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WORKSHOPS ON LABOR & DEVELOPMENT

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Report on
Wash., D C Labor Workshop
November 9-10, 1998
John J Heberle
Rapporteur

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Dr Peter Accolla
Center for Democracy and Governance
USAID

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World Learning, Inc
Suite 750
1015 15th St NW
Washington, D C 20005
Tel (202) 408-5420, Fax (202) 408-5397
Contact person William A Douglas, Program Manager
e-mail bill.douglas@worldlearning.org

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Work contracted under this IQC may include the design, implementation, and evaluation of short-, medium-, and long-term activities in the areas of

- strengthening the capacity of civil-society organizations to manage projects and engage in public-policy advocacy,
- enhancing networking and exchange of information among national, U S , and international civil-society organizations, and
- improving the capacity of independent print and broadcast media to provide the information and policy discussion needed by civil society groups

Labor movements can play key roles in promoting USAID's strategies to support both democratization and economic growth In the post-Cold War period of economic globalization, USAID will have to design new and innovative labor-development strategies to fit the new conditions For over thirty years, USAID and the AFL-CIO institutes, now amalgamated into the Solidarity Center (ACILS), have engaged in a cooperative partnership to strengthen democratic and independent trade unions throughout the developing nations, and more recently in the transition nations of the former Soviet bloc The experiences gained over this period can aid in the development of the new approaches needed today

The purpose of this delivery order is to organize a series of three workshops, one in Washington, D C , one in Latin America, and one in Asia, at which development experts from USAID Missions, labor specialists from the Solidarity Center, academics who study labor in the developing and transition countries, and labor leaders from those countries, will discuss the lessons learned from USAID labor programs in the past, and how those lessons indicate future labor programs should be designed to succeed in the present changed circumstances At the conclusion of the project, a report will be submitted to USAID for its use in developing its ongoing labor strategy

This report presents a summary of the proceedings of the first labor workshop, held in Washington, D C on November 9-10, 1998, with the participation of over thirty persons including academic specialists on labor in developing countries and staff members of USAID/Wash, the American Center for International Labor Solidarity (ACILS), and various NGOs which could be coalition partners with labor in future activities This is the second draft of this report A final version will be prepared after World Learning receives comments on this draft from USAID and the ACILS

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Report on Workshop

LABOR PROJECTS AND USAID DEVELOPMENT STRATEGIES
ROSSLYN HOLIDAY INN
ARLINGTON, VIRGINIA
November 9-10, 1998

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The purpose of the LABOR PROJECTS AND USAID DEVELOPMENT STRATEGIES workshop was to develop guidelines governing the appropriate linkage of labor programs with current USAID development strategies. This preliminary document which summarizes the discussions during two days of meetings between USAID officials, representatives of the AFL-CIO, the academic community, international financial institutions, and the business sector, will be further refined in two subsequent regional workshops, one in Latin America and one in Southeast Asia.

This first workshop analyzed how USAID can assist labor in developing and transition countries to contribute to the success of both democracy and governance strategies and strategies promoting broad-based economic growth and reform.

Throughout the two-day meeting, the impossibility of separating economic growth policy from political reality was stressed. The methodology used, however, stressed economic analysis of selected topics on the first day and the need for political reform on the next day. Each discussion group presented a summary of its findings during a final plenary session, which attempted to define those areas where the interests of USAID in economic growth overlapped with labor's interest in improving the conditions of life for its members. Both labor and USAID share an interest that the development processes result in democratic governance.

One oft-repeated theme was that organized labor's goals were narrower than those of USAID. That stated, it was also acknowledged that a voice for labor in the formation of both economic and political policy is necessary and desirable, as is the existence of union structures.

The economic topics considered on the first day included Capital Formation and Investment, Foreign Trade, Income Distribution, and Decentralizing and Distributing Economic Power. The discussions on the second day centered

on Electoral Systems, Internal Democracy within Organizations, Government Transparency and Accountability, and Advocacy for Social Programs Benefiting Workers

OPENING PLENARY SESSION

Remarks of Charles Costello

Director of the Center for Democracy and Governance, USAID

Mr Costello recalled a long history of differing opinions within USAID concerning the role of labor in the development process. One line of thought held that there was essentially nothing positive that organized labor could contribute to economic growth while a contrasting view emphasized that growth could be enhanced in a democratic society in which labor had a voice and could actively participate in institutions which encouraged economic progress. These varying opinions led to USAID confusion even with regard to reporting requirements, one group preferring that labor contractors report to the State Department Labor Attaché rather than as normally, to an AID program officer.

Costello stressed that labor should not be seen as an opponent of economic reform. The AFL-CIO in recent years has better defined its role in the global economy and the new amalgamated American Center for International Solidarity (ACILS or the Solidarity Center for short), now has a five-year, \$45 million grant from AID.

The responsibility for monitoring the contract with the Solidarity Center has been moved administratively to the Center for Democracy since labor is a part of civil society but, Costello emphasized, labor is a big economic player as it seeks to advance the interests of its members. Mr Costello warned about the dangers to effective policy by trying to compartmentalize labor's role. Labor strongly functions in both the economic and political sphere.

He suggested that participants should explore the areas of confluence between economic and political development and examine the possibility of unions helping to attract investment by making the investment climate less hostile, pressuring for fewer bureaucratic obstacles, because more investment would lead to more jobs, economic growth and better conditions. He further suggested that the workshop might well examine whether unions could play a role in social security reform and the creation of social safety nets and what role USAID could play to help union representatives acquire skills to attain a voice in

development choices He drew on his own experiences in El Salvador where an important objective was to improve productivity and he noted that the "participation of labor was vital" to achieving this objective

Remarks of John Wilkonson
Deputy Director, Economic Growth and Agricultural
Development Center, USAID

Mr Wilkonson noted that a meeting like this workshop probably would not have taken place a few years ago USAID's Economic Growth and Agricultural Development Center now recognizes and number of points of congruence between the activities of that Center and the Center for Democracy and Governance Institutions, for example, are important to growth because without proper institutions and policy, capital cannot be accumulated Financial resources alone are not sufficient for growth

Wilkonson rhetorically questioned the need for growth and then suggested that growth is necessary to raise living standards Tying growth to political results, he noted that higher living standards cause an increase in freedom from domination by a political party or a dictator

Mr Wilkonson observed that the Asian crisis has shown that when growth stops, it is a severe setback for political and social conditions On the other hand, while growth was occurring, it was possible to reduce the level of poverty

The type of growth desired by the Economic and Agricultural Development Center does not depend on suppression of worker rights Rather, the emphasis is on education and productivity, viable social security systems, pension reform, and safety nets for those negatively affected by change

Within this context, there are many areas for cooperation between those whose primary interest is economic development and those whose primary interest is the development of civic society This over-lap of interests will result in benefits for both labor and AID The task for this workshop is to discuss and identify specific projects and areas where collaboration will be meaningful and mutually beneficial

Discussion

Following both presentations, there were short discussions generally centering on the general themes of whether labor

was sufficiently representative to have a voice in national economic policy discussions, whether it was sufficiently independent from political parties, whether its representatives were capable of being "rational agents" and presenting realistic alternatives. Secondary issues involved whether improved income distribution was necessary for economic development and whether specific USAID programs for labor wasn't a way of "privileging" one segment of civil society.

