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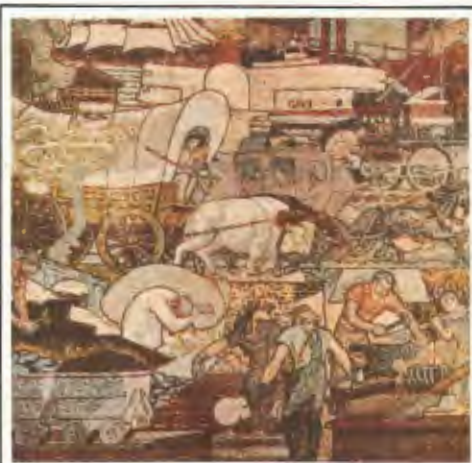


the Bulletin

of the Department of International Affairs, AFL-CIO

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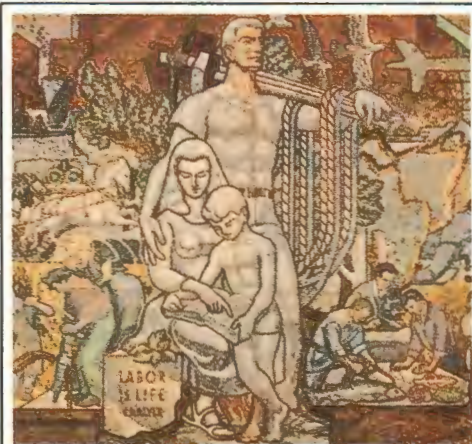


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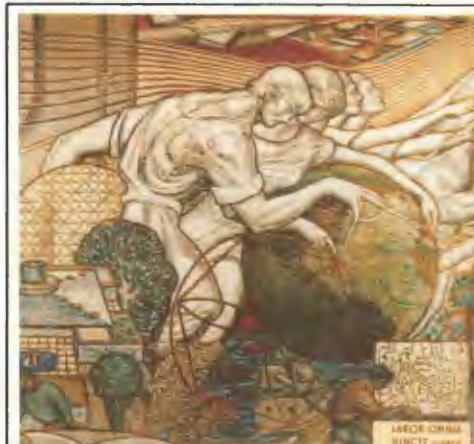
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**POLISH
GOVERNMENT
BLOCKS
KIRKLAND—
WALESA TALKS**



•
**BEHIND THE
SOUTH KOREAN
“MIRACLE”**



•
**DESPOT IN
SURINAME**



•
**ERNESTO
HERRERA ON
THE NEW
PHILIPPINE
CONSTITUTION**



•
**UNION RIGHTS
AND HUMAN
RIGHTS**



WORKERS' RIGHTS

A New Trend Visible In Assessment By U.S. Group:

The recent publication of detailed assessments of human rights within the countries which signed the Helsinki Accords shows a new trend in the work of American and other Western human rights organizations. Increasingly, **freedom of association and trade union rights** are occupying center stage in the worldwide human rights debate. More and more the organizations monitoring human rights are taking up the cause of trade union freedoms in assessing the rights enjoyed by peoples worldwide.

A clear indication of this new trend is to be found in the most recent publications of the Helsinki Watch. These reports offer comprehensive country-by-country assessments of trade union freedoms, freedom of the press, freedom of religion, and the treatment of political prisoners—matters covered by the Accords on Security and Cooperation in Europe signed at Helsinki in 1976—in the Soviet Union, Bulgaria, Romania, East Germany, Hungary, Poland, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, and Turkey.

The Findings

According to the latest Helsinki Watch reports workers' rights and trade union freedoms are severely circumscribed or non-existent in most of the countries listed. From the reports themselves it becomes clear that oppression and state/party control of workers is most severe in the Soviet Union, Bulgaria, Romania, Poland, and East Germany. The following are excerpts from the findings:

Bulgaria: "The state decides which organizations and associations are permitted to exist. The law provides for punishment for anyone 'founding an illegal, anti-state organization.' The right to assemble is only granted to approved organizations. . . . Bulgarian labor unions are controlled by the Communist Party, and there is no mechanism for protest or collective bargaining."

East Germany: "Independent unions are prohibited. [Communist Party] members lead unions and control their meetings, allowing them to carry out official policy and to transmit Party economic directives and propaganda. Most importantly, a union's best weapon—the right to strike—is noticeably omitted from the [East German] Labor Code. . . . Employers hold secret files containing personal and political data about all employees, and such data become the criteria examined for professional selection, rather than qualification and accomplishment."

Romania: "Working conditions are quite pitiable in Romania, and without free trade unions, workers cannot press their demands."

U.S.S.R.: "In the Soviet Union, where everyone is employed by the state, trade unions are state-controlled. Since no independent collective bargaining bodies exist, workers with grievances against the state employer have no guarantee of protection. The right to form free

trade union associations, nominally included in the Soviet Constitution, is qualified by the phrase 'in accordance with the goals of communist construction,' a formulation that can be used to circumvent this right. Efforts to form free trade union groups, led by coal-miner Vladimir Klebanov in 1977 (the Free Trade Union) and Vladimir Borisov (the Free Interprofessional Association of Workers [SMOT]), attracted dozens of supporters but culminated in the arrest and imprisonment of the worker activists. . . . The right to strike is not explicitly safeguarded by Soviet law. Articles restricting freedom of assembly are used to put down workers' protests."

Helsinki Watch: Rights Monitor

Helsinki Watch is a respected human rights organization which includes among its Committee Members such prominent Americans as former ILGWU President Sol Chaikin, sociologist Dr. Kenneth Clark, Father Robert Drinan, civil rights advocate Eleanor Holmes Norton, writer Robert Penn Warren, and former CWA President Glenn Watts. Its new studies on human rights and freedom of association are thoroughly researched and concisely written. **They are also profoundly disturbing in their clear indications that solidarity with embattled trade unionists is urgently needed.**

The Helsinki Watch country reports on "Violations of the Helsinki Accords" range in length from 33 to 343 pages and are available through Helsinki Watch, 36 West 44th Street, New York, N.Y. 10036. They range in price between \$5.00 and \$12.00. Telephone inquiries and orders can be made at (212) 840-9460. ■



the Bulletin

of the Department of International Affairs, AFL-CIO

AFL-CIO, 815 16th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006

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SURINAME

DESPOTIC VIOLENCE

Suriname, an independent nation since 1975, is located on the Caribbean coast of South America. With a population of some 400,000 (heavily East Indian: the predominant languages are Dutch, English, and Creole, and religions Moslem, Hindu, and Christian), Suriname rarely figures in world news.

