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August 2, 1983

NOTICE OF MEETING

TO: See Distribution

FROM: AFR/PD, Norman Cohen ✓

SUBJECT: ECPR Meeting for African American Labor Center Proposal

August 10, 1983
2:00 P.M.
Room 2722A

AGENDA

Southern Africa Regional, African American Labor Center (690-0223)

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AFRICAN - AMERICAN LABOR CENTER

COUNTRY PROGRAM PORPOSAL

SOUTH AFRICA
(REVISION)

June 10, 1983

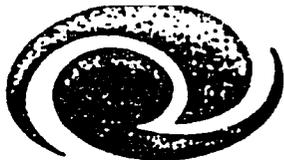
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COUNTRY PROGRAM PROPOSAL

SOUTH AFRICA

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**AFRICAN-AMERICAN LABOR CENTER
CENTRE AFRO-AMERICAIN DU TRAVAIL**

June 10, 1983

COUNTRY PROGRAM PROPOSAL

SOUTH AFRICA

(REVISION)

Purpose

The aim of this proposal is to help create a viable labor movement capable of competing effectively and able to sell its labor competitively in the market place. It is to help labor come to the negotiating table with competence and sufficient expertise to face management on an equal basis. It aims to help existing unions to strengthen their collective bargaining procedures and their grievance handling; to help emerging unions to strengthen their structures through accelerated trade union education, skills training, and the development of such social activities as will enhance the quality of life for black trade unionists and their families and through this development help bring about peaceful change in South Africa.

The ultimate goal of the AFL-CIO is to attempt to assist in the transformation of South African society through non-violent means, with organized

labor playing a key role, into a free, democratic and equal society of South Africans irrespective of race, color or creed.

Rationale

After decades of brutal suppression by the South African government, black trade unions are beginning to emerge as a potential force for peaceful change. Because of years of neglect and actual opposition from white trade unions, there is still a tremendous paucity in the fields of black education, training, skills and leadership. Trade union education, vocational training, training in cooperatives and credit unions have hardly been touched. Out of an active labor force of 8,000,000 blacks less than 4% are in organized labor. Faced with the challenge of overcoming this legacy of past neglect the leaders of emerging unions are seeking the assistance of the AFL-CIO/AALC to provide black workers with expertise and both human and financial resources in building a labor movement that can contribute to peaceful change and to the development of trade union and human rights and the strengthening of the principles of democratic trade unionism in South Africa.

The African-American Labor Center is committed to help and seeks to develop free, democratic and self sufficient trade unions. It will help train responsible and effective leadership that will enable labor to participate constructively in promoting and protecting the rights of the workers and ensuring an equitable place for them in society.

However, there are alarming reports predicting an escalating cycle of terror in South Africa. Repeated warnings have been heard that time is running out for peaceful change. The recent eruption of urban violence that left 17 people dead and over 200 wounded in Pretoria underscores this prediction.

It is against this background that we propose an accelerated program of assistance to black trade unions. The AFL-CIO sees the development of viable democratic black trade unions as one of the last alternatives to violent confrontation between the races in South Africa.

The degree of influence the black labor movement can bring to bear on developments in South Africa will depend on its degree of political and trade union sophistication and maturity and this will, in turn, depend on the extent of assistance, leadership training and credibility the movement can acquire and maintain. To compete with the seductive appeal of revolutionary rhetoric and the call to armed struggle will require positive action and concrete achievement from the labor movement. To produce an impact and to ensure that the concept of peaceful change has a real chance, assistance to black unions must be on a scale commensurate with the urgent needs and the challenge they face. The proposed budget of \$965,000.00 being \$90,000.00 for 1983 and \$875,000.00 for fiscal 1984 represents a viable and acceptable starting point for meaningful assistance given the gravity of the South African situation.

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Background

Long before it became the popular thing to do, the AFL-CIO was one of the few lone voices protesting the violation of human and trade union rights and supporting the struggle of the black workers for equality in South Africa.

Over the years various resolutions were passed by the AFL-CIO urging the UN and other international organizations to take action against the system of apartheid and the racism directed against the black workers in South Africa. Long before it came to pass, the AFL-CIO supported the full recognition of all bona-fide trade unions. It advocated the ending of all US-South Africa nuclear cooperation and the observance by the US of the 1963 United Nations Arms Embargo Resolution on South Africa and supported the Geneva Accord on Free International Travel, especially as it relates to blacks entering and leaving the Republic of South Africa. Among its early resolutions was one urging that aid and assistance should be provided to free trade union organizations in South Africa which are operating under repressive conditions.

During the years 1979 and 1980, the AFL-CIO through its institute, the AALC, brought out a total of 16 black trade unionists for training at the Cornell Labor College with funding from ICA. This experiment has received favorable comment from many quarters. The Rockefeller Commission, in its report "South Africa: Time Running Out", notes the work of the AALC and is very specific on the issue of trade union training: "The existing training programs for black South African

trade unionists should be expanded, and more U.S. government financial support should be given through U.S. unions and other private organizations to African multi-racial unions when this can be done without jeopardizing their status within South Africa.

The experiment has also revealed certain shortcomings, namely:

- (a) the prohibitively high cost of training in the U.S.
- (b) the need to keep trade unionists in training close to their home base.

In 1981, the AFL-CIO adopted a Program of Action in Support of Black Trade Unions in South Africa (Annex I). It has also set up a special labor fund and has urged its affiliates to contribute to this fund (Annex II). Following the adoption of this Program, the AFL-CIO entrusted the task of implementing the Program to its institute, the African-American Labor Center. A unit has already been established within the AALC for this purpose.

In the U.S., the unit has undertaken a massive campaign of disseminating information about South Africa to the American workers. It does this through:

- (a) the publication of a bi-monthly South Africa Labor News (Annex III).
- (b) an extensive program of education for trade unionists by means of films, lectures and workshops on South Africa.

In its continuing support of the black labor movement, the AFL-CIO Executive Council at its meeting in New York last August adopted a resolution to grant the George Meany Human Rights Award* jointly to the late Dr. Neil Aggett and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi (Annex IV).

An AFL-CIO delegation consisting of Vice-Presidents Sol C. Chaikin, President of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, and Frederick O'Neal, President of the Associated Actors and Artistes of America, Irving Brown, Director of the Department of International Affairs, and Patrick J. O'Farrell, Executive Director of the African-American Labor Center, went to South Africa for the express purpose of determining in what areas, and in what ways, the AFL-CIO could be of maximum effective assistance to the emerging black unions. The delegation met with a wide cross-section of South African society and solicited opinions on the current state of the black trade union movement and on the efficacy of past assistance to ascertain from the unions themselves the best way of helping them.

* The George Meany Human Rights Award was established by the AFL-CIO to honor the memory of its late President whose outstanding career spanned six decades devoted to improving the quality of life of working men and women of all races. The first George Meany Human Rights Award was presented to Solidarnosc in 1981.

A virulent attack was mounted by a small but vocal section of the English press against the delegation and the AFL-CIO. A dispassionate reading of the material reveals clearly that the attacks were ideologically motivated and the finger points at those who are opposed to the development of free democratic unions but committed to the establishment of an ideologically controlled society. In spite of this concerted attack, however, it was clear that as far as the black trade unionists were concerned, they welcomed the AFL-CIO presence and were eager to establish closer ties. Following the delegation's visit to South Africa, specific requests for assistance have been received from independent unaffiliated black unions. The AFL-CIO/AALC intends to respond to these requests on a direct bilateral basis.

The AFL-CIO is also actively supporting the program of assistance to the emerging black unions in South Africa coordinated by the Brussels based International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) to which it is affiliated. The ICFTU receives requests annually from black unions in South Africa and responds by allocating funds received from its affiliates. To date, the major contributors have been the Nordic trade unions with over \$1 million pledged by them this year alone. The British, Canadian and Dutch unions also participate in this program. The AFL-CIO has pledged \$90,000 through this multilateral program of assistance for 1983 and intends to play an increasing role in this program.

