

AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT  
**PROJECT DATA SHEET**

1. TRANSACTION CODE  
 A = Add  
 C = Change  
 D = Delete  
 Amendment Number \_\_\_\_\_

DOCUMENT CODE  
3

2. COUNTRY/ENTITY  
Africa Regional

3. PROJECT NUMBER  
698-0442

4. BUREAU/OFFICE  
AFR/RA 06

5. PROJECT TITLE (maximum 40 characters)  
African Labor Development II

6. PROJECT ASSISTANCE COMPLETION DATE (PACD)  
MM DD YY  
12 31 89

7. ESTIMATED DATE OF OBLIGATION  
(Under 'B' below, enter 1, 2, 3, or 4)  
 A. Initial FY 85 B. Quarter 2 C. Final FY 89

8. COSTS (\$000 OR EQUIVALENT \$1 = )

A. FUNDING SOURCE	FIRST FY 85			LIFE OF PROJECT		
	B. FX	C. L/C	D. Total	E. FX	F. L/C	G. Total
AID Appropriated Total	3,688	-	3,688	19,000	-	19,000
(Grant)	( 3,688 )	( - )	( 3,688 )	( 19,000 )	( - )	( 19,000 )
(Loan)	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
Other U.S. 1.						
Other U.S. 2.						
Host Country						
Other Donor(s)						
<b>TOTALS</b>	<b>3,688</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>3,688</b>	<b>19,000</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>19,000</b>

9. SCHEDULE OF AID FUNDING (\$000)

A. APPROPRIATION	B. PRIMARY PURPOSE CODE	C. PRIMARY TECH CODE		D. OBLIGATIONS TO DATE		E. AMOUNT APPROVED THIS ACTION		F. LIFE OF PROJECT	
		1. Grant	2. Loan	1. Grant	2. Loan	1. Grant	2. Loan	1. Grant	2. Loan
(1) EH	664	730		-0-		3,688		19,000	
(2)									
(3)									
(4)									
<b>TOTALS</b>				<b>-0-</b>		<b>3,688</b>		<b>19,000</b>	

10. SECONDARY TECHNICAL CODES (maximum 6 codes of 3 positions each)  
700

11. SECONDARY PURPOSE CODE  
600

12. SPECIAL CONCERNS CODES (maximum 7 codes of 4 positions each)

A. Code 31  
B. Amount 19,000

13. PROJECT PURPOSE (maximum 480 characters)

To strengthen free labor unions in Africa to the point where they become self-managed, democratic and financially self-sufficient with capability to represent the interests of their workers with employers and government.

14. SCHEDULED EVALUATIONS

Interim MM YY MM YY Final MM YY  
02 87 02 89

15. SOURCE/ORIGIN OF GOODS AND SERVICES  
 000  941  Local  Other (Specify) \_\_\_\_\_

16. AMENDMENTS/NATURE OF CHANGE PROPOSED (This is page 1 of a \_\_\_\_\_ page PP Amendment.)

17. APPROVED BY  
 Signature: William H. Taylor, Jr.  
 Title: Director, AFR/TA  
 Date Signed: MM DD YY 12/2/89

18. DATE DOCUMENT RECEIVED IN AID/W, OR FOR AID/W DOCUMENTS, DATE OF DISTRIBUTION  
 MM DD YY 12/12/89



# African-American Labor Center

Centre Afro-Américain du Travail • المركز الأفريقي الأمريكي للعمل

1400 K STREET, N.W. • SUITE 700 • WASHINGTON, DC 20005

TEL. (202) 789-1020 • CABLE: AFAM LABOR WSH • TWX: 710-822-1115

LANE KIRKLAND *President, Chairman of the Board* • FREDERICK O'NEAL *Secretary-Treasurer* • PATRICK J. O'FARRELL *Executive Director*

December 5, 1984

HAND-DELIVERED

Mr. Jerry Wood  
Senior Project Officer  
Office of Africa Regional Affairs  
Agency for International Development  
Room 4533/NS  
Washington, D.C. 20523

Dear Jerry:

Enclosed is AALC's revised budget summary reflecting the new total of **\$3,688,000**. Also included is a more extensive description of the evaluation procedure to be used in assessing the effectiveness of AALC programs.

We are in the process of making the necessary budgetary adjustments in the Country Labor Program Summary. We will deliver this document along with the budget figures calculated according to AID's format as soon as possible.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

John N. Gould  
Assistant Director

PST:ckl

Enclosure a/s

## BOARD OF DIRECTORS

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11'

## PROGRAM DESCRIPTION

### A. PURPOSE OF GRANT REQUEST

The purpose of this grant request is to obtain support for an AALC program directed toward strengthening free and democratic trade unions in Africa. The details of the AALC's program are contained in the Country Labor Program Summary Outline which is attached hereto and made a part hereof.

### B. SPECIFIC OBJECTIVES

The specific objectives of this grant request are:

To develop and strengthen free and democratic trade unions in Africa. The purpose of this program supported by AID is to strengthen these labor movements through the provision of services, training, and appropriate materials to the disadvantaged elements of the population through labor, cooperative, and credit union movements. The improvement of conditions of the laboring populations of these countries is an essential component of both the development and nation building process and contributes to the growth of equity in these societies.

AALC has unique capabilities, special competence, resources, and knowledge to undertake these types of activities and does so through sponsoring and/or conducting labor programs on either a resident or non-resident basis in Botswana, Ghana, Kenya, Lesotho, Liberia, Mauritius, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Sudan, South Africa, Togo, Zaire, Zambia, and Zimbabwe. Ten to fifteen additional African countries also receive limited assistance through AALC-sponsored ITS programs and impact projects.

The AALC will help labor movements in these countries to plan, develop, implement or improve:

1. Free labor institutions such as trade unions, cooperatives, and credit unions as well as other labor-related national or local institutions as may be appropriate.
2. Worker education, trade union research and journalism.
3. Literacy, leadership and advanced training programs.
4. Women's programs in earning income producing projects and maternal and child care.
5. Community service projects.
6. Cooperative and credit union education and the development of cooperative programs through the provision of expertise, capital and equipment.

C. PROGRAM PLANNING, BUDGETING, AND EVALUATION

The AALC agrees to maintain a high level of programming and planning expertise as well as technical and administrative competence for setting goals, time frames and achievement criteria which guide it in carrying out its objective of aiding free trade union development. AALC agrees to a "management by objectives" approach in its program. AALC's program strategies will be drawn up in the Country Labor Plans (CLPs) which contain background information on the local labor scene, feasibility judgements and recommendations for specific programs and project categories to be carried out on the basis of the wishes of the aid recipients, prevailing local political sensitivities and available resources. The CLPs will be drawn up by AALC program specialists and budget officers following careful field investigations, consultations with the local unions and labor authorities. They will be reviewed by the Embassies and the AIL missions. The time frame of the CLPs will usually be five years. Occasionally activities in some countries may be limited to special, single short-term projects.

An integral and important part of AALC programming is a review and evaluation process which assures that programs continue to meet the needs and objectives for which they were designed and that they will be adjusted to changing circumstances and priorities. The CLPs will be annually reviewed for their effectiveness in terms of verifiable indicators of progress towards set objectives. Such indicators would include, for example, improved competence of the personnel receiving training and technical assistance, increasing readiness of the aid recipients to assume charge of AALC initiated programs, diminishing dependence on AALC or other outside support, increased membership and dues income, etc.

On the basis of these annual reviews, the country programs will then be adjusted and amended in the form of yearly program and budget outlines. Both the Five-year Country Plans and the recommendations contained in the Annual CLPs will be submitted to AID/Washington. AID/Washington will then forward them to the Embassies and AID Country Missions for review as part of the grant funding process.

D. IMPLEMENTATION

To achieve the above objectives, the AALC will carry out the following activities with funds provided by this grant:

1. AALC will:
  - a. implement a programming approach which is output specific and is reflected in the individual country plans submitted annually;
  - b. annually conduct a self-evaluation of all program activities undertaken under this grant to obtain program objectives.
2. AALC will:
  - a. continue to staff and maintain country offices as appropriate to implement its program activities;

- b. undertake appropriate surveys and other activities to develop five-year country plans, evaluations and other studies as necessary;
  - c. seek to obtain cooperation and financial and other support from other unions and international organizations for activities carried out under this grant and shall reflect the type of support received in its annual report;
  - d. provide participant training in the United States and in third countries;
  - e. provide assistance to certain AFL-CIO affiliated unions and international trade secretariats in support of its program objectives as set forth in the Annual Country Labor Plan;
  - f. provide consultation to AID/W, appropriate U.S. Embassies and AID Missions regarding labor affairs in Africa.
3. AALC will annually submit in writing, using an agreed-upon reporting format, a proposed program and budget for approval by AID/Washington sixty days prior to the expiration of the Annual Country Labor Plan. Annual Country Labor Plans will generally run from January 1 through December 31 of the same year. AALC will submit copies of its Annual Country Labor Plan to AID/W.
4. The AALC's 1985 program budget is attached for reference.

#### E. EVALUATION

Since 1977, the African-American Labor Center has used certain criteria against which to measure the effectiveness of its activities in Africa. These criteria rarely can be measured in quantitative terms; rather, they lend themselves to a more subjective and interpretative form of analysis. For example, in assessing the overall effectiveness of AALC assistance programs, such objectives as trade union growth and maturity, the ability of the union to command respect and attention, the union's effectiveness in dealing with employers and government, and its success in servicing the rank and file all tend to defy quantification. So that these objectives can be refined and AALC staff, host unions, and AID/US Embassy personnel can begin to measure more precisely the effectiveness of AALC programs, any evaluation should include answers to the following questions:

Viability of the labor movement: Has the labor movement grown in internal strength and ability to sustain itself? Has its overall financial position (and/or prospects) changed? How favorable is the overall future outlook for the labor movement?

Union effectiveness: What has happened to the labor center's ability to serve its constituent unions? Has the central authority and decision-making ability of the labor movement been increased? Is there greater efficiency in communication between the central body and the national unions, and/or between the national unions and their constituent branches? Are the unions becoming more efficient in providing basic services to their membership, e.g., in collective bargaining and grievance handling? Are the unions making progress in secondary services, e.g., medical programs, co-ops, literacy, etc?

Union acceptance: Has the labor movement gained increased acceptance within the government as a constructive force with legitimate economic and social objectives? Has the trade union movement been invited to participate with greater frequency, or in more influential ways, on governmental bodies considering questions relevant to the trade unions and their membership? Has the labor movement gained greater acceptance with management? Has the labor movement gained increasing general acceptance by workers?

Leadership capabilities: Have there been indications of greater leadership maturity? Have union officials provided with educational opportunities over the past year-made any valuable contributions to the labor movement that are attributable to that training? Has the union increased its own education programs and capability to administer them?

Labor unity: What has been the relation of AALC programs to: (1) competition for leadership of the trade union; (2) the tendency to splinter the movement; or (3) trade union unity?

Destructive influences: Is there a growing presence of external forces trying to utilize the labor movement for their own political purposes? If so, what is the relation of AALC programming to such external forces and to labor's susceptibility to them? Has the leadership shown an awareness of these threats?

Industrial relations Has the collective bargaining strength of the national unions been increased. How many more workers this year are covered by collective bargaining agreements than last year. Has there been a change in the level and number of industrial disputes? Is the local leadership able to maintain the support of the rank-and-file membership?

Dues income: Has there been a rise in dues income at the national and local levels? Has check-off been negotiated or provided by law?

Using these criteria, the AALC will evaluate its activities through two separate but complementary mechanisms:

1. An ongoing country program assessment which is included in the annual report submitted to AID/W within 90 days after the expiration of the annual reporting period.
2. A joint AALC/AID on-site evaluation every two years. Both procedures will attempt to determine the degree to which the objectives and goals of the grant have been attained, and, using the above criteria, to measure and compare indicators of union activity and progress.

The country labor program (CLP) assessment will monitor and review progress in meeting the specific objectives outlined in the grant proposal. The assessment will include resident AALC staff, host country labor organization staff, and the optional participation of USAID/Embassy personnel. It will build upon AALC's own internal reporting and evaluation process which consists of weekly reports to AALC headquarters and an overall analysis of the country program during AALC's annual staff conference. In addition, the

CLP assessment, in reviewing activities to date, will recommend any adjustments which may be caused by changing circumstances and priorities. The assessment should provide sufficient objective data and insights to take remedial actions, for example:

1. Revise objectives upward (or downward);
2. Provide additional (or less) manpower and/or other resources;
3. Adjust to a longer (or shorter) time period for completion;
4. Revise standards of performance;
5. Eliminate program entirely;
6. Change program management.

Every two years following the submission of annual reports from the field, an AALC/AID team will visit selected countries to undertake an external evaluation of the entire program. This evaluation would identify issues, review country annual reports, and generally assess the effectiveness of AALC programs as a whole.

The evaluation team will include one AALC representative, one AID representative, and a team leader selected mutually. The Department of State could assign an observer to accompany the evaluation team.

The program evaluation team would assess overall program objectives and accomplishments as well as policy issues. It also would review the functioning of AALC's internal assessment procedures. Rather than focus on individual country labor programs, this exercise would provide a systemic overview of the AALC's entire assistance program.

F. RELATIONSHIP OF AALC, AID AND THE COOPERATING COUNTRY

1. AALC will work through appropriate host country labor organizations in planning and carrying out mutually acceptable programs. Such programs will be undertaken with the knowledge and consent of the host government.
2. AID liaison shall be conducted by an appropriate official of the U.S. Embassy or U.S. AID Mission as designated by the Ambassador.
3. AALC understands that AID has developed policy guidelines to be utilized in the Embassies and Missions to assess and evaluate the AALC program, to ensure that AID funds are used for the purposes intended and that AID grant requirements are being fulfilled in the administration and management of AALC programs.

G. REPORTS

1. AALC shall submit copies of its annual report to AID/W. This report shall be analytical and evaluative, and contain accomplishments for the current period and goals for the ensuing period with the identification of problem areas and expected solutions. The report shall be submitted to AID/Washington 90 days after completion of the Annual Country Labor Plan.
2. AALC shall prepare and submit such special reports with numbers of copies and deadlines as AID may require.

H. BUDGETS

The funds provided herein shall be used to finance the programs set forth in the AALC programs as mentioned in paragraph A above. A summary budget for the program to be undertaken during the period will be included as part of the Annual Country Labor Plan.

AALC 1985 REVISED BUDGET SUMMARY

PA 01	HEADQUARTERS	\$1,065,019
PA 02	IMPACT PROJECTS	268,000
PA 09	ITS ACTIVITIES	187,500
PA 15	BOTSWANA/LESOTHO/SWAZILAND	204,200
PA 16	KENYA	347,256
PA 19	CREDE	80,000
PA 22	CO-OPS	82,600
PA 27	SIERRA LEONE	147,460
PA 28	IAHES	247,835
PA 29	GHANA	228,485
PA 30	LIBERIA	131,400
PA 32	TOGO	50,000
PA 34	MAURITIUS	178,520
PA 39	ZAIRE	256,700
PA 50	ZIMBABWE	198,025
PA 54	SUDAN	<u>15,000</u>
	<b>GRAND TOTAL</b>	<b>\$3,688,000</b>

ESH:ckl  
Revised 12/5/84

**SUMMARY OF PROJECTED AALC EXPENDITURES/1985-89**

<u>Year</u>	<u>Technical Services</u>	<u>Commodities</u>	<u>Participants</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>Total</u>
1985	\$ 2,119,550	\$ 528,762	\$ 826,643	\$ 213,045	\$ 3,688,000
1986	2,591,228	681,902	1,000,123	272,761	4,546,014
1987	2,702,849	711,276	1,043,205	284,511	4,741,841
1988	2,827,027	743,955	1,091,133	297,582	4,959,697
1989	<u>2,944,857</u>	<u>774,962</u>	<u>1,136,611</u>	<u>309,985</u>	<u>5,166,415</u>
TOTAL	\$ 13,185,511	\$ 3,440,857	\$ 5,097,715	\$ 1,377,884	\$ 23,101,967

### SUMMARY OF PROJECTED AALC EXPENDITURES/1985

<u>Quarter</u>	<u>Technical Services</u>	<u>Commodities</u>	<u>Participants</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>Total</u>
1st	\$ 529,888	\$ 132,190	\$ 206,660	\$ 53,261	\$921,999
2nd	529,887	132,191	206,661	53,262	922,001
3rd	529,888	132,190	206,661	53,261	922,000
4th	<u>529,887</u>	<u>132,191</u>	<u>206,661</u>	<u>53,261</u>	<u>922,000</u>
	\$ 2,119,550	\$ 528,762	\$ 826,643	\$213,045	\$ 3,688,000

**PROJECTED AALC EXPENDITURES/1985**

	<u>Technical Services</u>	<u>Commodities</u>	<u>Participants</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>Total</u>
PA 1	\$870,900	\$94,119	—	\$100,000	\$1,065,019
PA 2	—	68,000	\$200,000	—	268,000
PA 9		37,500	150,000	—	187,500
PA 15	107,520	46,880	39,000	10,800	204,200
PA 16	233,725	38,388	38,143	37,000	347,256
PA 19	52,000	5,000	8,000	15,000	80,000
PA 22	31,000	16,200	35,400	—	82,600
PA 27	98,710	22,750	25,000	1,000	147,460
PA 28	117,835	7,000	123,000	—	247,835
PA 29	135,485	34,000	34,000	25,000	228,485
PA 30	110,175	4,925	14,500	1,800	131,400
PA 32	—	44,000	6,000	—	50,000
PA 34	122,520	10,500	29,500	16,000	178,520
PA 39	134,255	64,500	51,500	6,445	256,700
PA 50	105,425	35,000	57,600	—	198,025
PA 52	—	—	15,000	—	15,000
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>\$2,119,550</b>	<b>\$528,762</b>	<b>\$826,643</b>	<b>\$213,045</b>	<b>\$3,688,000</b>

**PROJECTED AALC EXPENDITURES: 1st Quarter/1985**

	<u>Technical Services</u>	<u>Commodities</u>	<u>Participants</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>Total</u>
PA 1	\$217,725	\$23,530	—	\$25,000	\$266,255
PA 2	—	17,000	\$50,000	—	67,000
PA 9	—	9,375	37,500	—	46,875
PA 15	26,880	11,720	9,750	2,700	51,050
PA 16	58,431	9,597	9,536	9,250	86,814
PA 19	13,000	1,250	2,000	3,750	20,000
PA 22	7,750	4,050	8,850	—	20,650
PA 27	24,677	5,687	6,250	250	36,864
PA 28	29,459	1,750	30,750	—	61,959
PA 29	33,871	8,500	8,500	6,250	57,121
PA 30	27,544	1,231	3,625	450	32,850
PA 32	—	11,000	1,500	—	12,500
PA 34	30,630	2,625	7,375	4,000	44,630
PA 39	33,564	16,125	12,874	1,611	64,174
PA 50	26,357	8,750	14,400	—	49,507
PA 52	—	—	3,750	—	3,750
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>\$529,888</b>	<b>\$132,190</b>	<b>\$206,660</b>	<b>\$53,261</b>	<b>\$921,999</b>

**PROJECTED AALC EXPENDITURES: 2nd Quarter/1985**

	<u>Technical Services</u>	<u>Commodities</u>	<u>Participants</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>Total</u>
PA 1	\$217,725	\$23,530	—	\$25,000	\$266,255
PA 2	—	17,000	\$50,000	—	67,000
PA 9	—	9,375	37,500	—	46,875
PA 15	26,880	11,720	9,750	2,700	51,050
PA 16	58,431	9,597	9,536	9,250	86,814
PA 19	13,000	1,250	2,000	3,750	20,000
PA 22	7,750	4,050	8,850	—	20,650
PA 27	24,677	5,687	6,250	250	36,864
PA 28	29,459	1,750	30,750	—	61,959
PA 29	33,871	8,500	8,500	6,250	57,121
PA 30	27,544	1,231	3,625	450	32,850
PA 32	—	11,000	1,500	—	12,500
PA 34	30,630	2,625	7,375	4,000	44,630
PA 39	33,564	16,125	12,874	1,612	64,175
PA 50	26,356	8,751	14,401	—	49,508
PA 52	—	—	3,750	—	3,750
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>\$529,887</b>	<b>\$132,191</b>	<b>\$206,661</b>	<b>\$53,262</b>	<b>\$922,001</b>

**PROJECTED AALC EXPENDITURES: 3rd Quarter/1985**

	<u>Technical Services</u>	<u>Commodities</u>	<u>Participants</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>Total</u>
PA 1	\$217,725	\$23,530	—	\$25,000	\$266,255
PA 2	—	17,000	\$50,000	—	67,000
PA 9	—	9,375	37,500	—	46,875
PA 15	26,880	11,720	9,750	2,700	51,030
PA 16	58,431	9,597	9,536	9,250	86,814
PA 19	13,000	1,250	2,000	3,750	20,000
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PA 34	30,630	2,625	7,375	4,000	44,630
PA 39	33,564	16,125	12,874	1,611	64,175
PA 50	26,357	8,750	14,401	—	49,508
PA 52	—	—	3,750	—	3,750
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>\$529,888</b>	<b>\$132,190</b>	<b>\$206,661</b>	<b>\$53,261</b>	<b>\$922,000</b>

