairplay)

with a crew of 37. The IHI-built tanker, *Andes Maru*, (52,700 dwt) requires 42, however.

Mississippi Maru

On 18 December last year Kawasaki Dockyard of Japan completed a cargo liner, the *Mississippi Maru*, which is claimed to incorporate the world's most advanced automation systems. She was built to the specifications of an experimental design prepared by the Japan Shipbuilding Research Association. The main feature of design for this 12,000 dwt vessel, which can be operated by a crew of 28 are as follows. Mooring, cargo handling and other operations on deck are extensively automated. Engine operations are automatically controlled to a revolutionary extent, and other minor aspects of the crew's routine work are also automated to the maximum.

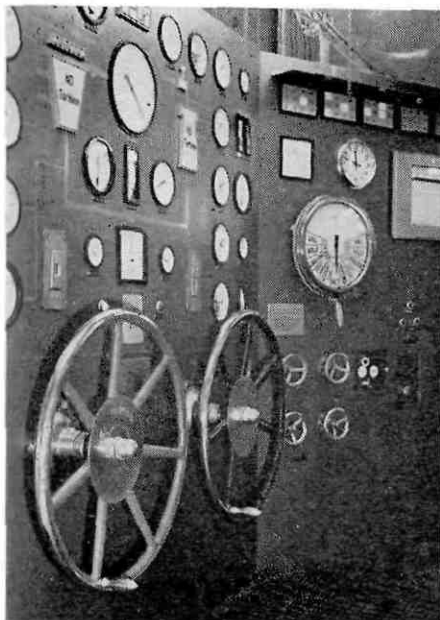
The shipyard gives, as main reasons for the construction of a vessel with such drastically reduced crew require-

ments, 'the rapid increase in tonnage year by year contrasting with a downward trend in the number of applicants for seamen's jobs.' The original design was for a ship operated by a crew of 20. But all details of the experimental design were not finally incorporated in the ship. The crew was increased from 20 to 28, partly because of present Japanese manning laws but also because of tradition in operation and division of labour and doubts about the reliability of some of the latest equipment. The deck department has five officers, including the captain, and seven ratings; the engine room also has five officers, but six ratings; the purser's department carries two officers and three men.

ITF on shipboard automation

The ITF began some time ago to collect information on shipboard automation and its effects on seafarers' employment. Early in 1963 a request was sent out to all affiliates for information on any automated systems installed on board ships of their respective countries, and for an assessment of the possible effects of such measures on the livelihoods of seamen. Replies were received from organizations in Canada, Germany, Grt. Britain, India, Israel, Japan, Norway and Sweden. Japanese seafarers are most immediately concerned about the social consequences of technological change on board ship. Automation in their country is now well past the experimental stage. The trend

Philips electronic monitoring equipment has been installed on board the new German supertanker, ESSO DEUTSCHLAND



The Japanese cargo liner, MISSISSIPPI MARU, is claimed to incorporate the world's most advanced automation systems. This 12,000 dwt ship can operate with a crew of 28

there is towards fewer but larger vessels with fewer men to operate them. Our seafarers' affiliate in Japan believes that the measures which will cope most effectively with the adverse effects of these changes on seafarers are: restriction of new entrants to the seafaring profession, shorter working hours, longer paid leave, and retraining and maintenance for those displaced.

It is apparent from the Secretariat's correspondence with maritime affiliates that seafarers' unions, on the whole, welcome technological changes in so far as they contribute materially to the efficiency and prosperity of the shipping industry, but at the same time, they must insist on safeguarding the interests of their members when these are affected. This means protection for those likely to be displaced as a result of automation and rationalization, but also guarantees for a fair share of the benefits resulting from automation for those who remain in the industry. Protection implies adequate redundancy or severance payments, opportunities of retraining for new occupations and maintenance of earnings dur-

ing retraining, whilst guarantees must cover earlier retirement on adequate pensions, reduction in working hours, longer leave, better pay and improved accommodation and amenities. Other important aspects of the automation question are the importance of full consultation with the unions before the introduction of any scheme, proper attention to the safety aspects, and the provision of proper training for those who will have to operate or handle the new devices.

In this connection, it is obviously of vital importance that there should be prior consultation between ITF seafarers' unions, aimed at formulating an agreed international policy which would prevent the growth of bad practices anywhere in the world.

When this subject was discussed at the conference of the ITF Seafarers' Section in Copenhagen last November, it was decided to set up a subcommittee which will keep developments in the field of marine technology, and particularly their social implications, under constant review. The subcommittee will consist of a delegate each for Germany, Japan and

the United Kingdom, and one each for the following groups: Canada and the United States, Belgium and Holland, and the Scandinavian countries. Unions were asked to supply the Secretariat with as much information as possible on marine technological developments in their countries and also on any shipboard rationalization measures and on talks with shipowners in these connections. Such information will be used by the subcommittee and passed on to the International Labour Office, which, as directed by the last session of the ILO Joint Maritime Commission in 1961, has been making a comprehensive study of the social effects of technological change in the shipping industry.

Automation for the shipowners


A pamphlet was issued recently in Great Britain by Lloyd's Register of Shipping entitled *Automation in Ships*. It was prepared specifically as a guide for shipowners to the various systems of centralized automatic control which can be installed on board ship. It assesses the systems according to their merits and in relation to the type of vessel and the shipowner's operating policies. The first part of the pamphlet deals with 'general considerations relating to centralized and/or automatic controls for main and auxiliary machinery in ships'. The second deals with 'recommendations for the design and construction of systems of centralized engine room control and/or automatic control.' The first part refers to the advantages to be gained by the shipowner from a reduction in his labour requirements, but points out that these would be offset to some extent by the additional expenditure incurred with the purchase of the control equipment, the extra maintenance and repair costs which would arise from the installation of more complex equipment with fewer personnel to look after it, and the increased insurance. It is also pointed out that savings in labour are most likely to be made among the less skilled crew members. Reasons given are the difficulty in some parts of the world of obtaining competent personnel and the fact that the complex equipment would need more attention and maintenance by specialists who are not normally carried on board ship.

Dual capacity officers

We learn from the British shipping journal, *Fairplay*, of an interesting experiment now being carried out in the French

merchant navy. About 15 ships' captains are now taking a special course at the National Merchant Marine College in Nantes in order to become certificated first-class engineers, while about the same number of engineer officers are being trained at Le Havre to qualify for masters' certificates. The main purpose of this experiment, which is thought to be unique, is to study the possibilities for training dual-purpose officers who might be termed 'general officers' and might be entrusted with senior functions on board future automated tankers. The idea behind this is that the present distinction between deck and engine room will increasingly be replaced by the distinction between a vessel's operation and maintenance, as in factories ashore. The two departments would be headed for example, by general officers under the command of the captain; but presumably there would not be total amalgamation at the level of junior officers, since separate watches on the bridge and in the engine room would probably continue to be preferable.

ITF representative for Hong Kong

 HONG KONG SEAFARERS are this year to benefit from the services of an on-the-spot ITF representative. He is Ewen MacDonald of the British National Union of Seamen, who travelled to Hong Kong this month.

The problems of Asian seafarers have been of concern to the ITF for some time. Hong Kong is a particular source of anxiety, considering the present crewing practices of some European shipowners, who are hiring Chinese seamen at substandard wages in place of Europeans. Several examples of these practices were heard at the recent Copenhagen Conference of the ITF Seafarers' Section. A Danish delegate reported that his union was prosecuting one of the big Danish shipping companies over its employment policies. The company was paying its Chinese crew members at 20% of the standard Danish rates.


Chinese seamen in Hong Kong are at present badly organized and their trade union activity is largely ineffective. Thus it is easy for shipowners to exploit their difficult situation. In order to deal with the problem the ITF decided to send out a representative for a period of one year.

Brother Macdonald was selected, as he seems admirably suited for the job. It could be said that he has the sea in his blood. Born on the Island of Harris,



Scotland, he comes from a large family of seafarers. He went to sea himself at the age of sixteen and later married a seafarer's daughter. He remained at sea till 1953, when he became an official for the National Union of Seamen's London district. Three years ago he became Secretary of the NUS's Tower Hill branch in London. He has worked with and for seafarers all his life.