AALC Executive Director, Patrick J. O'Farrell represents the AFL-CIO on the South African Coordinating Committee which oversees the implementation of the ICFTU program.

The AFL-CIO has had very close working relations with certain American organizations both in the national and in the international fields. It has supported these organizations financially and has developed programs jointly with them in various fields. Among these organizations are:

- (a) The A. Philip Randolph Institute
 - in the field of civil rights and voter registration
- (b) The International Trade Secretariats*
 - in the area of trade union training overseas
- (c) The Labor Desk of the United States Youth Council
 - in the area of training and trade union youth leadership exchange visits

In the multi-faceted program that the AFL-CIO/AALC will be undertaking in South Africa it will be necessary to utilize to the full all the expertise

* A trade union secretariat is an international grouping of national unions engaged in the same area of economic activity, i.e., the United Steelworkers of America are affiliated to the International Metalworkers Federation, the International Ladies Garment Workers Union is affiliated to the International Textile, Leather and Garment Workers Secretariat, etc.

that is available to us and to coordinate the activities of each of these expert groups.

South Africa is an explosive area in which to venture. Official South Africa is touchy and resentful of what is perceived as outside interference. Black trade unions are often uncertain and suspicious of the attention focused on them by the outside world. The black labor movement has been thrust onto the world stage under an unrelenting spotlight and required to play a role for which it has neither adequate training nor resources. In the circumstances, it is necessary to move forward cautiously when entering this field. It is obvious, therefore, that for the American effort to have maximum effect, it must have one focus. Fragmentation would render it useless.

Description

The AFL-CIO/AALC program of assistance will be implemented on both a bilateral basis and a multilateral basis.

On a multilateral basis it will be channelled through the ICFTU so that we can fulfill our international commitment to assist black trade unions. Through the

ICFTU, to which the AFL-CIO is affiliated, we hope to exert enough pressure to bring about an improvement in the overall conditions of the black workers in South Africa and the full restoration of their human and trade union rights.

On a bilateral basis the AFL-CIO/AALC will give direct assistance to unions in South Africa including the still struggling unaffiliated unions. These independent unaffiliated unions are the backbone of the black labor movement. Often small, rarely able to afford a regular salary to even a minimal staff, never able to provide reasonable office space for their operations, they have survived police harassment, detentions and constant arrests.

Over the years the AFL-CIO has been concerned at the growing practice of the South African government to consign "troublesome" black workers to the so-called Homelands whenever they are involved in an industrial dispute. Since the 1979 Johannesburg Black Municipal Workers' strike, increasing numbers of black workers are being "endorsed" to the Homelands. These Homelands offer neither employment nor a livelihood. For the victims of this practice, it means, literally, the end of the road, since for them there is no chance of their ever getting permission to go find a job in the Republic of South Africa. The growing number of these unemployed workers together with a still larger number of migrant workers from Lesotho, Mozambique, Botswana, Malawi, Swaziland and Zimbabwe

constitute a challenge to those who wish to see an improvement in the conditions of the black workers in South Africa (figures of migrant workers - see Annex V).

The AALC intends to work with South African black unions and existing unions in Botswana or Lesotho and help them to set up training facilities for migrant workers. The intention will be to train and organize these migrant workers or at least introduce them to the elements of trade unionism before they are shipped to or recruited for the mines or for other forms of labor in South Africa. Because of the vital role that migrant labor plays in the lives of the peoples of Southern Africa and in both the economies of South Africa and in the various Southern Africa countries whose nationals provide labor for South Africa, a careful compilation of figures will be required. This compilation will constitute vital documentation that could support research into labor problems, the effect of migrant labor on unemployment among blacks, and the stability and development in the whole of that Southern region.

These and other bilateral programs may be implemented by affiliated AFL-CIO unions, the A. Philip Randolph Institute, the Labor Desk of the U.S. Youth Council or other AFL-CIO linked organizations.

Evaluation

The day-to-day operation of this program will be guided by an AALC staff representative based either in South Africa itself, or, if this should prove impossible or impractical, with a base in Botswana or Lesotho.

The programs, both multilateral and bilateral, will be subjected to the regular evaluation system which is followed by the AALC with respect to its basic grant from USAID. In addition, one or more special evaluation trips will be taken each year to South Africa by the AALC's Executive Director or his designated representative.

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BUDGET SUMMARY

<u>1983 Multilateral Assistance</u>		(\$000)
Urban Training Project	36.0	
FOSATU Advanced Seminars	27.0	
Training Courses for Mineworkers	<u>27.0</u>	
	90.0	90.0
<u>1984 Multilateral Assistance</u>		200.0
<u>1984 Bilateral Assistance</u>		
a) Support & Training for Independent Black Trade Unions		
Support	100.0	
Training	150.0	
b) Migrant Workers Training & Documentation	75.0	
c) Joint Projects	125.0	
d) Impact Projects	<u>50.0</u>	500.0
<u>Administration</u>		<u>175.0</u>
TOTAL		\$965.0 =====

1983 MULTILATERAL ASSISTANCE PROGRAM CONDUCTED IN CONJUNCTION WITH THE ICFTU

1. Urban Training Project (UTP)

The Urban Training Project serves as the educational arm of CUSA. In cooperation with the ICFTU, AALC proposes to assist in strengthening and enlarging the scope of this valuable program. Assistance to the UTP provides for the hiring of an additional staff instructor. This person will be responsible for conducting expanded UTP activities, also sponsored by funding in this budget. These include four leadership sessions and twenty weekend workshops. Outputs will be directly measured by monitoring the records kept on the number of seminars and participants.

Longer term objectives concerning improved leadership skills and greater membership participation will be more difficult to evaluate in quantifiable terms. A subjective statement based on an in-depth evaluation will be required to determine if the UTP training outputs have actually made a contribution in building a stronger more effective labor movement in South Africa. Before-and-after comparative analysis of individual participating unions will provide valuable data with which to complete such an evaluation.

OUTPUTS

OUTPUT QUANTITIES

UTP instructor (12 man months)

1

Leadership training

- seminars (two-week)

4

- cadres trained

100

Weekend workshops

- sessions held (two-day)

20

- participants trained

400

INPUTS

BUDGET (\$000)

One time costs

sub-total

0.0

0.0

Recurrent costs

- local hire (12 man months)

6.0

- local staff transportation

1.0

- training costs

22.2

- other (rent, supplies, etc.)

6.8

sub-total

36.0

Total (No. 1 Urban Training Project).....36.0

2. FOSATU Advanced Seminars

FOSATU is one of South Africa's largest black trade union federations. It has requested aid in providing advanced training for its cadres in collective bargaining techniques and occupational health and safety. AALC intends to provide this assistance in cooperation with the ICFTU.

Immediate outputs will be determined by consulting seminar records concerning the number of sessions and individual participants attending. U.S. consultants teaching at these sessions will provide information concerning the abilities of the FOSATU cadres participating in the courses as well as the effectiveness of the educational organization. The development of more extensive collective bargaining and occupational health and safety programs by the labor movement will be the obvious indicator of success or failure of this activity. Such an evaluation cannot be completed immediately as the capacity to expand in these areas will be developed slowly by FOSATU. An extended appraisal of increased union activity will be made for an 18 to 24 month period following completion of this cadre training.

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OUTPUTS

OUTPUT QUANTITIES

A. Training in Collective Bargaining Techniques

- seminars (two week) 4
- participants trained 40

B. Training in Occupational Health and Safety

- seminars (two-week) 2
- participants trained 30

INPUTS

BUDGET (\$000)

One time costs

- Consultants (fees, per diem, transport for two man months) 10.4

Sub-total

10.4

Recurrent costs

- local hire (instructors) 2.8
- local staff transport (instructors) .2
- training (participant per diem and transport) 10.4
- other (rent, supplies, etc.) 3.2

Sub-total

16.6

Total (No. 2. FOSATU Advanced Seminars).....27.0

20

3. Training Courses for the National Union of Mineworkers (CUSA Affiliate)

The National Union of Mineworkers, a CUSA affiliate, will also receive a training program as part of a larger package of assistance to its organizational efforts.

