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**African-American
Labor Center/AFL-CIO**

Annual Report

AID Grant AFR-0477-G-00-1145-00

January 1-December 31, 1991

INTRODUCTION

1991 was a year of turbulence and political change for much of Africa. African trade unions played a major role in the move toward multi-party democracy in Benin, Burkina Faso, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Congo, Mali, Niger, Nigeria, Zaire and Zambia. It was the voice of the trade unions that issued the call for pluralism and led the way to political change in Benin, Mali and Zambia.

The African-American Labor Center/AFL-CIO, with funds provided by Agency for International Development Grant #AFR-0477-G-00-1145-00, has supported and strengthened the work of the African trade unions. AALC/AFL-CIO programs can be divided into three broad categories:

Promotion of Internal Trade Union Development. Programs in this category help to reinforce or expand the efforts of the unions in the areas of trade union education, organizing, internal management (administration and finance), and creation of branch or regional offices.

Promotion of Tripartite Participation. Programs in this category provide specialized training in labor law, economics, health and safety, research, and other topics which help prepare the unions for effective participation in policy formulation.

Promotion of Social and Economic Development. Programs in this category provide advice and technical support to unions which wish to establish credit unions, cooperatives, income generation projects or other service-oriented programs for the benefit of workers and their families.

This report details political and trade union developments for each country where the AALC/AFL-CIO had programs under this grant during the year, and describes the types of activities that were funded under the grant.

Please note that the AALC/AFL-CIO operated under a number of constraints during 1991. Grant funding that was expected at the beginning of the year did not actually come through until September. There were also restrictions on travel due to the conflict in the Persian Gulf. And finally, the political events in numerous countries in Africa and the involvement of the unions in the political scene limited a number of union activities.

BOTSWANA

Political and Economic Developments

As Botswana celebrated its 25th year of independence in July, the ruling Botswana Democratic Party was enjoying its fifth consecutive term of office. The opposition parties were becoming more vocal in demanding changes in the electoral system. Although the ruling party continues to lose support in the urban areas, it should have little difficulty

winning the next elections scheduled for 1994. The main political debate will continue to center on the redistribution of the country's considerable wealth.

The National Accounts Report recently released shows that the vibrant economy of Botswana slowed down significantly during 1990-1991, after a period of high growth. From 1985-1990 the annual growth rate averaged 9.7%, while in 1989-1990 it slowed to 5.1%. The decline was mainly attributable to the fall in diamond exports.

During 1991 foreign construction firms flocked to Botswana to take advantage of the construction boom. In addition to firms from South Africa, the new firms came from China, South Korea, Kuwait, Lebanon, Italy, Germany and France. These firms have done nothing to sponsor apprenticeship training, but have caused a loss of jobs for Botswana. The Chinese, in particular, bring most of their needed employees with them. The Minister of Presidential Affairs, however, claims that the new firms are efficient, complete their contracts on time, and cost the country less.

USAID holds Botswana up as an example of successful free enterprise development, and during the year signed a \$6 million agreement with the Confederation of Commerce, Industry and Manpower. The assistance is aimed at attracting foreign investment and generating employment.

Trade Union Developments

The trade union scene during the year was dominated by industrial unrest in the public sector which resulted in a five day national strike in November by the Government Manual Workers' Union. Some 40,000 low paid workers went out on strike when a 154% pay increase which was agreed upon by government negotiators was later disallowed by the Minister for Presidential Affairs. Striking workers lost their end-of-service benefits, but most were rehired. The union received support from a number of international and South African organizations, and has filed a case against the government in the High Court.

AALC/AFL-CIO Activities

The financial and technical assistance provided by AALC/AFL-CIO to the Botswana Federation of Trade Unions (BFTU) is aimed at supporting the development of a free, democratic and responsible trade union in Botswana. In 1991 the AALC/AFL-CIO assisted the BFTU to conduct seven trade union education programs for 258 participants. In conjunction with the Occupational Health Unit of the Ministry of Health, ten seminars were held for an additional 228 participants.

Through the services of the BFTU Co-operative Officer, four railway and mineworkers' savings and credit cooperatives were provided assistance in the areas of education, accounting and support services. Technical and financial support were also offered to the BFTU Workers' Service Organisation.

1991 also saw the establishment of a BFTU revolving fund for the purpose of trade union cooperative development and job creation activities.

GHANA

Political and Economic Developments

Political change in Ghana lagged behind that in several other countries of the region. The Rawlings government, the Provisional National Defense Council (PNDC), remained essentially a military junta, with Rawlings declaring early in the year that the military intended to stay in power indefinitely and that those advocating multipartyism and democratic reforms had a "colonialist mentality". Nevertheless, later, on the 12th anniversary of his rise to power, and in the face of internal pressure and the political atmosphere of countries all around Ghana and beyond, Rawlings announced that a new constitution would soon be drafted. Meanwhile, demonstrations began to occur. The government announced a general amnesty for political exiles, except for those who had been involved in "subversion". There were few takers. Street demonstrations intensified. With parties as such banned, groups calling themselves clubs emerged, and eventually, an umbrella group, the Coordinating Committee for Democratic Forces, came into being.

The government appointed a 260-member Consultative Assembly to draft a new constitution, but insisted that the ban on parties remain in effect until the work of the assembly was complete, probably at year's end. In 1992, a constitutional referendum would be held, followed by local, legislative and presidential elections. Ten leaders of the Ghana Trades Union Congress (TUC) participated in the Assembly. The Assembly deliberated at greater length than was originally anticipated, and its closing was set for March, 1992.

In the midst of all the political ferment, the Ghanaian government continued to cooperate quietly with international financial organizations in carrying out its structural reform program, and is considered by lending agencies as one of Africa's success stories. Inflation is low, the currency is freely traded, privatization is proceeding apace, consumer subsidies have been drastically scaled down, and GNP growth is substantially succeeding population increase.

Trade Union Developments

As distinct from what was occurring in some neighboring countries, the trade union movement in Ghana remained unified within the TUC. This is hardly surprising, since the TUC was never perceived as a wing of the political regime, as was widely the case in West Africa, especially in the Francophone areas. Quite the contrary, it has consistently been viewed with suspicion by the PNDC as the kind of free institution it finds most threatening.

