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AFRICAN-AMERICAN LABOR CENTER

PROGRAM OF ACTION FOR BLACK TRADE UNIONS IN SOUTH AFRICA

1988 PROPOSAL

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SOUTH AFRICA

INTRODUCTION

South Africa, at present, is both volatile and in a state of dynamic change. The political, social, and economic realities of the country have been exposed to a world audience. The international outrage and continued pressure have fueled the internal debate and divisions. Nowhere is this more evident than in the labor movement. Ten years ago, in 1977, black trade unions were not recognized by the government or protected by law. Although black trade unions existed within this hostile environment only one (1) recognition agreement between a black union and a company had been negotiated. The two existing registered trade union federations were not committed to the improvement of the wages, hours, and conditions of the black workers. The South African Confederation of Labour (SACLA) had a history of opposition to the inclusion of any "non-Europeans" in their unions, rabid support for white supremacy, and unwavering endorsements for the strictest apartheid applications. The Trade Union Council of South Africa (TUCSA), the other registered federation of 1977, had, on the other hand, a history of vacillation. Formed in 1954 TUCSA flirted with a co-ordinating body which included SACLA, alternated between black inclusion and parallel unionism, and settled on multi-racialism which accepted workers of all race groups yet divided them by race within the unions of that federation.

By 1982 the South African government tied its reformist attitude and progressive direction to the recent extension of labor union rights and protection to black workers. This white flag, signaling the end of apartheid to the international community, was short-lived. Less than three years later black union bashing became an art form of detentions, prohibitions against meetings, and state intervention in union/management relations. In 1985 five (5) trade union federations vied for the support of the workers. SACLA and TUCSA stuck to their former positions of white exclusivity and multi-racialism, respectively. The progressive black trade union movement had gained momentum with three federations: the Federation of South African Trade Unions (FOSATU) with a non-racial ideology; and the Council of Unions of

South Africa (CUSA) and the Azanian Confederation of Trade Unions (AZACTU) representing the black consciousness orientation most prevalent in the 1970's. Complicating these alignments were the myriad of independent industrial based unions, community/general workers unions, and the vast number of black workers disadvantaged through the lack of any representation.

Two year later, in 1987, the trade union scene, in composition and aggregate number of union members, had significantly changed. Only SACLA remained unchanged in its adamant resistance to black participation. TUCSA, disillusioned by an exodus of major affiliates and irreconcilable differences within the ranks, disbanded in 1986. The Unity Talks of the progressive black trade unions which had persisted since the early 1980's culminated in less than total unity but with substantial direction toward that goal. On November 30, 1985 FOSATU's nine (9) affiliates forged a new federation with twenty-four (24) independent industrial and community based unions, the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) with over 700,000 members by mid-1987. The coup de grace was the defection of the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) from CUSA with their quarter of a million mineworkers.

CUSA and AZACTU, failing to enter the COSATU formation on philosophical and political grounds, had no reason not to merge. The eleven (11) affiliates of CUSA, six (6) of AZACTU, and eight (8) independent unions merged in September 1986. By the end of 1987 the merged body, National Council of Trade Unions (NACTU), had been joined by three (3) additional unions giving the federation a total membership of almost 500,000. While COSATU and NACTU are divided on the "top-floor" of ideology and philosophy their "shop-floor" membership, activities, and direction are strikingly similar. This situation gives credence to the possibility of joint programs and co-ordinated activities in which CUSA and FOSATU participated before these two "super federations" accentuated their differences rather than their similarities. Of immediate and primary importance to both these federations is the consolidation of affiliates into industrial unions to improve the negotiating ability and servicing function of the unions. This effort will, also, significantly minimize worker confusion caused by the previous multiplicity of unions in every industry.

One of the major stumbling block within the trade union movement, today, is a result of the May 1, 1986 formation of the United Workers Union of South Africa (UWUSA). Inspired by the KwaZulu Chief Minister, Gatsha Buthelezi, UWUSA was formed under the direction of Inkatha, the cultural organization claiming one million members and dominant within the Zulu nation. Buthelezi's rejection of the military tactics of the exiled liberation movements, opposition to sanctions and disinvestment as strategies in the struggle to end apartheid, and the divided loyalties of the Zulus between himself and the progressive trade union movement culminated in the very moderate UWUSA. While the federation claims 100,000 members and 100 recognition agreements its acceptability and accessibility to white employers creates realistic suspicions. The lack of union militancy (there has yet to be an UWUSA strike) has less to do with favorable contracts than the actual lack of shop floor support.

Independent black trade unions, black workers dominated by white-led unions, and black workers excluded from trade unions (farm and domestic workers) or not yet organized still comprise the largest segment of the black working population. The organization, training, education, representation, and mobilization of these workers is the single most important role for the progressive black trade union movement following their internal consolidation efforts.

The dominant theme in the historic development of the trade union movements in South Africa is the formalized system of apartheid. Dating back more than three hundred years when a row of hedges was planted across the Cape Flats to divide the races apartheid has shaped the composition and direction of the unions, as well as the whole country. Racial exclusivity, creating a job ladder delineated by race, has given preferential positions to the white race while the black population has been relegated to the lowest rungs of unskilled, low paying jobs. The preferred position of whites in skilled positions has also created a premium pay structure negotiated at the expense of the unorganized black worker. Racial separation, white preferential positions, and the denial of union rights to black workers have all combined to create unequal trade union development and disparate trade union direction.

The union rights enjoyed by white workers are not shared by black workers. Government registration and union access to workers, for example, are not delayed or blocked when a white union is involved. Government interference in white union meetings or the detention of white union officials are practically unheard of. Industrial relations between white unions and employers, specifically the industrial council system, is characterized by a relatively hostility-free environment and concurrence on the prevailing economic order. The black trade unions, on the other hand, have been blunted by government interference, fought with hostile employers, and found the industrial councils to be unresponsive to the needs of the black workers. In essence South Africa has two trade union movements, divided predominantly by race. The conservative trade union movement, white in nature, has embraced the political, social, and economic system built on the foundation of apartheid. The progressive trade union movement, black, has rejected this foundation and has become the major vehicle for change in the country.

AFL-CIO assistance to the progressive black trade union movement in South Africa is an unmitigated endorsement of this rejection of apartheid and consistent with the historical position of the AFL-CIO toward international affairs. In 1881, five years before the formation of the AFL Canadian and U.S. trade unions met to discuss topics of mutual concern and interest. At that convention a resolution spoke out against "conditions of the oppressed people" of Ireland. Not so surprisingly 106 years later, at the 17th Biennial Convention, the AFL-CIO re-affirmed its solidarity with the Irish Congress of Trade Unions, an all-Ireland institution for workers from Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland pursuing social justice and human rights for all. Samuel Gompers, the first president of the AFL, was a principle architect in the founding of the International Labor Organization (ILO) following World War I. Gompers died in 1924 while returning from an international workers meeting in Mexico.

The purpose of the American labor movement's international work has remained remarkably consistent over the past century. The basic premise is the right of workers to organize to maximize their control over the conditions of their work. Workers must have the right to organize, the right to strike, and the right to express themselves politically, for what is won in bargaining can be taken away by the state. For labor there is only one standard for human

rights. All people must have the freedom to create, organize, and control their own organizations independent of the state. As AFL-CIO President, Lane Kirkland, recently stated:

"American workers have a vested self interest in the improvement of wages and working conditions in other countries. They cannot compete with workers earning 50 or 75 cents an hour. At such wages internal economies cannot be developed in Third World countries, nor can such wages generate the purchasing power to sustain markets for American exports. And with the proliferation of multinational corporations, organized workers in the United States need counterpart workers' organizations abroad with which they can develop common strategies in response to common problems.

"Experience teaches us (even if some remain to be convinced) that free and strong trade unions are the most effective instrument for improving wages and working conditions. Experience has also taught us that such unions cannot flourish except in a climate of respect for human rights-freedom of association, of assembly, of expression. For American labor human rights are bread and butter issues. In this sense, contrary to the specious arguments advanced by some Third World ideologues, one can eat democracy...

"The AFL-CIO has a long history of internationalism, a history which has yielded a unique understanding of the process of democratic institution-building and of the long-range programs required to sustain that process. We have a preference for being on the scene, where the action is, not on the sidelines delivering exhortations and pronouncements." (from "The AFL-CIO Abroad" Publication No. 182 August 1987)

This statement, although applicable anywhere in the world, is fundamental to the AFL-CIO policy on South Africa. The AFL-CIO first publicized its opposition to apartheid on May 1, 1958 when the Executive Board protested the treason trial of ninety-one (91) South Africans fighting against this system and the denial of trade union rights to black workers. This statement was followed two years later, in 1960, by an AFL-CIO resolution calling on the U.S. government to impose a boycott of South African products. In 1968 AFL-CIO President, George Meany, failed in his personal attempt to convince TUCSA not to expel black members from the federation's affiliates.

During the 1970's the AFL-CIO rejected the prevailing international theme of the times which implied that the only legitimate worker organizations were those in exile. The AFL-CIO, through its African International Institute the African-American Labor Center (AALC), and AFL-CIO affiliates, maintained

contact with black worker groups inside South Africa who were striving for trade union rights and change from within. Consistent with President Kirkland's 1987 comment of "being on the scene" the AALC traveled in South Africa, provided limited assistance, and conducted education programs most notably in Botswana and at Cornell University in New York.

In his book Building Tomorrow Today Steve Friedman commented that the National Party in 1979 presented a slide show depicting black South African trade unionists receiving trade union training from "sinister foreign forces at a centre in Lesotho." Friedman acknowledged the presence of the AFL-CIO and training but refuted the sinister intent. This statement of the National Party came at the end of the Carter Administration. It is interesting to note that the same National Party allowed an AFL-CIO delegation into the country in 1982 (Reagan Administration), provided a multiple entry visa to the AALC representative living in Botswana, and did not prohibit direct contact with and assistance to the South African black unions. It would appear that both the trade unions and the National Party erroneously equate the politics of the American presidency with the policies of the AFL-CIO.

The AFL-CIO policy on South Africa (Attachment I) is predicated on the principles of human rights: the right of association, the right of assembly, and the right of expression. Workers have the right to form or join unions of their choosing, to meet at a place and time of their choosing, and to express themselves through words or actions. Collectively these human rights are trade union rights. In South Africa, historically, these rights have been denied to black workers. In spite of the Wiehahn Commission Report of 1979, which formed the basis for extending trade union rights to black workers, these rights are still not universally applied.

The AFL-CIO's Program of Action in Support of Black Trade Unions in South Africa (Attachment II), initiated in 1982, is a concerted effort to summon the collective experience and expertise of the American labor movement and place it at the disposal of the progressive black trade unions in South Africa. That program of action was intentionally designed to incorporate all facets of trade unionism (national center, affiliates, ITS, ICFTU, APRI, etc.) to harness the collective wisdom and respond to the differing needs of our brothers and sisters

in South Africa. Consistent with this approach was the intent to be able to provide a multiplicity of programs through these facets, or avenues.

While this Program of Action, over the past four years, has gained acceptance and credibility it has also pointed out many misperceptions of the American labor movement which persist in South Africa. Although the AFL-CIO has consistently opposed apartheid for thirty years and consistently supported free and democratic unions in South Africa there is a trade relation and historical reason for these misperceptions. On one hand the United States, until 1986, was South Africa's major trading partner (for the U.S. South Africa ranks number twenty-eight on the list of trading partners). This meant that the U.S. was the primary purchaser of South African goods while, at the same time, U.S. capital in South Africa was limited compared to the European Community. The United Kingdom, on the other hand, was a close second to the U.S. as a trading partner. The significant difference is the parity of that relationship. For the U.K. South Africa is both a principle supplier of goods and a market for goods. When the U.K. is combined with the countries of the European Economic Community (EEC) they become South Africa's primary trading partner far out-distancing the U.S. and Japan. This economic relationship reflects the settlement of South Africa by the English and Europeans, specifically Dutch, and the historic linkage.

This economic relationship is also reflected in the development of the progressive black trade unions, especially FOSATU. Although FOSATU was not formally launched until 1979 it had its roots in the Natal based Trade Union Advisory and Co-ordinating Council (TUACC). Formed in 1973 by idealistically motivated white university graduates TUACC mirrored the radical academic intellectualism of the times which had a definite impact on the unions and their development. In the mid-70's a number of these former students were banned, and one, Mike Murphy, emigrated to England when his banning order was lifted. In England Murphy made contact with the British TUC and other European trade union centers and began co-ordinating activities between those unions and TUACC. In 1978 TUACC adopted a strategy of organizing European companies in South Africa on the premise that European union support would pressurize and expedite organizing. This strategy evolved into close cooperation between the federations, a relationship which continued until

FOSATU became part of COSATU with Murphy the international representative of FOSATU.

The American/South African union "connection" was less well defined, lacking the historic and economic determinants. This situation was complicated, also, by the AFL-CIO disaffiliation from the ICFTU in 1969, the federalism of American trade unionism, and the American political environment of the 1980's. The AFL-CIO's Program of Action has done much to overcome many of these artificial barriers. Of primary importance in eliminating these barriers has been the AFL-CIO's willingness to respond to requests (versus imposed programs), to open and facilitate lines of communication, to promote the anti-apartheid activities of the unions, and to encourage AFL-CIO affiliates to develop and maintain contact with their counterpart unions in South Africa. While this relationship is not complete yet, the culmination of four years of active, "on the scene", contact has made the AFL-CIO a recognizable source of trade union assistance and support.

GOAL

The AFL-CIO will continue to place its resources, talents, and energies at the disposal of the progressive black trade union movements in South Africa to accelerate their development as free and independent democratic institutions capable of obtaining economic, political, and social justice in that country. The attainment of that goal is predicated on internal (South Africa), regional, and international activities directed at democratic institution building. The recent, August 1987, strike of the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) is illustrative of this need. NUM, although militantly anti-capitalistic and distanced from the American labor movement, is a microcosm of the difficult situation confronting the black trade unions in South Africa and exemplifies the areas of assistance which the AFL-CIO is attempting to address throughout the labor movement.

