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**EVALUATION OF**

**GRANT NO CCS-0007-G-00-2075**

**WITH THE**

**FREE TRADE UNION INSTITUTE OF THE AFL-CIO**  
**FOR**  
**DEMOCRATIC PLURALISM INITIATIVES**

**IN THE NEW INDEPENDENT STATES**  
**OF THE FORMER SOVIET UNION**

**(PROJECT 110-0007)**

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## ACRONYMS

ABA	American Bar Association
AID	Agency for International Development
IFES	International Foundation for Electoral Systems
IRI	International Republican Institute
FTUI	Free Trade Union Institute
NDI	National Democratic Institute for International Affairs
NED	National Endowment for Democracy
NIS	New Independent States
RAFTURE	Russian-American Foundation for Free Trade Union Research and Education
USAID	Country or Regional Mission of the Agency for International Development

## EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This report constitutes an evaluation of three projects conducted by the Free Trade Union Institute of the AFL-CIO that were funded in FY92-FY94 by USAID's Democratic Pluralism Initiative in the New Independent States. The program activity of the Russian-American Foundation for Free Trade Union Research and Education (RAFTURE), the Glasnost Defense Fund 5+1 Radio project for Russian Workers and the quick-start grant in Ukraine were reviewed. The total funding for this project was \$1,043,563.

### Program Summary

These projects have made a contribution to the process of transition from communist authoritarian states to democratic systems. Many of the projects in this FY92-FY94 program were critical to the development of transition to free trade unions. The projects and their results to date were assessed positively. On the whole, they were well-targeted and well-functioning.

The FTUI programs are based on a NIS/American partnership and are designed for phasing out of U.S. participation with the local staff gaining full control at the end of that period. FTUI has determined that it can be most effective focusing its work in the industrial centers where the workers are. Both of these operational assumptions have contributed directly to the success of these projects.

### Findings

RAFTURE has succeeded in establishing an office and the hiring of 10 staff. Its programs include an aggressive

- education program for interns, organizers and union leaders, a train the trainer program and the development of basic training manuals
- public relations activities, including the development of a media contact list, routine press liaison activities, and technical assistance on public education for free trade unions
- research of labor issues within Russia, and the publication of a quarterly newsletter and several basic books on labor issues, and
- legal research and consultations, including support on basic legal redress for workers' grievances and work with the government on the development of a general plan for reform of the social security system within Russia.

The Glasnost Defense Foundation has developed an Independent Radio Project for Russian Workers (5+1) targeted to stations in five cities: Nizhny Novgorod, Kemerovo, Yekaterinburg, Izhevsk and Echo-Moscow (Funded by AID) and the Kazakh city of Karaganda (funded by NED). This project began with a feasibility study, a sociological survey, and a 4-day conference in Moscow for broadcasters, radio specialists, and union representatives.

The "quick start" project in Ukraine has conducted one series of labor education training programs and candidate consultations in anticipation of greater work with free trade unions prior to the 27 March 1994 elections.

The FTUI program in Kazakhstan was cancelled and funds were diverted to the Russia/Glasnost Defense Foundation radio project and to expand the activities of the Russian foundation

### Impact

FTUI's work in the countries visited has made a demonstrable positive impact on the clients they have served. Quantifiable and qualitative changes were noted in the operations of the free trade unions which they have assisted. The degree of impact varied depending on external forces (political, legal, and other barriers). It is important to note that tremendous social change must occur before privatization is successful in Russia and the workers are assimilated into a free trade economy. The challenges confronting the free trade union movement will be substantial and these efforts, by definition, will have to be initiated by the workers of the NIS.

In Russia, the RAFTURE and Glasnost Defense Foundation projects are established and programs are operational. Staff are excited about their successes to date and have set new goals for expanded programs and activities. The challenge will be to set priorities so that limited resources can be effectively marshalled for maximum impact. The tendency for these foundations is to want to do everything.

FTUI's initial assumptions regarding how to develop projects in the NIS resulted in a slow start but, now that the two foundations are established, programs are in place and proceeding nicely. The demand from the free trade unions for additional support and technical assistance and the expanded awareness of RAFTURE among the media are two indicators of the success of these programs.

This evaluation was conducted before many of these projects were completed and before final reports had been submitted. It was too early, therefore, to focus attention specifically on the impact these projects were having on democratic development in Russia and Ukraine. Moreover, privatization and the development of free trade unions is a very slow process in which indicators of real change may be evident many years after a project or activity has taken place.

# 1 PURPOSE AND METHOD OF THE EVALUATION

## A Background and Purpose of the Evaluation

This evaluation was conducted by Management Systems International (MSI) under IQC No AEP-0085-I-10-3001-00 Delivery Order No 10. It is the first evaluation of a major sectoral component of assistance from the Agency for International Development (AID) to the New Independent States (NIS) of the former Soviet Union. It pertains to a portion of AID's Democratic Pluralism Initiatives (DPI) Project, No 110-0007 which was authorized on 10 April 1992 with a life of project funding level of \$25 million and a project assistance completion date of April 1996. Funding for the DPI Project has been increased twice: in February 1993 to \$85 million and in September 1993 to \$160 million, the second amendment also extended the project to 31 December 1996.

The DPI Project was designed to help build political, legal and social institutions critical to the success of democratic and economic reform in the NIS in the wake of the collapse of communism and the Soviet economic system. In its early phase, the Project funded Grants and Cooperative Agreements for U.S.-based nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) to provide technical assistance, training and some equipment. Grants and Cooperative Agreements are both instruments to transfer funds to provide assistance to the recipient in carrying out a program. A Cooperative Agreement is a relationship in which substantial involvement is anticipated between AID and the recipient during the performance of the proposed activity. This report refers to the recipient organizations generically as grantees.

The DPI Project has five sub-sector components: rule of law, independent media, civil society, governance and public administration, and political process. The political process component is designed to enable individuals and organizations to determine political outcomes in a competitive and fair environment. The Cooperative Agreement with FTUI is categorized in the political process component of the DPI Project.

The overall purpose of the evaluation is to assess the extent to which the grants are meeting the objectives of their agreements, fitting with the general guiding principles of democratic reform and able to adjust to the new strategic priorities being implemented in an effective and efficient manner, and having an impact on the people, organizations and countries of the NIS.

## B Method

In December 1993, AID contracted with Management Systems International (MSI) to conduct field evaluations of the activities of seven DPI Project grantees and desk studies of the activities of two grantees.

The evaluations were conducted by a team of six management consultants: David Read Barker (Team Leader), Cynthia Clapp-Wincek, David Hirschmann, James S. Holtaway, Sally J. Patterson, and Alan Lessik. Four members of the team (Barker, Holtaway, Patterson, and Lessik) divided responsibility for the seven field studies, with three evaluators each taking lead responsibility for two studies and one evaluator taking responsibility for one field study and the

synthesis report. The other two members of the team (Hirschmann and Clapp-Wincek) were each assigned lead responsibility for one desk study.

The professional backgrounds of the evaluators are development management, cultural anthropology, political science, and political organizing and opinion research. All four of the field evaluators had previous professional experience in Russia; three of them had worked in Russia within the previous 6 months.