But Suriname has been getting some attention of late—because of the Government's lamentable violations of trade union and human rights. Events there since 1982, when a Military Council—a euphemism for the dictatorship of its leader, Col. Desire Bouterse—took over the Government, have made Suriname one of the five South and Central American dictatorships (the others being Chile, Cuba, Nicaragua, and Paraguay).

Corruption of *De Moederbond*

De Moederbond was once a free trade union, staunchly committed to the defense of workers' interests. But in 1982, when it is reported Bouterse participated personally in the murder of fifteen political and labor leaders, the headquarters of *De Moederbond* was burned down, and its General Secretary murdered. Bouterse then moved to bring what remained of the union under his complete control.

By January, 1986, this aim had long since been achieved. At that time, Bouterse moved against still another Surinamese labor union. The dictator asserted that the union in question was guilty of "terrorist tactics" and threatened its leaders with unspecified repercussions for actions taken by union members in defense of their interests. *De Moederbond's* submissive (and by now corrupted) leadership endorsed Bouterse's attacks.

The ICFTU Acts

These developments were followed closely by the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, which finally undertook an official inquiry. After an extended investigation, in which *De Moederbond's* officials were given every opportunity to give their side of the story, the ICFTU voted in November, 1986, to "suspend" *De Moederbond* from membership for "actions deemed . . . to be in contravention of [the ICFTU] Constitution or against the interests of world labor." The ICFTU requested its affiliates to act to "effectively isolate the military regime of Suriname," where the ICFTU reported, "Terrifying events are now commonplace in this previously peaceful society."

In recent weeks, Bouterse has been accused of "brutality, of what amounts to murder, of gross violations of human rights," by U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz, who was reacting to reports that in late November and early December between 50 and 180 persons, many of them women and children, were killed by Surinamese soldiers.

Meanwhile, Bouterse has entered into a cooperative relationship with another colonel—Libyan dictator Muammar Qaddafi. Bouterse's army and security services now benefit from the malign expertise of Libyan advisers.

The AFL-CIO, deeply concerned about the deterioration of human and trade union rights in Suriname, has testified about labor rights abuses there before U.S. Government agencies, especially with regard to the Generalized System of Preferences. (See *The Bulletin for September*, p. 6, and *this issue*, p. 6.). ■

PARAGUAY

DIVIDING THE WORKERS

In recent months, Paraguay, Latin America's senior military dictatorship—and one of its harshest—has met a remarkable upsurge in free trade union activism with, not surprisingly, a combination of repression, harassment, and intimidation. Gen. Stroessner has now had recourse to another, classic tactic. The Journalists' Union Paraguay (SPP) reports that the authorities are promoting a parallel union in an effort to effect a split. The SPP, denied its legal right to official registration, has consistently maintained a courageous position of independence from the regime. Now, according to the union, "a small and unrepresentative group is being organized by persons closely associated with the dictatorship." Yet another proof of the importance of an independent union of journalists as a bulwark in the struggle for freedom of association and freedom of the press—twin dangers to dictatorship. ■

AFL-CIO'S SALVADORAN RELIEF FUND



President Kirkland, meeting in December with leaders of El Salvador's democratic trade unions, turned over more than \$50,000 collected by the AFL-CIO Salvadoran Earthquake Relief Fund. Above, Kirkland with (l. to r.) President Simon Parada of the Association of Agropecuarian Producers' Cooperatives, Arturo Magana, adviser to the Union of Salvadoran Campesinos, and Vice President Ricardo Soriano of the Confederation of Democratic Workers. Kirkland stressed AFL-CIO support for Salvadoran unions in the struggle to safeguard basic human and trade union rights. ■



SOUTH AFRICA

THE NEW CENSORSHIP

On December 11 the Pretoria Government issued new regulations covering reporting by any media in the country—including, of course, correspondents of foreign media and news agencies. The effect, both intended and achieved, was to restrict the press, radio, and television to the Government's versions of events. Reporting of domestic developments is permitted only if the material has been issued or cleared by the designated Government offices. In the twilight created by this drastic censorship, the Botha regime then moved to further restrict the activities of the black South African trade union movement, provoking, among many others, the following messages to South African President Botha:

Telex from AFL-CIO President Kirkland

"The American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO), representing more than 13 million workers in North America, joins the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) [see ICFTU NOTES *this page*] in condemning the recent imposition of new censorship laws and the detention of even more trade union leaders in South Africa.

"We urgently appeal to you to lift the current restrictions on the South African press which abrogate the basic rights of your citizens to know the truth. We appeal to you to release those trade unionists detained without cause under the June 12 state of emergency. . .

"Your repeated assaults on the basic human freedoms of workers in your country serve only to rekindle the determination of American workers in their support for their South African brothers and sisters and to further isolate the South African regime in the international arena."

Letter from The Newspaper Guild President Perlik

"... We are stunned by the Government's latest action. The announcement of new and far-reaching restrictions on *The Los Angeles Times's* correspondent, Michael Parks, appears to herald the disappearance of the last vestiges of press freedom in South Africa. . . .

"To impose sweeping restrictions on reports of non-violent dissent and opposition to the Government, including not only strikes and boycotts but even statements, is tantamount to closing the door to all but violence as a means of political and social change. To require that all such reports be screened by a Government official is to ensure that no report on South Africa will be accepted, either inside or outside the country, as a truthful picture. Rumor will rule the field, and everyone will believe the worst. This argument, I realize, can only sway you if the worst is not true. From this consideration itself, however, we, and everyone else, will draw the appropriate conclusion if your edict stands. . . .