NUM, today the most potent union in South Africa, carried out the largest and costliest strike in South African history. This fact, however, belies the reality of the situation. NUM was formed in 1982 by CUSA with the assistance of the international community including the AFL-CIO. The migrant contract labor

system, unisex hostel living, the lack of black community rapport with miners, tribal rivalries on the mines, and hostile mine owners were all barricades to black unionization. The willingness and determination of the miners to join the union of their choosing are exemplified by the membership figures: 150,000 by 1985 and 250,000 by 1987. This mass movement forced NUM to abandon an organizing strategy of one mine at a time in favor of mass recruitment. While the financial assistance was never a major problem the NUM had a tiger by the tail. To be effective in representing the miners, and maintain their enthusiasm, the union had to develop a functioning infra-structure (offices), a cadre of leaders on all levels (national, regional, branch, local and shaft), an educated membership which understood unionism, and auxiliary departments to address the myriad of mining problems (legal, safety and health, research, etc.). Money is essential to these activities. Time is more important.

NUM, in its legal strike on the gold and coal mines in 1987, anticipated the participation of 200,000 members. When 340,000 workers downed their tools it represented an increase of 70% of the expected level of participation. The resolve of the miners was equalled by that of the Chamber of Mines who collectively lost a reported \$125 million US dollars in three weeks. The fact that the miners returned to work without additional gains is less important than their unity and militancy in the face of a hostile employer. The ramifications of the strike are:

1. The rapid growth of NUM, expressed in membership numbers, reflects the continuing need to provide union education to these members and to develop an infra-structure to respond to their needs. Both of these efforts need time, money, and experienced cadre. Additionally this must be accomplished within the hostile environment of the mining compounds.
2. Although the August 1987 strike was legal 44,000 miners, mostly migrant workers, were fired, many of them still not re-hired causing family hardships as well as straining the economies of their country of origin.

3. The migrant labor system is destined to provoke a myriad of problems: eliminating unisex hostels and allowing miners' families will create an assimilation process within the townships; the end of the repatriation of miners' wages to governments will end with the exodus of miners' families or the return of miners causing dramatic economic displacement; and the need for regional activities to coordinate programs and recruitment are essential.
4. The unity of the miners, and their success negotiating improvements, will force the mine owners to abandon their labor intensive practices (cheap labor) and introduce capital intensive mining techniques. The union will need the expertise to negotiate this introduction and the ability to address the needs of the displaced workers.
5. Safety and health in the South African mines is extremely low in comparison to other countries. Deaths, injuries, and long term illnesses have an unacceptably high rates in this industry. The union needs the expertise to address this question and negotiate applicable remedies.
6. The size of the union necessitates an improvement of communications and record keeping which can only be accomplished through computerization and the training to maximize their effective use.
7. The Shell Oil Boycott, miners' strike fund, international messages of support, union speakers on international platforms, and sanctions all point to the need for close cooperation and effective collective action.

The situation confronting the National Union of Mineworkers in the mining industry is not unique. Each union in South Africa, recognizing industrial differences, is confronting the same set of problems. The goal of the AFL-CIO Program of Action in Support of Black Trade Unions in South Africa is to assist in the resolution of these problems. These problems are identifiable. On the international scene programs of support must be maintained. Regionally efforts must be accelerated to promote trade union cooperation and address the migrant and contract labor system. And within South Africa trade union development is essential in combating historic racism and planning for a future

South Africa. The AFL-CIO is prepared to continue to offer its experience and expertise in addressing these problems.

The experience of the AFL-CIO is unique in this regard. The trade union movement in the U.S. has historically battled overt and exploitative capitalism, promoted socially responsible programs through negotiations and government lobbying, fought racism, in any form, in the workplace, experienced a myriad of transitions within the workforce, and experienced the loss of jobs through mechanization and trade practices. These experiences, which are part of the development and evolution of trade unions in the U.S., are highly transportable to South Africa. While South Africa is not a mirror image of the U.S. there are enough similarities from which the progressive black unions of South Africa can learn. This learning can only expedite their development, improve the situation of the workers and their families, hasten the elimination of all apartheid practices, and insure the labor movement remains free, independent, and democratic regardless of the economic or political order in a post-apartheid South Africa.

TRADE UNION SITUATION - 1987

General The trade union situation in South Africa during 1987 was marked by union consolidation, government intervention, international pressure, and employer resistance. In combination these factors demonstrate the unity of workers supported internationally against the fear and resistance of employers backed by the government.

The emergence of COSATU and NACTU as the dominant black trade union federations, unifying over fifty unions, has significantly minimized the confusion for black workers previously caught in the membership battle between competing unions. That confusion caused the vacillation of workers between unions and was the major impediment to growth and development. Equally important is the perception in South Africa that these federations are firmly rooted. Although mergers and some splintering will continue the structures of the federations have been established along definable philosophical lines. The fact that independent unions are gravitating toward

one or the other is exemplified by National Union of Garment Workers, Textile Workers Industrial Union, Motor Industry Combined Workers Union (all joining COSATU in 1987) and National Union of Furniture Workers, Electrical and Allied Trade Workers Union, Media Workers Association of South Africa (all joining NACTU in 1987). While the rivalry between COSATU and NACTU persists its aggressiveness has abated. The amount of raiding and poaching of members as well as union splintering was minimized in 1987. Stability within the ranks of the two federations would create an atmosphere for coordinated joint activities and programs.

This consolidation, however, has brought to the surface the fear the government has of a well developed and effective trade union movement. The continued arrest of leading black trade union leaders (Amon Masane, Moses Mayekiso, and Mike Rousso), the detainment and questioning of trade unionists (James Mndaweni and fifty-three union members in one day), the bombing of COSATU House in Johannesburg, the banning or interruption of union meetings (surveillance of a Pretoria branch meeting), and the use of government troops in normal labor/management affairs have all served to prove the government's true intent of curbing the organization and mobilization of workers. If these actions were not enough the government has introduced new labor legislation which is intended to severely restrict trade union activity. That new labor legislation redefines unfair labor practices limiting the union's normal activities; excludes university, technicon, college, and school staffs from the protection of the Labour Relations Act; establishes a labor court which would undermine the accepted Industrial Court; amends the existing dispute process to restrict union use and promote employer delaying tactics; further limits legal strike activity; and allows an employer to claim delictual damages against a trade union.

Employers, publicly denouncing apartheid and promoting their good intentions of black advancement and socially responsible programs, have retained a union-busting mentality. The tactics have included reprisals through mass discharge or lay-off, costly and time consuming litigation, and the new fad of token employee ownership. This latter initiative, employee stock ownership, is gaining momentum within management circles as an alternative to unionization and as a public relations message. While it is doubtful that these plans will gain

acceptance among the black workforce they are indicative of management's anti-union animus and the extent of employer designed prescriptions for divisiveness within the black ranks.

The government, as an employer, has shown both its ruthlessness in dealing with black unions and willingness to use its military to control workers. The strikes of black railways workers of the South African Transport Services and black post and telecommunications workers were met by a refusal to negotiate, mass dismissals, and violence.

The 1987 white-only election, the introduction of a National Council Bill (already rejected by the black community), and the proposed elimination of the national Group Areas Act in favor of a local Group Areas Act are only three examples of recent government actions intended to placate the black population and appease the international community. Although these efforts are shallow they do show the rigidity of the white South African leadership and their implacable commitment to a racially divided country.

Federations

1. The Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) received the majority of press throughout 1987. Its consolidation efforts (reducing thirty-three affiliates into twelve industrial unions) was enhanced with the formation of the Construction and Allied Workers Union, National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa, and the merger which brought 60,000 former TUCSA members together with the National Union of Textile Workers to form the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union of South Africa.

COSATU's call for a Living Wage Campaign, the federation's convention and adoption of the Freedom Charter, the SATS workers and NUM strikes, the passport denial to the general secretary and other top leaders, and the governments interference in the federation's activities all combined to catapult COSATU to the forefront of the union movement in South Africa as well as the international community. COSATU, however, is straining in its capacity to respond

to all areas of interest. Of particular importance is the internal debate on the best utilization of time and resources, the question of balancing political and shop floor initiatives.

2. The National Council of Trade Unions (NACTU) has made a substantial recovery from the disaffiliation of NUM from CUSA and the formation of COSATU. The merger which formed NACTU has taken on new dimensions with the affiliation of the Electrical and Allied Workers Trade Unions, Media Workers Association of South Africa, and the National Union of Furniture Workers. Additionally the NACTU unions in the engineering and electrical industry are contemplating a merger.

NACTU's problem with the government and its own internal debate are similar to those of COSATU although not magnified to such a degree. One problem facing NACTU is the international impression that the federation is a weak cousin of COSATU. It will be imperative for NACTU to mobilize its members, actively pursue its expressed agenda, and re-capture the support of the international community. Ideally mutual respect between COSATU and NACTU would present a unified national front for the betterment of black workers and more expeditious development of a non-racial state. This mutual cooperation is not a distant dream. CUSA/FOSATU interaction, and joint activities of their affiliates, is well documented prior to 1985. With the trade union re-alignment, over the past two years, settled, there is no reason to believe that NACTU/COSATU interaction cannot take place.

Industrial Sectors

1. The mining sector, the life-blood of the South African economy, experienced the costliest strike in the country's history. The importance of this sector can be viewed from the adamant refusal of the Chamber of Mines to give any ground to the 340,000 striking miners. Rather than concede any power or position to the National Union of Mineworkers the mining companies took their financial losses

and backed it with a threat to fire 20,000 strikers per day. This position was quietly supported and applauded by the government and business community as a defense against growing union power.

Although the Chamber of Mines, at the conclusion of the strike, was congratulatory toward the union its introduction of employee ownership, threat of mechanization, and refusal to re-hire dismissed strikers all point to future confrontation. The enthusiasm of the mineworkers in 1987 was the result of high expectations and the militancy inspired by both the COSATU and NUM conventions as well as the deplorable conditions on the mines. The union's ability to duplicate this militancy, better structure its strike, and generate additional pressure will be essential. New labor legislation, however, may make 1988 more confrontational than any time in recent history.

Sanction efforts, particularly against South African coal, dented the foreign earnings of the mining companies but not to the extent of accomplishing the purpose of ending apartheid. Jobs did not go lost because of sanctions although the migrant labor system itself was used as political leverage by increasing or decreasing migrant employment from one country to another.

2. The agriculture, forestry and fishing sector is poorly organized and facing a magnitude of problems. The primary problem is the failure of the the Labor Relations Act to cover agricultural workers. Regardless of the lack of legal protection, both NACTU and COSATU made a conscious effort to begin major organizing efforts in this sector. Additionally the Orange Vaal General Workers Union, with links to COSATU, has a long history of organizing farm workers on the Orange Free State/Transvaal border. In the province of Natal, Buthelezi's UWUSA has signed a number of recognition agreements in the agricultural sector, primarily sugar, and is presently battling COSATU for worker loyalty. Given the deplorable conditions in the agricultural sector the marginal gains by UWUSA may be resented by the workers. Their ability to break away, join a progressive union, and gain recognition, however, will be severely tested without the protection of

law and facing the tenacious opposition of the white farmers and growers.

3. The food and beverage industry witnessed a sustained strike by COSATU's Food and Allied Workers Union (FAWU) against the South African Breweries (SAB). Of significance in this strike was the effort to get SAB Zimbabwe to increase its production to counteract the strike. The fact that SAB has breweries and bottling plants throughout the Southern Region points to the need for more co-ordinated regional trade union activity. The adversarial relationship between FAWU and Food Beverage Workers Union (NACTU) continued although representation at CocaCola was determined thus reducing shop floor battles and improving joint bargaining positions.
4. The textile, garment and leather industry was jolted economically and produced major re-alignments within the trade unions in the industry. This sector is normally one of the first hit by an economic downturn. The poor economy, plant closings, and plants moving from South Africa to the Homelands and some Frontline States severely hurt the industry. At the same time the textile, garment and leather industry is one of the most highly organized in the country. In April 1987 six former TUCSA unions, a COSATU affiliate, and NACTU's affiliate joined in a loose federation, the S.A. Federation of Textile, Garment and Leather Worker Unions. By the end of 1987 two former TUCSA unions had merged with the COSATU affiliate and joined COSATU, two others are contemplating a merger and asking for observer status within COSATU, and the leather unions remain independent.
5. The wood, paper, and printing industry, in 1987, reached an interesting jurisdictional balance between the unions of COSATU and NACTU. The National Union of Furniture and Allied Workers of S.A. and the Media Workers Association of South Africa joined NACTU during the course of the year. COSATU's Paper Wood and Allied Workers Union represents the workers in the paper and pulp industry. There were battles during the year between the paper and furniture unions. This industry is under-organized and union differences will have to give way to the greater task of organizing workers.

6. The chemical industry is characterized by a large number of multinational corporations and government parastatal bodies in this sector. NACTU's S.A. Chemical Workers Union is the largest in the industry followed by COSATU's Chemical Workers Industrial Union. Also gaining in importance is the independent Black Health and Allied Workers Union of S.A. who has organized a number of pharmaceutical companies. The Chemical Workers Union and General Workers Union of South Africa also have membership in this industry. Sanctions have been a two-edged sword in this industry. The early embargo of oil to South Africa cranked the machinery of domestic production which led to the building of SASOL, the government controlled coal to liquid fuel processing plants and subsequent employment. 1987, however, saw Colgate Pamolive consider leaving Port Elizabeth to set up a plant in Botswana.