The TUC continued its traditional emphasis on member services, notably in collective bargaining, education and cooperative development, and in pressing for minimum wage and allowance increases.

AALC/AFL-CIO Activities

The AALC regional representative visited Ghana twice during the year.

The cafeteria project at the TUC's labor college was finished. AALC had provided funds for upgrading equipment and enlarging the facilities.

Three Ghanaian labor leaders took part in the seminar on trade unions and democracy held at the George Meany Center for Labor Studies. The AALC/AFL-CIO provided airfare and per diem for a TUC officer to attend the ILO conference in June.

National political developments occupied much of the TUC's attention during the latter part of the year, and further activities with the AALC/AFL-CIO were postponed to early 1992.

GUINEA

Political and Economic Developments

The momentum of political change advanced slowly in Guinea in 1991, while the transition to a market economy continued to extract financial demands that fell proportionally more on the working class, creating a good deal of civil unrest. Unlike other countries in the region, the Conteh government has avoided military intervention; the proposed changes in government have been initiated by the present government. Opposition parties have not had much success in developing a united front. Student demonstrations on political and economic issues appear to be merely the tip of the iceberg of dissatisfaction with the slow rate of change.

Regional stability has improved greatly since the end of 1990, as the Liberian crisis slowly winds down. Guinea, however, still has troops serving with the Economic Community Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) forces in Liberia, and other troops in Sierra Leone. Many Liberian refugees have been repatriated and emergency relief efforts have been reduced.

During the first half of the year numerous wildcat and illegal strikes resulted in frequent industrial unrest. The franc devalued, inflation soared, and unemployment increased with the privatization of government enterprises. Two 50% increases in public sector salaries were eroded by price increases, but the government of Guinea advanced along lines proposed by the International Monetary Fund and World Bank. After decades of neglect, the economy is on the upswing. Much of Guinea's infrastructure is in need of repair.

Private and public sector investment is increasing, but not fast enough to absorb recently laid-off workers and new school-leavers.

Trade Union Developments

The much delayed Confédération Nationale des Travailleurs de Guinée (CNTG) and federation congresses were finally held from June 27 to July 2. The CNTG congress approved dues check-off for the first time and reelected M.S. Kebe as Secretary General in a freely contested election.

Despite the CNTG's separation from the party and the new independent revenue source (from workers' dues), the CNTG is still staffed by employees paid for by the government, and to date no plans have been made to eliminate the subsidy. CNTG remains by far the most representative labor organization in the country.

The CNTG is at a critical junction. Now that dues collection has been authorized, the first task will be to demonstrate to the workers the advantages and responsibilities of independent unions. Employers, government and international donors have all expressed an interest in financing educational activities for the workers to help them understand the new industrial relationship. At present, CNTG remains over-centralized as the sixteen professional federations and the local branches have little autonomy. The CNTG will need to diffuse its authority to the federations, freeing the national organization to confront national issues.

AALC/AFL-CIO Activities

AALC assistance helped the CNTG to organize regional seminars which prepared the local leadership for the CNTG and the federation congresses while improving rank and file/national leadership contact and communications. Four seminars for a total of 81 local leaders were held in the first quarter of the year. One CNTG officer participated in the annual program for French-speaking trade union leaders held at the George Meany Center for Labor Studies in April. The CNTG also organized and hosted a regional Organisation of Trade Unions of West Africa (OTUWA) conference in March which was financed by the AALC/AFL-CIO.

The AALC/AFL-CIO supported a CNTG national seminar where 35 members of the Bureau Confédéral explored their role in the new union environment. A second national seminar for 30 regional officers presented the new financial arrangements in depth, and laid the groundwork for dues collection in 1992. Additional AALC/AFL-CIO funds purchased building materials, supplies and equipment for CNTG headquarters and its education department, maintained CNTG vehicles, and partially subsidized the printing of new membership cards.

KENYA

Political and Economic Developments

The political situation in Kenya took a dramatic swing in the second half of 1991 with the creation of the Forum for the Restoration of Democracy (FORD), which marked the acceleration of the demand for pluralism.

On December 3, 1991, a specially convened meeting of the Governing Council of the ruling Kenyan African National Union agreed to do away with the controversial section 2(A) of the constitution, an amendment which made Kenya a one-party state. The news was greeted with extreme jubilation by the Law Society of Kenya, the churches, and especially the proponents of FORD. The situation has led to a proliferation of parties preparing to register.

Economic growth slowed in 1991, due to poor coffee prices in the world market and the effect of the Gulf Crisis on tourism, Kenya's greatest source of foreign exchange.

The Central Bureau of Statistics announced in October that the annual rate of inflation stands at 21.7 percent, the highest since 1980. Inflation has doubled since December of 1990.

Trade Union Developments

All national unions, their branches and Central Organisation of Trade Unions (COTU) hold elections once every five years. The problems of internal conflict within COTU continued in the first part of 1991. The COTU Executive Board met in October, and announced that elections would be held on December 19, that Secretary General Mugalla would defend his seat, and that COTU would seek affiliation with the ICFTU.

Throughout the year, accusations of vote-buying, rigging and foreign interference flourished. A court suit was filed on behalf of 6 unions and 43 trade unionists against COTU and Mugalla. The suit was subsequently thrown out of court, and the elections went ahead as scheduled. As Mugalla won another five-year term, 16 unions split away from COTU to form a new National Congress of Trade Unions (NACOTU).

AALC/AFL-CIO Activities

AALC/AFL-CIO activities were hampered by the elections, and by the delay in approval of the program budget. However, we continued, through COTU, to assist the Kenya trade union movement to develop its research department. This assistance involved salary support, publications, manuals and supplies.

The AALC/AFL-CIO also assisted the COTU Women's Department with supplies and seminars. The seminars contributed to the organizing and awareness of women workers of

their role in developing the trade union movement, along with addressing some of their specific needs within the labor movement. These seminars involved some 100 participants.

Dorothy Randiak, a lecturer at the Tom Mboya Labor College, visited the United States in early 1991 to study the American labor movement, and labor education in particular.

Dr. George Hagglund, director of the School for Workers' Education at the University of Wisconsin helped COTU's Education Department with curriculum development for the Tom Mboya Labor College. Dr. Hagglund also participated in a review of the industrial court and dispute resolution mechanism.