Countervailing opinions expressed that all sectors of civil society must be included in policy making since they are all affected. "The economic development-democracy gap must be bridged. We all know of cases where economic development was built on gross social abuses." It was acknowledged that labor leaders needed to change some preconceptions while considering economic reforms but that economists must also consider other segments of civil society as being necessary for economic development. Labor movements which themselves feel ignored in the policy formulation process can cause powerful, if not fatal, parliamentary obstacles to economic programs designed behind closed doors.

It was pointed out that changes had been made in the AFL-CIO international affairs approach and that there is a realization that labor must provide "rational agents" in economic debates and for that reason the AFL-CIO now has more economic resources for unions in the developing world. It was acknowledged that while the amount of influence, or lack of influence, labor has in specific countries can be debated, it is true that it would have more influence if they had the credible economic arguments. "It's not enough to just be negative."

With regard as to whether unions were genuine representatives of workers or not, it was pointed out that the qualities of independence and democratic, were still the AFL-CIO criteria for potential and actual trade union partners. Concerning the question of "privileging" unions, it was commented that all of USAID programs are "privileging" someone.

CONCLUSIONS OF SMALL DISCUSSION GROUPS

Day One - EMPHASIS ON ECONOMIC POLICY

Group 1- Capital Formation and Investment

The chief objective of this discussion group was to raise productivity as a part of modernizing the workplace. This should be accomplished through the improvement of human capital and work organization resulting from joint labor-management partnerships. Training and education for both labor leaders and business managers in workplace changes should be provided through joint efforts at the enterprise and regional levels. Cooperation with universities and other donor organizations should be sought.

A second objective is to improve existing (or help establish) publicly managed pension systems. It would be necessary to build the capacity of trade unions organizations to propose initiatives and participate in policy formation, and to facilitate and encourage an enabling environment that allows adequate and timely participation by civil society organizations including trade unions. The provision of training of trade union leaders in fundamental analytical tools would be necessary. It would be useful to promote a series of public events to stimulate interest and support for trade union perspectives. The possibility of a sustainable and independent research capability for labor should be explored.

Finally, protection of worker rights should be an objective of policy regarding capital formation and investment. Trade agreements should include clauses, which assure freedom of association, the right to organize unions and to bargain collectively, the prohibition of forced and compulsory labor, non-discrimination in employment, and the provision of acceptable conditions of work. (These suggested clauses are based on ILO Conventions ratified by most countries and also appear in U S trade legislation). Support and understanding for inclusion of these labor standards in bilateral investment agreements should be sought from host governments. Public awareness for the need for such labor protections should be encouraged through a series of conferences and other public events designed to bring together top government officials with civil society, business, financial institutions, and other community leaders.

Group 2 Foreign Trade

The group first discussed some previous AID efforts in the area of how opening up economies to greater participation in international trade has affected workers. It was noted that in the 1980s, AID had helped developing countries, especially in Latin America, to expand their

exports, so as to both provide some jobs for unskilled labor, and to earn foreign exchange with which to pay for imports needed for national economic growth. In connection with this effort, AID in Central America has tried to get internationally-accepted labor standards applied in a uniform way throughout the isthmus, and has helped to train Labor Ministry inspectors to enforce such standards. AID also helped to establish some economic research centers, mostly for business groups, to do analysis of proposed policies designed to increase exports. The comment was made that if all developing countries were to adopt export-led development strategies, this could simply lead to creation of excess capacity, once the market for the new exports was saturated.

Discussion then turned to the difficulties of opening up economies to trade, given that many sectors of a society often have a vested interest in continuing the protectionist measures put in place under previous ISI development models. For example, if a firm had a monopoly position under ISI, opening up the economy to trade would mean that the government would lose some of its power, the businessmen would lose their guaranteed market, and the workers would lose the opportunity to bargain for a share in the monopoly profits. All three sectors would thus be likely to oppose opening up the economy. It was commented that this type of situation creates a need for transitional mechanisms when a country changes from ISI to free trade, as one way to lessen the degree of opposition.

The group turned to identifying areas for potential cooperation between AID and labor movements, based on common or overlapping interests. It was felt that the first priority should be on AID projects to help labor get a voice in the negotiation of trade agreements. This would require that labor have the capacity to thoroughly analyze what it wants, prepare solid proposals, and thus be prepared to use this voice effectively. Examples of possible projects included

- AID could help support labor fora, or perhaps broader civil-society fora, to coincide with meetings of trade ministers in connection with the WTO and with the negotiations for a Free Trade Agreement of the Americas (FTAA). (There have been business fora before such meetings, but labor has been ignored.)
- When regional trade pacts such as NAFTA already contain "social clauses" on fair labor standards, AID could facilitate bringing labor and management together to implement these clauses.

- AID could promote social dialogue on foreign trade issues
 - By sponsoring discussions between Trade and Labor Ministers in recipient countries,
 - By bringing together representatives from various sectors which have benefited from AID projects, including business and labor, to discuss issues of trade and international labor standards

-AID could provide support for more research by labor-connected research centers on issues of labor and trade

The group then entered into a general discussion on the issue of "linkage" between workers' rights and trading privileges in free-trade agreements. It was pointed out that at present, factories not only move from the U S to LDCs, but from more-developed LDCs such as Jamaica to less-developed ones such as Honduras or China. This shows the need for core labor rights and environmental protections in multilateral free-trade agreements, so that all producers in all countries operate under the same set of rules. There is now a set of "core" international labor standards, set out in ILO conventions and endorsed at the UN Social Summit, which apply at all levels of economic development, and which are accepted by most governments.

It was commented that, despite these considerations, few economists now support putting "social clauses" on workers' rights into free-trade agreements, and U S government working-level officials do not put a high priority on actually implementing the government's policy of seeking to get such labor standards into trade agreements. AID was urged to get its "EG" and "D/G" elements to coordinate their efforts.

It was finally agreed, by all parties, that AID could support inclusion of the seven ILO "core" labor standards in international and regional trade agreements, and help to assure the effective implementation of these standards. Specific projects in such an effort might include

- AID could support research, or help disseminate existing ILO research, on the labor standards prevailing in various nations and how those standards affect their exports
- AID can support inclusion of courses on labor standards and trade agreements in labor-education programs, and in training programs for businessmen

- AID could convene a regional tripartite conference in this hemisphere on trade and labor standards, bringing together various interests
- AID could train labor inspectors (as it has in Central America) on effective enforcement of labor standards.
- AID could help harmonize labor standards among countries in a region in order to achieve a more level playing field

The group then discussed the idea of labor, government, and business cooperating on programs and guidelines to attract foreign investors in ways which could avoid abetting the "race to the bottom" phenomenon in which bad labor standards drive out good ones. Rather than seeking investment and trade on a basis of tacit promises of a "union-free environment", countries should offer a well functioning, stable industrial relations system in which labor unions are full partners. (It was pointed out that many multinational firms invest in the G-7 countries even though those countries have high labor standards and modern labor-relations systems. Thus fair labor standards can be part of the much-desired "healthy trade and investment regime")