Communists create transport workers Federation' in Latin America

 WRITING IN HIS union's education bulletin, Brother Mario Lopes de Oliveira, President of the ITF-affiliated National Confederation of Land Trans-

Brother Mario Lopes de Oliveira, left, President of the ITF-affiliated Brazilian Land Transport Workers' Confederation, with Brother Gomes de Castro. They are seen here at an ILO conference on transport workers' problems as members of the Brazilian workers' group (ILO photo)



port Workers of Brazil points out the dangers of communist infiltration into democratic organizations and institutions not only in his own country but throughout the free world. The communists take advantage of poverty and disillusionment with the values of western civilization to work their way into the confidence of underprivileged sectors of the population, organizations which exist for the betterment of the human condition, and groups like students who have a surplus of enthusiasm and idealism to be channelled.

The methods and emphasis of communist activity vary according to the local conditions and the degree of opposition they have to meet. But in many countries their most effective work is done within the trade union movement, and this is particularly true of Brazil. The method is usually to set up rival trade union bodies and to foment strikes and discontent, not for their stated purpose of improving conditions but to extend their own sphere of influence; the more vital the industry whose workers' organizations they control, the better they like it, and it is therefore evident that they concentrate a substantial amount of their energies in the transport industry.

It is an unfortunate fact, writes Lopes, that the communists' efforts are quite often successful because of their superior tactical skill in using democratic procedure to serve their own ends. Trade unionists in democratic unions often have neither the education nor the experience to know how to counteract communist manoeuvres to gain control of an organization, and it is for this reason that in Brazil the democratic movement has undertaken an intensive programme of basic trade union training in procedure, organization and administration so that subversive elements can be effectively prevented from taking over and using workers' organizations for their own ends.

At the end of May last year a meeting was held in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, between representatives of the Chilean Railwaymen's Federation and the Brazilian national federations of railwaymen, stevedores, airline workers, seamen and dockers. The aim of this meeting was to set up a Latin American Federation of Transport Workers, which would serve as the nucleus of a new Latin American Confederation of Workers, under the aegis of the communist World Federa-

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Walter Townsend, ITF Representative in East and Central Africa



Profile of the month

FOR A MAN TO LEARN to understand a country and people entirely foreign to his own experience, and to do it so successfully that he is able to give advice and be listened to with respect; these are qualities which are rare indeed and greatly prized by the international trade union movement. The ITF is more than fortunate in having in its service in East and Central Africa a man with these qualities and many more besides.

Walter L. Townsend, an American born and raised in the ill-starred town of Birmingham, Alabama, came to the ITF in 1961 from the New York State School of Industrial and Labor Relations at Cornell University. His studies there in the subject of trade unionism and labour relations in both developed and developing countries led to his spending a period at ITF headquarters seeing the international trade union movement at work. It was as a result of this 'internship' in London and a short assignment in East Africa that he was offered a more permanent job with the ITF as representative in East and Central Africa in 1962.

A big, mild-mannered man, Walter Townsend is someone whom it is very easy to like and respect, but not so easy to know. His unemphatic Southern voice speaks with undogmatic authority about the subjects he knows; he would never try to pass a superficial judgment and gives the impression of being more of a listener than a talker. This open-mindedness has been invaluable for his work in the newly-independent nations of Africa; a headful of preconceived ideas and prejudices is worse than useless in such a rapidly changing environment.

His readiness to learn shows throughout his career. After serving in 1943-6 in the US Army Air Force he went to work in Cincinnati for the Union Terminal Company and worked his way up through a variety of jobs, at the same time taking a degree in accounting and studying law for two years. He then went to Cornell University where in addition to studying international labour prob-

lems and trade union organizations he took courses in African culture and spoken French. For thirteen years he was active in the US Brotherhood of Railway Clerks and held leading office in his local branch throughout that period.

Indeed, his desire to be of service to the trade union movement must be very strong. Apart from the taxing nature of the job he has taken on in Africa — keeping up with the news in that fast-moving continent is a full-time job in itself — he was prepared to pull up all his roots in the States, to live in a strange land whose ways he did not know and to work under conditions vastly different from those existing in the trade union movement of his own country. He did so because he considers his present work to be a very worthwhile challenge.

Walter Townsend's work is extremely valuable, not only to the ITF's affiliates in his area who receive the direct benefit of his experience and judgement, but also to his colleagues at headquarters. His reports cut through the complexities of trade union life in East and Central Africa and give clear and measured accounts of the essential issues and problems which exist there. The information which he supplies to us and his assessments of often rapidly-changing situations are a source of vital background information on the political, economic and social life of the area. There are all too few people with the qualities which Walter Townsend possesses who are willing to put them to the service of the international trade union movement.

Ships officers' International to be dissolved



Captain D. S. Tennant, left, Secretary of the International Merchant Marine Officers' Association, and Pieter de Vries, President, at a meeting of the Board of Directors held in Copenhagen last November immediately before the ITF Seafarers' Section Conference

Lawrence White, centre, and Bob Santley, right, who attended the IMMOA meeting as ITF observers, with, left, Capt. Åkesson of the Swedish shipmasters' and officers' union. It was decided that as the ITF had been performing IMMOA's functions since the end of the second world war, the officers' International should be wound up



ANCHOR JUST BEFORE THE SEAFARERS' Section Conference, held in Copenhagen last November, the Board of Directors of the Intern. Mercantile Marine Officers' Association (IMMOA) held a meeting to discuss whether their organization should be wound up; it has been virtually in 'cold storage' since the end of the Second World War, with the ITF through its Seafarers' Section performing the bulk of IMMOA's previous functions. At the Copenhagen meeting the Board in fact decided to recommend to the next IMMOA Congress that the Association should be dissolved and its assets handed over to the ITF's Edo Fimmen Free Trade Union Fund.

After the foundation of the ILO in 1919 facilities were accorded to ratings to have their claims discussed at international level through the representation of the ITF. Ships' officers who were not at that time organized internationally, also felt the need for their point of view to be represented, and in February 1925 spokesmen for the French, Belgian and Netherlands officers' organizations met in Antwerp and founded a provisional international body to represent their interests. Invitations were sent out to officers' associations throughout Europe and to the USA and Japan, and the first Congress was held in Paris on 16 June

the same year. It was attended by representatives of navigators, engineers, wireless operators and ships' doctors from Belgium, Denmark, France, Germany, the Netherlands, Norway, Spain and the United States, Britain, at that time the largest maritime power, was not represented.

The new organization was named the International Merchant Marine Officers' Association, and its office was established in Antwerp. Its objects were to defend and protect the interests of merchant marine officers, to secure legislation to promote seafarers' welfare, to secure international regulation of hours of work,

manning and minimum wages on board ship and to this end to obtain representation at the ILO.

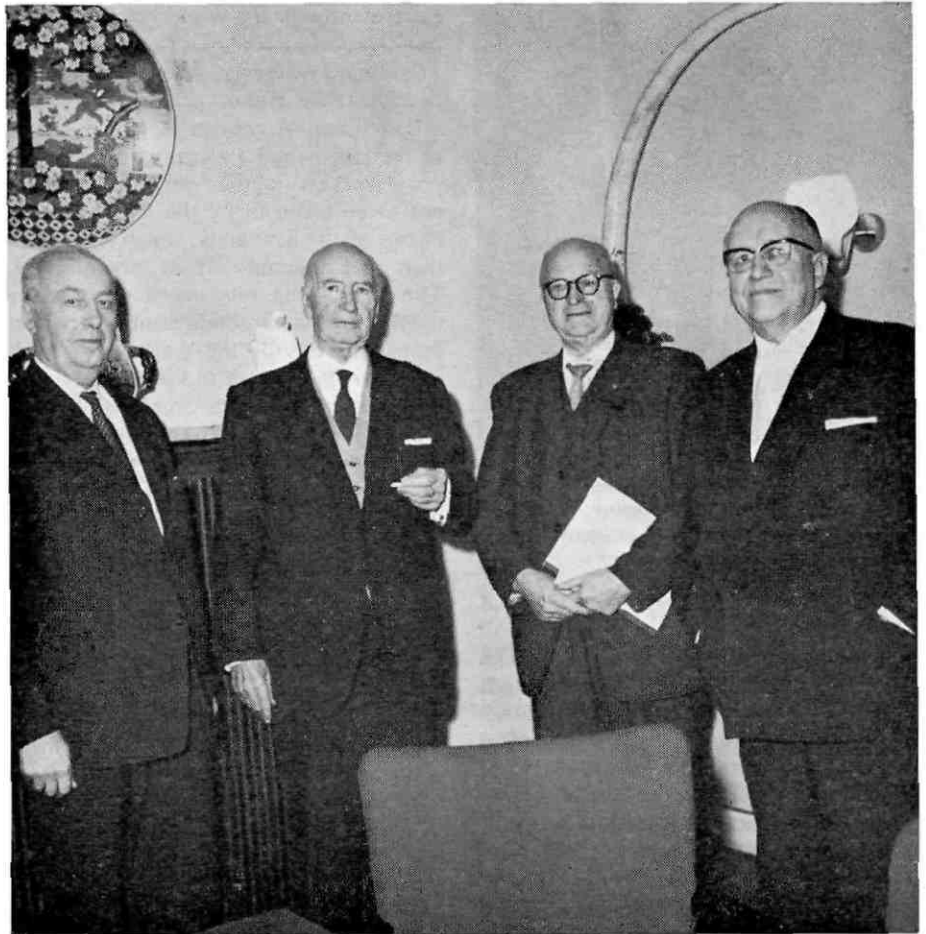
François Mas, President of the French pilots' association, was elected President, and Alex Brandt, secretary of the Belgian ships' officers' association, became Secretary-Treasurer.

