

International Transport Workers' Journal

11



in this issue

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Cover Picture: Hungarian workers trample underfoot the statue of Stalin (see *Hungary—1956 and after* on page 242).

Articles written by outside contributors published in the *ITF Journal* do not necessarily reflect ITF policy or express ITF opinion.

Railwaymen's trade union rights



Members of the Japanese National Railway Workers' Union hold a rally during the 1966 campaign for pay increases. Such demonstrations fall within the law, but strikes are prohibited as far as workers employed by the National Railway system are concerned.

RAILWAYMEN HAVE LONG been at a disadvantage against other workers as regards ways and means open to them for improving their standards of pay and working conditions. This unfavourable position originates mainly in the nature of the railway industry as an essential public service, in the varying degrees of control which national governments exercise over the railways and, in recent years, also in their failure to pay their way. It is significant that in Great Britain, where the first railways were built, employees of this industry, faithful to the 19th century concept of labour-management relations, are still called 'railway servants'. This is not to say that British railwaymen still work under 19th century conditions of service, but it does serve to remind us that social patterns and systems for fixing wages and conditions on the railways have a history behind them going back to a stage when trade unionism in the industrialized countries was in its infancy.

Railwaymen as public servants

In some countries today railwaymen still work under an almost military discipline. This has its logic in the context of certain railway operations such as signalling and locomotive driving, where strict observance of rules and working procedures is necessary to avoid risks to safety and disruption of traffic. But while such discipline may be called for in certain connections, there is also a widespread tendency to set railwaymen, as the operators of an indispensable public service, apart from other industrial workers, and to expect from them more docile and submissive behaviour. It is considered for example, that they should not resort to strikes or other forms of industrial action in furtherance of demands for improvements in pay

and working conditions — however justified these may be. The reasoning behind this view is that, while a few thousand factory workers can go on strike without appreciably affecting the national economy, a railway stoppage is bound to have more far-reaching effects, particularly when the undertaking involved is one of the large state-owned railway systems. Governments responsible for the operation of national railway undertakings often prefer to risk being seen to perpetuate the 19th century master-servant relationship rather than place their trust in the railwaymen's sense of responsibility and social conscience. In a number of countries the employees of nationalized railway undertakings are treated as 'government servants' and have their wages and

The 8th Session of the ILO Inland Transport Committee opens on 21 November 1966. One of the subjects on the Committee's agenda is Methods of collective bargaining and the settlement of disputes in rail transport. The ITF Railwaymen's Section has recently been engaged on an extensive study of these topics from the particular point of view of trade union rights. A report on the situation in 17 countries, presented to the Conference Section held last June in Rome, finds that railwaymen's unions in a number of countries are restricted in various ways in the exercise of normal trade union functions, and points to some inadequacies in ILO instruments defining trade union rights.



In the railwaymen's job, where strict observance of working rules is necessary to avoid risks to safety and disruption of traffic, discipline has its logic. Without it there might be chaos.

working conditions fixed by legislation. The system which usually operates in this case is one based on collective bargaining, in which an agreement concluded between the union or unions representing the employees and the railway administration has to be approved by the legislature before it can take effect. It is a debatable point whether this is true collective bargaining, since the body which ultimately fixes wages and conditions, namely the legislature, is not the negotiating partner. However, the system seems to work in some countries.

The close relationship which exists in this case between the government and the nationalized railway undertaking puts the railwaymen in a vulnerable position. When a government finds it necessary to limit public expenditure or to impose measures of wage restraint as a means of regulating economic expansion, railwaymen are among the first workers to suffer. The proportions of the labour

force involved are such that the government has a considerable incentive to maintain wages at comparatively low levels. Another factor is the budget on which railways, under severe pressure of competition from road and air transport, have to operate. National railway systems, in spite of the fact that most of them operate at a deficit and are obliged to provide services which, though unprofitable, are regarded as socially necessary, usually have to apply to the government before increasing fares and rates. When an increase is refused, the next thing to be thrown out is usually the railwayman's wage claim.

Restrictions on the right to strike

In a number of countries the railwayman, either as a government servant or as a worker in an essential public service, is forbidden to strike or is at least severely restricted in the type or extent of action he can contemplate to back up his wage demands. A strike prohibition may not exist officially, but

in practice ways and means can always be found to prevent the railwayman from going on strike. Obscure laws, never intended for the purpose, can be delved out of the statute book and used to keep the trains running. Or even, as happened in Canada earlier this year, special legislation can be rushed through parliament to stop a strike from taking place. Generally, even where there are no restrictions as such on the right to strike, the possibility of a nation's railways being paralyzed by strike action is regarded with such gravity that measures and procedures exist to reduce the likelihood of its actually taking place. In the United States, for example, where the railways are not publicly owned, the Railway Labour Act lays down elaborate procedures to be observed in the event of a conflict on the railways, whereby the parties are given ample assistance in resolving their differences and are restrained from taking action until all means of settling the dispute have been exhausted.

It could be argued that to prohibit public service workers from striking is the result of a bad conscience on the part of the government. Railwaymen are no less entitled to decent pay and conditions than their counterparts in other industries. In fact, however, railwaymen's pay standards are often lower than those of comparable workers. The government, knowing this, may consider that it is wiser to deprive workers in the services for which it is directly responsible of the means enjoyed by workers in the private sector of securing improvements. Wage levels in the public services can moreover have a considerable influence on pay standards in industry as a whole, and any pay developments in the public sector can lead to a general rise in the level of earnings and thus produce inflation. The government may therefore be tempted to use the workers of the public sector as a weapon against inflation.

It is generally accepted in responsible trade unionism that the strike weapon should only be used as a last resort. But

the very fact that, in the background to negotiations, there is the possibility of a strike, even though it may never be threatened, adds considerable strength to the union's bargaining position. Where a strike is out of the question, the union's bargaining position must necessarily be weaker.

ITF Inquiry

The ITF has carried out an inquiry into the trade union rights of railwaymen and the ways open to them of securing improvements in their pay and conditions. Affiliated unions in 17 countries replied to a comprehensive questionnaire prepared by the Secretariat, and their replies served as a basis for the Report on Railwaymen's Trade Union Rights presented to the Conference of the ITF Railwaymen's Section, held in Rome last June. This survey found that, though trade union rights were restricted in a number of ways, most affiliates covered by the survey were, by and large, satisfied with the situation prevailing in their countries. In Germany and Switzerland, for example, where government servants—including railwaymen—are forbidden to strike, the existing machinery for processing pay claims and settling disputes is felt to be satisfactory. Officers of the ITF railwaymen's affiliates in both countries have seats in parliament and both unions have officers on the boards of management of the railways. The Swiss Railwaymen's Union does not feel that the right to strike, though technically desirable, is necessary in its own particular circumstances. If pay improvements are rejected by the legislature, which fixes pay and conditions for all public employees, the railwaymen have the right to refer their case directly to the electorate by referendum.

India and Japan were the only countries covered by the ITF survey where affiliates were substantially dissatisfied with the existing state of affairs. In India all railwaymen are civil servants. They are allowed to belong to unions, but not to engage in political activities. Union constitutions have to conform to standards laid down by the railway

management. Collective agreements are concluded within the framework of legislation. The right to strike exists in theory, but in practice it is usually suspended. In 1960, for example, a nation-wide strike of railwaymen was declared illegal by the President on the promulgation of an Essential Services Maintenance Order. Disputes are referred to arbitration only at the discretion of the management.

The ITF-affiliated All-India Railwaymen's Federation (AIRF) would like to see the railways made into an autonomous public corporation, instead of functioning, as at present, as a government department, and wishes railwaymen to be on a par with other industrial workers instead of being treated as civil servants. The union feels that either party should be free to refer a dispute to arbitration and that the right to strike should not be withdrawn under any circumstances.

The special case of Japan

Of all affiliates taking part in the ITF survey the Japanese railwaymen were in the worst position. The ITF affiliates organize workers employed by the nationalized railway undertaking, who are not strictly speaking civil servants but are treated as such for some purposes. Their wages and conditions, for

example, though negotiated by collective bargaining, are subject to approval by the legislature. They are prohibited from striking, unlike the employees of the privately owned railways who belong to a different union. Legislation also lays down the subjects to be covered by collective agreement and makes certain restrictions as to what persons should serve as union officers. The same legislation provides for conciliation and arbitration machinery which is administered by a body consisting of three members each from labour and management and five 'public' members. The unions complain that the 'public' members, who are supposed to be impartial, tend to side with the employers and are dissatisfied that an arbitration award is binding on the workers but not on the government, which ultimately decides what increases are to be given. The union charges management with discriminatory practices, favouring members of splinter unions and actually encouraging employees to join these organizations. Although the union is not allowed to call strikes, it has engaged in other forms of action within the law. These tactics have resulted in harsh disciplinary measures.

The situation in the Japanese public

Trade union demonstration of state-employed railwaymen in Japan.





Greek public transport workers march in procession to register their discontent.

services led unions in that sector in 1961 to file complaints with the International Labour Organization over infringement of trade union rights. In 1965 Japan ratified ILO Convention No. 87 on Freedom of Association and Protection of the Right to Organize. In the intervening period of 12 months between the ratification and the provisions of the Convention having binding effect, a Committee was set up to prepare amendments which would bring existing legislation into line with the Convention. Some of the amendments proposed were hotly contested by labour, and the labour members of the Revision Committee walked out in protest against the insistence of the employer and public interest members on recommending the amendments. The amendments were rushed through in the absence of the labour members and submitted to the Government as the official proposals of the Committee.

Thus amended, labour laws applying in the Japanese public services will be in conformity with the letter of Convention 87, but in labour's view old restrictions have been exchanged for new. The old law requiring officers of railwaymen's unions (state system) to be railway employees, for example, could simply have been repealed as being out of line with the Convention.

However, it has been replaced by a new law requiring that no union official should be a railway employee. This is likely to discourage candidates for union offices from standing for election, as they would first have to give up their jobs on the railway.

ILO instruments inadequate

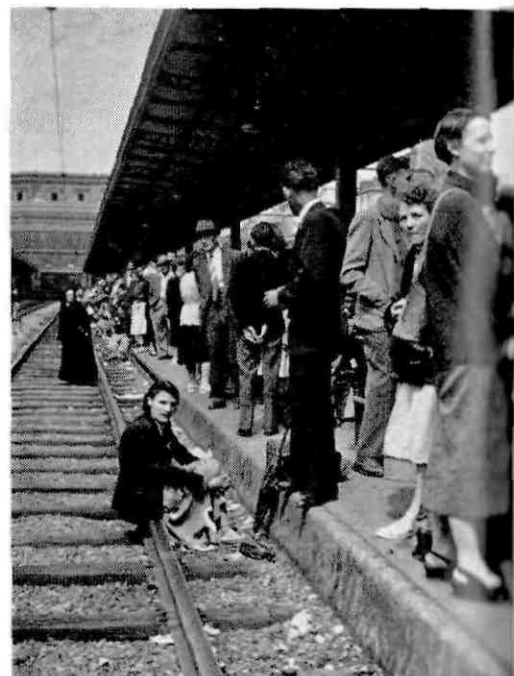
The ITF's Report on Railwaymen's Trade Union Rights discusses a number of points on which ILO instruments are inadequate in guaranteeing full trade union rights. Nowhere, for example, in the ILO's Conventions and Recommendations is strike action confirmed as a legitimate measure to be taken by workers in the defence of their interests. Only in Resolution No. 9 of the Inland Transport Committee (1947) is the right to strike specifically laid down. Resolutions of ILO industrial committees, however, do not unfortunately entail any obligations on member states, and there is no ILO machinery for ensuring that their provisions are observed. The instruments which have binding force also fail to take in a number of important trade union rights which the majority of workers in democratic industrial countries enjoy. It is generally accepted that ILO instruments represent international minimum standards, but the standards of the ITF, as a trade union organiza-

tion, go considerably further. We owe it to our affiliates in the developing countries to endorse rights and standards which are generally enjoyed in the industrial countries, whether they are covered by ILO instruments or not. This applies as much to the right to strike as to any other principle.