**PROJECTED AALC EXPENDITURES: 4th Quarter/1985**

	<u>Technical Services</u>	<u>Commodities</u>	<u>Participants</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>Total</u>
PA 1	\$217,725	\$23,530	—	\$25,000	\$266,255
PA 2	—	17,000	\$50,000	—	67,000
PA 9	—	9,375	37,500	—	46,875
PA 15	26,880	11,720	9,750	2,700	51,050
PA 16	58,431	9,597	9,536	9,250	86,814
PA 19	13,000	1,250	2,000	2,750	20,000
PA 22	7,750	4,050	8,850	—	20,650
PA 27	24,677	5,687	6,250	250	36,864
PA 28	29,459	1,750	30,750	—	61,959
PA 29	33,871	8,500	8,500	6,250	57,121
PA 30	27,544	1,231	3,625	450	32,850
PA 32	—	11,000	1,500	—	12,500
PA 34	30,630	2,625	7,375	4,000	44,630
PA 39	33,564	16,125	12,874	1,611	64,174
PA 50	26,356	8,751	14,401	—	49,508
PA 52	—	—	3,750	—	3,750
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>\$529,887</b>	<b>\$132,191</b>	<b>\$206,661</b>	<b>\$53,261</b>	<b>\$922,000</b>

**AFRICAN-AMERICAN LABOR CENTER**

**COUNTRY LABOR PROGRAM SUMMARY: 1985-1989**

**AND**

**1985 BUDGET REQUEST**

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

		PAGE NO.
PA 01	HEADQUARTERS BUDGET.....	1
PA 02	IMPACT PROJECTS.....	4
PA 09	ITS ACTIVITIES.....	5
PA 15	BOTSWANA/LESOTHO/SWAZILAND.....	6
PA 16	KENYA.....	19
PA 19	REGIONAL ECONOMIC RESEARCH AND DOCUMENTATION CENTER (CREDE).....	26
PA 22	REGIONAL COOPERATIVES AND CREDIT UNIONS.....	32
PA 27	SIERRA LEONE.....	37
PA 28	AFRICAN INSTITUTE FOR HIGHER TRADE UNION STUDIES.....	42
PA 29	GHANA.....	49
PA 30	LIBERIA.....	56
PA 32	TOGO.....	62
PA 34	MAURITIUS.....	67
PA 39	ZAIRE.....	73
PA 50	ZIMBABWE.....	83
PA 52	SUDAN.....	90

HEADQUARTERS BUDGET

BUDGET SUMMARY FOR 1985

	<u>1985</u>	<u>1986</u>	<u>1987</u>	<u>1988</u>	<u>1985</u>
Salaries, Administrative & Support Personnel (Schedule 1)	\$494,700	\$519,435	\$545,407	\$572,677	\$601,311
Program Development Specialist (Schedule 2)	36,000	37,800	39,690	41,675	43,758
Fringe Benefits (Schedule 3)	247,900	260,295	273,310	286,975	301,324
Travel (Schedule 4)	92,300	96,915	101,761	106,849	112,191
Other Direct Costs (Schedule 5)	<u>194,119</u>	<u>249,585</u>	<u>262,064</u>	<u>275,167</u>	<u>288,926</u>
<b>TOTAL HEADQUARTERS BUDGET</b>	<b>\$1,065,019</b>	<b>\$1,164,030</b>	<b>\$1,222,232</b>	<b>\$1,283,343</b>	<b>\$1,347,510</b>

	<u>Man/Month</u>	<u>Salary</u>
Executive Director	12	\$63,800
Assistant Director	12	63,800
Controller	12	45,400
Director-Education Training & Research	12	55,400
Program Officer	36	105,300
Executive Secretary	12	28,500
Bi-lingual Secretary	6	12,200
Bookkeeper	20	40,200
Secretary	20	32,000
Receptionist	12	16,600
Publications & Reports Officer	<u>12</u>	<u>31,500</u>
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>166</b>	<b>\$494,700</b>

SCHEDULE 2

Program Development Specialist (salary)	12	\$36,000
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SCHEDULE 3

Payroll Taxes		\$34,200
Life, Health & Medical Insurance		44,000
Workmen's Compensation & Unemployment Premiums		28,400
Accident Insurance		2,000
Pension & Retirement Plan		<u>\$139,300</u>
<b>TOTAL</b>		<b>\$247,900</b>

SCHEDULE 4

U.S. Travel		\$9,700
U.S. Per Diem		5,600
International Travel		40,000
International Per Diem		<u>37,000</u>
<b>TOTAL</b>		<b>\$92,300</b>

SCHEDULE 5

Rent		\$100,000
Visas, Permits, Innoculations		3,060
Supplies		31,763
Maintenance		4,148
Communications		22,644
Books/Publications		7,684

SCHEDULE 5 CONT'D

Professional Fees	\$10,880
Seminars/Meetings	2,108
Consultants	6,120
Miscellaneous	2,176
Shipping	<u>3,536</u>
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>\$194,119</b>

PA 02 - IMPACT PROJECTS

A. GOAL

To assist in the development of democratic, effective trade union organizations in various African states by providing educational and other material assistance on an ad hoc, immediate basis.

B. TRADE UNION SITUATION

African political and trade union situations continue to change in a rapid, unpredictable manner. It is impossible to anticipate such shifts in regimes and ideologies which often provide unexpected opportunities for action and urgent requests for assistance from labor movements. Given the number of national trade unions and countries on the African continent, it is equally impossible to develop full scale programs with every friendly, potentially democratic movement seeking aid for their priority organization building projects.

These problems of timing and scope of activities require a fund to be used for rapid, unanticipated, one-time assistance to trade unions. Such individual impact projects are generally small, normally not exceeding \$50,000 but may have special emphasis at a critical or opportune time.

C. PAST AALC ACTIVITIES

Since its creation, AALC has implemented over 450 different impact projects in about 40 African countries. These one-time activities have averaged \$15-\$20,000 each and provided education, training, equipment, construction, travel, supplies, etc., to many different labor organizations, especially in states where no resident technicians are active. They have allowed the flexibility essential in providing ad hoc assistance in many areas which could not be included in normal project activity funding. This includes aid to trade unions where no regular programs exist and emergency assistance to other labor movements in areas not anticipated in the yearly project proposal. In several cases, the fraternal relationship developed through such cooperation has led to the initiation of full scale country programs.

As impact projects are requested, a detailed, individual project proposal with budget is drafted. Prior to implementation, this proposal is submitted to the American Ambassador or AID Mission Director in the country concerned to obtain concurrence that the activity is in accord with U.S. policy objectives. Regional impact projects are submitted to AID/AFR for the same concurrence.

D. IMPACT PROJECT BUDGET: 1985

For 1985, a total of \$268,000 is proposed for AALC impact projects.

E. IMPACT PROJECT BUDGET: 1985-1989

	<u>1985</u>	<u>1986</u>	<u>1987</u>	<u>1988</u>	<u>1989</u>
<b>IMPACT PROJECTS</b>	\$268,000	\$290,000	\$300,000	\$315,000	\$335,000

PA 09 - INTERNATIONAL TRADE SECRETARIATS (ITS)

The International Trade Secretariat program is a very important aspect of the AALC's activities. Through this program the activities of a number of International Trade Secretariats are expanded and American unions are directly involved in the carrying out of the activities of their Secretariat in Africa. The program also provides a means to assist individual national unions and thus supplement the other AALC programs which are normally with the National Trade Union Center. In some cases where, because of ideology, the National Center has been hostile to AALC activities, the ITS program has been the device whereby AALC has been able to support key friendly unions in the country.

In 1985, the AALC proposes to support six U.S. unions with respect to activities in Africa of seven trade secretariats.

**INTERNATIONAL TRADE SECRETARIATS BUDGET: 1985**

USWA/IMF	\$25,000
IAM/ITF	25,000
UFCW/FIET	25,000
AFT/IFFTU	37,500
CWA/PTTI	25,000
ILGWU/ITGLWU	25,000
UFCW/IFPAW	<u>25,000</u>
	<b>\$187,500</b>

**INTERNATIONAL TRADE SECRETARIATS BUDGET: 1985 - 1989**

	<u>1985</u>	<u>1986</u>	<u>1987</u>	<u>1988</u>	<u>1989</u>
<b>ITS Projects</b>	\$187,500	\$192,200	\$197,000	\$201,925	\$206,975

REGIONAL LABOR PROGRAM  
PA 15 - BOTSWANA/LESOTHO/SWAZILAND

Botswana

A. GOAL

To assist the Botswana Federation of Trade Unions to increase its administrative capabilities, to provide educational and other services to its membership throughout the country, and to acquire the confidence and expertise required to effectively interact with employers and government officials.

B. TRADE UNION SITUATION

Botswana, a sparsely populated country with less than 1 million inhabitants, was the former British protectorate of Bechuanaland. A gradual devolution of authority to local tribal government occurred in the years before 1966 at which time Botswana became an independent republic. Under the constitution, executive power is vested in the president, who is elected for a 5 year term. Although the National Assembly consists of representatives of four political parties, the Botswana Democratic Party (BDP) holds the overwhelming majority of seats (29 out of 37). National elections are scheduled for 1984 for the first time since the death of Botswana's first president, Seretse Khama, in 1980.

Botswana is primarily an agricultural country having considerable grazing area for beef cattle. Since independence, diamond and copper mining has accounted for most of its exports, although falling world mineral prices have slowed Botswana's development in recent years. This combined with the severe drought has placed a strain on the economy of the country, causing increased migration to urban centers, housing shortages, and high unemployment. Faced with this economic situation, the government finds it extremely difficult to lessen its dependence on neighboring South Africa for necessary food and manufactured products.

The Trade Union Act, promulgated in 1969, authorized the formation of trade unions in the private sector, in government (manual workers only) and in parastatal bodies. By 1983, 16 national unions existed in Botswana. Trade union education was conducted by the Botswana Trade Union Education Centre up until 1977 when the Botswana Federation of Trade Unions (BFTU) was established and assumed all educational responsibilities. By April 1979, nine national unions had affiliated to the BFTU, but since then two of the nine have disaffiliated, bringing to nine the total number of national unions remaining outside the BFTU. The BFTU currently represents 10,000 of Botswana's 80,000 wage-earners.

When the BFTU was formed, affiliates divided into two factions representing blue-collar workers on one hand, and white collar on the other. The blue-collar unions were perceived by the government as supporting the political opposition (although they professed political neutrality). Each time leaders from this faction emerged, the government intervened to restrict their influence. This pattern of intervention dated from the first constitution of the BFTU (which was written by the government) to the elections of 1981, the results of which were disallowed after the

convention had elected blue-collar trade unionists to fill all important posts in the federation. Most recently, the 1984 passage of a trade union and employer federation bill gives the Commissioner of Labour far-reaching authority over the BFTU and places restrictions on the national center and its affiliated unions.

At the same time, government and employers continue to draw some of the best trade unionists away from the labor movement and into non-union positions, thus depriving the labor movement of expertise and leadership potential. Whether this is a deliberate government tactic is unclear. However, the BFTU as a result must deal with continual changes in leadership which require constant efforts to find and train new leaders.

#### C. PAST AALC ACTIVITIES

AALC's relationship with the Botswana labor movement dates from 1969 when a labor education specialist began working with the Botswana Trade Union Education Centre. AALC Impact Activity and Program funds enabled the Centre to conduct organizing and education campaigns which contributed to the establishment of the BFTU in 1977. AALC contributed to construction costs for a BFTU headquarters building in 1978, and provided vehicles to BFTU education and organizing personnel. Assistance to BFTU education programs has resulted in the extension of administrative responsibility for education to the branch level. In 1983, rank-and-file courses were provided by branch instructors to a total of 636 union members throughout the country. Specialized seminars, covering health and safety, trade union organizing and trade union research included participants from all over the country.

Because the BFTU constitution does not provide for full time federation officials, it is almost impossible for the most routine union business to be accomplished. Added to this is the problem posed by transportation—often a federation official must travel great distances to investigate a complaint or hold a meeting. To resolve these problems, the BFTU is attempting to develop branch offices and rely on branch officials and instructors to carry out programs in the regions. A proposed second office in Francistown should permit the BFTU to effectively extend its influence to this important industrial center.

The low level of expertise within the BFTU headquarters itself has hampered the federation's ability to interact effectively with government and employers' organizations. Substantive leadership training and the creation of industrial relations and research departments will enable the BFTU to hold its own vis-a-vis government and employers' attempts to curtail its autonomy.

#### D. SHORT RANGE OBJECTIVES

##### Objective 1: Headquarters Support and Development

Trade union elections in 1984 will bring to the BFTU a new and inexperienced federation leadership. Leadership training and program planning will be necessary if the BFTU is to deal successfully with the likelihood of increased government supervision. The establishment of an industrial relations department will give the center the expertise necessary to service its affiliates as well as establish its credibility vis-a-vis employer groups and government ministries.

In 1985, the following will be accomplished:

- a. Three leadership seminars for federation officials, incorporating the formulation of a program plan for federation activities.
- b. The establishment of an industrial relations department within the BFTU.

#### Scope of Work

The AALC will continue to provide partial staff support for the headquarters of the BFTU and for the new industrial relations department. It will participate with other donor organizations in leadership training at the federation level.

#### Objective 2: Trade Union Education and Branch Organization

The BFTU will continue and expand its programs of education at the branch level. In addition to ongoing rank-and-file programs, branch instructors will begin to implement intermediate and advanced training programs. The establishment of a second center at Francistown will extend BFTU programs into the northern part of the country. Rank-and-file seminars will be open to members of non-affiliated BFTU unions in an attempt to attract those unions to the BFTU and to organize agricultural and domestic workers who have no union at present.

In 1985, therefore, the following will be accomplished:

- a. Continued rank-and-file seminars conducted by branch instructors, to include non-affiliated union members and domestic and agricultural workers.
- b. Two Non-affiliated unions will join the BFTU.
- c. The groundwork laid for the establishment of a second BFTU center in Francistown.
- d. Instructors trained and seminars held in intermediate and advanced trade union subjects throughout the country.

#### Scope of Work

The African-American Labor Center will assist the BFTU to formulate plans for the new center, will provide funds for rank-and-file seminars, instructor training, and advanced workshops.

#### Objective 3: Services to Affiliates and Members

During 1983, country-wide seminars were held on health and safety for mineworkers and women, in cooperation with the Ministry of Health.

In 1985, the following will be accomplished:

- a. Seminars for trade union women throughout the country will be made a regular part of the BFTU's education programs.

Scope of Work

The AALC will provide funds to hold seminars for trade union women. Such sessions will be preliminary steps in organizing a women's wing within the BFTU to establish projects for the benefit of women workers and their families.

E. LONG RANGE OBJECTIVES

Objective 1: Headquarters Support and Development

Leadership training for new headquarters officers and staff will become a regular component of BFTU operations. Additional departments, such as research, safety and health, trade union finance, etc., will be investigated. The AALC will phase out salary support as dues collection procedures are instituted and refined.

By 1989, the following will be accomplished:

- a. The establishment of a BFTU research department.
- b. Dues collected through branch offices will be used to support BFTU headquarters operations.

Objective 2: Trade Union Education and Branch Organization

The BFTU education programs will continue to be conducted by branch instructors throughout the country. Through these education programs, unions that are not presently affiliated to the BFTU will realize that affiliation is in their own interests and that of their members. The center in Francistown will gradually assume total responsibility for BFTU programs in the northern region of the country.

By 1989, the following will be accomplished:

- a. The center in Francistown will be fully operational.
- b. The remaining 7 non-affiliated unions will become part of the BFTU; domestic workers and agricultural workers will form unions under the BFTU umbrella.
- c. Education programs will be conducted solely at the branch level, with the headquarters serving an administrative function only.

Objective 3: Services to Affiliates and members

In addition to health and safety workshops and women's seminars, the BFTU will investigate other areas of service delivery to affiliates and members, such as credit unions and co-operative enterprises, day care centers, literacy instruction, preventive health care, etc.

By 1989, the following will be accomplished:

- a. The establishment of a women's wing within BFTU.
- b. The creation of health and safety clinics at industrial sites.
- c. The investigation of the feasibility of establishing BFTU-sponsored credit unions and co-operative enterprises.
- d. The development of other projects, such as literacy instruction, will be considered.

**F. BUDGET FOR BOTSWANA REGIONAL LABOR PROGRAM**

Budget Summary:

AALC Program Coordination Budget		\$86,520
Program Budget:		
Obj. 1: Headquarters Support & Develop.	\$22,000	
Obj. 2: Trade Union Educ.& Branch Organ.	42,380	
Obj. 3: Service to Affiliates & members	<u>8,000</u>	
Total Program Budget		<u>72,380</u>
<b>TOTAL REGIONAL BUDGET</b>		<b>\$158,900</b>

Coordination Budget Detail

AALC Program Coordination Budget

Salary and Taxes		
Salary	\$32,350	
FICA	<u>2,275</u>	\$34,625
Allowances		
Cost of Living	—	
Salary Differential 10%3	3,235	
Education	—	
Storage Cost	<u>720</u>	3,955
Other Costs		
Housing	8,000	
Medical	1,830	
Foreign Liability	1,245	
Unemployment	435	
Pension	8,080	
Home Leave	—	
Rest and Recuperation	4,000	
Local Travel	<u>15,000</u>	40,590
Office Costs		
Rent	800	
Supplies	3,000	
Communications	2,000	
Miscellaneous	<u>1,550</u>	<u>7,350</u>
<b>TOTAL AALC PROGRAM COORDINATION</b>		<b>\$86,520</b>

Program Budget Detail

Objective 1: Headquarters Support & Development

Local Hire	\$6,000	
Leadership Seminars (3)	5,000	
Industrial Relations Department Staff (IR Officer)	4,000	
Equipment	4,000	
Supplies	<u>3,000</u>	\$22,000

Objective 2: Trade Union Education & Branch organization

Rank and File Seminars	10,000	
Intermediate Seminars	5,000	
Newsletter	3,380	
Supplies & Education Materials	4,000	
Francistown Center (Construction)	10,000	
Transport (Vehicle)	<u>10,000</u>	42,380

Objective 3: Services to Affiliates and members

women's Seminars	<u>8,000</u>	<u>8,000</u>
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**TOTAL PROGRAM BUDGET**

**\$72,380**

**FIVE YEAR PROGRAM PROJECTION: 1985-1989**

	<u>1985</u>	<u>1986</u>	<u>1987</u>	<u>1988</u>	<u>1989</u>
Program Coordination	\$86,520	\$90,846	\$95,388	\$100,157	\$105,165
Headquarters Support & Development	22,000	18,000	18,000	15,000	15,000
Trade Union Education & Branch Organisation	42,380	45,000	40,000	40,000	35,000
Services to Affiliates and Members	<u>8,000</u>	<u>38,000</u>	<u>40,000</u>	<u>42,000</u>	<u>44,000</u>
<b>TOTALS</b>	<b>\$158,900</b>	<b>\$191,846</b>	<b>\$193,388</b>	<b>\$197,157</b>	<b>\$199,165</b>

## Lesotho

### A. GOAL

To assist the Lesotho Congress of Free Trade Unions in developing a unified labor movement in Lesotho, to improve the LCFTU's ability to represent Lesotho workers, and to help the LCFTU carry out programs that reflect substantial worker contributions to national development.

### B. TRADE UNION SITUATION

Lesotho, a small country completely surrounded by the Republic of South Africa, with a population of approximately 1.4 million, was a British protectorate for almost 100 years before attaining independence as a constitutional monarchy in 1966. Three political parties constituted the legislature at the time of independence: the Basutoland National Party (BNP), the Basutoland Congress Party (BCP) and the Marematlou Freedom Party (MFP). In 1970, elections held for the first time since independence indicated that the majority BNP might not remain in power. Prime Minister Leabua Jonathan nullified the elections, suspended the constitution and dissolved the Parliament, establishing instead an Interim National Assembly, which today is largely the instrument of the BNP. Since 1970, opposition to Jonathan's regime has come mostly from the BCP and manifests itself in sporadic attacks and bombings by the Lesotho Liberation Army, the military arm of the BCP.

Like many other countries in the region, Lesotho is dependent on neighboring South Africa for trade, trade outlets and employment. Frequently, this dependence on South Africa for economic survival has compromised Lesotho's assertions of national sovereignty. Periods of confrontation and recriminations have increasingly characterized Lesotho's relationship with its powerful neighbor, and its economic viability continues to be tenuous.

After independence, workers in Lesotho were affiliated to one of two separate labor federations—the Lesotho Federation of Trade Unions (LFTU) and the Lesotho Council of Workers (LCW).

The leadership of the LFTU was closely allied with the BCP as were many of its affiliated unions. The LFTU as such did not really represent a legitimate labor federation—it had no collective bargaining agreements, nor did it handle grievances or other routine matters for its members. Some of its affiliate unions began to support a proposed merger between the LFTU and the LCW.

Merger discussions between the two federations have been under way since 1980. The transition to one national center has not been an easy one, however, with individual posturing and political conflict disrupting the process at every stage. Nevertheless, the merger, which has been advocated by the Lesotho government, is proceeding. A single constitution has been adopted and officers of the new Lesotho Congress of Free Trade Unions have been elected.