This union has been granted access by the mining companies and already claims a membership of more than 20,000. This is a significant development since, up to now, it has been impossible to organize mine workers because of the refusal of mining companies to allow organizers access to the miners in the mine compounds and hostels. An accelerated program of organizing is obviously a priority and the union will need a substantial number of trained organizers if they are to attempt a meaningful recruiting campaign.

New trade union organizers to be sponsored by the AFL-CIO project will be given a special seminar by UTP to prepare them for their new activities including the utilization of research materials in organizing. Such training is obviously essential in gaining the skills needed for their role in building the labor movement and dealing with management in this key industrial sector.

The evaluation of the success of such educational activities can only be partially completed in the short term. Individual comments from participants will be used to examine the effectiveness of course materials and teaching methods. Seminar records will provide data on the number of sessions and participants attending. However, the impact of the training provided can only be viewed as a long term contribution to membership growth and in strengthening the union's effectiveness in the work place by upgrading shop stewards' skills. Such evaluation can only be attempted some 12 to 18 months following the seminars using selective interviews with past participants.

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OUTPUTS

OUTPUT QUANTITIES

Shop steward training

- sessions
- shop stewards trained

6
150

Organizer training

- sessions
- organizers trained

2
60

INPUTS

BUDGET (\$000)

One time costs

sub-total

0.0

0.0

Recurrent costs

- local hire (instructors' fees)
- local staff transport (instructors)
- training (participants travel, per diem, etc.)
- other (rent, supplies, etc.)

4.5
0.3
17.5
4.7

sub-total

27.0

Total (No. 3. Training courses for Nat'l Union of Mineworkers

- CUSA Affiliates).....27.0

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1984 No. 1. MULTILATERAL ASSISTANCE PROGRAM CONDUCTED IN CONJUNCTION WITH THE ICFTU

In November of 1982, at its 20th meeting, the ICFTU Coordinating Committee on South Africa considered 1983's request for assistance from South African trade union organizations. The committee pledged in assistance an amount equal to 1,652,500 South African Rand. The projects to which assistance was pledged and an example of the request received (that of the Urban Training Project) are attached. (See Annexes VI and VII).

Because of the limited funds actually available to the AFL-CIO/AALC at the time of this meeting, the pledge of the U.S. was for only SAR 100,000. Other trade union movements, such as those in Denmark, Norway, Sweden, the Netherlands and Canada, where government foreign aid funds are channeled through the trade union movement, were able to contribute considerably more.

For 1984, it would be desirable if the U.S. 1983 contribution could be substantially increased to \$200,000. This would make the contribution more on a par with that of the other Western countries.

Just which activities would be supported in 1984 and how much would be allocated to each cannot be determined until the coordinating committee meets again in late 1983. However, the AFL-CIO/AALC should be able to attend the meeting with a firm figure as to how much we can pledge.

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Some indications that increased financing will be necessary are:

1. The attached funding request to ICFTU from the Urban Training Project asks for a budget increase from 1983 to 1984. In addition to this, the AALC has been pressing the UTP to broaden its successful training programs substantially so that they can respond to the needs of a number of trade unions who are presently unaffiliated to CUSA. This would require a substantial increase of funds over the 1983 contributions made available to the UTP.
2. The AALC anticipates a substantial growth during 1983 for unions which now constitute FOSATU. Two recent court decisions in South Africa appear to point clearly in this direction. The first of these was the decision that the registrar cannot refuse to register a trade union solely on the grounds that the union is multi-racial. This decision would seem to open the door to substantial growth of FOSATU and its unions. The second decision, the Rikhoto Decision, which deals with urban residency rights of some blacks, would also point to the rapid growth of FOSATU and other unions. It is highly likely, therefore, that a much larger contribution to FOSATU in 1984 would be necessary.
3. CUSA's National Union of Mineworkers has recruited, within a period of 4 to 6 months, over 20,000 miners. The miners have a black labor force of 450,000

It is reasonable to expect that these unions could push the membership up to between 75,000 and 100,000. If this is to happen, it will be necessary to increase the training of organizers, to provide salaries for staff and to support the purchase of motor vehicles.

Finally, in our pledges of contributions for 1983, there were several areas in which we were unable to make pledges because of limited funds.

Because of these indications, we feel that \$200,000 is a reasonable amount to have available to make pledges for the 1984 South African budget.

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1984 No. 2 BILATERAL ASSISTANCE PROGRAM

a. Support and Training Program for Independent Black Trade Unions

In the past several years, many small, unaffiliated black trade unions have emerged and are currently seeking to organize wage earners, usually in a specific economic sector. At least a dozen of these new, dynamic organizations have written to request aid for organizing campaigns, setting up offices, and training their leaders. AALC proposes to respond directly to their individual needs by developing a series of bilateral projects.

One part of this urgently needed activity (i) is concerned with providing the equipment and supplies required by these trade unions for expanding their organization campaigns. Such items as kombi-type vans, typewriters, mimeograph and photocopy machines, and office furniture and supply items will be purchased. Office rent will also be paid when necessary in limited cases. It is anticipated that at least ten new labor organizations will participate in this project.

Transportation is one of the key problems blacks face every day in South Africa. Because the law requires blacks to live in segregated ghettos or «locations», often 20 to 30 miles from where they work in the so-called white areas and because there is a curfew which restricts the presence of blacks in the white areas at a certain time, it would be courting arrest for blacks to linger long in the white areas after work even to attend a union meeting. It is also often difficult to get them together after work because they live in different ghettos all around the cities. One way of getting them together is to arrange to provide transportation to get them home. Some

of the unions need transportation, therefore, to carry out this essential task in organizing and servicing their membership.

Some of the unregistered unions which do not have check-off facilities have to send off their organizers from one factory to another to track down members for their monthly dues. Because of the distances involved a vehicle is crucial for an efficient and smooth running union administration.

Most independent unions are still not able to afford a regular office, let alone provide equipment for it. Some organizers operate from their brief-cases which constitute their entire filing system. These unions require typewriters, photocopying machines and paper supplies in order to enable them to service their membership efficiently.

To help them operate effectively and to keep in touch with their membership, an office and a telephone constitute the basic requirements of a trade union. To help them through their teething problems, most of the independent unions will require assistance to enable them to maintain an office and install a telephone. Without the possibility of this assistance these independent unions face a bleak future.

The second part of the activity (ii) is focused on building a training program for the same trade unions. Target groups among the organizations' membership include potential instructors, new organizers, shop stewards, and top leaders. In addition, specialists in occupational health and safety and collective bargaining will also be trained. To compensate for the union's lack of any comprehensive training capability, U.S. consultants and specialists will be used to provide the advanced course material in several seminars.