7. The metals industry is highly stratified. The employers are grouped in the Steel Engineering Iron Federation of South Africa (SEIFSA) while union members are divided along racial lines. Predominantly white unions belong to the Confederation of Metals and Building Unions (CMBU) while the predominantly black unions belong to the South African Co-ordinating Council of the International Metalworkers Federation (SACCIMF). Efforts to get the CMBU and the SACCIMF to negotiate collectively have historically failed as the CMBU unions would reach an early agreement minimizing the bargaining position of the SACCIMF unions.

The unions of the SACCIMF have not been a harmonious grouping of unions. Until the recent mergers which formed COSATU and NACTU, the SACCIMF was a potpourri of unions from CUSA, FOSATU, and the independent unions from the metals, motor, engineering, electrical, and radio unions. With dissimilar jurisdictions and problems, negotiations were usually a fracas. The 1987 COSATU inspired "one union - one industry" campaign led to the formation of the National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa (NUMSA) consolidating all COSATU unions in this industry under one umbrella.

The NACTU unions in the SACCIMF are contemplating the same type of merger to bring all unions in the metals industry into one large union. Even if this is accomplished the new NACTU union will not have the clout of NUMSA mainly due to the "lock" NUMSA has on the motor industry and militancy in the metal industry. The newest development in this industry is the desire of the clerical and administrative staff for union representation. In total 60,000 people, mostly coloured and black women, work for SEIFSA employers in this capacity. A new union, Association of Clerical and Administrative Workers, was formed in 1987.

8. The construction industry in South Africa is yet another example of racial stratification. Job reservation through white exclusivity, educational bars, and denial of access into apprenticeship programs have all served to keep black workers in the lowest, unskilled positions. NACTU's Building Construction and Allied Workers Union (BCAWU) and the Black Allied Mining Construction Workers Union (BAMCWU) have been the dominant unions for black workers. COSATU's "one union - one industry" campaign led to the January 1987 formation of the Construction and Allied Workers Union (CAWU) from the ranks of several affiliates most notably the community based unions.

BCAWU, in 1987, underwent a split when the general secretary was forced from office. His effort to attract members and financial support seems to have failed.

9. The commercial, catering, and accommodation sector is a difficult environment in which to organize because of the size, distance, and ownership of the vast number of establishments involved. The Commercial Catering and Allied Workers Union of South Africa (CCAWUSA), however, founded in 1975, has successfully organized and represented these workers. CCAWUSA was formed with the assistance of TUCSA, participated in the Consultative Committee of Black Trade Unions (the forerunner of CUSA), participated in the unity talks, and is now an affiliate of COSATU.

CCAWUSA, until recently led by Emma Mashinini, has a history of militancy and successful strike activity. Strikes at such store chains as OK Bizarre and Pick 'n Pay resulted in substantial improvements in the wages, benefits, and conditions of employment for the predominantly female workers in this industry. CCAWUSA, in 1987, was clouded in turmoil. Efforts to merge CCAWUSA with the Retail and Allied Workers Union and the Hotel and Restaurant Workers Unions were disrupted and an out of court settlement returned the status of the unions and leadership to pre-June 1987 alignments. New elections are anticipated in 1988 with a completed merger scheduled for the middle of the year.

10. The transport industry in South Africa is one of the most highly organized sectors in the country. This union organization, however, reflects the government involvement in the industry and white union control of black unions and/or black workers. In total one quarter of a million workers belong to unions in this sector. Unfortunately only 65,000 workers belong to either the COSATU or NACTU affiliates in this industry.

The South African government has been more than willing to fight any attempt by progressive trade unions to gain inroads. In 1982 the South African Transport Services (SATS), a government department, fired 700 striking dockworkers in Port Elizabeth rather than recognize their chosen representative, the General Workers Union. In 1987 Johannesburg black SATS workers went on strike. COSATU's South African Railway Harbour and Allied Workers Union attempted to represent them. The bitter strike resulted in 16,000 dismissals, deaths, destruction of property, and a representational battle which still persists.

11. The public sector is characterized by a large number of municipal unions geographically based and racially divided. The 1980 municipal strike in Johannesburg directly resulted in the formation of the Municipal Workers Union of South Africa (now a COSATU affiliate) and

the South African Black Municipal Workers Union (SABMAWU). The SABMAWU leadership left CUSA in 1983 with part of its membership, while the remaining members stayed within CUSA and established the National Union of Public Service Workers (now a NACTU affiliate). Surprisingly the Cape Town Municipal Workers Association was a prime player in the unity talks which led to the formation of COSATU. The federation's one union/one industry campaign was successful in the public sector when MUWSA and CTMWA merged along with unions which had some public sector members. Jon Ernstzen, the General Secretary of CTMWA became the first GS of the merged body. Although black municipal workers did not receive much media attention in 1987 their ability to cripple an urban center makes them a formidable component in the trade union movement.

South African teachers, especially black teachers, have historically been under-represented on the trade union scene. The lack of identity with blue collar workers, geographical separation, and government control all worked against unionization in this field. The school boycotts of 1985 and 1986 as well as politicization by the United Democratic Front (UDF) seem to have activated teachers. Numerous meetings were held throughout 1987 in an effort to establish a national teachers union.

The most aggressive public sector employees, in 1987, were the post and telecommunication workers. A year earlier these workers established the independent Post Office and Telecommunications Workers Association (POTWA). The recalcitrance of the authorities to recognize and negotiate with this union led to two walk-outs in 1987. These strikes led to the dismissal of thousands of black workers and assurances from the authorities of a just settlement never materialized.

12. The domestic service sector may be the largest and most easily forgotten industry in the country. Almost every white household employs one or more domestic worker who is not protected by wage laws or the Labour Relations Act. Domestic workers are subjected to

long hours, separation from their children, extremely low pay, back-breaking work, and the whim of the "madam".

Even with this situation domestic workers, particularly in the large urban centers, have found unity in a number of domestic workers associations. The most active seems to be COSATU's South African Domestic Workers Association (SADWA) followed by NACTU's Domestic Workers Association of South Africa (DWASA) and Black Domestic Workers Association (BLADWA). The immediate problem for these associations is finding avenues to generate collective action or pressure to improve their situation.

The long range problem is the very real threat of eliminating domestic workers from the workforce. A number of white women's organizations have promoted "modcons" (modern conveniences) as alternatives to domestic workers to reduce dependency and the supposed threat these workers pose. If such action occurred quickly it would severely hurt black households as domestic worker pay is often the difference between eating and not.

PAST AFL-CIO ACTIVITIES IN SOUTH AFRICA

General

The AFL-CIO Program of Action in Support of Black Trade Unions in South Africa, initiated in 1982, has two basic programs and two components. The programs are either multilateral or bilateral in nature while the components are categorized as either education or administrative support. The multilateral programs allow the AFL-CIO to provide support (education or administrative) to South African trade unions through the resources, affiliates, and expertise of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU).

The ICFTU is the global body of national trade union centers from democratic countries around the world. In total the ICFTU has 145

affiliates from 97 countries with a combined membership of 85,000,000. The single most important function of the ICFTU is its coordination among affiliates on all aspects of trade union affairs. Consistent with this function is the need to support and assist the development of free trade unions throughout the world. This development process is accelerated by the collective contributions, both financial and material, of the affiliates. The South African trade union program is the largest extra-budgetary program of the ICFTU and is administered by the ad hoc Co-ordinating Committee on South Africa which submits the programs for approval to the Executive Board of the ICFTU. That committee is composed of seven donor organizations (CLC/Canada, LO/Denmark, CISL/Italy, LO/Norway, LO/TCO Sweden, AFL-CIO/United States, and LO/Netherlands) and three interested affiliates (Rengo/Japan, DGB/Germany, and TUC/Great Britain). In 1987 the ICFTU allocated slightly more than 1.5 million U.S. dollars to South African unions, support organizations, and special funds. The AFL-CIO has been both an active contributor to this program and an active participant on the committee. Since 1983 the AFL-CIO has contributed \$765,000.00 to the South African program of the ICFTU. Equally important has been the participation of the American labor movement. AFL-CIO President, Lane Kirkland sits on the Executive Board of the ICFTU and in 1986 participated in an ICFTU mission to South Africa. The AFL-CIO's African-American Labor Center Executive Director, Patrick J. O'Farrell, is a member of the Co-ordinating Committee on South Africa. Finally, the AFL-CIO, in November 1987, was part of a four person ICFTU mission to Namibia and South Africa.

While the multilateral assistance program is directed at international cooperation and assistance, the bilateral program is aimed at providing South African trade unions with direct assistance, sharing the American trade union history and experience, and developing relationships for the mutual benefit of both movements. The bilateral program is an active effort to harness the collective history, experience, jurisdiction, interests, and programs of the American trade union movement and place them at the disposal of the South African

trade unions. This collective approach incorporates all areas of trade unionism from all levels of the trade union movement. This has included the AFL-CIO and its affiliates, departments, divisions, and associated organizations. Since 1983 the AFL-CIO has allocated \$2,243,935.00 to its bilateral programs in South Africa.

The AFL-CIO's Program of Action in Support of Black Trade Unions in South Africa is administered by the African-American Labor Center (AALC), one of four international institutes of the AFL-CIO. The AALC coordinates all trade union programs, activities, and communications between the American labor movement and African trade unions and is overseen by a Board of Directors chaired by Lane Kirkland and including fourteen Vice Presidents of the AFL-CIO. In this regard the AALC totally reflects the policies and programs agreed upon by the Executive Council of the Federation and its Committee on International Affairs.

The two basic components of the program, education and administration, are broad, almost totally inclusive, necessities for advancing and accelerating trade union development. Education, in any form, is the exchange of information as a learning process. In the trade union and South Africa context this involves numerous levels and an almost inexhaustible slate of relevant topics. The different levels include: U.S. based general, specialized, or industry specific programs; regional programs (Southern Africa) following the same format of general, specialized and industry specific programs; third country (e.g. Lesotho, Botswana, Malawi) programs following the same format; in-country programs of the same format; trade union specific programs which are either general or specialized in content; and direct assistance to union education departments to run their own programs within the same format. The general, specialized or specific classifications refer to the nature of the course. A general course on organizing, for example, would discuss broad techniques and problems. A specialized course would focus on organizing around a common theme. And industry specific courses would address organizing within a given industry or situation within that industry. The intent of this

approach is to insure that all possible avenues of training are available to the requesting South African unions and all possible topics are addressed by those most knowledgeable about the subject. The education component of the AFL-CIO program is geared to maximizing the avenues of most competent teaching, at the venues of greatest learning, on the subjects of most importance - all within the context of South African trade union requests.

Education, alone, however, is virtually meaningless without an infrastructure to carry-out trade union activities. The AFL-CIO administrative support component is intended to respond to requests in this area of infra-structure development. Again, this is a broad-based category aimed at the material needs of the organization. Of first priority to any union is an office close to the members which serves as a meeting place, hub of union activity, and administrative center. An effective office requires equipment, office furniture, and supplies. Complementing this physical structure are the communication needs of the organization, travel and transportation, and specialized departments.

The program of the AFL-CIO in South Africa, as well as in other countries of the world, is one of union building. This can only be accomplished through the dual approach of education, geared at trade union training, and administrative support to create the structure to effectuate the training.

Federations

1. As previously stated the **Federation of South African Trade Unions (FOSATU)** was an outgrowth of the efforts of white students in Natal who were wary of international links. This cautious attitude was reflected by FOSATU's unwillingness to officially join the ICFTU (although they were willing to accept assistance) as well as their statement on international labor relations which sought to maintain a non-aligned position. The relationship between the AFL-CIO and

FOSATU, while not intimate, was cordial. AFL-CIO multilateral assistance through the ICFTU went to FOSATU, the federation sent representatives to the AFL-CIO conventions and the January 1985 A. Philip Randolph Institute program, and met with the AFL-CIO at international forums and within South Africa.

The formation of the **Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU)** in December 1985 was followed by a public statement inferring that COSATU would seek relations and assistance only from those national centers which it deemed "progressive". Excluded from this list were the AFL-CIO, DGB, TUC, and the ICFTU itself. This position, however, did not preclude bilateral assistance programs to affiliates of COSATU or indirect programs. Two indirect programs of assistance to COSATU were carried out in 1986. The AFL-CIO, through the ICFTU, provided assistance to the University of Cape Town related Industrial Health Research Group (IHRG) which is a principal support group for COSATU and its affiliates in the area of safety and health. The primary concerns of IHRG are research, education, and publications all directed at problems confronting workers. The most recent report of IHRG is attached. This assistance has continued into 1987. The second indirect program of the AFL-CIO to COSATU was conducted and administered by the A. Philip Randolph Institute (APRI) for the Western Cape Men's Hostel Association. With this assistance, and additional assistance from the ICFTU, this association was formed by trade union members, affiliates of COSATU, to address the problems of migrant workers living in unisex hostels. Consistent with addressing these problems was the effort of the association to direct new arrivals to the appropriate union at their place of work. As such the association has become an organizing vehicle as well as a hostel association. This program has also continued into 1987.

Additionally, in 1986, AFL-CIO President, Lane Kirkland, traveled to South Africa as a member of a high ranking ICFTU delegation. The July meeting between this delegation and COSATU was significant in addressing COSATU's impressions of and attitudes towards the ICFTU and some of its affiliates, most notably the AFL-CIO. Contributing to

the deterioration in the relationship between the AFL-CIO and COSATU was the March 1986 hospitalization of the AALC South African representative, causing a break in contact, the subsequent denial of a visa to the new representative, and the loss of continuity which ensued.

Efforts to bridge these perceived differences were undertaken by the AFL-CIO throughout 1987. COSATU was invited to send participants to the February 1987 organizing seminar and the September 1987 research seminar, both conducted in the United States: COSATU was invited to send participants to the three (Lesotho - comparative labor legislation, Malawi - comparative labor economics, and Botswana - safety and health) regional seminars in conjunction with the Southern Africa Trade Union Co-ordinating Council (SATUCC). Finally, COSATU was invited to attend the October 1987 17th Biennial Convention of the AFL-CIO. In most instances COSATU did not attend citing passport difficulties.