The AALC/AFL-CIO also funded a technician to provide COTU with computer training, and two seminars for shop stewards and branch officials involving 100 participants.

LESOTHO

Political and Economic Developments

General Elias Ramaema unseated General Lekhanya in a bloodless coup on April 30, 1991, and announced that previous policies would continue unchanged. The deposed King Moshoeshoe remained an important political influence from his London exile, and is believed to have advised his son to accept the throne in order to save the royal line.

General Ramaema assured the people of Lesotho that elections will be held before June of 1992, and has asked the United Nations to send a team of independent observers to monitor the elections. A number of political parties have been formed. It is believed that the elections will take place, but that the military may step back into power in the months following the elections if political tensions are not defused.

A recent IMF report on Lesotho spoke of its "greatly improved fiscal management", and a budget deficit of only M40m for 1990-1991. There has been a huge growth in the export of manufactured goods, particularly textiles. The Lesotho National Development Corporation (LNDC) offers extremely competitive incentives to foreign investors who come mainly from South Africa, Taiwan and Hong Kong. The LNDC is linked to over 50 companies which employ some 15,000 workers.

The Lesotho Highlands Water Project (LHWP) celebrated its fifth anniversary in October and is still on course to be completed in the year 2020 at a cost of \$2 billion. At present Lesotho imports 90% of its electricity from South Africa, but the project will make it self-sufficient. The LHWP is essential to South Africa's economic expansion, but it is estimated that Lesotho will earn only R50-100 million per year in royalties.

Trade Union Developments

The Construction and Allied Workers Union of Lesotho (CAWULE) held its Inaugural Congress in Maseru early in the year. With the assistance of the AALC/AFL-CIO and others, CAWULE was formed by returned National Union of Mineworkers officials who lost their jobs in the 1987 strike.

After the Lesotho Congress of Free Trade Unions (LCFTU) and the Lesotho Federation of Trade Unions (LFTU) merged in November 1990 to become the Lesotho Labour Congress (LLC), the trade union movement in Lesotho was expecting to benefit from the uniting of the two federations into one national center. Unfortunately, many of the old divisions continued to exist, the dissolution of the LCFTU was contested, and on 20 June a meeting of seven independent unions was held to form the Congress of Democratic Unions (CDU). CDU appears to be growing in strength, while the LLC is trying to restructure away from district unions into more viable industrial unions. With some 8,000 members, the Construction and Allied Workers' Union of Lesotho (CAWULE) continues to lead the CDU, and is the most militant and best organized union in the country. The leaders of the two federations cooperate on some issues, and have had talks about holding a joint democratization seminar prior to the June elections.

AALC/AFL-CIO Activities

The AALC/AFL-CIO assisted the LLC to conduct a restructuring workshop in January and an extraordinary congress in May, and supported four training and merger activities during the second half of 1991.

The Construction and Allied Workers' Union of Lesotho held its inaugural congress, with assistance of the AALC/AFL-CIO and others.

LIBERIA

Political and Economic Developments

Killings from the civil war subsided and large numbers of people returned to Monrovia and restarted businesses. Sawyer's provisional government organized refugee rehabilitation programs, but the warring parties were unable to reach an agreement to stop fighting and proceed to democratic elections. Charles Taylor, in particular, refused to disarm his troops and subject himself to an interim government that would supervise elections. Instead, he continued to destabilize neighboring Sierra Leone. Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) peace efforts continue.

Trade Union Developments

The general secretary of the Liberia Federation of Labour Unions (LFLU) returned to Monrovia and joined the interim legislature as representative of labor and other social interests. No actual trade union activity was possible because workplaces, except retail shops, remain closed because of the civil war.

AALC/AFL-CIO Activities

The AALC representative in Dakar visited Monrovia twice during the year to evaluate the situation. He concluded that it was not possible to run any technical programs at this time. The AALC continues to monitor the situation.

MALAWI

Political and Economic Developments

President-for-life Kamuzu Banda, now in his eighties, continues to rule over Malawi. Malawi is paying the price for one of the worst human rights records in Africa through reduced aid from Britain. The European Economic Community governments have warned Banda that Malawi may find itself in a position similar to that of Kenya, which was required by a group of donor countries and international financial organizations to implement certain political reforms before further aid was granted. These reforms were intended to support the structural adjustment program, and to increase respect for human rights and movement toward pluralism.

Trade Union Developments

Little progress was made during the course of 1991 by the Trades Union Congress of Malawi (TUCM). However, with the assistance of the Southern African Trade Union Coordinating Council (SATUCC), plans are underway for a TUCM congress in 1992 for the purpose of electing new officers.

AALC/AFL-CIO Activities

The AALC representative visited Malawi in May, August and September of 1991 for discussions on TUCM operations with its leadership. AALC/AFL-CIO funding helped the TUCM to set up an office, and to repair the trade union van.

Chakufwa Chihana of Malawi represented the Southern African Trade Union Coordinating Council at the AFL-CIO convention.

MALI

Political and Economic Developments

Political events moved more swiftly and dramatically in Mali early in the year than anywhere else in West Africa. A 48-hour general strike called by the Union Nationale des Travailleurs du Mali (UNTM) was followed by student and human rights organization demonstrations seeking political reform. The demonstrations were violently repressed, resulting in several deaths and many injuries. This series of events crystallized opposition to the regime, and the UNTM suddenly found itself at the forefront of the opposition movement. High level officials within the ruling party called for an opening of the political system. In late March, security forces attempted to suppress a mass anti-government street demonstration, resulting in at least 200 deaths, declaration of a state of emergency, and the arrest of military dictator Moussa Traoré. The ruling party was abolished and an interim military government headed by Colonel Amadou Tourmani Touré was installed. A certain amount of unrest continued, despite plans for a national conference. An unsuccessful attempt at a military coup in July was followed by a demonstration of support for the transition government by approximately 15,000 marchers.

The national conference began on July 29 and lasted for three weeks. Among its main tasks were to commission the drafting of a new constitution, and to schedule elections.

At the same time, the country experienced serious unrest in the north among the nomadic Tuareg people, who seek political autonomy. Despite the violence, the drafting of the new constitution went on apace, and much expectation was centered on the constitutional referendum and local and national elections in early 1992.