A team planning meeting of the AID project managers, the evaluators, and representatives of FTUI and other grantees was held on 4 January 1994. The participants agreed to support the evaluation as a collaborative, candid, constructive, and creative process. The evaluators then interviewed AID officials and FTUI staff in their Washington, DC area and field offices. Extensive documentation was gathered and reviewed by the team.

The four field evaluators visited the Russian Federation from 20-29 January, at which time the team broke into two sub-teams of two people each, one of which visited Ukraine from 29 January to 5 February and one of which visited Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan from 29 January to 5 February. The method of the field visits was derived from rapid appraisal techniques, which stress creation of a team, multi-disciplinary treatment of data, selective sampling, gathering information through interviews, and conscious efforts to identify biases.

With the full cooperation of FTUI, the evaluators structured their itinerary to maximize opportunities to observe significant project activities. Similarly, FTUI provided names of key beneficiaries who became priority targets for interview. Interviews with Russian-speaking informants were conducted in English using professional interpreters. To the extent that logistics permitted, at least two team members participated in interviews with beneficiaries. However, intense time constraints required modifications of the optimal itinerary and interview schedule.

The authors conducted a total of 66 interviews: 28 with U.S. Government officials in five countries, 22 with FTUI staff members in four countries, and 21 with beneficiaries of FTUI's programs in two countries. A list of people interviewed is given in Appendix A. Appendix B is a list of documents reviewed.

Following the field visits, the team met several times in Washington, DC to exchange notes. Team members met with AID officials and FTUI staff to present key findings and conclusions informally and to review critical issues. Copies of the draft report were submitted for comment to the grantee and to AID/Washington and were sent to the USAID Missions in Moscow, Almaty, and Kiev. This revised draft reflects comments and corrections by the grantee and AID/Washington, but to date no comments have been received from the three USAID Missions.

The team expresses its sincere appreciation for the excellent cooperation and support received from AID officials in Washington, from USAID and U.S. Embassy staffs in Moscow, Almaty, and Kiev, from the FTUI staff in headquarters and field offices, and from the numerous beneficiaries of these programs.

## 2 THE COOPERATIVE AGREEMENT

### A Purpose and Description of the Program

The Free Trade Union Institute (FTUI) was created by the AFL-CIO in 1977 for the specific purpose of developing and implementing programs with European unions. FTUI's first area of activity was support for union training and exchange programs in the then-new democracies of Spain and Portugal. FTUI's responsibilities were expanded in 1983 with the establishment of the National Endowment for Democracy (NED). The subsequent events in East Europe of 1985-1991 posed enormous challenges to FTUI. To meet them, its support from NED was augmented by special funds appropriated by the Congress in the Support for Eastern European Democracy Acts (SEED I and SEED II) and by a direct relationship with the USAID. FTUI is committed to the development of free trade unions within the New Independent States (NIS) of the former Soviet Union.

Specifically, their original objective was to establish institutes for labor training and research in Moscow, Kiev, and Almaty. These institutes will function as information centers: (1) to provide labor training and course materials on basic trade unionism in the free world, and (2) to provide the capability to evaluate the economic options of workers during the transition to a free market. The major activities in the NIS have included technical assistance, training, research, data collection, and information dissemination.

FTUI has sponsored two programs in Russia:

1. The Russian American Foundation for Trade Union Research and Education (RAFTURE). Three categories of activities were undertaken by the foundation:
  - education including trade union leadership training and a 'train the trainer' program in basic trade union skills
  - research and publications including the development of a data bank on trade unions in Russia, and
  - a foundation communication network
2. The Glasnost Defense Foundation's Independent Radio Project for Russian Workers.

The FTUI program in Kazakhstan was cancelled and funds were diverted to the Russia/Glasnost Defense Foundation radio project, and to expand the activities of the Russian foundation.

On 3 November 1993, FTUI received a 'quick start' grant for Ukraine. This grant will be used to establish training and support for labor education and free trade union participation in the March elections. It is hoped that this program can be expanded to create an institute capable of undertaking the level of activity currently underway in Russia.

## **B Country Context and Issues**

FTUI has a clear sense of its mission to work with newly emerging trade unions committed to advocating on behalf of workers rights. They will not work with the traditional old line unions or their leadership. Determining which unions to work with has been a politically sensitive issue since the beginning. Many unions have approached FTUI pretending to be something other than what they truly are (nationalistic, militaristic, etc.) in order to garner support and alliance with a powerful American ally.

The former Soviet Union presents a unique challenge for FTUI. Every worker in these countries has had a lifelong experience with unions. Under the soviet system, unions existed within every enterprise and every Russian citizen was a member of the union where they worked. These organizations have been characterized by lack of responsiveness, accountability, and transparency. Corruption, bureaucratic inefficiencies and resistance to change are commonplace. Nevertheless, these traditional unions have provided historical guarantees of full employment and a range of services, particularly health care, housing, and municipal services.

FTUI is supporting the creation of a new environment through the creation of new free trade unions. This entails developing a new understanding of what unions are, how they work, and the services that they can provide workers. In addition to teaching organizing skills, FTUI has had to teach negotiating skills and empowerment of the leaders in these new organizations. There is limited experience with the rights and responsibilities of citizens in a democracy and there is no tradition of democratic problem-solving based on negotiation and compromise.

Furthermore, as privatization and economic restructuring proceed, market forces will require reorganization of generally overstaffed and noncompetitive state enterprises and a retrenchment of workers. There is likely to be transitional unemployment. The workers who join the free trade unions will be least likely to have the support of government programs and support during this transition phase, unless the legitimacy of the free trade unions is clearly established.

The FTUI programs are based on a Russian-American partnership and are designed for phasing out, with Russians gaining full control at the end of that period. In addition, FTUI has determined that it can be most effective if it focuses its work where the workers are. For the most part, this has meant working outside of the capitals (Moscow, Kiev, and Almaty) and in the industrial centers.

## **C Program Budget and Financial Management**

The original Grant to the Free Trade Union Institute of the AFL-CIO was \$920,700, and approved on 25 September 1992 for the development of a Moscow Institute and the Kazakhstan Center. A "quick-start" grant for the Ukraine of \$122,863 was approved in mid-November 1993, bringing AID funding of FTUI projects in the NIS to \$1,043,563.

Program activity in these three countries is also supported by the NED at the following funding levels:

Russia	\$900 000
Ukraine	\$300 000
Kazakhstan	\$110 000

Funding originally allocated for the creation of a Democracy Center in Almaty was reprogrammed for activities to be undertaken at the Russian-American Foundation for Trade Union Research and Education and for the establishment of the Independent Radio Program for Russian Workers. The reprogramming request to fund the FTUI/Glasnost Defense Foundation Workers Radio Project was submitted to AID in May 1993 for \$123,264 and the Agreement was signed on 14 September 1993.

Because of the funding delay, the initial funding of this project came from the NED program. Activity was transferred to the AID grant in November 1993.