The three most significant occurrences during 1987 between the AFL-CIO and COSATU were two meetings in South Africa and the AFL-CIO's Congressional testimony on sanctions against South Africa. In September and November representatives of the AFL-CIO met with COSATU and discussed the AFL-CIO's policy on South Africa and its program in that country. Both meetings reduced COSATU's misperceptions. Most significant was the AFL-CIO's testimony regarding sanctions which mirrored the expressed wishes of the black trade union movement of South Africa. From this effort COSATU realized both the willingness of the AFL-CIO to assist and the clout that assistance carries. Hopefully these efforts will lead to a better relationship based on more frequent communications and contact.

2. The **National Council of Trade Unions (NACTU)**, formed in September 1986 through the merger of CUSA and AZACTU, derives the majority of its strength from the former CUSA structure and affiliates. The AFL-CIO relationship with CUSA spans ten years. The forerunner of CUSA, the Consultative Committee of Black Trade Unions, was started

in Johannesburg by two former white officials of TUCSA who left that federation over its racial policies. Their previous exposure to the international labor scene was transferrable, to a degree, to CUSA and its affiliates. This is exemplified both by CUSA affiliates' willingness to attend the AFL-CIO sponsored Cornell University education program in 1979 and 1980 as well as CUSA's affiliation to the ICFTU.

CUSA's elected leaders and officials have been frequent visitors to the United States on AFL-CIO sponsored programs. These programs have included AFL-CIO conventions, the 1985 APRI program, the 1986 Solidarity Day Rallies, the 1987 organizing seminar, and the presentation of testimony before Congress. In 1987, NACTU also participated in the regional seminars, held jointly with SATUCC, in Lesotho, Botswana, and Malawi. In 1986 and 1987, NACTU's Publications Officer attended a specialized course at the George Meany Center for Labor Studies on publications. And, finally, in May 1987, the Service Employees International Union (SEIU/AFL-CIO) sponsored a program in Lesotho for five South African counterpart unions in which NACTU participated and made a presentation regarding the existing labor legislation in South Africa.

In 1983 the National Executive Council of CUSA took a decision not to accept direct assistance from the AFL-CIO. This position did not prevent affiliates of the federation from seeking assistance, and CUSA in 1985 reversed itself and requested the AALC to provide BNA publications to its head office. With the formation of NACTU the relationship with the AFL-CIO remained unchanged although NACTU decided to disaffiliate from the ICFTU. The basic reason for this disaffiliation was NACTU's assessment that affiliation was not an advantage, and, if anything, it made the federation vulnerable to those who sought to disrupt it. ICFTU assistance to the trade unions in South Africa is not predicated on affiliation. In this sense NACTU's affiliation (the only South African affiliate) did not enhance its position in getting assistance. Disaffiliation, therefore, retained the avenue of assistance while eliminating the controversy of the affiliation.

In 1987 the AALC received a direct request from the federation which was intended to strengthen the merger through major equipment purchases. NACTU's immediate need was the establishment of a printing unit capable of producing all the media, communications, and teaching manuals for the federation. NACTU's 1987 REPORT ON ACTIVITIES (attached) is indicative of the work of the printing unit and contains a full report of the federation's activities.

Additional assistance to CUSA (and now NACTU) was provided by the AFL-CIO (through the ICFTU Co-ordinating Committee on South Africa) to the federation and its educational arm, the Urban Training Project (UTP). Prior to 1985, CUSA and FOSATU shared the bulk of ICFTU assistance to South Africa, reflecting the ICFTU's acceptance of a dual trade union movement and the pluralism within the black rank and file. Equally important in this equation was the willingness and ability of the international donors to join forces and provide that assistance in concert. COSATU's rejection of the ICFTU, but acceptance of assistance from the "progressive affiliates" of the ICFTU, has disrupted this balance and cooperation although the level of assistance has remained constant. Both CUSA and FOSATU (now NACTU and COSATU) have significantly benefitted from this assistance. The federations' structures and services to affiliates have been accelerated. The combined membership of these two federations, in 1987, exceeded one million. While this is only about 8% of the black working population it is a significant number given the relatively short time that has elapsed and the adverse conditions that exist in the country.

A major difference between CUSA and FOSATU was in the area of education. FOSATU's internal education department was the focal point for education and training. CUSA, on the other hand, relied on the Urban Training Project, an outgrowth of the CCOBTU, for the majority of education programs for the federation. Although the UTP was not formally linked to CUSA or exclusively for CUSA affiliates (COSATU affiliates and independent unions participated in UTP programs in 1987), it was perceived as the training arm of the

federation. In this regard, the ICFTU was able to assist UTP directly. That assistance came from a number of donors besides the AFL-CIO: CLC/Canada, LO/Denmark, and FNV/Netherlands. In addition, two UTP instructors had specialized, month long safety and health training in the United States in 1985 and also sent participants to the February 1987 AFL-CIO seminar on organizing. The programs, participation, and direction of the UTP are best exemplified by their most recent report (attached).

The formation of COSATU did not alter the education initiative of FOSATU. The education department of the former federation became the education department of the new federation. NACTU, on the other hand, has sought to absorb UTP into the federation or establish their own in-house education department as an alternative to UTP. While it is not clear, at present, how this will be resolved it is evident that UTP will have difficulty receiving future ICFTU assistance as an independent union education program, and NACTU will be seeking additional assistance for their educational activities with or without the involvement of the UTP.

Industries

1. The AFL-CIO's involvement and assistance in the mining sector dates back to 1982 when CUSA formed the **National Union of Mineworkers (NUM)**. That formation was aided by the contributions of the international labor community, including the AFL-CIO. By 1984 NUM had organized 125,000 miners (25% of the black work force).

By the end of 1984 there was a proliferation of black unions on the mines. AZACTU had the Black Allied Mining and Construction Workers Union, BAWU had the Black Allied Mines and Tunnels Workers Union, the S.A. Boilermakers had the Black Mineworkers Union, and the National Federation of Workers and South African Allied Workers Union had mine affiliates. During this period the AFL-CIO provided limited assistance to the **African Mine and Allied Workers Union (AMAWU)** which was formed by a former NUM organizer. The

expressed intent of AMAWU was the organization of miners in areas inaccessible to NUM with the future objective of forming one industrial union by merging with NUM. Although AMAWU continues to exist it failed as a viable union because it deviated from its approach of organizing locally and expanding from a core center with a proven structure.

In late 1985 the AFL-CIO joined with the United Mineworkers Union to promote the boycott of Shell Oil in support of the National Union of Mineworkers. Shell Oil became the target of an international boycott against Royal Dutch Shell because of that company's anti-union activities in South Africa. That boycott continued into 1986 and 1987 and was publicized through demonstrations, picketing, and use of the media.

In 1987 the AFL-CIO was a contributor to the NUM strike fund, met with the president of NUM while he, J. Motlatsi, was in the U.S., and met with NUM officials in Johannesburg in November. An important result of these meetings was the understanding of NUM regarding the AFL-CIO position on South Africa and its willingness to assist NUM. Of primary concern to NUM is the combined effect of safety and health issues and the consequence of the introduction of capital intensive equipment.

With over 300,000 members NUM, today, is the largest union in South Africa, the most strategically located, and potentially the most militant. As an affiliate of COSATU it is the backbone of the federation. NUM General Secretary, Cyril Ramaphosa, was the convenor at COSATU's inaugural and NUM official, E. Biyela, became the first president of COSATU. The union's adoption of the Freedom Charter and the government's almost exclusive reliance on foreign exchange earnings from the mining industry has created an environment which is a microcosm of the national liberation struggle in South Africa.

The disaffiliation of NUM from CUSA in mid-1985 left that federation not only "short" 150,000 affiliated members but without a union in the mining sector. Consistent with a fair-play doctrine CUSA chose not to establish a rival union. The merger of CUSA-AZACTU, however, included the 75,000 members of the **Black Allied Mining and Construction Workers Union (BAMCU)**. As an AZACTU affiliate, BAMCU was not receptive to contact with the AFL-CIO or its affiliates. Following the merger, with the general secretary becoming the assistant general secretary of NACTU, BAMCU participated in the February 1987 seminar. NACTU's assistant general secretary (still the GS of BAMCU) met with the AFL-CIO delegation to the International Labor Organization (ILO), and accepted an invitation to come to the U.S. in September 1987. He was unable to come because of passport difficulties.

2. The AFL-CIO involvement in and assistance to the agriculture, forestry and fishing sector have been limited. As previously stated both NACTU and COSATU initiated organizing efforts in this sector during the past twelve months. AFL-CIO 1987 assistance to NACTU included funds for this organizing effort. To date NACTU's **National Union of Farmworkers** claims 2500 paid-up members, two signed agreements, and fourteen additional agreements being negotiated.

AFL-CIO assistance in this sector, since 1984, has primarily gone to the **Orange Vaal General Workers Union (OVGWU)**. With 4000 paid-up members in the Vereeniging area, OVGWU has attempted to overcome the impediments caused by the lack of legislative protection to farm workers through intensive education programs, administrative support, and programs which have linked the farm worker situation with the black township mobilization. In 1986, the General Secretary of OVGWU, Philip Masia, came to the United States and had extensive meetings with representatives of the United Farmworkers of America. In 1987 the AFL-CIO responded to a request, through the ICFTU multilateral assistance program, by the International Federation of Plantation, Agriculture, and Allied Workers (IFPAAW), the International Trade Secretariat (ITS) for the industry, to assist the Orange Vaal General Workers Union with their transport needs.

The AFL-CIO was less successful in its 1985 assistance to the **National Sugar Refining and Allied Industries Employees Union (NSRAIEU)**. This independent union, claiming 24,000 members in the Natal sugar industry, approached the AFL-CIO for educational and administrative assistance. The expressed intent of this assistance was to consolidate its membership and move it into the mainstream of the black trade union movement. The reality of the situation proved less promising. The General Secretary of the union, S. Nsibande, was dismissed by other officials of the union for misuse and misappropriation of funds. The feud that ensued proved divisive to the union with Nsibande instigating unnecessary rivalries and factions.

3. The unions in the food and beverage sector, especially the NACTU affiliates, have been receptive to AFL-CIO assistance and programs. With the formation of COSATU the African Food and Canning Workers Union (with an historic aversion to international assistance) and the former FOSATU affiliate, Sweet Food and Allied Workers Union (receptive to contact with the United Food and Commercial Workers International Union, AFL-CIO) merged to form the Food and Allied Workers Union (FAWU). The General Secretary of FAWU, Jan Theron, comes from the African Food side (interestingly, COSATU's General Secretary, Jay Naidoo, was the General Secretary of Sweet Food and Allied Workers Union prior to the merger) and efforts by the UFCW to establish a dialogue in 1987 were less than successful. It should be remembered that **African Food and Canning Workers Union** is only one of three former affiliates of the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU) still in existence in South Africa and Neil Aggett, their Transvaal Secretary, who died in detention in 1982, was a recipient of the George Meany Human Rights Award. FAWU, however, has a membership of 60,000, more than twice the size of the 25,000 membered **Food Beverage Workers Union (FBWU)** which has been a principal recipient of AFL-CIO assistance and UFCW contact. Both of these unions are affiliates of the ITS, International Union of Food and Allied Workers Association (IUF).

FBWU, regardless of its size, has been a mainstay of CUSA and now NACTU. Direct assistance to the union has resulted in an expanded organizing department, transportation, expanded education department, and classroom space and equipment. FBWU members and officials attended the Cornell program, the APRI conference (1985), the AFL-CIO solidarity rallies (1986), and the AALC organizing seminar (1987). Meetings between the AFL-CIO, UFCW, and FBWU were conducted during 1987 in both the United States and Southern Africa. The most significant result of this assistance was the ability of FBWU to open discussions with the 5,600 membered **National Union of Wine and Spirits and Allied Workers** who is now a NACTU affiliate. This union also participated in the 1987 organizing seminar held in Washington, D.C. The close cooperation between these two unions has led to exploratory meetings concerning a possible merger. Also significant has been FBWU's willingness to meet with its COSATU counterparts to avoid jurisdictional disputes and shopfloor hostilities. In 1987 FBWU met with UFCW personnel in Maseru, Lesotho to discuss potential programs on a union-to-union basis. Maseru was the venue because of the inability of the UFCW to procure a S.A. visa.

In 1984 the General Secretary, Arthur Joseph, of the **Bakery Employees Industrial Union (BEIU)** traveled to the U.S. and Canada on an ITS program. In discussions with the AFL-CIO, a program of assistance was designed. BEIU has a history dating back to 1911 of representing coloured bakers in the Cape Town area. When Joseph became General Secretary in 1983 he assessed the situation of the union as needing to expand its jurisdiction (opening its ranks to all industrial workers in the industry), to expand its geographical area (through mergers with other regionally centered unions in the industry), and to strengthen the unions in this industry (through a coordinating council similar to SACCIMF). AFL-CIO assistance was directed at these areas of concern. Unfortunately, BEIU with its 2000 members was a target for raiding by larger unions, coordinating efforts became inter-union boxing arenas, and BEIU's executive board failed to support Joseph in his efforts. Rather than being a catalyst within the industry, BEIU became an ineffective organization, Joseph left, and the union became dormant.

The fourth union in this industry which has received AFL-CIO assistance is the **General Workers Union of South Africa (GWUSA)**. Formed in 1981 as part of the Port Elizabeth-based Motor Assembly and Component Workers Union of South Africa, GWUSA has Pretoria as its main area of operation. The majority of the 2500 members are in the food, chemical and leather industries. As a COSATU affiliate, GWUSA will disband and distribute its members according to the one union/oneindustry guidelines. The AFL-CIO assistance to GWUSA was directed toward basic rank and file training and administrative support for their office in Pretoria. The success of this assistance was the impact this union was able to have in the militarized black townships surrounding Pretoria throughout 1985 and 1986. GWUSA, as a general union with a community orientation, was able to effectively address the problems of workers as they related to their living experience. GWUSA addressed such issues as rent payments, bus boycotts and stayaways which placed workers in danger of losing their jobs, and the detentions of workers and their families.

