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**AFRICAN-AMERICAN LABOR CENTER**

**ANNUAL REPORT 1985**

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PA 01 - HEADQUARTERS

This activity covers AALC direction and all headquarters-based support and administration. No attempt is made to divide the time of any one person between administration and implementation roles. It is felt that any discrepancy resulting from this decision would not be sufficiently important to justify the cost-accounting procedures that would be required. The duties and responsibilities of all headquarters-based personnel are set forth in the AALC Personnel Handbook which has been submitted previously.

REGIONAL LABOR PROGRAM

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 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. AALC ACTIVITIES IN 1985

<u>COST</u>	<u>PROGRAM</u>	<u>COST</u>
Burundi	451: Office supplies, typewriter to help UTB organize its first national congress.	365.72*

Regional	458: Sponsorship of African trade union leaders to AFL-CIO convention.	1,407.00*
Niger	460: Four-week training program for USTN education instructors	9,791.80
Burkina	461: Renovation of Workers Education Center in Ouagadougou	3,234.39
Swaziland	468: Leadership training for SFTU officers	1,450.20*
Zambia	469: Vaccines and farm supplies for Mukuba Farm Project of Mineworkers Union of Zambia	1,119.87
Niger	470: Offset press and supplies for USTN to print union publications	33,677.86
Malawi	471: Vehicle maintenance and seminars during six-month organizing campaign of Trade Union Congress/Malawi	11,894.17
Ivory Coast	472: Two seminars for local trade union leaders	11,525.76
Senegal	473: Offset printing press and supplies to help CNTS print a union newspaper	28,877.46
Zambia	475: Evaluation of the education program of the ZCTU	4,557.00
Lesotho	476: Renovation of LCFTU headquarters	6,198.56
Burundi	478: Training for 33 trade union instructors; supplies for regional and headquarters offices of UTB	549.82*
Regional	479: Sponsorship of five trade union women from Ivory Coast, Togo, Zaire, Senegal, and Guinea at the AFL-CIO's Southern School for Union Women-Sum. 85	29,143.46

\*Other cost incurred in 1984

<u>COUNTRY</u>	<u>PROGRAM</u>	<u>COST</u>
Gambia	480: A vehicle and a public address system for the Gambia General Workers Union	17,507.98
Sierra Leone	482: Renovation of the SLIC headquarters	4,380.29

COMMENTARY:

The Impact Project fund permits the AALC to respond in an expeditious manner to requests from African federations to assist short-term projects on short notice, thus supplementing projects in countries where budgets have been reduced (such as Lesotho and Sierra Leone) or in countries where there is no formal assistance program (such as Burundi and the Gambia).

R E G I O N A L L A B O R P R O G R A M

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, with savings realized through an indirect cost rate, the AALC increased its funding and the number of U.S. unions and ITS's it assisted. The past success of this activity has encouraged more American unions to apply for AALC support, thus increasing American union participation in their ITS's African activities and offering much needed support to individual unions in countries where the AALC has no country program. This program gave support to eight U.S. unions with respect to the activities in Africa of nine trade secretariats:

United Steelworkers of America/IMF:

Sponsorship of the first seminar in Kenya on job evaluation and classification with reference to wage structure. IMF and USWA representatives conducted sessions at the Tom Mboya Labour College in Kisumu, Kenya, Dec. 1-7 for 24 top Kenyan labor officials.

International Association of Machinists/ITF:

Sponsorship of the African Railwaymen's Conference Nov. 25-29 in Abidjan, Ivory Coast. Twenty-seven representatives from railway workers' unions in Burkina, Ghana, Ivory Coast, Kenya, Malawi, Togo, Uganda, Zambia, and Zimbabwe attended.

United Food and Commercial Workers/FIET:

Sponsorship of the first regional education seminar for ISETU (International Secretariat for Arts, Mass Media and Entertainment Trade Unions)-FIET in Lome, Togo, June 24-26. The Media and Culture as Means for Development and International Solidarity was the theme of the session attended by 18 trade unionists from Kenya, Mauritius, Niger, Togo, and Zimbabwe.

Assistance to cover the expenses of ten African union leaders at the Second AFRO-FIET Regional Conference Oct. 13-18 in Lusaka, Zambia.

United Food and Commercial Workers/IFPAAW:

The UFCW Assistant Director of International Affairs and the IFPAAW African regional representative traveled to several African countries to visit IFPAAW affiliates to discuss future cooperation and the development of regional programs.

Two African participants, Kwasi Amenya of the General Agricultural Workers Union of Ghana and Nkwinsi Liyoka of the National Union of Plantation and Agricultural Workers of Zambia, were sent to study farm management and rural agriculture at the Afro-Asian Institute.

American Federation of Teachers/IFFTU:

Sponsorship of an IFFTU seminar for 30 teachers' union leaders (SNEN) in Niamey, Niger, Jan. 21-26.

Two sessions for 60 regional and district officers of two teachers unions in Ghana (TEWU and GNAT), held Oct. 13-19 in Accra and Oct. 20-26 in Kumasi, to study economic and social problems with the ultimate goal of uniting the two unions to make them stronger and more viable.

Sponsorship of 11 participants from Ghana, Kenya, Sierra Leone, Uganda, Zambia, and Zimbabwe to the IFFTU Africa Regional Conference in Marseille, France in May.

Two seminars for the Non-Academic Staff Union in Ibadan, Nigeria. Ninety-nine attended the session of Mar. 4-6 on trade union finances and law; 263 participated in the session of Sept. 16-19 on advanced trade union administration for officers and staff.

Leadership training seminar for 35 women from the Zambia National Union of Teachers, in Lusaka, Dec. 2-7.

National seminar for 25 regional leaders of the Federation Nationale des Enseignants et Educateurs du Zaïre, in Kinshasa, Dec. 16-21.

National leadership seminar for 20 members of the Kenya Union of Domestic, Hotels, Educational Institutions, Hospitals and Allied Workers, a new IFFTU affiliate.

Funds to assist the AFT in maintaining an American trade unionist in the secretariat of the IFFTU.