The FTUI grant supports 11 staff at the RAFTURE Foundation (57 percent of the budget), rent and equipment, supplies (16 percent), consultant fees (not counting travel and per diem) (8 percent). A second proposal to AID for supplementary funding was submitted in January 1994 and approved at a funding level of \$88,071.

FTUI's NIS grant was amended to include funds for a Ukraine project in mid-November 1993. Funding of \$122,863 was approved for a quick-start program to develop programs to support free trade union participation in the March elections. This funding was designated as support for the office of the KSSPU Research and Information Center (\$34,000) to conduct a voter information program (\$15,000) and organizing seminars (\$37,932) in anticipation of free trade union participation in the March 1994 elections.

### 3 FINDINGS

#### A Inputs, Activities, and Delivery Mechanisms

FTUI initiated its activities in the FSU through the development of NIS-American partnership organizations. This has required additional start-up time to meet registration and licensing requirements in each country and to recruit the appropriate local professional staff.

In both Russia and Ukraine, an umbrella foundation has been established to coordinate all programmatic activity and to ensure that limited resources are maximized. Senior professional consultants have been drawn from AFL-CIO resources in the United States to supplement the local professional staff in each country.

The FTUI program in Russia reflects a commitment to joint NIS-American leadership, licensing as a Russian organization, outreach to the intelligentsia and other non-traditional partners of labor, and a reliance on a Russian Staff.

Training programs, leadership conferences, print materials, press relations, radio programming, legal services, and other technical assistance have been the primary delivery mechanisms used by FTUI within the NIS.

#### Russian Federation

The FTUI program in Russia reflects a commitment to joint NIS-American leadership, licensing as a Russian organization, outreach to the intelligentsia and other nontraditional partners of labor, and a reliance on a Russian staff.

The AID-supported programs in Russia have been developed by FTUI to operate through a Russian-American partnership. There are two primary vehicles for this support: the Russian American Foundation for Research and Education (RAFTURE), and the Glasnost Defense Foundation, which is overseeing the Russian Free Trade Radio Project (5+1).

The RAFTURE Foundation, created by FTUI, has a joint board of Russians (8) and Americans (4) which meets weekly to discuss policy and major operational issues. There is an advisory group of intellectuals and labor leaders which meets less frequently. The purpose of the advisory group is to facilitate understanding between workers and those who influence their lives. This group has held two meetings to date: the first explored the purpose and objectives of the advisory group, and the second explored the ideology behind the new workers movement. The next meeting will address the free trade unions and the development of relations with the new organs of power (beginning with an assessment of the election results).

The independent radio project for Russian workers is under the direction of the Glasnost Defense Foundation. The Foundation was established by 27 Russian artists, journalists, film makers, and others in February 1991 and registered in May 1991. The Foundation was created to advance

freedom of speech in Russia by assisting legislative initiatives in this field and by promoting 'the emergence of both traditions and customs of freedom of speech

The activities of the Glasnost Defense Foundation fall into three major categories

- the provision of individual assistance (legal and material) to journalists and mass media whose rights are violated or whose life and activities are jeopardized,
- dissemination of juridical knowledge/information concerning mass media activities (including the legislative experience) of developed countries and
- organization of horizontal networks of information dissemination in Russia through independent TV and radio stations in Russian provincial cities

Through the Glasnost Defense Foundation FTUI has provided computers to each of the selected stations. This network allows the stations and program directors to share information on free trade union activity in the industrial areas without being dependent on Moscow to disseminate the information.

The value of news programs which highlight successes of free trade unions counters the sense of isolation expressed by many free trade union members. The radio broadcasts also suggest community support and activities for expanding free trade union successes.

The Moscow Foundation was registered at the Russian Federation Ministry of Justice in April 1993. Initial activity to get registered as a Russian organization took several months and local legal expertise. The Moscow office of RAFTURE had to go through eight secondary inspections before it was finally allowed the necessary certification to begin operations. RAFTURE began its operations in mid-1993.

The Foundation established relationships with scholars from the largest academic centers in Moscow whose research focuses on the socioeconomic issues: the labor movement, trade unions, and the labor market. Relationships have been established with the Institute of International Economics, the International Relations division, and the Institute for Comparative Political Science, the Institute of Sociology, and the Institute on the Issues of Employment, all affiliated with the Russian Academy of Science.

In addition, the Foundation also contracts the services of various private consulting firms (such as the Experimental Center for Social and Economic Norm Systems "SECANS") and other independent experts cooperating with the free trade unions.

RAFTURE has a staff of 10 Russians including both men and women. There are four programmatic divisions, 3 under the direction of a Russian trained professional: education, public relations, research, and legal. An American full time education director is on loan to RAFTURE.

The FTUI/Moscow staff includes two full-time American professionals: a director and an assistant director, and two administrative/clerical support staff.

Working with RAFTURE and the Glasnost Defense Foundation has provided FTUI/Russia with a team of collaborators who know and understand the Russian culture and its organizational structure. Starting up these relationships has taken incredible time and patience but it has created a solid foundation for future work and an eventual fade out of FTUI participation.

### Central Asia

In late 1992 FTUI focused its activities on establishing a Kazakhstan Center for Democracy, Labor and Human Rights in Almaty. Space was located, legal documents were drawn up in consultation with local lawyers to register as a Kazakh organization and potential staff were being interviewed. An initial visit was made to the coal mining center of Karaganda which was a proposed site of a future Center office.

There is a Trade Union Law in Kazakhstan which requires NGOs to register with the government. FTUI was attempting to work with local representation to comply with this Requirement. The U.S. Embassy/USAID wanted them to work through the Embassy channels. Conflict over how FTUI should proceed with its programmatic activities resulted in a shutdown of all AID funded activity.

At this time FTUI programs in Kazakhstan are being funded by the NED.

### Ukraine

FTUI has had a presence in Ukraine for a year and a half, funded by the NED. This has enabled them to establish a small office, start a weekly newspaper, and began a limited program of activities. Program activity has included the development of a data base (in process) of free trade unionists and participation in training workshops and seminars.

As in Russia, FTUI's first efforts in Ukraine have been to identify free trade unionists, establish rapport with them and work with them to set priorities and provide support in fulfilling those objectives. This has necessitated much time outside of Kiev in the industrial centers. The focus is on creation of a Ukrainian licensed organization, election related activity and organizing seminars and technical assistance.

FTUI has just begun its AID-funded program in Ukraine. A quick start grant of \$122,863 was approved for pre-election activities in mid-November. This project is based on an unsolicited proposal for the Ukraine which included a Consultative Council, Research and Information Center, a voter information program and seminars in grassroots campaign training for democratic trade unions and other democratically inclined groups.

Because of the short time frame before the elections (27 March 1994), the director of the FTUI/Kiev office is focusing program activity on grassroots campaign training in areas where free trade unions are active. AID-funded support for the election includes three programmatic efforts: organizing and candidate training for the free trade unions, a series of voter education radio announcements sponsored by the free trade union movement and collaboration with NDI and IRI on the six TV debates.