C. AALC ACTIVITIES

AALC has assisted the Lesotho Council of Workers since 1973 through impact activities and a country program administered by the AALC representative in neighboring Botswana. In addition to educational and administrative assistance, the AALC has provided funds for transport, vocational education, and a headquarters building located in Maseru. With this support, the LCW evolved from a small general workers union in 1973 to a viable and dynamic federation with district offices throughout the country. It has collective agreements with many local organizations and industries and a dues check-off agreement with most of them. Dues collection, however, is sporadic, owing to the depressed economic situation and confusion caused by the merger, but district reorganization schemes implemented by the LCW have attempted to remedy this situation.

The AALC has also assisted LCW women in implementing a handicrafts education project for unemployed women. The women hope to be able to generate income from the sale of these articles.

AALC has assisted both federations in the merger process. An impact project provided funds for merger activities during 1983 and helped unions affiliated to both federations meet to discuss common problems and objectives. Future assistance to Lesotho's workers will enable them to contribute to the smooth operation of the new national center, and provide the impetus for developing increased services to union members.

D. SHORT RANGE OBJECTIVES

Objective 1: Leadership Development & Administrative Support

For the first year, the new national center will require an expanded staff and offices to handle the additional membership, programs and problems that will result from the merger. It will also need to implement a program of leadership development on the national level before using the LCW's district organizations to develop the skills of local leaders. During 1985, therefore, the following should be accomplished:

- a) The development of an organizational plan for the administration of the new federation.
- b) Leadership training workshops for officials and staff of the LCFTU.

Scope of Work

AALC will continue to provide administrative support to the new federation, although this will be phased out as LCFTU administrative and dues-collection procedures are refined. AALC will provide support for leadership and training workshops for LCFTU officers and staff on the national level.

Objective 2: District Organizing and Education

The new federation will use the existing district organizations to implement an LCFTU education program. This merging of old and new patterns of organization will require a certain amount of preliminary work among the rank-and-file as well as the training of district level educators and organizers.

In 1985, the LCFTU expects to accomplish the following:

- a) Implement an information campaign to inform workers throughout the country of the merger of the two federations.
- b) Conduct basic trade union courses in each of the ten districts.

Scope of Work

AALC will provide funds for the information campaign, for training district instructors, and for conducting rank-and-file seminars.

Objective 3: Services to Union Affiliates and Members

Once the LCFTU administrative and educational structures are in place, they can begin to offer services to their members which go beyond normal trade union activities such as vocational education, health maintenance, co-op enterprises, credit unions, etc. In the meantime, the women have already started such a project providing instruction in sewing and knitting to unemployed rural women. In 1985, therefore, the following will be accomplished:

- a) A marketing scheme for the women's project will be designed and implemented.
- b) Studies will be completed in other areas where the LCFTU might become involved to widen its services to workers and their families.

Scope of Work

With the help of AALC's specialist in co-operative development, AALC will assist the LCFTU women in finding a way to market their handicrafts. If necessary, AALC will continue to provide minimal assistance to the project in the form of materials and teaching aids. AALC will assist the LCFTU in investigating other areas of possible services to members, such as preventive health, literacy, vocational education, etc.

E. LONG RANGE OBJECTIVES

Objective 1: Leadership Development & Administrative Support

As the need for outside administrative support decreases during the period 1985-89, increased emphasis will be placed on the education of trade union officials below the national level. The following will be accomplished by 1989:

- a) Self-supporting national headquarters staff.
- b) Rational dues structure in place in all industries and occupations.
- c) A trained cadre of local trade union leaders at the district level.

**Objective 2: District Organizing and Education**

By 1989, the LCFTU should have district union offices operating in each of Lesotho's districts. Each office will conduct its own education programs, implement dues-collection procedures, and, with the help of the national staff, conduct advanced trade union education courses for officials and rank-and-file.

Specifically, by 1989, the following will be accomplished:

- a) District level instructors will be trained to assume responsibility for LCFTU education programs at the district level.
- b) District level organizers will be responsible for servicing members at the district level in all areas of union business, e.g., grievance procedures, bargaining, organizing, etc.

**Objective 3: Services to Union Affiliates and Members**

By 1989, the LCFTU will have investigated several areas where improved services can be made available to union affiliates and members. Depending upon initial feasibility studies, projects will be established in vocational education, health care, co-op enterprises and women's programs.

**F. BUDGET FOR LESOTHO REGIONAL LABOR PROGRAM**

**Budget Summary:**

**AALC Program Coordination Budget  
ADMINISTERED BY REPRESENTATIVE IN BOTSWANA**

**Program Budget:**

Obj. 1: Leadership Development	\$12,000	
Obj. 2: District Organizing & Education	25,800	
Obj. 3: Services to Union Affiliates	<u>7,500</u>	
Total Program Budget		<u>45,300</u>
<b>TOTAL REGIONAL BUDGET</b>		<b>\$45,300</b>

**Program Budget Detail**

**Objective 1: Leadership Development & Administrative Support**

Local hire	\$8,000	
Leadership seminars	3,000	
Supplies & equipment	<u>1,000</u>	\$12,000

**Objective 2: District Organizing and Education**

Rank and File Seminars	8,000	
Instructors	10,800	
Transportation	4,000	
Printing & Materials	<u>3,000</u>	25,800

**Objective 3: Services to Union Affiliates and Members**

Women's projects		
Materials	3,000	
Transport	1,500	
Feasibility Study	<u>3,000</u>	<u>7,500</u>

**TOTAL PROGRAM BUDGET \$45,300**

**FIVE YEAR PROGRAM PROJECTION: 1985-1989**

	<u>1985</u>	<u>1986</u>	<u>1987</u>	<u>1988</u>	<u>1989</u>
Leadership Development & Administrative Support	\$12,000	\$12,000	\$10,000	\$8,000	\$8,000
District Organizing & Education	25,800	25,800	22,000	20,000	18,000
Services to Union Affiliates and Members	<u>7,500</u>	<u>10,000</u>	<u>10,000</u>	<u>12,000</u>	<u>12,000</u>
<b>TOTALS</b>	<b>\$45,300</b>	<b>\$47,800</b>	<b>\$42,000</b>	<b>\$40,000</b>	<b>\$38,000</b>

Swaziland

For the immediate future, programs in Swaziland will be financed by impact project funds and will be administered by AALC representative based in Botswana.

## COUNTRY LABOR PROGRAM

### PA - 16 - KENYA

#### A. GOAL

The AALC program in Kenya will assist in strengthening the Central Organisation of Trade Unions (COTU) so it can effectively represent the interests of its members, achieve humane industrial relations, and participate fully in the economic and social development of the country.

#### B. TRADE UNION SITUATION

The Republic of Kenya, a one-party (KANU) democracy, is located on the east coast of the African continent bisected by the Equator. The total land mass is 224,900 square miles: 13% cultivated, 66% grazing, and 21% forest and bush. The major port, Mombasa, located on the Indian Ocean, serves a port of entry for goods destined to Uganda, Southern Sudan, Ethiopia, Rwanda, Burundi, and Eastern Zaire. The capital, Nairobi, is located inland where the majority of manufacturing and processing industries are located.

Kenya's population in 1983 was estimated at 18,000,000 with an average growth rate of 3.8%, the second highest in the world after Zimbabwe. It has an active labor force of 6.5 million, about 1,500,000 of which are in the modern sector. Women employed in the modern sector constitute about 18% of the work force. Kenya's economy is primarily agriculturally-based with 80% of its population residing in the rural areas. Principal products are coffee, tea, livestock, pyrethrum, and soda ash. Other sections of the economy are food processing, manufacturing, construction, exports, and a fast growing tourist industry. Imports include machinery, transportation equipment, crude oil, paper, iron, steel, and raw materials for textile industries.

The Kenyan trade union movement played a major role in the struggle for national independence attained on December 12, 1963. The unions used their international friends to publicly call for independence. Some of the trade union leaders of the 1950's used the movement to acquire key government positions after independence and others became active in national and local politics. The movement was split in the late 1950's into East (Kenya African Workers Congress) and West (Kenya Federation of Labor) blocks which continued until 1965 when both were dissolved by the government. It was reorganized under one national center—Central Organisation of Trade Unions (COTU).

The unions are organized on an industrial basis. All registered trade unions, with the exception of the Kenya National Union of Teachers and the now defunct Union of Kenya Civil Servants, are affiliated to COTU. The trade union movement functions within a tripartite system based upon an industrial relations charter first signed in 1962. In 1964, the government established the Industrial Court to which all disputes between management and workers unresolved by voluntary negotiating are referred for arbitration. All collective agreements must be registered with the Industrial Court before they can be implemented. Trade unions enjoy legal pulsory check-off. On the whole, there exists a positive, respectful and free relationship between organized labor, employers and the Kenya government.

### C. PAST AALC ACTIVITIES

The fraternal relationship between American and Kenyan workers was established well before independence when the AFL-CIO provided support and assistance to the Kenya Federation of Labour under Tom Mboya and to independent labor unions. It provided funds for the construction of Solidarity Building, where COTU presently has its offices. Since 1966, AALC has assisted COTU to evolve as a free and democratic trade union movement representing the interests of all Kenyan workers.

Initially, AALC assistance to COTU dealt with individual projects emphasizing services such as the establishment of the Institute of Tailoring and Cutting, upgrading technical training in the printing trades and periodic specialized education seminars. In 1974 the direction of AALC's activities with COTU became more systematized when a permanent representative was assigned to Kenya. The presence provided COTU with technical support it needed to refine and develop a long-range approach to workers education and membership services.

COTU, with AALC assistance and personnel, established a Workers Education Institute in 1974 as a mechanism to formalize its education program. The WEI brought workers education to trade unionists throughout the country on a regular basis until 1983. The success of the WEI prompted COTU to initiate in 1978 the construction of a residential education complex to serve as the center for trade union education. This complex, on the shores of Lake Victoria, was constructed at a cost of approximately US \$2.5 million. It was paid for entirely by trade union members in Kenya—a first for Africa and most likely for the developing world. The complex which encompasses 68,122 square feet of building space on six acres of land was named in honor of a late trade union leader, Tom Mboya. The Tom Mboya Labour College was officially opened by President Moi on January 14, 1983. Its daily operational costs are paid for by COTU. Limited financial assistance and residential technical personnel are provided by the AALC and the ILO.

AALC, in the mid-1970's and early 1980's, provided COTU with equipment and means of transportation to strengthen its internal structure in support of membership services. Overseas training was provided by AALC to upgrade trade unionists' skills during the same period.

In 1974 COTU, with assistance from AALC, established cooperative services for its members. Over 510 workplace savings and credit societies have been established with a combined capital of over US \$27.3 million. The success of this activity led into a new area of cooperatives—cooperative housing for low income workers in the 1980's in which COTU should continue to be involved throughout the decade.

### D. SHORT RANGE OBJECTIVES

#### Objective 1: Improved Organizational Effectiveness

COTU plans for 1985 include a marked increase in services to their affiliates and members and the decentralization of its administration through the establishment of an area office in Machakos. In addition, leadership and staff training and material support will be provided to affiliates through the central and district offices.

In 1985, the following will be accomplished:

- a) Establishment of a COTU area office in Machakos
- b) Staff training, equipment and transport provided by COTU to the district office and selected affiliated unions.

Scope of Work

A new dues rate of 5/-per member per month, generating an annual income of approximately \$750,000, is expected to cover the costs of most of COTU's existing internal operations. AALC will provide the initial funding for additional projects which are expected to generate increased membership and dues income over the long term.

Objective 2: Greater Effectiveness of Tom Mboya Labour College

A research center will be created at the Labour College as part of COTU's long range goals of conducting social and economic research projects of interest to Kenyan workers. In addition, curriculum for specialized training will be developed and seminars will be held in such advanced areas as research, occupational safety and health, labor law, collective bargaining and union finance.

In 1985, the following will be accomplished:

- a) The creation of a Research Department at the Tom Mboya Labour College
- b) Seminars on advanced trade union subjects will be held at the Labour College for members of COTU affiliates.
- c) Specialized research training in the U.S. will be provided to a senior staff member of the Labour College

Scope of Work

Although the Labour College relies on no outside assistance to run the day-to-day operations of the College, including salaries for staff, seminars for rank-and-file, and operating costs, initial assistance is needed to develop specialized programs such as those described above. AALC will provide funds for specialized seminars, staff support for the research center, books and equipment.

Objective 3: Increased COTU services for Affiliates and Members

As part of a long range goal to attract women workers to COTU, a Women's Action Committee has been constituted to prepare for the establishment of a women's wing in COTU. The wing will develop social projects to benefit women workers and their families. In addition, COTU will extend its social programs into a new area: health care.

In 1985, the following will be accomplished:

- a) A women's wing will be established in COTU
- b) A feasibility study for COTU Medical services will be completed

Scope of Work

AALC will contribute to setting up the women's wing, including staff support, office equipment, and outreach seminars in rural areas. AALC will assist COTU in completing a feasibility study for a health service delivery program to union members and their dependents.

E. LONG RANGE OBJECTIVES

Objective 1: Decentralized COTU Administration

Through the establishment of additional district offices, COTU will be able to provide services to distant affiliates in a more effective manner.

By 1989, the following should be accomplished:

- a) Two COTU area offices will be established, one in Thika and one Nairobi, to service affiliates in those areas.
- b) Officers and staff of the area offices will be trained in union administration.

Objective 2: Tom Mboya Labour College

With the creation of a research capacity for the Labour College and the training of a Kenyan counterpart, COTU will investigate other areas where the Labour College can increase its ability to provide educational services to COTU members and affiliates. Specialized courses will continue to be held on a regular basis. Trade unionists from other Anglophone countries will begin to be included in the activities of the College.

By 1989, the following will be accomplished:

- a) The research department of the Labour College will be fully operational and will publish relevant data on Kenya labor economics and trade union statistics.
- b) Specialized training will occur on a regular basis.
- c) Curriculum for students from other Anglophone countries will be developed and refined.

**Objective 3: COTU Services to Affiliates and Members**

Once the women's wing is established, projects can be developed which will increase women's participation in union activities and enable them to contribute to national development. COTU will implement projects in other areas of service to its membership, such as health care, literacy, co-operative enterprises, etc.

The following will be accomplished by 1989:

- a) Women's committees will be established throughout the country to implement small family welfare and income-generating projects.
- b) A medical service system for COTU members and their families will be established.
- c) Other areas of service delivery will be investigated, feasibility studies conducted, and projects implemented.

**F. BUDGET FOR KENYA COUNTRY LABOR PROGRAM**

**Budget Summary for 1985:**

AALC Program Coordination Budget		\$203,055
Program Budget:		
Obj. 1: Improved Organizational Effect.	\$57,875	
Obj.2: Tom Mboya Labour College	\$48,938	
Obj. 3: Services to Affiliates	<u>37,388</u>	
Total Program Budget		<u>144,201</u>
<b>TOTAL COUNTRY BUDGET</b>		<b>\$347,256</b>

**Coordination Budget Detail**

**AALC Program Coordination Budget**

Salary and Taxes		
Salary	\$77,400	
FICA	<u>5,065</u>	\$82,465
Allowances		
Cost of Living	—	
Salary Differential	3,450	
Education	10,300	
Storage Cost	<u>2,700</u>	16,450
Other Costs		
Housing	18,000	
Medical	8,000	
Foreign Liability	2,920	
Unemployment	870	
Pension	19,350	
Home Leave	4,000	
Rest and Recuperation	—	
Local Travel	<u>16,000</u>	69,140
Office Costs		
Rent	4,000	
Supplies	7,000	
Communications	7,000	
Local Hire	12,000	
Miscellaneous	<u>5,000</u>	<u>35,000</u>
<b>TOTAL AALC PROGRAM COORDINATION</b>		<b>\$203,055</b>

Program Budget Detail

Objective 1: Improved Organization Effectiveness

Area Office		\$35,000	
COTU Office Equipment		6,000	
Internal Staff Training		1,875	
Vehicle		<u>15,000</u>	\$57,875

Objective 2: Tom Mboya Labour College

Research Department			
Staff (2)	10,670		
Equipment	1,500		
Books	<u>2,000</u>	14,170	
Staff Training (U.S.)		5,345	
Specialized Training & Teaching Materials (8 seminars)		23,423	
Misc. College Equipment		<u>6,000</u>	48,938

Objective 3: Affiliates and Members

Women's Wing			
Staff (4)	\$15,000		
Equipment	6,150		
Transport	2,000		
Supplies	1,738		
Seminars (3 @ \$2,500)	<u>7,500</u>	32,388	
Feasibility study for medical services project		5,000	<u>37,388</u>

**TOTAL PROGRAM BUDGET**

**\$144,201**

**FIVE YEAR PROGRAM PROJECTION: 1985-1989**

	<u>1985</u>	<u>1986</u>	<u>1987</u>	<u>1988</u>	<u>1989</u>
Program Coordination	\$203,055	\$213,208	\$223,868	\$235,061	\$246,614
Decentralized COTU Admin.	57,875	60,000	60,000	63,000	65,000
Tom Mboya Labour College	48,938	50,000	52,000	55,000	56,000
Services to Affiliates	<u>37,388</u>	<u>65,000</u>	<u>65,000</u>	<u>67,000</u>	<u>67,000</u>
<b>TOTALS</b>	<b>\$347,256</b>	<b>\$388,208</b>	<b>\$400,868</b>	<b>\$420,061</b>	<b>\$434,814</b>

## REGIONAL LABOR PROGRAM

### PA 19 - REGIONAL ECONOMIC RESEARCH AND DOCUMENTATION CENTER (CREDE)

#### A. GOAL

The AALC-sponsored CREDE center will assist the African trade union movement in developing a capacity for conducting labor research and journalism and will provide essential socio-economic material to union cadres on a pan-African basis.

#### B. TRADE UNION SITUATION

During the nearly twenty-five years since most African states won independence, the trade unions in practically every country on the continent have been invited to participate in national consultative and policy-making bodies. These include such groups as the Economic and Social Council, planning commissions, wage and price committees, the National Assembly, etc. In addition, labor leaders are frequently called upon to present ad hoc position papers on important national issues (e.g., housing, income distribution, and unemployment policy). Collective bargaining, if it is to be successful, requires an extensive knowledge of economics on both the international and local levels.

Little or no research capability was developed by African trade unions during the colonial era and, in most cases, labor was unable to participate as an effective partner with government and private sector counterparts in various socio-economic forums. Slowly, a few of the larger labor organizations, such as those in Ghana, Zaire, and Kenya, began to initiate research activities able to provide some of the socio-economic documentation required by their leadership. However, lacking funds and trained cadres, the vast majority have been unable to systematize this essential trade union function. This has sharply curtailed the ability of African labor to play a dynamic role as a respected participant in the process of nation building.

Another core activity for trade unions is facilitating communications among members and leaders on various levels. The African labor press practically died out during the 1960s because of financial restraints, a lack of union journalists, and the absence of any news dissemination on a continent-wide basis. With no exchange of information by the national or affiliated unions, an understanding gap develops between workers and their organizational cadres and between members in the capital and those in the outlying areas. This gradual disintegration of communications saps trade unions of their organizational cohesion and the spirit of solidarity essential for the growth of any labor movement.

#### C. PAST AALC ACTIVITIES

An AALC-sponsored colloquium concerning trade unions and economic problems, held in Upper Volta during 1969, recommended that a pan-African research center be created to provide the continent's labor movements with basic social and economic material and to help them in creating local research capabilities. The AALC accepted this recommendation and, in 1972, created the Regional Economic Research and Documentation Center (known in French as CREDE) at Lome, Togo. This center began collecting social, economic, and labor data which were used in preparing four series of research studies, publications, and specific material requested by individual African trade unions. Work was reproduced in both French

and English and distributed to roughly 500-600 labor cadres throughout the continent of Africa. Several training programs for trade union research personnel were held in Lome using the CREDE facilities.

A 1970 conference on the African trade union press recommended the publication of a pan-African labor newspaper which might both inform union cadres of events and serve as a news service for local journalists. A monthly journal sponsored by the AALC was initiated, first in the United States; then during 1972 the project was moved to Kinshasa, Zaire. Two years later it was combined with CREDE in Lome. A monthly socio-economic journal, Labor and Development, and a bi-weekly newsletter, African Trade Union News, have appeared in French and English language editions and are currently received by nearly 1,500 labor cadres. The center has organized several colloquia concerning the future of the African trade union press.

According to an agreement between the AALC and the Organisation of African Trade Union Unity (OATUU) in 1977, the OATUU would gradually assume administrative and financial responsibility of CREDE. However, the OATUU co-director resigned in 1980 and was not replaced by his organization. Severe budget constraints have prevented OATUU from taking more than a token role in the CREDE project although it receives the active support of the Togolese labor movement (whose Secretary General is also an OATUU Vice President). Since 1980, the CREDE center has continued its activities but on a somewhat reduced scale, with an acting director, a Togolese national. It does provide about 1,500 French- and English-speaking trade union leaders with labor news, socio-economic material, and research studies on a regular basis. The center has acquired a solid reputation among its readers and serves as an information source for many national trade union newspapers in Africa.