Members of the group noted that this approach could move unions from a reactive role (trying to stop governments from promising investors that there will be no unions) to a participatory role in a nation's efforts to attract foreign investment. Unions could join in such promotional efforts, telling investors that workers are represented, the labor-relations system provides stability, and workers thus can contribute to the creation of "high-performance workplaces"

In support of such a cooperative approach to attracting FDI, AID could support "best practices" studies, of high-performance workplace experiments such as at the Saturn automobile plants, and of cases of unions adapting their activities to the exigencies of the new globalized economic environment, as some Caribbean unions have done

The group then discussed the need for skilled workers if an LDC is to be able to offer "high-performance" workplaces to prospective investors, and to make their exports competitive in world markets. Effective skill-training programs require prior solid research into the demand for particular skills. AID could help support such essential research. The group's members concurred that human capital development programs should have a role for organized labor in skills training, via apprenticeship and on-the-job training programs. (Provision of training should be unbiased as between export and other sectors.) Skill training should be done by a partnership among labor,

business, and government Training schools currently operated directly by governments should be shifted over to tripartite sponsorship and operation

The group also suggested that AID should condition its purchases of non-US source-of-origin goods and services on respect for, and the full implementation of, such core labor standards as may come to be included in trade agreements. Such a requirement could be analogous to the existing requirement that AID purchase only from drug-free workplaces (Admittedly, this could add another "barnacle" to AID's already-convoluted procurement process, but the benefits might outweigh this disadvantage)

In summary, the group concluded that

- AID should support the inclusion of labor standards in trade agreements by
 - Helping labor to gain a voice in trade negotiations,
 - Helping equip labor with the research background to use that voice effectively,
 - Promoting social dialogue on trade issues by sponsoring national and
- regional fora on the topic

AID should help LDCs improve their export competitiveness by

- - Strengthening labor's capacity to help create high-performance workplaces,
- - Helping labor become a participant in skill-training programs,
- Promoting cooperation among labor, business, and government to attract FDI by offering a fair, stable, labor-relations system
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Group 3 Income Distribution

The distribution of income can be effected by various factors, among which the following were considered most important by the participants in this group

1 Structural reform which is used principally to preserve macroeconomic health, including privatization of industry and basic social services, and capital and banking reform

2 Generation reforms including restructuring and modernization of the state, decentralization, pension reform, social policy as it relates to employment security, and income maintenance

3 Productivity enhancing practices which create additional wealth and thereby broadens the income base to be distributed

4 By far the most important objective, according to this group, is the utilization of collective bargaining. It can be both an economic and a political tool, and it has the ability to accommodate a broad range of issues related not only to wages but also to the overall quality of life of the workers such as the environment, health, and political representation.

USAID should support research, which can be used to further the processes of collective bargaining. Training of trade union leaders to become more proficient in negotiating collective contracts would result in a redistribution of income.

Group 4 - Decentralizing and Distributing Economic Power

The discussion within this group resulted in the identification of seven objectives and supporting strategies.

1 USAID should encourage a favorable investment climate that promotes economic growth and respect for labor rights. This could be accomplished by (a) building coalitions and (b) supporting education campaigns that support economic reform, job creation, economic growth, and labor rights.

2 USAID should encourage the participation of unions in the political process of electing leaders and holding elected officials accountable. This would require

- a Education programs on the union's role in a democratic society, the relationship between unions and political parties, and building coalitions with other groups in civil society.
- b Build the capacity of unions to conduct advocacy programs.
- c Education on union autonomy and independence from political parties, government, and

employers

3 USAID should seek to modernize industrial relations systems and improve the legal framework that promotes favorable labor-management relations This would involve

- a Encouragement of collective bargaining
- b Development of independent labor courts
- d Establishment of arbitration and mediation systems
- e Enhancement of union representational abilities in adjudicating grievances
- e Support for labor law reform

4 USAID should encourage the development of an independent and democratic trade union movement by

- a Promoting internal democratic reform
- b Supporting the development of trade union pluralism
- c, Encouraging the development of unions along industrial lines as
 - a means of promoting unity among democratic unions
- d Promoting legal reforms that include international labor standards and which support the development of civil society and NGO's
- f Providing information on economic change and globalization

5 USAID should encourage the adoption of fair labor standards, worker rights, and adherence to the rule of law by

- a Encouraging the harmonization of national labor law and practice to international labor standards
- b Supporting, in certain countries, the AFL-CIO's efforts to identify legal issues needing reform, and local unions' advocacy for reform

- g Stimulating empirically-based public discussion on labor rights and laws
- c Building constituencies for labor rights and laws
- d Integrating labor rights themes into business-Entrepreneurial education programs

6 USAID should address the costs of economic restructuring by

- a Helping civil society groups, including labor, to set up monitoring and evaluation mechanisms on social safety nets, including international donor transfers
- b By using AFL-CIO experience in developing vocational training programs and other programs to reduce the hardship of economic restructuring

7 USAID should encourage the break-up of cartels and monopolies by

- a Strengthening and empowering social partners to negotiate with the government
- b Strengthening the capacity of unions, in coalition with other civil society groups to advocate for greater transparency, accountability, economic pluralism and competition policies that are consistent with ILO core conventions
- c Strengthening unions and its members' capacity to analyze and understand the economic environment in which they and their employers operate
- d Collecting and disseminating information to unions, government, NGO's, and others on best practices of privatization and restructuring, including labor involvement in adjustment programs
- e Promoting structures for consultation and involvement of workers in the development and implementation of restructuring and privatization programs

DAY TWO - EMPHASIS ON POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT POLICIESGroup 5 Electoral Systems

The discussion of labor's role in electoral systems was broken down into three time frames, pre-electoral, electoral, and post-electoral. Each has its own peculiarities, risks and rewards, depending on the strength of the labor movement and the amount of freedom within the country.

In the pre-electoral phase, labor should be encouraged to participate in electoral commissions, which have the responsibility for setting up administrative processes. USAID should work to ensure that labor has a role in the process and that they be allowed to comment on the reform of electoral laws. USAID can support targeted educational programs including research and information networking in conjunction with international experts such as the National Democratic Institute and their domestic partners, and with the local union think-tanks, universities, law schools, legal organizations, and similar organizations.

During the electoral phase, USAID should support union efforts with voter education. These activities might include radio-canvassing, operation of phone banks, get-out-the-vote campaigns, and the building of institutions within the trade unions. Trade unions have an important role in democracy building by promoting interest in the electoral process. This involves the creation of support systems, the building of an in-house capacity to produce voter education materials such as leaflets for non-literate people, sample ballots, and the like. Collaboration should be sought with local business, the media, government agencies at all levels, and with religious institutions and NGO's.

The monitoring of elections, both officially and unofficially, is a function that unions can fulfill during the electoral phase. Such monitoring enhances the integrity of the election process and in many cases helps the general population feel safe. Local support for labor monitoring is important and can be garnered by the proper identification of the monitors, adequate training for the monitors, and having the proper support for their deployment.