The Consultative Council of Free Trade Unions of Ukraine serves as the RADA (board) of the VPU (Free Trade Unions of Ukraine -formerly the KSSPU) which will support the Information Center's activities. The Consultative Council of Free Trade Unions includes representatives from the four original member Unions (representing miners, railway engineers, airline pilots and crews and airline mechanics). Other members include the seaport workers in Iljichevsk, the Solidarity Trade Union of Ukraine (comprised of workers in the medical profession and some light industry and military industrial workers) and some locals of VOST. A possible new member is the Federation of Seaworker Trade Unions. Because the Institute has not been funded, the VPU has received support from FTUI. The relationship between FTUI and the VPU is only one component of FTUI support for free trade unions in Ukraine. The institute also hopes to support enterprise groups with the development of democratic union organizations.

The current chair of VPU is Alexander Mrii, Chair of the Independent Miners Union. One issue to be resolved is the desire of VPU to receive support from the AFL-CIO directly to the VPU, rather than through the Institute. FTUI Kiev is trying to achieve a balance between direct support to the VPU, which needs to become a self-sustaining organization, and support for the FTUI-funded Institute, which will provide support services to VPU and other local democratic trade unions. Ideally, support for the VPU will come primarily through the Institute (if approved) with some direct support to VPU programs.

Efforts to establish the Consultative Council Research and Information Center (the Institute) in Kiev will be resumed after the elections. AID funds have been used to support the VPU. Pending approval of funding for 1994-96, FTUI would provide support services to the VPU and other democratic trade unions through the Institute. The program will focus on developing more free trade unions, especially providing organizational and informational services.

The FTUI office in Ukraine consists of one American director (Mark Tarnawsky) and four Ukrainian support staff (an executive assistant, two clerical workers, one computer/technician).

The FTUI/Kiev office has maximized its limited resources by collaborating with other American NGOs in Ukraine. There is a high degree of cooperation between NDI, IRI and FTUI--best exemplified by the joint training seminar held in the Fall of 1993 and the television debates on critical issues being developed for the elections.

Through the efforts of Mark Tarnawsky, Ukrainian free trade unionists were included in a conference on trade unionism originally targeted at official trade unions sponsored by German labor unions. As a result of their presence at the conference, Ukrainian free trade unions now maintain contact with the Freidreich Ebert Stiftung.

## **B Outputs**

### Russian Federation

RAFTURE has been very aggressive in its programmatic activities. Their outreach to the free trade unions of Russia has resulted in frequent interaction with the Foundation and requests for assistance are increasing. The success of the early organizing training programs has given the

leadership of the free trade unions a sense of the resources available from RAFTURE and one of the Foundation's predicaments is figuring out how to channel their limited resources for future maximum impact. The Russian program is carried out by four departments at RAFTURE: education, public relations, research and legal assistance.

The education/organizing programs are under the direction of an American labor organizer. George Boyle was the first education director. Under his direction, twelve training programs were conducted for leaders, members, interns, organizers, and trainers involving 269 participants.

**Table 1 Training Programs**

UNION	LOCATION	NUMBER
Independent Miners	Leninsk-Kuznetsky	50
Organizers Seminar	Saltikovka	27
Leaders (various)	Vilnius	40
Leaders (various)	Bratsk	11
Independent Miners	Saltikovka	75
SOTSPROF	Moscow	23
Miners/Organizers	Moscow	4
Miners/Organizers	Moscow	4
SOTSPROF	Moscow	2
SOTSPROF	Moscow	2
Train-the-trainers	Saltikovka	19
Independent Miners	Saltikovka	12
		269

He was responsible for developing the curriculum for the following two training programs:

- **Basic Organizing Manual**

For interns, organizers and leaders, 120 pages of classroom materials were generated and used in notebooks and exercises. These were translated into Russian, reproduced in Cyrillic and are filed at the RAFTURE office for future use.

- **Train-the-Trainer Manual**

A 26-page notebook for Train-the-Trainer programs has been reproduced in English and Russian and is also on file in the RAFTURE office. All of the original sessions of the

first organizers seminar were videotaped. However they were lost in the plundering of the Independent Miners Union office in the White House during the events of last 2-4 October 1993

George Bove was on a one-year assignment and has returned to the states. A new director is expected shortly and programming will resume once she arrives.

Public relations are a continuing part of the research and education activities of the Consultative Council. The main goal of the public relations work is to increase the understanding of the objectives of the independent trade unions, their programs and the reasons for their actions. The public relations department is under the direction of two Russians, Yakov Berger and Svetlana Klimova. They are both professionals with excellent credentials.

- Information distribution

RAFTURE has arranged numerous activities within recent months: press conferences, regular press releases, the distribution of fliers, and the release of informational brochures on independent trade unions. They were very aggressive prior to the elections and circulated several brochures outlining issues that should be important to workers as they decided how to vote.

- Press/Media Liaison

RAFTURE has identified major newspapers and correspondents (journalists) who are interested in stories about the free trade unions and the challenges they face. They are encouraging these journalists to write their stories to include the perspective of the workers.

In the past few months RAFTURE has had some success in establishing themselves as a factual information source for the major Moscow papers. They are developing a network of journalists. A questionnaire was sent to 100 journalists to recruit them to act as conveyors of information. 40 responded and 20 were recruited to perform this networking task. The goal is to create a link between cities outside of Moscow and to bring that information to all free trade unions across Russia.

- Technical Assistance

RAFTURE is working with labor unions to help them present their stories to the Russian people and to communicate their position to the press.

- In July and August 1993, when the workers of the Moscow Metro Underground threatened to call a strike, the press was very negative and mass media accused the trade unions of selfishness, especially Sotsprof, the independent trade union representing metro workers.

- Recently eminent intellectuals, scholars, human rights activists, and government officials signed a letter calling for the resolution of the labor conflict between the government and the miners. After the letter was issued and printed in newspapers, a peaceful settlement was reached.
- RAFTURE worked with the electric transport trade union in Moscow when workers threaten to strike because of long work schedules. They publicized their concerns to local press, handed out fliers to passengers on the electric cars, and brought public pressure to bear. The strike was averted.
- At the #1 watch factory in Moscow, workers were supported in developing fliers to explain their cause to co-workers, and RAFTURE helped them get on the radio. They were successful in their contract negotiations, and they have just elected a new director for the watch factory. The factory is on the verge of bankruptcy, and RAFTURE researchers are trying to chronicle this type of activity and its impact on workers.

This change in the attitude of the mass media should not be deemed permanent and irreversible. Although advances have been made, the relationship between the free trade unions and the mass media needs to be constantly nourished and monitored.

The Research division has been responsible for

- Publications

During the last half of 1993, RAFTURE published several books and articles on labor-related issues. The following books were published by the foundation:

*A Survey of the Labor Movement in Post-Soviet Russia*  
*The Independent Trade Unions of Russia*  
*Miners 92: The Social Awareness of Workers Activities*  
*The New Social Movements in Russia*

Five hundred copies of the books were distributed to union leaders, journalists, elected officials, and members of the intelligentsia. Fifteen hundred copies of the book on the miners movement (*Miners 92*) were distributed to a much wider list.