AALC's objective in sponsoring such organizational and training assistance is to help in building larger, stronger, more effective black trade unions in South Africa. An immediate effect from this project cannot be expected but gradual contributions in the targeted activity areas should lead to growth in membership, increased collective bargaining, more educational programs, and better organization at the shop level. Evaluation of the success or failure in achieving these project objectives must focus on such lower-level indicators. It must contain a subjective narrative as well as use the obvious quantifiable measurements in order to fully explore the dynamics of the institution building process.

i. Support for Independent Black Trade Unions

OUTPUTS

OUTPUT QUANTITIES

Vehicles (kombi-type vans)	3
Offices rented (12 months)	3
Offices furnished	5
Offices supplied (paper, stencils, etc.)	10
Office equipment: typewriters	5
mimeograph machines	5
photocopy machines	2

INPUTS

BUDGET (\$000)

One time costs

- Commodities: vans	36.0
furniture	10.0
typewriters	4.0
mimeograph machines	10.0
photocopy machines	7.0
sub-total	<u>67.0</u>

Recurrent costs

- Supplies	15.0
- Office rental	18.0
sub-total	<u>33.0</u>

Total

33.0

ii. Training Program for Independent Black Trade Unions

<u>OUTPUTS</u>	<u>OUTPUT QUANTITIES</u>
a. Seminars	
- instructor training sessions	3
- new instructors trained	75
- leadership training sessions	10
- organizers trained	100
- shop stewards trained	150
b. Advanced trade union training	
- seminars	4
- cadres trained	80
c. Specialist seminars	
- occupational safety and health seminars	1
- specialists trained	20
- techniques of collective bargaining seminars	2
- specialists trained	40
d. U.S. consultants/specialists sent to South Africa (30 man weeks)	10

(continued)

30

(continuation)

ii. Training Program for Independent Black Trade Unions

INPUTS

BUDGET (\$000)

One time costs

- consultants (fees, per diem, travel, etc.)

50.0

subtotal

50.0

Recurrent costs

a. Seminars

- instructors (local)

7.5

- training (participant travel, per diem)

49.5

- other (rent, supplies, etc.)

13.0

b. Advanced trade union training

- instructors (local)

1.6

- training (participant travel, per diem)

14.4

- other (rent, supplies, etc.)

4.0

c. Specialist seminars

- instructors (local)

1.5

- training (participant travel, per diem)

6.0

- other (rent, supplies, etc.)

2.5

sub-total

100.0

Total.....150.0

31

b. Project for Migrant Workers' Training and Documentation

In order to prepare migrant workers from Lesotho, Malawi, Botswana, Zimbabwe, etc., for effective trade union organization during their time spent working in the South African mines, AALC proposes to open a migrant workers' training and documentation center in either Gaborone or Maseru. This activity will conduct brief, introductory seminars with subject matter including trade union goals and structure, labor law, grievance procedures, workers' rights and responsibilities, etc., for African workers before they enter South Africa. There will also be a monitoring network to follow up on the conditions and problems faced by these men at their work places.

The project consists mainly of training activities with a small office and staff to coordinate courses and to assure that essential follow up research and documentation work is completed. Documentary material prepared at this project on migrant workers' conditions and the utility of the training sessions in preparing them to face South African conditions will provide invaluable data for a comprehensive evaluation of this activity following a 12 to 18 month period of operations.

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OUTPUTS

OUTPUT QUANTITY

Training

- seminars organized	5
- migrant workers participating	250

Documentation Center

- staff members recruited and trained	1
- offices equipped and functioning	1

INPUTS

BUDGET (\$000)

One time costs

- commodities (office furniture and equipment)	9.5
sub-total	<u>9.5</u>

Recurrent costs

- local hire (12 man months)	7.5
- training: transport (participant)	10.0
participant per diem, etc.	31.0
instructors	5.0
other (rent, supplies)	5.0
- office rent	6.0
- office supplies and materials	<u>1.0</u>
sub-total	65.5

Total (b. Project for Migrant Workers' Training and Documentation)..... 75.0

c. Joint Projects with other Organizations

i. International Trade Secretariats

International Trade Secretariats (ITS) are international trade union organizations composed of individual national trade unions whose members work in specific industries or occupations. For example, the International Metalworkers Federation (IMF) is composed of metalworking unions from many countries, including, from the United States, the United Steelworkers of America, the United Automobile Workers, the International Association of Machinists and others. There are currently 14 such ITS's representing more than 60 million workers worldwide. The ITS's are independent of but cooperate fully with the ICFTU, and are in competition with corresponding organizations of the communist World Federation of Labor.

A number of these ITS's have South African unions as affiliates and have developed programs of assistance designed to assist and develop the union in their industry or occupation and several U.S. unions have already indicated to the AALC that they wish to take part in the South African assistance programs of their particular ITS. These unions include: The United Steelworkers of America, the United Food and Commercial Workers Union, the International Association of Machinists, the American Federation of Teachers, the Service Employees International Union and the International Ladies Garment Workers Union.

It is proposed here to provide funds for such participation in a manner similar to that of the ITS program of AALC's basic grant with USAID. Individual U.S. unions would

1/2

submit to AALC specific proposals for projects they wished to undertake in order to participate in and assist the development of the program of their ITS in South Africa. These proposals would be reviewed by the AALC as to their relevance to the overall purpose of the AFL-CIO South African program and, if approved, would be undertaken on a sub-contract basis.

Projects would vary widely based upon the stage of development of the respective South African unions but in the first instance almost all would involve a fact-finding visit to South Africa by members of the U.S. union.

Under AALC's basic grant with USAID an average of \$25,000 is allocated to each of 6 participating U.S. unions for its African Trade Secretariat involvement. It is proposed that an average of \$10,000 be made available here for up to 6 different U.S. unions to assist their ITS's activities in South Africa.

sub-total 60.0

ii A. Philip Randolph Institute

The A. Philip Randolph Institute is a AFL-CIO related organization with a unique experience in promoting social change by non-violent means. It is proposed here to provide funds on a sub-contract basis to the Institute to conduct programs adapted to South African conditions and in conjunction with the black trade unions there, in the areas of civil rights, human rights, job training, and youth employment.

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Special attention will be given to those areas where APRI is pre-eminent.

(1) Jobs and vocational training program:

The focus here will be U.S. corporations in South Africa. The program will benefit from the wide experience of Bayard Rustin, President of the APRI Educational Fund, who is the chairperson of the Recruitment-and-Training-Program (RTP), a U.S. skills and training program.

(2) Trade Union Internship Program:

This is a placement and training program which seeks leadership and staff positions for qualified blacks.

(3) Educational Exchange Program:

This program would provide for exchange visits and exchange of views between civil rights and trade union leaders in the U.S. and black trade union leaders. It would also enable U.S. civil rights leaders to pass on their experiences of the civil rights movement to their counterparts in South Africa with a view to the South Africans adapting these experiences to their own local situation. The role of non-violence in the U.S. civil rights movement would be particularly relevant.

sub-total 40.0

26

iii. The Labor Desk of the United States Youth Council

The Labor Desk was formed in the early 1970's, as an international exchange and education program for younger U.S. and foreign labor leaders. Its initial projects were focused on developing educational opportunities between U.S. and Northern European unions. However, the scope of its activities and the range of countries where it has programs has been expanded greatly in the past several years. In recent years it has conducted educational and training projects with younger unionists from Portugal, Spain, France, West Germany, England, Venezuela and South Africa. It also has become the organization which sends representatives, on behalf of the AFL-CIO, to the young leader programs and seminars of the ICFTU.

An important part of the programs of the Labor Desk has been in providing program participants with training opportunities in democratic leadership skills and with contacts with young leaders from a range of service organizations, civil rights groups and the major U.S. political parties. Through such contacts they can gain an understanding of how pressure groups representing different racial and ethnic backgrounds and interest groups can organize and represent themselves in a pluralistic democratic society.

Funds provided here would allow the Labor Desk to continue a South African program which it began in 1980 under a grant from the USIA.

sub-total 10.0

34

iv. Special Conference on Sullivan Code

Conversations have been held between the AALC and Reverend Sullivan in the problems of enforcement of the Sullivan Code. It is proposed to allocate \$15,000 for a working conference in South Africa on more effective ways of policing the code.

sub-total15.0

38

c. i.	International Trade Secretariats	60.0
ii.	A. Philip Randolph Institute	40.0
iii.	Labor Desk	10.0
iv.	Sullivan Code Conference	<u>15.0</u>
TOTAL		125.0

NOTE: Under this category (c) it is anticipated that some organizations will be able to move more quickly in developing a proposed sub-contract which would be effective. The actual allocations of funds during the year, therefore, might differ from the above but the total amount would not vary substantially from the \$125,000 requested.