Efforts were made immediately to obtain officer representation on the bi-partite Joint Maritime Commission of the ILO, with the result that the shipowner and seafarer groups were each enlarged from five to seven, with the two extra seafarer members coming from IMMOA but working through the ITF which provided the five other members. From that time forward IMMOA was represented at all international maritime conferences and has helped to secure the adoption of recommendations and conventions on seafarers' conditions of work.

All organizations affiliated to IMMOA agreed from the start that cooperation with the ITF was necessary, but as early as the Congress of 1927 it became evident that certain groups considered that not only cooperation but even amalgamation with the ITF was required. However, in the early years IMMOA did deal with problems affecting merchant officers at that time and helped to ensure that they were not left out of any international regulations in seafarers' conditions. Its constitution also provided for international solidarity action to help affiliates in trouble; apart from 'support resolutions', however, this clause was only used once, in 1932, when an amount of 100,000 kroner was promised by Danish, Norwegian and Swedish organizations to back up their Dutch colleagues who were threatening to go on strike. That particular dispute was subsequently settled following a strike lasting sixteen days.

Alex Brandt died in 1932 and was succeeded by Omer Becu. After the outbreak of the Second World War, and immediately before Belgium was occupied, Becu succeeded in escaping to London, which thenceforth became the headquarters of IMMOA. ITF headquarters were also in London and between them they were able to keep alive the international seafarers' movement. One of the fruits of this was the International Seafarers' Charter which proved invaluable as propaganda material and the basis of discussion at the international maritime conferences of the immediate post-war years.

IMMOA headquarters was established in the office of the British (Merchant



Brother de Vries with some of the early IMMOA leaders who were guests at the meeting. They are, seen from left to right, J. Madsen, International Federation of Radio Officers, L. Veenstra, Dutch Officers' Union, and K. A. Rasmussen, Danish Engineer Officers' Union

Navy) Officers' Federation which during the war extended hospitality and facilities to more than thirty officers' organizations from the Allied countries which were invaded and occupied. It also assisted in the establishment of the necessary negotiating machinery in Britain for the settlement of their conditions of employment. In addition arrangements were made for the efficient administration of the various organizations and for their official recognition by the British authorities.

Captain W. H. Coombs of the British Federation was elected IMMOA President for the duration of the war, while Captain D. S. Tennant took over as acting Secretary whilst Bro. Becu was in the United States. Together the ITF and IMMOA did a vast amount of valuable work on all matters of common interest to officers and ratings. The idea of continuing such cooperation – even to the point of amalgamation – gained ground in both Internationals.

In 1946 a meeting of the Board of

Governors decided to recommend to the Directors decided to recommend to the Congress that IMMOA should cease to perform its industrial functions and that affiliated organizations should join the ITF. The Congress of May 1946 agreed to this proposal and a new constitution was drawn up and approved in 1948 in which the objects of IMMOA were defined as promoting friendship and cooperation among ships' officers. The General Secretary of the ITF, Brother Pieter de Vries, then President of the Dutch Ships' Officers' Association was elected President of IMMOA, and the present Secretary of the Association is Capt. D. S. Tennant, General Secretary of the British Merchant Navy and Airline Officers' Association.

During the discussion on IMMOA's future at the recent meeting of its Board of Directors, the Secretary expressed the view that time and experience had shown that the ITF had successfully dealt with both technical and industrial issues of concern to officers' associations. Fears



Captain D. S. Tennant, Secretary of IMMOA, speaking at a dinner in the evening following the meeting, given by the Danish hosts, which provided guests and board members with an opportunity to talk over old times, the Board of Directors of IMMOA last met in 1951

which had been voiced when IMMOA had ceased to function as an industrial organization had proved to be unfounded, and ratings and officers' organizations had been able to work closely together. If conflict of interests had arisen, it had always been possible to arrive at a mutually satisfactory compromise within the Seafarers' Section. Some members felt that IMMOA should remain in existence for the simple purpose of bringing officers' associations together from time to time, to exert pressure on those organizations which had remained outside the ITF to affiliate with it, or even to deal with technical matters. However, the majority was in favour of winding up the Association and a recommendation from the Board of Directors to that effect will be put before the next IMMOA Congress.


In closing, Brother de Vries said that in his opinion the meeting had been very worthwhile indeed as it had given the members of IMMOA the opportunity of meeting again after many years (the previous meeting was in 1951) and whilst an important decision had been made, he was sure everyone would agree that there was a certain sad aspect in deciding to recommend that a very old and established organization should cease to function. During the next Congress of IMMOA there would be an opportunity of looking back on the work and activities of the Association over the years, to remember the important rôle it had played in the affairs of the officers' organizations and how it had been a stepping-stone to further uniting officers' and ratings' organi-

zations through the world.

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tion of Trade Unions.

The Latin American Regional Office of the ITF issued a warning to the transport workers' unions of the continent not to be taken in by the high-sounding claims of the new body, which is no more than a Communist front organization. The ITF is the sole international trade union organization representing the genuine interests of the world's transport workers. Its strength in Latin America is one million members organized in 105 unions. The ITF has given ample demonstration of its concern to protect and fight for the interests of its members in the face of reactionary employers and governments. On many occasions the strength of organized transport workers throughout the free world has been called upon in support of Latin American unions which found themselves in difficulty. The number of successful actions of this nature which the ITF has conducted prove conclusively that there is no need for a parallel organization in Latin America. The ITF owes allegiance to no government, nor to any political party, but is simply a trade union organization financed entirely by the voluntary contributions of its affiliates. Can the communists and their front organizations claim as much?

ICFTU in Asia

 THE ASIAN REGIONAL OFFICE of the ICFTU has recently published a new booklet entitled 'ICFTU in Asia: An Outline of Activities', which traces the history of the Asian organization, set up in May 1951, and gives a brief account of the ICFTU's work in Asia.


The booklet describes the ICFTU's concern with the question of trade union rights, and its attempts, by means of public statements and representation on international bodies, to focus world attention on those countries where trade union rights are denied. The ICFTU has consultative status in United Nations bodies and in Asia plays an active part in meetings of ECAFE (UN Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East) and its Committees as well as at other conferences where questions affecting Asian workers are discussed.

Special ICFTU missions have on several occasions visited Asian countries, either to look into working conditions in specific industries, or to offer assistance in disputes, and generally to make personal

contact with trade union leaders.


The booklet also gives a list of periodical publications produced by the Asian Regional Office, and of other ICFTU booklets used as educational background material.

ALPA found guilty of 'raiding'

 AN IMPARTIAL UMPIRE appointed by the American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations under its plan for deciding inter-union disputes has found the Air Line Pilots' Association (ALPA) guilty of trying to take members away from the Flight Engineers' International Association (FEIA) on Eastern Air Lines.

