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EVALUATION OF THE AFRICAN AMERICAN LABOR CENTER PROJECT
IN THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA
CONDUCTED BY ARNOLD M. ZACK
MARCH 23, 1986

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On March 12, 1986 I signed a Contract of Services with the AID Affairs officer of the U.S. Embassy in Pretoria, Republic of South Africa containing the following:

"C 1 STATEMENT OF WORK

The basis purpose of the Contract services is to evaluate the AID grant to the African American Labor Center (AALC) in support of the development of a viable labor movement for South African blacks... The evaluation shall (a) assess the AALC program to determine how it can be improved and (b) determine other ways the U.S. government can assist black unions. To do this the evaluation must assess and document the success of the Project's activities in meeting the Project's goals and purpose... and recommend changes as necessary for the continuation of this activity and future programs of support of the development of black labor unions."

"C 2 THE PROGRAM GOAL:

Assist in the development of a viable labor movement, one that is democratic, well trained, well administered and well structured in which black workers will have the necessary representation and organization to attain economic and social improvements and ultimately contribute to the peaceful transition of South Africa to an equal society for all races."

"C 3 THE PROJECT PURPOSE :

Principally to train black trade union leaders to provide them with a higher degree of competence to better serve the union membership and strengthen the effectiveness and the influence of black unions as a force for peaceful social change in South Africa. The evaluation must address three major concerns. First compliance with the terms and conditions of the grant. Second recommendations for improvements in the program, and third, other options for support of black trade unions to supplement the AALC program."

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METHODOLOGY

In conducting this evaluation I spent three days in Washington, DC meeting with representatives of the AALC and officials of AID and U.S. Department of State. In addition I met with former South African trade union officials now resident in Washington and Boston and secured the names of individuals in South Africa who were conversant with the current state of trade union activity in South Africa. On arrival in Johannesburg I met with Regional Labor Officer Nicholas Stigliani who provided me with a detailed and comprehensive briefing of the labor situation and with him also met First Secretary Jimmy O. Philpot in Pretoria to review my instructions.

That evening and for the next three days, I met with nine individuals of my own selection unaffiliated with the AALC program and representing management, trade unions, the practices of law and arbitration, academic resources, and independent institutions. I solicited their assessment of the AALC project, the South African labor situation in general and the prognosis for continued or expanded AID support of labor programs in South Africa. A list of the 32 individuals I interviewed is appended to this report.

In order to avoid problems arising from premature contacts with unions not receiving AALC assistance prior to meeting with those that do, I did not meet any trade union officials during this initial survey. On Thursday March 6, 1986 pursuant to earlier arrangements I flew to Maseru, Lesotho to meet with Mike Lescault for the purpose of examining his records and exploring the subject of grant compliance. Lescault was bed ridden and in severe pain at the time, so only limited conversation ensued. He did permit me to examine his records to ascertain his reporting procedures. I had been earlier advised that a financial audit was beyond my authority; that AID personnel would examine the accounting, reporting and monitoring procedures; and that I was to refrain from such exploration. Lescault's illness on Friday and his evacuation to Universitas Hospital in Blomfontain on Saturday precluded any extended discussions with Lescault. My evaluation is therefore qualitative rather than quantitative. Lescault and Labor Attache Stigliani had earlier agreed upon a list of eight recipient unions I should visit and Lescault had in fact made the necessary appointments in Johannesburg for Monday and Tuesday, March 10 and 11, 1986.

Lescault was, of course, unable to accompany me on my return to Johannesburg or to the planned interviews in Durban, Port Elizabeth and Capetown. Just prior to his departure for the hospital on Friday March 7, 1986 he provided me with a list of telephone numbers and addresses of trade union and other personnel so that I was able to arrange interviews for the

remainder of my itinerary. Not all efforts at arranging interviews in Port Elizabeth and Capetown were successful, absent adequate introductions.

On Sunday, March 9, 1986, I met with a number of arbitrators and advocates. On Monday and Tuesday March 10th and 11th I interviewed personnel at nine trade unions which were or are participants in the AALC project. On Wednesday March 12th I flew to Durban where I interviewed union and management attorneys as well as two trade unionists. On Thursday March 13th I flew to Port Elizabeth where I conducted two interviews. On Friday, March 14th, I flew to Capetown where I interviewed a union attorney. The weekend I spent working on this report. On Monday March 17, 1986, I met with Ambassador Nickel and Helen Suzman, a member of the South African Parliament, prior to my return to Johannesburg for a further meeting with Labor Attache Stigliani followed by my return to the United States. All individuals interviewed were assured that their comments would not be for attribution and my report is reflective of that commitment.

This document seeks to respond to the three issues set forth on the bottom of page 3 of my contract as well as to answer the specific questions (listed on pages 4-6 thereof.) It closes with a more subjective summary setting forth views beyond those asked by the contract's specific questions.

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**ISSUE (a) COMPLIANCE WITH THE TERMS AND CONDITIONS OF
THE GRANT**
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The initial grant to the AALC of \$ 875,000 in September 30, 1983 was to "provide support to the grantee for the trade union training initiatives among black South African workers through the creation of a viable labor movement able to compete effectively and sell its labor competitively in the South African marketplace."

The grant provided for assistance bilaterally and through the ICFTU devoted to independent black trade union support, to training programs for independent black trade unions and for joint projects through the ITS, the A. Philip Randolph Institute and the Labor Desk. That grant was amended to provide a total funding of \$1,900,000 for the period ending September 30, 1985.

That effort was undertaken in a very troubled and complex arena, with multiple trade unions, some of long standing tradition and experience and others of newer emergence following the liberalization of the South African

labor law amendments to Labor Relations Act in 1979-81. The unions varied in size and geographical distribution and in their orientation to various political ideologies. The prevailing view of those I interviewed was that there is a strong feeling of identity with the United States trade union movement and a receptiveness to assistance from its unions. Unfortunately, the initial entry of the AALC was accompanied by adverse publicity and press reporting which placed it at a disadvantage in establishing the positive and supportive relationships which both the South African unions and the AALC sought.

The suspicion with which the AALC arrival on the scene was greeted made it difficult for Michael Lescault, the AALC representative, to establish a broad base of relationships among the full range of political leanings in the trade union's movement. In addition, the problem was further complicated by general disappointment with State Department policy toward South Africa and by a tendency of the trade unions to shift their allegiances into different groupings since the program has begun.

In this context it was therefore only logical that those unions which were untroubled by the charges against the AALC would seek out AALC programs. It was also true that other trade unions seeking a financial handout rather than support for developmental programs also sought out AALC support. Mike Lescault, by all reports, did an admirable job in fending off the latter and in selecting for assistance those unions with the promise of fulfilling the mandate of the grant for assistance in training and development. The selection of those unions meriting assistance only naturally entrenched the aloofness of those unions which because of political priorities initially refrained from requesting AALC support, even though they continued to maintain contact with sister unions directly, through the International Trade Secretariats and the ICFTU.

Lescault must be held to have acted prudently in selecting from among his many petitioners those unions which held the best promise for developing training programs and financial self sufficiency. His emphasis on training program development has resulted in the assessment of all interviewed that his approach has been properly low keyed; that the training programs have been effective; and that he has enhanced the credibility of the AFL-CIO programs in South Africa.

A more strident approach could have readily exasperated the reluctance to deal not only with the AALC but with the AFL-CIO itself, its member unions, and the ITS.

In his December, 1985 report to the AALC, Lescault calculated that in the 27 months of its operations, the AALC program had directly assisted in 36 programs for 29 unions with a total membership of 335,000. He noted that 22 of the 36 programs were initiated and 9 new unions were assisted in 1985; and that 20% of the AALC assistance went to COSATU, 20% to CUSA, 15% to AZACTU and 45% to independent unions.

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(1) TRAINING
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The AALC grant has been used to fund training through the ICFTU, through the ITS, through direct grant to the recipient unions, and through study tours to the USA.

The ICFTU allocation of the AALC has gone to support activities of the Urban Training Project which serves as the educational arm of CUSA, the national center for South Africa currently recognized by the ICFTU. It has provided some participation costs as well as travel, staff costs, publication costs and facilities for training CUSA affiliates through its branches in Johannesburg, Durban and Port Elizabeth. The 1985 report of AALC activities was not provided to me and I was unable to secure these figures from Lescault but the 1984 report reflects a total of 133 specialized and residential courses with 3892 participants and 237 day courses with 6197 participants. In addition 5 of the UTP staff were sent to the U.S. in 1985 for training in workers education. From all reports the UTP has provided professional training of unchallenged competence. Reliance on the UTP program has provided an independence of status and has overcome some of the trepidation attached to taking training directly provided by AALC.