4. As previously state the textile, garment and leather sector in South Africa is highly organized with six unions having been former TUCSA affiliates and NACTU and COSATU each having an affiliate. With the disbanding of TUCSA in 1986, all these unions were able to come under the loose umbrella of the South African Federation of Textile Garment and Leather Workers Unions (SAFTGLWU). Messages of congratulations were sent from the AFL-CIO, ILGWU, and ACTWU while the ICFTU provided initial start-up assistance. Further mergers during 1987 have significantly altered the trade union alignment within this industry. U.S. union involvement in this sector, particularly through the ITS, International Textile Garment and Leather Workers Federation (ITGLWF), has included both the International Ladies Garment Workers Union (ILGWU) and the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU).

The AFL-CIO's first direct assistance to a union in this industry was in 1984 when a request was received from the **National Union of Textile**

Workers (FOSATU/COSATU). That union requested the expertise of ACTWU on safety and health, specifically in the areas of brown lung and cotton dust disease. This request was met by the travel of an ACTWU official and expert in this field who spent three weeks in South Africa working with the union.

The AFL-CIO, through its affiliates and the AALC, maintained contact with the unions in this industry throughout the ensuing years. In 1987 the AALC representative in Lesotho met officials from the SAFTGLWU, Garment Workers of the Western Province, Garment Workers Industrial Union (Natal), National Union of Garment Workers, and the two leather unions. The **Textile Workers Union (NACTU)**, with 3000 members (the smallest union in the grouping), attended the U.S. 1987 organizers training program.

More important was the AFL-CIO's assistance in 1987 to the **Garment Workers Industrial Union** and the **National Union of Garment Workers**. Combined these two unions represent 70,000 of the the 200,000 union members in the industry. This assistance was intended to increase the educational capacity of the organizations with the goal of bringing the merger question to the members. This effort was partially successful. The National Union of Garment Workers, along with another former TUCSA affiliate Textile Workers Industrial Union (20,000 members), merged with the National Union of Textile Workers in November 1987 to form the **Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union of South Africa (ACTWUSA)**. In total ACTWUSA represents 78,000 workers in the industry and is affiliated to COSATU.

The Garment Workers Industrial Union chose not to participate in this merger. Instead they initiated a merger with the Garment Workers Union of the Western Province and applied for "observer status" within COSATU with the possibility of merging with ACTWUSA. If any sense can be made from this, it is the jurisdictional division between the textile and garment sub-sectors of the industry. It appears as though ACTWUSA is predominantly textile in composition while the merger of GWIU and GWUWP to form the Garment Workers Union of South

Africa (GWUSA), with a combined membership of 100,000, focuses on the garment side of the industry.

Equally significant was the ITGLWF International Trade Secretariat meeting in Turkey in October 1987. Both U.S. unions, ILGWU and ACTWU, attended and provided assistance, through the AFL-CIO, to their South African counterparts. The SAFTGLWU, National Union of Textile Workers, Garment Workers Industrial Union, and Garment Workers Union of the Western Province made up the South Africa delegation. The meetings which were held were far-reaching and informative. It was imperative that the ILGWU and ACTWU be perceived as mutually cooperative bodies and not as competing sources of assistance. This accomplished, the meetings focused on areas of mutual concern and potential assistance. This assistance will be more fully explored in 1988 once the mergers, direction, and alignments are resolved.

The ICFTU was a major contributor in 1987 to the South African Federation of Textile, Garment and Leather Workers Unions. Future assistance in this direction may be difficult. SAFTGLWU served an important role and provided a vital link among the unions to set the stage for the mergers and potential mergers which highlighted the end of 1987. With the formation of ACTWUSA and observer status of two other unions (and the merger potential this represents) a total membership of almost 180,000 (90% of the industry) is within the house of COSATU. Considering that the bulk of union membership, outside this COSATU groupings, is in the leather industry (which can only continue to shrink) there may be absolutely no reason for an industrial federation, such as SAFTGLWU, to exist in this industry. If these efforts prove successful the garment/textile industry will be only the second industry in South Africa, after mining, to overcome the divisions which plague the trade union movement. In this regard, it is both heartening to see, yet exemplifies the difficulty in forging such unity.

5. The wood, paper and printing sector in South Africa has not received a great deal of assistance from the AFL-CIO. The main reason for this has been the reluctance of FOSATU/COSATU's Paper Wood and Allied Workers Unions to develop bi-lateral relations, the failure of CUSA/NACTU to have a representative union in the industry, and the TUCSA affiliate domination in the industry.

There were two significant developments during 1987. The **Media Workers Association of South Africa (MWASA)** had been a recipient of AFL-CIO assistance in the past, and mutual relations developed between the independent MWASA and The Newspaper Guild/AFL-CIO. Between 1982 and 1986, however, MWASA was torn apart by the detention and banning of leaders, a major strike at the Star newspaper, and internal union disputes. By 1987, however, MWASA had resolved its problems and formally affiliated to NACTU. It is anticipated that the U.S./S.A. relationship which was developed between MWASA and the Newspaper Guild will re-surface.

The other development was the decision of the **National Union of Furniture and Allied Workers of South Africa (NUFAWSA)** to affiliate to NACTU. NUFAWSA's history goes back almost seventy years and reflects the progressive tendencies in the labor movement to get out from under the yoke of apartheid and white union domination. An early disaffiliate of TUCSA, NUFAWSA maintained its independence and sought membership guidance in its decision to affiliate to a federation. Given the almost equal division of its membership (24,000) between black workers and those classified as coloured or Asian, it is surprising that the union opted for NACTU affiliation rather than the non-racialism of COSATU. In 1987 NUFAWSA officials met with the AALC representative in Lesotho as well as hosted a meeting in Johannesburg between the union and a representative of the International Union of Bricklayers and Allied Craftsmen/AFL-CIO. From these meetings the South African union has requested assistance and a proposal for a full program was submitted to the Bricklayers Union.

6. The unions in the chemical and chemical product industry in South Africa have had an on-going relationship with the American labor movement. Since 1980 there has been direct contact between the AFL-CIO and the **Chemical Workers Industrial Union (FOSATU/COSATU)** primarily regarding the activities of Colgate Palmolive (South Africa). The AFL-CIO was able to respond to this situation through direct contact and the provision of essential information. This effort successfully assisted the union in settling a major strike on the side of the workers. It is not so surprising that Colgate Palmolive is still an issue in 1987. CP is planning to open a factory in Botswana. This is either an effort to avoid the sanctions/disinvestment campaign or service a new Southern Africa market. Regardless of the intent, the union has been in contact with the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers International Union/AFL-CIO. This union also received assistance, in kind, through the support of striking SASOL workers and the protestation of their discharge, arrest, and detention.

As previously stated the **General Workers Union of South Africa (GWUSA/COSATU)** has a number of members in this industry and has benefitted from direct AFL-CIO assistance. GWUSA will undoubtedly relinquish its membership in this industry to CWIU in the near future.

The **South African Chemical Workers Union (SACWU/NACTU)** is the largest trade union in this industry with 45,000 members, 85 collective bargaining agreements, and an additional agreement with the industrial council. SACWU has been a recipient of both AFL-CIO and Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers International Union/AFL-CIO (OCAW) assistance and programs. SACWU officials attended the February 1987 seminar and the General Secretary, Leonard Mavusa, attended the 1987 AFL-CIO convention. In both instances, meetings were held with the international affairs department of the OCAW. From these meetings, OCAW has been able to assist the union with its administrative needs and in holding its national convention. Late in 1987, the AFL-CIO was able to coordinate the exchange of information between OCAW, SACWU, and the Botswana Federation of Trade Unions regarding the

potential joint venture of a S.A. company, African Explosive Chemical Industry (AECI), in Botswana which is being opposed by the American exporting corporation whose markets in Southern Africa would be disrupted.

The **Chemical Workers Union (CWU)** is a small (3000 members) independent union in the industry with six collective bargaining agreements. CWU's importance can be found in the members it represents, its history, and the direction the union has taken in the last few years. CWU represents the workers at Johnson and Johnson and has been a trendsetter in wages and benefits. CWU was formed thirty years ago as a coloured union and confined itself to the Johannesburg area. This limited jurisdiction was the major source of concern in 1983, when Dan Tau became the general secretary. Tau, formerly of SACWU, successfully extended this jurisdiction to cover all workers, gradually began expanding from Johannesburg, and sought cooperation within South Africa, specifically with SACWU, and internationally. CWU has received AFL-CIO assistance, including administrative support and seminars within South Africa and in the U.S. (Feb. 1987), has held discussions with OCAW concerning future programs and CWU affiliation to the ITS, International Chemical, Energy, and General Workers Federation (ICF), and has developed a strong link with SACWU which may set the stage for a potential merger.

The independent **Black Health and Allied Workers Union of South Africa (BHAWUSA)**, formed in 1982, has become the dominant union in the health and pharmaceutical industries and has 17,000 members and fifteen collective bargaining agreements. BHAWUSA is also an affiliate of the ITS, Public Service International (PSI), and has counterpart relations with AFL-CIO affiliates, Service Employees International Union (SEIU) and the American Federation of State County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME). BHAWUSA has received assistance from the ICFTU and approached the AFL-CIO in 1985. The AFL-CIO was able to assist the union with administrative assistance, travel to the U.S. to meet counterpart unions and attend the SEIU convention in 1985, and a series of organizing seminars, in South

Africa, in early 1986. BHAWUSA participated in the 1986 U.S. rallies, the 1987 U.S. organizing seminar, the May 1987 seminar conducted by SEIU in Lesotho, and the regional seminars held in conjunction with SATUCC. By the end of 1987, BHAWUSA was receiving assistance from SEIU for their on-going organizing activities.

7. The metals industry in South Africa is characterized by a diversity of unions and an extremely strong employers federation which subscribes to the theory of divide, exploit, and negotiate from the position of its weakest member. The AFL-CIO has maintained a long standing relationship with the International Metalworkers Federation (IMF/ITS) in its efforts to assist the progressive unions in this industry. Efforts to bring all unions which negotiated with SEIFSA together under the banner of the South African Coordinating Council of the International Metalworkers Federation (SACCIMF) were difficult, reflecting the differences in direction and racial composition of the CMBU and the progressive black unions. In 1983 the AFL-CIO assisted the **South African Boilermakers, Iron and Steelworkers, Shipbuilders and Welders Society (SABS)** in their effort to forge this unification. SABS felt, as a union of 50,000 members of all race groups and job classifications, it could bridge the differences between all unions. Although it failed to attract the committed support of the CMBU unions, the effort cemented the progressive unions into the SACCIMF.

In 1983, this was not an easy task. The unions were divided along industrial lines (metal, electrical, motor, e.g.) as well as ideological lines (FOSATU, CUSA, community, independent, and former TUCSA affiliates). Their ability to negotiate collectively was strained, but boosted in 1984 when SABS and most progressive unions rejected SEIFSA's final offer and threatened a major strike. AFL-CIO assistance continued in 1984 when the United Steelworkers of America (USA), in conjunction with the IMF, conducted a seminar in South Africa on job classification.

Over the past three years the AFL-CIO has provided assistance to SACCIMF affiliates to participate in U.S. based programs.

Representatives from the following unions traveled to the U.S.: SABS, National Automobile and Allied Workers Union (NAAWU/FOSATU), Engineering and Allied Workers Union of South Africa (EAWUSA/AZACTU), Electrical and Allied Trade Workers Union (EATWU/NACTU), Motor Industries Combined Workers Union (MICWU/COSATU), Steel, Engineering and Allied Workers Union of South Africa (SEAWUSA/CUSA) and United African Motor and Allied Workers Union (UAMAWU/CUSA). The diversity of these unions can be seen in their jurisdictional identity (sub-sector of the industry) and their federation affiliation.

All the above unions, with the exception of NAAWU, have received direct AFL-CIO assistance. EAWUSA, with 4500 members, began receiving assistance as an independent union in 1984. This assistance was directed at administrative needs and the development of a safety and health unit. Significant to EAWUSA was the failure of the previous leadership to bring EAWUSA into the mainstream of the trade union movement (until 1982 it had been an affiliate of FOSATU). The new leadership, reflecting the will of its members, affiliated with AZACTU and participated in the merger talks with CUSA which led to the formation of NACTU.

EATWU, the electrical union, has a dissimilar history but with the identical result of affiliating to NACTU in 1987. EATWU, historically, was three independent unions (coloured, black, and white) under the umbrella and domination of the white union. Efforts by the coloured and black unions to merge into one union were thwarted by the white union creating a situation where the IMF expelled the whites from the ITS. In 1985, the coloured and black unions were able to merge, and the joined unions, with 18,000 members, requested AFL-CIO assistance with educational programs and establishing branch offices. The educational activities were directed at insuring that the rank and file members understood and approved the merger. The branch assistance, however, was the more important. The white union "controlled" the other two organizations through the offices, equipment, and furnishings of that union. For EATWU to be successful in representing its

members it needed a strong branch structure, the offices to do the job. AFL-CIO assistance provided this. With its membership and thirty collective bargaining contracts EATWU is a significant participant in NACTU, SACCIMF, and the IMF.

MICWU, with 34,000 members, was a major affiliate of TUCSA but decided to end that relationship in September 1984, because of the racial policies of that federation, the non-racial direction of the union, and the desire to enter the mainstream of the progressive labor movement. MICWU, with its long history of trade union activity, had a solid structure but was lacking in its shop floor educational activities. In 1985 MICWU requested and received AFL-CIO assistance to develop an education department, design an education program, and implement the program throughout its branches. MICWU, in 1986, affiliated to COSATU and became instrumental in the one-union/one-industry campaign.