In his speech to this year's International Labour Conference, ITF General Secretary Hans Imhof stated that there was no valid reason why public service workers in particular should be restricted in taking action to achieve a just settlement of their claims. Restrictions of this kind had no place in a democratic society. He urged that consideration should be given to the possibility of embodying in an ILO Recommendation the principles of Resolution No. 9 of the Inland Transport Committee.

After a full discussion of the Report on Railwaymen's Trade Union Rights, the Rome Conference of the ITF Railwaymen's Section adopted the following Statement of Principles, which gives a clear indication of the rights which, whether guaranteed by ILO instruments or not, the Section feels are indispensable to trade unions of railwaymen in defending their members' interests.

Strikes on the railways are a serious matter. They inconvenience the travelling public, prevent other workers from getting to their jobs and hold up the transport of urgent freight. Because of this railwaymen are not inclined to misuse the strike weapon and only resort to it when all hope of solving a dispute by peaceful means has evaporated.



STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES

ON RAILWAYMEN'S

TRADE UNION RIGHTS

Freedom of association

1. Employees of railway undertakings, whether publicly or privately owned should, irrespective of their status, be entitled to form and join without previous authorization and without restriction of occupation, sex, colour, race, creed or nationality, trade union organizations of their own choosing.
2. Such organizations should be granted full autonomy in drawing up their constitution and administrative rules, in organizing their administration and activity, and in framing their policies.
3. Where full and effective protection is not already afforded, appropriate legislation should be enacted to protect the individual worker:
 - (a) from discriminatory or punitive measures directed against him at the time of engagement or during tenure of employment for the reason that he is a member, agent or official of a trade union;
 - (b) against coercion with respect to his right to join a trade union.
4. Where full and effective protection is not already afforded, appropriate legislation should be enacted to prohibit on the part of the employer or of the employers' organizations or their agents, all acts designed to:
 - (a) promote the formation of trade unions controlled by the employer;
 - (b) interfere in the formation or administration of a trade union, or support it by financial means or otherwise interfere in its control;
 - (c) refuse to give practical effect to the principles of trade union recognition and collective bargaining.

Negotiating rights

5. The wages, hours and other working conditions of railway employees should be the subject of collective bargaining between trade unions and railway administration or, where necessary, with representatives of the competent government department(s), irrespective of the legal status of the undertaking or of the employees concerned. In accordance with the principle laid down in the Resolution on Industrial Relations in Inland Transport adopted by the 2nd Session of the ILO Inland Transport Committee in 1947 that 'a free society cannot coerce any section of its population into working under conditions which are not freely and generally acceptable,' railwaymen cannot accept any acts by governments to institute legislative or administrative measures establishing wages, hours of work or any other working conditions for any group of railway employees which have not previously received the full agreement of railwaymen's trade unions in the course of free negotiations.

Adjustment of labour disputes

6. Having regard to the importance of maintaining a good climate of industrial relations in this vital sector of the national economy, the state should, wherever necessary, place at the disposal of the parties conciliation machinery with a view to helping them to adjust differences arising out of the negotiation and application of collective agreements. Wherever necessary, there should also be instituted machinery for voluntary arbitration. Disputes should normally only be submitted to such conciliation or arbitration machinery by consent of all the parties concerned. In all disputes other than those arising out of the interpretation or application of current agreements, it is particularly important that reference to such conciliation or arbitration machinery should be on a voluntary

basis, whenever reference to such machinery implies an intention to abstain from industrial action while conciliation or arbitration is in progress. Such machinery should be fair and expeditious.

The right to strike

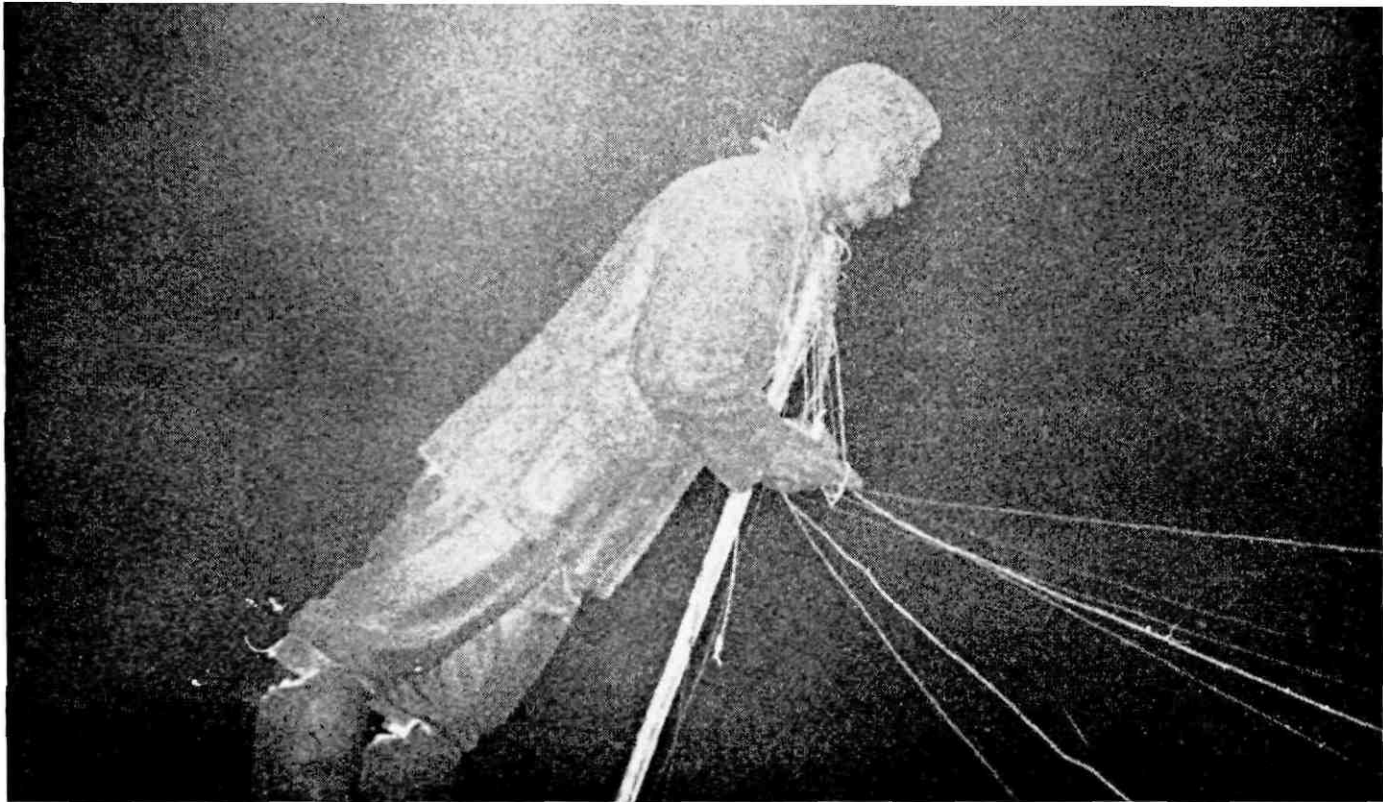
7. In any given country, railway employees should not be subject to restrictions on the exercise of their right to strike or to take other forms of industrial action over and above those applying normally to the main body of the workers in that country. This applies irrespective of the status of the undertaking or of the group of employees concerned.

The arguments for maintaining that the right to strike and the right to lockout qualify for equal treatment in the context of legislation regulating the exercise of these rights, are no longer tenable and it is recommended that the International Labour Organization should base its entire approach to the principles involved in the exercise of the right to strike on considerations more appropriately reflecting the present situation.

Joint consultation machinery

8. Suitable machinery should be established at all appropriate levels for promoting the application and observance of collective agreements in particular establishments and the prompt handling of grievances affecting individuals or small groups of workers.
9. Suitable machinery should be established at all appropriate levels for promoting joint consultation between accredited representatives of employers and workers on all matters in which they have a common interest, with a view to improving both the well-being of the workers and the prosperity of the industry. All necessary information should be placed at the disposal of joint committees established for the above purposes.

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Hungarian workers topple the statue of Stalin in the centre of Budapest during the October 1956 Rebellion.

(AP Photo.)

HUNGARY—1956 and after

It is ten years since the people of Hungary took their courage and their lives into their hands and rose up spontaneously to rid their country of the tyranny which ruled it. But it takes more than ten years to forget. The ideals of free trade unionism remain alive even under totalitarian rule: one of the first decisions of the revolutionary Budapest workers' council in October 1956 was to disaffiliate the Hungarian trade unions from the communist-controlled World Federation of Trade Unions and to bring them into the free trade union movement. On the 10th anniversary of the Hungarian uprising the Executive Board of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions adopted a resolution reaffirming that the international free trade union movement would not weaken in its struggle to liberate all peoples living under dictatorial regimes and to restore to them freedom, democracy, respect of human rights and social justice. The following is an article published by the ICFTU on the events of October and November 1956 in Hungary.

THE TRAGEDY OF THE Hungarian popular uprising opened with the battle cry of the war of liberation of 1848 — 'This is our oath: no longer shall we be slaves!' — which resounded again on 23 October 1956 at a mass demonstration in the streets of Budapest. It ended at 14.30 hours on 4 November 1956 when the 'freedom' radio station Győr broadcast this despairing call to the world: 'We appeal to the nations of the West—SOS . . . SOS . . . the nation lies bleeding! Help us, help us, save our souls!'

Already at the beginning of October 1956 the atmosphere in Hungarian factories was explosive and tense. Everywhere one could hear expressions of

resentment at the unjust wage system and high production targets. In vain did the Stalinist trade union boss Sandor Gaspar (who today again occupies the post of General Secretary of the trade union federation) try, by feeding the workers with new promises, to placate the stresses which could no longer be overlooked and the protests which could no longer be ignored. But not only former trade union leaders, who bore a heavy responsibility in bringing misery and distress to the workers, have reappeared on the scene but also one of the most feared men of Hungary, Gabor Péter, Chief of the political police, the AVO, who brought immeasurable sorrow to tens of thousands

of families, now lives undisturbed as a tailor in a provincial town after having served a few years in prison for his many crimes.