The International Trade Secretariats have been provided funding to permit direct programs from American to South African trade unions. The American Federation of Teachers through the IFFTU sponsored a seminar for the Natal Teachers Union. The United Food and Commercial Workers through the FIET provided a month long internship to the Commercial and Catering and Allied Workers Union for two trade unionists in the U.S. with attending UFWA courses in collective bargaining, economic research, grievance and dispute settlement. The Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union through the ITGLWU sent an expert to South Africa who conducted seminars on occupational safety and health for the Textile Workers Union of South Africa; and the United Steelworkers of America through the IMF provided technical and financial assistance to help in the formation of a coordinating body of black South African Metal Workers Unions, and provided a seminar in job

evaluation. In early 1985 one representative each from the National Independent Workers Union and the National Auto and Allied Workers Unions visited the U.S. for two weeks through the facilities of the IMF.

The utilization of the ITS as a vehicle for union to union contacts has been very effective. Although the rivalries of union federations and ideologies among South African trade unions have impeded the development of coordinating committees for other ITSs, the success of the IMF operation and its presence in South Africa under Brian Frederick's leadership demonstrates the importance of encouraging further ITS activity.

The Direct Grants of the AALC to recipients have emphasized training of shop stewards on organizing and collective bargaining. In a number of instances there has been encouragement to have the unions set up their own educational departments and programs. Since many of the unions are developing in multiple locations and since the union members lack their own transport and are forced to reside in townships far removed from their work locations, the provision of vehicles to bring the training programs to the various townships and to the branches in different cities has provided a coordination and continuity of training programs not otherwise available. In other cases the AALC has provided the administrative support necessary to launch such programs as well as equipment for typing, reproducing, training literature and materials.

Study tours to the USA have been provided to union personnel but the statement from union officials has indicated that their preference is for the application of such funds to the training of a greater number of personnel in South Africa instead of the training of a few in the U.S. However, the visits of South African officials to the U.S. appears to have been more in a representational role than as students, and such training as occurred through the ITS programs cited above have permitted trade union leaders to visit and assess potential U.S. sources of future help for training in South Africa itself.

A- Are the Training Activities Coordinated and Complimentary?

The foregoing approaches to training are all suitable. They fit the varying needs of the recipients. Although it would appear simple to mount just one training effort, the diversity of the unions and their needs dictates such a varied approach.

For unions which are new to the scene, and which are struggling to recruit members in different locations and to build a viable self funding

entity, the need is to train their followers on the structure and the role of the trade union, and thereafter how to engage in collective bargaining and how to process grievances. Even the most devoted and competent leadership can't do all that is necessary without trained shop stewards, or the equipment to type and reproduce flyers advising of training programs, or the material to be distributed during training in the variety of languages that must be employed to bring the message of trade unionism to a new rank and file for those unions. Administrative support and provision of office equipment and even vehicles may be an essential component in spreading the message of why one should join the union and pay dues, thus making the union viable and self supporting. The training thus may be a precondition to union self sufficiency and its ability to establish its own more advanced training programs. For such efforts AALC presence and support may be essential, particularly with periodic assessments to assure that earlier funds were properly expended and accounted for with appropriate results demonstrated before additional support is extended.

In other cases where the unions' infrastructure is intact, greater efforts on more specialized training may be justified through a contracting agency such as the Urban Training Institute to provide subsidized training at accessible locations by professional trainees in languages and with materials that are geared to the needs of the participants, such as shop steward training, collective bargaining training, financial analysis training, occupational health and safety training.

In the case of the more established unions, the training in rudimentary trade union skills may be routinely carried on in-house, but the need for more specialized training may be beyond its facilities and competence. Problems unique to that union's industry would justify specialized assistance from a sister union in the United States. The training of trade union personnel in the problems of brown lung disease in textile plants, or of black lung disease or mine safety in coal mining are examples of training which can be best accommodated through union to union efforts coordinated through the facilities of the appropriate International Trade Secretariats. Utilization of those secretariats accomplished additional benefits by coordinating both the donor country unions and the recipient country unions within the single ITS. For the United States unions it creates a greater visibility for the need of assistance to South African unions, while for the South African unions, it encourages a coordination and cooperation which hopefully will lead to the reduction of the number of rival trade unions in that industry while placing the ITS in a firmer position to monitor those rivalries and to encourage such mergers.

The ICFTU funded training through the Urban Training Program has been an important component in raising the skill levels of the unions it assists. The effort to this point has concentrated on the CUSA affiliates and has been of relatively low profile. The UTP programming is important and should be continued.

The several training activities are all geared to different aspects of the same need. While local programs have been effectively monitored by Lescault, the ITS and ICFTU efforts have been monitored through AALC Washington. Although there is evidence that on one occasion the technical expert on an ITS exchange from the United States declined Lescault's efforts at cooperation in South Africa, that may be a problem unique to the individual and does not appear to be a failing of the programs of union relationships themselves. Union to union relations should continue with AALC coordination and not as independent efforts to circumvent the AALC. Each training effort has its unique purpose, and each is an essential element in filling the overall training need.

B- WHICH TRAINING IS MOST RELEVANT TO THE NEEDS TODAY?

With only 7-15% of the black work force organized, the training component that is most relevant to the needs of South African labor unions today is training in rudimentary trade unionism, and in the training of shop stewards to present that message in the language and in the areas where those potential unionists live. In that respect the type of on-the-spot assistance provided by the AALC representatives in developing trade union programs is crucial as is the training programs provided at both levels by UTP. But to restrict the efforts to that level would ignore the very real needs of the more experienced unions with their specialized needs that can not be answered within the South African context. For those unions facilitated contacts with their counterparts in the USA is not only desirable but essential if they are to meet the more sophisticated needs of their members.

C- IS TRAINING CONDUCTED MULTILATERALLY AND BY OUTSIDE ORGANIZATIONS AS MORE OR LESS BENEFICIAL THAN DIRECT AALC TRAINING?

Since the different institutions through which the AALC has channelled funds have dealt with different aspects of the same training need, it is difficult to quantify whether those approaches provide training that is more or less beneficial than direct AALC training. Obviously the AALC lacks the facility to provide training in subjects such as brown or black lung. It could conceivably arrange for direct assistance in those areas. But more

importantly, the ICFTU and ITS are appropriate channels for funnelling such assistance to unions with which they are respectively affiliated. The United States is committed to support the legitimate organizations of free trade unionism. The AFL-CIO in the United States and CUSA in South Africa are the recognized national centers of their respective countries. It is only reasonable that assistance be thus channelled through the ICFTU and through the ITS to which unions of both countries belong.

A more practical problem exists in the perception of the trade union recipients. Stemming perhaps from publicity surrounding the initial AALC visit, a number of unions are apparently more sensitive to an AALC connection than they are to identification with the AFL-CIO, the ITS or even the ICFTU. Therefore if the prime objective of the programs is to provide trade union training it would be short sighted to decline use of the ICFTU, the ITS and even the AFL-CIO identification if such identification is indeed preferred by the recipients. If the track record of the ICFTU, ITS, and AFL-CIO is shown to produce no detrimental impact and their future programs are productive, effective, and acceptable, then it would appear reasonable that experience could lead to more programs thereafter being labelled as being AALC.

D- IS THE CONTENT OF THE COURSES APPROPRIATE TO THE TARGET GROUPS?

Judging from my interviews, I am persuaded that the content of the courses are appropriate to the target group. In most cases the participants are learning the rudimentary elements of trade unionism. The training done by UTP and that done by the education departments of unions is in local languages based upon an adaptation of trade union training materials from other countries. In the case of the training by the Orange Vaal General Workers Union in Vereeniging, a shop steward manual written for white workers was not only translated into local languages but the drawings as well were redone to reflect African workers features and hair, i.e. (white employer was pictured as bald.)

In the training done by the Motor Industry Combined Workers Union, the AALC provided audio visual equipment including slide technology and a video recorder. That equipment permitted the development of video tapes using role playing employing local participants speaking local languages on subjects from shop steward training to the issues of health and safety faced by the small auto workshops and petrol stations organized by the union. With a similarly developed slide show the union's Education Director is able to

present a more appealing presentation of trade union training to the union's widely dispersed cities.

Several union educators who attended a week long seminar on health and safety sponsored by the IMF reported that they adapted the training materials provided at that forum by emphasizing the problems unique to their members worksites and used the adapted materials for transmitting health and safety information to their members.

As the target group of new trade union members learns its early lessons of why one joins unions, basic collective bargaining, grievance and inquiry handling, the need for the development of more advanced materials, such as understanding financial records, labor statistics, worker legal protections under the law, how to present a case in mediation and/or arbitration and intricacies of health and safety for the particular industry will become appropriate for transmission into training modes comprehensible and suitable to the union members.

E- HOW DOES OVERSEAS TRAINING COMPARE WITH IN-COUNTRY?