- Quarterly Newsletter

In addition to recent book publications, the Foundation has also begun publishing a quarterly bulletin titled *The New Workers Movement in Russia*. The first issue went to print in January and was released to potential and current trade unionists. The bulletin includes a number of articles summarizing the research conducted under the auspices of RAFTURE, as well as numerous informative materials and analytical surveys.

The Foundation is conducting general legal research and consultative services to the free trade unions. This includes support on basic legal redress for workers grievances (salary discrimination, housing, pension disputes, etc.)

- In Yekaterinberg, there was great jubilation around a recent court decision fining the police association 5 million rubles in the wrongful dismissal suit of an officer who had traveled without pay to a free trade union conference out of the country.

The Foundation is also working with the government on the development of a social service net legislation which will be the general plan for reform of the social security fund program in Russia. There is considerable disagreement between the traditional trade unions, the new free trade unions, and the government over an equitable way to disburse these funds. The Foundation is drafting basic principles to govern the use of social security funds, focusing especially on temporary workplace disability and other basic needs of the free trade union members. They plan to hold conferences to exchange information and opinions about the various drafts of this legislation and to work with the free trade unions to fight for inclusion of their provisions within the legislation.

The Glasnost Defense Foundation has instituted an Independent Radio Project for Russian Workers (5 plus 1) broadcast by stations in five cities: Nizhny Novgorod, Kemerovo, Yekaterinburg, Izhevsk, and Echo Moscow (funded by AID) and the Kazakh city of Karaganda funded by the NED. This project began with a feasibility study, a sociological survey, and a four-day conference in Moscow for broadcasters, radio specialists, and union representatives.

The Experts Council convened in December 1993 to review and revise test programs developed by each of the five stations. The programs, which included socio-political topics of interest and practical information on trade unions, were reviewed by union members and journalists.

The half-hour shows are broadcast twice a week on Wednesday and Saturday. Each program includes ten minutes of national news about free trade unions, the movement and/or labor-related activities, ten minutes of local news, and ten minutes of information from the other regional stations. Broadcast began at the end of January.

The key to the success of this project is the computer network between the five stations and Moscow for the sharing of free trade union and other current event information.

### Central Asia

There are no program outputs to date in Kazakhstan because FTUI ceased its operations as the result of a dispute with the USAID mission over management issues.

### Ukraine

The Ukraine program includes organizing seminars, voter education and election-related activities, and candidate training and technical assistance.

The first training under the AID-funded program was underway during the evaluation team's visit to Ukraine. Mark Tarnawsky, Dan Curtin, Director of the California State Council of Carpenters, and Joe Koehan (NDI Moscow) conducted grassroots organizing seminars for democratic trade unions and held specialized presentations and technical consultations/media training programs in six cities attended by 730 participants.

**Table 2**

UNION	LOCATION	PARTICIPANTS
Various Unions	Kiev	10
Railroad Depot Workers	Kremenchuk	100
Railroad Depot Workers-Training		13
Mine Workers	Krasnogarmijsk	30
Mine Workers-Training		12
Railroad Depot Workers	Kozhatin	125
Railroad Depot Workers-Training		10
Telephone Workers	Volochivsk	25
Metal Fabrication		50
Sewing Factory		150
Light Industry Plant		100
Port Workers	Ilyichivsk	85
Port Workers-Training	Ilyichivsk	10
		730

The initial meetings were focused on encouraging voter participation and informing the public about becoming active in the campaign. The FTUI team fielded questions about campaign election procedures and politics in the U.S.

These meetings included the distribution of the latest edition of the newsletter *MIST*, Ukraine's only independent weekly newspaper, and were characterized by animated discussions and lots of questions about life for workers in America. The FTUI team conducted specialized training sessions for democratic candidates and their campaign managers. The smaller follow-up meetings focusing on campaign strategies for the March elections and video training to assist candidates with message development. Trade union leaders also raised their need for communication equipment: duplication machines, fax machines, and other duplicating equipment. They expressed frustrations with local printers who do not always honor the deadline commitments they make.

A series of nine radio spots has been developed to encourage voter participation in the elections. The messages focus on the right of citizens in a democratic society to choose their leaders and on their obligation to participate in the political process. The radio spots are also designed to give name recognition to the free trade unions.

FTUI is also helping fund and develop six debates in conjunction with other American NGOs and foreign foundations including the Westminster Foundation, the Dutch Embassy, and the National Endowment for Democracy. The format is being developed in conjunction with the Center for Political Studies and will be shown on UT-1, the principal Ukrainian government channel which reaches over 90% of the Ukrainian public. Each debate will be one half hour in length and focus on a single issue affecting the Ukrainian worker: crime, taxation, economic reform, workers rights, ecology, and privatization.

The topics were selected by an advisory committee which will also help select the actual debaters (political candidates in the upcoming elections are excluded). The questions will come from on-the-street interviews with Ukrainians conducted prior to the broadcast, and reviewed by the Advisory Committee.

At the time of the evaluation, 10 candidates from the free trade union movement have been identified. They represent a cross-section of the existing free trade unions: three from the machinists union, three to four from the miners union, one from the port workers union, and two from the pilots association. The solidarity trade unions have announced that they have 36 candidates, but it is unclear how many of these are viable candidates. At the time of the field visit, signatures were still being reviewed and those who had signed candidate forms reported being questioned about their support for these candidates.

## **C Impact**

FTUI's work in the countries visited has made a demonstrable positive impact on the clients they have served. Quantifiable and qualitative changes were noted in the operations of the free trade unions which they have assisted. The degree of impact varied, depending on external forces (political, legal, and other barriers).

In the overwhelming number of cases, FTUI has served to inspire and empower workers to take on incredible challenges on behalf of their co-workers and the free trade union movement. Nevertheless, it is important to note that tremendous social change must occur before privatization is successful in Russia and the workers are assimilated into a free trade economy. The challenges confronting the free trade union movement will be substantial, and these efforts, by definition, will have to be initiated by the workers of the NIS.

FTUI's work is focused on creating a new vocabulary and understanding of what "free trade unions" can mean for the worker as separate and distinct from what the traditional trade unions have provided. They have also been instrumental in creating relationships where none have existed: between industrial centers in Russia, between the intelligentsia and the worker, between Russians and Americans, and among different categories of workers and enterprises.

## Russian Federation

The FTUI program has provided the Russian free trade union movement with additional organizing skills and tactics for pressing for workers' rights. In addition to strikes (which were their only recourse), free trade unionists are now using the court of public opinion, the legal system, mass media, and precedent (to the extent allowed) to argue for their rights. There is room for expanded effort here under the rule of law project.

The collaboration of Russians and Americans in the development of the FTUI programs is reaping benefits at the staff level and in program development with both RAFTURE and the radio project. The collaboration between FTUI and the foundations is readily reflected to workers who come to the Foundation seeking advice and support. It is a tangible reflection of the type of work relationships FTUI seeks to foster.

The Russian staff have maximized their familiarity with Russian institutions and Russian individuals to effectively target their program and activities. They have a high regard for their American colleagues and seem to work in an environment of mutual respect and shared values and commitments.