Communications Workers of America/PTTI

Fifteen trade union education seminars for postal and telecommunications workers in 17 African countries were made possible:

Feb. 25-Mar. 2, 28 officers of NUPTW in Kabwe, Zambia;

Mar. 18-23, 23 union officers of SNPTT-TIM in Sikasso, Mali;

Mar. 18-22, 27 UPTEU officers in Kampala, Uganda;

Mar. 18-23, 33 members of BPOWA and BTEU in Gaborone, Botswana;

Apr. 1-5, 16 officers of PTEU in Mombasa, Kenya;

Apr. 13-18, 24 members of SNPTT in Nouakchott, Mauritania;

- May 18-19, 22 postal workers union members, Mbabane, Swaziland;
- June 10-15, 20 Synpostel members in Abidjan, Ivory Coast;
- July 12-16, 33 Synpostel members in Atakpame, Benin;
- Aug. 12-18, 61 Synpostel members, Bohicon, Benin;
- Oct. 14-20, 30 members of SNPTT-TIM in Mopti, Mali;
- Oct. 21-26, 29 OPCE and SONATEL members, Rufisque, Senegal;
- Nov. 18-24, Regional Women's Seminar in Lome, Togo, for 21 women from Benin, Burkina, Chad, Guinea, Ivory Coast, Mali, Mauritania, Niger, Senegal, Togo, Zaire;
- Dec. 11-21, 30 FNPTT officers in Kinshasa, Zaire;
- Dec. 18-26, 20 FNPTT members in Mbandaka, Zaire.

International Ladies' Garment Workers Union/ITGLWU:

Trade union education course, Sept. 30-Oct. 4, for a new affiliate of the ILGLWU, namely, the Syndicat National des Travailleurs de la Bonneterie et Confection in Dakar, Senegal.

Assistance to cover the expenses of the organizing campaign of the Mauritius Textiles and Garments Workers Union.

Seminar for 25 officers of the textile workers union of the Ivory Coast in Agboville, Dec. 3-7.

Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks/ITF:

Seminar for 20 executive officers and branch officials of the Uganda Railway Workers Union, Dec. 9-14, to bring together union officers and improve union relations in this troubled country.

Travel costs of two BRAC representatives to Kenya and Nigeria to study ways of increasing union-to-union assistance.

Oil, Chemical, and Atomic Workers/ICF:

Sponsorship of an affiliate representative from Nigeria and Kenya at the ICF conference in Helsinki, Finland.

COMMENTARY:

Activities of individual American unions have an immediate and lasting impact. They increase the visibility of individual unions and unionists in Africa and create a sound basis for cooperation not only between unions but also the federations to which they are affiliated. The trend in 1985 was towards more of these kinds of contacts as American unions provided much-needed expertise and assistance in specific areas, thus supplementing that of the AALC and the AFL-CIO.

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 fewer than one 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).

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 1967 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. AALC ACTIVITIES IN 1985

Objective 1: Headquarters Support and Development

Internal dissension between some members of the Executive Committee and the national unions plagued the BFTU throughout 1985. The general secretary resigned early in the year. This position and that of administrative secretary were left vacant. This lack of leadership within

the BFTU hindered somewhat the AALC assistance program. As funds were being paid to the BFTU for partial headquarters staff support, these were put in escrow until officers were elected to fill the top positions. Disorder among the top officers prevented the organization of leadership training. The Executive Committee finally met in July and elected a new general secretary. This eased tensions somewhat; however, trouble brewed anew in August with a government investigation into the use of union funds. Accusations of mismanagement, which eventually proved false, stemmed from the dismissal of a BFTU project officer. During the period of investigation, which lasted until November, BFTU activities were at a standstill. AALC assistance was directed to the national unions (see below) through the BFTU. This assistance did help maintain the federation's credibility.

In September, a special delegates conference was convened. This conference demonstrated the desire on the part of the national unions to resolve some of the internal problems. The Executive Committee was asked at that time to continue its mandate for six months provided it show progress in overcoming some of the BFTU's difficulties. By December the Executive Committee managed to set up a series of meetings to discuss its programs and their execution in 1986. AALC assistance, especially to the national unions, helped the BFTU remain a viable and credible institution throughout this difficult year and helped it on the road to recovery.

Objective 2: Trade Union Education and Branch Organization

Despite the BFTU's problems, it managed to channel AALC assistance to the national unions, thus helping to continue rank-and-file seminars conducted by branch instructors, to increase local union membership, and to provide a Toyota Combi for transportation involved in the education program.

Trade Union Education Seminars

<u>Date</u>	<u>Topic</u>	<u>Venue</u>	<u>No.</u>
Apr. 20-21	Basic t.u. education	Mahalapye	17
Apr. 20-21	Basic t.u. education	Francistown	17
Apr. 20-21	Basic t.u. education	Jwaneng	18
Apr. 20-21	Basic t.u. education	Lobatse	17
May 4-5	Basic t.u. education	Lobatse	17
May 4-5	Basic t.u. education	Gaborone	18
May 4-5	Basic t.u. education	Mahalapye	17
May 4-5	Basic t.u. education	Selebi-Phikwe	17
May 11-12	Basic t.u. education	Selebi-Phikwe	17
May 13	Education,organizing	Palapye	17
May 18-19	Basic t.u. education	Palapye	17
June 8-9	Basic t.u. education	Lobatse	17
Aug. 24	Bank Employees Union	Gaborone	37
Oct. 18-19	Bank Employees Union	Francistown	38

The AALC sponsored an educational line tour for the Botswana Railway Workers, June 3-21. The union's new constitutional amendments and its organizing program was explained to 466 members. This promotional program gained the union 33 new members. The AALC also sponsored an informational and organizational drive for the Government Manual Workers Union. Twenty-two informational meetings were held, addressing more than 2,000 members.

### Objective 3: Services to Affiliates and Members

The AALC provided funds to hold seminars for trade union women and for workers safety and health in cooperation with the Occupational Health Unit of the Ministry of Health. The sessions for women workers were preliminary steps in organizing a women's wing within the BFTU in order to establish projects for the benefit of women workers and their families. The safety and health sessions assisted the union and the government in assuring workers' safety.

#### Safety and Health, Women's Seminars

<u>Date</u>	<u>Topic</u>	<u>Venue</u>	<u>No.</u>
Mar. 16-17	Safety and health Construction Workers	Gaborone	18
Jun. 1-2	Safety and health Railway Workers	Francistown	19
Aug. 25	Safety and health Mine Workers	Selebi-Phikwe	24
Oct. 5-6	Women's t.u. education	Orapa	37
Oct. 8-9	Safety and health Agr. & Manual Workers	Francistown	23
Oct. 26-27	Safety and health Agr. & Manual Workers	Maun	23
Nov. 2-3	Women's t.u. education	Francistown	8
Nov. 9-10	Safety and health Women workers	Selebi-Phikwe	25
Nov. 16-17	Women's t.u. education	Lobatse	33
Nov. 23-24	Women's t.u. education	Mahalapye	24
Dec. 10-11	Women's t.u. education	Francistown	23

### COMMENTARY:

With the increased activity and visibility of the Southern African Trade Union Coordinating Committee (SATUCC), which is headquartered in Botswana, it became important in 1985 that the BFTU maintain its status as a strong participant in this regional organization. Such participation could only be strengthened by assistance to the BFTU and to its affiliated unions. The situation in Southern Africa during 1985 made such assistance even more crucial to the continued involvement of the BFTU in regional affairs.