The long standing debate over whether in-country training is preferable to overseas training has been answered by the trade unions themselves in my interviews. Several unions with basic training needs and inexpensive in meeting them report that they rejected the offer of overseas tours in favor of diverting that money to in-country training and assistance in building their education departments. The AALC responded correctly in acceding to such preferences. As long ago as 1964 I wrote in Labor Training in Developing Countries that overseas trade union training risked sending second string leaders because the most devoted recognized the handicap their extended absences would impose on their unions (as well as the risk of loss of their leadership position.) Those sent therefore tended to be either the less competent leaders whom the top leadership could afford to do without for an extended period, or potential rivals whose extended absence was actually desired.

Overseas training is preferable I suggest only where the substantive material can not be taught or is not available within the country. Thus most of the training required for initial trade union building can be provided within the country, even the more advanced subjects such as understanding financial statements, preparing for negotiations, presenting cases in inquiries, grievance processing and arbitration and even health and safety. Where the trainers are not available in South Africa, as perhaps in brown or black lung or mine safety they can be and have been brought from abroad to provide such

expertise to trainers who can then adapt to the educational levels and abilities of the workers being taught. Overseas training should be reserved to trade union educational specialists within the South African unions whose level of education and experience is sufficiently high to enable them to fully adapt to, comprehend, and learn from specialized trade union training available in U.S. training facilities. Such courses as are offered by U.S. training facilities such as University worker education programs, or at the George Meany Center, or even the Harvard TUP are more often geared to the needs of U.S. unions and unless teaching specialized programs such as worker education programs for developing countries, or teaching South African oriented occupational health and safety problems would not be appropriate to most South African trade union leaders and result in excessive expenditures for relatively limited results.

This reasoning is restricted to actual training programs, and would of course not apply to shorter trips for non-training purposes such as rallies in commemoration of the Sharpville massacre, or representative attendance at union AFL-CIO or counterpart functions within the U.S.

F- WHICH UNIONS ARE BEING TARGETED FOR TRAINING AND WHY?

As noted at the outset of this section the AALC did not have a full choice of unions to which it could provide its services. It was restricted to a limited market by the political attitudes of many South African unions, and by the publicity accompanying its entry into the country. It certainly has had ample opportunity to provide assistance to a larger number of unions than it has aided, judging from the number of unanswered requests for assistance submitted to Lescault. He has apparently devoted considerable time to fending off requests from unions which he has assessed as being unlikely to utilize the funds in effective union building toward economic self sufficiency. Several of the unions I met with which he has funded for their educational efforts have expressed dismay that he hasn't been willing to meet their full requests to fund their on-going costs of administration. One union which has been provided financial support for the transportation, food and accommodation costs associated with attendance at UTP educational programs bemoaned the fact that its request for a photocopying machine and for five vehicles, to ease its union administration problems, had not been granted, even though it viewed them as essential in its battle to fend off organizational competition by a rival union. From my viewpoint the AALC stance in funding the clearly educational component of a much broader request was appropriate.

The AALC has "targeted" for training those unions, from across the wide

spectrum of trade union ideology, which have made out a credible case for assistance in training oriented to building knowledgable and dues paying membership which would in turn result in the unions' viability and economic self sufficiency.

G - WHAT SKILLS ARE BEING ACQUIRED AND HOW ARE THEY BEING EMPLOYED IN UNION ACTIVITIES?

The emphasis of AALC sponsored training programs has been on developing courses for shop stewards who would in turn pass on basic organizational information and trade union rights to rank and file members. In a society where many of the rights of trade union members are embedded in legislation, but where the rank and file have neither the educational skills nor the language competence to understand and interpret their rights, training transmitted to and through the shop stewards has already demonstrated its usefulness in apprising union members of their legal entitlements. For instance, union members now know of their right to a "board of inquiry" before their dismissal and of their right to contractual benefits, so that they bring to the attention of union leadership, wrongs and illegalities they have suffered which might otherwise have been accepted without protest. Likewise, more advanced training provided through the ITS in matters such as occupational health and safety have transmitted to rank and file members not only new information as to safety hazards and chemical dangers they face in their daily work, but also information as to recourse and redress available to those who have been victims of improper health and safety practices.

In a society such as South Africa where the workers are aware of their educational deprivations and are alert to their need to build their knowledge of trade unions, education has a ready and appreciative audience in the rank and file membership. Even casual discussions with such rank and file recipients waiting at union offices persuades me that the training programs as to members rights are having their desired impact not only in raising the awareness of union members but in their recognition and appreciation that U.S. unions are helping in their education and skill awareness and development.

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(2) ADMINISTRATIVE SUPPORT
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My charge and the restriction on my access to financial data related to administrative support of unions does not permit me to answer in depth the questions raised in this section of the evaluation contract. I have however, in

my interviews, sought out such information on those issues to enable me to at least make a qualitative reponse to the questions. Additional information was provided by the December 1984, June 1985 and December 1985 reports submitted by Lescault to AALC Washington.

A- WHAT KIND OF ADMINISTRATIVE SUPPORT IS BEING PROVIDED?

The residential burdens of apartheid, with employees living in townships up to 20 miles away from their work place is unique in the way of trade union organization and administration. So too does the unique local nature of industrial organization in such a large country. A union in Durban may lack access to workers while at work or in the short interval after daily work before their evening transportation of up to two hours to their townships. Its organizational efforts may therefore be diverted to weekend meetings in the several townships far distant from town and each other where their members reside. A union of cleaning personnel, even if successful in Johannesburg, may need to answer the call from workers in the same occupation in Pretoria but lack the facilities to launch such an operation even though the cities are only an hour apart. Provision of a vehicle may be the only way in which a training program may reach its audience particularly in South Africa. A union with an active training program may require audio visual equipment or even a typewriter or photocopier or duplicating machine to prepare its course materials and flyers announcing trade union program availability.

As noted earlier, all these elements of administrative support for the development of training programs provide the means by which the rank and file learn what a viable union can accomplish for them in terms of servicing and fulfilling their needs in organization, in negotiation and in representation once a contract is achieved. They also learn of the essential link between payment of dues as the necessary precondition for economic self sufficiency of the union which is necessary to provide the services they know are available.

B- HOW ARE THESE UNIONS SELECTED?

Despite the allegations of limited AALC acceptability, there appear to be a substantial number of applicants for AALC support. Although Lescault's illness precluded any discussion on this issue, the evidence and statements of others persuades me that he has endeavored in his selection to choose unions which he calculated could be nurtured into financial self sufficiency, and which he expected to benefit by training programs through increased membership and increased loyalty in dues payment. Lescault has endeavored

to select unions for assistance from the broad range of trade union grouping, as well as from the independents, and the listing of unions helped by AALC reflects that spread.

The AALC had not been able to make substantial inroads into COSATU unions prior to the recent declaration against the ICPU. Although COSATU has its own training programs it would, nonetheless, be desirable to stimulate greater contacts with COSATU unions since the federation promises to be the largest and most effective in South Africa for at least the near future. It is of course untimely for the AALC to undertake any strenuous effort to establish new contacts with COSATU or its member unions at the present time. Until conditions stabilize within COSATU however, it would appear desirable that the AALC avoid any increased disillusionment with its programs. To achieve that goal the AALC should be careful to avoid encouraging or supporting any splinter groups that have left the COSATU unions, and should avoid establishing ties with the proposed INKATHA unions. Such unions, due to be launched on May 1, 1986 at a Durban rally, are expected to be met head on by a COSATU response. Since any new INKATHA federation would be linked to the political future of Chief Minister Buthelezi and since it would have its strength only in the Natal region, evidence of any closer relationship thereto would certainly diminish or forestall any prospects of building stronger links with COSATU unions.

C- DO ADEQUATE RECORDS AND ACCOUNTS EXIST FOR ALL SUPPORT TRANSACTIONS (EMCOMPASSES SECTION 3 AS WELL)

During my time in Masero, although recognizing my restrictions on financial accounting, I sought, nonetheless, to learn the procedures used for accounting of its union support by the AALC.

Lescault has detailed recordkeeping procedures to cover transactions with the several recipient unions. His records are carried in South African Rands. Each transaction is made by check. Lescault keeps not only a running check balance (Exhibit 2 a), but a log in which for each check number he records the date of issuance, the organization to which issued, the amount thereof and a description of the purpose for the expenditure. (Exhibit 2 b) Each check to a union is then entered into a running account sheet for that union which lists date, check number in order, amount of advance, amount of receipt and balance. Thus when a check is issued to a union for an expenditure or purchase it creates a credit for the AALC and a debit for the Union. (Exhibit 2 c) When the union produces receipts for the purchase, an entry is made for date, for the amount of the receipt, and the balance is accordingly reduced. Each month Lescault sends a series of reporting

documents to the AALC/Washington.