Trade Union Developments

Bakary Karambé, UNTM General Secretary, was one of the most influential civilians in the period leading up to and following the overthrow of the Traoré regime. Even so, as the national conference approached, the UNTM let it be known that while it was crucially involved in political events, its primary role as a trade union organization should not be forgotten, and its original demands for attention to salary scales and arrears still stood. These concerns were addressed, and Karambé remains one of the government's most influential advisors.

Planning proceeded for a special congress of the UNTM to be held following the constitutional referendum, with a view to charting the trade union center's course during the elections and beyond.

AALC/AFL-CIO Activities

The AALC/AFL-CIO was the first trade union organization to send a message of solidarity to the UNTM in its battle for freedom and justice during the events leading to the fall of the dictatorship. A representative from the Abidjan office traveled to Mali in early April to confer with the UNTM and assess the situation. Out of this grew plans for a UNTM-AALC seminar on trade unionism and democracy, which took place in September.

A UNTM representative participated in a structural adjustment seminar at the Meany Center. Karambé attended the AFL-CIO convention, and was a panelist for the AALC forum on trade unionism and democracy.

The International Union of Bricklayers and Allied Craftsmen provided support, through AALC's Union-to-Union program, for an organizing seminar by the UNTM union of building and construction workers.

MAURITIUS

Political and Economic Developments

Mauritius Prime Minister Sir Anerood Jugnauth dissolved parliament in early August, 1991, and called a general election for September 15, one year ahead of schedule. The campaign opened officially at the end of August, when 364 candidates registered for the 62 parliamentary seats to be contested.

The Movement Socialist Militant (MSM) led by Prime Minister Jugnauth and the Movement Militant Mauricien (MMM) led by Prem Nabalsing and Paul Berenger swept to a convincing victory. MSM took 29 seats; MMM 26. The final result was a total of 59 seats for the government coalition, and seven seats for the opposition. The Prime Minister formed his new government and added four ministries. The Labor and Women's Social Affairs Ministry has been split into two separate entities.

Jugnauth announced that Queen Elizabeth will cease to be the Head of State of Mauritius when the island becomes a republic in March, 1992.

Mauritius continues to enjoy a boom economy. It was somewhat affected by the Gulf War, as reflected in rising commodity costs and decreased tourism. However, these problems had eased by mid-year.

Trade Union Developments

The Mauritius Labor Congress (MLC), the largest and most effective of several trade union federations in Mauritius, continues to speak out on issues of concern to workers.

The MLC has made progress in its organizing efforts, but is experiencing difficulties in the Export Processing Zone, where access to workers is problematic, and wages are much higher than for non-Zone workers.

MLC General Secretary K. Cunniah has taken an extended leave of absence to join the Africa desk of the ICFTU. His deputy, Kamel Hurrinag, has assumed the duties of general secretary in the interim.

MLC President C. Bhagirutty has expressed confidence in the MLC's ability to function well within the new government, citing the MLC's political neutrality.

AALC/AFL-CIO Activities

The AALC/AFL-CIO assists the MLC in trade union education, research, salary support and cooperative and credit union projects. The AALC/AFL-CIO sponsored numerous seminars in 1991, which reached close to one thousand participants.

Dr. George Hagglund, Director of the School for Workers, University of Wisconsin, consulted with MLC education staff on methods of worker education, and participated in a leadership seminar.

The AALC/AFL-CIO provided the MLC Education Department with funds to support salaries, supplies and materials, and assisted the Co-operative Department as well.

MOZAMBIQUE

Political and Economic Developments

The situation in Mozambique is quite grim. Many farms, businesses and factories are no longer operating because of the war. Mass migration to the cities has resulted in severe overcrowding. It is estimated that the war has displaced a quarter of the country's 16 million people. Jobs have been lost as a result of structural adjustment policies and economic deterioration. The ongoing peace talks offer hope for the end of the war, but have yet to produce concrete results.

In the meantime, President Chissano has come under fire from donor nations for the government's inability to deal with corruption.

Trade Union Developments

Low wages and poor working conditions, in addition to loss of jobs due either to the war or to economic austerity programs led to labor unrest. Manifestations included some violent demonstrations by returned migrant workers as well as a prolonged teachers' strike.

Officers of the Organização dos Trabalhadores de Moçambique (OTM) are trying to address some of these problems on a tripartite basis, but have admitted slow progress all around.

The OTM has planned a comprehensive, three year labor education program for its members to be carried out in northern, central and southern Mozambique. They have also decided that English language courses, AIDS education, and discussion of strategies for dealing with structural adjustment policies are priorities.

AALC/AFL-CIO Activities

The AALC regional representative based in Harare visited Mozambique in May for discussions with the OTM leadership of the areas mentioned above. While there, he also visited two union factories, a cashew nut plant employing 1,200 people, and a grain mill plant with 1,000 workers. While both plants were exceptionally clean, they had a number of safety and health problems, including excessive dust and noise levels, lack of protective clothing, and heavy lifting requirements. While union representatives were open to expressing safety concerns, they lacked direction in how to challenge such conditions.

The AALC representative was impressed with the caliber of leadership in the OTM, and has recommended providing them with planning assistance.

NIGER

Political and Economic Developments

In 1991, Niger continued along the difficult passage toward democracy. With multipartyism having been instituted the previous year, the number of new parties continued to grow. The government came under increasing pressure to hold a national conference. A committee was established to plan for a May 27th congress, but the committee itself became the subject of controversy, and the congress was postponed until July 29th. 1,200 delegates participated, including strong representation from the Union des Syndicats des Travailleurs du Niger (USTN). Despite opposition from the government delegation, the conference affirmed the principle of sovereignty of decisions made at the conference.

In testimony given at the conference, President Saibou accepted responsibility for a massacre of student demonstrators by security forces. The conference also discussed the government's handling of the Tuareg unrest in the north.

Finally, the conference voted to dissolve the government and suspend the army chief of staff. After some controversy, it also decided that President Saibou should remain in office in a caretaker role until the constitution was adopted and elections held. Aamadou Cheffou, an official of a U.N. agency, was named interim prime minister along with a 15-member transition legislature. The conference adjourned after three months in session. A

constitutional referendum is to be held in early 1992, followed by local and legislative elections, and a presidential poll by January 1993.