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d. Impact Projects

In the development of any significant project activity unanticipated needs and opportunities emerge which cannot be delayed for implementation in a future budget proposal. To respond to such urgent, new programs which have not been included in the general South African country program proposal, AALC has set aside a modest portion of the total budget as an impact project fund.

As such activities will be conducted on an ad hoc basis, no specific evaluation procedure can be proposed in advance. A combination of subjective and quantitative analysis will be employed to measure the activity's impact on the black labor movement using techniques described in previous evaluation discussions.

<u>INPUTS</u>	<u>BUDGET (\$000)</u>
Various	50.0

1/1

e. Project Administration

i. AALC/Washington Program Support

- Program Officer (half-time)	23.1
- Accountant (1/3 time)	
- Secretary (1/2 time)	25.0
- Office space	5.7
- Other (supplies, communications, etc.)	3.3
sub-total.....57.1

ii. Field Office (based on Botswana costs)

AALC Field Representative (full time) (salary, allowances, housing, etc.)	65.5
Local travel	8.0
Local staff: office manager	6.0
secretary	4.8
Office rent and utilities	7.2
Office furniture and equipment	9.0
Office supplies and materials	3.2
communications	2.2
-vehicle	12.0
sub-total.....117.9
<u>Total</u>175.0

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AFL-CIO Program of Action in Support of Black
Trade Unions in South Africa

P R E A M B L E

After decades of brutal suppression of its black workers, marked by police attacks on unarmed workers, mass arrests, and banishment of black labor leaders, the South African government claims it is moving toward recognition of black trade unions. The AFL-CIO reiterates its position that recognition per se is not enough. Integral to this recognition must be the acceptance by the South African government of the basic, unqualified trade union rights of every worker in South Africa irrespective of race. Any attempt to tamper with these rights, either by diluting or qualifying them, would be a negation of fundamental trade union standards and would be unacceptable.

Our approach is aimed at supporting basic changes which eliminate the repressive and inhuman system of Apartheid and hasten majority rule. We expect to work with other trade union centers which seek a non-violent solution to the problems of South Africa and which emphasize implementation of programs in conjunction with black unions in South Africa. We see this as the most practical meaningful way of helping the people living under this system.

Trade union rights are an integral part of the basic freedoms which have been denied to blacks in South Africa. We stand ready to do more than condemn apartheid. We are prepared to implement a program of trade union involvement that we feel can change the condition of the black workers and enhance their ability to organize in South Africa.

The AFL-CIO urges the South African government not only to permit the peaceful process toward black trade union development now under way, but to actively encourage it. To erase the legacy of bitterness, humiliation, and anger will require imagination and constructive accommodation on the part of white South Africa. The AFL-CIO stands ready, even at this eleventh hour, to assist toward this goal in concert with all who are still committed to peaceful change before it is too late. In order to accelerate this process and to help close the wide gap that now exists between black and white workers, the AFL-CIO undertakes to implement a program of assistance to black workers as part of its longstanding commitment to social change.

We have decided to focus our energies on the black workers of South Africa because of the tremendous disparity that exists between white and black workers. Before we can work with the South African labor movement as an entity, we must help the black workers achieve a measure of organization, trained leadership, and a solid foundation on which to build. Until that point is reached, we will work toward the development of a strong, united black labor movement that can fully represent

its members and bargain freely for them.

It is our hope that our program will be seen as a positive force aimed at openly seeking change. As trade unionists, we cannot ignore the plight of our brothers. At the present moment in history, we have mapped out a path. It is our commitment to see that this approach succeeds. In many ways it is a last chance for us all.

P R O G R A M

1) Expansion of AFL-CIO activities to assist black unions in South Africa and promote basic changes in the lives of the workers.

2) Establish within the AALC a unit to coordinate all U.S. labor activities in support of trade union development in South Africa. This unit would serve as a focal point for liaison with various labor groups in South Africa to ensure that channels of communication are established and maintained so that we can adequately respond to developments as they occur. It would also act to ensure coordination with other international labor bodies, e.g., the ICFTU, OATUU, and the ITS's.

3) Creation of a special labor fund to finance trade union activities. A legal defense fund drawn from this special fund will be created to support legal defense activities in support of trade unionists in South Africa.

4) Develop, coordinate, and maintain U.S. public response in reaction to developments which take place in the labor field in South Africa.

5) Develop other specific programs in both South Africa and the United States for assistance in organizing unions, collective bargaining, leadership and cadre training which could include the following:

- a) Work/study programs in the United States
 - b) Union-to-union training in the United States
 - c) Seminars and training programs in South Africa
 - d) Provide data to South African unions which will assist them in their organizing and collective bargaining activities.
 - e) Assignment of U.S. trade unionists to short-term programs in special fields
 - f) Assignment of an AALC representative to work in South Africa
 - g) Educational activities with selected educational institutions in South Africa
- 6) Support the expansion and use of existing skill-training facilities including selective scholarship aid to open up the restricted upward mobility for black workers.



(202) 637-5000

John H. Lyons
S. Frank Rattery
Albert Shanker
Edward T. Hanley
J. C. Turner
Kenneth T. Blaylock
William H. Wynn
Wayne E. G'ann
Joyce D. Miller
Frank Drozak
Richard I. Kilroy

Thomas W. Gleason
Martin J. Ward
Glenn E. Wallis
Angelo Fosco
Lloyd McUrda
Alvin E. Heaps
John J. O'Donnell
Robert F. Goss
John J. Sweeney
James E. Hatfield
Vincent H. Sombrotto

Frederick O'Neal
Murray H. Finley
Sol C. Chaikin
Charles H. Pillard
David J. Fitzmaurice
Wm. W. Winstlager
John DuConcini
William Konyha
Douglas A. Fraser
Barbara Hutchinson
Gerald W. McEntee

March 22, 1982

**TO: PRESIDENTS OF NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL UNIONS
PRINCIPAL OFFICERS OF STATE CENTRAL BODIES
PRINCIPAL OFFICERS LARGER LOCAL CENTRAL BODIES.**

Dear Trade Unionist:

You will recall that the AFL-CIO Executive Council, at its meeting of February 19, 1981, recommended a program of Action in Support of Black Trade Unionists in South Africa. The Centennial Convention in New York City adopted a Resolution establishing a special labor fund to be used in carrying out this program, and encouraging AFL-CIO affiliates to contribute to this fund.

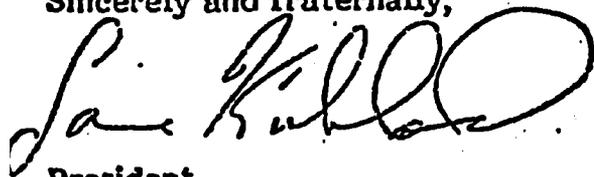
At this time it is possible to expand this program in cooperation with the ICFTU but to do so we need your union's contribution.

I understand fully the financial difficulties of our affiliated unions at this time but the problems facing our South African brothers and sisters are so great that we must do our utmost to stand by them. I would hope your international union could make a substantial contribution to the fund and that you could work with our African-American Labor Center in reaching out to your members to make them more fully aware of our program.

This problem will be with us for a long time, and I would, therefore, ask you to consider some form of continuing contribution to the fund.

Checks should be made out to AALC South African Program and sent to Patrick J. O'Farrell, Executive Director, African-American Labor Center, 1125 15th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20005.

