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**JOINT MANAGEMENT REVIEW
AND EVALUATION REPORT**

**U.S. ASSISTANCE TO THE
EGYPTIAN LABOR MOVEMENT**

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

AALC	African-American Labor Center
AFL-CIO	American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations
AID	Agency for International Development
CA	Cooperative Agreement
EEC	European Economic Community
ETUF	Egyptian Trade Union Federation
GOE	Government of Egypt
HFI	Hassan Fathy Institute
ICFTU	International Confederation of Free Trade Unions
IG	Inspector General
ILO	International Labor Organization
ITS	International Trade Secretariats
LE	Egyptian Pounds (currency)
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
OATUU	Organization of African Trade Union Unity
PACD	Project Assistance Completion Data
PVO	Private and Voluntary Organization
USAID	A U.S. AID Mission Overseas
WEA	The Worker's Education Association
WU	The Workers' University

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

A. Background of Report

1. This is the report of a joint management evaluation of the Cooperative Agreement (CA) (263-0125.9) between USAID/Cairo and the AALC to provide assistance to the Egyptian Trade Union Federation (ETUF). The CA has existed with AALC since 1989. AALC's work with ETUF began in 1979.
2. The CA required a joint management evaluation before January 1993. The evaluation team conducted its work from late August through September 1992 in Washington, DC, and Egypt.
3. This evaluation concentrated on the period since the last evaluation in 1988. Since the AALC program cannot be measured in purely quantitative terms, a more subjective and interpretative form of analysis was used, as suggested by the scope of work.

B. Conclusions

1. The labor movement in Egypt continues to be an important, democratically-inclined component which will feel the stress from structural adjustment and privatization.
2. The Egyptian labor movement is a worthy candidate for funding by the USAID. The AALC is both acceptable to the labor movement and capable of carrying forward programs and projects on labor's behalf.
3. The AALC program over the past three years, despite significant constraints during the period of the current CA, has made significant progress toward meeting the requirements set by the USAID in 1989.
4. A major shortcoming in the AALC program has been its inability to make any real strides toward sensitizing ETUF to the need for programs aimed at women workers.
5. In managing the CA during the past three years, AALC has met with an unusually challenging set of external constraints. It appears to have overcome them quite well.

6. Our own inquiry confirms the validity of the general import of the Hagglund Report. We believe it provides a perceptive analysis of the WEA/WU and a guide for the development of AALC's 1993-1995 program of assistance to ETUF.
7. The relationships between AALC's representative, and ETUF, constituent unions, other donors and the State Department appear to be excellent. By contrast, the relationships between AALC and the USAID sometimes have been in need of improvement.
8. The USAID appears to have given inadequate attention to the labor sector in its current Egypt country strategy. An opportunity to provide for labor may exist in the new Democratic Initiatives Strategy now in preparation.

C. Recommendations

1. The AALC program in Egypt has made significant progress toward program goals over the term of the current CA and deserves to be renewed. The next two years should be used as a period of anticipation toward new long-term agreement between AALC and USAID for the last five years of the 20th Century.
2. The USAID should take advantage of the opportunity of its impending Democratic Initiatives Strategy to include a place for organized labor in its planning. The development of the Mission's new Democratic Initiatives Strategy should contain a section that deals with what many believe is the most non-communal, democratically potent force in Egyptian society. AALC data and specialists should be consulted in the course of devising this strategy component.
3. When a labor strategy has been developed by the USAID, Mission staff and AALC Representatives they should begin a collaborative dialogue on a new multi-year program of labor support. To the fullest possible extent, this dialogue should be conducted in a spirit of joint collaboration toward common objectives.
4. Unless and until the WEA/WU is reformed, AALC would be correct in re-directing its efforts and funding toward work with ETUF and individual unions. The Hagglund Report, discussions with other knowledgeable persons, and our own observations have confirmed the perception that as presently constituted, the WEA/WU are not meeting the needs of Egyptian labor and that future funding for their programs should depend on important changes.
5. More intensive efforts should be made to initiate programs that meet the needs of women workers. The present CA gives a clear mandate for emphasis on women in the labor force. Yet we find ETUF downgrading the organizational expression of women's interests. AALC has done little to reverse a trend which may in part be a response to social pressures.

6. **The management implications of adding the Hassan Fathy activity to the traditional AALC program require careful consideration. If the Hassan Fathy initiative moves from the design to an implementation stage during the next few months, management implications for AALC in Cairo seem obvious. The management burden may require that AALC add another individual to its Cairo staff; an Egyptian professional may be indicated.**

I. INTRODUCTION

This is the report of a joint management evaluation of the Cooperative Agreement (263-0125.9) between the U.S. AID Mission in Cairo, Egypt, and the African American Labor Center (AALC), to provide assistance to the Egyptian trade union movement through the Egyptian Trade Union Federation (ETUF) and its constituent unions.

A. Background of this Study

In 1979 the AALC, an affiliate of the American Federation of Labor/Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO), began a program of assistance to the Egyptian trade union movement. In December 1989, the U.S. Government, through its resident Mission in Cairo, signed a cooperative agreement with the AALC for those purposes. That agreement currently is in effect. It explicitly calls for a joint evaluation to be conducted prior to the expiration of the agreement, scheduled for January 1993. The Mission arranged for an evaluation team from Development Associates, Inc., to be joined by an individual from the AALC's Washington Office to undertake the joint management review in September 1992.

This is the report of that study.

B. Methodology

The methodology for the joint management evaluation involves four basic elements:

- Review of pertinent documents on file with USAID/Cairo, with AALC Washington headquarters and its Representative in Cairo, with ETUF, and with other pertinent organizations.
- Interviews with a wide range of persons (see Annex C), including:
 - AID and State Department officials in Cairo;
 - AALC officials and other U.S. union personnel;
 - Leaders of ETUF and of constituent unions;
 - Egyptian government officials, including the Minister of Manpower and Training;
 - Representatives of other donors to the Egyptian labor movement; and
 - A range of private individuals with information of assistance to the inquiry.
- On-site visits to the headquarters of AALC Washington and Cairo, of ETUF and of the Worker's Educational Association/Workers' University (WEA/WU).

On-site visits to two regional ETUF facilities that featured sewing centers and clinical capabilities.

As noted in the USAID's scope of work for the joint management evaluation: "The effectiveness of AALC programs rarely can be measured in purely quantitative terms, but rather lends itself to a more subjective and interpretive form of analysis. The present evaluation, therefore, should be conducted in a joint management review context, emphasizing how the AALC engages in problem solving techniques rather than a rigid outputs-related analysis." The team heeded the admonition above, emphasizing the practical effects of the program.

C. The Study Team

The team included the following:

- **John H. Sullivan, PhD**, Vice President for International Activities of Development Associates, Inc., a management and government consulting firm located in Arlington, Virginia. Dr. Sullivan, the team leader for this assignment, also has led teams evaluating AALC projects for South Africa (1990) and Africa regionally (1989).
- **Jerome T. Barrett, EdD**, a senior technical specialist for Development Associates, who also served on the AALC South Africa evaluation and on a 1987 team from the firm that evaluated the programs of the AFL-CIO's Asian-American Free Labor Institute (AAFLI). Dr. Barrett, a U.S. federal mediator and labor-management consultant, is a specialist on labor training and education.
- **Kate D. Iskander**, a program officer for AALC, is the organization's evaluation specialist. Ms. Iskander is experienced in program management and administrative systems and has an extensive background in international PVOs.

Although the entire team participated in all phases of the assignment, only Dr. Sullivan and Dr. Barrett are responsible for the section on "Conclusions and Recommendations" on the basis of prior agreement within the team.

D. Acknowledgements

The joint management evaluation team wishes to express its appreciation to all those who contributed to our knowledge and understanding. In particular we thank officials of ETUF and its constituent unions who gave our inquiry a great deal of time and attention. We also were received with great courtesy and cooperation by officials of WEA/WU, the Egyptian government, the AALC offices in Washington and Cairo, by representatives of U.S. unions with counterpart relationships in Egypt, and by other individuals with information to share on our central concerns. Chief among those was the AALC Representative in Cairo, John N. (Nate) Gould. USAID personnel, particularly our project officer, Shane MacCarthy, were very helpful to us, as was the labor reporting officer in the Embassy.

II. TRADE UNIONS IN EGYPT: CONTEXT AND TRENDS

A. Context: The Trade Union Movement

The roots of the Egyptian labor movement date back to the late nineteenth century, although trade unions were not legally recognized until 1942. Under Egyptian law, every worker is guaranteed the right to join a trade union, and any group of workers within similar trades or industries is entitled to form a general (national) union. There are currently 23 general trade unions represented in the Egyptian Trade Union Federation (ETUF), which was formed in 1957.

ETUF's mission is to defend the rights of Egyptian workers and to endeavor to improve their socio-economic status. The functions of the federation include coordination and consolidation of union structures, research, planning for economic and social development, assessment of labor-related laws and regulations, establishment of ethical labor standards, and representation of the Egyptian trade union movement in Arab, African and international labor spheres.

Historically, the trade union movement in Egypt was cast in the mold of the Eastern Bloc unions. In recent years, however, there has been a move toward westernization, and indeed, it would appear that the AFL-CIO serves as a model for the ongoing development of the Egyptian federation.

B. Trends

1. Economic Reform/Privatization

USAID, like all other providers of financial assistance to Egypt, is insisting upon reform of the Egyptian economy from state-dominated to a private economy. The major institutions within Egypt are officially committed to the same goal. Every trade union official interviewed by the team indicated the necessity and inevitability of that goal for Egypt. However, union officials have concerns about the impact of privatization on their members in terms of their displacement, and income loss. They feel excluded from the decision making process that is directing the restructuring and privatization efforts.