The post-electoral role of unions is to ensure that transition from one administration to another proceeds smoothly, that sustainability within the trade union movement is created, and that people, especially from trade

unions, remain committed to the democratic process. It is important that election results are analyzed and that unions immediately proceed with the process of building long-term union capabilities in education and information dissemination. In the long period between elections, unions must continue to develop their connections with NGO's, universities, think tanks, and other parts of civil society.

Group 6 Internal Democracy Within Organizations

Discussion by this group of participants resulted first in the acknowledgement that unions reflect generally the mores of the society in which they operate and that, having said this, they are the most democratic of institutions in any given society. Union power to represent workers is admittedly restricted since they normally have membership, which constitutes a small percentage of the total work force. The AFL-CIO criteria for cooperation with foreign unions ask (1) do they hold free and honest elections? And (2) Are they independent of government, political parties, and employers? If the answer to these questions is positive, the union is considered a suitable partner for joint programs and activities.

Older unions, which have forged exceptionally close and sometimes incestuous relationships with political parties, are encouraged to assume a more independent posture in favor of their membership. Official unions of the former Soviet Union and the countries of Eastern Europe are evaluated on their ability to break with the old regime and comply with the AFL-CIO's criteria of free and honest elections and independence from government, party, and employers.

The first USAID objective should be to encourage the development of an independent trade union movement by

- a Promoting internal democratic reform
- b Supporting trade union pluralism
- c Encouraging sector-specific development and unity
- d Promoting legal reforms that incorporate labor standards and support
the development of other aspects of civil society
- e Provide information on economic change and globalization

Secondly, USAID should encourage participation of unions in the political process and should attempt to hold elected officials accountable by

- a Supporting education programs on the role of unions in a democratic society, the relationship with parties, the building of coalitions, and similar democratic political themes
- b Building capacity of unions to conduct advocacy programs
- c Supporting union-provided education on trade union autonomy, independence from parties, government, and employers

A third objective should be to modernize industrial relations systems and the legal framework to improve labor-management relations through,

- a Support of collective bargaining
- b Development of independent labor courts
- c Creation of arbitration and mediation systems
- d Increasing the capacity of unions to represent their members in the adjudication of industrial disputes
- e Support for labor law reform

Group 7 Government Transparency and Accountability

The sole objective of this discussion group was achieving government transparency and accountability, the title of the session. Specifically, the group was referring to the need for judicial reform, disclosure laws for public officials, protections for whistle blowers, establishment of inspector generals, campaign finance reform, laws controlling the media, anti-corruption commissions, human rights commissions, conflict of interest laws, electoral laws, and decentralization strategies

USAID should promote labor's role in defining a political reform agenda by,

- a Establishing or increasing trade union capabilities through training programs

- b Promotion of coalition building with other civic organizations
- c Development of a trade union monitoring role
- d Development of strategies and a curriculum addressing post-cold war political developments
- e Promotion of the growth of independent civil society
- f Promotion and support of labor law reform

The trade union movement should join with democratic forces in the society such as business associations, human rights groups, NGO's, and other community leaders in a quest for transparent and accountable government

Group 8 Advocacy of Social Programs Benefiting Workers

This group first discussed the representative nature of unions. It was noted that organized labor is, in fact, a minority group within the labor force and therefore cannot automatically presume to speak for all workers. There can be some contradictions of interests between organized and unorganized workers. Distinctions were made between rural and urban labor and between low-income workers and (presumably) better-paid union workers. All of these groups need channels for expression of their interests as social reforms are designed and implemented in such areas as health, education, and retirement pensions.

The question was raised in particular about whether workers in the informal sector could use trade-union movements as channels to voice their interests. Some unions are now trying to reach out to the informal sector. Such efforts put in question the neo-Liberal view that unions are simply "rent-seekers" trying to win more benefits for a privileged minority of workers.

To be an advocate, according to some members of the group, implies a desire for change. Change, in turn, means that someone or some group is making a value judgment. The debate then turned to a comparison of Western concepts versus Asian values. It was noted that traditional safety nets, such as the extended family, are breaking down in Asia, so that they cannot handle the problems of mass unemployment. For example, in South Korea, the unemployed have lost both their incomes and their housing. In some

societies basic values regarding whether the family or the state should take responsibility for providing safety nets are still being debated

It was pointed out that this issue involves not only values, but the availability of resources For example, USAID missions must choose between spending scarce funds on short-term safety nets or on long-term economic reforms There is a need for dialogue between AID and labor movements, among other social sectors, about making these choices in priorities

The discussion then turned to differences among regions and countries as to appropriate roles for labor movements as advocates for social reforms In countries at different stages in the structural adjustment process, unions may face different tasks For example, the union experience in the Caribbean was noted There, unions led the independence movements They embodied both nationalism in the political sphere and the pursuit of respect for workers' rights in the labor sphere Now, the political and union leaders are different persons and come from different backgrounds

It was asserted that globalization has altered the agenda of unions The advocacy of union positions on social reform has traditionally been one role Another role could be to act as the executing agency for donor programs - unions have the organizational infrastructure to reach into local communities As executing agencies, unions would become social actors, not merely social advocates They could actually deliver services Both social advocacy and service delivery are much broader roles than the traditional union function of simply negotiating collective contracts with employers

The role of unions at the local level was contrasted with their national level representational activities At the national level, unions can represent broad groups of workers on issues such as minimum wage legislation and safety net programs It was noted that in Hong Kong the unions have spoken for the interests of non-unionized workers as well as of their own memberships, and that in South Korea the KCTU is working in coalitions with farmers and the urban poor At the local level, especially in countries pursuing programs to decentralize government, unions must conduct advocacy campaigns directed at local governments USAID could help train unions how to do this local advocacy work more effectively

Some of the participants in this group urged a better understanding of what unions can do They stressed the need

to break down the stereotype, which is reflected in World Bank publications, that unions represent only a narrow band of privileged workers. Unions have always been social movements, doing both collective bargaining for their own members and advocating on broad social issues.

It was acknowledged that the first generation of economic adjustment programs did not consider social problems. Labor movements complained about the absence of a social dimension at the time, and continue today to press for a social aspect to adjustment programs. In particular, according to some on the panel, there is now a need to look at wealth distribution as well as the creation of wealth when devising adjustment plans.

The channels through which labor movements can promote social reforms were discussed. There are a variety of such channels, at different levels in society. Unions should be social advocates in specific sectors too, such as in reform of pension systems. Tripartite fora involving government, business, and labor in a process of "concertation" is a channel often utilized.

Discussion then turned to putting priorities on AID's limited resources when assisting unions. For example, should AID help unions build up their membership bases by providing their members with practical services, or stress helping unions play their broader role as advocates of general social reforms? Several members of the group stressed that AID must continue to help unions to provide basic services, or they will lack the organizational base to be social advocates. That means continuing to support "tool courses" such as bargaining skills, organizing techniques, and union administration. For example, in Bangladesh helped garment workers attain the basic skills necessary to form a union.

It was pointed out that such decisions on priorities depend on the particular situation in each place at a given time. For example, if unions are being severely repressed under a dictatorial regime, they will not be allowed to provide many services nor build up their membership base. Moving from authoritarian rule to the rule of law would be the unions' top priority in such a situation.