## 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.

## PAST 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. AALC ACTIVITIES IN 1985

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

The LCFTU consolidated its position as the sole national center in Lesotho in 1985. In May, the federation held its first delegates conference at which the LCFTU's interim committee was unanimously elected to office for a three-year term. A strengthened leadership and a good rapport with the Lesotho government is allowing the LCFTU to grow internally and become more effective and self sufficient. The union serves on tri-partite bodies and is actively pursuing new labor legislation favorable to the labor movement. The new united national center increased its organizing and educational efforts over the year. Union membership has risen to 25,000; however, at present only 30% pay dues to the federation. This is because most of the dues members pay are held at the local level. It is hoped that new labor legislation covering a nationwide check-off system will correct the situation.

The AALC provided administrative support to the new federation in the form of salary assistance. This will be phased out as LCFTU administrative and dues-collection procedures are refined. AALC provided support for leadership by assisting with the delegates conference in May. It likewise provided aid with the union's transportation needs vital to its programs.

Objective 2: District Organizing and Education

The new federation used the existing district organizations to implement an LCFTU education program. This merging of old and new patterns of organization required 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 implemented an information campaign to inform workers throughout the country of the merger of the two federations and conducted basic trade union courses in each of the ten districts. The AALC assisted with this as well as with the organization of an educators course to develop instructors for the rank-and-file sessions.

The national center is now in the process of developing an organizing department, a research and documentation department, and an Institute of Labor Studies, which was part of the University of Lesotho's Institute of Extramural Studies

<u>TOPIC</u>	<u>VENUE</u>	<u>NO.</u>
Educators training	Morija	17
Basic t.u. education:		
37 seminars	Maseru	1110
4 seminars	Mafeteng	120
3 seminars	Teyateyaneng	117
3 seminars	Morija	74
2 seminars	Hafoso	60
2 seminars	Roma	84
2 seminars	Leribe	36
2 seminars	Mohaleshoek	50
2 seminars	Maputsoe	130
1 seminar	Mateka	25
1 seminar	Ribang	30
1 seminar	Quthing	29
1 seminar	Hlotse	32
1 seminar	Semongkon	23
1 seminar	Berea	23
1 seminar	Buthe-Buthe	<u>24</u>

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, the AALC assisted the LCFTU in holding two seminars for women workers on the role of women in the

trade unions. These two-day sessions held in Mofaleshoek in October and Teyateyaneng in November drew the participation of 54 women. The women's wing also received an embroidery machine and a typewriter for use in the vocational skills training program.

COMMENTARY:

As with Botswana, Lesotho's participation in regional organizations is necessary for the organization to be effective in countering the deleterious effects of neighboring South Africa's economic pressures. A military coup early in 1986 promised to create a more conciliatory stance vis-a-vis South Africa and, consequently, may provide more opportunities for the LCFTU to respond to the needs of its workers--especially its women members whose husbands work in the RSA. The creation of an Institute for Labor Studies in Lesotho to serve the needs of all trade unions in the region makes it imperative that the LCFTU attempt to hold its own in workers education and service programs.

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Swaziland

In 1985, programs in Swaziland were financed by impact project funds and administered by the AALC representative based in Botswana. (See PA 02)

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

PA - 16 - KENYA

A. GOAL

To 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 compulsory 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. AALC ACTIVITIES IN 1985

Objective 1: Improved Organizational Effectiveness

A new dues rate of 5/-per member per month, generating an annual income of approximately \$750,000, was expected to cover the costs of most of COTU's existing internal operations. AALC provided the initial funding for additional projects which are expected to increase

membership and dues income over the long term. It also provided four typewriters and supplies of office stationery for use in COTU's area offices.

Objective 2: Greater Effectiveness of Tom Mboya Labour College

A research center was 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. The AALC provided staff support to the new department, including a specialist in economics to head the new department. During 1985 the research center produced six papers which COTU officials presented at various meetings held with the Kenyan government. The research center also prepared papers for affiliated unions on wage structure, job creation in the motor trades, cost of living indices, pricing structure in the tourism industry. It also is conducting a survey to determine the effectiveness of courses taught at the College. Equipment in the form of a photocopier, calculators, recreational supplies as well as library acquisitions and a supply of descriptive brochures on the school were presented to the College. The AALC sponsored four specialized training courses during the year. These included a seminar for women trade unionists (June 16-21), one on economics in collective bargaining (Aug. 3-21), one on occupational health and safety (Oct. 6-11), and one on job evaluation (Dec. 1-7). In addition to conducting these sessions, AALC personnel also taught individual courses at the numerous other seminars held at the College.

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 was formed to prepare for the establishment of a women's wing in COTU. By July COTU had appointed a woman to head the wing; however, in September she accepted a position with IFPAAW. This left the post of coordinator vacant until the end of the year. The infrastructure is now in place and the Women's Wing should proceed apace in 1986.

In 1985, two seminars were held for women workers. Twenty women from COTU's Women's Action Committee attended a session in July to help them prepare for the International Women's Conference held in Nairobi. The Postal Union organized a seminar in December for 24 women on women's role in trade union development.

To expand its areas of service, COTU hired two local medical professionals to carry out a feasibility study on the COTU's participation in a program of medical services.

COMMENTARY:

In spite of unstable economic conditions and internal disputes, COTU made discernible progress during 1985. It is expected that the new dues structure will provide the federation with sufficient income to cover most of its administrative costs and enable it to concentrate on priority service programs such as medical services. Although the women's wing was not approved by COTU in 1985, the women continue to actively pursue this

goal. The women's Action Committee played an important role in COTU's activities during the UN women's conference in Nairobi and has extended its activities to individual affiliates.

Programs at the Labour College in Kisumu continued in 1985, although COTU demonstrated a certain lack of oversight of its operations. In 1986 the ILO will withdraw its assistance for the College, citing an unwillingness by COTU to increase its support for College activities. The AALC will continue its assistance to the College in 1986 but is considering scaling it down so as to encourage COTU to play a larger role in the administration of the facility.

R E G I O N A L L A B O R P R O G R A M

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

A. GOAL

To assist the African trade union movement in developing the capacity for conducting labor research and journalism and 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 fora. 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 constraints, 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 research 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, the AALC has 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 any event, such sharing of responsibilities and financing should allow a revitalization of the center's program and activities.

D. AALC ACTIVITIES IN 1985

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, the AALC funded the publications of three (3) issues of Labor and Development and four (4) issues of African Trade Union News. CREDE also issued five (5) special research studies: Trade Unionism in Mali (in French), Trade Unionism in Niger (French and English), African

Trade Unions, and documents on the Gabonese trade unions. No training in labor journalism was held at CREDE in 1985, but assistance did go to the Togolese labor federation (CNTT) to expand and renovate its printing unit so as to make it more efficient and increase its income generating capabilities.