For example, trade unions have not been involved in the Fund for Social Development established to soften the impact of reform; nor have they been involved in the official planning for needed reform in the labor law. At the same time, however, a designated labor representative sits on the board of each the holding companies which currently supervise the public enterprises targeted for the first phase of the privatization plan. These labor representatives are to advocate the rights of the workers in the privatization process, but they may be selected from outside the trade union hierarchy.

2. Labor's Relationship to Government

The history of trade unions in Egypt reflects the powerful influence of the Eastern block socialism in which unions are an instrument of the state and the party. A manifestation of that, which existed until 1986, is the fact that the Minister of Manpower and Training was also the President of ETUF. Another is the dominant financial role that the Ministry of Manpower and Training plays in the WU and WEA, both of which are to serve ETUF.

Many trade unionists with whom the team spoke see the need for a truly independent trade union movement. But old practices and arrangements die hard. Perquisites and privileges at the disposal of the government flow easily to those who are government supporters first, and trade unionist second.

3. Trade Union Democracy

In spite of the Egyptian trade union history, its unions are surprisingly democratic in the election of officials. Large numbers of individuals were candidates in the most recent election; and there was a high turnover rate.

Some informed observers feel that the trade unions are the most democratic institution in a society that is traditionally hierarchial.

4. Egyptian Labor: International

While the Egyptian labor movement is one of the largest in Africa, its self-imposed isolation from international affiliations has made its influence beyond its borders minimal until very recently. This change in viewpoint by the Egyptian trade unions has had significant impact. Several of the general unions have built solid relationships with U.S. unions, and at least partially as a result of those relationships, have elected to affiliate to the International Trade Secretariats (ITS) of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) (see Section III.C.2).

III. THE AALC PROGRAM FOR EGYPT

A. Historical Context: 1979-1989

From 1979 to 1989, USAID funded the work of AALC in Egypt through five successive grants. For the first four years, those programs were conducted under the supervision of the staff of AALC headquarters in Washington, DC.

The program in the early years consisted of an exchange of high level trade union leaders, seminars in occupational health and safety and labor education, and the donation of educational materials, vehicles and office equipment, such as typewriters and calculators.

In 1983, AALC appointed a representative for Egypt and opened an office to administer programs in collaboration with ETUF, WEA, and The Workers' University (WU). The last was officially opened by President Hosni Mubarak that year.

Also in 1983, AALC sent Abdel Salem Ayad, director of the Labor and Management Institute, and Assem Abdel Haq Saleh, ETUF secretary for Workers Education and Training, to a Wayne State University masters program in labor relations. Upon graduation, they returned to Egypt and played a substantial role in curriculum development at the WU. Mr. Ayad is currently the deputy director general of WEA; Mr. Abdel Haq is Egypt's Minister of Manpower and Training.

From 1984 to 1989, the focus of the AALC program was the strengthening of existing trade union structures, development of a capacity for participation in national development and collective bargaining abilities for dealing with the growing private sector, research and curriculum design at the WU, and a continuing emphasis on safety and health issues. Computer and language laboratories were established within the university under AALC auspices. Union-to-union programs supported technical training, particularly in the communications and service sectors.

Since the inception of its program, AALC has had three in-country representatives. The current representative arrived in 1988. During the ten-year period between 1979 and 1989, the AALC supported hundreds of seminars which provided training to thousands of Egyptian trade unionists. At the same time, a program of study tours and leadership exchanges promoted international labor solidarity and provided high quality educational experiences, both academic and technical. The period sometimes was characterized by poor communications among the parties involved, at least partially as a result of personnel turnover within the AALC, USAID, WEA/WU and ETUF. Nevertheless, solid relations between the labor movements of the United States and Egypt were established during the period. The activities carried out during those years laid the foundation upon which the current AALC program is built.

B. The 1988 Evaluation

The first ten years of AALC activities in Egypt were evaluated by the Education Development Center, Inc, under contract to USAID/Cairo. The evaluation team found the AALC program to be basically sound, noting that it improved U.S. relations with and strengthened the capabilities of Egyptian labor, which was seen as a "significant democratic force in Egyptian politics."

The major recommendations resulting from that evaluation and a discussion of their disposition follow.

1. Establishment of a system of monitoring and self-evaluation for ETUF, WU and WEA

A management information system was established within the WU during the period of the current cooperative agreement. University officials designed and presented an elaborate program for the development of an evaluation system. The AALC representative, with the concurrence of the USAID program officer, decided that the results of the proposed system would not fulfill the need envisioned by the 1988 evaluation team. It was deemed more appropriate that evaluation of WU/WEA programs be done by the unions, since those programs are supposedly developed for the unions.

This view has since been corroborated by the observations of Professor George Hagglund, of the University of Wisconsin's School for Workers, in his review of the inner workings of ETUF, WEA and WU. It was decided, therefore, that the monitoring and evaluation functions should be housed within ETUF. To that end, management information and research capabilities are being developed within the federation. Dr. Hagglund's assessment is regarded as a positive first step in the evaluation of the educational program of WEA/WU.

2. Broadening of the scope of labor education in Egypt and the exchange program with the U.S. to emphasize collective bargaining, management training, industrial engineering and productivity improvement studies

This recommendation has been incorporated into the implementation of the current cooperative agreement through a series of training of trainer sessions and by focusing study tours and leadership exchanges on topics related to collective bargaining and management training. The AALC representative, AALC's director of education and research, and other U.S. technical experts have offered courses to the upper echelon at the WEA/WU in topics from job assessment to labor economics. The AALC representative questions the degree to which this training has been incorporated into the curriculum of the WEA/WU and whether or not it has actually filtered down to the level of rank and file training. In order to make such a determination, AALC/Egypt has recently hired a staff person whose job description includes attendance at WEA/WU training sessions. This individual reports general information about seminar size, instructors and topics, and provides a general summary of the discussion.

3. USAID encouragement of collaboration between the Egyptian trade unions and the government of Egypt in improving Egypt's educational and training systems, including workers' education

This has been done throughout the current cooperative agreement between USAID and AALC.

4. Collaboration between the AALC and USAID's population projects in the area of family planning

A Population Institute has been established in the WEA/WU with support from the United Nations Fund for Population Activities. To have the AALC program also address family planning issues would be a duplication of effort. Cooperative agreement funds are better used in addressing areas of concern not covered by other agencies.

5. Preparation of Egypt's trade union leaders to participate effectively with government and business in labor legislation reform, manpower planning and training and retraining systems

This area has been a major emphasis of the current cooperative agreement, in light of the economic reform process currently underway and the trend toward privatization. Indeed, these issues are of the highest priority, from the perspective of the Egyptian labor movement, USAID and the AALC.

This recommendation has been addressed through various means, among them seminars on structural adjustment, discussions of the strengths and shortcomings of U.S. labor laws, tours of the vocational training centers of American labor unions, and provision of resource materials.

6. Use of the WEA as an instrument of promoting education in Egypt

In this recommendation, the prior evaluators suggest that the WEA could serve as counterpart organization to other USAID programs. This recommendation, particularly in light of ensuing developments, was overly optimistic about the capabilities of the WEA.

7. Further support for a program of occupational health and safety

Safety and health programs have indeed continued to be a substantive part of the technical side of the cooperative agreement. Egyptian trade unionists have attended courses at industry-specific health and safety institutes in the U.S., and cooperative agreement funds have been used to support the health and safety workshops of the WEA. A U.S. expert in occupational safety and health is scheduled to come to Egypt before the end of the year to run a series of seminars for Egyptian chemical workers.

The focus of the AALC program in this regard has been to change the attitude of the Egyptians toward safety and health issues. There are government-mandated safety committees within each enterprise, and safety and health are widely seen to be a government, rather than a union function. Furthermore, the prevailing concern has been in the area of compensation for, rather than prevention of work-related diseases and injuries.

The 1988 evaluation also included recommendations for equipment and materials purchases, and in the areas of adult education and training, the union role in skill building, union-to-union technical assistance and women's programs. Overall, where those recommendations fell within AALC's implementation abilities, they have either been incorporated into the CA program, or have been left out for what the current evaluation team has determined to be good reasons.

C. Components of the Current Program

At the outputs level the current program generally appears to have carried out the terms of the cooperative agreement, and the FAA mandates for USAID to implement a labor policy "to strengthen free, effective, and well organized trade unions representing both urban and rural workers for the purpose of protecting their legitimate rights...to improve the well being of the workers, to assure the equitable distribution of income and to act as a force for change on issues related to working conditions, human rights and family."

The CA describes four major components:

- Worker training and education;
- ETUF relations with U.S. unions;
- Development and social services; and
- Impact funds/response to ETUF priorities.

In this section we review the programs that AALC has funded under each of these components.

1. Worker Education and Training

a. Curriculum Development and Instructional Training

AALC has provided both training and curriculum development through training sessions conducted by AALC staff and consultants. These courses were conducted at the Workers University and the Workers Education Association. The AALC representative, Joe Davis of AALC/Washington, and other U.S. experts have prepared course curricula and presented courses to faculty/staff in a training-the-trainer format. Train-the-trainer sessions were conducted on the following subjects: collective bargaining, trade union research, labor economics, industrial safety and health, and job classification. The only subject mentioned in

the cooperative agreement on which the AALC did not conduct train-the-trainer sessions was manpower planning.