Sincerely and fraternally,



President

WU INFOMASTER

AFAM LABOR WSH

0126601224 1520EST

01 INTL TDWX WASHINGTON DC
INT MR AND MRS J.A.E. AGGETT
120 UPPER ORANGE STREET
SOMERSET WEST, CAPE PROVINCE (REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA VIA RCA)

AUGUST 12, 1982

IT GIVES ME GREAT PLEASURE TO INFORM YOU THAT, BY A UNANIMOUS DECISION, THE AFL-CIO EXECUTIVE COUNCIL HAS DESIGNATED YOUR SON, DR. NEIL AGGETT, AS THE JOINT RECIPIENT WITH CHIEF M. GATSHA BUTHELEZI OF THE GEORGE MEANY HUMAN RIGHTS AWARD FOR 1982.

THIS AWARD IS GIVEN TO YOUR SON IN RECOGNITION OF HIS COMMITMENT TO THE CAUSE OF THE OPPRESSED PEOPLE OF SOUTH AFRICA, FOR HIS SELFLESS SERVICE TO THE NEEDY AND THE DISPOSSESSED, FOR HIS DEDICATION TO THE CAUSE OF LABOR IN HIS COUNTRY, AND FOR HIS UNREMITTING FIGHT FOR AN EQUAL SOCIETY IN SOUTH AFRICA.

LANE KIRKLAND
PRESIDENT
AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS
(AFL-CIO)
815 16TH STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006
(USA)



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SOUTH AFRICA LABOR NEWS

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Report of the AFL-CIO delegation to South Africa

September 6-17, 1982

From its inception the AFL-CIO has maintained a policy of active opposition to the racial policies of the white government of South Africa in line with its long-standing opposition to racism anywhere and its commitment to social equality irrespective of race, color or creed.

Convention resolutions, Executive Council statements, and testimony before congressional committees all amply demonstrate the AFL-CIO's long-standing record of condemnation of the Apartheid system and support for self-determination and majority rule in South Africa.

In conjunction with the increased activity in trade union organizing among black South African workers in the mid-1970's, the AFL-CIO sought ways to take a more active role in the fight against apartheid and to provide direct assistance to those working inside the country to extend trade union rights to black workers. Accordingly, several educational programs were organized in the United States for emerging black trade union leaders from South Africa. Other meetings were arranged in which black South African union leaders were given an opportunity to explain their positions, programs and needs for assistance to others, including trade union leaders from independent African nations. These activities were conducted by the AFL-CIO's African-American Labor Center.

In 1980, shortly after assuming office, President Lane Kirkland recommended the appointment of a sub-com-

mittee of the International Affairs Committee of the Executive Council to study the situation in South Africa and to recommend to the Council possible policy shifts and/or other actions the Federation might wish to take in respect to South Africa.

The sub-committee's recommendations resulted in the decision of the Executive Council in February, 1981, to establish a Program of Action in Support of Black Trade Unions in South Africa. This decision was followed at the Centennial Convention of the AFL-CIO in November, 1981, by a resolution endorsing this action and establishing a special labor fund to support the Program of Action.

The AFL-CIO's long-standing rejection of Apartheid in all its manifestations and its concern for trade unionism in South Africa are clearly set out in the preamble to the Program of Action:

Program of Action

"After decades of brutal suppression of its black workers, marked by police attacks on unarmed workers, mass arrests, and banishment of black labor leaders, the South African government claims it is moving toward recognition of black trade unions. The AFL-CIO reiterates its position that recognition per se is not enough. Integral to this recognition must be the acceptance by the South African government of the basic, unqualified trade union rights of every worker in South Africa irrespec-

tive of race. Any attempt to tamper with these rights, either by diluting or qualifying them, would be a negation of fundamental trade union standards and would be unacceptable.

"Our approach is aimed at supporting basic changes which eliminate the repressive and inhuman system of Apartheid and hasten majority rule. We expect to work with other trade union centers which seek a non-violent solution to the problems of South Africa and which emphasize implementation of programs in conjunction with black unions in South Africa. We see this as the most practical meaningful way of helping the people living under this system.

"Trade union rights are an integral part of the basic freedoms which have been denied to blacks in South Africa. We stand ready to do more than condemn Apartheid. We are prepared to implement a program of trade union involvement that we feel can change the condition of the black workers and enhance their ability to organize in South Africa.

"The AFL-CIO urges the South African government not only to permit the peaceful process toward black trade union development now under way, but to actively encourage it. To erase the legacy of bitterness, humiliation, and anger will require imagination and constructive accommodation on the part of white South Africa. The AFL-CIO stands ready, even at this eleventh hour, to assist toward this goal in concert with all who are still

(Continued on next page)

Report of the AFL-CIO delegation to South Africa

(Continued from preceding page)

committed to peaceful change before it is too late. In order to accelerate this process and to help close the wide gap that now exists between black and white workers, the AFL-CIO undertakes to implement a program of assistance to black workers as part of its long-standing commitment to social change."

Following the decision to reaffiliate to the ICFTU, the AFL-CIO began active participation in the South Africa Coordinating Committee which plays a key role in providing assistance to the emerging black unions of South Africa. Every effort is being made to coordinate and where possible integrate the AFL-CIO program with the ICFTU program.

In 1982, the Executive Council decided to send a delegation to South Africa for the express purpose of determining in what areas and in what ways the AFL-CIO could be of maximum effective assistance to the emerging black unions. It was intended that the delegation meet with the widest possible cross-section of South African society, leaning heavily toward trade unionists but including the business, religious, academic and government sectors as well.

We hoped to solicit opinions on the current state of the black trade union movement and on the efficacy of past assistance programs as well as views on how best to render future assistance and to ascertain from the unions themselves the best way of helping them to help themselves.

The Delegation

Accordingly, a delegation representing the AFL-CIO and consisting of AFL-CIO Vice presidents Sol C. Chaikin, president of the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union, and Frederick O'Neal, president of the Associated Actors and Artistes of America; Irving Brown, director of the Department of International Affairs; and Patrick J. O'Farrell, executive director of the African-American Labor Center, spent eleven days in South Africa from September 6 to 17, 1982.

From the outset, a section of the English press chose to misrepresent the purpose of the visit and to cultivate a

climate of hostility towards the delegation among the public in general and in trade union circles in particular. Nevertheless, the overall reaction to the delegation was overwhelmingly friendly and receptive. This was particularly evident among black trade unionists who face formidable obstacles and problems in organizing their members and in trying to make their unions viable.

It should also be noted that there was an attempt by the same elements of the press and to a lesser degree certain union officials to question the motives of the delegation. There was regular reference to "why are you here?" and "who invited you anyway?" There was also a marked lack of acceptance by these people of the response that the AFL-CIO had been invited by many union officers over the years to come to South Africa to see for ourselves what the problems were and that we had come to do just that out of our concern for the plight of the majority of the people and our feeling that we might have some role to play.

Someone must have been concerned about our potential role in South African trade union development, else why would they have gone to so much trouble and expense to try to discredit our mission in advance?

Regarding the officers and officials of a few of the unions and/or federations, they appear to be in a love/hate relationship. Why this is so is difficult to say. It seems as though ideological posturing is involved at the very least.

In any event, of the more than 30 groups we had contacted in advance and had requested meetings with, only two refused at the last moment to meet with the delegation. (A full list of all the groups we met is appended.) It is significant that the cancellations followed the appearance in the English press of misrepresentations and misleading articles which raised a CIA scare, attempting to characterize the AFL-CIO as an arm of the CIA. The two unions which did not meet with the delegation are the South African Allied Workers Union (SAAWU) and the Motor Assembly Components Workers Union of South Africa (MACWUSA). According to the press, SAAWU is said to have refused to meet with the delegation because the AFL-

CIO, it is alleged, supports Reagan's policy of "constructive engagement." MACWUSA, on the other hand, is said to have been opposed to the AFL-CIO's giving the George Meany Human Rights Award to Chief M.G. Buthelezi. Nonetheless, the delegation feels it was well received and that it accomplished its mission.