"To fail [to reverse your course] would place your country in the same class with the Soviet Union as the most restrictive in the world in repressing news of dissent. It is not a pedestal to which I should think you would aspire." ■

TUNISIA

ACHOUR GIVEN ADDITIONAL SENTENCE

Habib Achour, former General Secretary of the *Union Generale des Travailleurs Tunisiens* (UGTT), currently serving a sentence of three years imprisonment, was sentenced to an additional four years on December 13 by a Tunisian tribunal on charges of complicity in misuse of union funds. Achour's arrest and imprisonment last year was a major blow to the UGTT, and was vigorously protested by the ICFTU. At this latest trial, as at his first, Achour asserted that his imprisonment is part of a plot by former Prime Minister Mohamed Mzali to destroy the UGTT and secure the succession to President Bourguiba. Achour is 73, and suffers from diabetes. Maitre Cornut-Gentile, of the Paris Bar, was present during the latest trial as an observer for the ICFTU. ■

ICFTU NOTES



SOUTH AFRICA

The following telex was sent on December 12 to President Botha: "The International Confederation of Free Trade Unions strongly protests against the sweeping new censorship laws that were imposed on the South African press on 11 December 1986. These new measures have not only effaced what had been thought to be a free press under the rigorous apartheid laws but have erased the last remaining vestiges of the South African public's right to know what is happening in their own country and the diffusion of this news throughout the world. Equally, the ICFTU vehemently condemns the detention of the Editor of *The New Nation* Zwelakhe Sisulu and calls for his immediate release and that of other trade unionists who have been detained under the draconian laws that have come into operation under the June 12 state of emergency."

TURKEY

On December 23 the Istanbul Military Tribunal, ending a trial in its fifth year, condemned Abdullah Basturk, leader of the banned trade union federation DISK, who had just returned from a meeting with ICFTU General Secretary Vanderveken, and six of his colleagues to ten years detention. Other DISK leaders were sentenced to five to eight years. DISK and 27 of its 29 affiliates were dissolved, their property and assets forfeited to the state. The ICFTU strongly protested this most unjust sentence infringing upon trade union rights and international labor conventions, the more as no violence on the part of DISK could be shown.

(From ICFTU despatches)



SOUTH KOREA

WHENCE THE "MIRACLE"?

A *New York Times Magazine* cover story of December 14 was another of a rash of media salutes to South Korea's "meteoric rise" and "international success." The article began with a "human interest" story—the good fortune of Kim Jung Soo, 39, an assembly line worker who is now a foreman at the Hyundai Motor Company plant in the small Korean city of Ulsan. The author quoted Mr. Kim as saying that Hyundai "gives him everything: 'clothes, shoes, and even underwear'."

But there are things Hyundai does not give. Among them is the freedom to be interviewed alone. All Hyundai workers' interviews with the *Times* correspondent had to be monitored by a company official—a point unmentioned in the article.

Other Things Missing . . .

The article does note, however, that Hyundai does not provide its workers sufficient wages, nor the right to organize a union.

Most workers at Ulsan do not earn enough to be able to afford the cars they manufacture. The plant turns out up to 1,500 cars a day. But the workers travel by bicycle and on foot. Hyundai *does* issue them jackets with a white stripe on the back "so that the workers will not be hit by cars at night as they walk along the dark Ulsan streets."

As for union organization, "Hyundai is definitely one of the most anti-labor of large companies here," says the *Times* article, quoting Harry G. Kamberis, Director of the AFL-CIO's Asian-American Free Labor Institute office in Seoul.

The FKTU

The Federation of Korean Trade Unions (FKTU), with its sixteen national union affiliates, has a membership of about a million workers, or about 10 percent of the work force eligible for union membership. But the FKTU lives under severe restrictions of law and practice. An FKTU rally last November urged Government action to guarantee the exercise of three basic trade union rights: the right to organize; the right to bargain collectively; and the right to "collective action" (strike). The FKTU is also insisting on labor law reform. But it is understood that new legislation will not suffice, as employers, with Government complicity, widely ignore those rights that already exist in law.

The Case of Women Workers

In the Korean industrial structure women fill a special role. For *young* women—15 to 23 years old—make up most of the unskilled and semiskilled work force of the

South Korean industries exporting to the United States. Those companies hire young women because they are assumed to be submissive to male supervisors, their labor is cheaper, and they can be more easily discharged than men. Generally, in these companies, women over 21 will not be hired, the expectation being that they will marry and leave by age 24.

Young girls' small hands are thought to be nimbler than those of males. The girls are thus assigned tedious jobs, such as precision assembly with microscopes. The eye strain of close work, however, often causes near-sightedness, and, in time, the inability to keep up with production quotas. The women may then be pressured into signing a paper of "resignation," not knowing that this deprives them of the one-month compensation provided by law.

Low wages, little job security, poor working conditions, an increasingly polluted environment, poor diet, unregulated terms of employment, and sexual harassment take a physical and psychological toll. Nor is the situation improving: new companies opened by foreign investors are setting even lower labor standards. (*This passage on exploitation of women workers is from a report by a church group in South Korea.*)

Action and Pantomime

Years ago the National Assembly adopted a minimum wage law. Nothing came of it, because the Government refused to issue an implementing decree. The Government is currently making much of a new law on minimum wages just passed (again) by the National Assembly. But it will remain only pantomime unless: 1) the Government issues a decree setting up the necessary administrative machinery to establish a minimum wage; 2) the procedures thus established will result in setting a realistic minimum wage; and 3) the Government seriously enforces that minimum wage.

In addition, the Government is now cracking down on efforts to organize unions outside the FKTU structure. In the process dozens of labor activists, male and female, seeking to establish independent unions have been arrested, imprisoned, and, according to reports of Amnesty International, tortured.

What is "Developed"?

The case of Hyundai, and other South Korean realities, illustrate the fact that despite demonstrable success in the international marketplace, the Republic of Korea is still, in important respects, an underdeveloped country. Its Gross National Product, and huge industrial conglomerates such as Hyundai, are, indeed, "developed." But for the most part its people—the creators of this "development"—have been economically, politically, and socially left behind.

The central reality is tight military rule. The Government is a military dictatorship that can ignore the Constitution and interpret the laws as it sees fit. ■



POLAND

AFL-CIO VISIT DENIED

On December 14, AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland and an AFL-CIO delegation applied for visas to visit Poland on January 6 to meet with Solidarnosc Chairman Lech Walesa. On December 23, Mr. Marek Szewczyk, the Counselor of the Polish Embassy, informed the AFL-CIO that its request for visas had been turned down. AFL-CIO President Kirkland issued the following response to the Polish Government's action:

"As a condition for the granting of visas, we were informed by the Polish authorities that we would be required to meet with the official trade unions set up by Gen. Jaruzelski's Government after it crushed Solidarnosc. As a matter of principle, we refused to do so.

"We will not be coerced by any government into meeting with 'company unions.' We reject the assertion of the Polish Government that Solidarnosc does not exist and that the new 'unions' speak for Poland's workers.

"We reaffirm our support for Solidarnosc as the authentic voice of Poland's workers. And we pledge to continue to provide Solidarnosc with all the material and moral support of which we are capable.