Visits for consultation, observation and training were arranged by AALC for staff and faculty of the Workers University and the Workers Education Association. Training sessions were conducted for the visitors at the George Meany Center for Labor Studies. The joint management review team interviewed the most recent visitors to the Meany center. Their comments, with minor exceptions, were very positive about their experience. Visits for consultation and observation also were arranged by the AALC for WEA/WU staff to the labor college in Zaire.

It should also be noted that the AALC consultancy with Dr. George Hagglund of the University of Wisconsin for a study of WEA/WU included recommendations for improving curriculum and training.

b. Specialized Seminars and Conferences

During 1989, the first year of this agreement, 2800 individuals were trained in WEA regional programs, three new courses were developed (economics, trade union research, and job evaluation), and 12 curriculum development seminars were conducted which provided training for 60 instructors. During the following year, a total of 4,004 were trained under the program, thus exceeding the CA target of 2,700. At the beginning of 1991, AALC funding of WU/WEA seminars was halted because of U.S. and Egyptian investigations of earlier use of funds. When funding was resumed in 1992, the extent of seminars resumed to the 1989 level.

c. Study Tours

This task calls for trips to the U.S. and other countries by Egyptians to learn from other trade unionists. Under the current grant, 49 individuals have participated. Virtually all of the 23 general unions in ETUF were included in the 49 officials who traveled under AALC funding. In spite of high turnover in 1991 union elections and mandatory retirements, 37 of the 49 individuals still serve as officials in their unions.

The team interviewed members of the most recent groups to visit the U.S. under this program. Their responses were uniformly positive on their experience. These visits appear to have been well planned to address the needs and interests of the traveling labor official. For example, four ETUF officials with a strong interest in health and safety attended a week-long conference on that subject in the U.S.

d. Upgrading Facilities of Workers University and Workers Education Association

Since a major portion of AALC funds are spent on WEA/WU training, upgrade of those institutions has been a focus under this cooperative agreement. This assistance has taken several forms:

- Assistance to the WU library through funds and advice with books and periodical subscriptions.
- Technical assistance and funding to university research office.
- Independent study and evaluation by an American worker education specialist on all aspects of the worker education system for WU and WEA.
- Computer lab funding at WU.

2. ETUF Relations with U.S. Unions

This task calls for direct contacts between U.S. and Egyptian unions in the same industry or sector.

The following are examples of contacts that have been facilitated by AALC:

- Between the U.S. bricklayers union and Egyptian construction and woodworkers union, which has led to the current feasibility study on a program with the Hassan Fathy Institute. (See Section VI.D.).
- Between the U.S. service employees union and two Egyptian unions with similar jurisdiction on union services.
- Between the U.S. international chemical workers union and four Egyptian unions to discuss preventing chemical accidents like the one which occurred at Bhopal, India.
- Between the U.S. mine workers union and four Egyptian unions on health and safety.
- Between the U.S. textile workers union with eight Egyptian union officials on the operation of a major union headquarters.

A dramatic result of contacts between U.S. unions and their counterpart Egyptian unions is the increase in Egyptian unions affiliation to international trade secretariats. In the past Egyptian unions have affiliated only with the Organization for African Trade Union Unity (OATUU) and its constituent organizations. In the past two years, ten ETUF unions have affiliated with the ICFTU-related international trade secretariats, bringing the total to 14 ETUF unions with such affiliation. Several other ETUF unions currently are discussing such affiliations.

One immediate manifestation of the new international role of Egyptian Trade Union is the scheduling of the first secretariat-level international conference to be held in Cairo in October 1993. The Postal, Telephone and Telegraph International world congress, held every four years, will be the first in Africa, and ETUF and its communication affiliate are extensively involved in planning.

Only a few years ago, ETUF leaders were split between those who looked to the west and those who continued to look to Eastern Europe for the model. Now ETUF appears to have adopted the AFL-CIO as the model to emulate.

3. Development and Social Services

a. Occupational Health and Safety

Inconsistent interest by ETUF and problems caused by the Gulf war have resulted in only minor progress in occupational health and safety. As noted, four ETUF officers attended a week-long conference on the subject in the U.S. In spite of their satisfaction with what they learned and the conversations they had with their colleagues when they returned, little progress was made within ETUF on health and safety.

b. Vocational Training

The number of visits to U.S. trade unions with vocational training capacity was less than anticipated by the cooperative agreement. Excellent policy discussions were triggered by the visit of four ETUF officials to the U.S. early in the agreement. As a result, ETUF made several policy decisions on vocational training, including:

- Government has the primary responsibility for vocational training;
- Plans for retraining Egyptian workers because of Gulf war could not be handled by ETUF; and
- ETUF should do vocational training primarily in conjunction with its planned sewing centers.

Recently ETUF officials visited both the American bricklayers' vocational training center and the merchant seamen training center in the U.S.

c. Health Care

Under this task, the AALC was to assist ETUF in considering the feasibility of establishing union-run health care programs for workers and their families, particularly in rural areas. During the first year of the cooperative agreement, ETUF considered using a mobile health care unit which would move from place to place. AALC funded a trip

representatives to Zaire to observe the trade union-sponsored mobile health care units. That group's report and the high cost of purchasing and operating a mobile unit ultimately caused ETUF to decide to open stationary clinics. One now being developed is housed in a union-owned building which also houses a women's sewing center, and will eventually house a day care center. That center is in Zagazig. Based on the experience with this clinic, ETUF will consider additional clinics at other locations. AALC funds are supporting this initial clinic through the purchase of equipment.

d. Women's Programs

This initiative to encourage greater participation by women in trade unions has taken several forms:

- Six ETUF women officials attended a summer program for trade union women in the U.S. and met with women from U.S. unions.
- A model day care center was started; and
- Three sewing centers for women were started. The team visited the centers in Zagazig and Kafr El Dawar.

4. Impact Fund/Response to ETUF Priorities

This task relates to needs not anticipated when the cooperative agreement was created. It envisions that situations and needs which arise during the term of the agreement should be addressed, to thus take advantage of opportunities. During the cooperative agreement the following needs were responded to:

- A conference was sponsored by ETUF for trade union leaders in neighboring countries to explain and discuss Egypt's reasons for participating in the Gulf War.
- ETUF's secretary for international affairs was sent to an important international conference.
- Former ETUF President Amawi participated in an ILO meeting where he was elected to the governing body.

Following a review of the subprojects funded under this component, it appears that activities met the several criteria specified in the CA, with one notable exception. Criterion No. Four recommends that, where possible, projects should be developed which "address the needs and leadership requirements of union women." No impact funds were spent for women's programs.

IV. PROGRAM MANAGEMENT

A. Management Structure and Process

Since 1983 when the AALC first sent a resident representative to Egypt the management structure of its program has remained essentially the same. Operating under a 1981 general agreement with ETUF for "technical cooperation in workers education and related fields" and the much more detailed cooperative agreement with AID, the AALC representative has responsibility for the day-to-day implementation and administration of the program. He also functions as an unofficial advisor to Egyptian unions on a wide range of subjects and represents the AFL-CIO/AALC to the USAID on other union initiatives.

1. Organization and Administration

The AALC representative has his offices in a Cairo suburb in half of a converted dwelling. The quarters, which pre-date the present representative, are airy and roomy but not ostentatious. The location is no more than one-half hour's drive from AID, ETUF and the worker's university, including access to some locations by subway.

The support staff includes a program administration specialist who has been with the AALC for a number of years, a secretary, a driver/assistant, and training specialist who attends WFA/WU courses in a monitoring capacity.

The AALC Representative has limited autonomy. As is usual with AALC, decisions at the policy level of more than routine nature must be approved at the Washington headquarters. By courtesy or obligation, the Representative also consults on major matters with the President of ETUF. Finally, he must respond to AID's requirements and obtain approvals that are standard for the Agency. This sometimes has resulted in conflict between AALC and the Mission staff. (see Section IV.C.).

In summary, whatever stresses exist in the process of implementing the AALC program in Egypt, they are not in any significant way affected by program organization. Rather, implementation follows a time-tested pattern of operation by both AALC and AID.

2. Budget and Financial Management

The current cooperative agreement (CA) under which the AALC program operates was signed in December 1989, retroactive to February 1989, for a period of four years. AID agreed to pick up "pre-agreement costs" for the February - December 1989 time frame amounting to \$86,900 in U.S. dollars and 49,500 in Egyptian pounds. It obligated \$1,285,295 and 223,705 Egyptian pounds (LE) in an initial tranche, specifying that they all be expended by January 31, 1991, and left uncertain funding for the final two years of the agreement.

Over time, the budget has been augmented periodically through modifications to the original agreement, as follows:

Modification No.	Date	Dollars	Egyptian Pounds
2	12/1/90	---	88,503
3	2/1/91	852,393	50,000
7	2/1/92	---	121,198
8	2/1/92	953,626	171,080

Thus, the total amounts obligated in the CA at the time of the team review were \$3,091,314 and LE 654,487. Adding in the "pre-agreement" amounts brings the 4-year total to \$3,178,214 and LE 703,987. If the pounds are considered in dollar terms (at roughly 3 to 1), the equivalent is \$234,662, for total AID commitment of \$3,412,816 or an average of \$853,219 annually over the period covered by the CA¹. Although a significant amount of the funds (approximately \$1,000,000) remained to be expended at our visit, the AALC representative gave assurances that the money was allocated and largely would be spent before the January 31, 1993, termination of the CA. At the time of the joint management review, the Project Assistance Completion Date (PACD) was extended to September 1995 which would allow funds to be carried beyond the original January termination date. Expenditure problems apparently relate to the checkered implementation history of the CA (see below) rather than program failures and, if anything, testify to the care with which AALC handles public funds.