The group then came up with a number of types of labor projects that AID could undertake, depending on the modalities of each situation.

- AID could help unions improve their expertise on controversial policy issues such as labor-law reform, so that the unions could better contribute

to the public policy debate. Unions need greater knowledge of economics, because they cannot contribute to discussion if they are not well-versed on a given issue.

- AID could help generate such public dialogue on policy, for example, on issues of gender equity
- In particular, AID could promote public dialogue on the IFIs' adjustment programs and their effects on workers (This effort could follow up on such initiatives as the World Bank's instruction to its field offices to consult with local unions)
- AID could help unions to gain a role in the initial *design* of adjustment programs (At present, there is little dialogue between labor and the IFIs. Adjustment programs are designed by the IFIs and the government, with little labor input.)
- AID could prepare unions to monitor and evaluate the *implementation* of adjustment programs
- AID could support coalition building among unions and other social sectors, as they press for social reforms in such key areas as health and education
- AID should also include unions in the design of AID projects, from the very beginning. Unions will support those projects in which they had roles in designing. AID's Economic Growth bureau, in particular, should begin to consult with labor movements, both at the national and local levels.

The discussion turned to the issue of how unions, like other social groups, may have some vested interests in existing structures of social services, and thus may actually oppose proposed reforms in those sectors. Teachers' unions and unions of health-care workers were said to have sometimes opposed reforms. They advocate for more budget allocations for their sectors, and higher wages, but do not want to even discuss changes in the design and structure of social-service systems. It was suggested that in such situations, AID could help to broker a legitimate conversation aimed at getting labor to play a role as a change-agent in the reform process, rather than just dig in its heels to protect past gains. When proposals for reforms in a given sector are anticipated, AID could act early to help unions in that sector to improve their policy-analysis capabilities and their knowledge of how reforms in that sector were undertaken in other countries. For example, this sort of "conversation" was conducted successfully in the Philippines. If labor is given a voice, then it may focus on obtaining new gains in the new structure, rather than merely protecting past gains in the old structure. If designers of social reforms simply view unions as "part of the problem"

and ignore them, then unions will indeed become obstacles to reform

USAID missions can both help unions to understand better the issues of sector reform, and get the technical designers in governments and in the IFIs to see the need to obtain the unions' cooperation. In sum, when reforms are being designed, unions should both be invited to the table and be prepared to have positive things to say when at the table. The unions should be ready to provide *alternative solutions* to social problems, not merely say "no" to proposed changes. This way, unions can help planners assure that the proposed reforms are the right ones.

Examples were cited. In Haiti, the government simply decreed a particular type of education reform, and the international labor movement finally was able to get the World Bank to intercede and meet with the Haitian teachers. In Zambia, when the government tried to privatize education, without ever discussing the matter with the teachers' unions, the government initiative failed. In Bolivia, when the government lacked enough funds to pay all the teachers' salaries, it sought to dismiss many teachers, and this resulted in a teachers' strike. In elite-dominated societies, workers need a voice to support efforts to break the hold of the elite and get a better distribution of income—such as providing enough funds to pay needed schoolteachers. (It was pointed out that those on the staffs of the IFIs who come from developing nations are often themselves from elite families, and their views might be supplemented by outside expertise on issues of social reforms, which deal with people, not with physical infrastructure.) It was noted that AID is now sponsoring meetings of economists and trade union leaders in four Asian countries.

In respect to helping unions become better-informed on reform proposals, AID could draw on the studies developed by labor's own research capacities, such as the AFL-CIO's Public Policy Department, the U.S. labor-sponsored Economic Policy Institute, and the OECD's Trade Union Advisory Committee. In turn, these labor research centers should make use of AID's research. A useful synergy could develop out of these contacts among experts. AID could play a "networking" role, facilitating policy dialogue.

In summary, the group concluded that, assuming unions are being helped to deliver services to their members, they can play the roles of social movements, with a voice in the *designing* of social reforms.

AID can help unions gain the expertise needed to monitor and/or implement social reforms, help unions improve their public advocacy skills in such areas as coalition-

building, and sponsor fora for public dialogue on reforms, with labor as a full participant

Closing Plenary Session

The final plenary session was chiefly devoted to a review of the work of the eight discussion groups. Some of the comments made were

- "Unions can be bridges between races and religions "
- "Labor is not a cohesive entity everywhere and it's hard to recommend a general program policy applicable in all cases "
- "It's difficult putting labor in context. There are often many movements with complex political party relationships "
- "Some generalities are helpful, such as the criteria for free and democratic unions "
- "Labor must conversely understand the AID position on labor issues "
- "If it's 'good policy' for USAID to support globalization then union support for the policy is needed. It provides political support to sustain trade and investment policies "
- "We need new thinking for the USAID-Labor relationship, cold war thinking is out "
- "The role of labor can be a catalyst for change "
- "The goal of these discussions should be to provide a clear understanding of the role of labor in economics and politics and to pass it on to the program officers in the Missions "
- "Many feel labor doesn't represent a significant position in the labor force "
- "Labor is part of the democratic process. It is sometimes pragmatically essential "

Charles Costello, Director of the Center for Democracy and Governance made a few closing remarks in which he thanked the participants for their contributions over the past two days. He stressed the importance of the USAID relationship with the Solidarity Center and the long history of collaboration between AID and the AFL-CIO. Costello characterized the workshop as part of a rejuvenation of that relationship.

Summary Charts of Working Groups' Recommendations

WORKING GROUP #1- CAPITAL FORMATION AND INVESTMENT

OBJECTIVES	STRATEGIES	ACTIVITIES	PARTNERS
Favorable investment climate that promotes economic growth and respect for labor rights	Building broad coalitions to support economic reform, job creation, economic growth and labor rights	Training programs for unions on efficacy of broad coalitions and techniques of how to achieve them Exposure to case studies National for a	NGO's representing social reform groups, women's issues, and labor rights Business development groups Professional research centers
Participation of unions in political process of electing leaders holding elected leaders accountable and in making legislation	Increase union capacity to conduct advocacy programs, including electoral coalition building, trade union autonomy, democratic process within and without the labor movement and reform of social and labor legislation	USAID support of educational or other events to train union leaders on the role of trade union in democratic societies	Regional and/or local issue NGO's Religious groups Nat'l electoral reform bodies, Watchdog alliances Civic organizations
Establishment of modern industrial relations systems and legal framework that promote favorable labor and management relations	Promote collective bargaining, independent labor mediation, arbitration and adjudication systems	USAID support to enhance labor capacity to represent workers, to be informed advocates Promote joint events between labor and business to discuss various means of conflict resolution Support inclusion of labor relations in university business programs	Academicians, business groups, government agencies ILO representatives
Existence of an independent democratic labor movement	Support trade union political pluralism, internal democratic reform industrial sector wide organization legal reforms which incorporate labor standards and seek development of civil society	USAID supports programs offering education training for democratic union building techniques	Int'l labor community Democracy and Human Rights Groups