"I had hoped to meet with Brother Walesa to discuss issues he had raised in letters to me regarding the American sanctions on Poland, just as I had met in South Africa with the leaders of the black trade union movement to seek their guidance on appropriate American policy toward their country.

"The Polish Government's refusal to permit contact between the leaders of the free trade union movement in Poland and their counterparts in the U.S. is a violation of basic trade union rights, enshrined in various International Labor Organization conventions, which Poland has signed and by which it is bound. This regrettable action also is a clear violation of the Helsinki Accords. It demonstrates quite clearly that the Polish Government is not interested in improved relations with the democratic world and with its own workers." ■

ANATOLY MARCHENKO

On December 9, dissident sources informed the AFL-CIO of the death in Chistopol prison, in the Perm region of the U.S.S.R., of Anatoly Marchenko, a prominent workers' rights and human rights advocate. Mr. Marchenko's hunger strike, begun last August, was reported in *The Bulletin* of October 1986 (which also reported the death in the same Chistopol prison of Mark Morozov, of the independent Soviet trade union movement SMOT). A Federation statement the next day said:

"The AFL-CIO notes with great sadness the death in prison, at age 48, of renowned Soviet human rights and trade union rights activist Anatoly Marchenko. Mr. Marchenko, a Soviet building tradesman... spent over twenty-

one years in Soviet prisons and labor camps for his leading role in the U.S.S.R.'s democratic movement...

"In 1977, the AFL-CIO invited Anatoly Marchenko to participate in its National Convention. He was prevented from doing so by Soviet authorities... who seek to send their counterfeit trade unionists into this country... Now, he has paid the highest price for his commitment to freedom—he has given his life."



Anatoly Marchenko 1938-1986

GSP: DETAILS AVAILABLE

The AFL-CIO has been urging the Administration to deny trade benefits under the General System of Preferences to countries where trade unionists' basic workers' rights as defined in the Conventions of the International Labor Organization are systematically violated. (See *The Bulletin* for September 1986, page 6. We will comment next month on the Administration's January announcement of its decisions.)

A detailed discussion of the AFL-CIO position on labor rights in ten important GSP countries was published in *The AFL-CIO American Federationist*, November 8, 1986. Copies are available without charge from the Free Trade Union Institute, 1730 K Street, N.W., Washington, D.C., 20006, or from the AFL-CIO, Department of International Affairs, 815 Sixteenth Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006. ■

FRATERNAL NEWS

On February 2, 1987, The Philippines will vote on their proposed new Constitution. The Trade Union Congress of The Philippines (TUCP) is campaigning for a "Yes" vote. Ernesto F. Herrera, General Secretary of the TUCP, 1985 recipient of the George Meany Human Rights Award, motivating force behind the TUCP participation in the 1985-86 National Movement for Free Elections and the subsequent events which led to Cory Aquino's installation as Philippine President, and a man who refused the Ministry of Labor in order to stay with the labor movement, has written an analysis of what is at stake for labor in the February 2 election. Following are excerpts:

HUMAN RIGHTS AND AGRARIAN REFORM: LABOR'S VIEW

by
ERNESTO F. HERRERA

...To begin with, TUCP acknowledges the relevance—nay, the urgency—of the issues of human rights and agrarian reform. TUCP views the protection and free exercise of human rights and the earnest pursuit of agrarian reform as vital to strengthening democracy in the Philippines.

Some people, chagrined by the little progress made along agrarian reform in the Philippines, say that "Agrarian reform has not really been the cornerstone of Philippine society but a stone in the corner." In fact, the grossly uneven ownership of land is a centuries-old problem dating back to Spanish colonial days...the uneven wealth distribution in the Philippines is said—and this has not been contradicted—to translate into 1.4 percent of the population controlling 21.1 percent of the national wealth...

The problem does not affect only the countryside. But where tenants rise up in armed struggle against the oppressive system, the entire nation loses its peace and quiet. The 1950s saw this sort of thing in Central Luzon. Today, aside from the 70s-born insurgency which also counts heavily on the peasantry for membership, there is the exodus to the cities. Farmers' families who cannot survive under the terribly oppressive conditions in the rural areas and yet refuse to close ranks with the insurgents troop to the cities, worsening the urban squatters' problem and putting up added competition to industrial workers for the already scant employment opportunities...

The point is that so much remains to be done regarding agrarian reform in the Philippines. No doubt, what must be done cannot be done by leaving the matter up to the Government functionaries. This needs the involvement of, for one, the labor sector...

The people pin their hopes on the proposed Constitution for a more stable nation, full democracy restored, human rights once more revered. But TUCP, while campaigning for the ratification of the proposed Charter, must declare its misgivings over the provision that seems to seek not so much land reform as land return to its owners. This portion definitely need to be later corrected. Meantime,

it is important that the campaign for Charter ratification should include information of this and other defects that need to be corrected...

Juxtaposed with TUCP's concern for earnest agrarian reform is its commitment to the promotion of human rights. We believe that, together with agrarian reform, human rights make up the complete foundation of the new tomorrow that Filipinos now dream of, a future that our people in fact have so long yearned for. Many of our brother Filipinos have been denied their human rights. Consequently, many Filipinos have lost their original faith in democracy for so many abuses have been committed in its name. Under the circumstances, Communist proselytizing has prospered. In these parts of the world, the workers' ranks have been a particularly easy choice as object of the Communist agit-propagandists.

Some of our brothers right in the labor sector have indeed been duped into believing that democracy and democratic unionism are inutile. They have turned to violence and the Utopian dream for the promised deliverance and change. Workers split up into opposing ideological camps, are fighting one another, brother against brother.

We on the side of democratic unionism have seen our officers and men killed while organizing in the companies, while negotiating for their collective bargaining agreements, while taking supper with their families. Death threats come to us in increasing frequency. Murders and threats of murder have been attributed by some to Communist-leaning unionists or their armed supporters and by some others to men in military uniform. In the last two years alone we have seen 23 of our brothers murdered. But not one of these violent deaths...has been solved.