CREDE received a number of books from other research institutions to add to its holdings. Its library is used by both university students and trade unionists alike. The Organisation of Trade Unions of West Africa (OTUWA) requested documentation from CREDE for use in a regional seminar held in Niger. Likewise, the CNTT continues to refer to the center for materials used in its seminars.

COMMENTARY:

With the creation of the regional labor organizations in West and Central Africa in 1985, the need for information in both French and English became even more important. Many of the unions in the region began to develop a publishing and printing capability and to draw on the resources of CREDE for assistance. These activities on the part of union federations and their regional bodies can be expected to increase as these organizations begin to address economic and social problems on a regional basis.

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. Beginning in 1972 and until 1984, AALC has had a cooperative and credit union specialist based in Nairobi, Kenya, who traveled frequently throughout eastern and southern Africa. Cooperative and credit union development in West Africa was assisted through regular country programs and impact activity funds. In late 1984, the AALC's specialist died while on assignment in Lesotho. The AALC decided not to replace him, relying instead on each of its representatives to oversee programs in his country.

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 cooperative store in Sierra Leone, a housing cooperative scheme in Kenya, health care, agricultural, and service co-ops in Zaire, co-ops and credit unions in Ethiopia, and credit union and co-op departments in Guinea-Bissau, Lesotho, Zambia, Sudan, 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. AALC ACTIVITIES IN 1985

Objective 1: Trade Union Involvement

No initial training and information sessions on credit unions and co-op development were held in Zimbabwe, Botswana, Somalia and Uganda. Conditions in all the countries were not suitable for involving the labor movement in cooperative enterprises.

Objective 2: Credit Union and Co-op Development

In Zambia, the ZCTU continued its aggressive program of credit union development. Officials held several seminars on credit union formation and operation, and continued to train bookkeepers in the management of savings schemes.

In Lesotho, activities revolving around the merger of the two federations to form the LCFTU precluded any substantial activity in credit union and co-op activity. However, a new cooperative officer for the federation was named and received basic instruction in credit union management.

Objective 3: Cooperative Enterprises

In Kenya, assistance continued to be made available to the National Cooperative Housing Union (NACHU), whose program of low-income housing got under way in 1985. This support covered operating expenses and the salary costs of COTU's cooperative officer, J. Omoth. During the year NACHU hired a financial controller and obtained written support from the Ministry of Lands and Settlement which indicated that NACHU would decide on applicants seeking government land for use in building low-income cooperative housing. The Kenyan government likewise presented NACHU with a ten acre plot of land in Mombasa.

COMMENTARY:

In December 1985, the AALC commissioned an expert in cooperative and credit union development to evaluate programs in four countries where the labor movement is involved in cooperatives, namely, Zaire, Lesotho, Zambia, and Kenya. Based on his evaluation, along with the reductions in AALC's 1986 budget, activities under this category will be reduced considerably.

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

PA 27 - SIERRA LEONE

A. GOAL

To help the Sierra Leone Labour Congress (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 has begun to emphasize district level organizing and education campaigns. In 1983 and 1984, seminars were conducted in the districts and more emphasis was placed on improving 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 cooperative. 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. AALC ACTIVITIES IN 1985

Objective 1: Trade Union Leadership and Education

The AALC assisted the SLLC in developing district level leaders and opening up seminar participation to district rank-and-file and women members by funding a number of basic, intermediate and advanced courses on trade union education (see below). The federation's first women's seminar, covering women in the work force, the status of women, primary health care, and ILO conventions concerning women workers, provided the basis for future programs to involve women in the union and eventually in the general development of the country.

Trade Union Education Seminars

<u>DATE</u>	<u>TOPIC</u>	<u>NO.</u>	<u>VENUE</u>
Jan 21-25	Intermediate	30	Makeni
Jan. 28-Feb. 1	Basic	30	Kambia
Apr. 20-26	Intermediate	30	Kambia
June 10-14	Advanced	32	Freetown
June 17-21	Advanced	32	Bo
July 15-19	Advanced	30	Kenema
July 22-26	Advanced	30	Makeni
July 29-Aug. 2	Advanced	30	Port Loko
Nov. 4-8	Advanced	30	Kono
Nov. 11-15	Advanced	30	Kambia
Nov. 25-29	Women's Seminar	27	Makeni

Objective 2: Increased Services to Union Members

The SLLC resumed its literacy program in October. Three sites in Freetown were chosen to offer two classes three or four evenings a week. With 10 participants per class, an enrollment of 60 was expected. However, the program has generated so much enthusiasm that total enrollment now surpasses 80. The SLLC has been requested to expand the program into the provinces to allow greater participation by trade unionists. The program has also received the backing of the Sierra Leone government, as the country's own theme in 1985 was "Be Ready for Literacy".

Internal problems continue to plague the union's co-op committee with no solution in sight. The housing cooperative of the teachers' union, however, continues to grow. The general manager of the co-op expressed a desire to promote savings and loan activities. An action committee to organize this has been formed.

COMMENTARY:

Progress is being made in strengthening the SLLC. Nineteen national unions now are affiliated to the SLLC with a record 95% current in their payment of per capita union dues. At a special meeting held during the year, the national unions agreed to increase the per capita dues by five percent. Part of the increase will go to the SLLC's fund established for building maintenance and repair of the headquarters building. It now has plans to establish a vehicle maintenance/repair fund.

The trade union movement likewise has increased its participation in key government economic and social programs such as low-income housing, food administration, government scholarships and health services. The SLLC has set as its goal a more efficient, unified structure to provide for better communication between all segments of the labor movement. The year 1985 witnessed great progress in this endeavor.

R E G I O N A L L A B O R P R O G R A M

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

A. GOAL

To assist the African trade union movement in developing a capacity for conducting local educational projects and 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 money. Such ad hoc scheduling yields 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.

African trade unions have accepted the need for education of their members and leaders. They conduct--or have conducted--from ten to one 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. AALC ACTIVITIES IN 1985

Objective 1: IA HES Capability for English-language Training

AALC assistance helped the IA HES establish a pilot language training program for staff members of the CNTS. Teachers, classroom space, texts and equipment were provided. Sixty men and women were enrolled in classes at the introductory, intermediate and advanced level held in the evenings and on Saturday. An attempt is being made by the teachers to make the classes respond to the specific needs of trade unionists. The program has proved highly successful and will continue and expand.