The differences between the flight engineers and the pilots arise out of the composition of jet flight crews. ALPA insists that the three crew members should be pilot-trained and belong to the pilots' union, whilst the FEIA claims that the third member of the cockpit crew should be a flight engineer and be represented by the engineers' association. In support of this claim the FEIA called its members out on strike against Eastern Air Lines in June 1962. Since that time Eastern have replaced the missing flight engineers with pilots and new employees, and ALPA applied to the National Mediation Board for an extension of its representation rights to the entire cockpit crew. It was this move which was condemned by the neutral umpire as an attempt to raid the engineers' association in violation of the AFL-CIO constitution.

No railways in Ireland by 1970?


 IT SEEMS PROBABLE that by the year 1970 there will be no trains at all running in Ireland. The governments of the Irish Republic and Northern Ireland have both completed surveys of their road and rail services and have recommended such severe economies over the rail networks that the latter are unlikely to survive the operation. In the Republic, the survey considered how best rail freight traffic could be assigned to three selected networks; the existing railways; one composed of the main lines with auxiliary road services; and an all-road network. Since 1958, 586 miles of railway and some 200 stations have already been closed, and been replaced by road services.

The Northern Ireland report went so far as to suggest that there was no justification for railways with the possible exception of the suburban lines serving Belfast, the capital.

Round the world of labour




New plans for docks in East and West Africa


 AS FROM 1 JANUARY this year the five concerns handling cargoes at ports along the coast of Kenya and Tanganyika began operating as one. On this date they became East African Cargo Handling Services Ltd. All workers employed by the five former concerns were offered jobs in the re-organized company.

But in Nigeria developments have tended in the opposite direction. Dockers at Nigerian ports feared that they might lose their jobs as a result of the Nigerian Ports Authority's decision to transfer dock labour to employment by private contractors on 1 January 1964. Plans to this effect, which would certainly have resulted in large scale redundancy on the Nigerian docks, were however suspended at the last minute. But, at the time of writing, the position remained to be finally decided.

AFL-CIO urge 35-hour week

 REPRESENTATIVES of the United States trade union centre, AFL-CIO, have recommended to their government legislation to reduce the national working week from 40 to 35 hours. Recent job statistics in America show that the rate of unemployment has now risen to 5.9%. An AFL-CIO spokesman recommended that employers should be required to pay double time instead of time and a half for all overtime. This, he said would open up immediate job opportunities for a million unemployed. The 35 hour working week, said the spokesman, would result in no increase in labour costs at the present rate of productivity, if it were introduced gradually.


Electronics in service of air safety

 AN ADVANCED ELECTRONIC machine is to be built to study European air traffic. It will be used, at the Eurocontrol experimental establishment at Britigny in France, to simulate patterns of air


traffic likely over Europe. The simulator will be able to plot the positions and flights of up to 300 fictitious aircraft simultaneously. Work done with the aid of the machine will enable a new international control system to be developed for aircraft flying above 20,000 ft which will ensure the smooth flow of traffic in optimum conditions of safety.

The cost of the simulator which will be in use by 1966 will be borne by the member countries of Eurocontrol, Belgium, France, Great Britain, the Netherlands and West Germany. Eurocontrol works in close association with the national air traffic control services of these countries.

Second ILO labour studies course ends

 THE INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE for Labour Studies, set up by the ILO, recently ended its second study course by presenting certificates to twenty-nine students representing employer and trade union organizations and governments in twenty-eight countries. The course, held in English and Spanish, lasted twelve weeks and covered the characteristics of economic development; wages; the labour force and its employment; social security; and labour-management relations. Participants in the course came predominantly from countries of Latin America and Africa.

Flight training in the sun

 FRUSTRATED BY ENGLISH winter weather, British European Airways have found a place in the sun to train their pilots. Taking aircraft, instructors, trainees and mechanics, they have moved to Malta, where they can be free from the seasonal hazards which plague them at home. Training on the Vanguard is being given in Malta to twenty-nine captains, four first officers, and thirty-seven new entrants to the airline, who come straight from the College of Air Training at Hamble, near Southampton.


The training programme, which in

England would take until June to complete, will end in April. Figures recorded since training began in Malta early in November show that only 3.1 per cent of time was lost there, whereas in England last winter the figure was as high as 67.5 per cent.


BLFE puts out a weekly

 ONE OF THE ITF'S RAILWAYMEN'S affiliates in the United States, the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen, began 1964 with a change in its regular publications. After 87 years in print the Brotherhood's monthly magazine has ceased publication. The *Enginemen's Press*, the newspaper put out formerly once a fortnight by the BLFE, has now become a weekly. In its weekly form the newspaper is better able to meet today's need for speedy mass communications.

More women in British trade unions

 MALE MEMBERSHIP of trade unions in Britain fell by 45,000 to 7,850,980 during 1962, while female membership rose by 35,000 to 2,021,081. Of the total of 623 trade unions, 338 had fewer than 1,000 members and of these 280 had fewer than 500. The eighteen largest unions, each with 100,000 or more members, together had two thirds of the total membership.

Maltese union to expand activities

 THE GENERAL WORKERS' UNION of Malta is planning to make its own direct contribution to the expansion of the island's economy by taking up interests in industry, by setting up a Workers' Bank, hostels all around Malta to cope with the growing tourist trade, and a workers' travel agency. This was announced by the General Secretary at a Seminar organized by the union on 'The Productivity of Industry'. As part of its educational campaign the GWU has also recently opened a Labour Book Shop where publications of special interest to trade unionists covering the

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Australian union unity can defeat communist threat

By J. M. REARDON,
Federal Secretary, Federated Clerks
Union of Australia (ITF)

Australia's Communists see in the control of the trade union movement not only control of a powerful economic force, but the opportunity to exercise substantial influence on the government of the country



The general standard of living in Australia is much higher than in Europe. There is virtually no poverty and there is a great deal of highly beneficial social welfare legislation

 WITHIN THE AUSTRALIAN COMMUNIST PARTY there is confusion and dissension. Party membership is on the decline. Communists are finding it increasingly difficult to sell party pamphlets and newspapers and their organization is weaker than it has been for many years. The party is split and bitterness is smouldering under a facade of unity. The Peking-Moscow dispute has created a serious internal crisis which has started to explode into the open.

Despite these difficulties and the fact that the party has suffered a number of serious defeats in trade union elections in recent months, it still has considerable influence within the Australian trade union movement.

In the unions which they control, Communists have shown a complete lack of scruples in the conduct of their affairs. The falsification of ballots in trade union elections, the intimidation and expulsion of potential opponents, and the tyrannical use of union rules and administrative procedures against their opponents are all normal stock methods for the Communists. They have faithfully adopted Lenin's advice — 'To resort to all cunning schemes, to use illegal methods to evade and conceal the truth in order to penetrate into trade unions'.

An essential part of the Communist campaign has been to infiltrate and attempt to influence the organization of job delegates within particular factories and plants. In this way the Communists hope to obtain sufficient basic organization to allow them to completely subvert and dominate the trade union movement, without this fact be-

coming apparent until it is too late for them to be stopped.

Fanatical force

The Communists are a small, well disciplined and fanatical force. Individual members are directed to work in key industries, plants or factories. Key Communist functionaries assigned to these duties are usually well trained in the 'art' of deceit and dishonesty. Once having become established, the fanatical and ruthless drive of the Communist, compared with the general attitude which exists amongst workers in free countries, means that the Communist frequently obtains a position of leadership.

This usually means that he becomes a delegate on what is called the shop committee, which consists of representatives of the various craft unions employed in a particular plant. In order to strengthen their grip at this level the Communists have recently been organizing area committees. These committees consist of representatives of a number of shop committees within a particular geographical area.

Having become established within this

network of organization in particular industries, the Communists during 1962 set off a wave of strike action in those industries which in most instances occurred without the endorsement of the official trade union movement. This activity is comparable to the outbreak of the well known 'Wildcat strikes' in England.

At a conference held last year of the Australian Council of Trade Unions, a decision was made which includes the declaration that strike action which affected other trade unionists and which was taken without consultation with the appropriate unions concerned was not a proper use of the strike weapon. This, of course, is a severe condemnation by the trade union movement of the type of activity in which the Communist Party is engaged.

At the recently concluded biennial congress of the Australian Council of Trade Unions (ACTU) however, the Communist group was able to obtain the support of the majority of delegates in one vote, which was the only substantial test of strength at the congress.