WORKING GROUP #2 - FOREIGN TRADE

GOALS	STRATEGIES	ACTIVITIES	PARTNERS
Obtain linkage of workers' rights and trading privileges in trade agreements	Help labor to get a voice in negotiation of trade agreements	<p>USAID sponsors multi-sectoral national and regional fora on trade issues</p> <p>USAID supports a Labor Forum in connection with FTAA negotiating conferences</p>	<p>Labor ministries, trade unions, environmental NGOs, think-tanks, universities</p> <p>Trade unions, NGOs, universities, think tanks</p>
	Get internationally-accepted labor standards applied uniformly throughout a given region	<p>USAID assists training of labor inspectors</p> <p>USAID supports empirical research on application of labor standards and the effects on trade</p> <p>Where regional trade pacts already contain clauses on workers' rights (NAFTA, etc), USAID brings labor and management together to implement them</p> <p>USAID promotes implementation of corporate codes of conduct</p> <p>USAID sponsors dialogue among ministries of trade, labor, and aid</p> <p>USAID supports a labor-oriented think tank to research economic issues</p> <p>USAID includes material on workers' rights in its training courses for businessmen</p>	<p>Labor ministries, universities, trade unions</p> <p>Think tanks, universities</p> <p>Business associations, trade unions, labor ministries</p> <p>U S trade unions, unions in the region, U S corporations, NGOs</p> <p>U S and foreign government ministries</p> <p>U S and foreign trade unions</p> <p>CIPE business associations, universities</p>

	Condition USAID funding on respect for workers' rights	<p>USAID supports efforts to harmonize regional labor standards</p> <p>USAID puts workers'-rights conditions on loans and grants</p> <p>USAID puts workers'-rights conditions on its procurement of goods and services</p>	<p>Labor ministries, trade unions, universities</p> <p>Labor ministries, trade unions, human-rights NGOs (for verification of compliance)</p> <p>Human-rights NGOs, trade unions (for verification of compliance)</p>
Increase competitiveness of LDCs' exports	Raise worker productivity in LDC export industries	<p>USAID offers seminars on labor-management cooperation in creating high-performance workplaces</p> <p>USAID supports creation of skill-training programs with labor participation</p> <p>USAID promotes Labor/business/gov't cooperation on attracting DFI by offering a fair, stable, industrial-relations system</p> <p>USAID supports labor-oriented think-tanks to research economic issues such as trade competitiveness</p> <p>USAID-supported labor-education courses provide unions with the info they need to advocate for investment in 'human capital</p> <p>USAID supports research on best practices in high performance workplaces (Saturn plant etc)</p>	<p>Business associations, trade unions, universities, think tanks</p> <p>Labor ministries, business associations, existing vocational training centers</p> <p>Business associations, labor ministries, trade ministries, university depts of industrial relations</p> <p>Trade unions research centers universities</p> <p>Trade unions abroad labor's HRDI in the U S</p> <p>Universities research centers trade unions (U S and foreign)</p>

WORKING GROUP #3 - CAPITAL DISTRIBUTION

OBJECTIVES	STRATEGIES	ACTIVITIES	PARTNERS
<p>Increased income by workers, enabling them to increase their purchasing power and standard of living thus contributing to overall economic growth</p>	<p>Support the preparation of qualified and trained trade union leaders who can represent workers in the collective bargaining process</p>	<p>USAID supports training for union leadership which enhances their capability to effectively bargain for membership</p>	<p>Int'l Labor Community Local research centers Local government agencies Religious organizations</p>
	<p>Give high priority to collective bargaining in specific instances where national or regional standards will be affected or where other industries of the same sector will be affected or wherever results will be felt by larger workforce</p>	<p>USAID support of curriculum utilizing case studies, labor relations techniques, credible economic research materials and the techniques of garnering public support</p>	
		<p>USAID supports the enabling of union negotiators to select targets of opportunity which most clearly have a chance of affecting larger numbers of workers</p>	

WORKING GROUP #4 – DECENTRALIZATION & DISTRIBUTING ECONOMIC POWER

Objectives	Strategies	Activities	Partners
<p>Labor has significant role in the decentralization and distribution of economic power</p>	<p>Establish favorable investment climate that promotes economic growth and respect for labor rights</p>	<p>USAID would support creation of coalitions to support economic reform, job creation, economic growth and labor rights</p>	<p>Business organizations, Government agencies, Civic NGO's , ILO</p>
	<p>Enable unions to participate in political process of electing leaders, holding elected officials accountable and making legislation</p>	<p>USAID supports education programs covering union role in democratic society, union relationships with political parties, building coalitions and designing advocacy programs</p>	<p>Int'l labor community, Social Study Centers, Neighborhood Assoc and Advocacy NGO's</p>
	<p>Prepare union leadership to help form modern industrial relations system and legal framework that promotes favorable labor and management relations</p>	<p>USAID would support programs designed to improve collective bargaining, establish independent labor courts, establish mediation and arbitration systems, enhance union participation in adjudication of grievances and promote labor law reform</p>	<p>Int'l labor community, Human Rights NGO's Business Associations Nat'l legal associations, and ILO</p>
	<p>Develop an independent and democratic trade union movement</p>	<p>USAID would support programs promoting trade union unity through industrial sector organization, internal democratic reform of trade unions, trade union internal pluralism, legal reforms that incorporate labor standards and support development of civil society and dissemination of information on economic changes and globalization to labor</p>	<p>Int'l labor community, ILO, Government Regulation Bodies, Human Rights NGO's</p>

	<p>Promote the use of fair labor standards and worker rights in the rule of law</p>	<p>organizations</p> <p>USAID would support programs which promote harmonization of labor law and practice with international standards, AFL-CIO reform programs in specific countries, public dialogue on labor rights and laws, build constituencies for labor rights and laws, integration of labor rights education into academic business classes</p>	<p>ILO, Int'l labor community, national NGO's, women's rights organizations and University Business Programs</p>
	<p>Address the costs of economic restructuring</p>	<p>USAID support programs to support civil society groups including labor to set up monitoring and evaluation mechanisms on social safety nets including international donor transfers, vocation training utilizing AFL-CIO experience and other means to reduce the hardship of economic restructuring</p>	<p>Economic research centers, Int'l labor community, ILO, Human Rights NGO's</p>
	<p>Address the danger of cartels and monopolies</p>	<p>USAID supported programs might include strengthening and empowering of social partners to negotiate with government, strengthening capacity of unions in colations with other civil society groups to advocate for greater transparency, accountability, economic pluralism and competitive policies that are consistent with ILO</p>	

		<p>conventions, increasing union/member capacity to analyze and understand the economic environment in which they and their employers operate, and collect and disseminate information to unions, governments, NGO's etc on the best practice instances of labor involvement in privatization-restructuring policies</p>	
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WORKING GROUP #5 - UNION PARTICIPATION IN ELECTORAL PROCESSES