Objective 2: Upgrading Skills of African Union Leaders

Assistance went to providing high-level, technical training for trade union cadres in such areas as financial administration, collective bargaining, occupational health and safety, job classification, and problems of working women. IA HES organized eight regional seminars in Senegal and ten specialized colloquia. In Senegal this assistance helped the CNTS expand its education program, thus training more leaders and improving communications. This is playing a role in increasing membership and helping the federation to strengthen its position as a leader among the labor movements of Africa. Although it still has problems with financial management and record-keeping, the federation has grown, strengthening its position vis-a-vis the Senegalese government and outside forces.

Seminars

<u>DATE</u>	<u>TOPIC</u>	<u>NO.</u>	<u>VENUE</u>
Jan. 7-13	Evaluation Workers Ed. Program	30	Dakar, Senegal
Mar. 4-10	Health Workers Seminar	30	Dakar, Senegal
May 6-7	Trade Union Training	32	Louga, Senegal
May 13-18	Trade Union Training	30	Thies, Senegal
Jul. 9-14	Shop Steward Training	30	Dakar, Senegal
Jul. 15-19	Telecommunications Workers	30	Dakar, Senegal
Jul. 29-			
Aug. 2	Shop Steward Training	30	Dakar, Senegal
Sept. 20-23	Shop Steward Training	30	Dakar, Senegal

Colloquia

Mar. 15-21	Labor Law/COSYGA	25	Libreville, Gabon
Apr. 21- May 4	Collective Bargaining/UNTM	25	Bamako, Mali
May 6-11	Union Information and Communication/Regional	17	Lome, Togo
May 20-25	Trade Union Training/CNTB	33	Ouagadougou, Burkina
Jun. 24-29	Trade Union Finances/ Regional	20	Yaounde, Cameroon
Jul. 29- Aug. 3	Industrial Relations/ Regional	15	Niamey, Niger
Sep. 9-14	Shop Steward Training/UNTG	30	Bissau, Guinea Bissau
Oct. 25-31	Trade Union Administration	32	Kinshasa, Zaire
Aug. 5-8 Mauritania	Shop Steward Training/UTM	30	Nouakchott,
Dec. 5-11 Mauritania	Shop Steward Training/UTM	30	Nouadhibou,

Objective 3: Extending the IA HES Scope to Anglophone Africa

No colloquium for Anglophone labor cadres was scheduled, but the institute's relations with English-speaking countries, particularly The Gambia, have increased and plans are underway for educational cooperation in 1986.

Objective 4: Standardized Union Education Curricula

The IA HES staff and consultants prepared and distributed course notes and outlines among the trade union education committees in countries participating in the institute's program.

COMMENTARY:

During 1985, the Organization of Trade Unions of West Africa (OTUWA) began operations. A creation of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), OTUWA's goal is to represent the interests of workers in the region in formulating ECOWAS policies. It is essential that the membership of OTUWA be bilingual, since both French- and English-speaking countries are affiliated. The activities of IA HES are helping to increase the English skills of some Francophone trade unionists, enabling them to play an important role in the activities of OTUWA. IA HES' regional activities will begin to respond to the needs of OTUWA as this organization formulates its programs for 1986 and beyond.

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

PA 29 - GHANA

A. GOAL

To assist the Ghana Trades Union Congress (TUC) in its struggle to rebuild the labor movement in Ghana, to restore its ability to provide services to Ghana's trade unions and to 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.

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

Prior to this full-fledged program of assistance, the AALC 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. AALC ACTIVITIES IN 1985

Objective 1: Administrative Support for TUC and Affiliates

The AALC set about meeting one of the immediate priorities of the TUC, namely, the restoration of its administrative functions and of its capacity to offer services to its affiliates and members. An AALC presence was established in Ghana at the end of 1984. There was much resistance on the part of the Ghanaian government to the AALC representative because it recognized that the AALC could give the pro-West moderates the much needed material support to gain controlling power. By mid-year the scandal over CIA involvement in Ghana occasioned much anti-American sentiment. In fact, the head of the TUC led workers to demonstrate in front of the U.S. embassy in Accra. This was done, he later revealed, to secure his position and that held by the TUC in Ghanaian politics. These sentiments, however, did make cooperation at the time impossible. The AALC representative did not return to Ghana after leaving in April. But by the end of the year, working relations had been restored and plans were being made to resume activities. Despite the opposition while in Ghana,

the AALC succeeded in purchasing for the Ghana TUC five vehicles which enabled the federation to reestablish and maintain viable organizing programs throughout Ghana, offer services to rural health clinics and provide TUC leaders dependable transportation to reach national and local unions throughout the country. Assistance was also provided to two teacher unions through the AALC's ITS program. (See PA 09)

Objective 2: Ghana TUC Labour College

To help the Labour College resume operations, the AALC provided funding to renovate the building which had fallen into disrepair and to purchase necessary supplies. In March the TUC was able to resume its educational programs at the college with the holding of a labor leaders seminar.

Objective 3: Support for TUC Social Programs

The AALC was prepared to provide supplies and equipment for the TUC health centers and to assist the TUC in training additional health workers. The political situation in Ghana made implementation of this activity impossible.

COMMENTARY:

Despite the pressure on the Ghana TUC from the government and from the Organization of African Trade Union Unity to adopt an anti-American posture, the TUC leadership continued to maintain its relations with the AALC/AFL-CIO. Although the AALC will not post a representative in Ghana in 1986, it will continue to provide emergency assistance to the TUC and its affiliated unions in an effort to counter the divisive effects of Rawlings' and OATUU's propaganda. One tangible result of AALC assistance in 1985 was the reopening of the Labour College. The TUC has refurbished the facility and begun a regular program of trade union education.

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

PA 30 - LIBERIA

A. GOAL

To assist the Liberia Federation of Labour Unions (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. AALC ACTIVITIES IN 1985

Objective 1: Consolidation of Education Programs

AALC continued to provide funding for partial salary support in the LFLU's education department, for seminars, and for field workers training. Three vehicles and two typewriters were also provided to facilitate educational and organizational efforts. Elections for officials in a civilian government was a major concern in Liberia. The LFLU took an active part in educating its members in this exercise of democracy. The AALC helped the LFLU train instructors on voter registration and on how to encourage the workers to make use of their democratic right. Although elections were far from being free and fair, the Liberian workers and people showed themselves to be interested in and capable of carrying out a truly democratic process.