The team was asked to review the financial management of the project. Without the time or ability to do anything approaching an audit, we relied on existing documents and a look at the financial reporting systems currently in place. Of particular help was a 1991 report of AID's Regional Inspector General (IG), who examined expenditures under two previous grants to AALC, 1985-1989. In their report on AALC's accounting and internal control systems, the AID auditors reviewed AALC financial procedures and field accounting methodologies and had "no objections or observations to make (on them)... if properly followed." Concerns expressed by the IG regarding documentation of the earlier grants appear to have been remedied on the present CA. A potential issue surrounding the availability of WEA/WU books to AID auditors reportedly has been settled by a letter from WEA/WU promising to open their ledgers to AID inspection upon request.

Although the team was unable to interview the AID contracts officer, who was away, we were given correspondence under his signature indicating his agreement to AALC financial arrangements.

¹ This does not include the modest contribution the AALC made to its Egypt program with AFL-CIO generated funds or the \$119,648 and LE 61,579 added September 16, 1992, by AID for the Hassan Fathy design team.

The current AALC representative has developed a sophisticated computerized spreadsheet that permits easy tracking of expenditures. However, the system currently does not interface with the system of AALC/Washington, which handles the dollar account, so that entries are current only on the Egyptian pound account, limiting its usefulness. If fully operational, the system would give AALC/Cairo and AALC/Washington virtualy instantaneous access to budget information.

3. Monitoring, Evaluation, and Reporting

Good management requires accurate and current information. This requirement, in turn, necessitates appropriate systems of monitoring, evaluation, and reporting. The team examined AALC/Cairo management in all three areas.

a. Monitoring

Perhaps the most effective monitoring device for the AALC program is the presence of its representative in Cairo in residence and daily interaction with counterparts. By contrast the EEC labor representative visits four times a year for a month each time; his frustrations at monitoring his project on such a basis were evident.

In addition, because of criticism that AALC could not be sure that courses paid for at WEA/WU actually were given, the organization has hired an Egyptian local for the primary purpose of attending all AALC-funded courses throughout the country. This monitoring intensity, much beyond what might be accomplished by spot checks, also provides AALC with current information on class size, composition, and other useful data. The monitor also assists with oversight on the progress of other programs such as the sewing centers and clinics.

As evidenced in Annex B, AALC/Cairo has an unusually sophisticated system for following up on Egyptian union officials who have gone to the U.S. for training, observation tours or invitational travel. Each individual's career within the labor movement is monitored on a regular and continuing basis, again facilitated by the on-site AALC representative. Following the most recent trade union elections, for example, the tracking system made it possible to know on a union-by-union basis how AALC "alumni" standing for office had fared in the balloting. At a time when AID's Administrator has called for maximizing the effects of U.S. participant training through tracking and follow-up, the AALC effort, although dealing with relatively small numbers, nonetheless stands out.

b. Evaluation

This present joint management review is the second assessment of the AALC/Cairo program in five years. Such joint reviews have been a regular element of AALC's inter-action with AID in recent years and have led to increased appreciation of labor programs on the part of Agency personnel and to some reforms on the part of AALC. This programmatic

self-examination gives evidence of AALC's willingness to take a hard look at its activities and to make changes as they seem necessary.

c. Reporting

The CA is explicit in describing reporting procedures, roles, and responsibilities. It particularly calls for the use of an after-training questionnaire. AALC/Cairo has on file completed questionnaires from each labor union official sent to the U.S. for training or observation tours. Oral debriefings by the AALC representative in Cairo also provide substantive input on program design. Now that many officials are visiting the U.S. under the designation of invitational travel, the AALC program is exempt from many of AID's Handbook 10 requirements; AALC expects primarily to rely upon debriefings for trip information.

Questionnaires and debriefings were to have been reviewed semi-annually between AALC and USAID staff. Because the AID project officer at the time participated actively in administering the questionnaires, those reviews were dispensed with.

The CA also calls for comprehensive annual reviews of project progress between AALC/Cairo and the USAID. Those did not occur, although AALC/USAID interaction and discussions were held on an intensive basis each time a new funding request was put forward by AALC.

The CA also mandates a quarterly written report from AALC/Cairo to USAID/Cairo. At the outset of the agreement those reports were forthcoming on a regular basis, with separate headings devoted to each of the major program categories. A considerable amount of information was imparted through them. In more recent months, however, the size and information value of the quarterly reports had shrunk noticeably and they frequently have been filed late.

B. Performance of the Cooperative Agreement

Our inquiry reveals that the implementation of the CA proved unusually difficult, largely because of unforeseen exogenous factors. Note that the program languished for some 10 months (February - December 1989) while a new agreement was hammered out. There was a further hiatus until March 1990 when the present AALC representative arrived in Cairo. From that point, there are four distinct phases of program operation:

1. Phase I: March 1990 - January 1991

This period was comparatively trouble-free, despite the CA requirement that all the obligated funds be spent by January 1991. This, in effect, meant gearing up the program again to be able to expend a year-plus funding in only about nine months. Despite the reduced time frames, the deadlines reportedly were met successfully.

2. Phase II: February 1991 - June 1991

This period was marked by two problems: First, the next year's funding, which was to have been made available for February 1991, was not approved until late April, a gap of almost four months. Then, approval was conditioned on AALC's holding back those project funds pertaining to seminars and equipment purchases for the WEA/WU, pending resolution of issues raised by the AID Inspector General about the handling of funds by WEA/WU and AALC under two previous grants (1985 - 1989). The matter appears to have arisen from an internal Egyptian government dispute, with the Minister of Manpower charging that political rivals had siphoned off some \$100,000 in AALC funds through WEA/WU. Although the charges were not substantiated, an ensuing AID IG investigation revealed another problem that required attention. A letter submitted to the Mission on February 5, 1991, identifies the lack of verification that seminars were held on the topics specified. Over the ensuing months much of AALC's energies were devoted to satisfying the USAID that whatever past problems had been uncovered the present operation met AID standards. One result, for example, was the hiring of the monitor to attend AALC-funded courses at WEA/WU rather than rely on the word of an "independent" Egyptian auditor. Thus, in June 1991, the AID contracts officer agreed to permit the resumption of the WEA/WU component and granted a six month extension of the CA.

3. Phase III: July 1991 - January 1992

Although the corruption charges had not been substantiated, certain Egyptian officials continued to pursue the matter. As a result, the AALC representative was summoned for interrogation by the Public Prosecutor in Cairo and ordered to bring his records. As of this writing, the case continues to pend in the Egyptian legal system. Despite this distraction and disruptions caused by the Iraq war, AALC expended the lion's share of its second major funding tranche, and in February the USAID 1992 signed a CA modification which provides another \$1 million U.S. equivalent to take the program until January 1993.

4. Phase IV: February 1992 - Present

To date this period has been marked by a return to more normal operations. The AALC representative is confident that the balance remaining in the budget can be spent on worthy program purposes by the current deadline of January 31, 1993 - four months away.

In sum, while AALC has been subject to a series of shocks and setbacks in its implementation of the CA, most have been imposed by outside forces and not poor management on the part of those currently responsible.

C. Relationships with the USAID

Relations between the AALC and the USAID sometimes have been at odds, principally, it would appear, as the result of differing cultures between the organizations. Distinct from other PVOs/NGOs that depend on AID funding for their overseas programs AALC has prided itself

itself on its independence of action and distance from U.S. officialdom. This has bred a tendency to be disdainful of AID's bureaucratic ways and skeptical toward its management systems. AID personnel, on the other hand, often have found that the AALC to be impatient, overbearing and -- upon occasions -- rude.

One incident exemplifies some of the problem. The team, funded by the USAID, was provided with a draft copy of the Hagglund report before leaving for Cairo. By contrast, an oral request by Mission officials for the report, which was funded through the CA with AID approval, went unheeded for weeks. Thus, the team was in the position of having an important source of information about the AALC program and the Project Officer, to whom they reported, did not. The situation was rectified before the team left Cairo.

AID personnel are not accustomed to PVO/NGOs exhibiting such attitudes and their reaction is to treat the organization cautiously and with a minimum of interaction. When problems arise -- as they have for example with respect to AID Handbook 10 requirements for income tax forms and physical examinations from Egyptian labor leaders going to the U.S. solutions may be slowed by the clash of attitudes and approach. The team is not in a position to single out individuals, but rather to point up an area to which attention is needed particularly if changed and expanded programs are in the offing for the future.

D. Relationships with the Embassy

Relationships between the AALC representative and the Embassy appear to be excellent. Recently the representative took the U.S. Ambassador to see the president of ETUF, their first meeting. The success of the encounter was reported on both sides, and seems to have sparked increased attention to labor on the part of the Embassy staff. Although the U.S. does not have a full-time labor reporting officer in Cairo, the function is fulfilled by a political officer who says he can devote but a fraction of his time to labor matters. He was quick to admit the usefulness of the day-to-day monitoring of labor affairs by the AALC representative and credited him with providing very valuable data and insights. Without such help, he said, he would be hard-pressed to keep up on labor matters at this particularly sensitive transition period to a free market economy.

E. Relationships with Other Donors

The level of coordination among the donors to the labor movement in Egypt appears to be an appropriately close one. Moreover, the AALC Representative is credited by his donor colleagues with the initiative for regular meetings and contacts to discuss matters of mutual interest. Among those participating regularly is the resident representative of the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung of Germany, a representative of the British Council and a technical specialist provided by the EEC. Others are included in specific instances. The result, those participating agree, has been considerably better coordinated programs and the drastic reduction in the capacity of Egyptian counterparts to play one donor off against another for their own advantage.