Observations

The delegation's experience in South Africa produced the following observations:

1) The process of economic integration is the basis for most of the reforms in South African industrial relations. The demands of the economy can only be met by the recruitment of black workers since the supply of new white workers is shrinking. This has led not only to cosmetic but real changes and to the de facto elimination of job reservation for whites and the beginning of full integration of the black workers into the economy.

2) This has led to an increase in union organizing and militancy among black workers which in turn led to the reform of labor legislation. This then has facilitated the recent upsurge of organization of black workers into multi-racial, non-racial or entirely black unions. Employers are being compelled, in varying degrees, to deal and negotiate with trade unions. This process is under way in many different forms, with registered or non-registered unions, inside or outside the industrial council system, and through straight employer-employee negotiation starting on the shop level. There is no such thing as working within or outside the system. No matter what form agreement takes, it is within the overall system of the presently state-controlled society in South Africa.

3) There is no question that the most important aspect of recent developments is the rise of the black workers as a militant, organized force. Whatever can be done by the international labor movement must be related to this overriding fact. The present focus of organization must be on the black workers because they are not only a majority but are the potential for continuing change in the political and social spheres, whether this change is totally peaceful or not.

Report of the AFL-CIO delegation to South Africa

4) Whether this process is reversible or irreversible can be and is debated, but to what useful point? The fact is that the process and its potential exist at the moment. Therefore, one must proceed on the basis that this is an irreversible process or, to put it in a different way, one must act as if there is time to move towards real and permanent change in South Africa. This includes change in the social and political status of the black worker as well as work-related changes traditionally associated with trade union activity. This does not exclude the possibility that the final showdown may be bloody and revolutionary, for it cannot be forgotten that no dictatorial power such as the present white South African regime, will abdicate its power without resorting to every possible device to maintain it.

5) This is where we stand at present in South Africa. Although many reforms have been undertaken and black workers and their unions have grown in importance, there are still the forces of the state, mainly its security system, which impede, harass, discourage and water down the process of change at every opportunity. The detention of trade union leaders, not to mention the extensive uses of torture and killings, is one of the most potent weapons in the hands of the state to impede trade union development. This results in the temporary or permanent elimination of the effective leadership of the merging unions thus setting back its progress. Fortunately, there seems to be no lack of candidates ready to pick up the banner of the fallen.

6) In spite of these harassments, there is a booming trade union movement, even though it is divided and fragmented with no single, all-embracing national center. There are currently over 200 unions with approximately 350,000 members. This reflects essentially the growth of union organization among the black workers. Employers are dealing with the unions with the usual complaints about the inexperience, incompetence and backwardness of black union leaders. In effect, the trade unions of South Africa are going through the birth pangs of a labor movement which in South Africa signifies a virtual revolution in the economy. This must eventually result

in political and social changes in the country. This economic change provides the material basis of hope for the eventual disappearance of Apartheid or, at least, the beginnings of a real change which goes beyond Prime Minister Botha's proposals for limited "power-sharing" involving only the coloreds and Asians.

7) Whether the AFL-CIO can be of any help in this situation in South Africa depends upon the willingness of the South African trade unionists to associate with the AFL-CIO. There can be no denying that the program of propaganda and misinformation, by the enemies of free and democratic labor movements has influenced some trade unionists; but there is still a great majority who expressed their need for outside support and assistance and their desire to receive such from the AFL-CIO. Whether the AFL-CIO can help will depend upon the program and plans of the South African trade unions. We should be ready and able to assist in training, provide information on collective bargaining and make available experienced trade unionists to assist in the development of programs and seminars, when and if we are asked to do so by the South African trade unionists.

Naturally, our ability to respond to such requests as might be forthcoming will depend on the availability of resources and manpower to meet the needs of an enormous operation. This is true whether we were to undertake a bilateral operation or participate only in the ICFTU-sponsored program.

Despite the changes that have undoubtedly taken place in South African industrial relations in recent years, it would be a mistake to think that the millennium is near at hand. It will require the utmost patience both on the part of the sufferers at the hands of Apartheid and their supporters outside the country to continue this relatively peaceful avenue toward change and to reject the possibly faster but surely bloodier military option, if indeed such an option realistically exists.

It will also be difficult for outsiders to accept the necessity for large and continuing contributions to a struggle that may not, in the next ten years show the results or live up to the promise of the last ten. Given the general

concept of the struggle it will be difficult to observe, much less be asked, in effect, to finance, disputes between groups and individuals on tactics, training, organizing, responses to government initiatives, etc., etc.

Nevertheless, if one accepts the proposition that change in South Africa must be brought about basically by those living and working inside the country and undertakes to assist them, then one must be prepared to stick it out over the long haul. is to be.

Suggestions

The delegation recommends to the Executive Council that the current policy of the AFL-CIO be continued and expanded whenever possible. We would like to make the following specific suggestions:

1. That every effort be made to seek additional funds for trade union assistance projects in South Africa. Recognizing the difficult circumstances of most of the affiliates, it is hoped that sources of revenue other than the usual trade union contributions can be found, perhaps along the lines of those used by our colleagues in the Scandinavian countries.

2. That our program of assistance in South Africa be closely coordinated with the ICFTU program and integrated with that program to the largest extent possible.

3. Notwithstanding the above, that we still respond to requests from individual unions or to straight bilateral requests from other groups wherever possible. In this regard, great care must be taken not to inject any element of competition or dissention into the trade union scene.

Finally, the delegation would like to thank all of those who met with us and took so much of their time to explain to us things that must have seemed quite simple to them. Those with whom we met were unfailingly polite, courteous, helpful and hospitable even in cases where we disagreed.

Particular thanks are extended to Mr. Charles Daris, Labor Attache at the U.S. Consulate in Johannesburg, for his help and to AALC's Botswana representative Michael Lescault who accompanied the delegation and kept us more or less on schedule.

Scheduled Meetings

Johannesburg/Pretoria

Council of Unions of South Africa (CUSA),
Executive Committee
Phiroshaw Camay, General Secretary

Trade Union Council of South Africa
(TUCSA), Executive Committee
J.A. Grobbelaar, General Secretary

South African Confederation of Labor
(SACLA), Executive Committee
Brian Currie, President

Ministry of Manpower
Dr. Piet Van der Merwe, Director General

Ministry of Manpower
H.E. Fanie Botha, Minister

National Union of Clothing Workers, Executive
Committee
Lucy Mvubelo, General Secretary

Brushes & Cleaners Workers' Union, Executive
Committee
Mary Ntseke, General Secretary

Garment Workers' Union of South Africa
Dr. Anna Scheepers, President

Commercial, Catering & Allied Workers' Union
Emma Mashinini, General Secretary

Urban Training Project (UTP), staff
Loet Douwes-Dekker, President

South Africa Institute of Race Relations
(SAIRR)
Mrs. Hazel Moolman, Assistant Director

South Africa Boilermakers' Society, Executive
Committee
Ike Van der Watt, General Secretary

Federated Mining Explosives & Chemical
Workers' Union, Executive Committee
Jack Martin, President

Black Mine Workers' Union
Chillian Motha, General Secretary

Federated Chamber of Industries, Employer
and Industrial Relations Experts
Chris Du Toit, President

Federation of South African Trade Unions
(FOSATU)
Joe Foster, General Secretary
C. Dlamini, President

Inkatha
Chief Gatsha Buthelezi

Media Workers Association of South Africa
(MWASA)
Goba Ndlovu, General Secretary

South African Black Municipality and Allied
Workers' Union, Officers
M. Mokheseng, President

Chamber of Mines of South Africa
W.W. Malan, President
C.T. Fenton, Vice President
J. Liebenberg, Industrial Relations Adviser

Embassy of the United States
Herman Nickel, Ambassador
Walter Stadler, Deputy Chief of Mission
Charles Daris, Regional Labor Officer