<u>DATE</u>	<u>TOPIC</u>	<u>NO.</u>	<u>VENUE</u>
Apr. 1-5	Leadership training	19	Monrovia
May 3-7	Collective Bargaining for new members, stewards	25	Buchanan
Jun. 24-8	Union Finances, Pol. Ed.	25	Yekepa
Jul. 1-5	Shop Stewards, Pol. Ed.	25	Monrovia
Aug. 19-23	Basic trade unionism	25	Monrovia
Oct. 1-5	Collective bargaining	25	Buchanan

Half-day sessions on Unions in the Democratic Process

Sep. 9-13	Agricultural Workers	250	Lac
Sep. 18-22	Agricultural Workers	250	Salala
Oct. 8-12	Rubber Workers	250	Guthrie
Oct. 8-12	Mineworkers	250	Boma

Objective 2: Trade Union Unity

The AALC, through LFLU's Education Department and field worker infrastructure, provided support for conducting organizing campaigns in the mining and agriculture industries and helped the federation encourage affiliation of independent unions. The National Ports and Dock Workers, with 2000 members, and the LAMCO mineworkers, with 5000 members, affiliated to the LFLU in 1985. The Robertsfield airport workers union has requested affiliation. The Bong mineworkers union is beginning to talk of affiliation. As more unions affiliate to the LFLU they increase the power of the labor movement to work at better protecting the interests of the workers.

Objective 3: Services to LFLU Affiliates and Members

The LFLU, with AALC assistance, has now established a Women's Department that has begun to draw women into union activities and small-scale development projects. AALC-sponsored leadership training attended by women has made this activity possible. The LFLU's co-op program remains active with six credit unions throughout the country. Although funds were available, a literacy program was not established in 1985. Further study on setting up this program is being undertaken. Contact with the Sierra Leone Labour Congress has been made and ways to duplicate its AALC-sponsored literacy program are being considered. Most people in Liberia recognize the efforts made by the LFLU to represent the workers, especially where plant closings have cost workers their jobs. In these cases the federation has tried to help ease their burden by providing rice to the workers families.

COMMENTARY:

The LFLU made visible progress in both its organizing and education programs in 1985. Two new unions affiliated to the LFLU, bringing the total number to nine, representing a total of 22,000 members. The LFLU's education department was extremely active in the country's presidential campaign and combined trade union education with programs

designed to encourage voter awareness and participation. As a result, the visibility of the LFLU in Liberia has increased along with its reputation as an independent and democratic organization and one capable of providing needed services to its members.

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 in 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. AALC ACTIVITIES IN 1985

Objective 1: Expansion of Regional Infrastructure

The AALC assisted the CNTT in creating regional centers for trade union activities and educational programs for local cadres and rank-and-file members. This was done by completing the first phase of equipping the CNTT's center in Dapaon. Construction continues on the cafeteria building. Regional CNTT seminars are being held regularly at the center now that it has the proper equipment and furnishings. Renting out the facilities for various meetings and conferences helps the federation pay utility costs as well as staff salaries. Funding also went to expand and renovate the printing facilities of the CNTT.

Objective 2: Expansion of Cooperative Network

The AALC provided funds to equip a new co-op store in the interior and sponsored 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

Seminars were held for women trade unionists in leadership and organizational skills. A women's wing within the CNTT has been formed and officers elected. Funds from the AALC were used to initiate projects to be run and managed by the women. One project is the storing and selling of fish. A cold storage center is being constructed to hold fresh fish sold by women fishmongers. When complete the storage facility will make possible more jobs for women, increase the income of women already in the trade, and help to involve women in trade union affairs. Some 15,000 women are taking part in the pilot project.

COMMENTARY:

The establishment of regional education centers made it possible for the CNTT to extend its programs and influence to workers in the more remote areas of the country. AALC assistance both to the cooperative projects and women's activities of the CNTT was instrumental in helping Togolese workers counter the effects of a worsening economy. A strengthened CNTT played a leading role both in the regional labor organization, OTUWA, and in the pan-African OATUU.

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

PA 34 - MAURITIUS

A. GOAL

To assist in the development of a united free and democratic movement embracing all workers in the country, focusing 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. AALC ACTIVITIES IN 1985

Objective I: Membership Promotion

In 1985 the Mauritius Labor Congress recruited four new affiliates and 1700 new members. In addition, the Government Servants Association, with over 14,000 members, has decided to join the MLC. Several MLC affiliates increased their membership in 1985. However, the reduction in the workforce of the sugar industry has limited the overall increase in MLC membership. Efforts have been made to recruit members working in the Export Processing Zone. This has met with limited success because of better established rival unions, communal and religious differences and problems that MLC affiliates have working in the EPZ. MLC affiliates made significant improvements in their dues structure and in 1985 the monthly fees paid increased by 400%--an important step towards financial self-sufficiency.

To help the MLC increase membership the AALC provided support to the federation's education program. Three educators/organizers received training and partial salary support. During the year the MLC/AALC conducted 33 major seminars and training sessions for 1,105 members. The MLC produced two audio-visual presentations for use in training sessions, one on trade unions in development and the other on cooperatives. In January 1986 the MLC opened its own education center. The AALC provided the furnishings and educational equipment.

for this project.

GENERAL SEMINARS

<u>DATES</u>	<u>TOPIC</u>	<u>NO.</u>	<u>VENUE</u>
Feb. 6-8	Workers Participation, Trade Unionism, Pensions	39	Europa Hotel
Feb. 22	Women's Planning Session	14	Belle Rose
Apr. 25-27	Labor Legislation	36	Europa Hotel
May 13-15	Labor Legislation	38	Europa Hotel
May 16-18	Planning, Sugar Ind. Fund	40	Belle Rose
Jun. 1-2	Labor Legislation	31	Europa Hotel
Jun. 3-5	Labor Legislation	37	Europa Hotel
Jun. 13-15	Labor Legislation	37	Europa Hotel
Jul. 9-12	Women and Development	40	Belle Mare
Jul. 23-25	Labor Legislation	32	Belle Rose
Jul. 30	Ed. Center Planning	16	Belle Rose
Sept. 2-4	Basic Trade Unionism	46	Curepipe
Sept. 5-7	Basic Trade Unionism	48	Curepipe
Oct. 27	MLC Women's Committee	40	Flacq
Oct. 18-20	Youth Job Creation	28	Belle Rose
Oct. 7-9	Unions in Development	33	Reduit
Nov. 16-17	Labor Legislation	36	Curepipe
Dec. 16-19	Labor Legislation	41	Curepipe

Objective 2: Development of a C Cooperative Structure

Good progress continued to be made in the area of cooperatives with ten credit unions of MLC affiliates receiving assistance from the MLC Cooperative Department. The AALC provided administrative support to the part-time co-op officer, the assistant co-op officer, and the credit union field officer. It also provided for 14 one- and two-day seminars on various aspects of the development of cooperatives. As the AALC representative in Mauritius is a specialist on cooperatives, his advice to the program has proved invaluable.

The woodworking cooperative, with 17 members, continues to increase its revenues (Rs 1 million vs. 640,000 in 1984). The furniture for the new MLC Education Center was made by this cooperative.