V. EFFECTS OF THE AALC PROGRAM

Having reviewed the history of the AALC's implementation of its program over the past four years and, earlier, the substance of its outputs, this section briefly considers the observable effects.

A. Acceptance by the Egyptian Labor Union Movement

The team's meetings, both formal and informal, with Egyptian trade union leaders brought home again and again their interest in AALC programs and their regard for the AALC representative. These attitudes appear to go beyond approbation for a once and future benefactor. There clearly is a thirst among Egypt's labor for information and insights into labor issues they anticipate (and possibly fear) as their country moves down the road to privatization. They believe that the American labor experience holds particular value for them. Again and again requests were made by Egyptian leaders not so much for trips to the U.S. (although those are clearly prized), but for having U.S. experts come to Egypt for substantial periods of time to counsel and instruct in the areas of collective bargaining, data collection and analysis, policy advice, and labor-management negotiations. Labor leaders want better research, better labor training, improved capacities to match up to government and management -- just the stock on which AALC traditionally has traded. An indicator of the success of the AALC efforts can be seen in the fact that of the 23 members of ETUF's new governing board, 20 have been in the U.S. on AALC-sponsored training visits. Most of the 20, moreover, participated with AALC before the November 1991 elections.

It is impressive also to see the care with which past U.S. contributions have been treated and maintained. A case in point: an American style school bus given to WEA/WU ten years ago by AALC is still working, carrying students back and forth, its interior worn but intact.

B. Development Effects

The CA proclaimed a project goal of developing ETUF as a democratic labor organization with the institutional capacity to be an actor in the economic, social and political development of Egypt and the re-enforcement of relationships between the AFL-CIO, ETUF, and their affiliated unions. Four objectives are cited in the CA, of which only two are inherently developmental:

- Institutional strengthening of ETUF's ability to provide relevant worker education through the WEA/WU, and
- The design of specialized training programs and development projects in occupational health and safety, vocational training, rural health delivery and women's programs.

The picture is mixed on the developmental side. ETUF leadership has shown a greatly intensified interest in the importance of training. At the same time, serious questions have arisen about the capacity of WEA/WU to be the instrument of that training. The team, in addition to its own observations, was given a draft copy of the consultancy report by Dr. Hagglund who in an intensive review of labor training found serious deficiencies in the present training system, and has recommended major reforms. AALC, which sponsored the Hagglund visit based on its own concerns about WEA/WU, seems prepared to press for reforms. In the meantime, with characteristic pragmatism, it has suspended its financing of WEA regional programs which seem particularly ineffective.

On the other hand, as described in Section III. B., considerable progress has been made in providing assistance to ETUF programs of social benefit to workers. The recent establishment of regional sewing centers, clinics and day care facilities by ETUF, with the assistance of AALC, marks a significant move toward increased worker services. Moreover, with the development of the Hassan Fathy proposal for vocational training in the building trades, the AALC-directed program has taken another major initiative.

C. Political Effects

The political outcomes that can be ascribed at least in part to the AALC program have been positive.

The 1991 ETUF elections marked a continued trend toward labor democracy. Authorities have cited the following developments:

- Increasing numbers of candidates for seats on trade union committees at the local level;
- Wide ranging debates and discussions among candidates and workers on the issues of legal rights in the era of privatization;
- The increasing number of women candidates, greatly exceeding numbers in prior union elections (although few actually were elected);
- A reported participation rate of 85% among eligible voters, again a higher percentage than previously;
- The election in some trade unions of new, more vigorous leadership; and
- The relative freedom of the process from the interjection of communal and religious issues.

Although a great deal must be accomplished in labor democracy -- for example, workers understanding of their role in the unions remains relatively weak -- progress is evident since 1989.

As noted earlier, important strides have been made in the affiliation of individual Egyptian unions with their international trade secretariats, with 14 unions currently affiliated, 10 in just the past two years. When AALC began its work with ETUF, the federation had a firm policy against any of its constituent unions affiliating with any international trade union organization except OATUU. The several unions that ignored the ban were threatened with sanctions. Clearly that has changed. Egypt's trade unions increasingly are establishing fraternal relationships abroad. Symbolically, our team attended the opening ceremonies of a North African Regional Workshop on Labor Legislation and Collective Bargaining held in Cairo under the auspices of the International Textile, Garment and Leather Workers' Federation, based in Brussels.

Finally, the ability of AALC to provide funding to ETUF for a regional worker's conference at the time of the Iraq war, an event clearly of political interest to both Egypt and the United States, demonstrates once again the political potency of the program.

VI. ISSUES

This section deals with a number of significant issues that arose during the course of the team's review and which require attention, both in helping assess the effects of the AALC program and in suggesting future directions.

A. The Role of Egyptian Labor in Economic Reform

The ultimate role of the Egyptian labor movement in Egypt's progress to a free market economy is still uncertain, both in the minds of observers and labor union leaders themselves. On the one hand, the sheer numbers of organized workers make labor a force to be reckoned with; on the other, labor's representatives have been kept off the governing body of the \$300 million Fund for Social Development which is aimed in part at assisting workers displaced by privatization. By contrast, employer representatives do sit on the fund's board.

Organized labor is on record in support of the Government's economic program. A study done for USAID suggests that organized labor in the short run will be a "loser" in the structural adjustment process as a firm is privatized or managers are given more autonomy to lay off redundant employees. According to the authors, labor leaders do not seem unduly alarmed by the transition phase. Some unions already have experienced decline in numbers as holding companies have frozen employment and attrition has occurred. The actual numbers of organized workers ultimately displaced may be relatively small (some estimate 120,000) and spread over several years. Finally, the government so far has been true to its promise that displaced workers will be reassigned within the government sector.

With some apparent level of comfort with the privatization process, therefore, the Egyptian labor movement has concentrated its efforts on gaining new worker rights for the future by focusing on collective bargaining and the drafting of a new labor code.

The Egyptian government's Minister of Manpower and Training assured us it is committed to such a code, one which would incorporate heretofore proscribed practices such as real collective bargaining and the right to strike. Meanwhile, an apparent "new breed" of labor leader is not waiting for government action to prepare for the future. Recently the General Engineering Union was able to conclude a written collective bargaining agreement -- perhaps the first of its kind in Egyptian history -- with the holding company of a steel plant. It dealt with increased incentive payments for workers tied to plant productivity gains. This contract reportedly has been replicated through informal agreement in a number of other plants under the authority of the holding company.

Such developments reflect a growing assertiveness on the part of labor, along with a capacity for canny pragmatism.

In this process AALC has played an important role, the team was assured repeatedly by trade union leaders. Within the parameters that have been established by ETUF's agreement to privatization there is tremendous interest in the experience of other labor movements, including that of the United States, in dealing with problems that can occur with movement toward a free market economy. AALC provides a window on the world outside Egypt.

B. ETUF, WEA/WU, and the AALC

The shortcomings of WEA/WU, detailed in the draft Hagglund report, present a dilemma for both ETUF and AALC. On the one hand a great deal of effort and money has been expended on the those institutions. On the other, it is not clear that the current management structure and staff are capable of providing ETUF and its member unions with the quality and character of instruction required.

In that lies the dilemma. The present President of ETUF, Mr. Rashid, met on several occasions with the WEA/WU staff in recent weeks to call for reform. He is head of the Governing Board of those organizations and so his exhortations cannot be dismissed. At the same time, the changes required may well mandate a long-term, systemic overhaul of WEA/WU. Some union leaders believe a valuable initial step would be to end any government funding and remove government representatives from their Boards. Lost revenues would be made up by a small additional increase in worker dues. Certainly a truly independent WEA/WU would be a much more attractive candidate for future U.S. and perhaps other donor funding.

In this situation the role of the AALC has been to back ETUF's reform effort to support it with data such as the Hagglund Report, and selectively to non-fund those activities which are least effective. So far it has rejected the option of a complete cut-off of funding for WEA/WU - an action that ETUF likely would not itself favor. Questions remain about the effectiveness of this approach, but it may be the best option available.

C. Relevance of Labor in the USAID Strategy

The Mission's new Country Program Strategy for FY 1992-1996, issued in May 1992, takes as a priority concern assisting Egypt with its economic program. The strategy paper devotes considerable attention to problems of the Egyptian economy, recent attempts to improve performance, and how the U.S. will help. The business sector is spotlighted in several places but only a single mention of labor appears. In a section on the private sector where it is suggested that the USAID "will explore the possibility of providing sector assistance to enable the GOE to reduce surplus labor, a major obstacle to privatization." Our inquiry suggests that the labor sector deserves a greater degree of attention than it is given in the Country Program Strategy. Organized labor has significance for three reasons:

- Its well-recognized role in Egypt's move to a free market economy;
- Its somewhat less understood position as a force for democracy; and

- Its potential as a conduit for other educational and social welfare programs.

The question arises whether organized labor deserves more attention than it heretofore has been given by the USAID. One identified subgoal of the Mission's Strategy is the "strengthening of selected democratic systems, institutions and processes." The director of the German Friedrich Ebert Stiftung organization characterized the Egyptian Labor movement to the team as "absolutely" the most potent force for democracy in the country. The Mission currently is preparing its Democratic Initiatives Strategy and expects to issue it by the end of the year. From it will flow projects -- three or more are indicated -- beginning in FY 1993 and extending out to and perhaps beyond FY 1996. Even with an extension the AALC program as currently configured will come to an end in FY 1995. Thus, it is not premature for the Mission to give attention to the role of organized labor in building a democratic society in Egypt.