While the national conference dominated the political agenda, other political news included participation in Operations Desert Shield and Desert Storm, and student demonstrations in protest of sending the troops. U.S. and French installations were attacked during the protest, and schools closed for several weeks as a result of the unrest.

Trade Union Developments

The USTN threatened a general strike if there were not some lessening of job losses in the public sector under the structural adjustment program, and unless the government provided information on who was responsible for the student deaths during the previous year's pivotal demonstration. The strike was called off when the government addressed the concerns to an extent acceptable to the unions.

USTN Secretary General Laouali Moutari played a major role in the deliberations of the national conference. Three USTN officials were named to the transition legislature, and three became ministers in the transition government. Laouali himself did not take up an official post in order to stress the USTN's independence from the government.

AALC/AFL-CIO Activities

The agricultural project for 120 former public employees and USTN members who lost their jobs due to the structural adjustment program continued. The families are building their own homes on a government-donated site near Niamey, and are growing food for their own consumption as well as to market on a cooperative basis. AALC/AFL-CIO assistance provides for administrative and technical services, and for some building supplies. By the end of 1991, 98 houses were completed or in the final stages of construction, and regular crops of rice and other staple foods were being harvested.

The AALC/AFL-CIO provided a grant to the USTN for meeting some national conference expenses.

A USTN participant took part in the AALC structural adjustment seminar at the Meany Center.

Laouali Moutari represented the USTN and the regional organization, the Organisation of Trade Unions of West Africa, at the AFL-CIO convention and AALC's forum on trade unions and democracy.

SENEGAL

Political and Economic Developments

While much of the continent experimented with different paths to multi-party democracy, Senegal strengthened its functioning multi-party system. In April, the leading opposition figure, Abdoulaye Wade, joined the Diouf government as Minister of State, while maintaining his position as head of the Senegalese Democratic Party. As the opposition parties were invited to participate in the Diouf government, a major cabinet reshuffling once again re-established the post of Prime Minister, which had been vacant since 1982. A negotiated truce with the rebel movement of the predominantly Christian Casamances led to the freeing of political prisoners. The problems that led to the creation of the rebel movement are far from being solved, but at least the two groups are communicating on a regular, non-violent basis.

On the regional scene, Senegal, as current chairman of ECOWAS, has taken a more active role in the peace process in Liberia, and Senegalese troops are part of the ECOMOG contingent there. Senegal's relationship with Mauritania has improved, but full diplomatic ties between the two countries have not been restored. Dakar has been selected as the site for the 1992 Organization of African Unity (OAU) Summit, so Diouf and Senegal will continue to play important regional and continental roles.

Senegal was the first sub-saharan country to assign troops to the U.N. effort in the Gulf. In October, Dakar hosted the Sixth Islamic Conference. Despite the increase of fundamentalism in the Moslem states, fundamentalism has yet to play a significant political part in Senegal.

Trade Union Developments

Building upon the collaborative efforts that defeated a proposed tax increase in late 1990, the unions continue to exercise a high level of cooperation. The Confédération Nationale des Travailleurs du Sénégal (CNTS) and Coordination des Syndicats Autonomes (CSA) joined together for a "parade of unity" for the annual Labor Day celebration.

The battle for changes in the labor code that the government has sought at the behest of the IMF continues. The unions are bitterly opposed to losing benefits and advantages that have taken years to achieve. A compromise is being negotiated by which the law would allow employers greater flexibility in employing and terminating full and part-time workers. Amendments to the labor code were the critical issue in the industrial relationship in 1991, and will continue as such until an acceptable compromise position is found. Otherwise, labor unrest will increase, which would have a negative impact for the ruling Socialist Party in the 1993 elections.

The labor scene was relatively calm in 1991, as most strikes were local and wildcat in nature. The education and transportation sectors, however, were volatile. The

introduction of the "continual work day" (7:30-4:00, five days a week) in July met with only partial success as much of the private sector continued with the former schedule. This is expected to change as the schools transfer to the new schedule.

Leadership within the CNTS and its affiliates remains basically unchanged. Madia Diop has strengthened his position as Secretary General of the CNTS, and there is no open opposition to him among the affiliates. In 1991, the CNTS decided to apply for affiliation to the ICFTU, and was accepted as a member in December.

AALC/AFL-CIO Activities

AALC/AFL-CIO assistance has allowed the CNTS to expand its educational and training activities through INEFO, its education department. Five different training sessions for 172 participants were funded by the AALC/AFL-CIO for the agricultural, food-processing, printing and textile sectors. To aid in the preparation and duplication of educational materials, INEFO received a photocopier and supplies.

Funds were provided for training one mid-level CNTS officer in the annual Francophone program at the George Meany Labor Center and the international airfare for one CNTS participant for a training program in Israel organized by HISTADRUT.

The groundwork for the technical and administrative training for a women's cloth-dyeing cooperative was completed.

Additional materials allowed the CNTS to produce, duplicate and distribute a position paper on the proposed amendments to the labor code.

Secretary General Madia Diop attended the AFL-CIO convention in Detroit.

SIERRA LEONE

Political and Economic Developments

In 1991 the All People's Congress ended its reign as the sole political party and by the end of the year was joined by six other parties in preparation for the 1992 elections. The euphoria accompanying the changing political environment has been subdued by the continuation of armed conflict in the destabilized area bordering Liberia. The required military expenditures, disrupted agricultural production and displaced citizenry negatively affect the economy at a time when Sierra Leone can ill afford it.

As prospects for peace in Liberia improve, the refugee population in Freetown has been reduced from 50,000 to approximately 7,000, with a commensurate reduction in international relief efforts.

Overshadowing progress on the political front is the disastrous performance of the economy. With inflation ranging from 100 to 200%, declining government revenues and soaring unemployment, life has become increasingly difficult for the great majority of the population. Government policies, hampered by wide-spread corruption, have not been successful in turning the economic situation around.

Trade Union Developments

The Sierra Leone Labour Congress (SLLC) participated in the commission that developed the new constitution approved by popular referendum in August.