One such document is a Monthly Project Accounting Form for each union listing payments to the union (by check number), the purpose of the payment, (communications, supplies, subscriptions, publications, local hire, local travel, staff, equipment, seminars, miscellaneous) and maintaining a running balance (Exhibit 2 d.)

In addition to the foregoing, Lescault maintains a Monthly Petty Cash Transaction Form (Exhibit 2 e) listing date, receipt, purpose, amount and account number reference therefore as well as a running balance for the petty cash. He also maintains a Monthly Project Accounting Form for the program as a whole reflecting the items listed on the individual union Project Accounting Form but serving as a control form for every check issued during the month, with an explanation for each expenditure. (Exhibit 2 f) There are other accounting forms used to summarize Lescault's office and operation expense (Exhibit 2 g), and a monthly bank reconciliation statement (Exhibit 2 h). Each month according to AALC/Washington requirements (Exhibit 2 i) Lescault submits a Monthly Project Accounting Form, a bank reconciliation and statement, a Monthly Report Financial Summary, Personal Expense Reports, Petty Cash Transaction Forms and all receipts collected in support of such transactions:

In addition to the quantitative reports which Lescault stated may take a total of two work days per month to maintain, he sends to AALC/Washington a weekly summary of his activities with separate paragraphs devoted to his activities with each union. These separate paragraphs are photo reproduced onto a chronological record of these reporting union by union, and kept in that union's file to provide a running account of the union's relationship with the AALC. (Exhibit 2 j) These materials are in turn used to develop overall reports on AALC/South Africa activities which have been prepared for 1984 (16 pages), for January 30 - June 1985 (12 pages), and for July 1 - December 1985 (19 pages).

I believe that adequate documentation and records are maintained by AALC/South Africa and that a comprehensive accounting and recording system is in place. Furthermore the evidence shows that full accounting documentation and weekly as well as six month assessments are provided from AALC/South Africa. I have not had opportunity to review existing documentation in Washington to determine whether or not improvements should be made in its reporting procedures.

D- IS THIS SUPPORT CONTRIBUTING TO LOCAL UNION CAPACITY TO PERFORM THESE FUNCTIONS INDEPENDENTLY?

Examination of the records of the 29 unions to which the AALC has provided assistance during its tenure in South Africa shows that fifteen union projects began in 1984 and that of these, four relationships were for specific training purposes which concluded at the end of training. Six others began January - June 1985 and eight in July - December 1985. All but the four which were completed had an on-going relationship with AALC as of December 31, 1985, composed of help in their training efforts as well as instances of direct assistance. The evidence in a number of cases is persuasive that the AALC support is contributing to the unions' ability to function independently. The African Mines and Allied Workers Unions, (AMAAWU) grew from 300 to 15,000 members during its two years of assistance. The Brushes and Cleaners Workers Union (BCWU) grew from 300 members in October 1983 to 2600 members, made its Johannesburg office self sufficient, and is about to open a new full time branch office in Pretoria. The Motor Industry Combined Workers Union (MICWU) has hired an educational director and through him established a permanent education department which has now become self sufficient and is planning to hire additional teaching personnel.

The AALC has effectively contributed toward the independent functioning of its participating unions during its short period of involvement in South Africa.

E- HOW DOES THE PROGRAM CONTRIBUTE TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF STABLE BLACK UNIONS?

The answer to this question should be obvious by a reading of the foregoing answers and does not justify repetition of the need to develop trade union membership and understanding of trade unions in order to, in turn, encourage the payment of dues to make the trade unions financially and structurally stable. But in addition, as noted above, the South African black trade union field is filled with a multitude of competing unions and competing union allowances. The effort to consolidate trade unions and to reduce their number from the currently estimated 300 to a smaller, more realistic number, with industrial rather than community base, is desirable to reduce inter-union friction and duplication of costs attendant with so many independent organizations. The AALC programs hopefully will raise the level of competence and professionalism to a point where recognition of the preferability of unified action over competition will bring greater stability to the entire South African trade union scene.

(3) DOCUMENTATION - SEE (2) C- ABOVE

**ISSUE (b) RECOMMENDATIONS FOR IMPROVEMENTS IN THE
AALC PROGRAM**

1) What mechanisms can be used to assist black trade unions which refuse U.S. government assistance through the AALC?

The refusal of trade unions to accept AALC assistance does not, in my estimation, reflect any anti-American or anti-AFL-CIO antipathy, rather I believe it is a remnant from the publicity accorded the AALC on its entry into South Africa. From my discussions with COSATU officials it appears that there is still a desire to deal with AFL-CIO affiliates in union to union programs with and through the ITSs. In addition there is a hope to establish more direct links between the AFL-CIO federation leadership and COSATU federation leadership although that relationship will require the dust to settle before it is officially explored.

The easy answer would appear to be to withdraw the AALC imprimature from South Africa. However, that would only stimulate tracking down the same scapegoats through the remaining relationships. Continuation of the AALC presence may serve as a lightning rod for political attacks against the U.S. and the AFL-CIO. In the meantime its programs receive enhanced credibility and acceptance by demonstration thus tending to overcome its initial image of unacceptability, and augmenting the prospect of its programs being acceptable to a broader segment of the trade union scene. In the meanwhile programs of union to union assistance directly and through the ITS should be expanded with establishment of an advisory committee of U.S. unions having South African counterparts. AALC/Washington should coordinate the program with the understanding that the unions endeavor to work in cooperation with the ITS and the AALC supported South African unions. Intensified efforts should be undertaken to fund and encourage trade union training programs through facilities such as the Urban Training Project. In addition to the UTP there should be expansion to other neutral facilities not encumbered by identification with any particular trade union ideology. Neutral institutions, such as South African Council on Higher Education, the Technical Advice Group, the Health Information Center, and the Industrial Health Research Group should be invited to develop training manuals for health and safety for each union's industry based on the ILO Handbook on

Occupational Health and Safety. There should be manuals developed in understanding financial statements of the employer, on employee legal rights under legislation, on presenting cases to Boards of Inquiry, on grievance appeal and on arbitration. Institutions such as the South African Council for Higher Education, the Capetown Trade Union Library, the Legal Resources Center, IMMSA, SALDREW of Univeristy of Capetown could provide help in such manual development.

If such neutral institutions would agree to take AALC or AFL-CIO or ITS, or even AID funding for development of such material and the training based upon it for across the board availability to the whole spectrum of unions, and with no strings attached, then the AFL-CIO, and even AID and AALC could become the ultimate beneficiaries of a non-ideologically motivated series of educational programs to build trade unions and systems and practices of peaceful conflict resolution that all unions need and covet. This, in turn, would prove the bona fides of the AFL-CIO support of business trade unionism and not ideological trade unionism.

Another approach to purging the shadow over AALC would be AID sponsored legal assistance programs with the cooperation and coordination, if not the imprimatur of the AALC. There should be training of black trade union lawyers to fill the vacuum that currently exists in trade union litigation. Only two dozen or so white attorneys currently represent most black trade unions. An AFL-CIO support program in this regard through a university or law faculty in South Africa, or through the Black Lawyers Association might be another vehicle for demonstrating AFL-CIO bona fides and for accelerating AALC acceptability. Availability of a legal defense fund available for unions forced into courts could be established and operated by a neutral advisory panel under AALC. This would enable the smaller, less independent unions to undertake legal cases not now affordable.

Next, a bursary program at universities for qualified children of trade union members should be explored as a vehicle for increasing the cadre of university trained supporters of black trade unions, for creating an incentive for trade union affiliation and for supporting higher education for worthy black students. A program of sponsorship by sister unions in the U.S. with partial or full full AID subsidy would help to improve the somewhat tarnished AALC image.

A final constructive and unifying proposal which should be further examined is a neutrally sponsored conference in South Africa on techniques and programs of workers education. Without doubt workers education is a top priority of all South African unions. Each union or federation has different

programs and approaches to workers education which are employed in virtual isolation and with no formal channels for comparing programs or problems or unique techniques. The subject of workers education should be free of the political overtones which encumber the sponsors thereof. To provide a forum for professional educators to meet together should be non-threatening to the unions themselves and should provide a fruitful exchange and perhaps even cooperation to jointly meet the overwhelming needs in the workers education field.

In short the AALC should emphasize the development of programs and materials which are substantively neutral, which may be acceptable to other unions, and which would demonstrate the objectivity of AALC assistance.

2) What criteria should be used for selecting unions to support?

The Unions selected for support from the great number of petitioners have as wide a distribution on the South African labor scene as current politics allow. Lescault, to my observation, has tried to assist those unions with reasonable projects of viability and a commitment to business trade unionism. That orientation with reponse to requests, rather than recruitment of requests, should continue with administrative support being viewed as a temporary expedient until the training in trade unionism pays off by creating a membership willing and able to pay dues for the services the union provides.