D. Social Development Programs

For the past several years ETUF has accelerated its efforts to provide a range of social service to its members through establishing "worker service centers." This initiative springs from several motives, with perhaps the most potent being the perceived need to demonstrate to the rank-and-file that they are getting a return on their union dues. AALC, which has encouraged programs of this kind in other countries with some success, has provided much of the outside funding for these efforts. They have concentrated in three areas, as noted earlier: medical clinics, sewing centers, and day care facilities.

There is an issue of how effective these activities are currently and what can be expected in the future. The team visited two sites outside Cairo, and viewed two sewing centers and one clinic about to be opened. On the basis of that exposure, cautious optimism is warranted about the potential for these programs. The sewing center at Kafr el Dauwar, which has been in operation a number of months, is clearly successful in providing practical skills and additional income to union members and their families. The center at Zagazig, while getting off to a slow start, indicated potential. The clinic at Zagazig, just on the verge of opening at the time of the team's visit, also seemed well designed for its purposes.

AALC intentions are to continue its support of these activities and to increase incrementally their financing, with emphasis on expending balances in the current CA.

The issue of whether these activities are effective in themselves and in the larger goal of enhancing labor solidarity among the rank-and-file must be raised even if the answers cannot be determined at this time. Answers surely should be an objective of future evaluations.

E. Women's Programs

Because of the lack of accurate labor statistics in general, and gender-specific numbers in particular, hard data is not available on many of the issues mentioned in this section. Statements made here are based on information gathered in interviews.

Women in the labor force in Egypt share many of the problems of working women all over the world. Between the time they get home from work in the evening and leave for the job again the next day, women carry the primary responsibility for ensuring that children are cared for and educated, food is obtained and prepared, and the home or other family property is kept in order. In other respects, however, their situation is very different from the experience of working women in the U.S. Existing labor laws in Egypt clearly acknowledge the dual role of worker/homemaker played by the vast majority of working women in the country. The law provides for paid maternity leave, time off to nurse babies during the work day, mandatory employer-provided day care for businesses employing a certain number of women, and other provisions which serve to reduce work/home conflict and help women to be productive workers. Further, equal pay for equal work is a feature of law, so there is no wage disparity between male and female workers in the same position.

Yet the picture is not as positive as the image created by a quick glance at regulations governing work. In fact, unemployment among women is high and it is likely, in many types of positions, that a woman would not be considered for the job as long as a male candidate is available. Although the standard of living of Egyptian families could be increased through additional family income, and many women are interested in working outside the home, employment opportunities are lacking. The fact that benefits extended to women workers are costly is probably a deterrent to hiring women. Furthermore, the past five years have seen an increasing trend toward conservatism. The push for traditional religious values may be keeping women out of the work force, especially in rural areas where levels of education are lower than in the large cities.

In Egypt one third of university students are female but women make up only approximately 20% of the work force, although in some industries, including pharmaceutical, electronics and clothing, the percentage is much larger. Employment figures for women increase disproportionately to an increase in educational level.

Within the Egyptian trade union movement, women are quite active at the trade union committee level. The numbers drop significantly at the general union level, and very few women hold prominent positions within the ETUF hierarchy. Those that reach the upper levels are capable and experienced trade unionists, who have spared no effort in demonstrating that they represent all of their members, and can do the job as well as their male counterparts.

Until recently, there was a Secretariat for Working Women within the ETUF structure which studied women's issues within the movement, planned educational programs for women, and coordinated the establishment of worker service programs. AALC supported the work of the secretariat, specifically in educational exchanges and study tours, seminars, and skills training centers. The educational program allowed trade union women to explore workplace issues and compare experiences with trade unionists from other countries. Unfortunately, and for reasons unknown, the women's secretariat has been dismantled. The future of a formal structure within the trade union movement for dealing with women's issues is uncertain. What

is clear is that there is a serious need for continuing support for and improvement of women's programs.

The current status of women's programs in the labor movement raises a number of questions:

- What are the most pressing needs of the women in the Egyptian labor movement?
- Which of those can appropriately be addressed through the AALC program?
- How can the capabilities of trade union women be strengthened in order to help them move into leadership positions?
- Can the trade union movement effectively work to eliminate obstacles to women's employment?
- How can the collection of data, especially gender-specific data, be improved, so that an accurate depiction of the conditions can be obtained?
- With the Women's Secretariat in limbo or worse, what is the best mechanism for providing support, training and educational opportunities for trade union women?

F. The Future Role of AALC Programs

Two issues confront AALC in designing its future program:

- What to accomplish in the next two years, and
- What in the longer run is an appropriate and effective role for it to play with the Egyptian labor movement.

Our inquiry indicates that on the first issue considerable thought and effort has been expended. Changes will be made, probably gradually, in the recipients of funds, with a movement away from the WEA/WU and toward ETUF and those constituent unions which are most impacted by privatization and which show some initiative in addressing that situation.

In the short run also, AALC will be required to accommodate the potential new program of vocational training in the Egyptian construction industry under the auspices of the Hassan Fathy Institute, an organization of construction unions from 19 countries formed in 1990 with strong backing from the AFL/CIO Building and Construction Trades Department. With a goal of helping the construction trades in developing countries and in Eastern Europe, it is perhaps natural that the Institute would wish to work in Egypt, homeland of Hassan Fathy, an illustrious architect. If, as expected, a new program results from the design activity that was beginning

just as this team was leaving Cairo, the breadth of AALC's work likely would be greatly expanded. Dealing with this expansion certainly will create new challenges for the organization.

Beyond the next two years, a different set of issues arises:

- Can and should the AALC program have a role that is more integrated into the Mission's strategy than it has had in the past?
- Is the AALC interested and capable of playing such a role?

While these are, strictly speaking, beyond the immediate scope of our review, they are matters that clearly need addressing, if not immediately, then in the reasonably near future.

VII. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

A. Conclusions

The management review conducted by the team over a four week period in Cairo and Washington, D.C., has led the team to the following conclusions:

- The labor movement in Egypt continues to be an important, democratically-inclined component in the country's economy and society. Increasingly, it will be feeling the stress resulting from the government's efforts to achieve structural adjustment and privatization.
- The Egyptian labor movement is a worthy candidate for funding by the USAID. The AALC is both acceptable to the labor movement and capable of carrying forward programs and projects on labor's behalf.
- The AALC program despite significant constraints during the period of the current CA, has made significant progress toward meeting the requirements set by the USAID in 1989:
 - At the level of outputs, AALC has met or exceeded the scope and numbers specified in the CA and where it has not, a reasonable explanation is available.
 - At the level of objectives, AALC similarly has made reasonable progress toward those specified. There is one exception: Plans for institutional strengthening of the WEA/WU were modified substantially when the credibility of that institution came into serious question.
 - At the level of goals, the program similarly has been marked with accomplishments: the Egyptian Trade Union Federation is today in a better position than it was in 1989 to be an actor in the economic, social and political development of the country. Moreover, there have been important moves during the period to internationalize its participation and leadership, moves assisted by the AALC program.
- A prominent shortcoming in the AALC program has been its inability to make any real strides toward sensitizing ETUF to the need for programs aimed at women workers. While sewing centers and day care facilities are laudable, they fall short of the kind of empowerment of female workers that both is suggested in the CA and seems required in present day Egypt.

- In managing the CA during the past three years AALC has met with an unusually challenging set of external constraints. It appears to have overcome them quite well. In doing so, the organization has demonstrated repeatedly the kind of pragmatism -- often lacking in NGOs -- that permits it to "stop feeding the dog when the dog won't hunt."
- Our own inquiry confirms the validity of the general import of the Hagglund Report. We believe it provides a perceptive analysis of the WEA/WU and a guide for the development of AALC's 1993-1995 program of assistance to ETUF. Two options seem to exist for AALC in its efforts to promote reform within WEA/WU:
 1. To withdraw all funding from those organizations until reforms are in place; or
 2. To withhold funds selectively, with emphasis on non-funding the weakest activities, in an effort to back ETUF efforts at improvement.

AALC has chosen the latter course for the interim but without ruling out entirely the former one. Given the somewhat inchoate situation that exists, this judgment appears sound.

- Having decided to withhold some funding from WEA/WU and already facing a considerable unexpended balance from the current CA, AALC is diversifying its financing to include helping ETUF itself establish a research capacity, working with individual unions on priority needs, and continuing development of workers' service centers. The team believes this emphasis is appropriate, given current circumstances.
- The relationships between AALC's representative, and ETUF, constituent unions, other donors and the State Department appear to be excellent. By contrast, the relationships between AALC and the USAID are too often conflictive and in need of improvement.
- The USAID appears to have given inadequate attention to the labor sector in its current strategy. An opportunity to provide for labor may exist in the new Democratic Initiatives Strategy now in preparation.
- In order to take full advantage of the opportunities that may arise in the future, AALC may need to reconsider its operating philosophies and encourage its local representatives in working more closely and collegially with the USAID.

B. Recommendations

1. The AALC program in Egypt has made significant progress toward program goals over the term of the current CA and deserves to be renewed. We understand that a decision was made prior to this review that AALC, pending a position evaluation, would be granted a two-year extension of its funding at "historical levels"-- that is, about \$1 million annually. On the basis of our review, the decision is fully warranted. Although the programmatic language of the CA is somewhat outdated now, the general thrust of what likely would be done by AALC during the next two years is similar. A new AALC/USAID agreement is not needed right now:
 - Within two years it should be possible to gauge more precisely the course on which Egyptian organized labor is embarked;
 - The Mission will have had ample time to design and begin to implement its strategies in democracy and pluralism, and to assess the place of labor in its efforts; and
 - Both the management and programmatic effects of the Hassan Fathy program -- if it is approved by the Mission -- will be much better understood by both AALC and the USAID.