Analyzing the causes of the uprising ten years after the events, one may conclude that the unrest in the industrial districts of Plzno and Ostrava in Czechoslovakia on 30 May 1953, the building workers' demonstrations and the bloody street fighting in East Berlin and in other towns of the Soviet Zone of Germany on 17 June of the same year and the workers' uprising on 28 June 1956 in Poznan, Poland, were a writing on the wall for the communists, a prelude to the outbreak of the Hungarian revolution. It was a spontaneous

uprising of all sections of the nation. They had been driven to despair by the constantly deteriorating economic situation and the resultant drop in living standards as well as by the unimaginable form of terror exerted by the political state police, which had acquired notoriety for a barbarian brutality that far exceeded the ill repute of other communist police forces. Although after the revolution the Hungarian Government pretended that this uprising had been the work of counter-revolutionary, fascist elements and of western capitalist agents, it is evident that only very few revolutions in world history had fought for such purely democratic and socialist aims as this one. In a book by Sandor Nogrady on the personality cult of Matyas Rakosi (first secretary of the Hungarian communist party during the 'Stalinist period'), which appeared in Budapest in the autumn of 1966, the claim that the uprising had been a counter-revolution was dropped for the first time. Nogrady, a well-known communist, testifies that hundreds of thousands of workers fought in October 1956 because they wanted to liquidate a type of policy that was treading underfoot their national aspirations.

From the first until the last minute of their existence, the revolutionary workers' councils emphasized and reaffirmed in numerous resolutions that on a victorious conclusion of the uprising they would not be prepared to restore large land holdings or enterprises to private hands, that they wanted to maintain the nationalization of the means of production, they then planned to create workers' councils in the enterprises and entrust them with their sole management and that they were determined to repress with all energy any fascist or anti-democratic tendency.

Also in the leadership of the Hungarian trade unions did fundamental changes take place in these few days of freedom. The trade union bosses imposed by the communist party had to give way to genuine trade unionists who had the confidence of the workers.

The period of freedom was too short to enable them to draw up far-reaching principles of the free Hungarian trade unions in the first issue of the new trade union paper *Nepakarat* which pointed out that in future trade unions would cease to be an instrument of the regime used for the exploitation of the workers, that the right to strike would be re-introduced, that they would leave the communist-controlled World Federation of Trade Unions and link up with all the trade unions of the free world. Also in the factories, the communist trade union committees were dissolved and elections of new trade union officials were announced and even partly carried out. A new era for the Hungarian trade union movement was about to be born but after a short span it was bloodily repressed as was the whole liberation movement. The democratic leaders of the free Hungarian trade unions once again trod the path leading to prison or to flight into exile.

Already on 5 January 1957 the regime of Janos Kadar (which is still in power) cut down to almost nothing the rights of workers' control in industry granted on 20 November 1956. The presidium of the trade union federation likewise revoked the decision of 1 December 1956 to proceed to new trade union elections. On 30 September 1957 the workers' councils were dissolved and finally on 17 November of the same year the dissolved workers' councils were replaced by the former works councils, where management, the communist party, and the party-controlled trade unions hold the exclusive power.

The four days of freedom were succeeded by months of terror. Soviet troops, approximately 200,000 men with 2,500 tanks, brutally crushed the uprising. Some 3,500 people were killed during the revolution; the exact number will probably never be known. Tens of thousands were deported to the Soviet Union where today — ten years after the uprising — many thousands are still detained. Some 180,000 Hungarians left their homes and fled into exile facing an uncertain future. After the revolution Hungary looked like a cemetery.

It was a matter of years until normal circumstances were restored and until many freedom fighters could leave their prison cells as the result of an amnesty.

The Hungarian trade unions, once again firmly in communist hands, have done precious little in the last ten years to raise the depressed living standards of the workers. The works councils remain as before the vassals of the manager, who (appointed in effect by the Communist Party) in practice decides single-handed what is good and what is bad for the workers. It is true that the law provides for the manager to be allowed to proceed only after having obtained the consent of the works council, but this provision is followed only in rare instances. The same applies for the right of workers' participation in management which is

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This old lady, arriving at a refugee centre in Austria, was one of the thousands of Hungarians who fled their homeland in the face of the Russian Army's advance ten years ago.
(AP Photo.)



New York's taxi drivers build a union

by MURRAY SEEGER

This article, which first appeared in the AFL-CIO's monthly magazine, American Federationist, describes the difficult birth of a trade union for New York's taxi drivers: the events which led to the setting up of the Taxi Drivers' Organizing Committee and to its finally taking a place as a fully fledged trade union within the ranks of the AFL-CIO. The author is Newsweek's labour and economics correspondent in Washington. He covered the New York taxi campaign for the New York Times.

IN MAY 1964, A GROUP of New York City taxi drivers, called on Harry Van Arsdale, Jr., business manager of Local 3 of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers and President of the city's Central Labour Council. Almost exactly two years later, 150 New York taxi drivers marched into the AFL-CIO headquarters in Washington to receive a charter for their new directly-affiliated local union from the hands of George Meany.

'Looking back,' said Joseph Chaloupka, one of Van Arsdale's assistants, 'it seems like it went pretty easy. But all the headaches we had in-between!'

In those two years, the New York taxi drivers and their allies in the AFL-CIO wrote one of the most impressive chapters in the modern history of organized labour. The story is little known outside New York and is not very well known even there. But it is inscribed deeply in the hearts and minds of a great cross-section of American workers, the polyglot group that keeps 12,000 cabs rolling in New York City.

Some of these men had their hearts broken in previous, unsuccessful attempts to form a union. And some had their heads broken, too, for the history of organizing taxi drivers in New York has been a violent one. Hundreds of the drivers had paid dues to various organizations, legitimate and illegitimate.



Top: Thousands of New York taxi drivers crowd into Manhattan Center for a strike vote: the clearest evidence that a union was in the making. Centre: The new union recruits members at the taxi stands. Bottom: At the National Labour Relations Board elections cabmen showed unequivocally that they wanted their own union.

Before 1964, the taxi industry was a graveyard for union organizers. Some of the great names in American labour tried to form a union of the drivers and mechanics without succeeding. Perhaps the most tragic effort was sponsored by the late Michael Quill, who came out of a subway cashier's booth to organize the New York transit workers. With his transit organisation started, Quill turned to the taxi industry in the mid-1930s. He won recognition at several garages but then the owners fought a rearguard action for months and succeeded in breaking the union. Quill's union threw \$1 million into the fight before he decided to husband his strength for finishing the job of building the Transport Workers' Union.

With this history in the background, a group of cabbies in the 1960s formed the Taxi Drivers' Alliance. They signed up a few members and got a lot of lip service from others, but could not come close to forming a viable organization. At this point they turned to Van Arsdale, the best known labour leader in the city. He told them, in essence, that they could have a union and that he would help, but that they must build it. He then told the TDA delegation to give 50 trusted men petitions, each to be signed by 200 workers.

The core group of drivers set out with their petitions and within a few weeks returned with 9,000 signatures — 90 percent of their goal. That was good enough evidence for Van Arsdale. He asked the Central Labour Council on September 4, 1964, to recognize the drivers' group as an organizing committee. The approval came that night and the campaign was on.

In attempting to organize drivers, the AFL-CIO group knew that the nature of the industry was their biggest enemy. There were just under 12,000 cabs, but more than 40,000 workers held city hack licences permitting them to drive when they could get a job. Almost half of the cabs were owned by individuals, some of whom employed one or two helpers to keep the vehicle on the streets 24 hours a day, seven days a week.

Many previous organizing drives had foundered because the independent drivers continued to work during strikes. Because of the strict limit on the number of licensed vehicles, each cab with the official silver medallion represents a big investment for the independent operator. The going price for a cab has been around \$25,000.

The Van Arsdale plan of organization called for maintaining good relations with the independents while aiming the drive at the largest fleet garages. Before anyone started handing out cards at these garages, however, Van Arsdale's team did some homework. They studied the industry to pinpoint the largest garages, to determine the number of potential members in each and to locate 'key men' who would become stewards and unit leaders.

In the meantime, the original committee that started the drive was sent to the New York State School of Labour and Industrial Relations, which has a mid-Manhattan branch operated by Cornell University. These men drove their cabs full-time and went to classes at night to learn labour law and the rights and duties of union officers.

Then began the slow, grinding, essential work of getting cards signed — the best measure of sentiment in the garages. And this is when the hours really stretched out for the organizers.

Taxi driving in New York is a haphazard business. Of the 40,000 workers with hack licences, there is a hardcore group that drives ten or more hours a day, six days a week. To get a regular car from the fleet garages, most drivers have to agree to work a six-day week. One group of these drivers likes to start out at 6 a.m. or earlier to get the morning and daytime business. They start taking their cabs in at 4 p.m., if they have been lucky. Most evening men start out around 5 p.m. and work through the closing hour of the theatres, near midnight. Then there is a group of night men, guys who want to work the overnight shift because they don't like their wives, can't stand day traffic or heat or are just plain loners.

In addition to the odd hours worked by the regular drivers, the organizers had to face the erratic pattern of part-time workers. Some might work weekends only, or a couple of days in the week or perhaps only a few days a month. Some are students and some are moonlighters. But the organizers tried to find them all.

These early days of bread-and-butter organizing work were done almost in obscurity. Van Arsdale did not seek publicity and he did not get much until January 1965. Before then, most of the stories that turned up in the New York papers were small items about a picketline here and there around the city. This was a period of building strength.

As the numbers grew, the TDOC, as it was now known, grew bolder in its tactics. Informational picketlines sprang up in Long Island City, Queens, where there were many cab garages, and then on the west side of Manhattan, the lower Bronx and in Brooklyn.

The growing strength of the committee, however, triggered a resistance movement by the fleet owners. Their first reactions appeared to be a matter of scoffing. 'That's nothing,' one owner told me when I asked him about the picketline outside his garage. 'I never saw them before; all my cabs are on the street.' Another favourite answer was: 'Outside agitators.'

But the owners finally had to admit the committee was gaining headway. And then they started to fight back. The

The mass meeting of drivers in Madison Square Garden left few taxis on the streets.



favourite technique was to deny a driver a car if he happened to be known as a union activist. Most big garages operate a variation of the 'shape-up'. Men report to a dispatcher each day for a car. 'Sorry, no car for you today, Charlie,' was the way it was put. 'Too late, Bill, all the cars are out.' Or 'Go see Mr. Blank.'

The drivers work against the cab meters. Their standard pay was 45 per cent of the meter reading and they were paid in cash at the end of the day. When they were denied a cab they would be told it was being repaired. Men with ten, 20 and more years of experience were simply cut off at the pay window.

They might try another garage and be told there was no work there, either, even when a sign on the roof pleaded for drivers to apply inside. 'Bad accident record,' was the favourite excuse in these situations. It did not take the committee long to see what was happening.

The taxi owners have a trade association that acts as their lobby with City Hall and helps them with their insurance and operating problems. The association also became the custodian of an infamous blacklist on which owners recorded the names of active union sympathizers. It was simple enough — an owner would just call the central office and say so-and-so had a bad accident record and the other owners should know about it. Who wants unsafe drivers on the street?

There was only one answer for this tactic — the picketline. When a driver was unfairly bumped, the committee called its friends out of their cabs.

By January, the TDOC was scheduling a series of demonstrations around the city, marching in front of garages to show the flag of unionism where it would do the most good. The picketlines encouraged doubtful drivers to join up and warned the owners of things to come.

The first solid sign that the AFL-CIO drive was going to succeed where so many others had failed came in February when Van Arsdale called a mass meeting and got 6,000 drivers to fill a convention hall.