There is, in Australia, a system of compulsory arbitration, which has the support of the Australian labour movement. Although it would be foolish to suggest that this system does not have faults and defects, it has been a reasonably satisfactory way of achieving industrial justice for most workers. It would be wrong to imagine that the existence of this system of arbitration has denied the Australian worker the fundamental right to strike.

Strike right intact

The Australian trade union movement has taken the view that wage rates fixed by arbitration tribunal represent the minimum upon which higher rates

may be built by direct negotiations. Strikes are frequently called in support of higher wages than the minimum prescribed by the award of the arbitration tribunal.

The Arbitration Act contains certain provisions which allow the Industrial Court to make an order against either an employer or a trade union prohibiting action in breach of an award. If the award contains a 'no bans' clause and the union engages in a strike in defiance of an order, it may be fined. The trade union movement has consistently opposed the use of these penal provisions and has insisted on exercising its fundamental democratic right to strike.

There is no doubt, however, that the Communists have deliberately provoked actions against unions. Their objective has been to get the unions fined in a calculated attempt to discredit the whole system of arbitration, which they would like to destroy.

The Communists frequently take strike action without consultation with the ACTU, as required by the rules. The real issue at the congress was whether meetings of unions should be called to plan action when these penal provisions were invoked against unions for participating in strike action which had not been authorized by the ACTU in accordance with the rules.

The Communists strongly supported the viewpoint that action should be taken even if the unions concerned had acted contrary to ACTU rules. The debate was long and heated on this issue. The amendment which had the Communists' support was carried by 256 votes to 220. This decision was a sharp rebuke to the ACTU executive and a very significant win for the Communists.

The Communists have concentrated their strength in trade unions which have members employed in industries which

have economic importance — where a strike or an industrial dispute is capable of having its effect on national economic policy.

Federally they have control of the unions covering waterfront workers, seamen, railway workers, a substantial number of the mechanical engineering and heavy industry workers, many workers in the building industry and the coal miners. They have control of a number of other unions on a state and local basis.

Still a danger

The situation in the ACTU is becoming clearer and the confusion which was created by the unfortunate and regrettable split in the Australian Labour Party in 1955 is beginning to be slowly eliminated. The division and confusion caused by this situation has been of tremendous assistance to the Communist Party. Fortunately, they have not been able to completely capitalize on this situation, and general opinion in the trade union movement is moving against them.

Their strength, however, should not be underestimated. Communists and extreme left-wing candidates polled very well in the recent elections for the ACTU executive. There are six industry groupings within the ACTU and each group elects one member of the executive. In each group the contest was between a Communist or left-wing candidate on one side and a non-Communist on the other.

The total number of votes polled for the Communist or left-wing candidates totalled 237 and the others polled a total of 254. This shows that there was need for only a small shift of opinion for the Communist and left-wing forces to have had an absolute majority at the Congress.

Another victory for the Communists at the ACTU congress was the decision

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The Communists have concentrated their strength in unions which have members in industries of economic importance. Federally — and in the transport sector alone — they have control of the unions organizing waterfront workers, seamen and railwaymen. They also control a number on a state and local basis (Photo by courtesy Australian High Commission and National Travel Association)



German bus driver 1964



W's opposite number in long distance road haulage gets a lower basic wage, but his aggregate earnings are somewhat higher because of the long, strenuous hours he puts in

 **WAGES AND WORKING CONDITIONS** enjoyed by members of ITF affiliated unions vary considerably from industry to industry and from country to country. Some workers are well off in relation to the cost of living in their country; others are not so well off. Unions find it useful to keep abreast of developments in the standards and conditions of their opposite numbers in other countries, because quite apart from their natural interest in their brother workers abroad this helps them in formulating their own demands to the employers.

We should like to give readers of this article a picture of a German bus driver's standard of living: his pay and conditions, what is required of him in his job and what it costs him to live. We will call our bus driver 'Mr. W'. He is a member of an ITF affiliate in Germany which organizes road transport workers, the German and Public Service Workers' Union (ÖTV). He is married and has two children – aged ten and eight years. He lives on the outskirts of Ludwigsburg, a town of 75,000 inhabitants in the south west of Germany, and he goes to work in Ludwigsburg itself. He owns a car, for which he has paid DM5,000 (£450 or \$1,300). He uses it for his 6-mile journey to work every day.

W's earnings and what it costs him to live

Mr. W. earns on the average a gross monthly wage of DM800 (£71 or \$192). After income tax, social security contributions and other dues have been deducted he is left with a net monthly income of about DM650 (£58 or \$156). Since his wife earns DM270, the family income amounts to DM920

per month (£82 or \$221).

W lives with his family in a rented flat which has three rooms, a kitchen and a bathroom. His monthly spending is something like the following: gas, electricity and heating, about DM60 (£5 or \$15); social and spare time activities, DM 60 (£5 or \$15); food for the family, about DM220 (£20 or \$55); DM50 (£4 or \$13 for various financial obligations; DM150 (£13 or \$38) for the car. He sets aside about the same amount for clothes and similar essentials every month, and he is usually left with some DM100 (£9 or \$25) which he puts in the bank for emergencies and bigger purchases.

W is paid DM3.10 per hour (5s. 6d or 78 cents), which is the union agreed rate for the Ludwigsburg area. Normal working hours according to the agreement are 8 per day and 48 per week. But it often happens that these hours have to be exceeded during the summer months when the firm is busy running excursions.

The union agreement which covers W. specifies a number of bonuses in cases

The German Transport Workers' Union (ÖTV) looks after the interests of Germany's road transport workers. W is active in the union and holds an unpaid post



where extra pay is warranted. Overtime is paid, for example, at 25 per cent, but this only applies to working hours in excess of 52 per week. A 15 per cent bonus is paid for night work, that is, between the hours of 10 pm and 5 am. A 100 per cent bonus is paid for work done on legal holidays. Also, drivers of one-man buses are paid extra. For special trips, when the driver is away from base for long periods of time, special expense allowances are paid, varying from DM4 (7s. 2d. or \$1) to DM18 (£1.12s or \$4.50).

His work

W works as a bus driver for a private transport concern in Ludwigsburg. He has been in employment there for ten years. The firm operates twenty buses and employs sixty workers. W has a reputation in his firm as a reliable driver, and for this reason he is assigned mainly to excursion work, for which most of the drivers have a preference. Some of the younger ones however are employed only on the regular routes, for the firm also provides the town and its outskirts with local transport facilities. Because of W's special employment his hours of work are very irregular. During the summer he is often away for days on end with travelling groups. Often he is the only driver to accompany a group, although the rules require two for long tours. Since he first started in his job, he has been to almost every holiday town in Germany and to many in the neighbouring countries. He has been to Switzerland, Austria, Italy and France.

W's future prospects

Bus driving is not a job which requires any officially recognized training. After he obtained his driving licence, W was employed in a factory as an unskilled worker. Later he took a job as a driver in a local freight haulage enterprise and finally got himself a bus driver's licence.

The reasons why he took up driving were that he did not like the monotony of work at the factory and that the new job would be better for his health. He also disliked working to a fixed routine and knew that he would feel freer as a bus driver, and there would be the opportunity of getting around and broadening his horizons. The questions of money and social standing also entered into it. A bus driver's pay is higher than that of other road transport workers, and the job certainly has more prestige value than that of an unskilled factory worker.

His chances of advancing are very limited but it would not be true to say that he has none at all. If he remains with the same firm for a number of years, he may possibly get an increased seniority bonus, or he might move into the supervisory grades and become, for example a garage inspector. As such he would be responsible for the deployment of crews and would enjoy the salary and conditions of an 'established employee' (*Angestellter*).

Road transport drivers and their union are making efforts in Germany to secure a greater degree of recognition for driving as a profession. The job is for instance not subject to any kind of preliminary training or apprenticeship, and by virtue of this it remains in the same category as ordinary unskilled labour. German drivers – and their colleagues in many other countries – feel that the job is worth more than this. It entails considerable responsibility, when one remembers the fact that drivers have the safety of lives and property entrusted to their keeping. Some form of training and subsequent professional qualification would

bring the driver official recognition and raise his status.