In effect, the next two years might be considered less the "playing out" of the current agreement than a period of anticipation toward a new long-term agreement between AALC and USAID for the last five years of the 20th Century.

2. The USAID should take advantage of the opportunity offered by its impending Democratic Initiatives Strategy to include a place for organized labor in its planning. The lack of attention, except one seemingly negative allusion, to labor in the USAID's 1992-1996 Strategy Paper is striking. The Egyptian business sector is described at length and its needs reviewed in terms of being addressed through AID programs and projects. Labor is not mentioned even though the Mission currently and presumably for the future will support labor programs through the AALC. If this omission is a calculated one, it requires re-examination. If, as is more likely, it was an oversight, it should be corrected. The development of the Mission's new Democratic Initiatives Strategy provides that opportunity. We believe it should contain a section that deals with what many believe is the most democratically potent force in Egyptian society. AALC data and specialists should be consulted in the course of devising this strategy component, but the discussion of labor's role should encompass a wider inquiry. This effort would be aimed at:

- Giving the Mission its own labor strategy, not just a nod toward what it traditionally has funded through AALC;
- Providing a framework from which discussions can ensue with AALC for a new multi-year program to begin in 1995; and
- Assuring that labor concerns, not just business concerns, are integrated into key policy decisions to be made regarding USAID funding targets.

In sum, without belittling the importance of those democracy elements that the USAID already has identified -- legislative institutions, media, local government and the legal/judicial area -- we see labor as important to the achievement of announced U.S. objectives in Egypt.

3. When a labor strategy has been developed by the USAID, Mission staff and AALC Representatives should begin a collaborative dialogue on a new multi-year program of labor support. The development of a labor strategy by the Mission should be a prelude to a dialogue between USAID and AALC about a new program. Two years should provide the time to devise a mutually-satisfactory program of support for ETUF, its constituent unions, and other labor-related organizations and activities.

To the fullest possible extent, this dialogue should be conducted in a spirit of joint collaboration toward common objectives. It should be as free as possible from the tensions and conflicts that sometimes have marked the present program. AALC must recognize its role as a trustee of U.S. taxpayer (not just AFL-CIO) funds with responsibilities to AID; for its part, the USAID must be sensitive to the special culture AALC represents that makes it effective with Egyptian labor.

4. Unless and until the WEA/WU is reformed, AALC would be correct in re-directing its efforts and funding toward work with ETUF and individual unions, including their social development activities. The Hagglund Report, discussions with other knowledgeable persons and our own observations have confirmed the perception that as presently constituted, the WEA/WU are not meeting the needs of Egyptian labor and that future funding for their programs should depend on important changes. This suggests that training and research functions may more profitably be exercised through direct help from AALC to individual unions. We suggest that the selection of those unions be based upon several criteria:
 - Their commitment to independence from government funding and supervision;
 - Their relative importance to, and potential for being impacted by, privatization; and

- Their percentage of women worker members.
5. More intensive efforts should be made to initiate programs that meet the needs of women workers. The present CA gives a clear mandate for emphasis on women in the labor force. Yet we find ETUF downgrading the organizational expression of women's interests. AALC has done little to reverse a trend which may in part be a response to social pressures. A number of initiatives might be taken through AALC funding (see Section VI.E.). Some should be tried during the coming two years and those most successful should become part of the long-range new project contemplated here.
 6. The management implications of adding the Hassan Fathy activity to the traditional AALC program require careful consideration. The team interacted briefly with the design team for the program. If the Hassan Fathy initiative moves from design to implementation stage during the next few months, management implications for AALC in Cairo seem obvious. The AALC Representative has also been designated the Hassan Fathy representative; this likely will result in his being intimately involved in discussions with the Mission over specifics of the project. This additional burden will come at the same time as the Representative is negotiating with USAID on the two-year extension and eventually implementing the new initiatives. The management burden may require that AALC add another individual to its Cairo staff; an Egyptian professional may be indicated.

* * *

This completes the report of the team. In the annexes to follow we present additional material:

- Annex A: a point-by-point response to the scope of work;
- Annex B: an exhibit showing the participation of AALC-sponsored programs by current members of the ETUF Executive Board;
- Annex C: a list of the persons interviewed for this report; and
- Annex D: a list of the documents reviewed in the assignment.

ANNEXES

- A. Responses to Questions in the Scope of Work**
- B. ETUF Alumni Data**
- C. Persons Interviewed**
- D. Bibliography**

RESPONSE TO SCOPE OF WORK QUESTIONS

The body of the report provides the evaluation team's primary response to the scope of work for the assignment. As is customary with Development Associates reports, we also provide here a point-by-point response to each of the individual questions posed in the scope, to insure that all subjects of interest to our clients are covered. As appropriate, we also make reference to those places in the body where more complete information on a specific subject is available.

TASK 1: WORKER EDUCATION AND TRAINING

- i. *Curriculum Development/Instructor Training: Has a standardized curriculum been achieved in each of the following subject areas at the Workers' University (WU): collective bargaining, trade union research, labor economics, industrial safety and health, job classification and manpower planning? If not, why not? To what degree have the WU instructors received training in these subject areas?*

Although AALC has funded seminars in most of the areas described, the Hagglund Report raises serious questions about the quality of the curriculum -- even though standardized -- and even though instructors are given some training. See Section III.C and VI.B.

- ii. *Specialized Seminars and Conferences: Building on the above curriculum design and teacher training, have courses been carried out in the specified subject areas at the WU? In addition to the short training sessions, has ETUF conducted a high-level seminar on the relationship between education programs of the ETUD and general educational reform in Egypt? Have there been "high level" seminars on labor economics and economic research?*

Again reference is to the Hagglund Report and Section III.C and IV.B. ETUF has not conducted a high level seminar on the relationship between education programs at ETUF and general educational reform in Egypt. The notion that there could be some effective relationship between WEA/WU and general educational reform in Egypt was fostered by the 1988 evaluation of the AALC program. It is not realistic. See Section III.B.6.

- iii. *Study Tours for ETUF Education Officials & Administrators: What is the number and make some judgement as to the success of the visits by ETUF officials to labor facilities in the United States especially as these officials attempt to learn how the American labor movement conducts basic and advanced education programs. Have there been visits to other labor facilities such as the Tom Mboya Labor College in Kenya and the UNTZa's university-level education institute for workers in Zaire.*

See Section III.C.1 which answers these questions.

- iv. *Upgraded Facilities of the WU Evaluation/Monitoring System: The proposal described "additional equipment" that would be needed for the WU in order to enable it to fulfill many of its objectives. Proposed purchases included: an emergency generator, a simultaneous translation system, a computerized monitoring system and books, journals and other publications for the WU library. Has this objective been met?*

The additional equipment noted in the proposal has been acquired with the exception of the emergency generator.

TASK 2: ETUF RELATIONSHIPS WITH U.S. UNIONS

Exchanges of delegations between ETUF and the AFL-CIO can lead to direct cooperative relationships between unions in the same industry or sector. In this regard, the American experience of democracy and private enterprise can be a particularly useful model for Egyptian workers in confronting many of their future, growth-related problems. To what degree have these exchanges occurred and are there any examples demonstrating the value and success of these exchange programs?

The exchanges with U.S. unions appear to have been quite successful. See Section III.C.2.

TASK 3: DEVELOPMENT AND SOCIAL SERVICES

- i. *Occupational Safety and Health: To what degree and how has AALC supported ETUF's awareness of health and safety problems and as a companion effort, provided certain health and safety equipment for demonstration purposes? Have Health and Safety Committees been established in Egyptian enterprises? To what degree and in which businesses? What safety equipment and educational materials have been purchased and introduced for this purpose? Describe the in-country and U.S. training that has occurred to meet this important objective.*

While occupational health and safety training has been supported by AALC from time to time, ETUF has not made the area one of major concern during the CA period. Section III.C. discusses the activities that have taken place.

- ii. **Vocational Training:** *The AFL-CIO has a sophisticated capacity in this regard, conducting such programs and, in many instances, cooperates with management in increasing the skill levels of workers and develops apprenticeship and literacy programs. How has this capacity, beyond the submission of the Hassan Fathy proposal, been transferred to the Egyptian situation? Have there been observational training tours for ETUF members of U.S. vocational training programs?*

The Hassan Fathy proposal is the principal AALC activity in the field of vocational training. A group of union training directors taken to the U.S. in 1992 were exposed to vocational training techniques but vocational training previously was not a major theme of AALC programming.

- iii. **Health Care Delivery:** *Have any union-run health care programs for workers and their families, particularly in the rural areas, been instituted with AALC assistance? What has been done to examine the utility of mobile health clinics?*

AALC has provided assistance to ETUF regional centers that include clinics. The team visited an AALC-assisted clinic, soon to open, in Zagazig. Plans are to assist with equipping clinics in other parts of the country. The idea of mobile clinics has been considered by AALC and ETUF and dismissed as expensive and not cost-effective.

- iv. **Women's Programs:** *This a subject of special interest to A.I.D. In responding to this emphasis, has AALC sponsored the travel of union women to meet their counterparts in the U.S.? Have there been any national seminars held locally on issues of particular interest to union women? What success has been achieved in the establishment of a training project for unskilled women and in the setting up of four daycare centers at selected industrial sites in Egypt?*

No specific travel for union women has been sponsored by AALC. Nor has it funded national seminars on subjects of particular interest to union women. AALC has in the past and is continuing, however, to provide support for sewing centers and day care facilities. See Sections III.C.3. and VI.E.

TASK 4: RESPONSE TO ETUF PRIORITIES

Describe the ETUF "priority" requests and how have these requests met the stated criteria, especially the criterion which notes that where possible, ETUF priority needs are those "projects which address the needs and leadership requirements of union women."