Members of the ITF-affiliated Transport Workers' Union were among those who demonstrated support for the taxi drivers' organizing campaign. (Photos by Sam Reiss)

'We hope the organizing campaign can be accomplished without inconveniencing the people of this city,' Van Arsdale told the cheering crowd.

Across the front of the hall on the stage sat the members of the executive committee of the Central Labour Council. The cab drivers, new to unionism, could see at a single glance that they had a lot of friends — stalwarts like Matthew Guinan of the Transport Workers; David Livingston of the Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union, Bert Powers of the Printers and Michael Mann, Region II director of the AFL-CIO. And, as there was at every crucial step along the way, there was a special message from an old New Yorker who knew the driver's plight, George Meany.

The taxi owners all this time denied that their drivers were seriously interested in joining a union. Although their trade association asserted it was not concerned with the issues, an attorney for the association soon started issuing statements through a press agent to counteract the TDOC's gains.

But Van Arsdale had three undeniable strengths — resourcefulness, the

backing of the TDOC members and universal support among the local and international AFL-CIO unions in New York. He called a lunch one day and invited the international presidents located in the city. When it was over, the leaders agreed to put up the financial backing the committee needed. David Dubinsky, Joseph Curran, Jacob Potofsky and A. Philip Randolph, all AFL-CIO vice presidents, stood up in front of the television cameras to voice their support.

To hurry negotiations along, Van Arsdale called for a mass meeting of drivers at Madison Square Garden in March 1965. The implication was clear — that if the turnout was substantial, there would be few taxis running in New York City that day. Mayor Wagner, who had shown an interest in the drive from the beginning, now entered the dispute in an attempt to prevent a shut-down.

The owners at this point started calling for National Labour Relations Board elections to test the TDOC power. 'After all, the important thing here is the wishes of the individual

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THE RADIO OFFICER IN THE NEW ERA

by S. T. ANDREWS

THE METHOD OF RUNNING a ship at sea is still largely traditional for all that man's ingenuity has, over the years, provided in the way of aids to safety, efficiency, and convenience. The master, with the help of his officers, and acting on the information brought to him by his senses, his experience, and by radio, radar, and other aids, decides upon the courses to be steered and the speeds at which his vessel should proceed on such courses in order to bring each voyage to a safe and successful conclusion. Below, the chief engineer and his subordinates — still, historically speaking, comparative newcomers on the maritime scene — have the responsibility for seeing that the machinery, from prime mover to the smallest auxiliary, functions correctly and is always ready to perform the tasks required of it.

Now, in 1966, ship operation stands at the threshold of a new era the door to which is only just ajar despite the awakening interest in automation, data logging and transmission, even centralized control, by a few progressive owners who have, after all, no more than thrust a toe through the opening doorway to test the solidity of the floor on which they will eventually take their stand. There is tremendous activity, much of it behind the scenes, in the electronics industry which will provide the tools for the new age, and any radio officer with an awareness of what is afoot must be keenly interested and indeed excited at the prospect of the future, for as it unfolds it will be he, as a matter of simple logic, who will be best fitted by his training and experience to become a key man in the electronic ship of tomorrow. And tomorrow is not so far away.

Before we consider the radio officer's place in the ship of the future, let us see what may develop, and how it may affect him, or be affected by him. 'Automation' is a word much bandied about, much abused, sometimes feared, and often little understood, usually by those who have given the matter insufficient thought. By many, it is frequently considered to be a single process involving no more than the application of electronic and servo techniques to any and every action or function that has in

the past been performed under human surveillance and control. In other words, something which will take all the hard work out of running a ship will still, however, be run by traditional methods. In fact, a great deal of this kind of automation has already been done. Data loggers, such as those installed by Shell, Shaw Savill, and some other companies now monitor hundreds of performance points in engine rooms and cargo spaces in a tiny fraction of the time that would have been occupied by watchkeeping engineers in going round checking pressures, temperatures, etc. Automatic helmsmen have been in use in many ships for some time, and in some vessels bridge control of engine movements is provided.

But there is much more than this to ship automation — or can and undoubtedly will be in the not-distant future. Hard economics demand it, and although initial capital investment may be substantial in terms of fitting out or conversion it will be amply repaid in reduced running costs.

Passive or active?

Data-logging — collecting at one central point every scrap of information necessary for adequate supervision of the ship's movements, the efficient operation of all its machinery, and the temperature, humidity, and freedom from fire or gas of its cargo, crew, and passenger spaces — is already in being



In the radio room aboard a German freighter. (Photo: Diciol-ANTHONY)

and in use, and here it is worth mentioning that the radio officers selected to serve in all the British ships so far equipped have, after an intensive and thorough course in the theory, practice, and operation of the equipment, been entrusted with responsibility for its day-to-day maintenance and functioning, although it is not within their province to interpret its readings or to apply any corrective measures necessary in the event of any malfunctioning, not of the equipment, but of any of the parameters it observes and records. That is, quite properly, the responsibility of the engineer concerned and it will be seen here that, if and when the data-logger warns of an alarm condition such as a hot bearing or fuel failure, the remedy is applied by human agency. In other words, the role of the data-logger is passive observation. It merely records and reports either locally, on board, or, as in the case of the Shell exercise, also to the firm's head office via radio using data transmission with automatic error correction. Technically, it is possible for the data-logger to be made to perform an active function. In its present form it incorporates a warning system indicating by light or bell signals any departure of machinery, etc., from safe and efficient operation. It would be perfectly feasible, even if somewhat complex, to create an extension of this alarm system and give it remedial

control over the functions which at present it merely watches. Such control could be introduced so that that logger, on observing any malfunction, could automatically restore it to within the limits of safe operation except in the case of actual physical damage such as a fractured fuel line. Even then, it could be made to shut down the supply before the point of fracture, at the same time giving the alarm so that mechanical repair could be effected by human agency.

This would be automation, in so far as it affects the engine and other controls concerned with the reliable and economic operation of the ship, regarded as a machine. It is now necessary to use this machine to carry goods and/or passengers from one point to another through varying conditions of traffic and weather.

Automated navigation

There will be many to whom these two words will be like a red rag to a bull, who will indeed aver that they are two words which can never live together. But then there were many who once claimed that a glorified steam kettle could never drive a ship, many who would not accept the reading of an echo-sounder, and many who, when radar was first introduced, refused to put more trust in 'a smear on the end of a bottle' than in their own eyes. Let it be at once made clear that 'automated navigation' is a phrase used here with a full sense of its limitations which, in the light of present knowledge, are severe.

Navigation, the art of getting a ship from one point on the globe to another, can be regarded on two levels — strategic and tactical. Strategic navigation could be considered as the planning of a voyage in terms of courses and speeds, and the fulfilment of that planning by the completion of the voyage with safety, expedition, and economy. Tactical navigation, on the other hand, is that carried out in the more limited area, geographically speaking, of restricted waters and in adverse conditions of traffic and weather.

Automated navigation is fully feasible on the strategic level and could be built into, or on to, other control systems already discussed. The system would, however, necessarily be of a complex nature, even in the first generation of equipment, and more so in later and more sophisticated stages of development. Once a ship has left port and is in open waters action controls necessary are, fundamentally, those for course and speed correction and it is a relatively simple matter to apply these automatically once the decision to do so has been taken by the system, influenced by its programming. In first-generation systems it would be necessary to prepare a fairly elaborate programme containing fully detailed instructions regarding courses to be steered, the time for each course, related to speeds to be observed, and turning points along the route where alterations of course must be made. Such a programme, fed into a computer fitted with the requisite action controls, would activate them at the appropriate times to communicate the necessary instructions to helm and engine-room.

An electronic position-determining device would then be necessary to make periodic checks and correct any departures from set course by activating the helm control. To achieve maximum economy of time and fuel these corrections would compensate for the effect of tidal drift, etc., by applying new headings whenever necessary. Such an electronic position determining device is not yet universally available, but could be provided by world-wide extension of facilities such as those of Loran-C or Decca, possibly assisted by a number of transmitting satellites, radio bearings on which would replace celestial observation by sextant. Automatic direction-finders and echo-sounders could also be built into the system to make a useful contribution in coastal waters. The overall system would have to be self-correcting so that its programme could be adjusted from time to time to compensate for any delay in arriving at turning points occasioned by heavy weather.

Still dealing with open-sea navigation on the strategic level, as experience is gained with first-generation systems of automation, more sophisticated equipment will undoubtedly be designed capable of programming the entire route unaided after having been given simply the latitude and longitude of departure and arrival points plus ship's economical speed and other ship performance data requisite to its working out of the problem for that particular voyage.

Up to this point the problem has been considered as one existing in ideal conditions of only one ship on the open sea with no disturbing factors such as heavy traffic, restricted or shoaling waters, or bad weather and poor visibility to contend with. Automated tactical navigation would have to take all these factors into account and the problems it presents are therefore very much more difficult. Control by automatic means under these conditions would require full and continuous radar monitoring of all other shipping and coastlines and buoys, etc., within a safe radius of at least ten miles, with automatic and practically instantaneous assessment of all collision-potential situations within that area, together with automatic selection of helm and engine movement to ensure early avoidance of danger. This process would have to be continuous, with constant re-assessment of developing situations and application of corrective action. Tactical navigation by automatic control under these conditions, with the added hazards of fog or heavy weather in restricted waters may seem impracticable and indeed many shipowners and authorities would tend to consider it too much of a risk to place valuable ships and their cargoes at the mercy of a possible electronic breakdown when there is neither time to trace and rectify a fault nor room to manoeuvre out of harm's way.

Here, then, is where traditional methods of ship-handling remain very much in command, for it would seem that although automation can make a most valuable contribution to strategic



Instructor at a union training school for seafarers in Germany, explaining modern radio telephony equipment to a trainee.

navigation on the high seas, its use in tactical navigation is, with present techniques at least, potentially too dangerous for adoption. On entering an area of such conditions it would be the master's decision to 'throw the switch' and revert to full human control of his vessel's movements. In fact, even on the high seas he, or his watchkeeping officer, would necessarily have at all times an over-ride facility which would enable him to revert to human-agency control at a moment's notice in time of sudden emergency or in the event of any breakdown of the automation system which it could not correct within itself.

The radio officer's role

It is here, envisaging the possibility of a failure in the automation system, that the radio officer steps firmly into the picture. Radio officer is perhaps not the proper title for the future. Indeed, it is too constricting even today, and has been for a long time, for it is many years since his duties were concerned only with the operation and mainten-

ance of a ship's radio communication equipment. When the echo-sounder was first introduced it was only logical, apart from the fact that in most cases this new instrument was supplied by the same firm as that supplying the radio installation, that its maintenance in good working order should be the radio officer's responsibility. Sound reproducing installations were also pinned on to his responsibility list, and radar too in its turn. Gyro compass, electronic logs and other allied equipment fall naturally into his sphere, and with the coming of data-loggers his specialized knowledge and experience are again being called upon to ensure that the equipment functions correctly.