In order to assure a smooth phasing out of AALC participation and an upgrading of CREDE activities able to meet expanding requests from African trade unions for research materials and training, two alternatives are being considered for 1985. The OATUU is scheduled to hold a congress in November 1984 which may select more dynamic leaders who will once more take an active role in CREDE. AALC has also initiated discussions with the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) concerning future joint cooperation in the CREDE center. Should the ICFTU assign an economist to the program, this would link the project with their African Regional Organization (AFRO), a grouping of some fifteen affiliated trade unions. AFRO may potentially serve as a co-sponsor of CREDE if the OATUU is unable to play a part. In either event, such sharing of responsibilities and financing should allow a revitalization of the center's program and activities.

#### D. SHORT RANGE OBJECTIVES

##### Objective 1: Dissemination of Information

To assist African trade unions in obtaining the social, economic, and labor information essential to their role as active participants in the process of nation building.

During 1985, the following are anticipated:

- a) publication of 8 to 10 issues of Labor and Development.
- b) publication of 10 to 12 issues of African Trade Union News.
- c) expansion of CREDE mailing list by 100-150 names.
- d) publication of at least 4 special research studies.

Objective 2: Research Staff Development

To assist African trade unions in training staff members in research methodology.

During 1985, the following is anticipated:

participation of 4 to 6 trade research staff members (actual or potential) in a seminar concerning labor statistics.

Objective 3: Journalism Staff Development

To assist African trade unions in training labor journalists.

During 1985, the following is anticipated:

participation of 4 to 6 trade union journalists in a pan-African colloquium to discuss problems of the continent's labor press.

Objective 4: Pan-African Documentation Center

To create a comprehensive facility able to respond to requests from African trade unions for research and documentation information.

During 1985, the following are anticipated:

- a) addition of a substantial number of new books and documents to the CREDE library.
- b) reorganization and systematic classification of materials in the CREDE library.

E. LONG-RANGE OBJECTIVES

Objective 1: Permanent Trade Union Research Capability

AALC will continue to assist African trade unions by providing research materials and training, while encouraging the development of national centers which will assume responsibility for local research needs of their trade union centers. Services to be furnished by CREDE include making available documentation and research material, providing necessary equipment and supplies for local centers, and developing specific training programs to upgrade the skills of staff members from various countries participating in the CREDE program.

The following are anticipated by 1989:

- a) creation of a research and documentation extension service based in Lome which will aid national research centers.
- b) the creation of national research and documentation centers within at least six African trade unions.

Objective 2: Permanent Trade Union Journalism Capability

AALC will continue to assist African trade unions through the CREDE program by providing journalist training, publications equipment and supplies, and a pan-African news service. Services to be furnished by CREDE include frequent seminars and colloquia for labor journalists at Lome and the frequent dissemination of information of interest to African trade unionists which can be repeated in local labor newspapers.

The following are anticipated by 1989:

- a) creation of an effective trade union news service at CREDE to transmit information on a regular basis to all African labor movements for use in local newspapers.
- b) the creation of regularly published trade union newspapers within at least ten African labor movements.

**F. BUDGET FOR CREDE REGIONAL LABOR PROGRAM**

**Budget Summary:**

AALC Program Coordination Budget		\$51,000
Program Budget:		
Obj. 1: Dissemination of Information	\$15,000	
Obj. 2: Research Staff Development	3,500	
Obj. 3: Journalism Staff Development	4,500	
Obj. 4: Pan-African Documentation Ctr.	<u>6,000</u>	
Total Program Budget		<u>29,000</u>
<b>TOTAL REGIONAL BUDGET</b>		<b>\$80,000</b>

**Coordination Budget Detail**

**AALC Program Coordination Budget**

Salary and Taxes		
Salary		\$16,000
Allowances		
Cost of Living	---	
Salary Differential	---	
Education	---	
Storage Cost	---	
Other Costs		
Housing	6,000	
Medical	---	
Foreign Liability	---	
Unemployment	---	
Pension	---	
Home Leave	---	
Rest and Recuperation	---	
Local Travel	<u>5,000</u>	11,000
Office Costs		
Rent	2,000	
Supplies	2,000	
Communications	2,000	
Local Hire	14,000	
Miscellaneous	<u>4,000</u>	<u>24,000</u>
<b>TOTAL AALC PROGRAM COORDINATION</b>		<b>\$51,000</b>

Program Budget Detail

Objective 1: Dissemination of Information

Publication supplies: paper, ink, envelopes, offset plates, etc.	\$8,000	
Postage for mailing publications	<u>7,000</u>	\$15,000

Objective 2: Research Staff Development

Two-week seminar for 4 participants travel	2,000	
per diem and hotel	1,000	
supplies	<u>500</u>	3,500

Objective 3: Journalism Staff Development

Two-week seminar for 5 participants travel	2,500	
per diem and hotel	1,500	
supplies and material	<u>500</u>	4,500

Objective 4: Pan-African Documentation Ctr.

Purchase of books and periodicals	5,000	
Library consultant (2 months, part-time)	<u>1,000</u>	<u>6,000</u>

**TOTAL PROGRAM BUDGET** **\$29,000**

**FIVE YEAR PROGRAM PROJECTION: 1985-1989**

	<u>1985</u>	<u>1986</u>	<u>1987</u>	<u>1988</u>	<u>1989</u>
Program Coordination	\$51,000	\$53,550	\$56,227	\$59,038	\$61,990
Research Capability	*17,000	45,000	47,000	50,000	65,000
Journalism Capability	<u>**12,000</u>	<u>35,000</u>	<u>50,000</u>	<u>52,000</u>	<u>62,000</u>
<b>TOTALS</b>	<b>\$80,000</b>	<b>\$133,550</b>	<b>\$153,227</b>	<b>\$161,038</b>	<b>\$188,990</b>

\* For 1985, "Research Capability" includes "Dissemination of Information" (1/2), "Research Staff Development," and "Pan-African Documentation Center".

\*\*For 1985, "Journalism Capability" includes "Dissemination of Information" (1/2), and "Journalism Staff Development."

## REGIONAL LABOR PROGRAM

### PA 22 - CREDIT UNION AND COOPERATIVE DEVELOPMENT

#### A. GOAL

To assist trade union federations in selected African countries to provide extended socio-economic services for their members through the development of various types of credit unions and cooperatives.

#### B. TRADE UNION SITUATION

Although trade unions have helped the African worker in his quest for improved wages and working conditions, they have little influence on the ability of the worker to obtain more goods and services with the money he earns. Rampant inflation, high prices, low wages, and scarcity are facts of everyday life; the development of cooperatives has long been seen as a way to address these problems.

In most African countries, the trade union and cooperative movements have grown independently of one another. Cooperatives began much earlier than trade unions and concentrated at first on farmers in the rural areas. Trade unions, on the other hand, have developed in the urban areas where most salaried workers are located.

This pattern of separate development, however, is changing as trade unions begin to view their role as improving the overall economic position of their members. In many countries, unions are becoming actively involved in promoting co-operative activity in such areas as savings and credit, consumer goods, transport, health, and housing.

The degree of trade union involvement in the co-operative movement varies from country to country. In some countries, there is practically no trade union involvement with co-operatives, although the unions have expressed a desire to learn more about the movement. In others, there is active cooperation as trade unions consult with co-op organizations in establishing their own co-operative departments and projects. Finally, in some countries, trade unions have established close working relations with co-op groups which are involved in substantive areas of co-op activity, such as housing, banking and agriculture.

#### C. PAST AALC ACTIVITIES

The African-American Labor Center has assisted various African trade unions in developing credit union and cooperative programs since the late 1960's. Since 1972, AALC has had a cooperative and credit union specialist based in Nairobi, Kenya, who travels frequently throughout eastern and southern Africa. Cooperative and credit union development in West Africa is assisted through regular country programs and impact activity funds.

The AALC has assisted trade union federations with cooperative and credit union development in most African countries. It has contributed to the establishment of regional cooperative consumer and producer centers in Togo, a consumer

Senegal and Mauritius. A pan-African cooperative training center was initiated in Cotonou (Benin) during 1969 and phased out direct assistance after five years. The institution is still functioning. All these projects have been accompanied by ongoing programs of staff training of co-op officers and bookkeepers in several countries.

AALC's approach to co-operative development has consisted of the following three phases:

1. In those countries where there is little trade union involvement in cooperative development, AALC provides advice, information, training and equipment to union officials. Frequently, AALC provides officials the opportunity to observe credit unions and co-ops in other African countries, such as Kenya, where union/co-op relationships and programs are firmly established.
2. In those countries where trade union federations have established credit union and cooperative departments, AALC provides further training in financial administration, staff support, and project development. AALC has encouraged federations to establish revolving funds as a first step in promoting cooperative activity among their members.
3. In countries where co-operative projects have been developed and/or implemented, AALC provides advisory services, staff support, and technical expertise until such time as the enterprise can become entirely self-supporting.

#### D. SHORT RANGE OBJECTIVES

In order to acquaint trade unionists with cooperative principles, and to assist federations in establishing their own co-op and credit union departments.

The following will be accomplished in 1985:

##### Objective 1: Trade Union Involvement

In Zimbabwe, Botswana, Somalia and Uganda, initial training and information sessions on co-op and credit union management will be held for prospective credit union and co-op officials of the trade union federations. This education program will include other institutions in the country involved in cooperative activity, e.g., government ministries, cooperative centers, and already-established cooperative and credit union enterprises. Third country visits will be provided to representatives of the federations in these countries.

##### Objective 2: Credit Union and Co-op Development

In Zambia, Sudan, and Lesotho, emphasis will be on advanced training for trade union officials, the establishment of financial administration through education programs for bookkeepers, partial staff support to co-op and credit union officers, and an exploration of the feasibility of implementing co-op and credit union projects in substantive areas.

Objective 3: Cooperative Enterprises

In Kenya, assistance will continue to be made available to the National Cooperative Housing Union (NACHU), whose program of low-income housing will get under way in 1985. This support will consist of training for NACHU participants and administrative support to the NACHU office.

In Zambia, progress toward establishing a similar housing cooperative scheme will be initiated. A study of existing conditions, potential funding sources, administrative responsibility, and project implementation will be undertaken in this area. Zambian officials will observe the operations of NACHU in Kenya as a model for their cooperative housing scheme. Training in the implementation and administration of a cooperative project will be made available to Zambian trade unionists.

E. LONG RANGE OBJECTIVES

Assistance will be made available to other trade union centers as they express a desire to become involved in cooperative development. Once union officials are aware of the benefits of cooperative activity and trained in co-op management and finance, they will begin to formulate cooperative projects. Projects in such areas as housing, agriculture, health and transportation will be undertaken by those federations where a cooperative and credit union office has been established.

By 1989 the following will be accomplished:

Objective 1: Trade Union Involvement

Educational assistance will be made available to other African countries who express an interest in cooperative involvement

Objective 2: Credit Union and Co-Op Development

In Zimbabwe, Botswana, Somalia, Uganda, Zambia, Sudan and Lesotho, cooperative offices will be established in the respective federations. Administrative and financial officers will be trained and the feasibility of cooperative projects will be studied.

Objective 3: Cooperative Enterprises

Cooperative enterprises in selected countries from Objective 2 and other countries where appropriate will be undertaken in such areas as health, housing, transportation, agriculture and consumer cooperatives.

**F. BUDGET FOR CREDIT UNION AND COOPERATIVE PROGRAM**

Budget Summary:

Program Budget:

Obj. 1: Trade Union Involvement	\$13,300	
Obj. 2: Credit Union & Co-op Dev.	33,800	
Obj. 3: Cooperative Enterprises	<u>35,500</u>	
Total Program Budget		
<b>TOTAL REGIONAL BUDGET</b>		<b>\$82,600</b>

Program Budget Detail

Objective 1: Trade Union Involvement

Third country training		\$3,000	
Seminars:			
6 weekend info. seminars (30 participants each)	1,700		
2 residential seminars (25 participants each)	5,000		
1 month training for participants	<u>1,000</u>	7,700	
Equipment		800	
Local travel		1,000	
Supplies, printing		<u>800</u>	\$13,300

Objective 2: Credit Union and Co-op Dev.

Local Hire		10,000	
Seminars:			
10 Advanced weekend seminars-30 participants	4,200		
2 residential seminars- managers & finance officers (25 each)	<u>5,000</u>	9,200	
Equipment		3,000	
Supplies		1,600	
Transport Capability		<u>10,000</u>	33,800

Objective 3: Cooperative Enterprises

Third Country Training		2,500	
Consultants		3,000	
Local Hire		18,000	
Seminars:			
10 weekend info. workshops- 40 participants each	3,000		
4 workshops for co-op officials (30 participants each)	5,000		
Seminar supplies, transport, equipment	<u>4,000</u>	<u>12,000</u>	<u>35,500</u>

**FIVE YEAR PROGRAM PROJECTION: 1985-1989**

	<u>1985</u>	<u>1986</u>	<u>1987</u>	<u>1988</u>	<u>1989</u>
Program Coordination	\$ —	\$41,454	\$43,526	\$45,702	\$47,987
Trade Union Involvement	13,300	28,000	25,000	25,000	25,000
Credit Union & Co-op Dev.	33,800	50,000	52,000	52,000	55,000
Cooperative Enterprises	<u>35,500</u>	<u>40,000</u>	<u>45,000</u>	<u>50,000</u>	<u>50,000</u>
<b>TOTALS</b>	<b>\$82,600</b>	<b>\$159,454</b>	<b>\$165,526</b>	<b>\$172,702</b>	<b>\$177,987</b>

## COUNTRY LABOR PROGRAM

### PA 27 - SIERRA LEONE

#### A. GOAL

The AALC program of assistance to the Sierra Leone Labour Congress (SLLC) is aimed at helping the SLLC rebuild its organization so that it can operate as an effective representative of workers' interests in Sierra Leone.

#### B. TRADE UNION SITUATION

Sierra Leone, a tropical country of approximately 27,925 square miles, with a population of over 3.5 million people, was settled by people from other parts of Africa who were taken off slave ships by the British when slavery was abolished. It was annexed as a British Crown Colony in 1808 and enjoyed a peaceful transition to independence in 1961. In April 1971, it adopted a republican constitution, with former labor leader Siaka Stevens as President of the Republic.

Mining is the major industrial activity in Sierra Leone, accounting for the largest portion of foreign exchange-earning exports. Although 65 percent of Sierra Leone's land is arable, the country continues to import large quantities of food. Increased attention is being paid by government and non-government groups to reducing Sierra Leone's dependence on foreign imports of food.

Labor history in Sierra Leone predates independence and, although an old movement, it has had its share of internal strife and government coercion. For a number of years after independence, the labor movement was divided between two factions--the Sierra Leone Federation of Labour and a splinter group, the Sierra Leone Council of Labour. The two groups merged in 1976 to form the Sierra Leone Labour Congress.

Both before and since the merger, the government of Sierra Leone has viewed the labor movement with suspicion and frequently has attempted to assert control over it. However, trade unions have resisted government encroachment, although with varying degrees of success. Against this backdrop of government interference over the years, however, the SLLC had succeeded by 1980 in becoming an active and effective labor federation, with 18 affiliated national unions representing 34,000 workers. The SLLC's income in 1981 was approximately 9,000 Leones (US\$8,850), with the Teachers Union, the Clerical Workers and the Dock Workers providing most of the dues income. By 1980, the SLLC had appointed a full time education director and throughout 1980 and much of 1981, seminars were conducted by SLLC officials without a great deal of outside assistance. A consumer co-op, opened in the mid-1970's, continued to provide goods to union members at reasonable prices. Literacy instruction was an ongoing and popular program conducted by the SLLC.

In September 1981, however, a national strike over food price increases brought SLLC activities to an abrupt halt. SLLC leaders were imprisoned and later released. The government called for new trade union elections, but placed pressure on the SLLC not to re-elect its former officials. Trade union elections were held in 1982, new officers were elected, and after a hiatus of several months, the SLLC resumed operations.

After this attempt by the government to take control of the union movement in Sierra Leone, the new officials of the SLLC are understandably cautious about resuming old programs or initiating new ones. However, they are beginning to rebuild in several areas, including trade union education, cooperative enterprises, and literacy instruction. To deflect unwanted attention from its headquarters operation, the SLLC is beginning to emphasize district level organizing and education campaigns. In 1983, seminars were conducted in the districts and more emphasis was placed on programs designed to improve the welfare of workers through development-oriented programs.

C. PAST AALC ACTIVITIES:

The AALC has provided assistance to Sierra Leone's workers since 1966 and posted a permanent representative to Freetown in 1977. Prior to 1977, AALC's assistance was in the form of several impact projects providing for office furnishings, transportation, education programs, pharmaceutical supplies, publications, and the construction of a headquarters building. Its regular program since 1977 has assisted the SLLC with the conduct of its educational programs and literacy workshops, and with the operation of the consumer co-operative. Since 1981, AALC, along with other international donors, has encouraged Sierra Leone's labor leaders to rebuild, offering renewed educational and technical assistance in the wake of the government's brutal repression of the trade union movement.

Because SLLC leaders have indicated their desire to maintain a low profile as far as those activities which are perceived as controversial and/or political are concerned, i.e., food prices, commodity shortages, elections, etc., they are emphasizing district-level educational and organizing campaigns, and projects which will contribute to worker welfare, e.g., preventive health services, women's projects, co-ops, etc. AALC's assistance in the future will give the SLLC an opportunity to contribute to worker welfare in this way, and at the same time encourage the development of an informed and effective trade union leadership at the local level.

D. SHORT RANGE OBJECTIVES

Objective 1: Trade Union Leadership and Education

To assist the SLLC in developing district level leaders and opening up seminar participation to district rank-and-file and women members. During 1985, the SLLC will:

- a) Train instructor/organizers for each of the country's four districts
- b) Include more women in educational programs
- c) Establish one district SLLC office

Scope of Work

To assist the SLLC in accomplishing this short-term objective, the AALC will continue to support the SLLC Education Department by funding a number of district-level seminars and women's seminars.

Objective 2: Increased Services to Union Members

The SLLC's priorities for 1985 include resuming its literacy program and reconstituting the co-operative store.

During 1985, therefore, the following will be accomplished:

- a) Begin a modest program of literacy instruction
- b) Provide the co-op committee in SLLC with the guidance and material support needed to resume operations.

Scope of Work

The AALC, will contribute funds for beginning the literacy program and technical advice to the co-op committee.

E. LONG RANGE OBJECTIVES

Objective 1: Leadership Development/District Education Program

Consistent with the SLLC objective to build up district level programs and develop trade union leadership, the following will be accomplished by 1989:

- a) SLLC offices will be established in each of the country's four districts.
- b) A Women's Wing will be established in SLLC headquarters

Objective 2: Increased Services to Union Members

So that the SLLC can participate more fully in the process of nation-building and at the same time improve the welfare of its members, the following should be accomplished by 1989:

- a) The co-op store will be fully operational and self-sufficient.
- b) Literacy instruction will take place at each district education office
- c) SLLC will participate actively in a preventive health program in the rural areas.

**F. BUDGET FOR SIERRA LEONE COUNTRY LABOR PROGRAM**

**Budget Summary:**

AALC Program Coordination Budget \$85,210

**Program Budget:**

Obj. 1: Trade Union Education \$47,250

Obj. 2: Increased Union Services 15,000

Total Program Budget \$62,250

**TOTAL COUNTRY BUDGET** **\$147,460**

**Coordination Budget Detail**

**AALC Program Coordination Budget**

**Salary and Taxes**

Salary

FICA

\$37,900

2,650

\$40,550

**Allowances**

Cost of Living

Salary Differential

Education

Storage Cost

850

7,580

900

2,000

11,330

**Other Costs**

Housing

Medical

Foreign Liability

Unemployment

Pension

Home Leave

Rest and Recuperation

Local Travel

6,000

4,000

1,420

435

9,475

—

—

3,000

24,330

**Office Costs**

Rent

Supplies

Communications

Local Hire

Miscellaneous

3,000

2,000

2,000

—

2,000

9,000

**TOTAL AALC PROGRAM COORDINATION**

**\$85,210**

Program Budget Detail

Objective 1: Trade Union Education

Local hire (3)	\$7,500	
Instructor training	5,000	
Leadership Seminars	20,000	
District Vehicle	10,000	
District Office Equipment	3,000	
Printed Materials/Supplies	<u>1,750</u>	\$47,250

Objective 2: Increased Union Services

Co-op Development		
Co-op Officer	4,000	
Equipment Supplies	5,000	
Local Transport	1,000	
Literacy Instruction		
Instructors (2)	2,000	
Teaching Materials	<u>3,000</u>	<u>15,000</u>

**TOTAL PROGRAM BUDGET** **\$62,250**

**FIVE YEAR PROGRAM PROJECTION: 1985-1989**

	<u>1985</u>	<u>1986</u>	<u>1987</u>	<u>1988</u>	<u>1989</u>
Program Coordination	\$85,210	\$89,475	\$93,950	\$98,650	\$103,585
Leadership Development	47,250	47,250	49,000	50,000	50,000
Increased Union Services	<u>15,000</u>	<u>18,000</u>	<u>22,000</u>	<u>25,000</u>	<u>25,000</u>
<b>TOTALS</b>	<b>\$147,460</b>	<b>\$154,725</b>	<b>\$164,950</b>	<b>\$173,650</b>	<b>\$178,585</b>

## REGIONAL LABOR PROGRAM

### PA 28 - AFRICAN INSTITUTE FOR HIGHER TRADE UNION STUDIES (IAHES)

#### A. GOAL

The AALC regional IAHES program will assist the African trade union movement in developing a capacity for conducting local educational projects and will provide high-level leadership training on a pan-African basis.