Imitation is the sincerest form of flattery. In recent strike activity and other interactions with workers, free trade unionists report that the official trade unions are beginning to mirror their behaviors. This includes using the same language and framing issues in the same way as the free trade unionists. This is a mixed blessing as the traditional unions are constantly trying to undermine the efforts of the free trade unionists and they have succeeded in creating confusion about the goals and programs of the free trade unions. Unfortunately, they have much greater resources at their disposal and threats to free trade union staff are not uncommon.

The Moscow press is beginning to regard RAFTURE as a source of factual information representing the workers' perspective. Requests for information about the free trade union movement and union activity outside of Moscow is on the rise. RAFTURE has developed a network of correspondents to gather and disseminate information to newspapers about workers' activities.

Aleksey Simonev, Chair of the Glasnost Defense Foundation, told the evaluators that it is his hope to provide a polygon (model) of the new social partnership between workers and management. Russians and Americans through the work that FTUI is doing. This would include toppling the pyramid of information filtering that currently is dominated by Moscow. He envisions a horizontal implementation to create a network of information via radio and e-mail across regions into five main industrial cities of Russia. The 5+1 project is a significant first step.

The most unexpected success for FTUI in Russia has been the interest in using the courts to press for workers' rights. In Yekaterinberg, the court victory of the policeman was only one example of how a court case can be used to demonstrate the rights of workers to just compensation in the work place, for housing, and other basic services. The sense of empowerment which comes from having the court system rule in favor of a worker cannot be adequately conveyed in this report.

## Central Asia

Because FTUI has withdrawn from Kazakhstan there is no observable impact of its program there

## Ukraine

The AID-funded FTUI program in the Ukraine has been in operation barely a month. It is clear that the AID funded project will benefit from the operation and contacts FTUI has developed with its NED funding

FTUI has defined election related activities that can be clearly assessed after the election. The impact of the debate program is supposed to be tested via focus group research. The radio ad campaign can also be evaluated based on the amount of programming and some independent evaluation of impact on the targeted listeners. They are also conducting basic voter education efforts such as grassroots campaigning and get out the vote fliers to encourage Ukrainian workers to vote for candidates who will represent them and their concerns in the Parliament

Despite the formation of the VPU as a central democratic trade union organization the social and political climate for the free trade unions in Ukraine seems much more tentative and in an earlier stage of development than in Russia. Trade unions are beginning to organize on a local level, but communication links are still not strong between the various free trade unions and communication between Kiev and the outlying areas is difficult

The need for communication between Kiev and the local unions was clearly demonstrated at the training in Iljichevsk. Two trade union candidates had been identified to run in a single district, a port worker had declared his candidacy and a free trade worker from Kiev who had filed as a candidate in this same district. During the presentation by Dan Curtin and Mark Tarnawsky, it became clear to the workers that they could support their union candidate or the free trade union candidate from Kiev but that they could not support both

Dan Curtin illustrated this point with his hand, saying that the union members could stand separate (like the five fingers on his hand) and support free trade unionists or they could unite behind a single candidate (he formed a fist with his hand) and have even more power. One of the men took the analogy even further and said "but first we must link together" (Kiev and Iljichevsk) and he joined his two hands together to represent the strength of 10. The training helped the local unionists identify the problem -- the existence of two candidates in a single district -- and underscored the importance of worker unity behind a single candidate

The FTUI programs in Russia and Ukraine have been successful in part because of their underlying assumptions about starting these projects

1. NIS-American partnership with full reliance on the expertise of the NIS staff to know what will work best in their country

- 2 Use of senior staff trained organizers who are trail blazers and willing to go to the far reaches of the country where the free trade union members actually work
- 3 The basic tools of communication such as the newsletter have created a network that keeps bringing the free trade unionists together even though they have no historical relationships
- 4 Training technical assistance and other support that responds to the requests for assistance from the workers and the leadership of the free trade unions
- 5 A basic commitment to empowering the workers to have control over their own lives and working conditions which is clearly conveyed to those who come in contact with FTUI

#### **D Grantee Future Directions**

In Russia the RAFTURE staff are inspired by their successes to date and have ambitious plans for the future. They want to train Russians to co-facilitate the education and training programs. They feel this will enhance the credibility of their training and expand their training capacity. Trainers who have participated in the early training sessions report that response to their programs and the FTUI materials has been well received. They report that people want more training and more opportunities to talk about new tactics for union members. There is also a desire to hold round table conferences where union leaders from various unions could come together to compare experiences and develop strategies for cooperation.

In Ukraine for all intents and purposes the Institute is on hold until after the elections. There has also been no movement to establish the regional offices in Nikolayev, Ternopil, or L'viv. It is clear that the concept for this program belongs to FTUI-Washington and is based on the Russia model. It has not been totally embraced by the FTUI/Kiev Director, primarily because time and staff limitations have prevented such a focus, and because funding by AID has not been approved.

The FTUI Director in Kiev wants to develop a program to provide support for free trade unions to press for contract enforcement especially inspections for enforcement of health and safety standards and salary standards (general tariff agreement, ministry agreements by industry, enterprise agreements). This would be assisted by Ukrainian labor attorneys but organizers may also be appropriate to help bring the bureaucracy into the project, streamline, and codify the rules and then work on enforcement.

The greatest need in both Ukraine and Russia is for communication equipment. The various unions are not connected via computers or faxes. They have no access to printing presses directly and political pressures often keep their materials from being produced in time for deadlines.

The Washington office has just contracted with a part-time researcher to provide back-up support to the Education Director in Russia. This consultant will be able to identify appropriate training

materials and case studies to supplement the training materials currently being used in Russia  
These materials could also be translated into Ukrainian

## 4 MANAGEMENT

### A Grant Management

#### Management by FTUI

FTUI made some initial assumptions before developing programs in the NIS to form NIS-American partnerships to create organizations that complied with the host nation standards and to work where the workers work. These assumptions raised early concerns that FTUI was slow to start and have created different tensions between USAID, the various U S embassies and FTUI at different times throughout the grant relationship.

These tensions have resulted in FTUI converting its program in Kazakhstan to a NED-funded effort. Furthermore, FTUI program activity in Russia and Ukraine has not been visible to the USAID Mission staff.

These programs have also been very relationship driven and reporting and standard operational procedures have not been emphasized as strongly as the need for program. Reports documenting the level of activity have been brief and failed to convey the work actually being done. FTUI Washington is aware of the need for better reporting. A number of staff changes are currently underway including a reallocation of the assistant project director in Russia, additional staff support in Washington and possible additional staff for the Ukraine project.

There is an interesting managerial dynamic that has characterized FTUI programs in both Russian and Ukraine. By definition, these start-up programs were dependent on the personal charismatic power of the initial director who went to the unions and developed a trust and rapport with the workers. As Tom Bradlev defined it, "I've nurtured this tree. I know every branch, twig and leaf and why some parts are so much healthier than others."

As these programs mature, the charismatic administrator needs additional staff support to assist with project management and program development and implementation. During this transition to a second generation of project staff, care must be taken to retain the contacts and loyalties developed by the initial director.