The time is coming, then, when the widening scope of his responsibilities will call for a corresponding widening of his rank to that of electronics officer. The data-logger is only the beginning of a vast new 'electronification' (if there be such a word) of the ship and its functions. The sketch of the future out-

lined earlier is no Wellsian dream, but feasible and foreseeable fact. Certain ships—to begin with—then most ships, and eventually all ships, will employ the facilities of electronic monitoring and control, and the supervision and maintenance of their complex installations will be a major responsibility. In the ships of tomorrow, communications, the principal task of the radio officer of today, will become a function of the electronics installation and will be handled, in the first-generation stage, by a trainee electronics officer and later by teleprinter or by automatic transmission and reception techniques, already beginning to make their appearance.

High standard of qualifications

It is obvious that the statutory qualifications of the Postmaster General's Certificate, excellent though they are, will no longer provide a high enough standard for the electronics officer of the future. Thorough knowledge of advanced electronics techniques will require specialized training by manufacturing or operating companies who are bound to recognize the necessity for providing such facilities in order to ensure a satisfactory after-sales service for their products. This may be a terrifying thought to a few radio officers. But it must be a stimulating thought to many. It is an old grumble in the service that the good man was never noticed, that he received the same treatment as his lazy or inefficient colleagues, and that it was a dead-end job anyway. This grumble suddenly becomes outdated. In future the demands of the service in terms of skill, knowledge, resourcefulness, personality, will ensure that it is the good man who is noticed, who is selected for special-training and for the rewards that it will bring in pay and privileges and who, when higher promotion to positions ashore is open, will be considered, on his record, by those responsible for selecting the right man for the job.

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ESPERANTO

—used for the discussion of railway problems

EVEN DURING THE very first Congresses held by the International Federation of Railwaymen Esperantists (IFEFE), a desire was expressed that these gatherings of between 400 and 700 railwaymen from a number of countries should be utilized not only for the discussion of organizational questions and excursions but also to contribute towards the professional and general education of the membership. During the 7th Congress held at Zürich in 1955, the affiliated national associations were invited to participate in a discussion on the theme 'Conditions of employment and training for locomotive personnel'. As a result of this representatives from eleven countries presented lectures on this subject. Apart from the preparation of the texts, these lectures were in most cases given by locomotive drivers themselves. In this way, it was possible to avoid a purely formal treatment of the subject and to ensure that it was dealt with in a practical manner.

During the following year, the chosen theme concerned the conditions of train personnel, whilst in 1957 the subject was the cleaning of railway wagons. So far as possible, the texts submitted were

later translated into the various national languages and circulated to railway administrations and railwaymen's trade unions in a number of countries.

Despite a very successful start, the system was changed at this point in order to give preference to the idea of providing Congress delegates with information concerning a particular theme associated with the country acting as host to the Congress. In this way, it was considered, any danger of repetitiveness by the various national speakers could be avoided and the time available during Congress could be devoted to a more intensive discussion of a particular question. For the past eight years this has been done and the Congress organizers have throughout been able to rely on receiving contributions from high-ranking railway officials who are specialists in their own fields. This has, of course, meant that the lectures given have been of an extremely high standard. Wherever possible, these have been illustrated with films or slides. The Esperanto texts themselves are carefully vetted by a special IFEFE committee on terminology in order to guarantee uniformity in the use of specialist expressions.

At the IFEFE's Helsinki Congress, the committee chose the theme 'How the Finnish Railways fight against the winter' and this provided delegates with a unique opportunity of learning about the extremely grave national problems which face Finland in this field and to see film of the measures which are adopted by the railways to cope with severe weather conditions. At the Linz Congress, delegates were able to hear an extremely interesting lecture on the development of the Austrian railway timetable system, while at the Brussels Congress P. Hendrickx spoke on the subject of the application of electronic techniques on the Belgian Railways. A further subject which has been dealt with by an expert, Engineer Ladislav Boronkay, concerned experiences with continuous railway track and concrete sleepers.

The IFEFE states that the interest shown by delegates and others in these

well-organized lectures on technical and other railway subjects increases from year to year. Both the railway trade press and the railwaymen's trade union publications in various countries have published their texts in translation. But certainly the greatest advantage which they provide is that railwaymen from a number of countries are able to listen to experts speaking on their own subjects without the need for any form of interpretation.

At this year's IFEFE Congress, held in Utrecht, a further very interesting lecture was given on the subject of the mechanization of goods handling, with a great deal of additional informational material being provided by the giant Netherlands freight-handling company Van Gend & Loos. A further point of interest was that shortly before the Congress started, the first German-Esperanto railway technical dictionary was issued. It has been decided to follow this up with a series of similar dictionaries for other languages and at the same time to continue translation work on the UIC official dictionary of railway terms.

It is also worth mentioning that among those who welcomed the Congress to Utrecht in Esperanto was Bro. G. J. Alink, President of the ITF-affiliated Netherlands Transport Workers' Federation and a member of the ITF Executive Board.

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Twenty-six countries accept SOLAS Convention

TWENTY-SIX COUNTRIES have deposited with the Inter-governmental Maritime Consultative Organization (IMCO) instruments of acceptance of the International Convention for the Safety of Life at Sea (1960) since it came into force on 26 May 1965. They are: Argentina, Belgium, Burma, Chile, Cyprus, India, Iran, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Lebanon, Malaysia, Mexico, New Zealand, Nigeria, Pakistan, Panama, the Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Sweden, Switzerland, Trinidad and Tobago, Turkey, the United Arab Republic and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

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drivers,' the owners' attorney told reporters. His goal was a series of individual elections across 86 garages that were the main targets of the organizers. What a field day for a lawyer! The litigation over 86 elections through the NLRB would provide a lifetime's work.

But Van Arsdale was not falling for any legalistic gambits. 'They want the public to think we're a bunch of monsters, that we want to go on strike and deprive a lot of old ladies of having a taxicab,' he said.

The drivers did take a one-day holiday, leaving their cabs in the garages for 18 hours on March 25. And most of them went to Madison Square Garden that day to cheer Van Arsdale and the whole line-up of New York labour leaders who came to offer support.

A panel appointed by Mayor Wagner recommended a city-wide election among the drivers who worked three days a week or more regularly. After studying the recommendations for weeks, the owners rejected them and insisted on going through the NLRB procedures. The owners went to court and blocked an attempt by Mayor Wagner to have the city hold the election.

The result of the owners' delay was another strike last summer, this one five days long. The owners spread stories of 'roving goon squads' smashing up the few cabs that tried to work, the same stories spread in the March walkout, but the campaign failed. The drivers held their lines, spurred by Van Arsdale, who cruised the city on the back of a motor scooter.

'I say you are going to build one of the greatest unions in America today,' Van Arsdale said to the taxi drivers.

The next steps were three successive representation elections, agreed on by the owners after their bitter experience with TDOC solidarity. The results were predictable — the TDOC won all these contests easily and a new union was born.

It took two years of hard dedicated work, but a taxi union has finally seen

the light of day in New York. It will have more than 24,000 members soon and bring order to a disorganized industry and honour and character to its workers.

The leaders of the new group, 150 members of the original TDOC, got up before dawn to ride buses to Washington and receive their charter from George Meany. 'This is a pretty good example of what imagination and determination can do,' Meany told them.

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This is a moment of truth for radio officers, for those employing them, and for those using their services. Shipboard automation, first muttered about, then talked about as a possibility, is here now and the demand for suitably qualified men to look after its functioning is here with it. This is not a task for the electrician, excellent though he may be in dealing with heavy electrical equipment of a mechanical nature, but for the specialist who already has the requisite basis of skill and experience within the covers of his PMG's Certificate and of his Discharge Book. If he is of the right type he will be given the opportunity to build on this basis and fit himself to become the electronics officer of tomorrow. It will mean hard work, and the assumption of a heavy responsibility, but if this is to be imposed on a man he will have the right to expect a commensurate reward. The reward, in pay, is a matter for his employers who will have to produce the right terms to attract and keep the right men. In status, it is bound to come as a direct and natural consequence of his greater responsibilities and the manner in which he assumes and copes with them.

The new era about to open is heralded by this challenge to the keen, ambitious radio officer of today who, as the electronics officer of tomorrow, will provide the vital 'interface' between the master and the functioning of the ship he commands. There has never been such an opportunity in the history of the service.

Let it not pass by.

New public transport in Sweden

INVESTIGATIONS HAVE BEEN IN PROGRESS in Gothenburg for some years into what form of public transport is best suited to serve the city and the rapidly-growing satellite towns around it. The results have shown clearly that a rapid tramways system would be more advantageous than either buses or a monorail system. The plan now adopted provides for high-speed surface tramways between towns, which will go underground in the town centre and integrate there with the rest of the tramways system.

The network to be introduced will be the fastest in Europe. It is estimated that an 8-km stretch will be covered in 11 minutes. To cover the same journey by bus would take twice as long and would require ten times the manpower and rolling stock. The new system is to be fully automatic, and it is hoped that next year will see the first experimental trials with unmanned trams.

Stockholm, meanwhile, is currently carrying out trials with double-decker buses, ninety of which will begin to operate when traffic changes over to the right-hand side of the road in September next year. The new double-deckers, specially designed to accommodate the tall Swedes, have the advantage that of the 77 passengers which they can carry, 71 are seated, whereas at most half the passengers can sit down in a fully-loaded conventional single-decker.

* * * *

New home for TWU

THE TRANSPORT WORKERS' UNION of America has recently moved to new headquarters in New York's Broadway. The new offices are more spacious and convenient, and designed to meet the needs of a constantly expanding membership. There are now two large meeting halls in the headquarters building, which will hold 450, and 185 persons respectively. The smaller hall is expected to be in constant use for meetings, eliminating the costly practice of hiring hotel space. A special feature is the Michael J. Quill Memorial Room, filled with mementoes and plaques of the TWU's first International President.

Round the world of labour

ICFTU demands respect for human rights in Southern Africa

THE INTERNATIONAL CONFEDERATION of Free Trade Unions has called on the United Nations to take immediate steps to obtain the respect of human rights and fundamental freedom in Southern Africa. In a statement to the General Assembly of the UN, the ICFTU referred to the disappointing decision handed down by the International Court of Justice in the case of South West Africa (to dismiss the case brought by Ethiopia and Liberia against the South African regime), and urged member states of the UN to undertake effective world-wide action. Such international action should bring pressure to bear on member states to implement the relevant resolutions already adopted by the UN so as to achieve an immediate change of conditions and the establishment of respect for human rights and fundamental freedom in South Africa, South West Africa, Rhodesia and the so-called Portuguese territories in Africa. The ICFTU believes that the time has come to consider what action could now be pursued in order to remove the Pretoria regime as the mandatory power of South West Africa, as well as to review the statutes governing the International Court of Justice; how strategic economic sanctions against the Republic of South Africa could be effected; the employment of effective means to enforce a quarantine against the South African economy; and boycotts which will cripple the international import-export trade of South Africa, as well as the illegal regime of Ian Smith in Rhodesia and of the Portuguese colonies. In this connexion the ICFTU statement recalled the resolution adopted by the ITF pledging the unqualified support of transport workers throughout the world for any general economic boycott against the South African regime which

may be decided upon by the UN. (This resolution was adopted by the ITF Executive Board in 1963 and was subsequently superseded by a further resolution the following year — Executive Board meeting of November 1964 — which is in even stronger terms. This calls upon the countries of the UN to initiate immediate and concrete action against the Verwoerd regime, in the form of an immediate, genuinely world-wide campaign sanctioned by the UN, and expresses the conviction that transport workers in the ITF would pledge their full dedication to such a campaign.)