Union activities

W finds it natural to belong to a union. He knows that without the union he would not have anything like his present standard of living, and would not be the owner of a television set, a car and many other things. He is active in the union: he holds an unpaid post as an officer for his area and he is a member of the shop committee at his place of work. Compared with other situations known to him, W considers relations between management and personnel where he works to be very good. He has a high opinion of his employer.

Conditions in long distance haulage

It is interesting to compare the conditions under which W works in bus driving with those prevailing in road haulage operations. The situation in this branch of road transport differs radically from that in bus driving described above.

The long distance haulage driver's basic hourly wage is a lot lower than that

W is a reliable driver and for this reason he is assigned largely to excursion work. During the summer months he is often away from home for days on end with travelling groups



of a bus driver in Germany. The agreed hourly rate for drivers based at Stuttgart, for instance, is at present DM2.56 (4s. 7d or 51 cents). His gross monthly wage comes to just over DM900 (£80 or \$225). But he has to work hard for it. He is often on the road for nearly the whole week. Compared with other workers he sees little of his family and spare time activities have to take a back seat.

His take home pay is only good because of the long hours he works. The longest permissible hours amount at present to 165 per fortnight. These are in many cases the hours actually worked, though they include the time spent by one driver in the sleeping cabin of a moving vehicle. Overtime is only paid after the first 60 hours of the working week at 25 per cent. Expense allowances for travelling days amount to anything between DM4 (7s. 2d or \$1) and DM14 (£1.5s or \$3.50).

Working rules require that vehicles be crewed by two men. The crews generally take their vehicles from the depots at 10 pm on Sundays and drive them without any appreciable rest pause to destinations some 300 to 500 miles away. Loadings are carried out en route. If the drivers are lucky they may get a return load for their home station, which means that they may have a few hours with their

Crews take vehicles from the depots at 10 pm on Sundays and drive them to destinations 300 to 500 miles away. They often have to spend the whole week away from home

families before their second trip starts. Very few drivers manage to return home every day but most get back by Saturday. It is not infrequent however that they have to spend their Sunday away from home though not actually driving, since this is prohibited for normal road haulage.

The long distance driver in Germany has very little time for social and leisure activities, and for this reason he is not so active in the union as other groups of workers. In spite of this he knows the value of union work and regards it as vitally necessary. He hopes that the union will soon get his working week shortened for him.

The union is at the present time giving attention to both this and the retirement question in long distance road haulage. As a rule the job is not a life-long occupation. Most drivers seek less strenuous work between the ages of 50 and 55. But the present age limit in Germany is 65. The ÖTV is fighting for earlier pensions for these drivers.

Since he first took up bus driving, W has been to almost every holiday resort in Germany and to many in neighbouring countries, such as France, Switzerland and Italy



(Continued from page 41)

to allow individual unions to send observers to WFTU conferences and meetings. Since 1953, the ACTU has forbidden affiliated unions from attending such meetings. Previously, the sending of 'observers' has been described as merely a subterfuge.


The ACTU executive recommended that unions should be entitled to send observers to these conferences providing they do not vote. Their decision was acclaimed by the Communists. Of course, they were not concerned with the minor restrictions placed on them because they realize that their presence at such gatherings is all that is required. This decision gives the WFTU a degree of respectability and recognition it has not previously enjoyed. It will, no doubt, be used by the WFTU in an attempt to

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The African trade union: an elder son

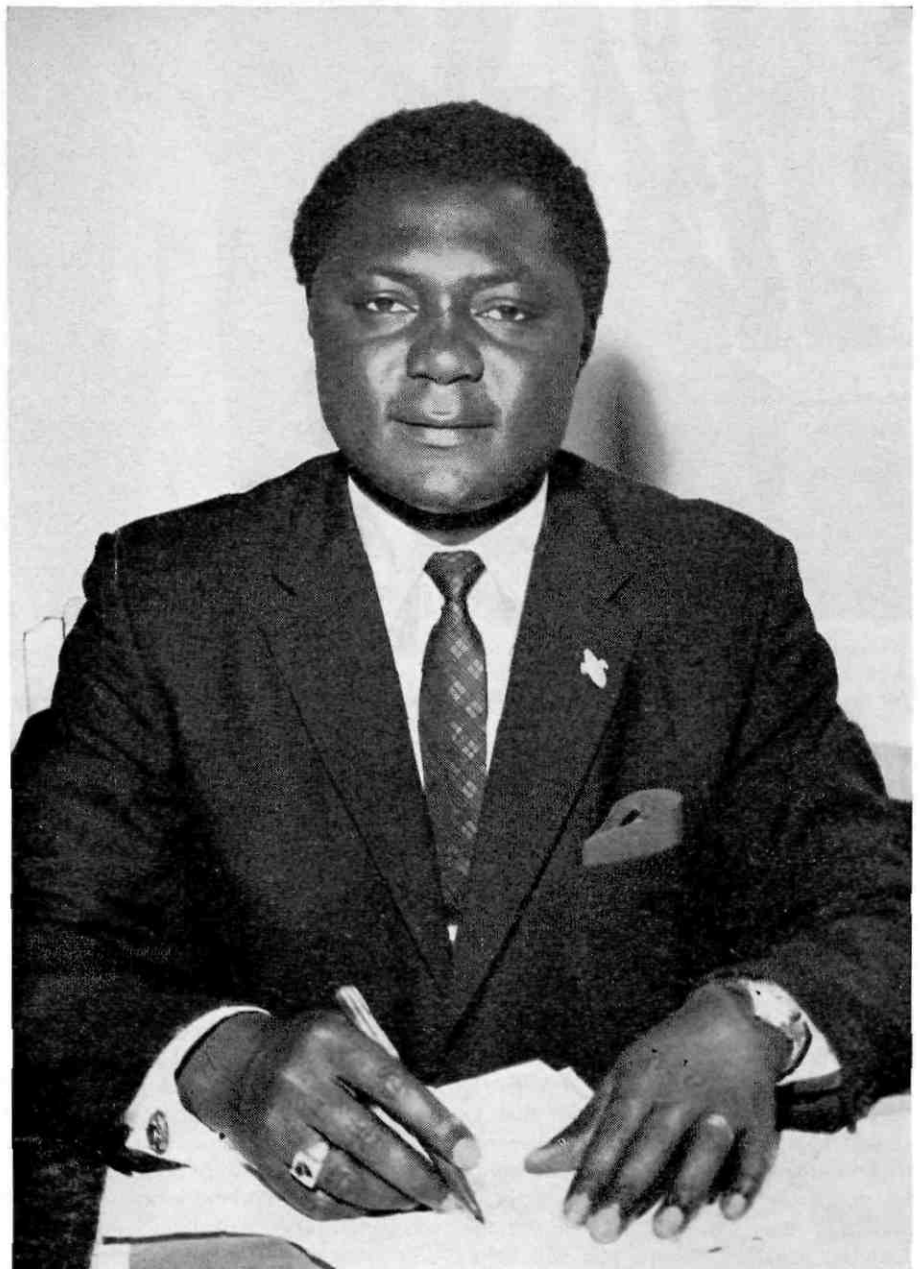
By T. J. MBOYA,
Kenyan Minister for Justice and
Constitutional Affairs

We publish this article by Tom Mboya, not because it expresses the views of the ITF on the duties of trade unions in the developing countries, but because we consider that the subject is an extremely important one and because the writer — himself a former trade unionist — is putting forward opinions which we believe to be fairly widely held by governments of the new African nations. We hope to stimulate some controversy by publishing these ideas, and welcome any contributions to the debate from our readers.

 FOR THE WHOLE OF THIS CENTURY, most of the people of Africa have been struggling in one way or another to be free from Western imperialism. That battle has taken many different forms, according to the particular circumstances of the country concerned. Sometimes the African people acted with constitutional propriety; more often their activities were on the borders of legality and illegality, in organizing boycotts, sit-down strikes, non-cooperation movements; sometimes again, it was necessary to go further. There was sabotage, arson, even sometimes outright war.