#### Management by AID

FTUI had a presence in Russia prior to the approval of its AID grant, but AID funding was crucial to the expansion of its program activity. The flow of funding has not been smooth. There was a 4 month delay on the reprogramming of funds for the Russian workers radio project. Although the reprogramming was approved in concept in the Spring of 1992, it was not approved until the next funding cycle, even though the funds were already allocated to FTUI. This delay forced FTUI to use NED funds to ensure that commitments made to the targeted radio stations could be honored in a timely fashion.

USAID staff seemed to be less familiar with the FTUI programs in Ukraine and Russia than they were with the program activities of the other NGO grantees. This appears to be based in part on the lack of comprehensive reporting by FTUI and also because these programs have been conducted outside of the capitol area.

USAID and the Embassy in Kazakhstan were critical of FTUI's insensitivity in choosing to work with the coal miners (because of the broader political and ethnic concerns) and concerns about personnel and staffing recruitment issues. FTUI in turn has complained about what it perceives as micro-management by the U.S. Embassy and AID in its start-up efforts in Kazakhstan. Specifically, concerns were raised about U.S. Embassy criticism of FTUI's attempt to work with local counsel to get registered in the country instead of working its registration through the Embassy, interference in hiring local staff to support the program, and criticisms of the union groups identified by FTUI as its target unions for program support. FTUI decided to discontinue its AID-funded project in Kazakhstan, although it continues to work there with NED funding.

## **B Organizational and Institutional Factors**

There is concern that FTUI is working with too narrow a segment of unions (only 500,000 to 1 million workers in Russia and the Ukraine). The mandate of the AFL-CIO and FTUI clearly charges them to work only with free trade unions, but the evaluators would also argue that the December 1991 policy paper targeted democratic systems [which] are characterized by meaningful political participation and peaceful competition, protection of basic human rights, lawful governance, and strong democratic values. Only the free trade unions would seem to meet this criteria.

In a 26 September 1993 memo to a USAID official in Kiev, Mark Tarnawsky wrote:

It is important to note that while the democratic trade union movement remains small in relation to the size of the Ukrainian work force, it is the only democratic, grass roots representative of workers on the scene. The Federation of Ukrainian Trade Unions (FPU) or the "official" union is more akin to a government agency that distributes social benefits and conducts labor relations on behalf of the government, which remains the employer of the vast majority of Ukrainians. The FPU and a number of other "official" unions are top-down organizations in which membership was and continues to be automatic, dues are automatically deducted from one's pay, and the individual member is deprived of real control over the organization by various devices, not the least of which is the inclusion of all of management in the organization.

The democratic trade unions, by contrast, are true grass roots organizations run by and responsible to their members. This can be demonstrated simply by comparing the effectiveness of strike calls issued by the two groups. The FPU has called for work stoppages on a number of occasions, but were unable to get the workers to go along unless management cooperated. On the other hand, the Consultative Council of Free Trade Unions of Ukraine was able to stage a crippling strike in September 1992 and win immediate recognition by the government, which resulted in collective bargaining agreements. The explanation for this lies in the fact that the "official union" calls on its

members to strike while the members of the democratic unions vote whether to strike or not

While it may be argued that additional outreach to the traditional unions needs to occur as a supplement to the work being done by FTUI it would undermine the effectiveness of the work done to date and cloud the mandate of this particular grantee to ask them to refocus their scope of work

## 5 CONCLUSIONS

- 1 FTUI activities have effectively promoted the development of free trade unions in two of the three regions visited by the evaluation team. Programs have been implemented which have helped workers understand the role of free trade unions and which have given them expanded organizing skills to advance the development of free trade unions. With many beneficiaries it is possible to see the impact of these programs in restructured organizations: successful contract negotiations and plans for expanded levels of activity. With other beneficiaries quantification is more difficult. This is often the case where AID projects are providing assistance early in the process of transformation or privatization.
- 2 The evaluation team was impressed with the quality of both contacts and programs developed by FTUI, despite the challenges inherent in developing programs to reach workers in isolated parts of countries without communication infrastructures. In fact increased understanding of the economic, political, and social environments of the three countries facilitated by NIS staff support has made FTUI management of its programs more effective. This point should be emphasized. In Russia and Ukraine the initial focus on creating a native organization with nascent staff allowed FTUI to develop an in-depth understanding of the political constraints and opportunities within the enterprise system. FTUI was able to better target its projects on clients with both the willingness and the ability to implement recommendations.
- 3 FTUI staff are of a high calibre, demonstrating both technical competence and professional commitment. Beneficiaries constantly remarked on how much they have enjoyed working with the staff and the value of the insights into Western business practices and free trade union culture.
- 4 FTUI has good educational programs, but the management systems to support these programs is uneven. Training programs are often spontaneous, not always supported with educational materials, and follow-up is inconsistent. This seems to be a common occurrence early in the relationship between FTUI and a union. Once there is a clearer understanding of the role FTUI can play, the unions seem to do a better job of defining their needs, making sure the right people attend the training and requesting appropriate follow-up.
- 5 FTUI's work has frequently served to stimulate benefits beyond the level of the initial organizing or educational sessions. In many cases this has involved the free trade unions working with other union groups who have problems similar to that of the beneficiary. The train-the-trainer programs are stimulating follow-up training after the FTUI trainers have left the area. FTUI has helped facilitate these exchanges by bringing journalists, radio station owners, intelligentsia, and others together with free trade unionists to discuss issues of common concern.

- 6 The FTUI radio project for Russian workers has established a network linking five major industrial centers with each other. This has resulted in a broader availability of information on the activities of free trade unionists and an expanding public awareness of the role that the free trade unions can play on behalf of workers.
- 7 FTUI has good working relationships with the other American NGOs and its European counterparts. Efforts are routinely made to share information, contacts, and resources. Coordination of program schedules and access to American consultants is encouraged.
- 8 The FTUI program is expanding very rapidly. This expansion has not resulted in a reduction of project quality. However, growth has put high demands on staff in the field, expatriate as well as local. FTUI is addressing these issues and developing mechanisms for managing the increased level of programmatic activity.

## 6 RECOMMENDATIONS

- 1 The free trade unions will perform a critical role in the economic restructuring in these countries. This grantee has identified the free trade union leaders and developed programs which are having an impact on the development of a free trade union movement in these countries. The grantee should be allowed to function within this framework and should be encouraged to expand its scope of work within the NIS.
- 2 The FTUI model of a native foundation with local staff seems to have allowed it to quickly integrate its program into the fabric of the host country. This model represents solid institutional development and sustainability. It should be reviewed for possible application by other grantees.
- 3 The system for monitoring projects and reporting on program activity is inadequate. Staff efforts are focused on program implementation, and project reporting takes a back seat to this activity. Mechanisms need to be developed to better track the programs and other outputs of the FTUI program and to report those findings to FTUI/Washington, USAID and others of the work being done in the field and its impact on the beneficiaries.
- 4 AID needs to devise a reporting format and set standards for the adequate monitoring of its projects. There is a feeling that the reports as presently submitted are not widely circulated or read by AID personnel. The current quarterly report mechanism does not reflect current program activities and combines information updating program activity with the information needed for management decision making.