COOPERATIVE SEMINARS

<u>DATES</u>	<u>TOPIC</u>	<u>NO.</u>	<u>VENUE</u>
Jan. 28	Credit Union Development, Plantation Workers	34	Chemin Grenier
Feb. 22-23	CHA Credit Union	23	Belle Rose
Mar. 27	Credit Union Development Plantation Workers	25	R. des Anguilles
May 18-19	C.U. Management	25	Curepipe
May 27-29	Credit Union Development, Sugar Industry Workers	36	MIE
Jun. 7-8	Credit Union Planning Dev. Works. Corp.	29	Belle Rose

<u>DATES</u>	<u>TOPIC</u>	<u>NO.</u>	<u>VENUE</u>
Jun. 10-11	Credit Union Planning, Tea Dev. Authority	22	Belle Rose
Jun. 25-27	Credit Unions, Rural Local Govt. Staff	24	Europa Hotel
Jul. 7	Credit Union Recruitment	25	Camp Diable
Aug. 11	Credit Union Development, Plantation Workers	15	Belle Rose
Oct. 8	Credit Union Promotion Plantation Workers	70	Belle Rose
Oct. 24	Women and Cooperatives	55	Port-Louis
Oct. 12	C.U. Education/Rodrigues	50	Rodrigues

Objective 3: Job Creation

The MLC/Co-op Bank Job Creation Credit Scheme was inaugurated in April to establish a job creation project. This scheme provides for MLC funds to be matched by the Co-op Bank of Mauritius and then loaned for employment-creating activities. Ten loans were granted in 1985 to unemployed union members to create jobs in agriculture, refrigerator repair, tailoring, and baking. The AALC helped the MLC conduct three job creation seminars in conjunction with the Mauritius Cooperative Union (MCU) for over 100 unemployed youth, women and general workers. The former general secretary of the MCU is employed as a part-time MLC job creation officer. A grant of \$15,000 was made by the AALC on behalf of the MLC for the fund. This amount was matched by the Mauritius Cooperative Central Bank.

COMMENTARY:

As the Mauritian economy continued its trend away from agricultural production and towards a manufacturing industry, the MLC was able to respond to the new needs and demands of its members. The increase in dues contributions demonstrated the MLC's determination to work toward self-sufficiency in the face of increasing unemployment and economic recession. It recognized the need to encourage savings schemes and job creation and continued its progress in the establishment of credit unions and cooperatives. An aggressive education program, assisted by AALC expertise and funding, led to the opening of the MLC's education center in January 1986. It is hoped that this momentum continues in 1986 and that the MLC will play an even greater role in the country's development.

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

PA 39 - ZAIRE

A. GOAL

To 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 13 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, ISST, 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.

#### 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.

#### D. AALC ACTIVITIES IN 1985

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

The ISST has now graduated three different classes and started its seventh year of operation in October 1985. Over the last three years 69 students have graduated. Another 12 are expected to complete their theses defense in February 1986. The 85-86 academic year saw 173 shop stewards and 11 union personnel enrolled in the four levels and a major change in the curriculum with students now being able to concentrate on management or the humanities electives starting in the first year. AALC assistance, consisting of funds to cover 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, was completely phased over to UNTZA at the end of the year. Participants' fees along with contributions from employers and UNTZA will now provide the institute with adequate financing for its day-to-day operations.

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

The AALC provided assistance for DFT regional and sub-regional organizational activities, including seminars, transportation, preparation of publications, and administrative overhead. DFT activities in 1985 continued to prepare for a stronger decentralized system through three multi-regional symposia for 140 women to review past efforts, plan the future and develop revenue-generating projects. The women have started pilot projects in each of the nine regions. Cafeterias, sewing centers, vegetable and cassava farms, fish production and a grinding mill are examples of some of the projects.

For the PMI program, AALC provided medical equipment, material to help the income-generating projects (12 sewing machines and farm implements), funds to conduct inspection tours and sponsorship of a PMI nurse for CEDPA training in the U.S. All nine centers are now operated by the local DFT committees and all operational costs are covered by users' fees and small revenue-generating activities such as sewing and day-care services. This year was the final phase-over year for this project.

DFT Inter-Regional Women's Conferences for regional and subregional committee members, enterprise committee presidents and DFT personnel:

Jun. 10-15----Lubumbashi (for Shaba, Kasai Oriental, and Kasai Occidental) 66 participants;

Oct. 15-19----Kisangani (for Haut Zaire, Kivu, Equateur)  
22 participants;

Oct. 28-Nov.1--Mbanza-Ngungu (for Bas Zaire, Bandundu, Kinshasa) 56 participants.

Objective 2b: Improved Economic and Social Services: Cooperatives

ARCOOP completed its storage depot and began marketing affiliates' produce; namely, bananas, maize, cassava and dried fish. ARCOOP collected and standardized statistical data on the 69 primary societies and the two regional secondary societies. At the training sessions ARCOOP organized, the participants investigated possibilities for producers cooperatives. With the statistical data and personal contacts made at the sessions a more thorough understanding of training needs was established.

AALC assisted UNTZA's cooperative department in providing 30 specialized courses for cooperative leaders and members. Materials were supplied to complete the depot of the co-op national office which now markets affiliates produce. Additional studies were undertaken to increase the variety and quantity of goods affiliates supply to the national

office. ARCOOP membership climbed to 5,339 even though there was no increase in the existing three pre-cooperatives, 69 primary societies and two regional secondary societies

SEMINARS

<u>DATES</u>	<u>TOPIC</u>	<u>NO.</u>	<u>VENUE</u>
Jul. 29- Aug. 2	Membership training, primary societies	27	Kinshasa
Jul. 17-22	Membership training, primary societies	30	Kalima
Aug. 7-13	Membership training	25	Kongolo
Aug. 23-31	Membership training	27	Kasongo
Oct. 9-22	Membership training Shaba & Kivu Region	59	Lubumbashi
	" "	15	Likasi
	" "	20	Bunkeya
	" "	21	Mufunga-Sampwe
	" "	12	Kolwezi
	" "	10	Kamina
	" "	20	Kongolo
	" "	30	Kabambare
	" "	18	Kasongo
	" "	21	Kindu
Sep. 19-20	Leadership training	28	Gandajika
Sep. 21-23	Leadership training	17	Tshilenge
Sep. 16-21	Leadership training	33	Inongo
Jul. 20-27	Membership training	20	Mbandaka
Aug. 5-11	Membership training	24	Bumba
Dec. 9-16	Leadership training	35	Bandundu
Dec. 5-16	Membership training Four sessions	148	Kananga
Dec. 6-11	Membership training	45	Kisangani
Dec. 12-15	Membership training	21	Yangabi
Dec. 17-20	Membership training	18	Mobi
Dec. 5-12	Membership training	39	Mbandaka
Dec. 13-19	Membership training	47	Basankusu
Dec. 20-21	Membership training	31	Mbandaka

Objective 3: Improved Financial Management

With the change in legislation in March 1985, certain benefits are now included with the base salary for union dues computation. This has led to a slight increase in dues revenue. It is only with an improved dues collection system that UNTZA will be able to capture the 20% of dues not reaching it. Improvement is occurring but it will take an additional two years before all information is up-dated and in a standardized form.