Many of these activities, of course, were against the short-term economic interests of those who carried them out. *Even today, until the whole of Africa is free, it is necessary for us to follow policies which may hamper our own progress. We shall not stand by and see our brothers suffer under colonial and white*

Tom Mboya, one of the most outstanding African political and trade union leaders, is now Minister of Justice in the newly independent Kenya Government. He is also a former General Secretary of the Kenya Federation of Labour and a prominent figure in the international free trade union movement (Photo: Camera Press)





Africans recruited for work in the South African mining industry queue up with their papers in hand. Until the whole of Africa is free, writes Tom Mboya, it may be necessary for the independent African nations to follow policies which may hamper their own progress

minority rule. We are fully aware that boycotts and economic sanctions can hurt us as well as those against whom they are directed (our italics). Our people are ready to make the necessary sacrifices, even to the point of diverting scarce resources, in order to see Africa free.

Today, just as in the past, the trade unionists of Africa are in the forefront of the struggle for justice and human dignity. They have been among the first to take practical action in the boycotting of South African goods and transport services. You may find it ironic that I should begin an article on the place of trade unions in economic development by discussing an issue in which their activities may actually be impeding material progress. I hope this will help

to indicate how important to us is the question of the liberation of South Africa, the Portuguese territories and other countries not yet free.

As I have said, the political struggle for the independence of Africa has been in progress for over a half century. At first the organizations through which African aspirations were expressed drew their membership from among the elite of the chiefs and the small group of middle class Africans. This was particularly true in the French colonial empire where the concept of assimilation was put into practice.

Such conditions were not favourable to the growth of workers' organizations. It was a natural part of divide-and-rule not only to keep the people apart ethnically

and tribally, but also to alienate the chiefs and educated elite from the mass of the people.

It needed a Second World War, in which Africa was not an issue, to shatter the old concepts of the West about colonialism. The scientific and social changes caused by the war had their effects upon the political thinking of the West. The result was a leftward swing in the two countries of particular concern to Africa - Britain and France. In the latter came national governments and coalitions whose centre of gravity was further left than any save the short-lived Popular Front of the thirties. In Britain a Labour Government with strong trade union elements came to power with a large majority.

As a result the encouragement of trade unions in the colonies became official policy. Naturally, the conservatism of administrators on the spot and the opposition of settlers and businessmen prevented the ideas of politicians in the metropolitan countries from being fully effected. Nevertheless, the seeds had been planted and there could be no going back.

During this period there grew up the closest cooperation between the leaders of political parties and those of the trade unions. As President Nkrumah of Ghana has said, 'The trade union movement in Africa is indissolubly linked with the struggle for political freedom, independence and unity of our continent. A trade union movement in a colonial territory cannot divorce itself from the national struggle for political independence. Indeed in a colonial territory the struggle for freedom and independence is inextricably linked with the success of the trade union movement'.

With the achievement of self-government and independence in our continent strains have sometimes appeared between trade unionists and governments. Adjustments have to be made if the unity of the earlier struggle is to be preserved in the new situation. While it is dangerous to generalise about an area as vast as Africa, I believe it is fair to point to a number of common factors which appear in its many societies and cultures.

One of these is a strong sense of communal purpose, of cooperation, of good-neighbourliness. In developing suitable ideologies for our new countries, we hope to adapt these sentiments for modern needs by appropriate forms and institutions. *President Nyerere of Tan-*

ganyika has given us the Swahili word *ujamaa* for our form of African socialism. This word could more literally be translated as *familyhood*.

The political leaders of Africa appreciate the role played by the workers in the vanguard of the struggle against colonialism. They now look for the cooperation of the unions in the task of nation-building. We have been most fortunate that in our continent there have not arisen in an acute form the economically and socially stratified societies of the West. Theories of class warfare, appropriate to other historical and geographical circumstances, happily have no relevance to our situation.

During the struggle for independence we sometimes had to act as if they had some relevance. It is true that altruism as well as cupidity played their part in the complex motives which saw the spread of imperialism. Nevertheless, the plantation owner and the businessman were more influential companions of the colonial administrator than the priest was.

Thus as I have mentioned earlier, acts of obstructiveness, 'go-slow' and even industrial sabotage were sometimes found to be quite a proper part of the overall battle to free our countries. After all, we were not unaware that similar methods had been used by trade unionists elsewhere in their struggle for economic, social, and political justice.

Even today, in many countries of the West, such tactics as 'working to rule', go-slow and minimal cooperation with management are often employed. I do not believe that such practices are appropriate to the circumstances of Africa today. Trade union leaders have a difficult task of re-educating their followers in their attitude to employers. They face in an acute form a problem which exists for all of us to some degree.

We have to rely for our economic progress upon outside sources, as far as capital is concerned. I do not believe there is any fundamental contradiction in this. Our socialism is a pragmatic philosophy. Nevertheless we appreciate the difficulty for the workers to understand how the employer who yesterday was the associate of the colonial regime, today becomes the colleague of the nationalist government.

I believe that one of the greatest tasks the trade unions can perform in aiding our economic development is to bring about this change of attitude among their members! They must persuade the work-

ers that the needs of Africa call for effort at their work.

As the father and Prime Minister of the Kenya nation, Jomo Kenyatta has said in a message to the people defining democratic African socialism, 'We aim to build a country where men and women are motivated by a sense of service and not driven by a greedy desire for personal gain. Every one of you has a duty to help create this new nation. You must strive to exercise your rights fully and with understanding. Above all, the future prosperity upon which our plans, our hopes, our aspirations depend, needs your efforts. Whatever your task in our society, we must have hard work from you if we are to make a success of our independence'.

I believe it is the duty of trade unionists throughout Africa to ponder the significance for them of such calls from African leaders. Too often – and this is true anywhere in the world – people tend to think only of strikes and the negative side of the labor movement, when trade unions are mentioned. I believe more attention should be given to the positive side of the labour movement and to the great asset it represents.

The general feeling in Africa, and one which I have always supported, is that we need not import or stick to the structures and attitudes of the metropolitan countries. Even in the approach to fun-

East African trade unionists in conference. The trade union movement, claims Mboya, should be seen as an elder son in a family of which the government of an African independent state is the father
(Photo: Mwafrika Studio, Dar-es-Salaam)



damental questions, such as the right to strike, freedom of association, the right of collective bargaining, some African countries have departed from the models of the West. Those who rush in and criticise should first consider the conditions of Africa.

We are in a continuing state of emergency. The majority of our people never reach a peaceful old age because of sickness. Few can follow a truly enlightened existence because they do not have the educational opportunities. Most live under such conditions of poverty that they must eke out miserable and narrow lives.

Under such conditions there is an imperative need for labour – and capital as well, for that matter – to cooperate fully with the government. I would not be happy to see the curtailment of trade union rights in my own country. But the guarantee for the continuance of those rights must rest upon the recognition by the unions of the responsible role they must play in building prosperity.

In the West, the unions rightly concentrate upon gaining for their members a better share of a large cake. In Africa, their problem is rather to help produce a bigger cake for everyone. Indeed, if unions concentrate too much upon the wage interest they may end up by producing a new elite of paid workers, against the poorer, self-employed peasant farmers.

The kind of labour force which existed in colonial Africa was wasteful and militated against economic growth. It was highly migratory, unskilled and uneducated. For real development, what is needed is a skilled labour force, with a degree of literacy and with enough stability and security to be able to acquire skills, experience and genuine industrial interests in the tasks to be performed.

Linked with the increase in efficiency is an aspect which is frequently overlooked. A skilled and stable labour force can provide a reliable and worthwhile market for Africa's own products. Furthermore, a stable labour force can provide the basis for instituting workers' saving schemes, so that a contribution is made to investment.

I believe any trade union leader would wish to see his organization concern itself with more than just wage interest alone. Responsible leaders should take an interest in programmes of education, particularly adult, technical and vocational training. I believe that trade unions are capable of making a real contribution in these fields, both in cooperation with the government and with industry and also by organizing their own independent programmes. Similarly in the field of health – which is closely linked with productivity – the trade unions can help with schemes of health education and even cooperate in the establishment of health centres and health insurance schemes.

I have said that we do not intend slavishly to copy what others have done. This is far from saying that we reject experience from outside. Many countries have demonstrated that trade unions need an economic interest as well as a wage interest. I am thinking of workers' cooperatives and social organizations in the Scandinavian countries, Germany, Switzerland and Israel. Here trade unions showed the way in putting forward development programmes in the fields of retail and wholesale trade, housing and even banking and insurance. I am a great believer in this line of development and support the moves already made in these directions by labour movements in Africa, including the Kenya Federation of Labour.