## APPENDIX A LIST OF PEOPLE INTERVIEWED

### FREE TRADE UNION INSTITUTE

#### United States

##### Washington, DC

AID/EUR/NIS/DIHR

Geraldine Donnelly Director  
Mary Ann Riegelman Deputy Director  
Paul Holmes Adviser  
Ilona Countryman Project Officer  
Kris Loken Project Officer

AID/EUR/NIS/PAC

Carlos Pascual Director  
Jeff Evans, Evaluation Officer  
Paul Ashin Social Science Analyst  
Annette Tuebner  
Julie Allaire McDonald

Larry Garber

POL/CDIE/E

Garv Hansen  
Harry W Blair

Department of State

Rosemary A DiCarlo, Director, Democratic Initiatives for the NIS

FTUI

Richard C Wilson	Director of Program and Policy for Central and Eastern Europe
Dan Rosenblum	Program coordinator for the FSU
Ellen Hamilton	Program Officer
Catherine Cosman	Special Representative
Christine M Sadowski	Director of Special Projects

Tom Bradley	FTUI Moscow Director
Debbie Bradley	Bookkeeper
Irene Stevenson	Program Director

Aleksev Simonov	Chair Glasnost Defense Foundation
Mark Tarnawskv	FTUI Kiev Director
Yulya Yaroteeva	Administrative Assistant FTUI
Dan Curtin	Director California State Council of Carpenters
Dmitri Konovalov	Journalist producer of radio advertisements

RAFTURE (Russian-American Foundation for Trade Union Research and Education)

Grigory Parshakov	Manager
Yakov Berger	Director of Public Relations
Ludmilla Alexeeva	Senior Adviser
Leonid GORDON	Senior Adviser
Svetlana KLIMOVA	Assistant (Education division)
Pavel KUDIUKIN	Director of Research
Igor RAKHMILOV	Attorney, consultant on legal casework
Lina MARKOVA	Accountant
Sasha SEGIOZHNIKOV	Education division
Anna SHAPOVALOVA	Interpreter (Education division)

BENEFICIARIES

**Russian Federation**

**Moscow**

**USAID**

James Norris, Mission Director  
 Robert V Burke Deputy Mission Director  
 Allen Reed Program Officer  
 Jeanne Bourgault Program Officer  
 Anne Nesterczuk

**US Embassy**

Thomas C Niblock, Jr , First Secretary, Political Section

Alla IVANOVA	Union leader, Ist Clock assembly plant
Nadezhda KUZNETSOVA	Local group leader, Ist Clock assembly plant
Victor PAPIN	Member, Union of Engineers and Technicians, Ist Clock assembly plant

**Yekaterinburg**

Sergei BELAEV	Vice President, Urals Trade Union Center
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Marina CHERNYKH	Attorney, Urals Trade Union Center
Tatiana ANISIMOVA	Studia Gorod Radio Program 5 plus 1
Sergei SOLOVIOV	Studia Gorod (Moscow)
Sergei OCHINIAN	Studia Gorod
Valeri Ivanovich IMOZENTSEV	Union of Police Officers
Vasiliv GROSHOV	Vice Chairman, Mining & Metallurgical Trade Union
Sergei PETUKHOV	Chairman, Optical Workers Trade Union
Vvacheslav SHALAEV	Co-Chairman, Repair Workers Trade Union Ural-mash
Zinaida GORDEEVA	Chairman Urban Electric Transport Trade Union
Tatvana GERASIMCHAK	Co-chairman Education Workers Trade Union
Vladimir NEVYANTSEV	President Urals Trade Union Center
Grant DZHEVADOVICH	Chairman, Utility Trade Union
Victor KISLYTSYN	Chair, Electrochemical Plant, Sverdlovsk-44
George ZAITSEV	Ural State University

### Beneficiaries

Alexei S KOROTAEV, Director of Research, Memorial Human Rights Society

Elena V KOTCHKINA Center for Gender Studies Russian Academy of Sciences

Dmitrii LEONOV, Memorial Human Rights Society

Marina MALISHEVA Center for Gender Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences

Sergey MARGARIL, Policy Council, Democratic Party of Russia

Sergei MARKOV, Moscow State University

Georgy A SATAROV Director, Center for Applied Political Problems, INDEM

Mikhail SCHNEIDER Executive Secretary of the Coordination Council, Democratic Russia Movement

Alexander SHILOV, Executive Secretary of the International Committee, Social Democratic Party

Dmitrii ZHUKOV, Center for Municipal Law

### KIEV

Anatoliy BARANOVSKY	Chair, Port Workers Free Trade Union, candidate
Anatoliy BOYCHUK	Port Workers Free Trade Union
Ivan E SHUBODEROV	Head of the Port Fleet, Port of Iljichevsk

Kazakhstan

**Almaty**

US Mission

William H Courtney, Ambassador  
Jackson McDonald Deputy Chief of Mission  
Richard O Lankford Public Affairs Officer, US Embassy  
Charles G Buck Director USAID  
Patricia Buckles Deputy Director USAID  
Paula Feenev, General Development Officer, USAID  
Jonathan Addleton, Program Officer, USAID

IFES

Catharine Barnes Project Manager  
Linda Edgeworth, IFES Consultant, Almaty

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expenditures undertaken pursuant to Grant No CCS-0007-G-00-2075, Second Quarter of 1993

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survey

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Article, Social Security Funds

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sample press releases and flyers/newsletters on the averted metro rail workers strike and the elections at 1 watch assembly plant in Moscow

"The Independent Trade Unions in Russia"

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"The New Social Movements in Russia"

**APPENDIX C FTUI LOGICAL FRAMEWORK FOR DPI PROJECT**

<b>NARRATIVE SUMMARY</b>	<b>OBJECTIVELY VERIFIABLE INDICATORS</b>	<b>MEANS OF VERIFICATION</b>	<b>IMPORTANT ASSUMPTIONS</b>
<b>PROGRAM GOAL</b> To create democratic free trade unions in the NIS	Free trade unions are formed and work effectively to achieve rights for workers during the transition to democratic systems and a free market economy	Staff visits to the field Review of project and progress reports Interviews with beneficiaries Evaluation findings	1 The movement must be composed and led only by free trade unions in the Ukraine  2 Internal political environment will allow free trade unions to exist and function  3 Critical work must be done with the free trade unions where they work (outside of the capitol)
<b>PROGRAM PURPOSE</b> To establish an institution to conduct research and education programs for the Ukrainian free trade movement	Free trade union organization record of labor and management interaction Published research reports Functioning education programs Operational budget with estimated sources of funding Roster of nascent staff	Same as above	That assisted organizations can properly utilize FTUI support
<b>OUTPUTS</b> An established location for the Center, fully staffed and equipped  trained trainers trained researchers training materials	Project manager has worked closely with free trade unions to provide legal and technical assistance, public awareness of free trade unions has increased a network of communications has been established	Same as above	
<b>INPUTS</b> a) consultants b) capital c) operational staff d) program direction			