#### B. TRADE UNION SITUATION

For at least a decade most African labor organizations have made worker and cadre education a priority activity. An effective, dynamic training program can be of enormous value to trade unions seeking to play greater roles in national life, especially in countries with a weak tradition of interest-group development. Improving leadership skills obviously will do much to revitalize labor movements and make them influential participants in nation building. The training of teams of instructors is essential in making local worker education committees fulfill their task of upgrading the abilities of rank-and-file members, shop stewards, and regional and middle-level cadres. Without a clear understanding of rights and responsibilities and adequate knowledge with which to make effective contributions in joint decision-making partnerships with the political leaders, trade unions will continue to be manipulated by the politicians and will remain unable to serve as the invaluable communication link with the masses. The encouragement of solid achievements in worker education is one of the essential steps in building organizations which will assure social stability in Africa.

For the past twenty-five years African trade unions have sought new, positive roles which might make them accepted partners in nation building. Political party leaders in the vast majority of African states have invited labor cadres to share in decision making; unions are frequently embarrassed by their inability to make a dynamic contribution which might place the wage earners in the vanguard of the quest for economic independence and development. This situation only encourages the politicians to take steps in crushing a free expression by the workers' organizations in an illusory effort to centralize all authority.

Virtually all labor movements have attempted some sort of worker education program, but with very mixed results. All too often there is no planning of priorities by an education committee, local instructors are barely capable of teaching courses, and sessions are hastily organized when a foreign donor appears on the scene with cash. Such ad hoc scheduling yields extremely mediocre curricula, an unbalanced choice of participants, and no attempt to construct a middle or long-range education program which might assist an evolving union movement's real priorities for growth. There are numerous examples of ideologically motivated external sponsors, such as the communist World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU), arriving in a country with the final "resolutions" of a seminar already printed. Their expatriate "experts" then manipulate the host organization into accepting these positions.

African trade unions have accepted the need for education of their members and leaders. They conduct—or have conducted—from ten to a hundred seminars and colloquia per country, per year. However, despite all this activity and expense, education experts feel that only a minimum is being accomplished and that a more coordinated, comprehensive approach is urgently needed.

### C. PAST AALC ACTIVITIES

Since its creation in 1964, the AALC has focused on trade union education as a top priority activity in building free, effective labor organizations in Africa. Seminars have been sponsored for a large majority of national unions stressing a wide range of subjects at all levels, ranging from rank-and-file members and shop stewards on up to the highest-level leadership. There are also a host of other donors involved in various types of trade union education in Africa. They include the four German foundations (Ebert, Adenauer, Nauman, Seidel), the three French unions (CGT, CGT-FO, CFDT), the Scandinavians, the Commonwealth Trade Union Council, the Soviets and East Europeans, plus the International Labour Organisation, the Organisation of African Trade Union Unity (OATUU), the International Trade Secretariats, and the international trade union federations (ICFTU, WFTU, WCL). This potpourri of ideologies, objectives, and methodologies has created confusion, and very little educational development has occurred in most countries.

AALC has long recognized this problem and has discussed these issues and possible solutions with various African trade union leaders. An institute for higher trade union studies, known in French as IAHES, located in Dakar, Senegal, and offering courses for labor cadres and instructors was designed to help resolve the situation described above. The institute is also designing model courses and educational programming schedules on a regional and, possibly, pan-African basis. This material will be used by various national labor movements.

When the project was initiated in 1980, it was assumed that OATUU, which agreed to participate as a sponsor, would be sufficiently stable financially to gradually assume full responsibility for the Institute's costs. However, OATUU has experienced organizational problems exacerbated by inadequate financing and is not in a position to contribute to IAHES budgets. New elections and reorganization of the OATUU may change this situation, or a recently formed labor group, made up of trade unions in the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), may develop the capacity to absorb the IAHES project after several years. The Senegalese CNTS union will continue to co-sponsor the institute in Dakar and provide a director for the project, but because of its own limited financial resources, is unable to support it financially. Thus, budget estimates provided below assume full AALC funding through 1989. Should an African trade union organization be able to accept financial responsibility, the AALC portion will be slowly phased out.

D. SHORT-RANGE OBJECTIVES

Objective 1: LAHES Capability for English-language Training

To assist Francophone African labor organizations in training English-speaking cadres essential for pan-African trade union communications and research.

During 1985, the following are anticipated:

- a) hiring of an English-language training consultant.
- b) development of a short-term, intensive language program.
- c) initiation of a pilot program in Senegal for English language training of seven or eight CNTS cadres.

Scope of Work

In assisting the Francophone African trade unions in training bilingual cadres, LAHES will hire a language training consultant on a part-time basis. This person will develop an intensive program and test it in a three-month course for Senegalese labor leaders.

Objective 2: Upgrading Skills of African Union Leaders

To assist various African trade unions in providing high-level, technical training for their cadres in such areas as financial administration, collective bargaining, occupational health and safety, job classification, and problems of working women, LAHES will organize five specialized colloquia and two advanced courses in worker education.

During 1985, the following are anticipated:

- a) improved skills will be acquired by at least 100 trade union cadres in French-speaking Africa in specialized subjects.
- b) the training skills of a least 30 trade union instructors will be improved.

Scope of Work

In assisting the African labor movement in training its cadres and instructors, AALC will fund five LAHES colloquia and two instructor seminars in Senegal or in other states.

Objective 3: Extending the LAHES Scope to Anglophone Africa

To increase the LAHES' geographic range for assisting the educational development of trade unions in English-speaking Africa.

During 1985, the following is anticipated:

a specialized regional leadership colloquium will be organized for at least 20 Anglophone West African participants.

Scope of Work

In order to more fully aid leadership and instructor training in Africa, it is essential that IAHES extend its activities to the entire continent. An initial colloquium for Anglophone labor cadres will be scheduled, probably in Liberia or Sierra Leone, to include some 20 to 25 participants.

Objective 4: Standardized Union Education Curricula

To assist various African unions in developing course outlines to be used in standardized seminars and educational activities.

During 1985, the following are anticipated:

- a) preparation of model courses and seminars programming outlines in at least four specialized subjects.
- b) adoption of this material for use in educational activities in at least two countries.

Scope of Work

The IAHES staff and consultants will prepare and distribute course notes and outlines among the trade union education committees in countries participating in the institute's program.

E. LONG-RANGE OBJECTIVES

Objective 1: Bilingual Capability of African Trade Unions

AALC will continue to fund IAHES efforts to extend bilingual training for labor cadres in both French and English-speaking African labor organizations.

The following are anticipated by 1989:

- a) existence of English language programs in at least four French-speaking countries and a pilot French language program in at least one Anglophone country. These activities will train at least eight cadres selected by local trade unions.
- b) there will be 40 to 50 Francophone trade union leaders with at least level 3 knowledge of English.

Objective 2: Effective Trade Union Leadership

AALC will continue to fund IAHES regional and pan-African colloquia and seminars for providing advanced training for both French and English-speaking labor leaders. By 1989, the following are anticipated:

- a) there will be a significant increase in the number of African labor leaders with advanced trade union skills.

- b) the application of special skills provided through IAHER training will be seen in various new initiatives taken by national union federations as they more actively participate in the nation building process.

Objective 3: Increased Worker Education Capability

AALC will continue to fund IAHER efforts to provide high-level training for African trade union instructors and to prepare model courses for curriculum development. Both French and English-speaking Africa will be included as this project expands. The following are anticipated by 1989:

- a) the use of middle and long-range educational planning by at least eight African trade union education committees.
- b) The use of IAHER-prepared courses in at least ten national worker education programs in African trade unions.
- c) The active participation of IAHER-trained instructors in at least 10 national labor training programs.

**F. BUDGET FOR IAHERS REGIONAL LABOR PROGRAM**

**Budget Summary:**

AALC Program Coordination Budget \$104,835

**Program Budget:**

Obj. 1: English Language Program	\$18,000	
Obj. 2: Colloquium & Seminar Program	105,000	
Obj. 3: Anglophone Africa Program	15,000	
Obj. 4: Standardized Course Program	<u>5,000</u>	
<b>Total Program Budget</b>		<u>143,000</u>

**TOTAL REGIONAL BUDGET \$247,835**

**Coordination Budget Detail**

**AALC Program Coordination Budget**

<b>Salary and Taxes</b>		
Salary	\$42,900	
FICA	<u>2,650</u>	\$45,550
<b>Allowances</b>		
Cost of Living	725	
Salary Differential 15%	6,435	
Education	-	
Storage Cost	<u>600</u>	7,760
<b>Other Costs</b>		
Housing	10,000	
Medical	4,000	
Foreign Liability	1,600	
Unemployment	450	
Pension	10,725	
Home Leave	-	
Rest and Recuperation	2,800	
Local Travel	<u>10,000</u>	39,575
<b>Office Costs</b>		
Rent	6,000	
Supplies	2,000	
Communications	2,000	
Miscellaneous	<u>1,950</u>	<u>11,950</u>
<b>TOTAL AALC PROGRAM COORDINATION</b>		<b>\$104,835</b>

Program Budget Detail

Objective 1: English-language program

Program consultant (5 months at \$2,000/month)	\$10,000	
course costs (3 months at \$1,000/month)	3,000	
Equipment, supplies, and materials	<u>5,000</u>	\$18,000

Objective 2: Colloquium and seminar program

5 specialized colloquia, one-week, (20 participants each, \$15,000 each)	75,000	
2 instructor training seminars, two-week, (15 participants, \$15,000 each)	<u>30,000</u>	105,000

Objective 3: Anglophone African program

1 specialized colloquium, one week (20 participants)		15,000
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Objective 4: Standardized course program

Project consultant (3 months at \$1,000/month)	3,000	
Postage and communications	500	
Materials and supplies	<u>1,500</u>	<u>5,000</u>

**TOTAL PROGRAM BUDGET**

**\$143,000**

**FIVE YEAR PROGRAM PROJECTION: 1985-1989**

	<u>1985</u>	<u>1986</u>	<u>1987</u>	<u>1988</u>	<u>1989</u>
Program Coordination	\$104,835	\$110,080	\$115,590	\$121,370	\$127,440
Increased bilingual Capability	18,000	28,000	35,000	40,000	40,000
Effective Leadership	90,000	95,000	105,000	110,000	115,000
Increased Worker Education Capability	<u>*35,000</u>	<u>40,000</u>	<u>30,000</u>	<u>30,000</u>	<u>30,000</u>
<b>TOTALS</b>	<b>\$247,835</b>	<b>\$273,080</b>	<b>\$285,590</b>	<b>\$301,370</b>	<b>\$312,440</b>

\* contains short-range objectives no. 2  
(instructor training portion) and no. 4

## COUNTRY LABOR PROGRAM

### PA 29 - GHANA

#### A. GOAL

To assist the Ghana Trades Union Congress (TUC) in its struggle to rebuild the labor movement in Ghana and to restore its ability to provide services to Ghana's trade unions and represent Ghana's workers according to principles of free and democratic trade unionism.

#### B. TRADE UNION SITUATION

Ghana, formerly known as the Gold Coast, was a British colony until 1957. It has a population of approximately 12 million inhabitants who live mostly in the southern portion of the country.

Since independence, Ghana has oscillated between military and civilian rule. Its first leader, Kwame Nkrumah, was overthrown by a military coup in 1966. The country returned to civilian rule in 1969 under Dr. K.A. Busia as Prime Minister. He in turn was replaced in a bloodless coup in 1972 by I.K. Acheampong, whose National Redemption Council was transformed into a powerful seven-man Supreme Military Council in 1975. A further change of leadership in 1978 promised a return to civilian rule, but before scheduled elections could take place, the SMC was overthrown by Flight Lt. Jerry Rawlings, who established in its place the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (AFRC). The AFRC also provided for eventual civilian rule which was achieved by national elections in 1979 that elected Dr. Hilla Limann as Ghana's new President.

Beset by rampant inflation, massive unemployment, a foreign trade deficit of incredible proportions, and charges of corruption at the highest levels, the Limann regime was overthrown in December 1981. Again, Flight Lt. Rawlings appeared on the scene and with the Provisional National Defense Council (PNDC) assumed total control of the government and the economy. Vowing to eliminate corruption and resolve Ghana's dire economic and political situation, Rawlings has relied on tactics borrowed from the regime of Libya's Quaddafi. His regime has done little to ameliorate conditions, however, and Ghana remains today in desperate financial straits.

Trade unionism in Ghana predates independence with the formation of the Railway Union and the Mineworkers Union in the 1930's. A Trade Union Ordinance enacted by Britain in 1941 recognized trade unions and a national center. After independence, a bill to reorganize the labor movement was promulgated by Parliament and the Ghana Trades Union Congress was formally created. The Industrial Relations Act of 1958 made it mandatory for trade unions to affiliate to the TUC. At this time, the many small trade unions were consolidated into 17 national unions with a combined membership of approximately 400,000 members.

Trade union history since the establishment of the TUC has been characterized by an almost constant struggle for independence vis a vis the government. Nkrumah's regime attempted to absorb the trade union movement into his single party structure, requiring all trade unionists to be members of his Convention Peoples Party (CPP). There were factions within the labor movement, however, who

maintained their independence and even struck against Nkrumah's government actions. After Nkrumah and until 1971, the TUC enjoyed a period of freedom and productive activity. It had a well-organized administrative structure, extremely active national affiliates, and had embarked upon an ambitious program of educational and social activism on behalf of its membership. A Labour College was founded in 1967 and by 1971 had grown to the point where a fully trained staff of 20 Ghanaians was able to assume total responsibility for its operations. TUC financial backing enabled the College to become totally self-supporting by this time. The TUC also was involved in low-cost housing and the establishment of mobile health facilities.

In 1971, however, the TUC was abolished by the Busia regime because TUC support from workers and other groups, such as the students, was perceived as a threat to Busia's control. National unions continued to function and meet together as a federation, the Labour College survived, and when the Busia government was overthrown in 1972, the TUC was re-established.

From 1972 to 1981, the TUC continued to function effectively, owing to the immense vitality of its affiliates and leadership. The Labour College conducted ongoing programs which were widely attended and which contributed substantially to the smooth operation of the industrial relations system in Ghana. The TUC branched out into other areas, including the provision of health services to rural workers and the distribution of food commodities to its members. The TUC was a vital, democratic and highly effective institution in Ghanaian society—one which represented workers' interests and welfare to an extent rarely seen elsewhere on the African continent.

However, the return of Flight Lt. Rawlings to the scene in December 1981 was followed by an all-out assault on this democratic institution. In fact one of the first moves by the PNDC was to attack the TUC, force the removal of its leaders, destroy almost all TUC and Labour College property, and ransack its rural clinics. To take the place of the TUC the government created Workers Defense Committees, modeled after the peoples' committees in Libya, which dominated all activities at the workplace. A PNDC-backed leadership took over trade union affairs under the aegis of the Association of Local Unions (ALU).

PNDC assaults on the administration of the labor movement were not able to change the underlying democratic nature of affiliated unions throughout the country. Protests from many international labor organizations pressured the PNDC into holding union elections, and Western observers were encouraged when, late in 1982, elections returned many of the former freely-elected union leaders to office, rejecting in the process the leaders put forward by the government.

When a convention to elect a new national leadership was scheduled in 1983, government-installed leaders were confident of victory. Since taking office, they had sent several people to trade union programs in Eastern-bloc countries and had generated offers of substantial support from the communist-dominated WFTU and its trade departments. East-bloc nations were represented in full force during the TUC's convention and were confident of their ability to persuade delegates to confirm the government's choice of leadership.

However, despite the machinations of the PNDC and their East-bloc friends, and owing to the political acumen and organizational skill of democratic Ghanaian trade unionists, the convention elected A. Yankey as secretary-general and

Frank Adjebeng as chairman of the TUC Executive Board—two trade unionists with proven records of support for and adherence to the principles of free and democratic trade unionism. By appointing the defeated PNDC candidates to important positions in the TUC, the new leaders effectively neutralized any opposition from that source.

C. PAST AALC ACTIVITIES

The African-American Labor Center had a representative in Ghana from 1966 to 1982. Through Impact Activities and program funds, AALC has assisted the TUC with the establishment of the Labour College and has provided expertise in the areas of health, occupational safety, financial administration, and cooperative development. It has supplied needed pharmaceutical supplies to rural health clinics and the mobile clinic and audio-visual equipment to the Labour College. The first principal of the Labour College was an AALC technician who facilitated the transition to Ghanaian administration and self-sufficiency.

Once the government, in 1982, had engineered the removal of democratically elected officials and installed their own mouthpieces, AALC removed its representative, thereby ceasing all assistance to the TUC.

Since the recent election of democratic trade union leaders, the AALC plans to re-institute its program in Ghana as part of its overall support for free and democratic trade unions on the African continent.

In the meantime, AALC has provided emergency assistance to the TUC in its efforts to overcome the drastic economic conditions facing its members and the institutional deprivations caused by the PNDC takeover.

D. SHORT RANGE OBJECTIVES

Objective 1: Administrative Support for TUC and Affiliates

The most immediate priority of the TUC is the restoration of its administrative functions and of its capacity to service its affiliates and members. In 1985, the following will be accomplished:

- a) Material and technical advice will enable the TUC to resume effective education and organizing campaigns.
- b) Newly-elected TUC officials will be trained in trade union administration and finance.
- c) Affiliated unions will be assisted through the TUC and on a union-to-union basis.

Scope of Work

AALC will provide funds for office equipment, leadership training for new officers and a supplemental allocation to its ITS program for union-to-union programs for TUC affiliates.

Objective 2: Ghana TUC Labour College

For the Labour College to resume operations, the TUC must make a substantial contribution to curriculum development, instructor training, equipment supply and the provision of books and other supplies. In 1985, therefore, the following will be accomplished:

- a) Instructors will be hired and trained (or retrained).
- b) Curriculum development workshops will be held to design updated course materials relevant to conditions in Ghana at the present time.
- c) Books and other printed materials and supplies will be furnished to the Labour College's library.

Scope of Work

AALC will provide funds for instructor seminars, curriculum development workshops, and assistance with the production of class materials and college publications.

Objective 3: Support for TUC Social Programs

The TUC has requested assistance in reinstating its program of rural health care delivery. In 1985, the following will be accomplished:

- a) Supplies will be made available to rural health clinics.
- b) Additional health workers will be trained with a view to establishing additional rural health centers in the country.
- c) Efforts will be made to institute programs to benefit trade union women in such areas as income generation, job creation, and family welfare.

Scope of Work

AALC will provide supplies and equipment for the health centers presently in existence and will assist the TUC in training additional health workers. Advisory assistance will be made available to the TUC to enable them to select sites and operating procedures for additional centers. Project development workshops will be held for trade union women.

E. LONG RANGE OBJECTIVES

Objective 1: Administrative Support for TUC and Affiliates

Because of the overall economic and political situation in Ghana, the TUC will require some additional support beyond 1985. By 1989, however, the TUC should have regained some measure of self-sufficiency and the following should be accomplished:

- a) Effective education and organizing campaigns will be held on a regular basis.
- b) Leadership training will be expanded to include national union leadership and rank-and-file.
- c) Assistance will continue to be provided by the TUC and by the ITS program to help TUC affiliates increase their organizing efforts.

Objective 2: Ghana TUC Labour College

Given the conditions in Ghana, it is unlikely that the Labour College will be entirely self-supporting by the end of 1985. A certain amount of assistance will have to be provided beyond that date to ensure that programs can be conducted on a regular basis for Ghanaian workers and be expanded to include trade unionists from other countries as well. By 1989, the following should be accomplished:

- a) A standard curriculum will developed for use in Labour College classes.
- b) The Labour College will be able to accommodate students from neighboring Anglophone African countries.

Objective 3: Support for TUC Social Programs

With the success of the rural health program, the TUC plans to expand its service delivery programs into other areas, such as literacy instruction, cooperative development and food provision. By 1989, therefore, the following will be accomplished:

- a) Additional rural health centers will be opened and operating.
- b) Feasibility studies will be completed in other areas, such as cooperative development, to determine TUC projects in those areas.
- c) A women's department will be created in the TUC to encourage women to participate in the labor movement and to develop projects designed to improve the lives of women and their families.