Two caveats are in order. One is to avoid embracing and supporting the splinter unions which will inevitably split off from COSATU or even independent unions. To do so not only stirs the wrath of the parent union and the existing flames of AALC suspicion, it also diminishes AALC's ability to get more widespread involvements with COSATU unions. Finally, by providing financial support to otherwise precarious offshoots, it challenges the natural selection of survival of the fittest and forestalls the desirable goal of greater trade union solidarity on an industry by industry basis.

The other caveat is to avoid involvement with the proposed INKATHA union. At best it will become a power in only the Zulu areas of Natal. At worst it will be viewed as a politically motivated challenge of tribalism over trade unionism. If, as all commentators appear to believe, COSATU is here to stay for the foreseeable future (even with modifications), then expansion beyond present support of Natal unions to embracing or endorsing the INKATHA union will foreclose any prospects for rapprochement with the stronger and more survivable unions of the COSATU federation.

- 3) Should the program be repeated with the same unions or other unions, groups, organizations or coalitions which AID should be supporting at this time?

As noted above in answering question # 1 of this recommendation section, the AALC presence, though under fire, should not be abandoned. Lescault has been prudent in his holding the recipient unions on a relatively short leash, controlling their expenditures, and verifying their compliance with the sought after goals by periodic infusions of money for specific needs. He has thus terminated programs with several unions during his tenure, and has held others on hold after initial phase programs but before launching further phases thereof. Lescault and the AALC are able to extricate themselves from programs if poor performance or policy requirements dictate. But on the other hand, they should be free to continue programs if they have proved effective and hold further promise. They should continue their efforts to encourage self sufficiency of the respective unions but should also be able to sever support when the trade union's survival is shown to be dependent on AALC administrative support without the requisite momentum by organization building and dues collection to self sufficiency. To merely hunt out a new set of unions to support will not provide any prospect of greater success and will, in fact, support a charge of fickleness and political mainstreaming, warning all unions that proclamations of AALC support may be short lived and that its assertions of support are not reliable. It would be far better to continue current support that the AALC deems appropriate as models of the effectiveness of AALC support and as a demonstration model which might induce other potentially viable unions to join the ranks of those aided by the AALC.

The citation of alternative programs to provide support from the AFL-CIO and U.S. unions without a strong AALC/South Africa presence as in # 2 above in this recommendation section demonstrates the type of programs that could help to build South Africa trade unions while at the same time increasing the image of the AFL-CIO and its unions and ultimately improving the AALC/South Africa image.

As to the question of the role to be played by AID Pretoria, the Labor Attache and/or State/ or AID/Washington, I believe the credibility of the AFL-CIO effort in this field depends on its bearing responsibility for as much of the total program as it feels fits within its authority as a contracting agent. While most of the proposals I have put forward are, I believe, within the jurisdiction of a trade union federation sponsor, some, such as the training of arbitrators and mediators and advocates is not, and should

probably be instituted by another neutral organization such as Harvard or some other university, by the American Arbitration Association or other neutral sponsor. Even if the AFL-CIO were to agree to such a proposal, to establish a trade union front while substantive decisions are made by government employees - AID or State, Washington or local - would soon become well known, and reduce the reliability, credibility and image of both the AFL-CIO and the U.S. government. Any allegation of U.S. government control of AALC operations would thus be confirmed.

The Labor Attache, Nick Stigliani, has done a impressive job in maintaining contacts with union, neutral, and management players in the labor relations scene. He has been hampered by the refusal of many trade union leaders to confer with any representative of the Embassy. Wisely, he has not sought to intrude himself where not welcomed, but has been able, nonetheless, to maintain a credible and helpful presence with valid assessments even of unions where he dare not tread.

He is superb in his role as counselor to the AALC program. That role rather than that of controller is appropriate. As to the roles to be played by AID/Pretoria or AID/Washington, or State/Washington, their advise, to the extent they have independent knowledge of the South African labor scene, should be provided and heeded, perhaps in the formulation of programs, but they should not assume any routine operating function.

- 4) What are the most effective kinds of support which should be provided to these unions, coalitions and organizations?

This question has been answered above and need not be repeated here.

- 5) Should training remain the Program's top priority and continue to receive the greatest share of the fund?

The answer to this must be yes, not only because the unions solicited placed training as their top priority, but more importantly because the achievement of trade union financial independence and the achievement of effective and democratic representation of trade union membership depends on training. In the former, it is essential to train rank and filers about trade union basics and why dues must be paid. In the latter, it is essential to improve trade unions and skills so that they can be better equipped to deal with the problems of their jobs and to properly utilize the skills and resources of their union.

6) Are the high administrative costs of the AALC justified by the role it plays in the program?

Not having had access to the financial data associated with the problem, this question is not properly before me.

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**ISSUE (c) OTHER OPTIONS/AVENUES FOR AID SUPPORT OF
BLACK TRADE UNIONS**

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Having answered the foregoing specific questions required by my contract grant, this section provides a convenient place to set forth a more coherent summary of my qualitative evaluation

AALC, despite its overly publicized start in South Africa and the spill over effect of disappointment in the USA and South African policy, has made an important contribution to the development of the black trade union movement, and has established a presence for the AFL-CIO and the American workers in a country where the workers have a strong identity to the democratic trade union movement of the USA.

First, in the area of its direct contacts in South Africa, although not all the unions it has assisted have been strong or even mainstream, those it has assisted represent a broad spectrum. At the present time the spotlight is on COSATU with its recent launching and its abundant rhetoric against assistance by "imperialist" trade union organizations. Nonetheless, the backbone of industrial trade unions in COSATU are likely to prevail as the smaller, more political and more vocal community trade unions, which appear to prevail at present, are merged into the COSATU goal of one union per industry. The power in COSATU will thereby shift to the industrial unions. Those unions are still desirous of maintaining and expanding their relationships with U.S. unions although a period of waiting may be in order for the near future. During that period the AALC should continue with its present activities in trying to build trade union financial independence, being careful to avoid any affiliation with the active partisans in the political trade union arena. To cancel the program or to seek a new constituency would add to the AALC image problem, which is its greatest handicap at present. If, as appears to be the case, COSATU will continue to occupy center stage in the South African arena, and if the AALC seeks to eventually establish relationships with the country's strongest trade unions, it should be careful to avoid provocation either by embracing the splinter groups that are likely to split

off from the COSATU camp or by encouraging or identifying with the proposed INKATHA union which is anticipated to be launched on May 1, 1986.

A strong record of adhering to business trade unionism with continued assistance to its current affiliates, and with expansion into non-controversial substantive areas such as training of trainers in health and safety, financial analysis, elementary bookkeeping, job evaluation, wage administration, and understanding rights available under the liberalized South African labor laws, will demonstrate its commitment to trade union building, its usefulness to the trade unions which have benefited from its programs, and thereby through demonstration, which hopefully will increase its appeal and set the stage for future expanded cooperation with the COSATU unions.

Second, in the area of assistance through the ICFTU the present grant to the Urban Training Project for training of CUSA unions should continue. COSATU's present rejection of ICFTU programs should not be interpreted as a warning to CUSA as the current national center to avoid such aid. More importantly, such aid should be continued to demonstrate the AALC loyalty to those unions for which it had undertaken but not yet committed programs of training and developmental assistance.

Third, ITS programs which have demonstrated their potential for reaching unions beyond those services by the AALC/South Africa should be continued and expanded. They are once removed from and free of any stigma associated with the AALC label. Their existing programs and relationships with the old FOSATU components of COSATU provide a ready access to expanding programs with that federation when the time is ripe. Finally, their presence provides a valuable tool for improving the trade union involvement in both the U.S. and South Africa, since they encourage a greater visibility of U.S. trade union involvement by publicizing the participation of donor U.S. unions. Their involvement in South Africa helps to focus attention on the multiplicity of unions within an ITS jurisdiction and heightens the need for coordination, if not merger, among such rivals. Although the IMF is currently the only ITS with a presence in South Africa, encouragement by other U.S. unions such as the AFT, SEIU, ILGWU, ACTU should encourage the respective ITS to attempt establishment of a South African coordinating committee as a desirable corollary to direct union to union programs.

Fourth, in the area of direct visits, the program should heed the preference expressed by a number of trade union leaders interviewed that money otherwise spent on overseas training be directed to training in South Africa. The risk of second string leaders being the ones expendable for long

overseas training periods, as well as the risk of their not returning to trade union work, and the cost entailed support the preference for local training for many, rather than overseas training for a few. There are occasions of course when overseas tours are warranted for South African union leaders to attend trade union conventions and functions, for experienced trade union educators and leaders to survey available resources for potential assistance in training programs for South Africa, or for instances of long term specialized training which may not be available in South Africa.