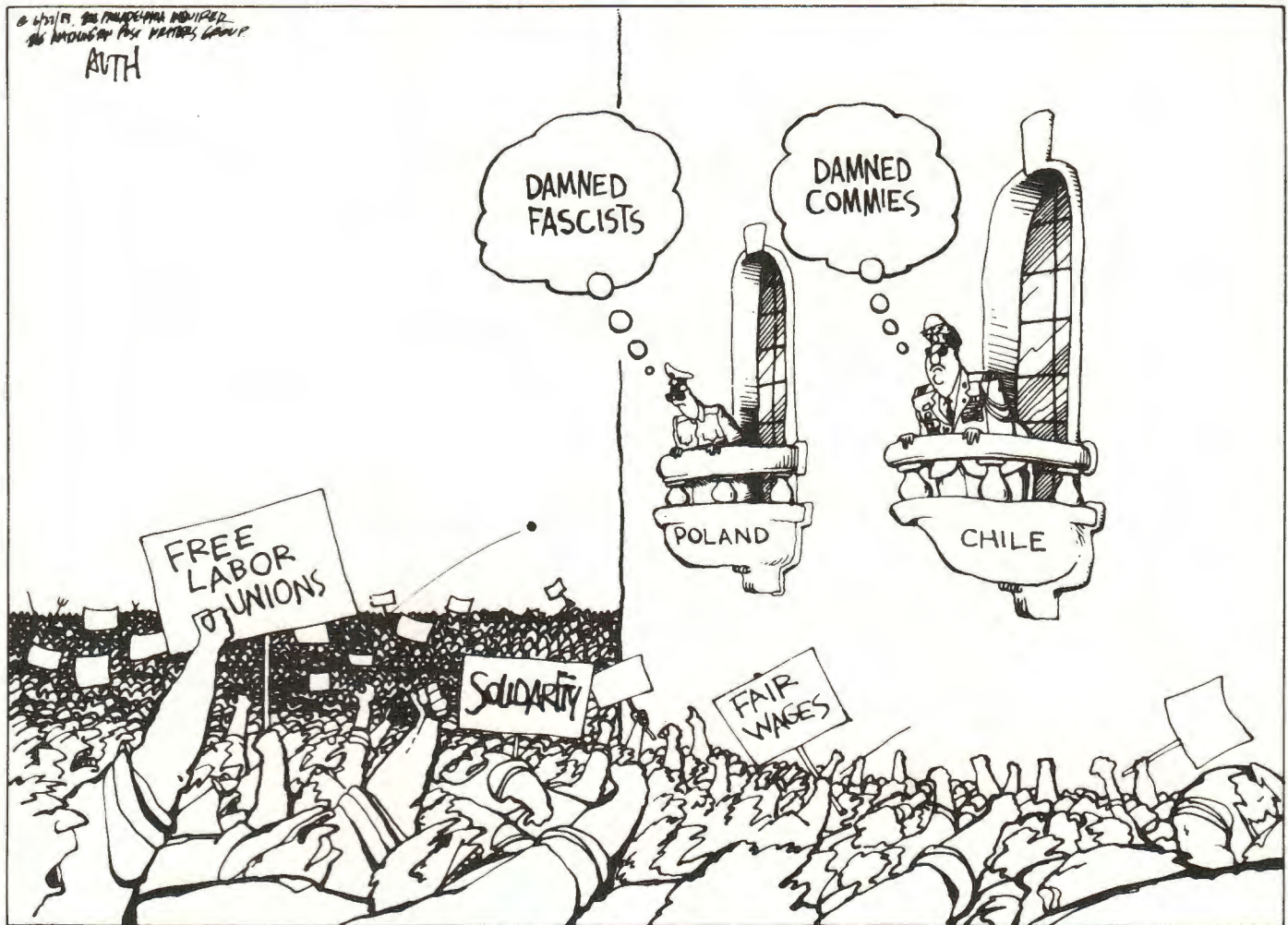
The cause of free, democratic unionism: reverence for human rights and human life, the supremacy of truth and justice must be proclaimed even more vigorously, despite all the odds. In the Philippine context, the enemies of democracy have attempted to arrogate unto themselves the use of the human rights battlecry. We in the free, democratic union movement have as consistently denounced this deceit...

In this struggle, democratic unionists must be at the forefront. We have to lead because we believe in freedom indeed in a manner that is merely, if expertly, simulated by the Communists. We have to lead because we—our brothers in the democratic movement—know what it means having these rights violated... ■

DGB—AFL-CIO HISTORICAL STUDY

The West German Trade Union Confederation (DGB) and the AFL-CIO have jointly issued a documented report on the cooperation between the American labor movement and the persecuted German free labor movement in, and in exile from, Hitler's Third Reich. Entitled *German-American Trade Union Solidarity in the Struggle Against Fascism: 1933-1945*, with forewords by Ernst Breit and Lane Kirkland, it is available without charge from the AFL-CIO, Department of International Affairs, Room 705, 815 Sixteenth Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006. ■

THE VIEW FROM THE BALCONY



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PERSPECTIVES ON
LABOR AND THE WORLD

The AFL-CIO Abroad



Why?

There is growing interest in what the AFL-CIO does abroad, how, and why. LANE KIRKLAND explains the why.

"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."

What and How

This booklet describes what the AFL-CIO does abroad, and how—including the funding of the federation's foreign work. The activities described in this booklet are direct expressions of the fundamentals, aims, and policies set out in the companion booklet, *THE AFL-CIO'S FOREIGN POLICY*. As stated in that booklet, the AFL-CIO is involved in international affairs "By developing our independent activities abroad to assist in the building of free trade unions—especially in the developing nations—as a major contribution to the defense and expansion of free and democratic societies;" and "By developing relationships with other national and international labor organizations throughout the world in order to solve mutual trade union problems and to advance democratic values."

A Long History

American labor has maintained an interest in international affairs from its earliest days. In November 1881 at Pittsburgh, 107 delegates from fourteen states convened the first national meeting of the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions of the United States and Canada—to become five years later the American Federation of Labor. A resolution of that early convention spoke out against "conditions of the oppressed people" of Ireland. Sam Gompers himself took a strong interest in the Mexican Revolution, and following the First World War helped to found the International Labor Organization (ILO).

More recently, following the Second World War, the AFL, at the urging of its European colleagues, helped to repair what was left of the European union structures, and to prevent their being taken over by the communists using the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU) as a front. The AFL's efforts were also important in supporting the Marshall Plan, helping implement it, and defending it from the attacks of the WFTU. Support of the Marshall Plan was also a key issue for the CIO, which maintained an office in Paris at the time. Both AFL and CIO were also active in Asia, particularly in the democratic reconstruction of the Japanese labor movement.

The transatlantic trade union cooperation of this period led to the creation of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) and the Trade Union Advisory Committee (TUAC) to the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, important centers of free labor's international work.