Pointing out that the racialism of South Africa had become one of the more vicious aspects of an almost totalitarian regime, the ICFTU statement expressed the conviction that apartheid was an imminent threat to the peace of the world. 'We have fought relentlessly for the total elimination of this cancer from the face of the earth and we hope that the UN and the individual national governments will provide the ways and means to guarantee the success of these efforts.'

On the situation in Rhodesia, the ICFTU statement stressed that there could be no basis for the granting of independence other than an outright recognition and the effective implementation of majority rights, based upon principles dictated by the respect of human rights. To restore normal political activities in Rhodesia, a time-table should be worked out at once containing the following points: the release of trade union and political detainees and persons held under restriction; the repeal of all repressive and discriminatory legislation; the removal of all restrictions on African political and trade union activity in guaranteeing the right of freedom of association; and the holding of a constitutional conference in which the representatives of all political

parties would participate with a view to making arrangements for independence on the basis of universal adult suffrage.

Recalling its earlier protests against the existence of forced labour and the atrocities committed by the regime in the Portuguese colonies in Africa, the ICFTU statement pointed out that colonial wars were still being carried out in those territories and that every conceivable effort was being made to break the will of these people for self-determination and independence. 'We call upon the Assembly to consider steps which can be taken to achieve an immediate end to this outrage.'

* * * *

First IUF Asian Conference

THE INTERNATIONAL UNION OF FOOD and Allied Workers' Associations is to hold its first Asian regional conference in Tokyo in November. This is being preceded by a seminar from 24 October to 4 November. The conference delegates will hear reports on ten countries of the region in which the IUF is now represented, and the seminar will cover subjects including: freedom of association, labour and social legislation, the right to negotiate, the implementation of collective agreements, and workers' education.

The conference is being organized by the IUF's regional office for east Asia, and the host union is the Japanese Federation of Brewery Workers.

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Anxiety over air traffic control

AN APPEAL FOR MORE AUTOMATION in air traffic control and the reversion of radar 'to its proper use of monitor' was made recently at the convention of the British Guild of Air Traffic Control Officers. The case for automation was urged by a speaker from the British Air Line Pilots' Association, while giving the conference a pilot's view of control in the upper airspace. Arguing that

undue reliance should not be placed on radar 'since it was not a navigational system,' he said that if too much use were made of it the result would be merely to transfer the navigation workload from the flightdeck to the air traffic control centre.

He pointed out that in the United Kingdom air traffic control was based on outdated, unreliable equipment and a somewhat tenuous co-ordination between the military and civil air traffic control authorities. Pilots were disquieted by the prevailing situation, in which the 'present flow of air traffic throughout the creaking air traffic control systems of the world owes more to the efforts and improvisation of the pilot-controller team than it does to the providers and planners of the state agencies'.

He suggested the use of a navigation aid with a pictorial moving map display for the pilot, duplicated for air traffic controllers. Routine communications would have to be automated and the state must achieve a greater standardization of airspace designation and air traffic control procedures. Computers should be used in the air and on the ground for those repetitive and tedious tasks for which they were suited.

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Norwegian seamen protest at blacklists

THE RECENT CONFERENCE of the Norwegian Seamen's Union heard of the way in which Norwegian shipowners operate a highly secret but nevertheless effective blacklist system when hiring seafarers. A delegate from Stavanger revealed the way in which this is operated. The captain of the vessel has to fill in a report card for each seaman when he signs off, and this card goes to the company. There are three columns, one for ability, one for conduct and one for sobriety, with markings from one to three. When a seaman presents himself at a hiring office he has to declare his last employer and the vessel on which he served, and this information is given on request to his prospective new employer. The latter can then obtain from the previous employer details of the seaman's markings, through what

was described as the 'bush telegraph'. If they find the seaman not to their liking they can simply tell the hiring office that they have filled the vacancy themselves and that his services are not required.

Other delegates were able to give concrete examples of how this blacklist works, and pointed out that the seaman's markings were dependent entirely on the goodwill or otherwise of the captain.

The union is naturally concerned to find ways of preventing this system from operating to the disadvantage of its members, and feels that the public hiring offices are the only authority which should determine a seaman's right to a job. It considers that the practice of giving information about a seaman's past employment to prospective employers should cease.

* * * *

Ship on land for training shipboard firefighters

A MODERN SHIP has been built in the grounds of a fire station in Edinburgh, Scotland. The intention is to provide realistic training facilities for firefighting on board ship. It is generally agreed



The ship built in the grounds of a British fire station to provide a training ground for shipboard firefighters.

by fire officers that fires which take place on board ship are some of the most difficult to fight, even by professionals. Yet the seafarer, when confronted by a fire situation at sea, cannot hope for assistance from professional firefighters.

In view of the number of fire outbreaks which occur at sea — often with great loss of life — the Scottish South Eastern Fire Brigade, under the direction of Firemaster Frank Rushbrook, one of Britain's foremost experts on

shipboard firefighting, has set about tackling the problem in the most realistic manner possible: by using a specially constructed ship for training both fire brigade personnel, likely to be called upon to deal with fires on board ships, and seafarers in the skills and special techniques of fighting fires at sea. A series of firefighting courses have been arranged at the establishment and the South Eastern Fire Brigade hopes that merchant navy organizations and shipping companies will take advantage of them to gain professional tuition in combating the most dangerous enemy of all seafarers.

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IMCO special assembly to discuss fire recommendations

A SPECIAL SESSION of the Assembly of the Inter-governmental Maritime Consultative Organization (IMCO) has been called for 28 November 1966 to discuss the adoption of the amendments on fire protection on board ship to the Safety of Life at Sea Convention (1960), which were recommended by the IMCO Maritime Safety Committee last May.

The Committee recommended that the 1960 Convention should be amended to provide for specific improvements to be made in different categories of existing passenger ships — those built before the 1948 Convention came into force, those which conform to the standards of that Convention and those built to the standards of the 1960 Convention. These proposed improvements relate to structural fire protection, fire detection and firefighting equipment, protection of escape routes and reduction in the amount of combustible material used, for example, in accommodation spaces. Very old ships would thus be brought into close conformity with one of the methods of fire protection laid down in the 1960 Safety Convention.

The Maritime Safety Committee also recommended amendments concerning wiring and ventilation systems and certain firefighting equipment, some of them applicable to all passenger ships and some only to new ones. Recommended amendments on outfits of firemen would apply to new and existing

passenger and cargo vessels.

Concerning ships to be built in the future the Maritime Safety Committee, at its May meeting, urgently requested its Sub-Committee on Fire Protection to study three current methods of structural fire protection and extinction for passenger ships and to find ways of combining the best features of all three. The Sub-Committee was also directed to give special attention to the problem of fire in the machinery spaces, and to the training of crews in the use of fire-fighting equipment.

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'Unguided missiles' on the roads

THE BRITISH SAFETY COUNCIL has recently published a report on the problems of road safety caused by the 80,000 articulated vehicles on the roads. The report claims that these vehicles are unnecessarily causing thousands of accidents every year. They have 'designed-in' dangers and in certain conditions become unguided missiles, sweeping other vehicles off the roads with shocking loss of life.

The chief danger lies in the propensity to 'jack-knife'. The two sections of an articulated vehicle, the tractor and the trailer, are connected by a king-pin. The two parts jack-knife when the unit, for any one of several reasons, swings out of line. The jack-knife begins because the tractor's driving wheels start to swing sideways, the trailer tries to go straight on and thus forces the tractor still further round. Once the angle between the tractor and trailer is more than an estimated 15°, says the report, there is absolutely nothing that can save the unit from going completely out of control, scything its way along the road and crushing anything and anyone unlucky enough to be in its path.

The report points out that this problem is becoming more acute because more articulated vehicles are pouring on to the roads and they are getting bigger and faster, and appear to be replacing the conventional rigid vehicle. Some are capable of speeds up to 70 m.p.h. Drivers of these vehicles are aware of the jack-knifing danger, and have reported that the most com-

mon causes are panic braking, bad road conditions (ice, gravel, etc) and cornering too fast, especially on an adverse road camber.

The report refers to an anti-jack-knife device which is produced by a British manufacturer and which the US truck drivers' union is insisting be fitted to all articulated vehicles. It is recommended that the British Ministry of Transport should investigate this device which, if approved, should be compulsorily fitted to all articulated vehicles, both old and new.

* * * *

US minimum wage law amended

THE UNITED STATES Fair Labour Standards Act — or minimum wage, maximum hours law — has been amended to provide for an increase in the national minimum wage and an extension of the Act's coverage. The hourly minimum wage for workers already covered by the Act rises from \$1.25 (as at present) to \$1.40 on 1 February 1967 and to \$1.60 a year later. Workers to whom coverage is now extended for the first time are guaranteed a minimum wage of \$1 per hour, to be increased by 15 cents each year until they have caught up with the \$1.60 minimum. Coverage is extended to about 7.1 million additional workers in 1967 and to a further 955,000 in 1968. Hitherto 29.5 million workers came under the Act.

* * * *

Indian railwaymen agree to joint consultation

A SPECIAL CONVENTION of the All-India Railwaymen's Federation held at Ajmer recently decided to participate in the newly-introduced machinery for joint consultation. Mr. Priya Gupta, MP, Assistant General Secretary of the AIRF, said in a press statement that the Federation would however be free to opt out of the machinery at any time if it feels that the machinery is not functioning in the spirit in which it was introduced. He added that the Federation and its affiliated unions would retain their existing trade union rights and privileges, including the right to strike.

(Continued from page 241)

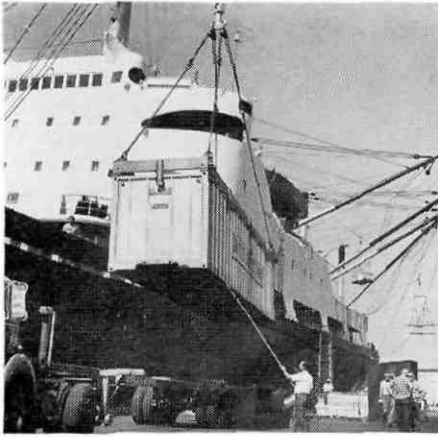
Measures to strengthen the trade unions

10. In view of the grave responsibilities resting on railwaymen's trade unions, affiliates should give urgent and serious consideration to any action that they might be able to take with a view to introducing in their own countries appropriate measures for consolidating and safeguarding their position. Wherever possible, a check-off system should be introduced for railwaymen and attention should also be given to the feasibility of instituting measures whereby non-organized railwaymen should be required to make contributions to a central fund, monies collected by this means being subsequently made available to the trade unions as a compensation for their work in promoting the interests of all the employees concerned. Unions should also give active consideration to fixing their membership dues at an adequate level so as to provide a sound basis for ensuring an efficient and comprehensive service for their members.

(Continued from page 243)

considered a joke by the Hungarian workers. The competition at work in which teams, workshops or even whole factories are set to race against each other to complete production schedules ahead of time, allegedly on a voluntary basis, are forced upon the workers as the result of Communist Party orders which have to be carried out despite a so-called 'liberalization'. Although the regime officially admits occasional conflicts may arise in factories, the communist-controlled trade unions fundamentally oppose striking because they claim that in their society such conflicts are not as insoluble as to justify work-stoppages.