On the whole, the AALC emphasis on building financially independent unions with effective worker education programs has contributed to stabilizing a positive presence for the AFL-CIO in South Africa. Although the program had difficulty in its initial efforts and may not have assisted the strongest unions or the full spectrum of trade union groupings and ideologies, the evidence shows that even those unions who have declined so far to solicit AALC assistance are still favorably oriented to the AFL-CIO and the American worker and alert to the fact that the assistance involves AID funds. The AALC presence in South African should be continued. To do so demonstrates loyalty to those who have relied on the assistance which should continue for as long as benefits accrue in building training programs and financial independence. The demonstrated effect of the effort will have its impact on other more mainstream unions. Once the COSATU federation dust has settled there is likelihood of more programs evolving with its unions and perhaps with the federation itself.

The broader question for exploration is the new areas into which the program should expand.

Since direct union to union contact has the most widespread appeal, it follows that such efforts should be expanded, bringing new U.S. unions and their South African counterparts into the program and encouraging the work of new ITSs on the South African scene. Such efforts on the U.S. side should involve more widespread publicity among U.S. trade unionists of the designated U.S. unions to show that the AFL-CIO is making its contribution in South Africa, and perhaps even enroll the participation of some U.S. unionists to assist in that overseas training effort. The AALC/Washington should coordinate the effort to avoid bypassing AALC assisted unions in South Africa, to assure a systematic approach for all participants, to arrange for ITS representatives of AFL-CIO affiliates to visit their South African counterparts and with South African visits coordinated by the local AALC representatives. On the South African side such ITS effort would provide a broader range of assistance to more unions, might lead to the development of a local coordinating committee, would enhance AFL-CIO credibility, and might

provide a forum for mediating conflicts between recipient unions or even the encouragement of mergers to help reduce the inefficiency inherent with so many overlapping unions. Additionally, coordination through an ITS would enhance the prospects that the training would be made available to more than a single union so that other unions in related industries with identical problems would be given access thereto. Finally, encouragement of such expanded ITS programs and presence would raise the visibility and reputation of the ITSs themselves, which in a period of ICFTU antipathy would provide a needed boost to free trade unionism.

As to the course material of training, unquestionably, the priority is on basic union building skills. African unions have really been free to organize only for the past five years. In that period of time they have made great strides, but without negotiated check off of union dues, the ever pressing problems of dues collection necessitate training trade unionists to awareness of the need for union financial independence for the union to exercise its rights, and provide its membership protections. Tied to such rudimentary training are courses in collective bargaining, handling boards of inquiry and grievances and keeping union books and membership records. Once the union is thus established, is functioning, and hopefully financially independent, there are yet other skills that must be transmitted. Teaching information on the conduct of meetings, job evaluation, the economics of the firm, the intricacies of financial statements, and the rights of union members under South African law provides information not otherwise available to the unionists, making them more informed and more able to assist themselves and other Africans in asserting their rights under South African law. In a society that is so surprisingly committed to legislation, this is of particular importance if a peaceful transformation of the society is to be achieved through law.

Perhaps of the highest priority for training in South Africa, which is behind most other nations, including the Soviet Union, in its recognition of occupational diseases and illness but which only last year called for work site health and safety committees in the Machinery Occupation and Safety Act of 1984, is training in occupational health and safety. Such training would better equip trade union members participating in the joint labor management committees and should be well received by employers, such as in the mines, in helping to police hazardous situations at the workplace. Of particular value would be development of health and safety programs by the U.S. unions through the ITS programs. The prior experience of providing U.S. expertise in brown lung to a counterpart union in South Africa, untutored in that area, demonstrates the importance of such efforts. One would expect that future ITS sponsored visitors and trainees would likewise provide expertise on the

health and safety problems of their respective industries. Given the universal interest and concern over health and safety of employer, union and even government, a program of overseas assistance focusing on such problems would have great appeal, not only to the recipients, but again, by demonstration, to those unions who have not felt sufficiently comfortable to avail themselves of AALC assistance. Regardless of how strong the ideological rhetoric, unions will seek out those non-political programs, regardless of source or sponsorship which they perceive as meeting their needs.

In that connection the AALC should explore the development of health and safety manuals for the industrial risks faced by their assisted unions. Even if a full fledged union to union program can not be mounted in brown lung, or electrical hazards, there is still need for communication to rank and file members of health and safety issues. For the Brushes and Cleaners Union it may mean a listing of what solvents should be used with gloves, or not applied to eyes or how to meet problems of exposure thereto. For the Electrical Workers it may mean a listing of risks of shock and preconditions for avoiding it. Such information is universally available through the ILO Manual on Occupational Health and Safety. A neutral agency should be engaged to synthesize excerpts therefrom into a handbook which is accessible and readable by the trade union member in his preferred language. The impact of the written pamphlet could of course be brought home even stronger by training programs using audio-visual techniques. This too would provide a desirable model - and to the extent that the handbooks find their way into the hands of members of other unions, they graphically demonstrate the type of assistance that could be available through an AALC affiliation. Similar results might be obtained by handbooks on legal rights and numerous other subjects.

Another area worthy of exploration which would help to improve the AALC in South Africa would be a training program in labor law for black attorneys. Since most of the labor law work for black trade unions is now done by a few devoted but overworked white lawyers, and since the black lawyers have not been provided any means for gaining rapid expertise in this relatively new field, a law faculty sponsored program of South Africa labor law training would open the door to many black attorneys who would prefer to practice in the labor law area, and would provide the black trade unions with an option of selecting qualified black attorneys not presently available to them. Most importantly, it would make available certified legal representation at acceptable fees to the smaller and newer unions who can not now afford the higher fees of the white labor lawyers.

Increasing utilization of the legal procedures in South Africa makes this a program of high priority. AID should make available to black unions a fund for legal representation in labor law cases. The problem of legal representation is particularly great for the smaller unions unable to afford the legal fees that larger unions could absorb. Such a reserve, with a cadre of less expensive black lawyers versed in labor law, would provide valuable assistance and encourage working within the law. Even if some of those who complete the training drift off into other fields and do not adhere to trade union practice, they still provide clear evidence to all of the AALC commitment to building democratic unions geared to challenging but living within the law.

A similar effort calculated to improve the AALC image, while providing a necessary service, would be a neutrally sponsored conference in South Africa on workers education where all the different unions could meet to discuss the substantive problems and techniques of workers education. Out of such a conference could come invitation for teams of professional union educators to come to the United States to explore with worker educational facilities in the United States, and the availability of particular expertise in third world training which could then be channelled to South Africa on a visitor or residential basis to meet a sophisticated union's particular needs.

Attention should be paid to making available programs oriented to trade union members away from the workplace. Although the township system inhibits easy contact with trade unionists away from work, prior AALC success with credit unions, health clinics, consumer cooperations, literacy training and programs for encouraging female leadership in the trade unions should be encouraged. The forthcoming liberalization of laws regarding black ownership of real estate also opens the opportunity for a new program in housing for trade union members. Skill training programs for the growing number of laid off black workers should also be explored.

Finally, there should be exploration of the needs of trade unions in the processing of cases to mediation and arbitration. Within the AALC purview is the training of advocates, perhaps with the affiliation of a U.S. law school or arbitration institution since the U.S. model of arbitration has been adopted for South African disputes. Even the provision to South African trade unions of U.S. books and documents on mediation and arbitration would be a helpful contribution.

Probably beyond the AALC purview is the training of arbitrators and mediators and management advocates therein for South Africa. The present cadre of mediators and arbitrators is too small given the ever increasing resort to those forums. In addition, all present arbitrators are white. Here

PAGE 28

too is an area where a neutral American institution, perhaps with AID sponsorship, could make a valuable contribution to training black neutrals to facilitate South African industrial peace.

The foregoing suggestions reflect some of the ideas that came to mind or arose from conversations with those I interviewed during my two week stay in South Africa. The important message is that trade union training skills are wanted, that the AFL-CIO is still perceived warmly; and that there is a great deal of work for the AALC to do.