Subsequently, this international labor cooperation was extended to the Western Hemisphere, with the incorporation of the Inter-American Regional Organization of Workers (ORIT), to Africa (the African Regional Organization: AFRO), and to Asia and the Pacific region, with the establishment of the Asian and Pacific Regional Organization (APRO).

A Consistent Purpose

The outlook and purpose of the American labor movement's international work have remained remarkably consistent over a century. They rest on the belief that workers must have the right to organize for a measure of control over the conditions of their work. This means they must have the

right to strike, and that they must have 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 and institutions independent of the state. This is the tradition that animates the work of the AFL-CIO abroad today.

Our Independent Activities

Guidance

The Convention is the supreme policy body of the AFL-CIO. Between Conventions the Executive Council establishes policy. Within the Council, the International Affairs Committee is concerned with international developments facing our nation and the Federation's relationships with the international trade union movement. The Committee is responsible for recommending policy resolutions and assessing programs before they are adopted by the full Council. AFL-CIO Vice Presidents on the Committee are among the most active internationalists in the Federation. As provided by the Constitution of the AFL-CIO, the International Affairs Department functions under the general direction of the President of the Federation.

The Department of International Affairs

is the operating arm of the AFL-CIO in international relations and questions of international policy. It is responsible for coordinating the entire AFL-CIO international effort, including policy recommendations and policy implementation—both decided in Convention and by the Executive Council.

The Department has responsibility for overseeing the work of the labor institutes for Asia (Asian-American Free Labor Institute: AAFLI), Africa (African-American Labor Center: AALC), and Latin America (American Institute for Free Labor Development: AIFLD), and that of the Free Trade Union Institute (FTUI), whose scope is more thematic than geographic.

The European Office

The Department maintains an Office in Paris which represents the Federation in Europe. The Office concentrates on the AFL-CIO's work in the Trade Union Advisory Committee (TUAC) to the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) at Paris, and in the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) at Brussels. It provides key personnel and vital support for the AFL-CIO role in the United States Delegation to the International Labor Organization (ILO) in Geneva (for TUAC, ICFTU, and ILO see under International Relationships below). The Office also maintains contact with the democratic trade union confederations in Europe and with the International Trade Secretariats that work closely with the ICFTU.

Labor's "Foreign Service"

The personnel of the AFL-CIO Department of International Affairs, the European Office, and the four Institutes make up a corps of specialists in labor's international relations who can stand comparison with other such bodies anywhere in the world. These are men and women of the American trade union movement. They hold basic advantages over the "foreign services" of governments: they are not set off from the local workers and their problems by immunities or privileges. They work with and among them.



The October 1986 earthquake in El Salvador, for which the AFL-CIO established its own Relief Fund.

International Assistance

The AFL-CIO extends international assistance on a broad scale through the four labor institutes (AAFLI, AALC, AIFLD, and FTUI, described individually below). They are considered operating arms of the Department of International Affairs. The majority of their programs are directed to unions in developing countries.

Basic Union-Building

AFL-CIO assistance to unions abroad is developed and carried out at the request of and in full cooperation with the trade unions in the countries concerned. Since the programs are created by the local unions, in response to their particular needs, content obviously varies. Experience over the years has indicated shared needs, the most common elements being workers' education through seminars on basic skills of direct concern to the particular unions. Principally, these skills include collective bargaining, organizing techniques, occupational safety and health training, nursing and medical care, and mutual assistance projects such as cooperatives and credit unions. Besides linking members and their families to the unions, the latter projects give potential new members additional reasons to join, and reach beyond the union members and their families into the communities, thus increasing public awareness and support for unions.

Trade Union Rights and Political Action

The AFL-CIO also supports union programs abroad designed to protect trade union rights and to enable unions to exercise their fundamental political rights. Among these programs:

Monitoring Trade Union Rights:

Specific information on governments' efforts to intimidate unionists enables American labor to dramatize particular repressive acts and to enlist the assistance of the international labor movement and international organizations. The AFL-CIO, when in possession of the specifics of repression or persecution, reports as an

affiliate to the ICFTU. The ICFTU, which has consultative status with both the Economic and Social Council of the UN and the ILO, can then raise the issue with either the monitoring bodies of the ILO, or with the UN, and/or take broader action.

Civic and Electoral Education:

Democratic unions seek technical assistance and support in such non-partisan efforts as get-out-the-vote drives, education about issues, and production of election-related events and materials. Unions facing competition from enemies of democracy seek training in parliamentary procedure, and democratic values.

Aid to Democratic Trade Unionists:

Free trade unionists often need help, whether working in democratic unions or competing for support against undemocratic groups. Research, information, or technical assistance may be required to assist their efforts to counter the well-financed activities of government-controlled "unions," or of others opposed to democratic procedures and free trade unionism.



CUS (Nicaraguan democratic trade union federation) demonstration in Managua, January 1987.

In its aid to all of these activities the AFL-CIO, and its Institutes, follow the lead of local democratic trade union forces. The words of George Meany, spoken years ago to graduates of an AIFLD study course, still hold: "We do not expect you to build a trade union movement in the image of [ours]. Ours is tailored to the situation we have here in this country. . . All we say is: Set up a structure that fits the needs of your people, that fits into the thinking of the rest of the citizenry, and if you do that . . . you can really make a contribution not only to your membership, but to the country of which you are a citizen."

The Institutes

Funding

The four international affairs Institutes receive both AFL-CIO funding and grants that originate in Congressional appropriations. These grant funds constitute the major source of funding for the Institutes, and are of three types: 1) Grants from the National Endowment for Democracy, a private institution that receives an annual appropriation from the Congress; 2) Grants from the Agency for International Development, a Federal agency funded by Congressional appropriations; 3) Specially legislated Congressional appropriations directed usually to AID, or occasionally to the Department of Labor, in response to special situations overseas. Recent examples of the latter would be the special appropriations voted by the Congress for the Philippines, the Sudan, and South Africa. The NED grants date from 1984. The AID grants, and specially-legislated Congressional funding, originated in the Kennedy Administration, in the Alliance for Progress,

and have been continued by all Administrations since.

Useful as this funding is, it implies no hold by the Government over the purposes and programs of the AFL-CIO abroad. The primary reason is that it is labor that determines and sets its own priorities. Yet another reason is that labor's participation in these procedures is based upon a solid bipartisan majority in the Congress.