The Hungarian revolution was crushed. However, in the last decade the workers have succeeded in wringing certain concessions from the communist regime thanks to their resistance and solidarity.



Left: *Men along the shore.* Right: *Their leader, Thomas W. Gleason, President of the ILA.*

MEN ALONG THE SHORE

The story of the ILA

THIS BOOK* IS THE FIRST complete history of dock working in the United States for over fifty years. It is extraordinary that so fascinating and vital a section of the industrial life of a nation should have been so poorly documented until now, although the reasons become plain when one realizes the contempt with which longshoremen and their profession were regarded and the quite natural distrust which this bred in them of any inquirers from the 'outside world'. Miss Russell, by starting from the premise that she had first to win the confidence of the men she was writing about, has achieved what to a less sympathetic and less persevering writer would have been impossible. She has succeeded in producing a book which is at once entertaining and informative, readable and thorough. Having found most previously published material on dockworking 'cheaply sensational or hopelessly biased', she has based her work on first-hand research, on the waterfront where her story takes place.

The craft of the longshoreman — originally 'alongshoreman' — was essential from the times of the earliest **Men along the shore — The ILA and its history*, by Maud Russell, published by Brussell and Brussell Inc. New York, at \$7.50.

settlements in the New World, since the scattered colonies were entirely dependent upon the frequent arrival and departure of ships. Many of the colonists never penetrated further inland than the Atlantic coast, and as commerce grew, longshoring 'gradually ceased to be only the part-time occupation for men hastily called from their ploughs or blacksmith shops'. From the beginning they were regarded as a dubious class. This was presumably because the dockside was traditionally an unsavoury area, and dock workers had to spend a lot of their time waiting on the piers for work. Added to this, they were frequently hired and paid at dockside taverns — 'a custom that did not enhance their respectability'.

Longshoremen were among the first groups of workers in America to join together for the betterment of their conditions, but for almost a hundred years every attempt they made to organize and improve standards ended in disaster. To recognize this long history of struggle and defeat is essential to a complete understanding of the modern longshoreman and his union, especially since in no other occupation is the family tradition stronger.

The first significant strike of dockers took place in 1836, when New York waterfront workers demanded an increase in wages and shorter working hours. The shipowners refused to negotiate and the men 'hit the bricks', that is they walked off the piers onto the cobblestones of the dockside streets. Strikebreakers were brought in — according to a contemporary newspaper report they were not members of the longshoremen's organization — and violence threatened as the militia were called out. The strike spread to Philadelphia, but the strikers were eventually forced back to work under the same conditions they had faced before.

When the American Civil War was over a new spirit was abroad among dock workers. The year 1864 saw the creation of the Longshoremen's Union Protective Association (LUPA) in New York; this, for the first time, was a union explicitly dedicated to the industrial aims of 'regulating and protecting our interests, wages, and the manner and time of employment'. LUPA expanded in New York, and similar organizations grew up in other Atlantic ports, notably Boston.

Then came the Wall Street panic in the autumn of 1873. The summer of slack shipping which followed threw thousands out of work. Industrial unrest was rife and in the autumn of 1874 wage cuts were announced in New York, slashing rates from 40 cents per hour to 30 cents for day work, and from 80 cents to 40 cents for night work. It was a difficult decision to take with winter approaching, but the men agreed to strike on 18 November. The owners refused to discuss wages with LUPA, police and thugs were called in to protect strikebreakers, and the weather turned bitterly cold. The strike was broken by the middle of December. More than a thousand dockers were never re-employed, and even greater wage cuts were introduced. It was a hard lesson, and all that was gained was 'an inheritance of frustration and hostility that would be passed on to the next generation of longshoremen'.

The next fifteen years or so were filled with bitterness and conflict. Throughout the nation the frequent strikes and disturbances were as frequently put down with dispatch and brutality. In the ports the unions slowly pulled themselves together, and the advent on the scene of the Knights of Labour gave to organizing a missionary zeal which brought new encouragement to the piers.

In New York on 3 January 1887 new wage cuts were announced by the Old Dominion Steamship Line. The rate of 25 cents per hour — already below subsistence level — was to be substituted for a wage of \$12 for a sixty-hour week. The Knights immediately ordered a port-wide boycott of Old Dominion cargo. Unfortunately for the fate of this strike, another dispute arose at the same time, also involving the Knights. Coal handlers in New Jersey struck when their hourly wages were cut from 22½ cents to 20 cents, and the Knights waded in there too. Coal boatmen came to the aid of the handlers and longshoremen also refused to touch 'black' coal. The two disputes continued, with not much sign of results. Both Old Dominion and the coal companies prepared for a long siege. Then, on 26 January 1887 the Knights announced a general strike on the New York-New Jersey waterfront. Within hours a complete stoppage of the docks was achieved. The strike was reasonably orderly until the shipowners brought scores of the hated Pinkerton agents to the docks. They, together with police, succeeded in getting scabs through the coal-handlers' lines and increasing amounts of coal began to go through. The Knights, feeling the situation getting out of hand, only now approached a key group of men for support, the small union of Stationary Engineers who were burning scab coal every day. With a contract which ran until April these men were unwilling to sacrifice their own livelihoods for the broader cause. But the coal handlers' employers came to terms when other employees of one of the largest railways threatened to



strike. The Knights jubilantly declared the 'big strike' over, forgetting completely about the Old Dominion strikers and the fact that it was for their sake that the longshoremen had stopped work. The longshoremen, thoroughly disheartened at being abandoned by the Knights, rushed back to work. The shipowners immediately slashed pay. From that moment the Knights of Labour became a name 'which would evoke sneers and curses' on the waterfront for years to come. They had been idealistic, but totally impractical. And the disastrous outcome of their foray into dockland was disenchantment with unionism as a whole. Within a year after the end of the 'big strike' there was not one longshore organization left in the demoralized port of New York.

A further factor which delayed the return of strong union feeling to the waterfront was the influx of large numbers of Southern European immigrants, many of whom went to work on the piers and were willing to accept pay below even the pauper level already existing. Hostility flared between the mainly Irish established longshoremen and the Italians during the final decade of the nineteenth century. Both groups were extremely clannish, and they

fought long and fiercely for the right to work on New York's piers.

At the turn of the century hope rose anew for New York's waterfront workers. The young ITF, then known as the International Federation of Ship, Dock and River Workers, dispatched a Liverpool docker, Edward McHugh, to organize American longshoremen.* He was profoundly shocked by what he found; men 'treated like animals'. No wonder the dockers were eager to join any association that promised to aid them, and McHugh met with immediate success. A convention was held in January 1897 under a motto which forthrightly proclaimed 'All men are brothers!' Chief among its rules were bans on any distinction on grounds of 'race, creed, colour and nativity', a bold stand indeed in that age. The union, generally known as the McHugh Organization, began an immediate campaign for better wages and conditions and, without a strike, achieved a 15 cent increase on the rate for holiday work. Among their other aims were to establish stated times of hiring; to prevent

*Miss Russell writes that he was sent by the 'dock workers of England', but in fact it was the International Federation who took this decision. She may have been misled by the fact that the Federation's leadership was largely British at this time.



saloon-keepers from having any connection with paying longshoremen; and to obtain a half-day minimum wage. In these they were unsuccessful, but union spirit improved and membership grew rapidly. At its peak the McHugh Organization had twenty-one branches with a total of about 15,000 members, including at least 1,500 Italians. McHugh also started to organize in Philadelphia, and began to dream of a chain of locals the length of the Atlantic coast.

But the men's confidence in the Organization, with particular reference to its General Secretary, Frank J. Devlin, was to result in tragedy. Money collected in the locals was being handed to Devlin instead of to the Treasurer, and Devlin was an embezzler. This might have remained unnoticed, but for a sudden strike in Philadelphia. McHugh asked the New York organization to turn over its complete treasury—believed to be \$3,000—to Philadelphia. This was agreed—not without hot dispute—but the truth then came out: the union was bankrupt. The culprit had absconded and was never heard of again. Accountants hired to check the books obtained a court order for payment of their fees from union dues. The

dockers rebelled, and dodged this by dissolving the McHugh Organization and setting up a new union under the old name Longshoremen's Union Protective Association, LUPA. McHugh was angry at this avoidance of what he regarded as a just debt, and refused to have anything to do with the new organization, and later returned to England, disillusioned. American dockers had lost a fine leader, a man of vision and ideals, whose dreams have only now been brought to fruition.

The re-establishment of LUPA was a retrograde step for the dockers. Its rules were a throw-back to the days before the Knights, each branch being almost completely independent, and the organization was limited to New York. It grew slowly, and in 1906 lost the Italians who formed their own organization (ULUPA), after having been treated as second-class members of LUPA.

At the beginning of May 1907 a port-wide longshore strike started. This had begun as an Italian May Day demonstration and was approved at a LUPA meeting by a single vote. It was an ill-advised strike, with no formulation of grievances or demands, but was highly effective for a short time. There was rioting when the employers stepped up

their efforts to bring in scabs and with the help of the police—of course—organized them into effective working squads moving from pier to pier. Towards the end of May the employers made an offer of improved rates but LUPA, even though it was in a pretty desperate state by this time with no money and members being arrested daily, rejected it. After a further week they changed their minds, but the companies had the upper hand by now and they refused to negotiate. LUPA was forced to surrender, the strike was called off and another dispiriting defeat was added to the history of longshore organization.

The present-day union, the International Longshoremen's Association had its effective beginnings on the Great Lakes, under the leadership of a tug-boat worker called Dan Keefe. The first local was organized in Chicago in 1877 and the ILA was established in Detroit in 1892, when delegates from 11 ports gathered to endorse an ambitious plan of expansion. The new union quickly came into conflict with the American Federation of Labour over poaching, but it grew rapidly, and Keefe achieved a strong centralized and disciplined organization whose determination was accorded a healthy respect by the employers. He was a cautious man, however, and well realized that the strike weapon was not to be used injudiciously. By 1905 the union claimed 100,000 members, half on the Great Lakes and the rest scattered throughout the country, though there was no effective local in New York. Relations between the ILA and other maritime unions on the Lakes were never cordial and became extremely bitter when the ILA failed to support the other unions in a strike against the reactionary Lake Carriers' Association in 1909, which ended in defeat three years later. By that time the ILA was the only effective labour organization left on the Lakes. In 1911 the union had 242 locals on the Great Lakes; 34 on the Gulf of Mexico; 16 on the Atlantic Coast; seven on the Pacific Coast and six in Puerto Rico.



From this point the dominant influence gradually shifted eastward from the Lakes. A young man called Joe Ryan, later to become the ILA's leader, went to work on the New York docks in 1912. At that time a New York longshoreman earned from \$10 to \$12 a week, averaged over a year (a researcher in 1909 had estimated that an average New York family needed \$15 to \$18 to live decently); longshoremen were universally regarded with contempt; they were predominantly Irish and Italian, which did not help their image; they could be seen hanging about street corners and saloons, and the fact that they were obliged to do this to be sure of picking up any jobs which might become available was ignored by the public at large. The work was extremely dangerous, safety precautions were minimal, and compensation for serious injury or death either did not exist or was ridiculously inadequate.