INTERVIEW LIST

EXHIBIT # 1

List of 32 South Africans interviewed during March 3-17 1986 visit

Monday March 3 : Julian Rickert. Director. Independent Mediation
Service of South Africa

Tuesday March 4 : Paul Pretorius Esq. Attorney Legal Resources Cen
Loet Douwes Dekker. Prof. Witswatersrand Universi
Business School

Wednesday March 5 : Brian Fredericks. International Metalworkers Feder
Clive Thompson, Esq. of Cheadle Thompson & Hayson
Gavin Brown. Management Consultant from Andrew Lev
& Associates
Eddie Webster, Sociology Professor Witswatersrand
University
Bobby Godsell Industrial Relations Manager.
Anglo American Mines

Thursday March 6 : Steven Friedman. South African Institute of Race
Relations
Phillip van Niekerk Labor Journalist

Friday March 7 : Michael Lescault AALC Representative
Masero Lesutho

Saturday March 8 : Paul Pretorius Esq (See Above)
Robert Le Grange. Metal and Allied Workers Union
(CUSATU)

Sunday March 9 : Lectures to Arbitrators at IMSSA

Monday March 10: Igihsahan Schroeder Motor Industry Combined
Workers Union (IND)
Joe Rakgoadi, Insurance & Assurance Workers Union
Hamilton Makedanoma. National Union of Workers of
South Africa (CUSA)
Leonard Sikhakhane. Food & Beverage Workers Union
of South Africa (CUSA)
Mary Ntseke, Brushes and Cleaners Workers Union (C
Jane Hlongwane Steel Engineering & Allied Worker
of South Africa (CUSA)
Tlou Komape. Black Health & Allied Workers Union c
South Africa (BC)

Tuesday March 11: Joseph Samuel. South African Council on Higher
Education
Russell Gumede Black General Workers Union (AZACC)
Raymond Mofolo Urban Training Project
Philip Masja Orange Vaal General Workers Union (C
Thomas Oliphant. Electrical & Allied Trades Union

(Continued)

29

INTERVIEW LIST

EXHIBIT # 1

PAGE 2

Tuesday March 11: Mark Orkin. Attitudinal Researcher
Jennifer Glenie Industrial Aid Society

Wednesday March 12: Chris Albertyn. Esq . Chennels Albertyn & Friedman
Graham Giles Esq.. Shepstone & Wylie

Thursday March 13: Alex Irwin. Education Director (COSATU)
John Copelyn. Nail Union Textile Workers (COSATU)

Friday March 14: Roux Van Der Merwe. Professor Industrial Relations
University of Port Elizabeth

Saturday March 15: Lee Buzalek, Esq. Legal Resources Center Capetown

Monday March 17: Ambassador Nickel
Honorable Helen Suzman M P

DATE	CHK #	AMT	DEPOSIT	DEBIT	CATERITS	BALANCE
07-11-85	911	3000-				4803336
12 "	912	14875				4503336
14 "	913	828-				4483961
19 "	914	2000-				4200661
20 "	915	4000-				3800661
15 "	916	2000-				3600661
18 "	917	300-				3624985
02-12-85	918	241407				3600845
03 "	919	12721				3588124
05 "	920	3000-				3288124
06 "	921	9807				3197124
06 "	922	4000-				2797124
10 "	923	1000				2697124
11 "	924	300				2667124
11 "	925	4000-				2267124
12 "	926	4000-				1867124
12 "	927	2000				1667124
13 "	928	5000-				1167124
13 "	929	4000-				767124
13 "	930	2000-				567124
14 "	931	85250				481874
14 "	932	4000-				81874
19 "	933	17125				3984679
22 "	934	34370				3550309
22 "	935	2350				3947959
30 "	936	11486				3936493
01-01-86	937	9750				3926743
06 "	938	3287				3923356
06 "	939	11866				3911490
06 "	940	21077				3900413
08 "	941	120594				3779819
06 "	942	950-				3684819
06 "	943	75854				3671965
07 "	944	428-				3629165
08 "	945	300-				3591165
08 "	946	1000-				3494165
08 "	947	256312				3242853
08 "	948	2000-				3042853
08 "	949	1000-				2942853
08 "	950	4000-				2542853
08 "	951	4000-				2142853
08 "	952	4000-				1742853
10 "	953	2000-				1542853
10 "	954	8568				1534285
13 "	955	22120				1512165
17 "	956	5427				1506738
14 "	957	119550				1387188
16 "	958	10059				1373099
17 "	959	3000-				1073099
17 "	960	2700-				703099

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39

b)

HR NO	DATE	ORGANIZATION	AMOUNT	DESCRIPTION	PS
9001	01 11 55	WEEKLY MAIL	42	6 MONTH SUBSCRIPTION	
9002	04 11 55	M. NORD	950	NOV REPT	
9003	01 11 55	FRANK'S AUTO		PAID CAR REPAIR	
9004	04 11 55	TEAM UNIONS WORKERS UNION	20560	PROGRAM ADVANCE	
9005	01 11 55	AFRICAN RAILWAY HARBOUR & ALLIED WORKERS	3000	PROGRAM ADVANCE	
9006	01 11 55	CHEMICAL WORKERS UNION	4060	PROGRAM ADVANCE	
9007	01 11 55	BLACK WORKERS & ALLIED WORKERS SA	4000	PROGRAM ADVANCE	
9008	01 11 55	ENGINEERING & ALLIED WORKERS	4000	PROGRAM ADVANCE	
9009	01 11 55	ELECTRICAL & ALLIED TRADE UNIONS SA	4000	PROGRAM ADVANCE	
9010	01 11 55	MOTOR INDUSTRY COMBINED WORKERS UNION	10000	PROGRAM ADVANCE	
9011	01 11 55	GENERAL WORKERS UNION SA	4000	PROGRAM ADVANCE	
9012	14 11 55	LESOTHO ELECTRICITY CORP	3000	PROGRAM ADVANCE	
9013	14 11 55	EMERGENCY SECURITY	19575	DEC ELECTRICITY BILL	
9014	19 11 55	AFRICAN DOMESTIC & ALLIED WORKERS UNION	828	QUART NOV	
9015	20 11 55	LIMITED MINING METAL & ALLIED WORKERS	2000	PROJECT NOV	
9016	18 11 55	REPUBLICAN & CLARENCE LIMITED UNION	4000	PROJECT NOV	
9017	12 11 55	CASH	2000	PROJECT NOV	
9018	07 12 55	LESOTHO TELECOMMUNICATIONS	300	SEC TAXES TO-BUY	
9019	07 12 55	LESOTHO ELECTRICITY CORP	24740	NOV HOME TILA	
9020	07 12 55	TRUCK EMPLOYEES INDUSTRIAL UNION	12724	NOV ELECT BILL	
9021	01 12 55	M. NORD	3000	PROGRAM ADV	
9022	04 12 55	AFRICAN RAILWAY HARBOUR & ALLIED WORKERS UNION	910	DEC HOME REPT	
9023	10 12 55	CASH	4000	PROGRAM NOV	
9024	12 12 55	CASH	1000	TO DEPT CASE	
9025	11 12 55	BEACH DOMESTIC WORKERS UNION	300	INT SECRETARY DEC 5000	
9026	12 12 55	BLACK GENERAL WORKERS UNION	4000	PROGRAM ADV	
9027	10 12 55	ELECTRICAL & ALLIED TRADE UNIONS	4000	PROGRAM ADVANCE	
9028	13 12 55	LIMITED MINING METAL & ALLIED WORKERS	2000	PROGRAM NOV	
9029	17 12 55	NATIONAL UNION OF WORKERS SA	5000	PROGRAM NOV	
9030	17 12 55	AFRICAN RAILWAY HARBOUR & ALLIED WORKERS UNION	4000	PROGRAM NOV	
9031	14 12 55	EMERGENCY SECURITY	2000	PROGRAM ADV	
9032	14 12 55	DOMESTIC DOMESTIC ASSOCIATION SA	85250	DEC SECURITY BILL	
9033	19 12 55	NATIONAL SUGAR REFINING & ALLIED INDUSTRIES	4000	PROGRAM NOV	
9034	22 12 55	LESOTHO TELECOMMUNICATIONS	13125	PROGRAM NOV	
9035	21 12 55	CASH	34376	DEC HOME BILL	
9036	21 12 55	CASH	2350	WATER BILL	

12

Available Document

AFRICAN MINERS & ALLIED WORKERS UNION				
DATE	CHK #	AMT. ADV.	AMT. RECD.	BALANCE
12-84	707	250 -		250 -
12-84	708	1000 -		1250 -
1-85	722	3000 -		4250 -
2-85	734	2000 -		6250 -
3-85	-		489357	135643
3-85	762	4800 -		585643
5-85	-		190040	345603
8-85	785	2000 -		545603
10-85	795	4000 -		945603
11-85	-		811229	134374
1-86	852	2000 -		334374
2-86	914	2000 -		534374
4-12-85	-		954349	419975

AMERICAN AMERICAN LABOR CENTER

Fifty Cash Transaction Form

SOUTH AFRICA

(Project Name)

OCTOBER 1985

(Month, Year)