SEAWUSA, a pillar of CUSA and now NACTU, has 20,000 members and twenty collective bargaining contracts. SEAWUSA's relationship with the American labor movement (the AFL-CIO and USA) dates back to the Cornell Program and has maintained a continuity over the years. AFL-CIO direct assistance to SEAWUSA has been geared towards developing the union's branch structure. In 1984, the AFL-CIO helped the union open and equip an office in Pietermaritzburg (Natal) and, in 1986, to duplicate that effort on the East Rand (Transvaal).

Another NACTU affiliate, UAMAWU, in the motor industry has developed a similar relationship with the AFL-CIO. With 14,000 members and 25 collective bargaining agreements, UAMAWU is about two-thirds the size of COSATU's NAAWU reflecting the origins of the unions (Pretoria and Port Elizabeth, respectively) which is also consistent with the size of the industry in each of these locations. In addition to U.S., regional, and IMF programs UAMAWU has received direct AFL-CIO assistance to enlarge their organizing department and increase organizing efforts.

The final union in the SACCIMF configuration to have received AFL-CIO assistance is the **United Mining Metal and Allied Workers of South Africa (UMMAWSA)** which is now a COSATU affiliate. UMMAWSA was formed in 1984 when a division occurred within FOSATU's Metal and Allied Workers Union (MAWU). AFL-CIO assistance, in 1985, enabled the leadership of this 8000 member union to take the question of affiliation (SACCIMF, IMF, COSATU) to the membership.

The final union in this grouping to receive assistance was the newly established, 1987, **Association of Clerical and Administrative Workers**. This union was formed by the women office workers within the SEIFSA employer group, and estimate their potential strength at 60,000 members. AFL-CIO assistance was directed at giving this group the ability to organize workers, have meetings, and provide education on trade union rights. If this union succeeds in its efforts, it will probably expand beyond the metals industry.

This assistance to the SACCIMF and its affiliates was a positive contribution to the formation of the SACCIMF and, more importantly, to the consolidation of unions within the council. The COSATU unions (MAWU, NAAWU, MICWU, UMMAWSA, and South African Allied Workers Union/SAAWU) all merged in June 1987 to form the National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa (NUMSA) with over 100,000 members. AFL-CIO affiliates, the United Automobile Workers (UAW) and United Steelworkers of America (USA), were invited to this inaugural meeting. The potential merger of NACTU affiliates (EAWUSA, SEAWUSA, EATWU, UAMAWU, and Black Electrical and Electronics Workers Union) would unite a further 64,000 union members.

8. The construction industry in South Africa has been dominated by NACTU's **Building Construction and Allied Workers Union (BCAWU)** with 22,000 members and 186 collective bargaining agreements. The number of agreements vis-a-vis the number of members is indicative of the difficulties of organizing in this industry. BCAWU has attended AFL-CIO sponsored courses, most recently the organizers course in

February 1987. In 1984 BCAWU hosted a training expert from the International Union of Operating Engineers who was traveling on an AFL-CIO grant.

In September 1987, a representative of the International Union of Bricklayers and Allied Craftsmen traveled to South Africa and met BCAWU representatives. From those meetings a program of assistance was developed. While a portion of that program is for administration and education, the focus of the discussions was on vocational training. BCAWU is most interested in upgrading the skills of its members through training which is beneficial to the community. To this end, the AFL-CIO affiliate has been asked to give U.S.-based trainer training and in-country support to a vocational training project which will build township houses at low cost. While in South Africa, the AFL-CIO unionist met with the leadership of COSATU's recently-formed **Construction and Allied Workers Union (CAWU)**.

Formed in January 1987 CAWU claims 30,000 members who were drawn from the community based unions, most representative were the General and Allied Workers Union (GAWU) and the South African Allied Workers Union (SAAWU). Discussions with the Bricklayers' representative indicated a willingness to establish communications between the unions with the possibility of bilateral programs in the future.

9. The commercial, catering, and accommodation sector has been dominated by the **Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers Union of South Africa (CCAWUSA/COSATU)**. CCAWUSA, with 90,000 members following the mergers in 1987, has a long history of contact with the AFL-CIO, especially the United Food and Commercial Workers International Union (UFCW) and the ITS, International Federation of Commercial, Clerical, Professional and Technical Employees (FIET). Through AFL-CIO assistance CCAWUSA representatives have been frequent visitors to the U.S. and also attended a UFCW administered training program. UFCW representatives traveled to Lome, Togo in August 1987 for a FIET convention and, through AFL-CIO assistance,

sponsored the travel of the CCAWUSA representative as well as the one from NACTU's Insurance Assurance Workers Union, both FIET affiliates. Both of these unions held discussions with UFCW concerning programs in 1988. The recent division within CCAWUSA, however, may hinder the CCAWUSA/UFCW relationship.

The **Insurance Assurance Workers Unions (NACTU)** has recently changed its name to **Banking Insurance Finance and Assurance Workers Union (BIFAWU)** reflecting the expanded jurisdiction of the union. Originally this former AZACTU affiliate directed its organizing efforts at the black workers in the insurance/assurance industry. The lack of representation for black bank tellers created a need which the union felt it could best serve. With a present membership of 5600 BIFAWU has the potential to be a major white collar union. BIFAWU is an active affiliate of the ITS for the industry, International Federation of Commercial, Clerical, Professional and Technical Employees (FIET), and attended their African congress in mid-1987.

AFL-CIO assistance to this union dates back to 1985 when assistance was granted for the education department of the union to conduct a series of seminars for its members. Union representatives came to the United States in both 1986 and 1987.

The AFL-CIO has also assisted **NACTU's Hotel, Liquor, Catering and Allied Workers Union (HOTELICA)** with their administrative and educational needs. HOTELICA representatives have been to the U.S. on two occasions in the past under the auspices of the AFL-CIO. With 5500 members in the Johannesburg area HOTELICA has a sister union, **National Union of Workers of South Africa (NUWSA)** which is a catch-all for associate members. The 1500 members of this union were distributed by NACTU to the appropriate unions within the federation. A recent addition to NACTU has been the 8000 members of the **Natal Liquor and Catering Workers Union (NLCWU)**. Should this union join with HOTELICA the 13,500 membership would be a formidable foundation for growth.

One of the earliest recipients of AFL-CIO assistance was the **National General Workers Union (NGWU)** led by Donsie Khumalo. The short history of this union is illustrative of the ebb and flow in the South African trade union scene. Khumalo was a member of the National Automobile and Allied Workers Union (NAAWU), became part of the dissident movement which broke away from NAAWU and formed the Motor Assembly Components Workers Union of South Africa (MACWUSA), and became their branch secretary in Pretoria. MACWUSA was formed in 1980 and then formed the General Workers Union of South Africa (GWUSA), as a community based union in 1981. In 1983 Khumalo split the union, again, forming NGWU with 3000 commercial workers in Pretoria. Khumalo contacted the AFL-CIO for assistance.

The AFL-CIO, given the nature of the formation, initially refused to give NGWU assistance. Given the credibility and membership of this union, by 1984, the AFL-CIO reversed its position and provided administrative and educational assistance to the union. Also in 1984 Khumalo traveled to the United States. By 1986 the union had grown to 10,000 members and a representative of the union had participated in a women's trade union seminar in the U.S. Khumalo's union is now an affiliate of COSATU and he is the Northern Branch Secretary of COSATU.

10. AFL-CIO assistance in the transportation industry reflects a conscious effort to address the needs of the workers and understand the complicated trade union situation in this sector. In September 1982 an AFL-CIO delegation traveled to South Africa. Meetings were scheduled with the **General Workers Union (GWU)** and the Transportation Minister who oversaw the South African Transport Services (SATS). In August the GWU members in Port Elizabeth went on strike for union representation. One day prior to the delegation's arrival SATS fired 700 striking workers. At the request of GWU, the AFL-CIO demanded that their meeting with the minister include GWU representatives. The minister declined and no meeting took place. Shortly after that SATS changed its union outlook and the 64,000 black

workers were given their own union, though subordinate to the white union and restricted by an undemocratic constitution which insured their docility.

In 1984 a former UTP instructor formed the **African Railway Harbour and Allied Workers Union (ARHAWU)** in an effort to organize these workers into an independent trade union. In 1985, the AFL-CIO provided assistance and training to this union. An AFL-CIO representative spent two weeks with the organizers of the union discussing the situation, visiting worker hostels, and designing an organizing strategy. SATS management was not willing to give any ground to this new union, and the union was unwilling to pursue a slow, structure-building strategy of organizing (in favor of mass recruiting). The sum effect was the inability of the union to attract an organized following.

The 64,000 black workers of SATS belonged to the **Black Trade Unions of the South African Transport Services (BTUSATS)**. BTUSATS, with its head office in Johannesburg, was dominated by the white unions under the umbrella of the Federal Consultative Council of South African Transport Services Staff Association with a total membership of 170,000. In late 1985 the Natal Region of BTUSATS contacted the AFL-CIO through a Durban trade union lawyer and a meeting was arranged.

These workers displeased and disillusioned by the representation they received from their black leadership in Johannesburg, correctly identified the problem as being within the constitution of the union. That constitution entrenched the leadership, retained decision making at the top level only, and guaranteed a sizeable treasury (through stop orders) to the head office. The Natal branch of BTUSATS requested that the AFL-CIO provide assistance in order that the branch members could discuss this issue, understand the constitution, and collectively decide a future course of action. This assistance was given and these meetings took place during 1986.

During the same period, the COSATU unions in this sector were discussing mergers to conform with the one union/one industry concept. The General Workers Union (GWU), mentioned above, had been an independent union active in the unity talks with the majority of their members working on the docks in the Cape Province and Natal. The GWU had very little difficulty merging with the former FOSATU union, **Transport and General Workers Union (TGWU)**, as they shared a common jurisdiction and ideology. This merger, assuming the name TGWU, was consummated in May 1986 and brought 20,000 workers into one union. Efforts to bring the third COSATU affiliate in this industry into the merger was not successful.

The **South African Railway Harbour and Allied Workers Union (SARHAWU)** was formed in 1984 in Johannesburg as an independent union but with close ties to the community based unions. With 8000 members, SARHAWU rejected this merger ostensibly on the grounds of its independence and jurisdictional prerogative. More likely, SARHAWU may have reflected the "populist" tendencies in COSATU, contrasting with the TGWU "workerist" bent, and the distance between the two may have been too great.

The April 1987 firing of a black Johannesburg SATS worker precipitated a prolonged and bitter strike. The six week strike left 16,000 workers dismissed, eleven people dead, extensive damage to railway property, and the bombing of COSATU House. SARHAWU attempted to settle the dispute and met the same recalcitrant SATS management that GWU had faced almost five years earlier. The AFL-CIO, again, protested the SATS actions. Another union, **National Union of Railway Workers (NURW)** "popped-up" during this dispute claiming to have been formed in November 1986 with a membership of 3000. This union did not seem to be a major player during the strike. The battle lines seem to have been drawn, at least in Johannesburg, between the SARHAWU group and the in-house, company union, BTUSATS.

Meanwhile, the situation in Johannesburg convinced the Natal branch of BTUSATS that the most effective remedy was their constitutional approach of changing the constitution, electing representational officials, and allowing the membership to decide on external affiliation. Success in this endeavor would force the SATS management to recognize the new leadership and maintain the check-off system. A decision of the membership to affiliate to any one of the unions in the industry could not be legitimately challenged by SATS.

To this end the Natal branch of BTUSATS, backed by TGWU, requested that the AFL-CIO provide additional assistance to pursue this constitutional change as a pre-requisite to external affiliation. The AFL-CIO agreed to this plan. In August 1987 a meeting was convened by BTUSATS, in all regions, to further discuss the constitution and this was followed, in October, by a mass rally in Durban. It is too early to determine the outcome of these events.

TGWU is an affiliate of the ITS, International Transport Workers Federation (ITF), as is the NACTU affiliate in the industry, **Transport and Allied Workers Union of South Africa (TAWU)**. TAWU, with 18,000 members and 59 agreements, dominates the bus transport industry in the country. TAWU participated in the AFL-CIO organizing seminar conducted in February 1987.

Two other unions in this industry have received AFL-CIO assistance. **Teammates Workers Union (TWU)** was formed in 1983 and presently has 9000 members in the Vereeniging/Bloemfontein corridor engaged in the transport industry. AFL-CIO assistance was directed at administrative and educational programs with the hope that TWU would join the mainstream of the progressive trade union movement. The failure of this union to affiliate or coordinate its activities has severely limited its effectiveness, and is no longer anticipated to be a viable worker organization.

In the major urban centers of South Africa it is a common practice for businesses to employ black workers as messengers traveling by scooters

or motorcycles. The low pay, employer abuse, and inherent danger have created an atmosphere conducive to union organizing. The **South African Scooter Drivers Union** was formed in 1981 and presently has 4000 members. In 1984 the AFL-CIO assisted this union in a safety and health seminar which was also a catalyst for organizing. This union is now part of **COSATU**.

11. The AFL-CIO and its affiliates have been actively involved in the public sector, particularly with municipal workers, hospital workers, and teachers. The three major black national unions for municipal workers have all sent representatives to the United States, met with the AFL-CIO, and have developed bilateral relations with their counterpart unions. These three unions are: **South African Black Municipal and Allied Workers Union (SABMAWU/IND)**, **National Union of Public Service Workers (NUPSW/NACTU)**, and **Municipal and General Workers Union (MGWU/COSATU)**.

SABMAWU presently claims 13,000 members although the union seems to have lost some of its prestige and importance since disaffiliating from CUSA in mid-1985. Prior to that disaffiliation, **SABMAWU** was highly regarded by the AFL-CIO and its affiliate, **AFSCME**. **SABMAWU** attended courses and programs in the U.S. (most recently the 1985 APRI program) and **AFSCME** representatives frequently traveled to South Africa. Since **SABMAWU's** disaffiliation from CUSA, **AFSCME** has turned its attention towards **COSATU's MGWU**.