The seeds of corruption in the port of New York were being sown by men who sought to dominate the union organization there for their own opportunist ends; at this time they failed to make much headway, but formed an organization, the United Cargo Workers, which encouraged corrupt

practices on the few docks which it controlled. These were aggravated by the introduction of prohibition, when the smuggling of contraband liquor onto New York's piers promoted the growth of harbour gangsterism.

The ILA, like all trade unions, had a hard time in the depression years of the 'twenties and 'thirties. Work was short but manpower was plentiful, and only the strongest organizations could survive. President Roosevelt's New Deal and the happier atmosphere which it introduced saw an unprecedented revival in the ILA's membership. Joe Ryan, by this time ILA's President, had pursued a policy of letting the locals have almost complete autonomy. This, whilst undoubtedly a democratic attitude, was to result in trouble with dockers on the Pacific Coast. A strike had started in 1934 in protest against the companies' refusal to recognize the ILA as a bargaining agent. In the Northwestern ports the strike was conducted along straight trade union lines. But in San Francisco it was a different story. Ryan found that a joint strike committee from the ILA, and unions representing the sailors, marine firemen and oilers, masters, mates and pilots, marine cooks and stewards and marine

engineers, had voted not to accept any contract for longshoremen until all the other organizations had also secured agreements. Ryan tried to explain that since only the ILA was a fully certified bargaining agent the dispute would probably continue indefinitely, but he was shouted down. He became convinced that the strike committee was communist-dominated.

Things came to a head again two years later when plans were being made to co-ordinate bargaining for new contracts on a nation-wide basis. Representatives from North Atlantic, Gulf and Pacific ports agreed to support each other as far as possible and to embody the same demands for wage increases and improvements in conditions in the new contracts. But Bridges, the communist leader of the Pacific delegation, insisted that no matter how good an agreement was secured for the Pacific longshoremen, they would not sign a contract until all other maritime unions on the Pacific had won satisfactory agreements.

Inevitably, the worst happened. When negotiations took place with the employers, the Atlantic and Gulf Coast members approved new contracts, but the Pacific Coast leadership refused to do so until the other maritime unions had sorted themselves out. On 1 October a 98-day strike of Pacific Coast maritime workers began. The longshoremen accused the other two districts of double-crossing them when they failed to support the strike, and Bridges went east to try to win rank-and-file support. Some trouble ensued, with agitators stirring things up in a number of Atlantic and Gulf ports, but there was no major support for the strikers. On 5 February 1937 the strike was called off, on terms very similar to the agreements won peacefully months before by the other districts. But the final break came in August 1937 when Bridges was issued a charter by the Committee for Industrial Organization (CIO), a rival to the AFL, under the name of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union. The split became permanent the

following year when the new union was approved as the bargaining agent for the entire Pacific coast.

During the Second World War longshoremen, their numbers depleted, contributed tremendously to the war effort. Meanwhile, mechanization was at last making its mark on the piers. While labour was short, everyone welcomed the introduction of improved cargo-handling methods, but few realized at that time that this factor was to be a source of conflict during the post-war years. After the war the union made slow but steady economic progress. But storms were ahead. An 'exposé' of gangsterism and corruption in New York's harbours was published in the *New York Sun* during 1949. Although undoubtedly these reports revealed some situations which could not be tolerated and which required remedies, the whole tone was grossly exaggerated and the overall picture was far from the truth. However, the affair blew up into a national scandal which provided fuel for anti-labour forces for many months.

Crisis point was reached in 1951 when a committee of inquiry was set up to look into the circumstances of a wildcat strike which erupted after a contract had been signed to which many New York longshoremen objected. Charges of ballot-rigging and other highly questionable procedures were brought forward, and the wide-ranging inquiry found that there was an immediate need for reform in certain areas of union activity. Voting was shown to have been fraudulently conducted in the locals, and headquarters had been extremely negligent in gathering the results of the poll. The terms of the agreement had been insufficiently publicized. The inquiry also discovered locals where democratic control was non-existent. But Ryan reacted as if he was under personal attack and was highly reluctant to instigate the necessary reforms.

At this point the New York Crime Commission stepped in. This body was the creation of Governor Thomas Dewey, and its public hearings and the



attendant carefully arranged publicity which created the impression that the ILA was on trial. The story which came out of the Commission's 'investigation' would lead one to suppose that New York harbour was a cesspool of crime, that ILA officials were criminals, swindlers and murderers, dominating a gangster empire with guns and cargo hooks. The affair was carefully stage-managed to give just that impression, although the facts never justified it. Ryan was charged with moral responsibility for allowing criminals to operate on the waterfront; with being in the pay of the employers; and with misappropriating union funds for his own use. The last was the only criminal charge against him, and, legally, he was innocent of it. But he had been lax in his financial accounting and although plainly no embezzler — there was no attempt to 'cook the books' — had acted foolishly.

In 1953 the Waterfront Commission of the New York Harbour was born out of the 'findings' of the Crime Commission. The Waterfront Commission's powers were sweeping. Its task was to clean up the waterfront. To do this it was enabled to register and fingerprint every longshoreman and determine his

eligibility for work. It could inquire into his private life, issue him with a pass to the docks and revoke this at its pleasure. It could forbid employment to any man 'whose presence at the piers or other waterfront terminals . . . is found by the Commission . . . to constitute a danger to public peace or safety'. This body, set up as a temporary measure to meet an emergency situation, still exists today, despite continuous union pressure for its abolition.

Subjected to enormous pressure, the AFL suspended the ILA and with powerful and wealthy backing set up a new union, the International Brotherhood of Longshoremen, IBL, which was designed to replace it. In the representation elections which were held in December 1953 the ILA won an overwhelming victory against the IBL. Immediately attempts were made to show that the election had 'been conducted in an atmosphere of 'terror, coercion and intimidation'. Again the headlines screamed against the ILA. Violence flared again on the waterfront in March 1954 as animosity between ILA men and the supporters of the new union came to a head. An injunction prevented ILA officials from declaring their open support for the strikers. The

authorities exercised incredible brutality against the wildcatters, yet they soon had 80 per cent of the port shut down. Even men who had defected to the IBL were shocked at the lengths resorted to to bring in strikebreakers.

During the last week of March the ILA leadership defied the injunction and declared the strike official, and immediately Governor Dewey set in motion what the *New York Times* described as the 'vast powers of the Federal and the state governments . . . to smash the strike'. Twenty-eight separate legal moves were taken against the ILA including: an investigation of alleged 'criminal conspiracy' by dockworkers to prevent strikebreakers from working, for which dozens of subpoenas were issued; injunctions against tugboat men who were now walking out in support if the ILA strike; an investigation of alleged 'conspiracy' between the ILA and the shippers to 'restrain trade'. Still the strike held firm, until the National Labour Relations Board set aside the results of the December elections and ordered a new vote. This ended the strike, since the ILA was warned that otherwise it would be banned from taking part in the ballot.

Before the ballot took place on 26 May the ILA and the individual defendants lost the first round of every legal battle. Fines and terms of imprisonment were imposed, and although every conviction was later to be reversed by higher courts, this was little consolation

just before the vital representation election. Anti-ILA forces rejoiced, but their glee was premature. On the morning of 27 May the result was announced: the ILA had won over the IBL, by a narrow majority—9,110 votes for the ILA, 8,781 for the IBL. From that day the IBL went into decline, and although a further election was forced in 1956 the ILA's victory was so resounding that little was heard of the IBL again. Its only influence remains in the Great Lakes area.

Since those troubled times the ILA, first under Capt. William Bradley and since 1963 under Thomas 'Teddy' Gleason, has gone from strength to strength. Its latest contract, negotiated last year after a prolonged strike, takes into account the new situation created by advanced mechanization. It provides long-range security for the waterfront workers. The contract is for four years covering all ILA members in Atlantic and Gulf Coast ports. With effect from October 1964, it brought a substantial increase in take home pay and fringe benefits. Special detailed provisions for New York dockers include a carefully phased reduction in the 20-man work gang; this was reduced by three men after April 1966. In return the employers guaranteed 1,600 hours of work or pay after that date for every man who worked at least 700 hours during the previous twelve months. This was the first time a guaranteed annual wage had ever been negotiated for waterfront

workers, a revolutionary development in an industry where fluctuating employment is the rule.

Miss Russell describes the election of the ILA's present leader in these words: 'Clearly, Gleason was the man for the job. Shrewd and not easily deceived, he had proved himself to be a tough and canny bargainer. As an organizer, no man had done more to hold the union together at its time of crisis. His record was above question and he could deal effectively with government officials. Then too, Gleason was a man of the docks by family background . . . Gleason's ability, background and character made his election to the union's highest office a certainty.' She adds: 'Teddy Gleason is ordinarily a man willing to make compromises, but on two subjects he is unbending: racial rights in the labour movement and his opposition to communism.' She cites the ILA's refusal to handle communist cargo, and its boycott of those trading with Cuba and the Viet Cong. Since Gleason began his administration he has attempted to eliminate racial discrimination in the union's practices. He has appointed Negro employees at ILA head office and has refused to grant charters to new locals organized on racial lines.

Miss Russell concludes: 'For more than a century and a half the men of America's harbours have waged a hard and sometimes losing battle to gain security for themselves and their families in an uncertain industry. They have been handicapped by myths, illusions, and sinister stereotypes. In a hundred-year period they progressed inch by inch, and their really major victories have been won only in recent years. In a brief time they and their union have changed as radically as the waterfront itself . . . But in the future, as in the past, a certain type of men will inevitably be drawn there—men who are brawny and energetic, who take pride in the very hazards and hardships of the work, and who find an expression of themselves in the activity of the great harbours—an unending sense of excitement and achievement in the coming and going of ships.'



International Transport Workers' Federation

General Secretary: HANS IMHOF

President: HANS DÜBY

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
- 339 affiliated organizations in 84 countries
- Total membership: 6,500,000

The aims of the ITF are

to support the 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 peoples in freedom and equality for the promotion of their welfare by the common use of the world's resources;

to seek universal recognition and enforcement of the right to organize in trade unions;

to defend and promote, internationally, the economic, social and occupational interests of all transport workers;

to represent 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
Bermuda * Bolivia * Brazil * British Honduras * Burma
Canada * Chile * Colombia * Congo * Costa Rica * Curaçao
Cyprus * Denmark * Dominican Republic * Ecuador
Estonia (Exile) * Faroe Islands * Finland * France * Gambia
Germany * Great Britain * Greece * Grenada * Guatemala
Guyana * Honduras * Hong Kong * Iceland * India
Indonesia * Israel * Italy * Jamaica * Japan * Jordan * Kenya
Lebanon * Liberia * Libya * Luxembourg * Madagascar
Malawi * Malaya * Malta * Mauritius * Mexico * The
Netherlands * New Zealand * Nicaragua * Nigeria * Norway
Pakistan * Panama * Paraguay * Peru * Philippines * Poland
(Exile) * Republic of Ireland * Republic of Korea * Rhodesia
St. Lucia * Senegal * Sierra Leone * South Africa * South
Vietnam * Spain (Illegal Underground Movement) * Sweden
Switzerland * Taiwan * Trinidad * Tunisia * Turkey * Uganda
United Arab Republic * United States of America * Uruguay
Venezuela * Zambia

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Internationale Transportarbeiter-Zeitung

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