By such prospects the organized workers will become real partners in the all-important task of building the new Africa. They learn the intricacies of economic planning and take on the responsibilities that make it possible for them to see development from more than one point

of view. Equally important, the trade unions become more stable and broader in outlook by assuming such responsibilities.

In other countries of Africa, in Algeria for example, the trade unions and workers' committees played a part not only in service industries, but in the productive sector. Because of the problems and opportunities created by the departure of settlers from Algeria, the workers have taken over the running of work-shops and estates. Here again one sees the value of workers directly associating themselves with national development and becoming aware of wider problems and challenges.

We in Kenya also have a problem of redistribution of the land. While we recognize that many of our white citizens have confidence in the leadership of Jomo Kenyatta, there is a further need for some controlled redistribution according to our settlement schemes, on social grounds. Perhaps we can learn something from the Algerian experience.

In conclusion, I would like to return to a more general theme. Both the historical development and the current needs of Africa lead to the necessity of communal thinking. The traditional habits of family-hood and the close unity in the independence struggle of the political and labour movements are experiences which we cannot disown or reject.

Our desperate, underdeveloped condition calls for closer relations between governments and union than are known in the West. In the interests of all the citizens the workers must show the greatest restraint. While we do not want complete subservience of the trade unions to the state, a greater degree of guidance may be necessary than is acceptable in other places under different conditions.

The nationalist government of an independent African state should be viewed as the father of a family in which one of the elder sons is the trade union movement. It is the father who has the ultimate responsibility for seeing that all his children prosper. The trade unions must see to it that they play a dynamic part in increasing the prosperity of the whole nation, while keeping a fair share of their product for their members.

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social sciences, economics, industrial relations and labour conditions in other countries can be obtained.

(Continued from page 44)

establish its legitimacy as a trade union body in the developing nations of Asia. The Communists poll an insignificant vote in national political elections. They are well aware that they cannot hope to obtain the mass support for projects which are launched in the Communist Party. They must therefore, attempt to have bodies such as the ACTU adopt policies which are acceptable to the Communist Party.

Most trade unions in Australia are directly affiliated with the Australian Labour Party. In fact, the Labour Party was formed by the trade unions more than 70 years ago, in order to give organized labour a political voice in the Parliaments.

This policy of political action has paid handsome dividends in many ways. At the same time, it makes the prize of winning control of a union even greater for the Communists. They see in control of the trade union movement not only control of a powerful economic force, but the opportunity to exercise substantial influence on the national government.

The Australian Communist Party is proof that poverty and a low standard of living are not necessarily prerequisites for Communist success. The Australian standard of living is much higher than the general standard of living in Europe. There is no poverty in Australia and there is a great deal of highly beneficial social welfare legislation.

There are a number of reasons for the Communist success in the Australian trade union movement, but perhaps the most important single factor has been the regrettable and unfortunate division which has existed amongst non-Communist trade unionists in recent years.

It is useless to apply the normal political considerations when considering whether or not the Communist Party can be expected to succeed. The fact is that it does not use normal and legitimate political methods. When the issues have been clear and there has been sufficient organization to ensure that the rank and file trade unionists understood the issues involved, the Communists usually have been defeated.

The ITF Journal is also issued from London in German and Swedish editions.

International Transport Workers' Federation

General Secretary: P. DE VRIES

President: FRANK COUSINS

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
- 311 affiliated organizations in 83 countries
- Total membership: 6,500,000

The aims of the ITF are

to support national and international action of workers in the struggle against economic exploitation and political oppression and to make international trade union solidarity effective;

to cooperate in the establishment of a world order based on the association of all people 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;

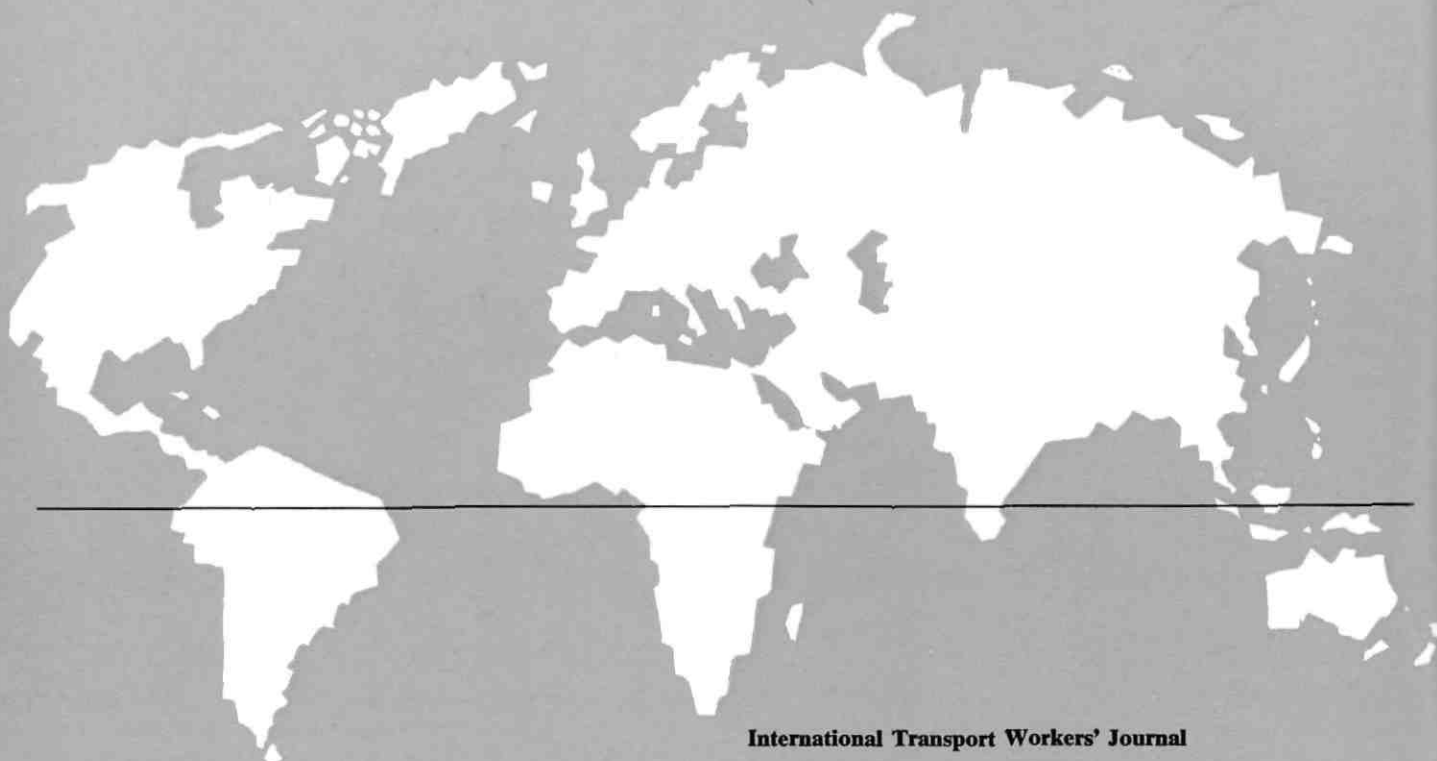
to represent the transport workers in international agencies performing functions which affect their social, economic and occupational conditions;

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
Bolivia * Brazil * British Guiana * British Honduras * Burma
Canada * Ceylon * Chile * Columbia * Costa Rica
Curaçao * Cyprus * Denmark * Ecuador * Egypt * Estonia (Exil
Faroe Islands * Finland * France * Gambia * Germany * Gre
Britain * Greece * Grenada * Honduras * Hong Kong * Iceland
India * Indonesia * Israel * Italy * Jamaica * Japan * Jordan
Kenya * Lebanon * Liberia * Lybia * Luxembourg * Madagasci
Malaya * Malta * Mauritius * México * The Netherlands * Ne
Zealand * Nicaragua * Nigeria * Norway * Nyasaland * Pakista
Panama * Paraguay * Peru * Philippines * Poland(Exile) * Republ
of Ireland * Rhodesia * El Savador * St Lucia * Sierra Leone
South Africa * South Korea * Spain (Illegal Underground
Movement) * Sudan * Sweden * Switzerland * Tanganyika
Trinidad * Tunisia * Turkey * Uganda * United States of
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