In other areas, relations with the government have been less satisfactory. Decreased levels of employment and purchasing power have reduced membership rolls and eroded the value of the dues that are still paid. A scandal involving seven public sector affiliates and the treasury suspended dues revenues for several months, and has provided the government with a potential weapon against the unions.

The newly elected leadership of the Teachers' Union has encountered difficulties as a result of their militant campaign promises. The academic year began two months late due to strikes, and the short-term settlement has not adequately addressed the core issue of salary levels.

The SLLC decided after heated debate not to join the political scene as a labor party, but instead left each affiliate to decide on its own level of political involvement.

The construction of the SLLC annex, adjacent to its headquarters, neared completion. The project received assistance from SLLC affiliates, the government and international organizations, including the AALC/AFL-CIO.

Industrial unrest was common in 1991 as salary levels no longer assured even the lowest standard of living. Wage and employment constraints that will be part of the future IMF agreement will compound these problems in 1992.

AALC/AFL-CIO Activities

AALC/AFL-CIO assistance in 1991 allowed the SLLC to offer a wide variety of educational services to affiliates and workers. The Education Department, the most active SLLC department, organized 43 programs in 1991. The AALC/AFL-CIO provided resources for two particularly successful skills development workshops for 32 instructors, three programs which prepared 60 officers and shop stewards for negotiations, as well as a timely women's program. The literacy program remains a popular and highly visible service activity of the SLLC.

SLLC Secretary General Kandeh Yilla attended the AFL-CIO convention.

SWAZILAND

Political and Economic Developments

Political activities have increased significantly in Swaziland during the last twelve months. Four political parties are reportedly operating underground, and it is believed that political parties are recruiting secretly at workplaces and at schools and colleges. Elections for the Swazi parliament are due to be held in November under the "tinkhundla" system where voters are counted as they walk through gates assigned to the candidates. Many Swazis are unhappy with this system, which elects an 80 member college, that then elects a 40 member parliament. A number of members at the last session of Parliament claimed that they had no idea how or why they had been chosen.

Despite the ban on political parties that has been in force since 1973, the government has become more tolerant of political debate. This increased tolerance is not enough to satisfy the youth between the ages of 15 and 30 that make up 25% of the population. The youth and workers are more likely to support parties such as the People's United Democratic Movement, which was formed to oppose the traditional politics of Swaziland. King Mswati and his advisors, however, have made it clear that they favor the present political system. The 23 year old king said that the "Swazis should not hurry to abandon long-held customs just because they do not want to be left out of fashion."

Trade Union Developments

Although the Swaziland Federation of Trade Unions (SFTU) is going through a difficult period with little support from its affiliates, individual trade unions continue to play an important role. Swaziland experienced numerous illegal strikes in 1991, which affected the sugar industry, mines and commercial sector. Further labor unrest threatened the banking, agricultural and manufacturing sectors. Shortly after strikes were called off by bank workers and timber workers in October, the Minister for Labor was replaced. Amid considerable controversy, Industrial Court President Hassanali left the country in April after working for the government for 18 years. He was replaced by Martin Banda, a Zambian citizen who has apparently been accepted by all concerned parties.

By the end of 1991 the leadership of SFTU seemed to realize that some changes in elected officials were needed in order to gain the support of its affiliates. To this end a general council meeting was to be held in February, followed by a congress of delegates later in 1992.

AALC/AFL-CIO Activities

AALC representatives made three visits to Swaziland during 1991 for discussions with key players from the trade unions and the government. All welcomed a possible return of

AALC assistance in a number of areas, including collective bargaining and conflict resolution. Two seminar/meetings will be funded in early 1992, which are expected to lead to a congress.

The International Union of Bricklayers and Allied Craftsmen assisted the Construction Workers' Union through the International Trade Secretariat Program. This support enabled them to hold educational programs and provided office equipment and rent assistance.

TANZANIA

Political and Economic Developments

Tanzania, although still a one-party state, has undergone some changes in attitude. The move toward pluralism has begun in Tanzania, despite the banning of opposition groups. Amid the socialist rhetoric, the economy, and to a lesser extent, political system, are slowly opening to new ideas.

The government has paved the way for the establishment of private banks and loosened restrictions on imports.

Though still one of the poorest countries in Africa, Tanzania has experienced steady growth since the implementation of economic reforms in the mid-1980's.

Trade Union Developments

The most significant development in the trade unions is that JUWATA will be disaffiliated from the ruling party. It will become autonomous, and will be able to more freely address the needs of its members.

A special JUWATA congress was held in August, where it was decided that JUWATA would change its name to the Organization of Tanzania Trade Unions (OTTU), and adopt a new constitution which would include the right to strike. This process could not be completed until Parliament met in November 1991 to change the law, and the ruling party held its conference and changed its constitution, which currently incorporates the trade union movement. In the meantime, a chairman and secretary general, who met with party acceptance, were elected.

AALC/AFL-CIO Activities

Because of developments in the political and trade union environment, the delay in receiving AID funds to support the program, and a restriction on American travel during the Gulf Crisis, activities in Tanzania were kept to a minimum.

Bruno Mpangala, Secretary General of JUWATA, participated in the AFL-CIO convention in Detroit.

The AALC/AFL-CIO provided funding for the JUWATA special congress in August. Continued support for JUWATA in its efforts to become a strong, viable and independent workers' movement is vital.

TOGO

Political and Economic Developments

A one-man military dictatorship for 24 years, Togo underwent profound political change in 1991. Street demonstrations organized by human rights groups demanded President Eyadema's resignation and called for a national conference. The government countered by insisting on a national "forum", the decisions of which would be advisory, not sovereign. Demonstrations became larger and more frequent. Opposition leaders called a general strike in April. Thousands took part in Lomé and other cities. In the capital, at least 27 were killed by security forces, greatly heightening tension. While the president refused to step down, he did resign as defense minister and agreed to eventual release of political prisoners and holding of a conference. After further demonstrations, the date was set for a national conference, although this was later postponed.

The conference opened in Lomé on July 8, with agreement that decisions reached would be sovereign. 950 delegates participated, and there was considerable dissension from the outset. Toward the end, a political calendar was set up, and a prime minister, Joseph Koffigoh, was chosen to head the transitional government. The conference adjourned on August 26. A few weeks later there was an attempted military coup. The prime minister was held hostage for several hours, and many were killed by indiscriminate shooting on the part of the army. A compromise was reached with an agreement by the prime minister to bring two high ranking leaders of Eyadema's party into the transition government. The year ended with a great deal of uncertainty about what was to come.