The team found that the response to ETUF priorities generally met the CA requirements but that no priority was given to women's programs as indicated by the CA. See Section VI.E.

TASK 5: GENERIC CONCERNS**A.I.D. Question No. 1:**

"Is the present accounting system involving AALC staff in both Cairo and Washington the most efficient and effective mode of dealing with financial matters?"

The team's review of existing documents and financial reporting systems, far short of an audit, found no problems needing attention. A.I.D.'s Regional Inspector General audit in 1991 is also reassuring. The AALC Representative has a useful computerized spreadsheet system which, at this stage, unfortunately does not interface with the AALC-Washington system. See Section IV.A.2.

A.I.D. Question No. 2:

"What success has been achieved in conducting U.S. training follow-up activities such as questionnaires and/or debriefing sessions and then informally tracking people thereafter?"

While through follow up of in-country training is problematic, recent efforts have been started which appear to be an appropriate remedy. On visits to and training in the U.S. a through system of debriefing and tracking is in place. See Section IV.A.3.

A.I.D. Question No. 3:

"During the life of the current cooperative agreement has a monitoring and evaluation system been set up at the Workers University in order to improve the WU's internal management and capacities?"

No it has not. However, the Hagglund report thoroughly examined the WU and WEA, and made recommendations which can provide the basis of significant improvement at the WU and WEA. Also the ETUF President has decided to exercise increased influence on the WU and WEA. See Section VI.B.

A.I.D. Question No. 4:

"Are there alternatives to the current office location that would make project implementation more effective?"

There are no reasonable or necessary alternatives. The current location is within a 30 minutes drive from the UW, ETUF, and the USAID Mission, the three locations where the AALC

representative has his most frequent contacts. The office is convenient to the subway and the freeway. AALU has been at this location since the beginning of the current agreement. The staff has all arranged for housing in the immediate area of the current location.

A.I.D. Question No. 5:

"Comment on AALC activities in Egypt for their consistency with the FAA mandate for A.I.D. to implement a labor policy 'to strengthen free, effective, and well organized trade unions representing both urban and rural workers for the purpose of protecting their legitimate rights...to improve the well being of the workers, to assure the equitable distribution of income and to act as a force for change on issues related to working conditions, human rights and family...' ?"

See Section VII for a positive review of AALC performance.

A.I.D. Question No. 6:

"Describe the appropriateness of incorporating AALC activities with USAID development programs in the areas of literacy, health services, credit unions, information dissemination, etc., as suggested in A.I.D.'s policy determination on labor-manpower?"

Little can be gained from such incorporation, and much could be lost by diverting AALC's attentions away from its unique field of competency. However, linkages with Mission initiatives in restructuring and privatization are appropriate in the light of AALC's unique competencies. Also linkages with A.I.D.'s new democratic initiatives is recommended. See Recommendation Number 2, Section VII.

A.I.D. Question No. 7:

"Comment on the management-level relationships between the AALC and USAID personnel, both in Washington - to the extent that they exist - and in Egypt?"

See Section IV.C.

ANNEX B

**ETUF ALUMNI DATA
EGYPTIAN TRADE UNION FEDERATION
EXECUTIVE BOARD
1991**

**	El Sayed Mohamed Rashid	President	Textile
**	Mohamed Khairy Hashem	Vice President	Communication
**	Mostafa Mohamed Mongi	Vice President	Mil. Prod.
*	Mohamed Kamel Labib	Vice President	Land Transport
*	Mohamed Mounir El Dorghami	Vice President	Construction
*	MOHAMED ZAD EL DIN NOUR EL DIN	Vice President	Petroleum
**	Mohamed EL Sayed Morsi	Gen. Secretary	Pub. Utilities
**	Mohamed Abu Sedeira	Assistant GS	Bank/Insurance
*	IBRAHIM ABDIL FETTAH HASSAN EIN	Assistant GS	Railways
*	NIAZI MOHAMED ABD EL AZIZ	Assistant GS	Engineering
*	Ahmed Mohamed Yakoub	Treasurer	Commercial
*	AHMED ABDEL ZAHER OSMAN	Asst. Treasurer	Mgmt/Social Service
**	Mostafa Ibrahim Mostafa	International Affair	Hotels
	Ahmed Ibrahim Harak	Information	Press
*	Ahmed Abdel Rahman Badr	Health	Health
*	Hamed Ahmed Mahmoud Sebak	Literacy	Mines
*	HALABY ABDEL HADI HALABI	Local Fed	Education
*	DR. MOHAMED ABDALLAH NASSAR	Education	Agriculture
*	Sayed Hassan Derwa	Immigration	Food
*	ISMAIL MAHMOUD MOSHAREF	BM	Postal
	ISMAIL IBRAHIM FAHMY	BM	Air Transport
	MOHAMED HASSAN ABDEL GALIL	BM	Maritime
**	IBRAHIM EL AZHARI	BM	Chemical

(New Members in CAPS.)

November 25, 1991

* = U.S. visits this Grant.
** = U.S. visits other Grants.

PERSONS INTERVIEWED

**Patrick J. O'Farrell, Executive Director
African-American Labor Center**

**Louis Moore
Communications Workers of America**

**Joel Freedman
International Union of Bricklayers and Allied
Construction Workers**

**Martin Forrester, Director of International
Affairs
Service Employees International Union**

**Nolan Hancock
Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers**

**Shane MacCarthy, Education Officer
USAID/Cairo**

**Amal Nassar, former Project Officer
USAID/Cairo**

**John N. Gould, Representative
African-American Labor Center/Egypt**

**Diane Leach, Acting Director, Office of
Education and Training
USAID/Cairo**

**Paul F. Mulligan, Economist
USAID/Cairo**

**Jeffrey F. Goode, Economist
USAID/Cairo**

**David Jesse, Office of Private Enterprise
USAID/Cairo**

**Adel Zaki, Office of Private Enterprise
USAID/Cairo**

**James Sorriano, Political Officer
US Embassy/Cairo**

**Duncan Miller, Associate Director
Human Resources and Development
Cooperation
USAID/Cairo**

**Diane S. Ponasik, Governance and
Democracy
Program
USAID/Cairo**

**El Sayed Mohamed Rashid, President
Egyptian Trade Union Federation (ETUF)**

**Mostafa Ibrahim Mostafa, Secretary of
International Affairs
Egyptian Trade Union Federation**

**Ahmed Ibrahim Harak, Secretary of
Information
Egyptian Trade Union Federation**

**Mohamed Rafat, Technical Office
Workers Education Association (WEA)**

**Emad el Din Hassan, Director General,
Workers Education Association
Workers University (WU)**

**Abdel Salam Ayad, Deputy Director General
Workers Education Association and Workers
University**

**Jimmy Browne, Education Officer
Trade Union International Research and
Education Group
Ruskin College
EEC Representative to the WEA and WU**

**Randall Parks, Evaluation Officer
USAID/Cairo**

**Aziza M. Helmy, Women in Development
Officer
USAID/Cairo**

**Niazi Mohamed Abdel Aziz, President
General Trade Union for Engineering
Industries
Assistant General Secretary, ETUF**

**George Hagglund, Professor
University of Wisconsin/Madison**

**Salah Elwani Salah, General Secretary
General Trade Union for Engineering
Industries**

**Zeinab Baghdady, Program Administrative
Officer
African-American Labor Center/Egypt**

**Helmy Soleiman, Director of the Upper Egypt
District
Workers Education Association**

**Ibrahim El Anwar, Director of the East Deltal
District
Workers Education Association**

**Ibrahim Shawki, Research Division
Workers Education Association**

**Mahmoud Afifi, Supervisor of the Trade
Union Institute
Workers Education Association**

**Hamdi Muawad, Supervisor of the Workers
Educational Institute
Workers Education Association**

**Karen Donahue, Cairo Representative
Neill and Company**

**Heba Handoussa, Economist and Advisor,
Ministry of Industry
Faculty at the American University of Cairo**

**Fathia El Sayed, Deputy
General Union of Tourism
Vice President, Nile Hilton Union**

**Abdel Kader El Aasem, Secretary to the
Minister
Ministry of Manpower and Training**

**Islah Mohamed Amin, Director General,
Int'l. Labor Relations Dept.
Ministry of Manpower and Training**

**Assam Abdul Haq Saleh, Minister
Ministry of Manpower and Training**

**Mohamed Kheiry Hashem, Chairman
General Trade Union for Communications
Vice President, ETUF**

**Gamal Zein el Abideen, M.D., Director
Zagazig Union Center Clinic**

**Eesha Abdel Hadi, Deputy Chairman
General Chemical Workers Union**

**Hussein Hassan, Director of International
Affairs
Egyptian Trade Union Federation**

**Mohamed Mounir el Dorghami, President
General Union for Construction and
Woodworkers
Vice President, ETUF**

**Abdel Latif Eish, Chairman
General Union for Food Industries**

**Ismail Mahmoud Mosharef, Deputy Chairman
General Postal Workers Union**

**Halabi Abdel Hadi Halabi, President
General Trade Union for Education**

**Hassan Nassar, Secretary of Education
Egyptian Trade Union Federation**

**Guntram Von Schenck, Resident
Representative for Egypt
Friedrich Ebert Stiftung**

**James O'Leary, Executive Director
Hassan Fathy Institute**

**Peter Cody, Consultant
AFL-CIO**

**Abdel Ghany el Anani, Deputy Chairman
General Chemical Workers Union**

**President,
Chemical Workers Union, Local**

**Director,
Kafr el Douar Training Center**

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