**F. BUDGET FOR GHANA COUNTRY LABOR PROGRAM**

Budget Summary:

AALC Program Coordination Budget		\$135,485
Program Budget:		
Obj. 1: Admin. Support/TUC & Affiliates	\$58,000	
Obj. 2: Ghana TUC Labour College	16,000	
Obj. 3: Support-TUC Social Programs	<u>19,000</u>	
Total Program Budget		<u>93,000</u>
<b>TOTAL COUNTRY BUDGET</b>		<b>\$228,485</b>

Coordination Budget Detail

AALC Program Coordination Budget		
Salary and Taxes		
Salary		
FICA	\$37,900	
	<u>2,650</u>	\$40,550
Allowances		
Cost of Living	1,330	
Salary Differential	9,475	
Education	—	
Storage Cost	<u>1,800</u>	12,605
Other Costs		
Housing	14,000	
Medical	4,000	
Foreign Liability	1,420	
Unemployment	435	
Pension	9,475	
Home Leave	—	
Rest and Recuperation	—	
Local Travel	<u>12,000</u>	41,330
Office Costs		
Rent	8,000	
Supplies	12,000	
Communications	12,000	
Local Hire	5,000	
Miscellaneous	<u>4,000</u>	<u>41,000</u>
<b>TOTAL AALC PROGRAM COORDINATION</b>		<b>\$135,485</b>

Program Budget Detail

Objective 1: Administrative Support for TUC and Affiliates

Leadership Seminars (5 seminars with 20 participants)	\$10,000	
Office Equipment	5,000	
Supplies & printed materials	3,000	
Transport capacity	15,000	
ITS union-to-union programs	<u>25,000</u>	\$58,000

Objective 2: TUC Labour College

Instructor training	5,000	
Curriculum Development Workshops (5 workshops with 10 participants)	8,000	
Library Supplies (books & documents)	<u>3,000</u>	16,000

Objective 3: TUC Social Programs

Training of Health Workers	3,000	
Supplies for Rural Health Centers	8,000	
Women's Workshops (3 workshops 20 participants each)	<u>8,000</u>	<u>19,000</u>

**TOTAL PROGRAM BUDGET**

**\$93,000**

**FIVE YEAR PROGRAM PROJECTION: 1985-1989**

	<u>1985</u>	<u>1986</u>	<u>1987</u>	<u>1988</u>	<u>1989</u>
Program Coordination	\$135,485	\$142,260	\$149,375	\$156,845	\$164,690
Administrative Support	58,000	40,000	35,000	30,000	20,000
TUC Labour College	16,000	20,000	25,000	25,000	30,000
TUC Social Programs	<u>19,000</u>	<u>25,000</u>	<u>25,000</u>	<u>30,000</u>	<u>32,000</u>
<b>TOTALS</b>	<b>\$228,485</b>	<b>\$227,260</b>	<b>\$234,375</b>	<b>\$241,845</b>	<b>\$246,690</b>

## COUNTRY LABOR PROGRAM

### PA 30 - LIBERIA

#### A. GOAL

The AALC program in Liberia of assistance to the Liberia Federation of Labour Unions (LFLU) is designed to help the LFLU build an effective, free and democratic labor organization and to improve its ability to participate fully in the national development process.

#### B. TRADE UNION SITUATION

Liberia, with a population of approximately 2.1 million people, is one of the only African countries without a foreign colonial experience. It was established and settled by the American Colonization Society, a group of former American slaves, in 1820 and became the Republic of Liberia in 1847. The dominant group in Liberia was the Americo-Liberians, former slaves and their dependents, who controlled the economic, social, and political life of the nation.

With an area of approximately 43,000 square miles, Liberia's terrain is that of a rolling plateau bordered by coastal plain and low mountains near its inland borders. The majority of the wage labor force of 160,000 is concentrated in the agricultural sector (70.5%), whose structure is characterized by foreign concessions, Liberian-owned commercial farms, and small traditional farms comprising over 90 percent of total agricultural holdings. Agricultural production consists of rubber, timber, rice, palm oil, cassava, coffee and cocoa. Mining of iron, gold and diamonds is an important export activity, accounting for most of Liberia's \$600.4 million worth of exports each year.

In the late 1970's, economic recession combined with social unrest occasioned by the excesses of the regimes of President Tolbert and his predecessor Tubman (both Americo-Liberians) led to Liberia's first nonconstitutional change of government. This coup d'etat in April 1980 brought to power Master Sergeant Samuel Doe, whose military men established the Peoples Redemption Council (PRC). The Doe government has reaffirmed Liberia's traditional commitment to foreign investment in the country, while at the same time emphasizing the African nature of the society in terms of dress, names, food and customs. Doe has also promised a return to civilian rule, an event now scheduled to take place in 1985.

Labor history in Liberia since World War II has been characterized by the existence of several union centers, beginning with the Liberian Union of Labour founded in 1949, which was replaced by the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) in 1960. Two new groups, the Labour Congress of Liberia (LCL) and the United Workers Congress (UWC) were organized in 1976. All three groups held merger discussions at the request of President Tolbert. The CIO and the LCL merged into the Liberian Federation of Trade Unions (LFTU) as a result of these discussions. In 1980, two months before the overthrow of the Tolbert government, the LFTU and the UWC concluded a merger agreement and one national center, the Liberia Federation of Labour Unions (LFLU), was formed. At first, the Doe government, in an effort to win the support of organized labor, raised military and civilian government salaries, thus raising the expectations of workers in the private sector. This led to several post-coup strikes by doctors, nurses, and teachers,

among others. The Doe Government banned strikes in Liberia at the end of that year.

The LFLU since the 1980 merger has been a rather fragile entity, since many of the factions representing old union groupings continue to advocate individual positions and policies. At a 1983 delegates' conference, however, many of the internal problems of the federation were resolved. An education director was hired and throughout 1983, education programs were held on a regular basis.

The LFLU has seven affiliated unions: The National Union of Plantation, Agricultural, Farming and Allied Workers; the National Teachers Association of Liberia; the Mechanical and Allied Workers; the National Maritime Seamen and General Workers Union; the Petroleum, Oil, Chemical, and General Services Union; the Domestic, Commercial, Clerical, and General Services Union; and the National Mine Workers Union, for a total of 15,000 members.

#### C. PAST AALC ACTIVITIES

The AALC has assisted Liberian workers since 1965, although a representative responsible solely for Liberia was not appointed until the early 1970's. Through early impact activities, AALC provided funds for CIO seminars, organizing campaigns, and the construction of a headquarters building, before the CIO merged with the LCL. Through this assistance, the CIO was able to strengthen its position vis-a-vis merger negotiations. Since the formation of the LFLU in 1980, the AALC has provided assistance to the center's organizing and educational programs. AALC has also helped the federation complete its headquarters building and purchase office furnishings. Thanks to this help and assistance from other international organizations, the LFLU is beginning to speak with one voice, implement unified educational programs, and carry out organizing campaigns designed to unite unorganized plantation and mine workers unions under the LFLU umbrella.

#### D. SHORT RANGE OBJECTIVES

##### Objective 1: Consolidation of Education Programs

Assistance will be made available to the LFLU to assist it in rationally structuring its education department. During 1985, the following is anticipated:

- a) Phase I of the education program (basic trade union education for new shop stewards and officers) will be completed.
- b) Three field workers to carry out programs on a regional basis will be trained.
- c) Personnel currently employed full time by the LFLU Education Department will begin to devote more time to the administration of their own unions, thus contributing to strengthening the affiliates of the LFLU.

##### Scope of Work

AALC will continue to provide funding for partial salary support in the education department, for seminars, and for field workers training. By encouraging the education department to rely on regional field workers in

carrying out SLLC education programs, AALC will phase out salary support during 1985.

### Objective 2: Trade Union Unity

Currently, some unions are not affiliated to the LFLU. Organizing campaigns are needed in two main areas: mining and agriculture. The Firestone plantation and the Uniroyal plantation currently have a potential union membership of 15,000—which would double the present membership of the LFLU. The workers at the Bong Mine and the LAMCO company union constitute 6,000 potential union workers, some of whom are members of the now suspended National Agricultural and Allied Workers Union of Liberia.

During 1985, the LFLU will:

- a) conduct educational and organizing campaigns in both industries.
- b) work closely with other international organizations in encouraging a merger of the three mineworkers unions with a view to LFLU affiliation.

#### Scope of Work

The AALC, through LFLU's Education Department and field worker infrastructure, will provide support for educational seminars for mining and plantation workers.

### Objective 3: Services to LFLU Affiliates and Members

Once initial problems of organization and administration are addressed, the LFLU will be in a position to offer increased services to affiliates and members. During 1985, the following will be accomplished:

- a) Women's seminars will explore the possibility of establishing a women's section within LFLU to implement small-scale development projects for women and their families.
- b) A literacy program for union members, to be held during non-work hours, will be instituted.
- c) A preliminary survey of existing credit union and co-operative enterprises in Liberia will be undertaken with a view to developing union-sponsored cooperative projects.

#### Scope of Work

The LFLU, with AALC assistance, will hold seminars for women and workshops on co-operative enterprises during the year. Funds will be made available to establish the literacy program.

E. LONG RANGE OBJECTIVES

Objective 1: Leadership Development and Trade Union Education

AALC will continue to assist the LFLU in developing its leadership and education programs. Through continued training of field instructors and the gradual phasing out of salary support for the Education Department, the LFLU local and national leadership will be upgraded and its education programs will eventually be able to rely on increased dues income from new affiliates.

The following is anticipated by 1989:

- a) Regional education centers will be established, with LFLU headquarters providing an administrative function only.
- b) Increased membership resulting from education programs and organizing campaigns will provide support for a self-sufficient headquarters operation.
- c) Local and national officials will be trained in all aspects of trade union administration and trade union principles.

The AALC will assist the LFLU to carry out Phases II and III of its education programs (rank and file, officers), concentrating on advanced trade union seminars throughout the country.

Objective 2: Trade Union Unity

In achieving the unity of the mineworkers unions and the affiliation of both the mineworkers and the plantation workers to the LFLU, the national center could more than double its membership by 1989. It will extend organizing campaigns to other industries and occupations which are not currently unionized. The AALC will continue to assist the LFLU in carrying out, through the Education Department, organizing campaigns in these areas. Dues collection procedures will be streamlined, given the high increases in union membership.

Objective 3: Services to LFLU Affiliates and Members

Once LFLU programs and administrative structures are refined, increased attention will be focused on the development of programs to provide services to affiliates, increase the welfare of union members, and enable full participation in national development.

The following will be accomplished by 1989:

- a) LFLU literacy programs will be ongoing and self-supporting.
- b) A women's department within the LFLU will be established and women's projects designed to increase women's participation in national development will be initiated.
- c) An LFLU newspaper will be published on a monthly basis.
- d) Credit union and co-operative programs will be established.

**F. BUDGET FOR LIBERIA COUNTRY LABOR PROGRAM**

Budget Summary:

AALC Program Coordination Budget		\$101,175
Program Budget:		
Objective 1: Education Department	\$20,900	
Objective 2: Trade Union Unity	4,000	
Objective 3: Improved Union Services	<u>5,325</u>	
Total Program Budget		<u>30,225</u>
<b>TOTAL COUNTRY BUDGET</b>		<b>\$131,400</b>

Coordination Budget Detail

AALC Program Coordination Budget

Salary and Taxes		
Salary	\$42,900	
FICA	<u>2,650</u>	\$45,550
Allowances		
Cost of Living	3,225	
Salary Differential	10,725	
Education	—	
Storage Cost	<u>—</u>	13,950
Other Costs		
Housing	14,000	
Medical	3,925	
Foreign Liability	1,610	
Unemployment	440	
Pension	10,725	
Home Leave	2,000	
Rest and Recuperation	—	
Local Travel	<u>3,000</u>	35,700
Office Costs		
Rent	—	
Supplies	2,000	
Communications	2,000	
Local Hire	—	
Miscellaneous	<u>1,975</u>	<u>5,975</u>
<b>TOTAL AALC PROGRAM COORDINATION</b>		<b>\$101,175</b>

Program Budget Detail  
Objective 1: Education Department

Local hire (3)	\$7,000	
Instructor training (3)	1,500	
Phase I seminars (4)	8,000	
Equipment	800	
Local travel	800	
Supplies, printing	800	
Maintenance/utilities	<u>2,000</u>	\$20,900

Objective 2: Trade Union Unity

Rank and File Seminars (2)	1,000	
Organizing seminars (2)	2,000	
Local transport	500	
Supplies	<u>500</u>	4,000

Objective 3: Improved Union Services

Literacy program		
Instructors	2,000	
Materials	825	
Transport	500	
Women's Seminars	1,000	
Cooperative Seminars	<u>1,000</u>	<u>5,325</u>

**TOTAL PROGRAM BUDGET**

**\$30,225**

**FIVE YEAR PROGRAM PROJECTION: 1985-1989**

	<u>1985</u>	<u>1986</u>	<u>1987</u>	<u>1988</u>	<u>1989</u>
Program Coordination	\$101,175	\$106,235	\$111,550	\$117,130	\$122,990
Regional Development	20,900	25,250	22,000	18,000	15,000
Services to Affiliates	4,000	10,800	13,500	15,000	15,000
Improved Union Services	<u>5,325</u>	<u>18,500</u>	<u>18,500</u>	<u>20,000</u>	<u>20,000</u>
<b>TOTALS</b>	<b>\$131,400</b>	<b>\$160,785</b>	<b>\$165,550</b>	<b>\$170,130</b>	<b>\$172,990</b>

## C O U N T R Y L A B O R P R O G R A M

### PA 32 - TOGO

#### A. GOAL

The AALC program in Togo will assist the Confederation Nationale des Travailleurs du Togo (CNTT) in building an effective, democratic organization and in improving its ability for participating in the process of nation building.

#### B. TRADE UNION SITUATION

Togo, a small, narrow state the size of West Virginia, is squeezed between Ghana and Benin on the West African coast. A large majority of the 2.8 million Togolese are engaged in agriculture, fishing, and animal husbandry. About 20% of the population lives in cities and large towns, including most of the 80,000 wage earners. Togo's cash economy is centered on phosphate production but there are significant exports of coffee, cocoa, and cotton. Recent international political and economic problems have taken a heavy toll in Togo, depressing tourism, forcing down phosphate prices, and bankrupting several major local industries.

Trade unionism first took root in Togo during 1945. Two rival French labor groups, the leftists (CGT) and the Catholics (CFTC), established local affiliates which resulted in twenty-five years of ideological conflict. The divided labor movement was exploited by Togolese political factions during the 1960s. In 1967, the military took power in Togo, ending seven years of near anarchy. President Eyadema introduced a single party (RPT) in an effort to promote national unity. At the RPT's 1971 congress, delegates "urged" the trade unions to unite. This suggestion set in motion a process which ended with the birth of a single, national labor organization, the CNTT, in January 1973. The new trade union began with roughly 16,000 members from a wage-earning population of 50,000. Dues collection was extremely low and the union had only two permanent staff members.

Priority CNTT goals, defined at the first congress, were the restructuring of the divided, scattered regional and professional affiliates, the creation of a framework for effective participation in national life, and making a real contribution to improving members' standard of living. During the past decade, Secretary General Barnabo has made substantial progress in implementing these objectives, mobilizing Togolese wage earners, and attracting external aid.

#### C. PAST AALC ACTIVITIES

The AALC began aiding Togolese trade union development in 1969 with the construction of a worker education center in Lome. This center did much to encourage cooperation and joint programs between the rival labor groups, even before the creation of the CNTT. The opening of the Regional Economic Research and Documentation Center (known in French as CREDE), in Lome, during 1972 with the nominal participation of the Organisation of African Trade Union Unity (OATUU) also made an indirect, but significant, contribution to local labor research and journalism.

Over the past fifteen years there have been eighteen AALC impact projects implemented in Togo which totaled roughly \$320,000. They responded to various ad hoc requests for assistance in running seminars, creating cooperatives and a women's program, plus supplies and equipment. As the fraternal relationship linking AALC and the CNTT grew stronger, a modest Togo country program was initiated in 1977. Project activities developed in discussions with CNTT cadres have concentrated on meeting local priorities in the areas of cooperatives and trade union education. AALC aid has allowed the opening of consumer cooperatives in Lome, Sokode, Mango, and Dapaon. In addition, a series of seminars took place throughout Togo introducing trade unionists and others to the union's cooperative system. CNTT also focused on creating regional headquarters and worker education centers. AALC support helped complete the first such multi-functional building in the northern city of Dapaon.

During its first decade CNTT has made impressive progress. A universal dues check-off was instituted in 1973 so that the labor movement might have the financial resources required to play a role in the nation. This currently provides about \$235,000 per year in dues, with additional budget receipts from the government and external donors totalling some \$200,000. Approximately \$116,000 is returned to regional and professional affiliates. CNTT membership is difficult to estimate since all wage earners are, in theory, members and all pay dues via the check-off system. Approximately 35,000 to 40,000 of the 80,000 salaried workers might be considered active trade unionists. The CNTT permanent staff has risen to 43 employees. The union negotiated a nation wide collective agreement in May 1978, replacing a series of mainly pre-independence accords.

The CNTT is a democratic organization, despite close links to the single party system, and is well on the way to becoming a respected partner in national development. Union cadres are included in decision making bodies at all levels including the RPT party, the National Assembly, and various socio-economic policy groups. There is a regular trade union newspaper, an extensive cooperative network, and a significant education program. A women's wing is currently being formed. The CNTT hopes to initiate a program to supplement health services for workers and their families and has solicited AALC assistance. There are also requests for aid in completing a worker education/headquarters center for the central region of Togo (Atakpame) and for higher-level, specialized seminars for rural worker organization, finance, and labor economics. The implementation of such important projects with the cooperation of the AALC should further enhance the importance of the CNTT as an influential Togolese institution and encourage the development of a pluralistic, democratic society.

#### D. SHORT RANGE OBJECTIVES

##### Objective 1: Expansion of Regional Infrastructure

To assist CNTT in creating regional centers for trade union activities and educational programs for local cadres and rank-and-file members.

During 1985, the following are anticipated:

- a) completion of the Dapaon headquarters and worker education building.
- b) completion of the first phase of equipping the Dapaon center.

Scope of Work

In assisting CNTT in accomplishing this objective, AALC will provide funds to complete construction of the dormitory building at the Dapaon complex and for the purchase of equipment and furniture for this portion of the project.

Objective 2: Expansion of Cooperative Network

To assist CNTT in completing its national consumer cooperative program in the interior towns.

During 1985, the following are anticipated:

- a) completion of a cooperative building in Kande.
- b) improved skills of trade union cooperative managers and staff.

Scope of Work

In assisting CNTT in accomplishing these objectives, AALC will provide funds to complete a cooperative store in the town of Kande. It will also sponsor a national seminar in cooperative organization and accounting skills for the managers and staff of the existing trade union cooperative stores.

Objective 3: Leadership Development

To assist CNTT in expanding and up-grading its leadership training program in several specialized skill areas.

During 1985, the following are anticipated:

- a) The training of 25 working women in leadership and organizational skills and the creation of a women's wing in CNTT.
- b) the training of 25 national-level cadres in development economics and the process of nation building.

Scope of Work

In assisting CNTT in accomplishing this objective, AALC will sponsor 2 national-level seminars concerning the organization of working women and development economics. Each will have 25 participants and last for one week.

E. LONG RANGE OBJECTIVES

Objective 1: Regional Headquarters and Educational Center Infrastructure

AALC will continue to assist CNTT in completing and equipping its northern regional headquarters and education complex in Dapaon. It will also provide similar funding for an additional center for central Togo at Atakpame.

The following are anticipated by 1989:

- a) a functioning headquarters building and worker education center at Dapaon maintained and run entirely by CNTT.
- b) a similar center will be nearing completion at Atakpame.

Objective 2: Improved Worker Standard of Living

AALC will continue to assist CNTT in developing its consumer cooperative program which should begin to have a major impact on cutting costs for members on basic commodities. In a few years, attention will be focused on creating a health service for workers and their families in both the rural and urban areas which should make a contribution to their quality of life.

The following are anticipated by 1989:

- a) three new consumer cooperatives will exist in interior towns and their administrative and other costs will be entirely met by the CNTT budget.
- b) there will be a significant increase in membership and participation in the Union's cooperative network.
- c) a health service project will be underway with a pilot center in Lome.

Objective 3: Effective Trade Union Specialists for Participation in Nation Building

AALC will fund two or three high-level, specialized seminars for national union cadres each year.

The following are anticipated by 1989:

- a) existence of a trained, capable group of CNTT cadres able to fully and effectively participate in the various national institutions engaged in the nation building process.
- b) the expanded acceptance of CNTT as a partner in joint decision making with political and governmental leaders for socio-economic questions.