Trade Union Developments

The national labor center, the Confédération Nationale des Travailleurs du Togo (CNTT), maintained a low profile during the political upheaval, though early on it decided to sever all links with the party and become truly independent. Various opposition trade union groups sprung up. The CNTT participated in the national congress, but not in a prominent position, and in fact, it was often the target of criticism by delegates who saw it as connected to the party apparatus. As the year ended, the CNTT was still the most representative labor center, but others had emerged, and a number of unions remained unaffiliated.

AALC/AFL-CIO Activities

Most activities in Togo were deferred in light of political events. An AALC/AFL-CIO delegation visited the country early in the year to assess the situation and discuss long-range plans. The AALC representative in Abidjan again visited Togo following the national conference.

A CNTT participant attended an AALC seminar on structural adjustment.

UGANDA

Political and Economic Developments

Uganda continued to be plagued by the rebel insurgency in the North, while rebels trying to overthrow the government of Rwanda launched their offensive from Uganda. The claim was made that Ugandan President Museveni supported the action.

The government is trying to bring the economy in line with a structural adjustment program, but has failed to attract a great deal of foreign investment. The tourism industry will not pick up until the insurgency is resolved. The government laid off 60,000 out of 180,000 civil servants, and declared redundant a large number of casual workers. This creates further strain on the economy, which is approximately 85% agricultural. Uganda also experienced the negative effects of the Gulf War.

Instability, unemployment and lack of investment continued to create a negative economic environment. In an effort to rejuvenate the economy, President Museveni invited former Ugandan Asian citizens, who were expelled under Idi Amin to return to Uganda.

Trade Union Developments

Late in January, 1991, the National Organization of Trade Unions (NOTU) held a conference and the incumbent executive was voted out of office. Most of the NOTU affiliates felt that they were not well represented at the national level and that NOTU funds were not being spent effectively.

It appears that some bitterness has developed between the former executive and the new executive. Since the time of the elections, there has been an ongoing struggle between the two factions. The old executive has not cooperated in turning over financial records, and left an outstanding balance, which has hampered any further assistance by the AALC/AFL-CIO, and prevented NOTU-U from functioning normally. NOTU-U has spent most of this reporting period trying to sort out its internal problems.

AALC/AFL-CIO Activities

Due to the ongoing internal problems, activities during this period have been restricted. Representatives of the AALC/AFL-CIO traveled to Uganda in September, and met with a delegation from NOTU-U and affiliates which demonstrated the solidarity of the affiliates with the executive. It is the position of the AALC/AFL-CIO that the trade union movement will not be able to make any progress until the internal problems are resolved, and that the new executive will need some assistance.

Dr. George Hagglund visited Uganda for a few days and consulted with NOTU-U's education personnel and met with Makerere University's Continuing Education Division to discuss how a labor studies program could be set up.

ZAMBIA

Political and Economic Developments

In the early part of 1991 Frederick Chiluba, the president of the Zambia Congress of Trade Unions (ZCTU), was overwhelmingly elected president of the opposition Movement for Multi-Party Democracy (MMD). In Zambia's first multi-party presidential elections, Chiluba soundly defeated Kenneth Kaunda, who had ruled the country for the 27 years since independence. The results of this historic election have been an inspiration to the trade union movement throughout Africa.

Chiluba now faces a series of economic challenges. The standard of living in Zambia has deteriorated in recent years. The Kaunda government borrowed recklessly, so that Zambia now has one of the world's highest per capita rates of international debt. 80% of Zambia's foreign exchange comes from copper; and Kaunda was unable to diversify the economy. IMF-guided attempts at reform were abandoned after food riots in 1987, and again in 1990. The Zambian people have high expectations of the new government for economic improvements.

Trade Union Developments

There was a reduced level of trade union activity during this period due to the involvement of leadership in the campaign and election process. The ZCTU elected a president and secretary-general to finish out the term of office.

Zambia will host the Southern African Labor Commission meeting that will take place in early 1992.

AALC/AFL-CIO Activities

The AALC/AFL-CIO sponsored a workshop on election monitoring for 60 trade union officials. An AFL-CIO delegation headed by AALC Deputy Executive Director David Brombart was on hand in Zambia to observe the election.

The ZCTU participated in an AALC seminar on trade unions and the democratic process, and was represented by Alec Chirwa at the AFL-CIO convention in Detroit. The ZCTU has requested assistance from the AALC/AFL-CIO in the areas of strategic planning, economic education, health and safety education, and collective bargaining.

ZAIRE

Political and Economic Developments

In 1991 Zaire continued to experience extreme political and economic turmoil. By the end of the year, an on-again, off-again national conference was suspended. President Mobutu's five year mandate expired in December, but he refused to step down, claiming that his departure would lead to chaos. There is a concern that a vacuum could develop, were Mobutu forcibly removed from office. Unfortunately, no single opposition leader has emerged who could gain popular support. In fact, most opposition leaders once served in high positions in the corrupt Mobutu regime, making it difficult for Zairians to believe things would improve after Mobutu's departure.

Civil unrest continues throughout the country. A mutiny by Zaire's unpaid soldiers at the end of September resulted in enormous destruction to industrial plants, factories and commercial centers. As a consequence, European and American citizens were hastily evacuated by their embassies.

Zaire's economy was termed hyper-inflationary, with an inflation rate that topped 3,000 per cent by the end of the year. Food and medicines were in short supply. Only humanitarian food-aid from the Belgian and French governments kept basic foods in the marketplace. All development funds from western nations, including the United States, were suspended.

The political and economic situation in Zaire is catastrophic. Civil war remains a possibility if the present regime does not relinquish power. The trade unions play an important role, however, they have not shown themselves to be key players, as in neighboring Congo or Mali.

Trade Union Developments

In an attempt to weaken the strong and militant trade union movement in Zaire, President Mobutu initiated trade union pluralism in 1990. In 1991, 15 national centers and

18 professional unions competed for membership. Although weakened, the trade union movement is unified in its opposition to the regime's intent to remain in place. Several new national centers and the Union Nationale des Travailleurs du Zaïre (UNTZA) have acted collectively in demanding a national conference.