This marked the third year of AALC assistance to this project which continues to help the federation to increase its dues revenue. Regional workshops and refresher courses were held in each of the nine regions for dues collection and national office personnel to ensure that data was

prepared in a standardized form. A census of local employers was continued in 1985 as were purchases of storage equipment and adding machines.

Objective 4: Improved Research and Documentation

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

COMMENTARY:

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.

1985 saw real progress made by UNTZa in the areas of workers education, women's programs, cooperative development, and financial and research sophistication. UNTZa provides a model for other trade union federations in the region through its ability to implement effective programs despite repressive political and economic conditions.

Late in 1985, a regional organization of trade union federations was formed--the Organisation des Travailleurs de l'Afrique Centrale (OTAC), patterned after the West African grouping, OTUWA. The new organization is headquartered in Kinshasa and UNTZa is expected to play a leading role in its activities.

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

P A 59 -ZIMBABWE

A. GOAL

AALC's 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.

#### 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. AALC ACTIVITIES IN 1985

Objective 1: Headquarters Support and Regional Administration

At a meeting of the ZCTU General Council on March 23, the union's president, senior vice president, acting secretary-general and the information secretary were removed from office for alleged maladministration. The GOZ appointed a twelve-member steering committee to administer the ZCTU until a national congress was held. In the interim the steering committee met frequently to deal with the daily affairs of the organization. They scheduled the national congress for July in hope of achieving some internal unity and saving the deteriorating trade union movement.

The congress took place July 27-28 and elected a new body of officers who have been working hard to make the organization viable once more. The major job of the new leadership is to resolve the question of legitimately registered unions existing side by side with splinter unions. The Ministry of Labour has set a deadline for all unions to merge. Refusal to increase dues and late payment of dues is causing the federation some financial difficulties. These along with the lack of young leadership are some of the problems the new administration must tackle to effectively defend the interests of workers vis-a-vis management and government.

In addition, a new labor act was passed by Parliament in May. The act is considered by some to be a comprehensive piece of legislation which strengthens the financial position of trade unions. Others see it as limiting their freedom. There is concern in some sectors over the unprecedented powers the Minister of Labour has under the law.

With all the problems the ZCTU was experiencing, the AALC was unable to implement all of its proposed assistance program. Funds were provided for certain headquarters expenses as well as toward the establishment of a regional office in Bulawayo. Two leadership training seminars were held for regional officers :Oct. 14-18 in Gweru for 25 officers and Nov. 11-15 in Mutare for 29.

Objective 2: ZCTU Education Department

AALC co-sponsored rank-and-file seminars for the ZCTU Education Department and provided some staff support to ZCTU. The Associated Mineworkers received a small photocopy machine for use as an administrative tool and to help develop a union newsletter.

RANK-AND-FILE SEMINARS

<u>DATES</u>	<u>NO. OF PART.</u>	<u>VENUE</u>
Sep. 7-8	10	Zvishavane
Sep. 9-13	23	Gweru
Sep. 14-15	15	Shurugwi
Sep. 21-22	25	Banket
Sep. 23-27	17	Masvingo
Oct. 5-6	30	Mvuma/Chivu
Oct. 5-6	24	Bindura
Oct. 12-13	25	Chiredzi
Oct. 12-13	20	Victoria Falls
Oct. 14-18	10	Chiredzi
Oct. 16-17	21	Rusape
Oct. 21-25	30	Mutare
Oct. 21-25	21	Bulawayo
Oct. 23-27	20	Masvingo
Oct. 26-27	17	Hwange
Nov. 4-8	30	Harare
Nov. 4-8	25	Harare
Nov. 16-17	20	Norton
Nov. 18-22	18	Masvingo

Objective 3: Services to Members and Affiliates

Two women's workshops were held to help provide a basis for the establishment of a women's department in ZCTU (Nov. 18-20 in Mutare for 17 women and Dec. 2-4 in Gweru for 17 women). Other projects, such as literacy instruction, health clinics, and vocational education were not implemented because of the internal problems the ZCTU was experiencing.

COMMENTARY:

The internal problems experienced by the ZCTU at the beginning of the year followed by the election of a completely new team of leaders gave needed impetus to the development of the trade union federation and its programs. A regional office in Bulawayo will not only provide education

programs in that area, but will also contribute to reconciling tribal differences that have surfaced from time to time during the ZCTU's short history.

The fact that the ZCTU was able to resume its programs after the change in its leadership testifies to the solid institutional foundation of Zimbabwe's labor movement. With assistance from the AALC and other donors, the federation can play an ever-increasing role in the development of the country.

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

PA 52 - SUDAN

A. GOAL

To 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 Numeiri, 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. AALC ACTIVITIES IN 1985

Objective 1: Development of a Workers' Education Department

A group of army officers led a bloodless coup in April. General Siwar al-Dhahab assumed control of the government with the objective of returning to a civilian administration after a short transitional period. Meanwhile the South continued to wage war against the North in a clash of race, religion and politics. East-bloc elements were slowly wielding their influence during the turmoil. AALC ties with the SWTUF and FEPTU remained constant during the year, although carrying out assistance programs was greatly hampered. The SWTUF held a congress in May and came out in support of continued relations with and aid from the AALC. Subsequently, an AALC representative has met with the present Sudanese government officials, found them supportive of our endeavors and succeeded in getting an aid agreement signed. The head of the FEPTU, who was imprisoned shortly after the coup, has now been released and is able to resume his duties. His organization wishes likewise to continue relations. The coup has caused a setback in program implementation but has not discouraged the AALC from continuing its support of the some of the strongest supporters of free and democratic institutions in Sudan, namely, its trade union brothers in the SWTUF and FEPTU.

COMMENTARY

Given the role the trade unions played in the overthrow of the Numeiri government, it is imperative that support continue to help the SWTUF and the FEPTU promote their own free and democratic institutions as well as a democratically-elected civilian government. The trade union movement is also seen as a possible means of reconciling differences between the North and the South. The fact that the two federations and the present

government welcome future cooperation demonstrates the belief of all parties concerned that the trade union movement is a key to stability and development in the Sudan.