Interestingly, **MGWU** shared the platform provided by APRI in 1985 with **SABMAWU**. At that time, however, **MGWU** was an independent union, concentrated in the Johannesburg area, and closely associated and aligned with the community based unions. With the formation of **COSATU** and the affiliation of **MGWU** to it, the union has become more active with a present membership of 3000. In December 1987, the AFL-CIO provided **AFSCME** with a grant to travel to Africa specifically to meet with **MGWU** representatives to discuss the current situation and potential programs. Given the commitment of **COSATU** and interest of **AFSCME**, this union should greatly expand in 1988.

Also important to this expansion is the **Cape Town Municipal Workers Association (CTMWA/COSATU)** with 11,000 members. CTMWA was a surprisingly active participant in the unity talks and has played a major role within COSATU. A merger between the two is possible.

The final major union in this group is NACTU's **NUPSW** with 8000 members. NUPSW's representatives have participated in a number of AFL-CIO U.S. based programs including the 1987 organizers' seminar and the June 1987 APRI convention in San Francisco. Regionally, NUPSW has participated in the AFL-CIO sponsored programs between SATUCC and South African trade unions. Additionally, NUPSW participated in the Service Employees International Union (SEIU/AFL-CIO) two week program in Lesotho in May 1987. From that program and discussions held at the time, SEIU provided AFL-CIO union-to-union assistance to NUPSW. That assistance enabled the union to expand its organizing department.

The **Black Health and Allied Workers Union of South Africa (BHAWUSA/IND)**, mentioned in the section on the chemical industry, is the dominant union in the health care field. BHAWUSA has a strong relationship with the AFL-CIO, SEIU, and AFSCME. BHAWUSA's refusal to join either COSATU or NACTU, however, has forced both federations to consider major organizing efforts in this arena. Success by the federations will undoubtedly move BHAWUSA into the second tier of progressive unions.

Black teachers in South Africa have been fragmented by geographic separation and ideological differences. In 1985 the AFL-CIO sponsored a program in the United States through the Labor Desk of the U.S. Youth Council. That program brought representatives of three South African trade unions to the U.S. for a three week program. In addition to SABMAWU and SEAWUSA, the **African Teachers Association of South Africa (ATASA)** also sent a representative. Since 1986 the American Federation of Teachers (AFT) has made several trips into South Africa under the sponsorship of the AFL-CIO. These trips have coincided with the emergence of active, progressive teachers' unions

throughout the country. While NACTU's NUPSW is attempting to organize teachers through their existing structure, COSATU seems to be active in trying to unify existing and emerging bodies of teachers. The AFT planned 1987 U.S. training program for teachers was re-scheduled for early 1988 reflecting the temporary transitional state of affairs.

The last union in the public sector to have received consideration from the AFL-CIO is the **Post Office and Telecommunications Workers Association (POTWA/IND)**. The AFL-CIO strongly protested the anti-worker attitude of the ministry and its refusal to settle the legitimate strike of the workers. This protest was coordinated through the ICFTU and the ITS, Postal, Telephone, and Telegraph International (PTTI), as well as the AFL-CIO affiliate, Communications Workers of America (CWA).

12. The domestic service industry, though excluded from the Labor Relations Act, is nevertheless represented by numerous associations of domestic workers. The three domestic associations which have received assistance from the AFL-CIO are now affiliates of either COSATU or NACTU. The AFL-CIO began a program of assistance with the **South African Domestic Workers Association (SADWA)** in 1985 which provided educational programs and administrative support. With 15,000 members SAWDA is now a COSATU affiliate.

The **Domestic Workers Association of South Africa (DWASA)** began receiving assistance from the AFL-CIO in 1984. This association, principally based in Port Elizabeth, has 4000 members and received assistance for its grass-roots organizing efforts. The general secretary of the association has traveled to the U.S., its members participated in the SEIU May 1987 Lesotho seminar, and received direct union-to-union assistance from SEIU. That assistance expanded the organizing department of the union both in terms of personnel and office necessities. DWASA joined CUSA in 1985 and is now an affiliate of NACTU.

The **Black Domestic Workers Union (BLADWU)** was formed in Johannesburg in 1985 primarily as a service organization to improve the conditions and educational level of domestic workers. BLADWU received AFL-CIO assistance to accomplish this goal and joined NACTU at its formation. BLADWU participated in the February 1987 organizers seminar as well as the SEIU program in Lesotho. BLADWU has 3000 members and a merger between DWASA and BLADWU seems likely.

13. A number of other South African unions which do not neatly fit into these industrial sectors have received AFL-CIO assistance. These unions are:

Vukani Guards and Allied Workers Union (VGAWU/NACTU) was established by CUSA and is now part of NACTU with 8900 members. This union caters to the large number of black workers who are employed as day or night watchmen at private homes and businesses as well as public buildings. These workers are extremely low paid, work long hours, and endure to both inclement weather and life threatening encounters. Representatives of VGAWU attended the February seminar, the SEIU Lesotho seminar, and received union-to-union assistance from SEIU during 1987 for their organizing efforts.

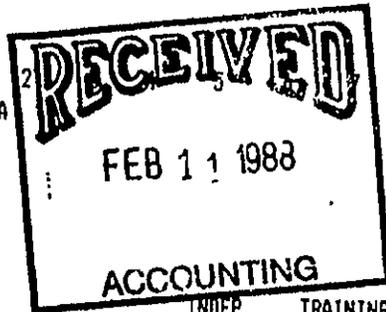
The **Brushes and Cleaners Workers Union (BCWU)** was formed in 1982 by the former general secretary of GAWU following her release from detention. The AFL-CIO began assisting BCWU in 1983 when the union had 300 members. The AFL-CIO recognized the importance of this union and the difficulty of organizing in this sector. BCWU jurisdiction is limited to workers who manufacture brooms and brushes and those who use them, specifically women who clean office buildings. These workers are extremely low paid and exploited by their working conditions. With the assistance of the AFL-CIO, BCWU developed a limited organizing strategy which focused on one geographical area and a restricted number of targets. The results have been most rewarding. From a base of 300 members in Johannesburg in 1983, with no collective bargaining contracts, the union has opened offices in

Durban, Pretoria, and Vereeniging, has 9 contracts, and 9000 members. In 1985 the general secretary, Mary Ntseke, came to the U.S. on an AFL-CIO grant to address trade union women's meetings. A representative of the union returned to the United States in 1987 to attend the organizing seminar. This was followed by the SEIU program in Lesotho and then a direct union-to-union program with the SEIU. BCWU joined CUSA in 1985 and is now an affiliate of NACTU.

The relationship between the AFL-CIO and NACTU's **South African Laundry Dry Cleaning and Dye Workers Union (SALDCDWU)** dates back to the Cornell University trade union program of 1980. SALDCDWU has 3000 members at present reflecting the impact of the economic recession in the country. Assistance to this union has been in the areas of organizing, in-country education programs for shop stewards (1984) and negotiations (1985), as well as numerous programs in the U.S. These programs included the APRI seminar in 1985, rallies in 1986, and the organizing seminar in 1987.

The **Black General Workers Union (BGWU)** was a founding member of AZACTU and received AFL-CIO assistance in 1985 and 1986 for education programs and administrative support. With the merger of CUSA and AZACTU, forming NACTU, BGWU was dissolved and its 7500 members distributed to other affiliates on an industrial basis.

The **Black Allied Workers Union (BAWU)** was formed in 1972 as the principal black trade union in South Africa, directly aligned with the Black Consciousness Movement. BAWU's mass organizing tactics led to fragmentations and divisions within the ranks resulting in the formation of numerous break-away unions including SAAWU, NFW, and GAWU. BAWU representatives attended the AFL-CIO's Cornell Program, and the union has received limited assistance for sporadic education programs over the past few years. The intent of the programs was to provide basic trade union courses for rank and file members. BAWU claims 90,000 members, but the union's primary objective is to represent workers who have grievances. To this end the union functions more as a last hope rather than as a source of initial



1 FILE NAME: SOUTH AFRICA

8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20

SOUTH AFRICA
GRANT

EXPENSES AS 12/31/87 AND ADVANCES AS OF 1/31/88

570

9	CATEGORY	ICFTU	INDEP BLK T.U S	TRAINING BLK T.U.	ITS & JOINT PROJE	APRI	LABOR DESK	EXCHANGE VISITS	IMPACTS	AALC COORDINA	INDIRECT CDSTS	TOTAL GRANT
10	BUDGET 10/13/83	90,000	100,000	150,000	60,000	40,000	10,000	0	50,000	175,000	0	675,000
11	ADMIN #1 5/15/84	200,000	0	0				0	0	0		200,000
12	ADMIN #2 9/21/84	0	0	0				0	25,000	0	0	25,000
13	ADMIN #3 6-27-85	250,000		175,000	75,000	60,000	20,000	0		254,235	158,505	992,740
14	ADMIN #6 9/30/86	150,000	150,000	125,735	500,000	150,000	0	50,000		134,765	239,500	1,500,000
15	ADMIN #8 9/30/87	75,000	0	0	503,200	0	0	0	0	77,500	144,300	800,000
16												0
17												0
18												0
19	TOTAL BUDGET	765,000	250,000	450,735	1,138,200	250,000	30,000	50,000	75,000	641,500	542,305	4,192,740
20												
21	EXP. Y-T-D 12/31/83	31,076	0	0	14,690			0	0	12,257	0	58,023
22	EXP. Y-T-D 12/31/84	1,135	98,465	6,349	8,148	1,839	0	0	9,100	156,621	0	281,657
23	EXP. Y-T-D 12/31/85	314,239	142,484	60,192	9,828	54,926	15,000	0	0	118,620	142,629	857,918
24	EXP. Y-T-D 12/31/86	91,503	0	164,441	0	56,782	0	0	0	181,305	102,551	596,582
25	EXPENSES FOR 1987	3,579	293,266	188,578	129,975	836	0	0	0	142,047	166,822	925,103
26	ADVANCES OUTSTANDING	206,799	0	76,244	640,014	50,000	0	0	75,000	0	230,573	1,278,630
27												
28	BUDGET REMAINING	116,669	-284,215	-45,069	335,545	85,617	15,000	50,000	-9,100	30,650	-100,269	194,828
29												
30												
31												
32												
33	EXPENSE INDEP TO DATE	648,331	534,215	495,804	802,655	164,383	15,000	0	84,100	610,850	642,574	3,997,912
34												
35												
36												

1,030,014
Less Union
Federation 425,216

protection. For this reason the unions of COSATU and NACTU have easily organized BAWU members.

The **Black Allied Workers Union of South Africa (BAWUSA)** was formed in Port Elizabeth in 1985 as a response to the turmoil in the townships, boycotts of stores and transport, and the economic recession which hit this city harder than any other in the country. The AFL-CIO provided limited assistance to BAWUSA to carry out programs designed to coordinate worker activities and to facilitate communications between workers.

The **African Workers Association (AWA)** was an early recipient of AFL-CIO assistance. In 1983, this Durban-based union was attempting to organize provincial hospital workers who were confronted by a hostile and unreceptive management. The 3000 members of AWA were in the health, chemical, and metal sectors. The AFL-CIO, in 1983, anticipated that AWA would focus on the health sector and distribute its other members to appropriate unions. The unwillingness or inability of this union to concentrate on one industry has made it ineffective in all of its activities.

The **South African Non-Racial Union (SANRU)** received limited assistance from the AFL-CIO in 1985 and 1986. The purpose of this assistance was to provide education programs for the 3000 members in order that they decide where to affiliate. The failure of the union to carry out this initiative has halted assistance.

AFL-CIO PROGRAM FOR 1988

Objective 1: In-Country Presence

The African-American Labor Center (AALC) will maintain a representative in Maseru, Lesotho to:

- a. Implement, coordinate, and assist in all aspects of this program.

- b. Advise, correspond, and meet with South African trade unionists on a frequent and regular basis.

Objective 2: Assistance to the ICFTU

The AFL-CIO, through the African-American Labor Center, will provide assistance to the South African trade union assistance program of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU). The South African Coordinating Committee of the ICFTU, comprising representatives of the ICFTU affiliate national centers and ITS's, receives requests for assistance from South African trade unions and organizations. The full committee reviews all requests, determines appropriate recipients, and establishes the funding level for each request. The underlying criteria is merit and consensus. The requests which are accepted by the Committee are, then, implemented by the ICFTU affiliates who provide the funding to this program (AFL-CIO, LO Norway, LO/TCO Sweden, FNV Netherlands, and LO Denmark). These five donor affiliates of the ICFTU, in a final phase, allocate their individual contributions to specific programs (which have been approved by the ICFTU Coordinating Committee on South Africa). On December 8, 1987 the AFL-CIO committed itself to supporting:

- a. National Council of Trade Unions (NACTU)
- b. Labour and Economic Research Centre (an information "think tank" assisting COSATU and its affiliates)
- c. Industrial Health Research Group (a safety and health unit assisting COSATU and its affiliates).

Objective 3: South African Unit of the AALC

The African-American Labor Center (AALC) proposes to establish a specialized unit within the AALC Headquarters in Washington D.C. for the purpose of coordinating all program activities, implementing AFL-CIO associate organization programs, providing forums for discussions, improving media activities, and enhancing the program's effectiveness in order to assemble data

and help develop and facilitate union to union programs. In addition to the AFL-CIO programs and affiliate union programs, the AALC will:

- a. Engage the A. Philip Randolph Institute (APRI) to utilize its civil rights and community expertise and platforms in the areas of publishing a South African supplement to their regular periodical, provide assistance to S.A. township advice bureaus, and assist the hostel dwellers in the Cape Province. APRI anticipates the expansion of its program in South Africa in light of the extra-parliamentary activities within the black townships which the trade unions support and participate.
- b. Engage Frontlash, the AFL-CIO associate organization of youth, to utilize its forums and expertise for the benefit of young black South African trade unionists who are closely allied with the student movement in that country. Specifically Frontlash will conduct programs in the U.S. for young S.A. black trade unionists.
- c. Engage the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW) to promote the role of women in the trade union movement through forums and discussions in both the United States and South Africa.
- d. Sponsor a meeting(s) for AFL-CIO personnel, international affairs directors of affiliated unions, and other interested parties to discuss the situation in South Africa, the AFL-CIO program in South Africa, and the coordinated approach to addressing these problems.
- e. Increase the ability of the AALC to gather relevant information, store and retrieve information, and disseminate information through the acquisition of publications, computer banks, and video and print machinery to benefit the union to union program.