OBJECTIVES	STRATEGIES	ACTIVITIES	PARTNERS
Labor participation in the electoral process Pre-Electoral	Prepare labor leaders to participate in electoral commissions/reform of election laws and regulations	USAID support of target opportunities in pre electoral phase Provide information and case studies of electoral practice and legislative language	Int'l election specialty organizations such as NDI and NRI Political think-tank s Social research and electoral reform organizations
Labor participation in the electoral process Electoral Phase	Preparation of union leaders to fulfill leadership roles in the mobilization of voters and holding of open and democratic elections	Support for labor initiated programs with the object of promoting mass participation in the election process, public discussion of the issues and access to candidates Support programs for the preparation and training of labor union members as monitors and observers Support voter mobilization programs and get out the vote campaigns	Int'l labor organizations Int'l NGO's such as COPPEL NDI and NRI Local NGO s which promote women s rights, social reform, environmental concerns, economic stability, etc
Labor Participation in the electoral process Post Election Phase	Encourage labor capability to help ensure smooth democratic transitions Promote capability within unions of long term electoral issues and practice	USAID support of programs contributing toward short term and long term election issues and practices	Civic associations Int'l labor organizations Social research and statistical centers

WORKING GROUP #6 - INTERNAL DEMOCRACY

Summary Chart of Recommendations

OBJECTIVES	STRATEGIES	ACTIVITIES	PARTNERS
Development of a free and independent labor movement	Improve procedures and processes to strengthen internal democratic practice of labor movement	USAID support of programs designed to promote internal democratic reform, support trade union pluralism, encourage sector specific unity, promote legal reforms which incorporate labor standards and support other aspects of civil society, provide information on economic change and globalization	Int'l Labor community Human Rights NGO's Political research centers ILO representatives
Labor participation in political and governmental accountability processes	Prepare unions to play a productive role in democratic society, to organize coalitions and advocacy groups with other organizations, to remain independent of political parties	USAID support of programs which would inform union members, and others, of role of labor in a democratic society promote political autonomy, train union leaders regarding the value of coalition and advocacy group building	Human Rights NGO's Political research centers Activists from neighborhood and other groups
Establishment of modern industrial relations system and a legal framework to improve labor management relations	Support efforts to strengthen the institution and practice of collective bargaining labor courts and of arbitration and mediation systems	USAID supports education of training programs which emphasize proficiency of collective bargaining, mediation and arbitration systems, encourage improvement in labor management relations and problem solving	Int'l Labor community Ministries of Labor Business groups ILO representatives

WORKING GROUP #7 - GOVERNMENT TRANSPARENCY & ACCOUNTABILITY

OBJECTIVES	STRATEGIES	ACTIVITIES	PARTNERS
<p>Insure government transparency and accountability</p>	<p>Promote labor's role in defining political reform agenda Judicial reform, disclosure laws applicable to elected officials, whistle blower protection, inspector general, campaign finance reform, media laws, Anti-corruption commissions Human Rights commissions, conflict of interest legislation, decentralization strategies Electoral laws</p>	<p>Establish capability through training Promote with other civic groups Monitor role Development of strategies and curriculum Address post cold war development</p>	<p>Community leaders Business associations Human Rights and religious groups</p>
	<p>Promote Growth of Independent Civil society</p>	<p>Provide information and research for establishing favorable regulating environment Improve capability for monitoring government , non government trends and analysis</p>	<p>Social research centers, University groups ILO support missions Int'l labor community Environmental and women's issue groups</p>
	<p>Promote Labor Law Reform</p>	<p>USAID to support improving union capability of participating in the formulation of legislation, of monitoring application of laws and standards, of creating coalitions and alliances with social reform advocacy groups and civic organizations, and of focusing public opinion on labor protections</p>	<p>ILO representative University legal centers Int'l centers of legal reform research</p>
	<p>Promote internal trade union democracy</p>	<p>Support of programs which enhance sustainable democratic practices in unions</p>	<p>Int'l labor community Democracy and Human Rights NGOs</p>

UNIONS AS ADVOCATES FOR SOCIAL PROGRAMS BENEFITING WORKERS

Working Group #8

GOALS	STRATEGIES	ACTIVITES	PARTNERS
Unions gain a voice in the design of social programs	Increase unions' expertise on the issues concerned	AID supports sector-specific training for unions on social reform issues	ACILS, universities, research centers, NGOs active in a given sector
		AID supports research for unions on alternative social-reform proposals	Universities, research centers, AFL-CIO's Public Policy Dept , Economic Policy Institute
	Persuade IFIs, govts , to initiate dialogue with unions on social reforms	USAID brokers such dialogues, especially by urging IFIs to invite unions into planning of social programs and reforms	Communications media, civic-education NGOs
		USAID helps generate a public dialogue on social programs and helps unions participate	World Bank, IMF, ILO Govts , AID/EG
Unions monitor and/or participate in the implementation of social reforms	Unions offer govts , and IFIs, their organizational structure that can reach into communities to deliver services	AID helps unions build capacity to do civic education, immunizations, explain govt low-income credit programs, etc	Govt ministries, informal-sector associations, UN/OAS specialized agencies (WHO, PAHO, etc)
	Assure that unions' organizational bases give them political "clout" so that govts , IFIs, must include them in the implementation of social programs	USAID continues basic labor education on organizing, bargaining, grievance procedure, etc	ACILS, AFL-CIO, ILO, labor ministries, university departments of labor relations

WORKSHOP
Labor Projects and USAID Development Strategies
November 9 - 10, 1998
Washington, D C

Objective

To develop guidelines governing the appropriate linkage of labor programs with current USAID development strategies. The preliminary document developed from this workshop will be further refined in two subsequent regional workshops, one in Latin America and one in Southeast Asia

This first workshop will analyze how USAID can assist labor in developing and transition countries to contribute to the success of both democracy and governance strategies and strategies promoting broad-based economic growth and reform

These issues will be discussed at the workshop among specialists with a variety of perspectives on labor and development, drawn from USAID, the American labor movement, academia, and international organizations

Methodology

To instill a better understanding among U S labor's international development specialists of the objectives, strategies and technical guidelines which drive USAID development programs, and to sensitize USAID economic and democracy officers, and representatives of other sectors to the importance of trade unions as representative grass-roots organizations and as potentially dynamic forces for economic and political reform and growth, the workshop will endeavor to involve all of the participants in open-minded problem-solving analysis. The ideal result of this exercise will be the further integration of labor-related programs into USAID's country development strategies and the formulation of labor development programs which more clearly contribute to the successful achievement of the objectives at which those strategies are directed

For maximum engagement, for one half of each day the participants will sub-divide into four groups. Each group will analyze, discuss and make programmatic recommendations regarding labor's participation in a particular facet of economic development on the first day and in political development on the second day

To establish a theoretical common ground of concepts and terminology, background reading materials, including an abridged copy of the ACILS Five-Year Program Proposal which was approved by USAID for the period commencing on January 1, 1997, will be distributed to the participants at least two weeks before the workshop

To further set the tone for serious engagement and fresh thinking, an appropriate keynote speaker each morning will discuss labor's roles in economic development on the first day, and in political development on the second day

Discussants might be reminded that a labor union's fundamental obligation is to improve the conditions of life for its members, and that USAID, in turn, has responsibilities on broader national scales, to the interests of the United States, and to the effective development of the societies which USAID seeks to assist

Each working group will be assigned one of the four topics each day and will be asked to produce recommendations. Findings and recommendations should emerge as each group explores the variety of options available for labor programs which would contribute to USAID strategies and development plans. A summary of each group's comments and recommendations will be examined in a plenary meeting at the end of the second day

TOPICS OF DISCUSSION

Day One, Monday, November 9, 1998

Morning Session (in plenary - all participants together in the Shenandoah Room)

Topic Through what processes can the workers in a developing or transition country gain equal voice with other social sectors in decisions on choosing their nation's economic and political development strategies, and, how might USAID help to provide them with the skills necessary to make effective use of those processes?