Because the UNTZA is no longer the only national center, the check-off system was suspended in July. This posed serious financial problems for UNTZA as well as the new confederations. Several national centers were able to obtain limited operating funds from union allies in Europe. Once national trade union elections are held, the number of confederations and professional unions is expected to be reduced considerably. From that point on, we can expect greater trade union unity, and a reassertion of the leadership role of the largest trade union movement in Central Africa.

AALC/AFL-CIO Activities

UNTZA, Zaïre's single national center for over 25 years, was able to maintain the continuity of several long-running workers' education programs with AALC/AFL-CIO assistance. This included the UNTZA Institute for Free Labor Studies, established and supported since 1979 with AALC/AFL-CIO funds, and DFT-BUPROF, the UNTZA program for trade union women.

The director of UNTZA's research department participated in an AALC structural adjustment seminar at the Meany Center, and President Muleli Sangol Katalay attended the AFL-CIO convention.

Trade union educational and training programs were suspended for most of the year as trade union leaders became involved with the national conference. Lack of funds due to the late receipt of grant monies stymied other program activities.

ZIMBABWE

Political and Economic Developments

1991 saw a number of student demonstrations against the University of Zimbabwe Amendment Act and the National Council of Higher Education Act, both of which were seen as degrading the autonomy of the university. Students demonstrating at the Commonwealth Heads of Government meeting in October were turned back with tear gas. The labor movement attacked the structural adjustment program, which was referred to as a "destructive adjustment program" and which has triggered increased prices on basic commodities and brought about job retrenchment and unemployment.

One year into the first phase of a five-year structural adjustment program, the economy of Zimbabwe has encountered serious problems. A lessening of restrictions on imports has caused a rise in the number of imported goods and has eaten into Zimbabwe's

foreign exchange reserves. Exports are sluggish, resulting in a trade deficit hitherto unknown because of import restrictions. Inflation is high, increasing the plight of the workers dealing with the end to food subsidies and price controls.

Early in the year, the ZCTU increased its affiliation fees from 5 to 15 cents per member per month. Unfounded allegations of financial irregularities resulted in the establishment of an investigative committee by the Ministry of Labor, Manpower Planning and Social Welfare. The Minister of Labor stated publicly that the ZCTU should be de-registered. The case went to the High Court, which restrained the Minister from publishing statements defamatory to the ZCTU, and determined that there had been no breach of ZCTU's constitution.

The labor movement continued to protest the government's structural adjustment program, as well as the 30-40% salary increase received by government officials. The increase is particularly hard to accept, as the government had earlier requested that workers tighten their belts and not negotiate wage packages with increases over 12%. The unions successfully negotiated higher rates over the objections of the government.

AALC/AFL-CIO Activities

The ZCTU Safety and Health Department received Impact Project funds of US\$25,000. This money is being used for Safety and Health workshops, material development, and an extensive AIDS program. Although the AIDS program is not yet a year old, it is receiving recognition for its strategies and approach.

Pilot literacy classes were started June 1, 1991 in the regional townships of Harare and Bulawayo. The pilot program ran through December, and will be evaluated to determine how effective it was.

Seminars carried out in 1991 included a special general council meeting in February and three regional basic trade union seminars in May and June.

Morgan Tsvangirai, Secretary General of the ZCTU, took part in the AFL-CIO convention.

INTERNATIONAL TRADE SECRETARIAT (ITS) PROGRAM

Through the ITS program, the AALC facilitates involvement of American unions in the activities carried out in Africa by their ICFTU-affiliated ITS and establishment of direct relations between American unions and their counterparts in Africa. During 1991 the following American unions cooperated with the AALC in making this program successful (ITS in brackets):

Amalgamated Clothing & Textile Workers Union (ITGLWF)

American Federation of State County and Municipal Employees (PSI)
American Federation of Teachers (IFFTU)
American Postal Workers Union (PTTI)
Communications Workers of America (PTTI)
International Association of Machinists (ITF)
International Chemical Workers Union (ICEF)
International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union (ITGLWF)
International Union of Bricklayers and Allied Craftsmen
Oil Chemical & Atomic Workers Union (ICEF)
Service Employees International Union (FIET, PSI)
Transportation Communication Union (ITF)
United Food and Commercial Workers Union (FIET, IFPAAW)
United Steelworkers of America (IMF)

Annex 1

MEMBERSHIP & AFFILIATION OF AFRICAN UNION ORGANIZATIONS RECEIVING AALC/AFL-CIO ASSISTANCE UNDER THIS GRANT IN 1991

	MEMBERSHIP	#AFFILIATES
UNION NATIONALE DES TRAVAILLEURS DU ZAIRE	1,600,000	19
TRADES UNION CONGRESS (GHANA)	707,590	17
ORGANISATION OF TANZANIAN TRADE UNIONS	468,635	10
ZAMBIA CONGRESS OF TRADE UNIONS	353,000	19
MOZAMBIQUE WORKERS ORGANISATION	350,000	13
CENTRAL ORGANISATION OF TRADE UNIONS (KENYA)	280,000	27
ZIMBABWE CONGRESS OF TRADE UNIONS	250,000	30
CONFEDERATION NATIONALE DES TRAVAILLEURS DU TOGO	150,000	46
UNION NATIONALE DES TRAVAILLEURS DU MALI	130,000	12
SIERRA LEONE LABOUR CONGRESS	88,000	20
MALAWI CONGRESS OF TRADE UNIONS	78,115	5
CONFEDERATION NATIONALE DES TRAVAILLEURS DU SENEGAL	70,000	62
MAURITIUS LABOUR CONGRESS	60,000	55
NATIONAL ORGANISATION OF TRADE UNIONS (UGANDA)	50,000	15
LESOTHO LABOUR CONGRESS	38,000	25
BOTSWANA FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS	30,412	13
SWAZILAND FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS	28,000	15
UNION DES SYNDICATS DES TRAVAILLEURS DU NIGER	18,000	9
LIBERIA FEDERATION OF LABOUR UNIONS	15,000	11
CONFEDERATION NATIONALE DES TRAVAILLEURS DE GUINEE	13,000	16
Totals:	4,777,752	439