Congressionally appropriated funding does not color labor's policies or activities. The AFL-CIO has voiced and pressed its disagreements on foreign policy and foreign funding matters with every Administration. A case in point is the present Administration's apparent abandonment of the Central American Development Organization (CADO) concept, put forward, with labor's support, in the 1984 report of the Kissinger Commission. The AFL-CIO will not allow its strong support for economic development and social reform in Central America to override its rejection of company unionism, which the Administration and its allies in the region have sought to insinuate into the CADO proposal. To do so would be to cooperate in the destruction of the independent trade union movement in all of Latin America.

It should also be recognized that the AFL-CIO and its affiliates are major contributors to the tax rolls of the United States Government. Thus, a high percentage of the funds voted by the Congress which result in the grants to the AFL-CIO Institutes have their origin in the taxes paid by American labor. Labor's say in their disbursement is a legitimate exercise of citizenship.

These funding patterns are, of course, by no means unique to American organized labor. Our brothers and sisters in the developed

industrial democracies abroad, especially in Scandinavia and West Germany, base much of their international activities on Government grants as a matter of right.

In the descriptions of the Institutes that follow their sources of income have been included. The figures used are those for the year 1987, being the most recent complete figures available.

The 1987 figures, while representative, cannot be used as indicators for previous or subsequent years, since there are alterations from year to year. Full annual financial (and program) reports of the Institutes are available from either the Institutes themselves or from the AFL-CIO Department of International Affairs.

AIFLD

The American Institute for Free Labor Development is an outgrowth of links between the American labor movement and Latin American unions going back to the beginning of this century. AIFLD was established in 1962 by the AFL-CIO—with special support from the Communications Workers of America—in furtherance of Gompers' vision of effective trade unionism as the path for Latin American workers to break out of their poverty and exploitation. Originally a part of President Kennedy's Alliance for Progress, the initial AIFLD arrangements involved joint management-labor direction. Management participation was later eliminated. AIFLD today maintains 17 field offices throughout Latin America and the Caribbean.

AIFLD's 1987 income was as follows:

THE AFL-CIO ABROAD

SOURCE	AMOUNT
National Endowment for Democracy	\$ 1,326,811
Agency for International Development	
General grant	9,237,000
Cooperatives (El Salvador)	2,500,000
Operational program grants	
Costa Rica	322,940
Ecuador	139,855
Panama	148,350
Honduras	82,000
Guatemala	516,690
Other	
Haiti	206,700
Grenada	176,800
AFL-CIO	230,000
TOTAL	\$14,887,146

AALC

The African-American Labor Center was founded in 1964. In the early sixties the AFL-CIO vigorously supported the struggles for national independence in Africa. Once independence was gained, the Federation moved to support free and democratic trade

THE AFL-CIO ABROAD

union movements that could contribute to nation-building and the defense of democratic values. The AALC has developed a wide-ranging program of assistance throughout the continent: it maintains 15 field representatives in Africa, 4 with regional responsibilities, and works with local unions in 45 countries of French-speaking, English-speaking, and Arabic-speaking Africa.

The AALC is also charged with carrying out the AFL-CIO's Program of Action in Support of Black Trade Unions in South Africa. The AFL-CIO has given outspoken support over thirty years to the black trade union movement in South Africa, and provides assistance to a broad cross-section of those unions.

AALC income for 1987 was as follows:

SOURCE	AMOUNT
National Endowment for Democracy	\$ 780,533
Agency for International Development	
General grant	3,125,000
Sudan supplement	480,000
South Africa	875,000
AFL-CIO	216,500
TOTAL	\$5,477,033



AALC-supported African Institute of Higher Trade Union Studies' seminar on the role of women for the National Workers' Union of Mali (UNTM).

AAFLI

The Asian-American Free Labor Institute was founded by the AFL-CIO Executive Council in 1968 to answer the needs of democratic trade unions in Asia and the Pacific for assistance. Its programs stretch from the Eastern Mediterranean to the South Pacific, and trade unionists from some thirty Asian and Pacific countries are involved in them. The Institute has 8 field offices in Asia and the Pacific, covering a dozen countries, and conducts programs in five others from its Washington headquarters.



Inoculation program in the Philippines.

AAFLI's 1987 income:

SOURCE	AMOUNT
National Endowment for Democracy	\$1,195,277
Agency for International Development	
General grant	3,700,000
Philippines supplemental AID legislation	1,250,000
AFL-CIO	130,000
TOTAL	\$6,275,277

FTUI

The Free Trade Union Institute was created in 1977 primarily to develop projects and programs between the AFL-CIO and European unions—especially the Portuguese and Spanish trade unions then newly emerged from government control. With the establishment of the National Endowment for Democracy in 1983, a bipartisan private entity formed by private groups including the AFL-CIO, the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, the Democratic and Republican Parties, and now funded by the Congress, possibilities for work by the AFL-CIO with free trade unions without regional restrictions were significantly increased. (To simplify administration, FTUI presents to NED the program proposals of the other AFL-CIO Institutes as sub-headings of its own proposal.)

NED funding available from 1983 on to the FTUI has been of great value to embattled democratic unions worldwide. An outstanding and vigorous example is the AFL-CIO's continuous support for Poland's Solidarnosc free trade union federation. FTUI also supports research on human and labor rights.

FTUI income (excluding, of course, the NED grants to the other three Institutes) for 1987 was as follows:

SOURCE	AMOUNT
National Endowment for Democracy	\$ 1,511,750
AFL-CIO	85,500
TOTAL	\$ 1,597,250

SUMMARY OF SOURCES: ALL INSTITUTES

NED	\$ 4,814,371
AID	22,760,335
AFL-CIO	662,000
TOTAL	\$28,236,706

NOTE: Not all income received by the Institutes is spent on Institute programs. Each Institute also supports union-to-union activities abroad by AFL-CIO affiliates. This support is detailed below under the heading International Trade Secretariats.

Our International Relations

The second form of American labor's active involvement in international affairs is its relationships with international and other national labor organizations throughout the world in order to solve mutual trade union problems and to advance democratic values. To these ends, the AFL-CIO works with the following:

International Organizations:

International Labor Organization (ILO)

The return of the United States to the ILO in 1980, after an absence of three years, revived

American labor activity in an arena of international work that began with Samuel Gompers, first President of the AFL and a founder of the ILO at the Paris Peace Conference of 1919. It was Gompers who drafted the documents that created the tripartite structure of the ILO, giving autonomous representation to workers, employers, and governments of the member countries (with the votes of workers and employers combined equalling those of governments)—an innovation still unique in today's United Nations system.