Objectives 4-17 General Comment

The objectives, defined below, are based on an understanding of the labor movement in South Africa and a projection of the needs, specific to each

industry, entering 1988. The decision by the African-American Labor Center on which union to assist conforms with the standards established by the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU). These standards were most recently stated by the Executive Board of the ICFTU on December 8, 1987 when they said:

"On the basis of the report of the Coordinating Committee on Southern Africa and the Committee's recommendations, the Executive Board reiterated its support for all organizations fighting for the liberation of South Africa, as recognized by the UN and OAU and renewed its pledge to maximise support for COSATU and NACTU and all other bona fide black independent unions within South Africa."

While support for COSATU and NACTU is indisputable the phrase "bona fide black independent unions" is less clear-cut. What does prevail is a dialogue within the Coordinating Committee where information is shared and sentiments are expressed concerning independent unions. The value of such dialogue is threefold: each independent union is viewed separately, assistance is selectively granted, and the progress and acceptability are defined. The two most important criteria are the union's representation within the industry and the union's movement within or towards the progressive black federations and their affiliates.

It is precisely this dialogue within the ICFTU Coordinating Committee on Southern Africa which provides a yardstick for the AALC in determining additional assistance outside of the ICFTU. That assistance is administered through the other components of the AFL-CIO Program such as APRI, union-to-union, ITS, etc.

The following objectives, also, provide recognizable areas where AFL-CIO assistance could be granted. These areas were determined by the past activities of the AFL-CIO, knowledge of the situation in South Africa, anticipated problem areas for each industry, and a tacit understanding of budgetary limitations, both financial and programatic. The major problems with such an anticipatory approach are the dynamics of the South African situation and the AFL-CIO's unwillingness to impose programs. The "dynamics" of South Africa is a recognition of how quickly the situation can change and the need for flexibility and adaptability. The refusal to impose programs, on the

other hand, is a long standing policy of the AFL-CIO. The American labor movement is more than willing to assist trade union development and share its experience and expertise where it is desired and requested. Consistent with this policy is an acute desire by the AFL-CIO to publicize its policies, programs, and availability. With these comments in mind the AFL-CIO proposes the following objectives.

Objective 4: Assistance to the South African Federations

The African-American Labor Center (AALC), in coordination with the AFL-CIO, will address these areas in 1988 in conjunction with COSATU and NACTU:

- a. Program in the United States for South African trade union federation leaders and officials to focus on the coordination of the activities of the AFL-CIO with their counterpart national centers in South Africa and provide appropriate audiences for such discussions.
- b. Programs in the United States or Southern Africa focusing on the new South African labor legislation with an emphasis on historical developments in the U.S., public awareness, legislative activity, and international pressure.
- c. Program in South Africa for a building fund for the federations to expand, re-build, or improve their existing headquarters and branch offices.
- d. Program in South Africa to allow the federations to have a strike monitoring committee, internationally staffed, available at the federations' request to ensure employer/government compliance with the law.
- e. Programs in South Africa for federation development such as printing, legal, education, or safety and health units.

- f. Regional programs with the national centers of the Frontline States affiliated with the Southern Africa Trade Union Coordinating Council to improve the communications among the national centers and discuss topics of mutual concern reflecting the interdependence of the region.
- g. Program in the United States with AFL-CIO's Labor Institute for Public Affairs (LIPA) on media use for trade union promotion.

Objective 5: Assistance to the Unions in the Mining Industry

The African-American Labor Center (AALC), in coordination with the United Steelworkers of America and, where practical, the United Mineworkers Union, will address these areas in 1988 in conjunction with NUM and BAMCWU:

- a. Program in South Africa to assist the unions in their communications, networking, and record keeping through computers and computer training.
- b. Programs in the United States and Southern Africa focusing on negotiations with employers who are attempting to unilaterally introduce capital intensive equipment (mechanization) and displace workers.
- c. Program in the United States or Southern Africa directed at safety and health, the training of union cadres in this area, and negotiating safety and health provisions in a contract.
- d. Program in Southern Africa focusing on mining unions in the region, emphasizing coordinated bargaining, information exchange, and migrant labor.

Objective 6: Assistance to the Unions in the Agriculture Industry

The African-American Labor Center (AALC), in coordination with the United Farmworkers of America, will address these areas in 1988 in conjunction with the progressive unions in this industry:

- a. Program in the United States or Southern Africa to focus on organizing techniques, strategies, and post-organizing activities for agricultural workers utilizing the American experience.
- b. Programs in South Africa to assist unions to develop their own education and organizing departments to carryout essential activities in this sector.

Objective 7: Assistance to the Unions in the Food and Beverage Industry

The African-American Labor Center (AALC), in coordination with the United Food and Commercial Workers International Union, will address these areas in 1988 in conjunction with the COSATU and NACTU affiliates in this sector:

- a. Program in the United States or Southern Africa to train trainers (educators) in teaching techniques and contract language.
- b. Program in Southern Africa, in conjunction with the Southern Africa Trade Union Coodinating Council affiliates from this industry, to exchange information, increase communications, and develop coordinated approaches to colective bargaining.
- c. Programs in South Africa to assist the unions with their education and organizing departments and their activities.

Objective 8: Assistance to the Unions in the Textile, Garment and Leather Industry

The African-American Labor Center (AALC), in coordination with the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union and Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union, will address these areas in 1988 in conjunction with the COSATU affiliate, COSATU observer unions, and NACTU affiliate:

- a. Program in the United States to review the structure and functioning of U.S. unions in this industry with a specific emphasis on transferrable approaches.

- b. Program in South Africa to accelerate and promote the re-organization of merged unions and assist with the mergers where feasible.

Objective 9: Assistance to the Unions in the Wood, Paper and Printing Industry

The African-American Labor Center (AALC), in coordination with the Newspaper Guild and the International Union of Bricklayers and Allied Craftsmen, will address these areas in 1988 in conjunction with the NACTU and COSATU affiliates in this industry:

- a. Program in the United States for journalists to exchange ideas, information, and develop a communications network.
- b. Programs in South Africa to assist unions to develop or expand their organizing and education departments and relevant programs.

Objective 10: Assistance to the Unions in the Chemical Industry

The African-American Labor Center (AALC), in coordination with the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers International Union, will address these areas in 1988 in conjunction with the progressive unions in the industry:

- a. Program in Botswana to coordinate the activities of the chemical unions from South Africa, Botswana, Zimbabwe, and Zambia and to exchange information regarding the Sua Pan Soda Ash Project and related topics.
- b. Program in the United States recognizing that U.S. chemical manufacturers dominate U.S. multinational activity in South Africa.
- c. Programs in South Africa to assist these unions with their education and organizing programs as well as administrative needs.

Objective 11: Assistance to the Unions in the Metals Industry

The African-American Labor Center (AALC), in coordination with the United Steelworkers of America and, where practical, the United Automobile Workers, will address these areas in 1988 in conjunction with the affiliates of the South African Coordinating Council of the International Metalworkers Federation (SACCIMF):

- a. Program in the United States to discuss sanction efforts particular to this industry including short term ramifications, monitoring, and international solidarity.
- b. Program in South Africa to continue the job classification/description program previously initiated.
- c. Program between the U.S. and South Africa to maximize communications and information utilizing high technology telecommunications systems.
- d. Program in South Africa to assist the NACTU affiliates effectuate their merger.
- e. Program in South Africa to assist all unions with their education and organizing departments as well as their administrative needs.

Objective 12: Assistance to the Unions in the Construction Industry

The African-American Labor Center (AALC), in coordination with the International Union of Bricklayers and Allied Craftsmen, will address these areas in 1988 in conjunction with the COSATU and NACTU affiliates in the industry:

- a. Program in the United States to train trainers for an in-country, union vocational training project.

- b. Program in South Africa to initiate and implement the vocational training project.
- c. Program in South Africa to assist the unions with their educational and organizational activities.

Objective 13: Assistance to the Unions in the Commercial, Catering and Accommodation Industry

The African-American Labor Center (AALC), in coordination with the United Food and Commercial Workers International Union, will address these areas in 1988 in conjunction with the NACTU and COSATU affiliates in this industry:

- a. Program in the United States or Southern Africa to increase the negotiating skills, improve contract language, and up-grade the training of trainers.
- b. Programs in South Africa to assist the unions with their education, administration, and organizing needs.

Objective 14: Assistance to the Unions in the Transportation Industry

The African-American Labor Center (AALC), in coordination with the Transportation Communications Union, will address these areas in 1988 in conjunction with the progressive unions in this industry:

- a. Program in South Africa to assist the progressive unions to assist the members of BTUSATS in controlling their union and determining their future.
- b. Programs in South Africa for the progressive unions to increase their organizing and education departments and improve their administrative functioning.

Objective 15: Assistance to the Unions in the Public Sector

The African-American Labor Center (AALC), in coordination with the Service Employees International Union, American Federation of State County and Municipal Employees, and American Federation of Teachers, will address these areas in 1988 in conjunction with the progressive unions in this sector:

- a. Programs in the United States for teachers, health workers, and municipal workers to introduce them to American union structure and training programs for trainers (educators).
- b. Programs in Southern Africa to coordinate activities and follow-up to the 1987 SEIU program.
- c. Programs in South Africa for the unions to improve their education and organizing departments and improve their administrative structures.

Objective 16: Assistance to the Unions in the Domestic Service Industry

The African-American Labor Center (AALC), in coordination with the Service Employees International Union, will address these areas in 1988 in conjunction with the domestic workers associations of COSATU and NACTU:

- a. Program in Southern Africa to address the dual problem of organizing and representing exploited and unprotected workers and confronting the likelihood of future job loss.
- b. Programs in South Africa for these unions to increase their organizing and educational activities as well as administrative structure.

Objective 17: Assistance to the Unions in Other Industries

The African-American Labor Center (AALC), in coordination with appropriate U.S. unions, will address these areas in 1988 in conjunction with progressive unions not covered in other industrial sectors:

- a. Programs in South Africa to assist these unions with their organizing departments, educational activities, and administrative structures.
- b. Programs in the United States or Southern Africa concurrent with other programs where these unions share similar problems and situations.

BUDGET FOR SOUTH AFRICA

COUNTRY LABOR PROGRAM

JANUARY 1, 1988 - DECEMBER 31, 1988

Program Coordination:

AALC In-Country Implementation	\$164,500	
AALC/Washington S.A. Unit	<u>260,000</u>	\$424,500

Program Budget:

Multilateral Assistance (ICFTU)	100,000	
Bilateral Assistance	<u>705,000</u>	<u>805,000</u>
DIRECT COST		1,229,500
INDIRECT COST @ 22%		<u>270,500</u>
TOTAL SOUTH AFRICAN BUDGET		\$1,500,000

Coordination Budget Detail:

AALC In-Country Budget:

Salary and Taxes

Salary	\$43,199	
FICA	<u>3,244</u>	\$46,443

Allowances

Salary Differential	4,320	
Education	24,750	
Storage	<u>1,536</u>	30,606

Other Costs

Housing	18,000	
Medical	4,200	
Foreign Liability	864	
Unemployment	232	
Pension	10,800	
Rest & Recoup	12,000	
Local Travel	<u>23,355</u>	69,451

Office Costs

Rent	3,000	
Supplies	3,000	
Communications	5,000	
Local Hire	3,000	
Miscellaneous	<u>4,000</u>	18,000

TOTAL IN-COUNTRY IMPLEMENTATION 164,500

AALC Washington S.A. Unit:

A. Philip Randolph Institute		\$50,000
Frontlash		30,000
Coalition of Labor Union Women		20,000
Conference		5,000
Media		20,000
Headquarters		
Salaries/Benefits	120,920	
Travel	<u>14,080</u>	
		<u>135,000</u>

TOTAL AALC/W SA UNIT 260,000

TOTAL AALC COORDINATION BUDGET \$424,500

Program Budget Detail:

Multilateral Assistance (ICFTU)

Indust. Health Res Grp	\$25,000		
Nat'l Coun of Trade Un	50,000		
Labour Econ Res Ctr	<u>25,000</u>		\$100,000

Bilateral Assistance

1. Assistance to the Federations

U.S. Programs	\$65,000		
S.A. Programs	40,000		
Regional Programs	<u>25,000</u>	\$130,000	

2. Assistance to the Unions*

U.S. Programs	\$195,000		
S.A. Programs	310,000		
Regional Programs	<u>70,000</u>	<u>575,000</u>	<u>705,000</u>

Total Program Budget 805,000

Total Direct Cost 1,229,500

Indirect Cost 270,500

TOTAL BUDGET FOR SA **\$1,500,000**

*Note: assistance to the S.A. unions is based on the objectives outlined above and reflect assistance to the unions in specific industrial sectors using the following formula:

Mining Sector	30,000	Agriculture Sector	\$40,000
Food Sector	40,000	Textile/Garment Sec.	40,000
Chemical Sec.	45,000	Wood/Printing Sec.	50,000
Metals Sec.	60,000	Comm./Catering Sec.	25,000
Transport Sec	20,000	Construction Sector	45,000
Public Sector	90,000	Domestic Sector	<u>40,000</u>
Other Unions	50,000		<u>575,000</u>