**F. BUDGET FOR TOGO COUNTRY LABOR PROGRAM**

Budget Summary:

AALC Program Coordination Budget: PROGRAM ADMINISTERED BY AALC REPRESENTATIVE AT CREDE

Program Budget:

Obj. 1: Expansion of Regional infrastructure	\$26,000
Obj. 2: Expansion of Cooperatives	20,000
Obj. 3: Leadership Development	<u>4,000</u>

**TOTAL COUNTRY BUDGET**

**\$50,000**

Program Budget Detail

Objective 1: Expansion of Regional Infrastructure

Const.costs to complete Dapaon Center	\$17,000	
Equipment for Dapaon Center	<u>9,000</u>	\$26,000

Objective 2: Expansion of Cooperatives

Nat.-Level Seminar for Coops Managers	2,000	
Construction of Coop. Building at Kande	<u>18,000</u>	20,000

Objective 3: Leadership Development

Nat. Seminar for Working Women, One Week, 25 Participants	2,000	
Nat. Seminar for Development Economics, one-week, 25 participants	<u>2,000</u>	<u>4,000</u>

**TOTAL PROGRAM BUDGET**

**\$50,000**

**FIVE YEAR PROGRAM PROJECTION: 1985-1989**

	<u>1985</u>	<u>1986</u>	<u>1987</u>	<u>1988</u>	<u>1989</u>
Program Coordination	-0-	-0-	-0-	-0-	-0-
Regional headquarters and Education Infrastructure	26,000	39,000	43,200	31,500	18,300
Improved Worker Standard of Living	20,000	26,300	28,400	39,400	52,600
Effective Trade Union Specialists	<u>4,000</u>	<u>8,000</u>	<u>8,000</u>	<u>8,000</u>	<u>8,500</u>
<b>TOTALS</b>	<b>\$50,000</b>	<b>\$73,300</b>	<b>\$79,600</b>	<b>\$78,900</b>	<b>\$79,400</b>

## COUNTRY LABOR PROGRAM

### PA 34 - MAURITIUS

#### A. GOAL

The AALC program in Mauritius will assist in the development of a united free and democratic movement embracing all workers in the country. The program will specifically focus on making the Mauritius Labor Congress (MLC) a more efficient organization, financially self-sufficient, and an active participant in nation building.

#### B. TRADE UNION SITUATION

Mauritius is a small but important island in the Indian Ocean with a population of 1,000,000 inhabitants. Its economy is based on the production of sugar which uses 90 percent of the arable land and accounts for 75 percent of the country's foreign exchange earnings. Unemployment is above 20 percent and the country is attempting to correct its balance of payments deficit through an IMF-prescribed program.

Since its independence in 1968, Mauritius has been committed to a democratic form of government. The present government, elected in August 1983, won a landslide victory over left-wing elements and is in favor of a free and democratic labor movement.

The trade union movement in Mauritius has been dominated by political events since the 1940's when leaders of the Labor Party formed the Plantation Workers Union to defend the rights of workers on the French owned sugar estates. The Mauritius Labor Congress of which the Plantation Union is a principal affiliate was established in 1963 with close ties to the Labor Party and was able to improve the lives of workers through political action. Although there are several trade union federations in Mauritius, the two most significant ones are the Mauritius Labor Congress affiliated to the ICFTU and the General Workers' Federation (GWF) affiliated to the WFTU. The latter is the power base for the Mouvement Militant Mauricien (MMM), a radical left wing party which was the principal member of the coalition preceding the present government.

The major goals of the MLC are to organize the unorganized, attract unaffiliated labor groups which believe in free and democratic unionism and help to raise the standard of living of its members through the development of cooperatives, credit unions and other income generating projects.

#### C. PAST AALC ACTIVITIES

Since 1969, the AALC has maintained close cooperation with the workers of Mauritius in sponsoring many programs in the field of education and cooperatives. Audio-visual equipment and educational material were also given to the Ministry of Labor's Department of Education. AALC made a special effort to have the Government Servants Association (GSA), a union with over 10,000 members, affiliate with the MLC.

In 1983, AALC was able to respond to a long time MLC request to appoint a resident representative. The representative has carried out an extensive program in trade union education and cooperatives. His program of assistance has also been extended to the ministries of labor and cooperatives of the government of Mauritius.

To date trade unions in Mauritius have relied on legislation for a number of issues which would constitute proper subjects for collective bargaining between employers and unions, for example, annual wage increments which presently are decreed by government. The MLC and other unions think that the process of collective bargaining must be gradually introduced. The Industrial Relations Act which currently prescribes political solutions for labor management disputes is up for review again and hopefully this time it will introduce conditions for genuine collective bargaining. The MLC realizes that the unemployment problem is not something that can be left to the government alone and wishes to engage in economic and social activities which will contribute to solving the problem.

The AALC program of assistance is designed to help the MLC meet some of these challenges. The government of Mauritius recognizes the necessity for outside assistance to the labor movement and has signed an agreement with AALC creating the legal framework for its operations. It is important to note that prior to this the AALC was invited by the leftist government to offer assistance to the labor movement—ample demonstration that its programs are well received by different political factions in Mauritius.

Most of the AALC programs in Mauritius will be conducted in collaboration with the MLC. Other trade unions such as the Government Servants Association (GSA), which believe in free and democratic trade unions, will also receive some assistance.

#### D. SHORT RANGE OBJECTIVES

##### Objective I: Membership Promotion

The Mauritius Labor Congress has already worked out a plan for organizing new members. By the end of 1985, the four MLC affiliated unions in the sugar industry plan to increase their membership from 17,000 to 25,000. Other affiliates are also expected to follow.

##### Scope of Work

In assisting the MLC to achieve this objective, the AALC will provide funds for:

- a) Training and remuneration for three educators and organizers.
- b) 20 seminars ranging from three days to one week for 600 trade union members.
- c) Experts' services and equipment.

Objective 2: Development of a Cooperative Structure

As a part of a comprehensive plan of developing credit unions and cooperatives, the MLC will in 1985:

- a) Establish specialized units for coops in its headquarters and among its affiliates.
- b) Conduct promotional campaigns and educational programs for members of unions.

Scope of Work

To help the MLC accomplish this objective the AALC will provide funds for:

- a) Training and remuneration for one coop officer.
- b) 14 seminars ranging from one day to two weeks for 420 members on various aspects of development of cooperatives.
- c) Equipment and expertise services.

Objective 3: Job Creation

In 1985, the MLC plans to create an infrastructure for developing job creating projects. For this purpose:

- a) It will assign a coordinator and establish job development committees including a special women's committee.
- b) Establish a revolving fund to be available for prospective entrepreneurs (ex workers and union members and their dependents).
- c) Work out a detailed agreement with the Cooperative Bank of Mauritius for funds to match MLC revolving fund for the development of employment generating projects.
- d) Run 9 job creation seminars ranging from one day to one week.

Scope of Work

The AALC will make available funds and expertise for the above programs and make a \$10,000 grant towards the revolving fund for job development.

E. LONG RANGE OBJECTIVES

Objective I: Development of effective trade union leadership

AALC will help the MLC to train an effective, motivated trade union leadership. By 1989, the following are anticipated:

- a) The establishment of a fully functioning education department with trained instructors.

- b) On-going seminar program for union officials and rank-and-file members in order to promote effective and democratic unions. Advanced labor studies program may also be established in collaboration with the University of Mauritius.
- c) Trained cadres able to represent their members before management and government on issues of wages, benefits, health and safety and grievance procedures.
- d) Trained cadres participating with the government in planning and policy formulation.

**Objective 2: Economic Self-Sufficiency for the MLC**

The MLC, with AALC assistance, will endeavor to become a financially viable and independent organization through extensive education programs and increased services; it is planned to increase the number of union members and modify the dues structure. The target for the five year period 1985-1989 is to double the membership at the MLC and raise union dues by 25%.

**Objective 3: Promote Employment in Mauritius**

The AALC will assist the MLC and other unions in the promotion of cooperatives, credit unions, and other employment generating projects which will create job security and improve the standard of living of workers.

To accomplish this, AALC will assist in the creation of a fully operational cooperative section within the MLC. The section will provide effective assistance to union sponsored credit unions and cooperatives.

By the end of 1989, MLC affiliates will have developed 15 credit unions. The Plantation and Rural Workers Credit Union alone will have 15,000 members with a minimum share capital of \$500,000 and a monthly income of \$6,000. There will be 200 village based committees to take part in the development of coops. The MLC Employment Fund is expected to have \$500,000 and generate over 500 jobs by 1989. The funds for these activities will come from members, matching funds from local banks, and international assistance.

**F. BUDGET FOR MAURITIUS COUNTRY LABOR PROGRAM**

**Budget Summary:**

AALC Program Coordination Budget		\$103,520
Program Budget:		
Obj. 1: Membership Promotion	\$39,800	
Obj. 2: Develop. of a Cooperative	20,700	
Obj. 3: Job Creation	14,500	
Total Program Budget	<u>14,500</u>	
		<u>75,000</u>
<b>TOTAL COUNTRY BUDGET</b>		<b>\$178,520</b>

**Coordination Budget Detail**

AALC Program Coordination Budget		
Salary and Taxes		
Salary	\$42,900	
FICA	<u>2,650</u>	\$45,550
Allowances		
Cost of Living	—	
Salary Differential 10%	—	
Education	4,290	
Storage Cost	7,900	
	<u>12,190</u>	12,190
Other Costs		
Housing	7,000	
Medical	4,000	
Foreign Liability	1,620	
Unemployment	435	
Pension	10,725	
Home Leave	—	
Rest and Recuperation	7,000	
Local Travel	<u>7,000</u>	37,780
Office Costs		
Rent		
Supplies	2,000	
Communications	2,000	
Miscellaneous	2,000	
	<u>2,000</u>	<u>8,000</u>
<b>TOTAL AALC PROGRAM COORDINATION</b>		<b>\$103,520</b>

Program Budget Detail  
Objective 1: Membership Promotion

3 Educators & Organizers		
Salaries & Benefits	\$8,800	
Local Travel	4,000	
Third Country Travel	2,000	
20 Seminars	17,500	
Equipments	<u>7,500</u>	\$39,800

Objective 2: Development of a Cooperative Structure

1 Coop Officer	5,000	
2 Volunteer Educators/Organizers	1,200	
Local Travel	2,000	
Third Country Travel	2,000	
14 Seminars	7,500	
Equipment for Coops	<u>3,000</u>	20,700

Objective 3: Job Creation

Job Creation Officer	4,000	
9 Job Creation Seminars	4,500	
Grant to MLC	<u>6,000</u>	14,500

**TOTAL PROGRAM BUDGET**

**\$75,000**

**FIVE YEAR PROGRAM PROJECTION: 1985-1989**

	<u>1985</u>	<u>1986</u>	<u>1987</u>	<u>1988</u>	<u>1989</u>
Program Coordination	\$103,520	\$108,700	\$114,135	\$119,845	\$125,840
Trade Union Leadership	39,800	42,120	45,332	40,000	40,000
Economic Self-Sufficiency	20,700	22,000	23,200	24,520	25,972
Employment Promotion	<u>14,500</u>	<u>20,000</u>	<u>25,000</u>	<u>25,000</u>	<u>30,000</u>
<b>TOTALS</b>	<b>\$178,520</b>	<b>\$192,820</b>	<b>\$207,667</b>	<b>\$209,365</b>	<b>\$221,812</b>

## COUNTRY LABOR PROGRAM

### PA 39 - ZAIRE

#### A. GOAL

The AALC program in Zaire will assist the Union Nationale des Travailleurs du Zaire (UNTZa) in building an effective, democratic organization able to participate in the process of nation building and to improve the workers' standard of living.

#### B. TRADE UNION SITUATION

Zaire, with a population of about 30 million, covers an area equal to the United States east of the Mississippi River. There are about 1.3 million wage earners of whom 30% are in the public sector. Mining provides some three-fourths of all export income and nearly 30% of private sector jobs. While Zaire is potentially a very rich country with vast hydro-electric power, mineral, forest, and agricultural resources, years of corruption and mismanagement have kept per-capita GNP at a mere \$260. The government is dominated by President Mobutu, who took power with a military coup d'etat in 1967. He then civilianized his rule by creating a single party, the MPR. The political system is not democratic and Mobutu has made repeated attempts to extend control over all aspects of national life.

Trade unionism in Zaire began in 1920. African membership was severely restricted and local workers were not free to form labor organizations until 1946. Two Belgian union federations (socialists and Catholics) created affiliates in what was then the Belgian Congo. Another autonomous group was formed in 1961 uniting several civil service unions. In 1967, a "recommendation" from the ruling MPR party urged that the labor movement come together in the interest of national unity.

The three federations and splinter groups merged at a June 1967 congress and created UNTZa (known then as UNTCongo). Total membership was estimated at 160,000. For the past seventeen years, the movement's six successive secretaries general have tried to form a strong, effective trade union.

Zaire's economic problems have frustrated organized labor's efforts to protect the workers' purchasing power with wage rises. During the 1960s, real wages declined by 35%. The 1970s and 1980s have been far worse with inflation rates of 60-80% per year. By 1983, purchasing power fell to a mere 6% of the 1960 level! This situation has built up pressure on the UNTZa leadership to take action. Within Mobutu's authoritarian system, strikes are actively discouraged and seen as a form of political protest. Given these economic and political constraints, labor is not able to confront employers (public or private) with repeated wage claims or threats of walkouts. It has taken the path of improving fringe benefits and allowances for workers through collective bargaining. UNTZa has also developed a number of socio-economic services for its members.

An early priority of UNTZa was educating shop stewards and cadres to reinforce the cohesion of the labor movement. During the initial stage (1967-1976) some 31,082 unionists (90% shop stewards, 10% cadres) participated in 632 seminars. The

second phase (1977-1983) included about 8,000 participants. There are roughly 25,000 shop stewards in Zaire and with a frequent turnover, continued education programs are a necessity. UNTZa's training department has grown to some 25 full-time instructors. The union also runs a four-year, university-level program for about 200 staff members and shop stewards.

Collective bargaining is actively pursued in Zaire as part of a strategy to increase salaries and allowances through job reclassification. From 1968 to 1978 some 210 new agreements were negotiated covering 505,000 workers. Today there are 436 accords for about 800,000 wage earners.

Consumer and producer cooperatives, an expanding women's program, plus a large social service network were initiated by UNTZa to improve their members' quality of life. The cooperatives were developed during the 1970s but many failed because of poor management. A renewed effort is underway to improve this important program. The union launched a women's department in 1979 which is active in organizational work, provides pre- and post-natal medical services, a creche, and is developing income-producing projects. The UNTZa social service department, CASOP, was created in 1969 with a single dispensary in Kinshasa. It has grown to a current level of 25 dispensaries and 150 mutual aid societies with over 150,000 peasant and worker members. Both the women's and the CASOP programs serve as models for developing similar activities for other African trade unions.

Trade union finances, at a very low level at UNTZa's creation, have been greatly expanded by the creation of an obligatory dues check-off system in 1968. In 1980, dues were raised to 2% of every worker's base salary. Union income from dues was \$6.5 million in 1983. External contributions and other income sources add 18% and allow an expenditure budget of \$7.7 million. The UNTZa has a permanent staff of just over 1,000.

UNTZa has struggled to maintain a delicate balance in order to preserve a level of organizational autonomy within a highly centralized, authoritarian political system. Trade union membership has grown rapidly to 900,000, up from 400,000 in 1971 and 150,000 in 1964. In representing these workers' interests, labor plays an active part in all policy-making bodies from the national MPR political bureau down to neighborhood councils. It attempts to maximize the initiatives offered as a "responsible participant" in national life while trying to avoid total co-optation. This is not an easy task but there is no ready alternative. The union does hold open, democratic elections and, given its strong organizational base, it can influence socio-economic decisions even within Zaire's controlled society.

### C. PAST AALC ACTIVITIES

AALC assistance in Zaire began in 1966, the year before trade union unity was achieved. This aid has taken the form of thirteen impact projects totaling roughly \$128,000, which have provided seminars, a mobile clinic and medical equipment, cooperative development, office supplies, and building renovation. In addition, a Zaire country program begun in 1967 has a cumulative total of \$2.4 million. It has helped UNTZa develop its educational activities, cooperatives, research program, health service system, women's department, and financial administration.

From 1968 to 1976 priority AALC attention was given to building the UNTZa education capacity for training cadres and shop stewards. AALC then phased out its aid in this area to concentrate on developing the ISST university-level institute,

which provides long-term, specialized training for professional trade union staff members and potential cadres. UNTZa will soon take over full financing of ISST except for a few specialized conferences.

An AALC program also aided UNTZa in developing a research capability in the early 1970s. This was completed and, currently, the union funds an active 24-member department providing material essential for collective bargaining and labor participation in socio-economic bodies. There is no AALC assistance at this time.

AALC aid enabled the Zaire labor movement to launch its highly successful health and social service CASOP program. External assistance was phased out in the early 1980s as CASOP is funded by user fees and UNTZa subsidies. Future plans for extending services into areas of rural and village development may require additional AALC aid.

UNTZa cooperative projects were also initiated with AALC aid in the 1970s. Several of these co-ops failed because of poor management. The labor movement is currently studying past problems and intends to reactivate the activity. This will require renewed external assistance.

Women's programs are another area of successful cooperation. UNTZa's women's department (BUPROF) is conducting extensive activities throughout Zaire, organizing working women, running a maternal and child health center in Kinshasa, and developing income-producing projects. As this program evolves, future requirements for AALC aid are anticipated.

As UNTZA income expands with the check-off system, the union will require assistance in financial administration. A brief visit by an AALC consultant in 1983 resulted in recommendations for improving dues collection and control methods but a follow-up project is needed to complete this activity.

Over the past eighteen years AALC-UNTZA cooperation has focused on initiating a series of key activities enabling the Zaire labor movement to strengthen its organizational role under difficult political conditions and to make a solid contribution to improving the living standards of several hundred thousand workers. Democracy is not common in Zaire, but UNTZa holds open, contested elections at all levels—from Secretary General to shop stewards. While the labor movement cannot transform Zaire's style of government by itself, it can play an increasingly important part in socio-economic decision making and, by struggling to maintain a quasi-independent status, it can keep alive some hopes for an eventual return to democratic pluralism. It is essential that AALC assistance continue to provide the technical and financial aid needed by one of Africa's most effective labor organizations.

#### D. SHORT RANGE OBJECTIVES

##### Objective 1: Improved Worker Education and Training

To upgrade the UNTZa educational program, AALC will continue to assist the ISST labor college for one more year and then phase out of this activity and into new educational and training projects.

During 1985, the following are anticipated:

- a) 30 new graduates of ISST active in the union and workplaces
- b) improved job-site performance of students and graduates
- c) 10 graduates prepared for advanced labor studies
- d) accreditation of ISST by the government of Zaire
- e) successful phase-over of ISST funding to UNTZa.

Scope of Work

UNTZa will successfully operate the ISST program, with AALC financial assistance consisting of 25% of teaching staff and personnel salaries, 50% of student and staff transportation, the purchase of textbooks and international publications for the research library, stationery and supplies, and replacement of office and classroom equipment.

Objective 2a: Improved Economic and Social Services: Women's Program

To assist the UNTZa in developing a women's department which can increase women's participation at all levels of trade unionism (DFT) and to provide health services and education for women and children (PMI).

During 1985, the following are anticipated:

- a) increased numbers of women shop stewards and members of regional and sub-regional committees
- b) increased benefits for women workers and increased awareness of women's issues
- c) sizeable increase of family planning services and vaccinated children
- d) capable and trained staff operating existing centers
- e) successful phase-over of both the DFT and PMI activities to the UNTZa

Scope of Work

AALC will continue to provide assistance for regional and sub-regional organizational activities, including seminars, transportation, preparation of publications, and administrative overhead. For the PMI program, AALC will provide UNTZa with medical equipment and funds to open an additional PMI center, conduct inspection tours, and organize a national workshop.

Objective 2b: Improved Economic and Social Services: Cooperatives

To develop and strengthen UNTZa's ARCOOP cooperative department's ability in organizing and supervising community-owned-and-operated cooperative societies.

During 1985, the following are anticipated:

- a) increase in the number of local cooperatives affiliated to ARCOOP
- b) increased production and improved management of the ARCOOP affiliates
- c) increase in membership of the affiliates

Scope of Work

AALC will assist in providing two, one-week specialized courses for local cooperative bookkeepers and four, three-day cooperative leadership courses. Funds will assist ARCOOP in purchasing office equipment for the accounting department and materials needed for agricultural producers' cooperatives.

Objective 3: Improved Financial Management

To improve and standardize the dues collection procedures and accounting methods for increasing trade union revenue.

During 1985, the following are anticipated:

- a) a 15% rise in UNTZa revenue from dues collection
- b) completion of an employers' register
- c) equipped regional accounting offices with trained regional accountants

Scope of Work

AALC will purchase 20 adding machines and organize three national-level workshops for 60 participants. An American trade union accountant will assist in evaluating the current dues collection system and in suggesting future improvements.

Objective 4: Improved Research and Documentation

To assist the UNTZa research department (ORGEDOC) in supplying economic and social data required by the union for more comprehensive participation in joint decision making with government cadres.

By 1985, the following are anticipated:

- a) publication of three research studies of immediate use in union-government discussions
- b) addition of 75-80 new publications to the UNTZa research library

Scope of Work

AALC will provide supplies and materials required by the UNTZa research department to publish studies and will assist in the selection and purchase of books and documentation material.

E. LONG RANGE OBJECTIVES

Objective 1: Effective Trade Union Leadership

AALC will concentrate on aiding UNTZa in upgrading leadership training to the highest level with specialized seminars on collective bargaining methods, union administration, health and safety procedures, etc., both within Zaire with the participation of American labor experts and in the United States.

By 1989, the following are anticipated:

- a) quantitative and qualitative increases in collective agreements;
- b) increased UNTZa participation on national, regional, and sub-regional decision-making bodies;
- c) implementation of a union health-and-safety program for Zaire;
- d) increased job performance of UNTZa top-level personnel in Kinshasa and in the interior.