Mobile of South Africa
E.S. Paddock, Managing Director

University of Stellenbosch
Professor Blackie Swart

General Workers' Union, Executive Committee

Port Elizabeth

Ford Motor Company of South Africa
Fred Ferreira, Director, Industrial Relations

Midlands Chamber of Industries, Executive
Committee
Brian Matthews, President

National Automobile & Allied Workers Union
Executive Committee
F.Sauls, General Secretary

University of Port Elizabeth
Professor Van der Merwe

Sweet Food and Allied Workers Union
V. Ahshene, Secretary

General Workers Union
David Lewis, General Secretary

Durban

Garment Workers' Industrial Union, Executive
Committee
Frank Hansa, General Secretary

Black Allied Workers' Union (BAWU),
Executive Committee
M.J. Khumalo, President

National Union of Textile Workers
Albert Zuma, General Secretary

Chemical Workers' Industrial Union
Charles Ngema, General Secretary

Transport & General Workers' Union
Isabelle Shongwe, General Secretary

Cape Town

Garment Workers' Union of the Western
Province, Executive Committee
L.A. Oeterson, Secretary

Mr. and Mrs. J.A.E. Aggett

SALDRU, Mr. Wilson and Mr. Young

African Food & Canning Workers Union,
Executive Committee
J.P. Theron, General Secretary

Informal Meetings

Mr. Taffy Adler, National Organizer
National Automobile & Allied Workers' Union
& (FOSATU)

Mr. Mark Anstey
Institute for Industrial Relations

Mr. Henk Botha
Institute for Industrial Relations

Mr. Halton Cheadle
Centre for Applied Legal Studies

Miss Carol Cooper
Institute for Race Relations

Mr. Dion Erasmus, Personnel Director
Hartbeesfontein Gold Mine

Mr. Bernie Faranoff, Organizer
Metal & Allied Workers' Union (FOSATU)

Mr. Theo Heffer, Group Manpower Consultant
Grinaker Holdings

Mrs. Jane Hlongwane, General Secretary
Steel Engineering & Allied Workers' Union
(CUSA)

Mrs. Helen Suzman
M.P. Progressive Federal Party

Mrs. Maggie Magubane, General Secretary
Sweet, Food & Allied Workers' Union
(FOSATU)

Mr. Gatsby Mazwai, General Secretary
Municipal & General Workers' Union

Mr. Michael Mohatla, General Secretary
Transport & Allied Workers' Union (CUSA)

Mr. Frank Mohlala, General Secretary
Building and Construction Workers' Union
(CUSA)

Mrs. Agnes Molefe, General Secretary
Laundry, Dyers and Dry Cleaners Union
(CUSA)

Mr. Calvin Nkabinde, General Secretary
Engineering & Allied Workers' Union

Mr. Dusty Ngwane, Vice President
Chemical Workers' Industrial Union

Mrs. Dorah Nowatha, General Secretary
United African Motor & Allied Workers' Union

Mr. Dan Tau, General Secretary
Chemical Workers Union (CUSA)

Mr. Jimmy Thomas, General Secretary
Industrial Council for the Clothing Industry

Mr. Paul Ntuli, National Organizer
Food & Beverage Workers' Union (CUSA)

Mr. Des Rose, Secretary/Organizer
Engineering Industrial Workers' Union
(TUCSA)

Mrs. Evelyn Seloro, General Secretary
Textile Workers' Union (CUSA)

Chief M. Gatsha Buthelezi
Kwa Phindangena
Mahlabatini
3865 Ulundi
Kwa Zulu (Republic of South Africa)

It gives me great pleasure to inform you that by a unanimous decision of the AFL-CIO Executive Council you have been chosen to receive the George Meany Human Rights Award for 1982 jointly with the late Dr. Neil Aggett of the African Food and Canning Workers Union.

This award is given to you in recognition of your outstanding leadership of the black people of South Africa in their struggle for equality, for your relentless opposition to the brutal system of apartheid, for your consistent advocacy of non-violence as an instrument of change in South Africa in spite of the unprecedented provocations and violence facing you, for your dedication to the ongoing struggle for human rights and for your unwavering commitment to freedom for all peoples.

We are honored to place your name on our roster of esteemed recipients of the George Meany Human Rights Award.

Lane Kirkland
President AFL-CIO

Internasionale Arbeidsaangelcenthede (vervolg)
International Labour Matters (continued)

TABEL/TABLE 7.2
VREEMDE SWARTES VOLGENS SEKTOR EN LAND VAN HERKOMS, 1981
FOREIGN BLACKS BY SECTOR AND COUNTRY OF ORIGIN, 1981

Sektor Sector	Angola	Botswana	Lesotho	Malawi	Mosambiek Mozambique	Zimbabwe	Swaziland	Zambië Zambia	Transkei	Venda	Bophutha- tswana	Ander Other	Totaal Total
Landbou Agriculture	21	1 232	2 831	3 689	4 743	1 725	693	256	62 859	13 353	82 799	420	174 621
Steengroewe Mining and quarrying	10	22 500	129 508	19 691	51 745	4 849	10 713	29	183 733	7 463	74 614	49	504 904
Industriële Manufacturing	2	1 429	3 968	1 411	819	414	719	69	71 294	13 731	83 067	110	177 033
Handels- en Retail trade	4	679	4 627	422	347	379	90	35	56 696	8 916	44 790	62	117 047
Verkeers- en kleinhandel Transport and retail trade	2	588	1 278	731	319	913	191	60	26 196	8 994	57 422	88	96 782
Reise- en Tourism services	6	991	3 511	686	234	249	195	34	55 738	14 499	58 991	127	135 261
Woon- en Domestic services	18	944	2 000	2 799	773	6 690	518	122	55 028	11 589	120 211	97	200 789
Werkloosheids- Unemployment	6	806	2 699	1 173	411	1 746	299	122	32 693	8 401	66 168	42	114 566
Totaal Total	69	29 169	150 422	30 602	59 391	16 965	13 418	727	544 237	86 946	588 062	995	1 521 003

dit ook nie-geaffiliseerde myne in.
This also includes non-affiliated mines.

: Departement van Samewerking en Ontwikkeling.
: Department of Co-operation and Development.

South Africa

Brussels, 9-10 November 1982

Distribution of Assistance Programme

		<u>SAR</u>	<u>SAR</u>
1. CUSA	LO-Denmark	150,000	
	LO-Norway	60,000	
	LO-Sweden	50,000	
	FNV-Netherlands	<u>40,000</u>	
		300,000	300,000
2. FOSATU	LO-Denmark	180,000	
	LO-Norway	80,000	
	LO-Sweden	120,000	
	FNV-Netherlands	80,000	
	<u>AFL-CIO, United States</u>	<u>30,000</u> ✓	
	CLC-Canada	<u>40,000</u>	
		530,000	530,000
3. UTP	LO-Denmark	90,000	
	FNV-Netherlands	32,500	
	<u>AFL-CIO, United States</u>	<u>40,000</u> ✓	
	CLC-Canada	<u>60,000</u>	
		222,500	222,500
4. SAAWU	LO-Denmark	10,000	
	LO-Norway	10,000	
	LO-Sweden	10,000	
	FNV-Netherlands	<u>10,000</u>	
		40,000	40,000
5. MWASA	LO-Norway	10,000	
	LO-Sweden	20,000	
	FNV-Netherlands	<u>20,000</u>	
		50,000	50,000
6. GWU	LO-Denmark	25,000	
	LO-Sweden	15,000	
	FNV-Netherlands	<u>15,000</u>	
		55,000	55,000
7. STAC ⁺	FNV-Netherlands	5,000	5,000
8. IAS	(To be supported from No.12: Legal and Relief Aid)		-
9. CCAWUSA ⁺	FNV-Netherlands	15,000	15,000
10. NUM ⁺	LO-Denmark	40,000	
	LO-Norway	30,000	
	<u>AFL-CIO, United States</u>	<u>30,000</u> ✓	
		100,000	<u>100,000</u>

c/o.

SAR 1.317.500