- Participation in the public policy process
- "Concertation" talks leading to "social pacts"
- Advisory committees
 - to government ministries
 - to governments on negotiations with the IFIs

Afternoon Session (in four small groups)

Topic Each group will identify, in relation to one aspect of economic development categories of development projects in which organized labor and USAID have a common interest

Aspects (one per group)

Capital formation and investment

- Workers' pension funds (example the AFL-CIO's Center for Working Capital)
- Workers' housing cooperatives
- Investment to improve productivity and quality
- Investment to modernize and improve the work-place
- Workers' banks and credit unions
- Agricultural production and marketing cooperatives

Foreign trade

- Employment effects
- Export processing zones
- Effects on observance of ILO conventions and other international commitments

Income distribution

- Collective bargaining's effects
- Effects of creating a higher-skilled workforce
- Building the consumer market
- Profit-sharing plans

Decentralizing and distributing economic power

- Replacing oligopoly with competition in domestic markets
- Broadening the control of state-owned enterprises
- Workers as share-holders

Day Two, Tuesday, November 10, 1998
Morning Session (in four small groups)

Topic Each group will identify, in relation to one aspect of political development, **categories of development projects in which organized labor and USAID have a common interest**

Aspects (one per group)

Electoral systems

- Representation on electoral commissions
- Promoting reform of electoral laws
- Election monitoring
- Voter education and registration campaigns

Internal democracy within organizations

- Trade-union democracy
- Promoting openness and bottom-up control in political parties
- Promoting openness in local and national governments

Government transparency and accountability

- Combating government corruption
- Monitoring implementation of the laws
- Forming coalitions with other reform groups

Advocate for social programs benefiting workers

- Reforms in the areas of land-holding, taxation, education and systems of medical care
- Speak for
 - both organized and unorganized workers
 - both formal-sector and informal-sector workers
 - both urban and rural workers

Afternoon Session (in plenary)

1 Reports from each of the eight working groups as to their conclusions

2 Discussion of **how USAID's help to labor movements in gaining the skills needed to use the processes for assuring workers an equal voice with other social sectors (discussed on the first morning), can help to assure the success of development projects of common interest (identified in the small-group discussions) in each aspect of economic (four aspects) and of political (four aspects) development**

A summary of the findings and recommendations of the Washington workshop discussions will be distributed to the participants in the two follow-on regional workshops to give them a basis for their own discussion and analysis of regional issues. The summary and findings of these regional workshops will then be integrated into a final report by World Learning, which will assist USAID in producing a guide for use by missions, USAID/DC and the Solidarity Center (ACILS) in designing labor programs

AGENDA
Labor Projects and USAID Development Strategies

Location: **Holiday Inn Rosslyn Westpark Hotel, Shenandoah Room A**
1900 North Fort Myer Drive Arlington, VA 22209
(703) 807-2000

DAY ONE

Monday, November 9, 1998

9:00 a.m. - 10:00 a.m.

Plenary Opening remarks/Theme speaker John Wilkonson, Deputy Director
Economic Growth and Agricultural Development
Center, USAID

10:15 a.m. - 12:00 p.m.

Plenary Discussion of how USAID can provide workers with the skills they need to attain equal voice with other social sectors in their nations' development choices

12 00 p.m. - 1:30 p.m

Lunch break

1:30 p.m. - 4:30 p.m.

Working sessions - 4 groups on economic aspects

4 30 p.m. - 5 00 p.m.

Group secretaries prepare summaries

DAY TWO

Tuesday, November 10, 1998

9 00 a.m. - 9:45 a.m

Plenary Theme speaker Charles Costello, Director
Center for Democracy and Governance, USAID

9 45 a.m. - 12 00 p.m

Working sessions - 4 groups on political aspects

12 00 p.m. - 1 30 p.m

Lunch break

***1 00 p.m. - 1 30 p.m**

(Group secretaries prepare summaries)

1 30 p.m. - 4:30 p.m

Plenary Group reports/Discussion of reports

Labor Workshop Participants

Name	Title/Organization	Address, phone, fax, e-mail
Accolla, Peter	Labor Advisor Center for D & G USAID	
Adabba, Gemma	Representative ICFTU/ITS Washington Office	
Azelton, Aaron (Monday only)	---- NDI	
Betcherman, Gordon (Monday a m only)	Senior Economist, Labor Affairs World Bank	
Borges, Ramon	Professor SAIS	
Buttari, Juan	Senior Economist Economic Growth and Agricultural Development Center USAID	
Cook, Maria Lorena	Professor, Industrial Relations School of Industrial Relations Cornell University	
Costello, Charles	Director Center for Democracy and Governance USAID	
Davis Joe	International Relations AFT	
Doherty, Kate	---- ACILS	
Douglas William	Program Manager World Learning	

Elliott, James	---- Economic Growth and Agricultural Development Center USAID	
Fishman, Phillip	International Affairs AFL-CIO	
Fletcher, Richard	Senior Economist Inter-American Development Bank	
Fox, Jim	Senior Economist PDC/Evaluation Office USAID	
Freeman, Anthony	Representative ILO, Washington Office	
Shailor, Barbara	Director, International Affairs AFL-CIO	
Garton, Randy	Deputy Director ACILS	
Gellerson, Mark	---- Economic Growth and Agricultural Development Center USAID	
Gould, William	Advisor ACILS	
Greene, Richard	Chief, Strategic Analysis Div , Office of Sustainable Development USAID Bureau for Africa	
Hankin, Mark	Asian Coordinator ACILS	

Hansen, Gary	Senior Advisor, Civil Society Center for Democracy & Governance USAID	
Hansen, Robert	----- Center for D & G USAID	
Hart, Elizabeth	Democracy Fellow Center for D&G USAID	
Heberle, John J	Rapporteur	
Jay, Bruce	ACILS/AFL-CIO	
Jennings, Keith (Tuesday only)	NDI	
Kamberis, Harry	Executive Director ACILS ("Solidarity Center")	
Lee, Thea	Economist, Foreign Affairs Public Affairs Department AFL-CIO	
Manarollo James	USAID	
Nelson, Joan	Senior Economist Overseas Development Council	

Norton, Deborah	Democracy Specialist Center for D & G USAID	
Simmons, Emmy	Director Economic Growth and Agricultural Development Center USAID	
Smith, David	Director, Public Affairs Dept AFL- CIO	
Sullivan, John	--- CIPE	
Verdu, Michael	World Learning	
Vermillion, Jim	Assoc Asst Administrator Center for D & G USAID	
Wilkinson, John	Deputy Director Economic Growth and Agricultural Development Center USAID	
Windsor, Jennifer	Deputy Director, Dept D&G USAID	