Objective 2: Effective Economic and Social Service Program

AALC will continue assistance to UNTZa's ARCOOP cooperative department to improve its scope and effectiveness in developing a nationwide cooperative network. In addition, funding will be given to income-producing projects initiated by UNTZa's DFT women's department.

By 1989, the following are anticipated:

- a) marked increase in cooperative membership and the number of groups affiliated with UNTZa's ARCOOP department
- b) improved management and productiveness of affiliated cooperatives
- c) improved collaboration and coordination with the government's cooperative department and with international cooperative bodies
- d) increased number of income-producing activities initiated and administered by trade union women

Objective 3: Effective Financial Management

AALC will provide funding and technical assistance to the UNTZa finance department through the end of 1987 to improve dues collection and personnel development.

By 1989, the following are anticipated:

- a) sizeable increase in dues collection
- b) reorganized accounting system with a concrete plan for computerization

Objective 4: Capability for Research and Documentation

The AALC assistance to the UNTZa research and documentation service will continue for five years and will help the union create a permanent capability in this field.

By 1989, the following are anticipated:

- a) permanent, reliable publication of socio-economic information essential for the use of UNTZa policy makers
- b) autonomous, effective research department within the UNTZa structure
- c) increased UNTZa participation and influence in social and economic decision making at the national and local levels

F. BUDGET FOR ZAIRE COUNTRY LABOR PROGRAM

Budget Summary:

AALC Program Coordination Budget		\$111,255
Program Budget:		
Obj. 1: Worker Education	\$49,000	
Obj. 2a: Social and Economic Services: Women	44,500	
Obj. 2b: Social and Economic Services: Cooperatives	23,945	
Obj. 3: Financial Management	23,000	
Obj. 4: Research and Documentation	<u>5,000</u>	
Total Program Budget		<u>145,445</u>
<b>TOTAL COUNTRY BUDGET</b>		<b>\$256,700</b>

Coordination Budget Detail

AALC Program Coordination Budget

Salary and Taxes		
Salary	\$34,500	
FICA	<u>2,415</u>	\$36,915
Allowances		
Cost of Living	2,280	
Salary Differential	6,900	
Education	—	
Storage Cost	<u>—</u>	9,180
Other Costs		
Housing	12,000	
Medical	1,800	
Foreign Liability	1,300	
Unemployment	435	
Pension	8,625	
Home Leave	2,000	
Rest and Recuperation	—	
Local Travel	<u>12,000</u>	38,160
Office Costs		
Rent	10,000	
Supplies	4,000	
Communications	5,000	
Local Hire	6,000	
Miscellaneous	<u>2,000</u>	<u>27,000</u>
<b>TOTAL AALC PROGRAM COORDINATION</b>		<b>\$111,255</b>



**FIVE YEAR PROGRAM PROJECTION: 1985-1989**

	<u>1985</u>	<u>1986</u>	<u>1987</u>	<u>1988</u>	<u>1989</u>
Program Coordination	\$111,255	\$116,818	\$122,659	\$128,792	\$135,231
Trade Union Leadership	49,000	54,896	58,000	65,000	55,000
Social and Economic Services	68,445	80,000	95,000	123,000	135,000
Financial Management	23,000	30,000	10,000	—	—
Research and Documentation	<u>5,000</u>	<u>14,666</u>	<u>17,000</u>	<u>19,000</u>	<u>21,000</u>
<b>TOTALS</b>	<b>\$256,700</b>	<b>\$296,380</b>	<b>\$302,659</b>	<b>\$335,792</b>	<b>\$346,231</b>

## COUNTRY LABOR PROGRAM

### PA 50 -ZIMBABWE

#### A. GO

Program of assistance to the Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions is designed to help the federation strengthen the trade union movement in Zimbabwe and develop into a democratic institution playing a major role in the development of the country.

#### B. BACKGROUND SITUATION

Formerly known as Rhodesia, the southern African country of Zimbabwe experienced a stormy and violent transition to full majority rule, which was finally achieved in 1980. The government prior to 1980 was controlled by white Rhodesians who, under Ian Smith, had declared their independence from Great Britain in 1965. Sanctions on Smith's white-controlled regime were imposed by Britain and the U.N. Security Council. Anti-government guerrilla activity began in the late 1960's and increased dramatically after 1972, causing destruction, economic dislocation, many casualties and a slump in white morale. The major African nationalist groups—the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) and the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU)—were united in their quest to topple the Smith regime and replace it with African leaders.

In an effort to avoid dealing with either ZAPU or ZANU, Smith agreed to qualified majority rule and arranged elections in 1979. These resulted in Bishop Muzorewa becoming Rhodesia's first black Prime Minister. The maneuver, however, did not work and the armed guerrilla struggle continued.

Finally, in December 1979, the Lancaster House Agreements provided for a new constitution implementing majority rights in a parliamentary system. In the elections which followed, Robert Mugabe's ZANU won an absolute majority and formed Zimbabwe's first government in 1980.

Since 1980, the pre-independence alliance between ZANU (Mugabe) and ZAPU (Nkomo) has fallen apart in a re-emergence of tribal allegiances. Tribal divisions have manifested themselves in violent confrontations between government forces and dissident groups, particularly in the southern regions of the country. Nkomo has been expelled from the ruling coalition, although he continues to command allegiance from Ndebele factions in the government and particularly in Matebeleland. Other former nationalist leaders, such as Bishop Muzorewa, have been subject to harassment from time to time. Mugabe, who has publicly endorsed a one-party state for Zimbabwe, continues to consolidate his authority and the control of ZANU over the conduct of Zimbabwe's foreign and domestic policy.

Prior to independence, Zimbabwe's black trade unions were fragmented along ethnic, ideological and regional lines. This was part of a deliberate policy on the part of the colonial administration to dilute the potential economic influence of blacks in general and to consolidate the power of white unions in particular. The policy was reflected in the 1959 Industrial Conciliation Act which provided for the registration of trade unions for specific areas, in particular industries, and for different classes of workers. The multiplicity of trade unions thus identified with:

various political and regional factions. During the struggle for independence, leaders of these unions increasingly aligned themselves with political groupings so that they and their unions would be assured a place in Zimbabwe's future.

At the time of the creation of Zimbabwe, there existed six national trade union coordinating bodies, representing approximately 100,000 workers. Each of these was associated with a different political leader or faction in the country. The one political leader who did not have a substantial supporting trade union group operating in the country was Robert Mugabe and his ZANU. In these circumstances ZANU determined that the defeated politicians should not be able to use the trade unions which supported them to undermine the political victory it had won.

Accordingly, ZANU encouraged party militants to form new rival unions in a number of industries where the leaders of the existing unions had not been in support of Mugabe. In other cases, the government announced a policy of recognizing newly created and politically-inspired workers councils as having the same rights as the existing trade unions. Finally, the government appointed a trade union steering committee composed mostly of ZANU supporters which was to oversee the consolidation of unions in each industry and the creation of one national trade union center. On the whole, the attempt to create new ZANU-oriented unions which would take over the older unions was not successful. The workers supported ZANU at the ballot box, but remained loyal to their existing trade unions.

The government was more successful in its attempt to merge trade union centers in the country, but this did not result in a complete ZANU-controlled organization as had probably been intended. In a last-ditch effort to avoid a government-opposed merger, representatives of five of the former trade union groups created in 1979 the United Trade Unions of Zimbabwe. The program and pronouncements of this organization, however, were largely anti-government and aimed at preserving the previous status quo. It did not receive the support of the workers, and the new Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions (ZCTU) was established in 1981. It immediately set about organizing the scattered company and regional unions on an industry-wide basis.

One of the primary goals of the new national center was to de-emphasize the importance of political differences and unite workers in specific industries regardless of regional or tribal affiliations.

Today, forty-two unions representing approximately 172,000 workers are affiliated to the ZCTU. Occasional tribal differences and political disputes do surface, but in general the ZCTU has managed to rise above these problems. It maintains a pro-government position, although it remains independent of direct government influence or control.

### C. PAST AALC ACTIVITIES

The AFL-CIO and the AALC provided some measure of assistance to various black trade union movements during the Smith regime and tried, unsuccessfully, to convince the various federations to merge into a non-political trade union center which would have continuity whichever politician would be elected in an independent Zimbabwe. After independence, and with the formation of a national center, AALC developed a broader assistance program which included the posting of a resident representative in Harare. Since that time, AALC's programs have been designed to assist the ZCTU in merging splinter unions and developing a coherent and effective education program throughout the country.

Since independence, many foreign labor groups seized the opportunity to influence the future development of Zimbabwe's labor movement. The orientation of Prime Minister Mugabe's administration has encouraged many East Bloc labor organizations to become heavily involved. In addition, the French, the British, the West Germans, and the Scandinavians, with their emphasis on the politicization of trade unionism, have made their presence felt.

AALC's role in Zimbabwe provides an alternative to these tendencies and encourages the original intent of the Zimbabwean workers to develop a strong but non-political organizational infrastructure in Zimbabwean society. As a result, AALC's assistance is characterized by an emphasis on rank-and-file education, union administration and leadership development. Advanced seminars cover such specific issues as health and safety in designated industries, labor economics, job evaluation, and labor legislation. An important component of the education program is training instructors to carry out the program in the various regions of the country.

D. SHORT RANGE OBJECTIVES

Objective 1: Headquarters Support and Regional Administration

Because of the nature of trade union development in Zimbabwe according to regional or tribal affiliations, it is important for the ZCTU to establish its national leadership role through regional offices outside the capital city. In 1985, the following will be accomplished:

- a) One regional office will be established outside Harare.
- b) Three leadership training seminars will be held for regional officials as well as headquarters staff.

Scope of Work

AALC will provide funds for certain headquarters expenses as well as toward the establishment of a regional office. This will include the provision of equipment, a vehicle, and supplies and materials. AALC will assist the ZCTU in providing leadership training for ZCTU officers.

Objective 2: ZCTU Education Department

A priority of the ZCTU leadership is the development of a well-equipped education department from which nationwide programs can be administered. Materials in both Shona and Ndebele must be developed and a trade union newsletter is envisioned.

In 1985 the following will be accomplished:

- a) Ten rank-and-file seminars will be conducted by the ZCTU education department.
- b) Four intermediate level seminars will be held for officers from unions affiliated with the ZCTU.

- c) A newsletter and educational materials in both Shona and Ndebele will be developed.

#### Scope of Work

AALC will continue to co-sponsor rank-and-file and intermediate level seminars for the ZCTU Education Department. AALC will also provide some staff support to ZCTU as well as documents so that the department can begin to develop its own education materials.

#### Objective 3: Services to Members and Affiliates

Because the ZCTU aspires to transcend regional and tribal differences and to remain non-aligned with political parties, it has an important role to play in the nation's development. Literacy instruction, women's projects, and co-operative development are all goals of the national center.

In 1985, the following will be accomplished:

- a) Women's workshops will provide a basis for the establishment of a women's department in ZCTU.
- b) Workshops on credit union and co-operative development will be held (See PA-22 Credit Union and Cooperative Development).
- c) Other projects, such as literacy instruction, health clinics, and vocational education will be investigated.

#### Scope of Work

AALC will provide advice and funds for women's seminars and toward the development of other projects designed to benefit workers and their families.

### E. LONG RANGE OBJECTIVES

#### Objective 1: Headquarters Support and Regional Administration

As the ZCTU develops a regional infrastructure, the need for administrative personnel will increase. Additional personnel will require a certain amount of leadership training and development.

By 1989, the following should be accomplished:

- a) Five regional offices will be established, staffed and equipped.
- b) Leadership training seminars will be held on an ongoing basis for regional officers.

#### Objective 2: ZCTU Education Department

As the education programs are expanded to regional centers, the ZCTU Education Department can begin to develop specialized expertise in a variety of areas, such as research, industrial relations, health and safety, etc.

By 1989, the following should be accomplished:

- a) The establishment of a research department in ZCTU.
- b) The establishment of an industrial relations department in ZCTU.
- c) Regional offices will be responsible for education programs in their region under the supervision of the ZCTU.

**Objective 3: Services to Members and Affiliates**

In the next five years, the ZCTU should increase its capacity for involvement in projects which will benefit existing members and attract new ones.

By 1989, the following should be accomplished.

- a) The establishment of a women's wing in ZCTU.
- b) Literacy instruction will be provided for trade union members.
- c) A co-operative project, such as a savings bank, credit unions, provident fund, or consumer co-op, will be developed.

**F. BUDGET FOR ZIMBABWE COUNTRY LABOR PROGRAM**

**Budget Summary:**

AALC Program Coordination Budget		\$105,425
<b>Program Budget:</b>		
Obj. 1: Headquarters Support and Regional Administration	\$61,000	
Obj. 2: ZCTU Education Department	23,600	
Obj. 3: Services to Members and Affiliates	<u>8,000</u>	
Total Program Budget		<u>\$2,600</u>
<b>TOTAL COUNTRY BUDGET</b>		<b>\$198,025</b>

**Coordination Budget Detail**

**AALC Program Coordination Budget**

<b>Salary and Taxes</b>		
Salary	\$42,900	
FICA	<u>2,650</u>	\$45,550
<b>Allowances</b>		
Cost of Living	—	
Salary Differential	4,290	
Education	—	
Storage Cost	<u>800</u>	5,090
<b>Other Costs</b>		
Housing	7,000	
Medical	2,000	
Foreign Liability	1,625	
Unemployment	435	
Pension	10,725	
Home Leave	2,000	
Rest and Recuperation	—	
Local Travel	<u>14,000</u>	37,785
<b>Office Costs</b>		
Rent	3,000	
Supplies	8,000	
Communications	4,000	
Miscellaneous	<u>2,000</u>	<u>17,000</u>
<b>TOTAL AALC PROGRAM COORDINATION</b>		<b>\$105,425</b>

**Program Budget Detail**

**Objective 1: Headquarters Support & Regional Administration**

<b>Regional Office</b>		
Equipment & Furnishings	\$20,000	
Vehicle	12,000	
<b>Leadership training-</b>		
3 seminars, 5 days (25 participants)	<u>29,000</u>	\$61,000

**Objective 2: Education Department**

<b>Rank and File Seminars</b>		
(10 seminars, 2 days, 30 participants)	10,600	
<b>Intermediate level seminars</b>		
(4 seminars, 5 days, 30 participants)	10,000	
<b>Supplies and materials</b>	<u>3,000</u>	23,600

**Objective 3: Services to Members and Affiliates**

<b>Women's Seminars</b>		
(3 workshops, 3 days, 20 participants)		<u>8,000</u>

**TOTAL PROGRAM BUDGET** **\$92,600**

**FIVE YEAR PROGRAM PROJECTION: 1985-1989**

	<u>1985</u>	<u>1986</u>	<u>1987</u>	<u>1988</u>	<u>1989</u>
Program Coordination	\$105,425	\$110,696	\$116,231	\$122,042	\$128,144
Hqrs. Support & Regional Administration	61,000	70,000	72,000	75,000	75,000
Education Department	23,600	36,000	36,000	38,000	38,000
Services to Members and Affiliates	<u>8,000</u>	<u>12,000</u>	<u>15,000</u>	<u>15,000</u>	<u>15,000</u>
<b>TOTALS</b>	<b>\$198,025</b>	<b>\$228,696</b>	<b>\$239,231</b>	<b>\$250,042</b>	<b>\$256,144</b>

## COUNTRY LABOR PROGRAM

### PA 52 - SUDAN

#### A. GOAL

The AALC program in the Sudan will assist the Sudan Workers Trade Union Federation (SWTUF) and the Sudanese Federation of Employees and Professionals' Trade Unions (FEPTU) to unite and build a strong and effective democratic organization which will improve the welfare of its members and be able to participate in the process of nation building.

#### B. TRADE UNION SITUATION

The Democratic Republic of Sudan is the largest country in Africa, almost four times the size of Texas. It is bordered by eight countries: Egypt, Ethiopia, Kenya, Uganda, Zaire, Chad, Libya and the Central African Republic. The historic Nile river, the longest in the world, divides the country and is the north-south means of communication. About 80% of its 18,000,000 people are in agriculture, animal husbandry and fishing. Cotton, sesame, peanuts and gum arabic are among its major exports. Urban workers are employed in commercial agriculture (cotton), textile industries, transportation and the civil service. Political, religious, and ethnic differences between the northern and southern parts of the country have translated themselves into armed conflicts in the last three decades.

Sudanese unions are among the oldest in Africa and were legalized in 1948. Under the 1948 law any 50 people could form unions, which led to the multiplicity of weak labor organizations. The exception was in the railway industry, where a union of 30,000 members constituted the backbone of a relatively strong federation known as the General Labor Union. Communist elements controlled the unions and reportedly played a major role in the coup against President Numeiri in 1971.

When President Numeiri was restored to power through a counter-coup, he issued a new trade union law which created the Sudan Workers Trade Union Federation (SWTUF) and the Federation of Employees and Professional Trade Unions (FEPTU). The former represents blue collar workers and the latter white collar employees. The relationship between the two federations ranges from one of strained politeness to direct conflict. Both federations maintain regional offices in about 25 districts, and wish to carry out activities in education, cooperatives, and health services. The two federations represent 1,000,000 members.

#### C. PAST AALC ACTIVITIES

The AALC has maintained contacts with SWTUF through its East Africa Regional office beginning in 1973. Contacts with the professional federation began in 1978. In 1977-78, the SWFTU was very active in trying to bring a closer relationship between the AFL-CIO and the Egyptian Trade Union Federation.

Because of lack of funds it was not possible to develop a country program. Activities carried out so far have been done through small impact funds and include language training, provision of medical supplies, vehicles and office equipment, and

cooperative education. In 1982 a comprehensive country proposal was submitted for funding to the local AID mission but funding could not be provided.

In 1983, 45 trade union leaders from both federations were sent to Egypt to take part in an AALC sponsored program on trade unions and development held in Cairo. During three seminars of 15 days each, which covered general policy, legislation, and the role of women, the Sudanese leaders had an opportunity to discuss the new integration charter between Egypt and Sudan with their Egyptian counterparts. In May 1984, the AFL-CIO was one of two western countries and one of 10 worldwide to be invited to the SWFTU congress (held every 4 years). At the end of the congress, the AFL-CIO representative had an audience with President Numeri, at which time the President asked the AFL-CIO to carry out an active program of support to the unions in the Sudan. Over the last four years, the two federations in the Sudan have continually asked that a country program be established along the lines of the program in Egypt. The leaders of both federations are represented in the leadership of the ruling political party by virtue of their position in the trade unions.

#### D. SHORT RANGE OBJECTIVES

##### Objective 1: Development of a Workers' Education Department

In response to a longstanding request by the two Sudanese Trade Union federations, AALC will assist in conducting a training program on collective bargaining for the two organizations.

##### Scope of Work

AALC will provide funds for all expenses related to running the above seminars for a total of 30 participants. Experienced American trade unionists will teach in both courses.

#### E. LONG RANGE OBJECTIVES

##### Objective 1: Functioning Workers' Education System

AALC will assist the two federations in establishing a workers' education system which will enable them to develop capable leadership and an informed rank-and-file. The following are anticipated by 1989:

- a) Education departments set up and operational in both federations.
- b) 16 instructors trained.
- c) Basic teaching curriculums developed.

##### Objective 2: Improved Worker Standard of Living

The AALC will assist the two federations in developing an effective network of consumer cooperatives, credit unions, and pharmaceutical coops. Studies will be made on extending health care to union members and their dependents.

The following are anticipated by 1989:

- a) Four new pharmaceutical coops will be established (sites outside Khartoum and Port-Sudan).
- b) Four consumer coops will be established.
- c) One pilot health project will be started for the Agricultural Workers' Union.

Objective 3: Functioning Health and Safety Program

AALC will assist the two federations in establishing a health and safety program for their members.

The following are anticipated by 1989:

- a) Health and safety units will have been established in both federations.
- b) Ten people will have received adequate training to head health and safety units in their respective unions.
- c) Demonstrative health equipment will have been provided to the 10 unions; health and safety literature will have been translated into Arabic.

BUDGET FOR SUDAN COUNTRY LABOR PROGRAM

Budget Summary:

Program Budget:

Objective: Development of a Workers'  
Education Department \$15,000

**TOTAL COUNTRY BUDGET \$15,000**

Program Budget Detail

Objective: Development of a Worker's Education Department

Specialized Training 30 Participants  
2 weeks \$15,000

**TOTAL PROGRAM BUDGET \$15,000**

**FIVE YEAR PROGRAM PROJECTION: 1985-1989**

	<u>1985</u>	<u>1986</u>	<u>1987</u>	<u>1988</u>	<u>1989</u>
Program Coordination	—	\$143,130	\$150,290	\$157,805	\$165,700
Education Department & Training	15,000	78,750	82,688	86,822	91,163
Improved Worker Standard of Living	—	75,000	77,500	81,375	81,375
Health & Safety Program	—	<u>75,000</u>	<u>77,500</u>	<u>81,375</u>	<u>85,444</u>
<b>TOTALS</b>	<b>\$15,000</b>	<b>\$371,880</b>	<b>\$387,978</b>	<b>\$407,377</b>	<b>\$423,682</b>