22

DATE	RECEIPT NO.	PAYEE/ DESCRIPTION	AMOUNT	ACCT NO	ACCOUNT NO. BAL
01	—	BALANCE	—		671.62
01	1	PARKING	.70	31	
01	2	PARKING	1.00	31	
11	3	PARKING	2.00	31	
11	4	PARKING	3.50	31	
6	5	PETROL	40.00	31	
	6	PETROL	54.26	31	
	7	PETROL	48.90	31	
	8	PETROL	30.00	31	
	9-10-11	RECEPTION for Petrol	319.59	95	
	12	PETROL	54.10	31	
	13	PARKING	3.00	31	
	14	PARKING	3.50	31	
	15	PETROL	52.00	31	
	16	PETROL	59.00	31	
	17	POSTAGE	.75	16	
	18	POSTAGE	60.30	16	
	19	POSTAGE	1.20	16	
	20+21	SECRETARY SALARIES	410.00	24	
	22	1/8 REPAYMENT of LINA DAIEN 7-12-84 CNR # 703			250.00
	23	POSTAGE	16.06	16	
	24	POSTAGE	1.38	16	

TOTAL 1161.24 | 921.62

33
33
1

23

MONTHLY PROJECT ACCOUNTING

PROJECT: SOUTH AFRICA

MONTH October

198 2

CONTROL

Pa. no	Ch #	Receipt #	Deposit Amount	Check Amount	Bank Balance	Income		Disbursements								
						Project Income	Other Income	Activity Code	16 Communications	18 Supplies	19 Subscriptions, Publ.	24 Local Hire	11 Local Travel Staff	25 Equipment	21 Seminars	
01					40,526.82											
01					671.62											
03	REHRIWI # 881	1		4000.00				RV								4000.
07	SATWA # 882			9000.00				RV								4000.
03	mat. type # 883	3		250.00				01		250.00						
07	SEHMAN # 884	4		1000.				RV								10,000.
18	2 NIPAKO # 885	5		950.00				01								
19	Telephone # 886	6		644.50				01	644.50							
18	SPENT # 887	7		828.00				06								
18	Cost of Goods # 888	9		6.00				06								
01	RSU MASH # 889	8	78,431.97													
21	VOID CHE # 890															
1	CAPE TOWN SECRETARY # 891			300.				01				300.				
	SHARD ELECTION # 892	9						01	VOID CHECK RETURNS - NO CHARGE FOR SE							
	FRWU # 893	10		5000.				RV								5000.
	CITIBANK # 894	11		353.62				01					353.62			
	PAYMENT # 895	12	5000.					-								
	RE # 896	14	776.10					-								

66

MONTHLY SUMMARY FOR MONTH OF: October 1985
 PROJECT ACTIVITY NO. SOUTH AFRICA (SA)

AC #	3975	Annual Budget U.S. Dollar	Prior Month's Cumulative U.S. Dollar	Current Month's Activity Local Currency	Current Month's Activity U.S. Dollar	Cumulative Disbursements U.S. Dollar	R
	.00 AALC Presence						
00.02A	Housing Utilities		19422.07	834.60	331.52	19753.59	
00.02B	Education						
00.08	To & From Post						
00.16	Communication						
00.31	Local Staff <u>Mining</u>		8735.21	—	—	8735.21	87
00.95	Misc.	12,000	17599.36	319.59	127.04	17726.38	57
	TOTAL PRESENCE						
	.01						
01.15	Rent & Utilities	7200	2074.84	950.	377.63	2452.47	47
01.16	Communication	2200	3320.54	734.19	287.87	3608.41	146
01.17	Maintenance						
01.18	Supplies, Printing	3200	1144.49	477.22	189.69	1534.18	186
01.19	Subs. & Publications		498.81	—	—	498.81	49
01.24	Local Hire	10800	6208.15	1010.	401.48	6609.63	196
01.31	Local Travel Staff	8000	5583.96	705.58	280.47	5864.43	213
01.41	Local Travel Student						
01.65	Equipment	9000	4799.51	—	—	4799.51	420
01.71	Seminar						
01.23	Consultants						
	TOTAL PROJECT - .01						
	.02						
02.17	Maintenance						
02.18	Supplies, Stationery						
02.19	Publications						
02.24	Local Hire						
02.31	Vehicle Operation						
02.41	Local Travel Student						
02.65	Equipment						
02.71	Seminar						
	TOTAL - .02						
	.03						
03.18	Supplies						
03.19	Publications						
03.23	Consultants						
03.24	Local Hire						
03.31	Local Travel Staff						
03.65	Equipment, Vehicles						
03.71	Seminars						
	TOTAL - .03						

31

AFRICAN AMERICAN LABOR CENTER

Bank Reconciliation
Month of OCTOBER 1985

Project # SOUTH AFRICA (SA)

1. Balance per bank statement as of 30 SEPT. 1985 (date)

Amount local currency

79,247.71

ADD

2. Deposits after statement date:

ABIC/W PDU. 78,491.37

LOCAL CURRENCY 5,000.00

HOUSE DEPOSIT 76.10

84,207.47

SUBTOTAL

163,455.18

3. Deduct: Outstanding Checks

866-880 (SEPT) 38,720.91

881-899 (OCT) 40,859.34

79,580.25

83,874.93

4. Balance per books as of 31 OCTOBER 1985 (date)

5. Exchange Rate .3975

Comments:

PREPARED BY: [Signature]

50

42

MEMORANDUM

TO: AALC/Washington

DATE: 01 November 1981

FROM:

LESCALC/SOUTH AREA

SUBJECT:

Accounting Reports

Attached are the following:

- I. Monthly Project Accounting Month Oct.
- Bank Statement NOT AVAILABLE Month _____
- Bank Reconciliation Month Oct
- Monthly Report Financial Summary Month Oct
- Personal Expense Report/s Month Oct
- Impact Project Report/s Impact Projects N/A
- Seminar Expense Form/s Month N/A
- Petty Cash Transaction Form/s Month Oct

II. Receipts for the following expenditures during the month have not yet been received:

Report	Check No.	Payee	Assigned Receipt No.

They will be sent with the next accounting.

III. Enclosed are the following receipts which apply to previous accountings:

Report	Receipt No.	Month of Accounting	Check No.	Assigned Receipt No.

IV. During the month the following checks were written on the U.S. joint account:

Check No.	Date	Payee	Purpose	Receipt No.

39

Best Available Document

19/85 BCWU Met with Mary Ntseke, General Secretary, of the Brushes and
12-5-85 Cleaners Workers Union. She is doing quite well in Johannesburg,
Pretoria, and Vereeniging. Durban is not panning out so well but
it is not an irrectifiable situation. Mary brought up the conver-
sation that she had in Washington concerning a new vehicle. I told
her of our lack of funds, at present, to purchase any new vehicles,
but that she should get a pro forma invoice and submit it as she
claims a commitment was made in Washington.

Mary is also considering affiliation with CUSA although it scares
the hell out of her. She likes her independence. The attractive
side of it is her friendship with Agnes, the possibility of a joint
effort with Agnes and SABMAWU to form a service employees union.

21/85 BCWU It appears that Mary Ntseke is going to bring the Brushes and Cleaners
26-5-85 Workers Union into CUSA. The apparent reason being her close friendship
with Agnes and the possibility of a merger.

24/85 BCWU Met with Mary Ntseke. The Brushes and Cleaners Workers
17-6-85 Union is making progress in the Vereeniging area. Mary will
be going to Durban soon to try to re-vitalize that effort.
She has a pro forma invoice for a new vehicle which she
will send directly to you.

33/85 BRUSHES & CLEANERS Met with Mary Ntseke. She is making
great strides in Pretoria and Vereeniging. Her efforts in
Durban have turned around. She got rid of the organizer she
had and got someone new. Mary gave me the attached digest,
"Education Press", with an article on Professor Es'kia
Mphahlele (who I met in her office). There was some discussion
between him and AALC/W which seems to have been left in a
holding pattern. Please inform. At present I am ignorant.

27/85 BRUSHES & CLEANERS Met Mr. Maguena who Mary Ntseke hired a few
months ago to take care of her Durban office and try to get thing
going. It's obviously too early to make a judgement. The office
is with other CUSA offices.

31/85 BRUSHES & CLEANERS Met with Mary Ntseke who is doing well with
her efforts. She has expanded to Vereeniging and Potchefstroom.
She is, however, having a little difficulty with Camay on two
counts. Camay suggested to her that AALC assistance to CUSA affili-
ates should go through CUSA. This dismayed her. I told her not
to worry as it was the executive board of CUSA which rejected as-
sistance opening the way for individual requests. For things to
turn around now would mean the executive board would have to make
that decision, which they will not. The second matter involves
domestic workers. It seems that Pat Maguena of Port Elizabeth's
DWASA has applied for affiliation to CUSA. Camay wanted Mary to
merge with DWASA. Mary has rejected this, but is not pleased that
Camay would even suggest it. The whole question of DWASA
to CUSA and expanding