The ILO, headquartered in Geneva, functions worldwide. The AFL-CIO works with the ILO through its membership in the United States Delegation to the ILO Conference and in the workers' group of the Governing Body, and through the ICFTU. The latter not only has consultative status with the ILO, but plays a vital role in coordinating the activities of the worker members to the ILO Conference, its committees, and the Governing Body.

Protection of Workers' Rights

For labor the most important aspect of the ILO is its development of principles and policies for the protection of fundamental workers' rights and of labor standards such as maximum hours of work, minimum wages, occupational safety and health. The ILO has also adopted international conventions on forced labor, freedom of association and the right to organize, and discrimination in employment.

The AFL-CIO continues to press our Government to ratify ILO conventions on fundamental worker rights. As President Kirkland testified before the Senate Labor Committee, "failure to ratify such conventions as those on freedom of association, collective bargaining, forced

labor and slavery has weakened our position not only in the ILO but throughout the world. It hampers and obscures our role as the leading spokesman for freedom, democracy and human values in the world, and places a propaganda weapon in the hands of the enemies of these values."

International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU)

If the ILO is an international vehicle for expressing labor's interests to governments, the ICFTU is free labor's international forum for defining and advancing those interests.

The ICFTU was created in 1949 by the AFL, the CIO, and democratic European unions in response to Communist domination of the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU). Despite past differences on strategy and tactics, today the AFL-CIO is an active and influential member of the ICFTU.

Recognizing that the future of free trade unionism is based on increased cooperation with fellow democratic trade unionists throughout the world, the AFL-CIO participates actively in the shaping of a consensus by democratic unions on key international labor and foreign policy issues. ICFTU initiatives in 1986 on Chile and South Africa, in which the AFL-CIO participated, are examples.

The Brussels-based ICFTU represents 145 affiliates with a total membership of 82 million in 99 countries. It has consultative status with both the United Nations

(ECOSOC) and the ILO. Operating through its regional organizations (ORIT for the Western Hemisphere, AFRO for Asia, and APRO for Asia and the Pacific), its affiliates, and worker relationships on all continents, it is a worldwide presence.



ICFTU postcard against apartheid.

The ICFTU's activities are legion: monitoring trade union rights violations, intervening directly, or by mobilizing its affiliates, on behalf of trade unionists whose rights are endangered or violated, attacking crucial economic questions such as debt and development issues, the social clause in GATT, education programs for Third World trade unionists, and more. Through the ICFTU the free trade unions of the world jointly develop cooperative activities and common strategies to defend the rights and advance the interests of working people.

International Trade Secretariats (ITS)

Among the oldest international labor organizations are the autonomous International Trade Secretariats. Working

closely with the ICFTU and organized along occupational or industry lines, the ITS's are committed to the support of political democracy. Their primary role is to coordinate and offer assistance to affiliates facing economic or political difficulties, to organize and lend technical assistance to unions in developing countries, to counteract the activities of the Communist-controlled "Trade Union Internationals," and to coordinate the exchange of information among the free unions of the world in their dealings with multinational corporations. Their interventions with multinational enterprises on behalf of affiliates having difficulties in bargaining and organizing are particularly effective.

Today over 50 AFL-CIO affiliates with nearly 60% of our total membership are active in over a dozen ITS's.

Union-to-Union Cooperation

AFL-CIO affiliates are engaged in a number of union-to-union programs abroad. Some of these activities are directly between the AFL-CIO affiliate and the foreign union. Others involve the cooperation of International Trade Secretariats. The AFL-CIO Institutes support both types of participation by the Federation's affiliates. Following are the 1987 contributions by each of the Institutes to AFL-CIO affiliates for union-to-union work abroad, and for projects throughout the world with ITS's:

AIFLD	\$1,097,000
AALC	493,770
AAFLI	342,000
FTUI	30,000
TOTAL	\$1,962,770

The AFL-CIO affiliates participating in this work were the Service Employees; Bricklayers; Teachers; Clothing and Textile Workers; State, County and Municipal Employees; Communications Workers; Glass, Pottery, Plastics and Allied Workers; Transportation-Communications Union; Food and Commercial Workers; Steelworkers; Machinists; Ladies' Garment Workers; and Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers.

ITS's cooperating in the work were those of the Teachers; Public Services; Postal, Telegraph and Telephone; Chemical Workers; Transport Workers; Commercial and Clerical Workers; Metalworkers; Textile and Garment Workers; Agricultural Workers; and Building and Woodworkers.

Trade Union Advisory Committee (TUAC) to the OECD

The Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) is an intergovernmental coordinating body composed of the West European nations, the United States, Canada, Japan, Australia, and New Zealand. The OECD seeks to address issues concerning worldwide economic growth, trade expansion, and aid to developing countries. Its policies are adopted by consensus among the member states.

Located in Paris, TUAC is the successor to the body originally founded by American labor and democratic European unions to advise on the Marshall Plan. TUAC, consisting of trade union centers of the OECD member nations, has consultative status with the OECD. It is through TUAC that the AFL-CIO and other democratic trade

union centers press for economic policies that reflect their concerns.

In 1986, AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland was elected President of TUAC.

Bilateral Relations

in the international sphere are also essential for the interests of American labor. Many such relationships are conducted within the ICFTU and other international bodies. Others are conducted within bilateral frameworks. The range of those conducted by the AFL-CIO abroad are wide. Of special value to American workers are regular and continuous AFL-CIO relationships with the Japanese Federation of Labor (Domei, combined since 1987 with the Japanese Confederation of Private Trade Unions as RENGO), the German Federation of Labor (DGB), and the Nordic Council of Trade Unions (Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Finland, and Iceland).

There are frequent informal meetings and exchanges of fraternal delegates with Great Britain's Trades Union Congress and the Canadian Labour Congress. There are extensive bilateral contacts with organizations such as the French Force Ouvriere, as well as informal meetings of varying duration and levels of representation with many trade union federations throughout the world.

The active relationships between AFL-CIO affiliates and counterpart unions abroad, noted above under "Union-to-Union Cooperation," are a vital part of the AFL-CIO's bilateral foreign relations.

Exchanges and Visitors

An important program of exchanges with trade unionists throughout the world is conducted by the International Affairs Department with the cooperation of the four

AFL-CIO Institutes. In the years 1985-1987 over 400 trade union leaders from abroad visited the United States as part of this program. Dozens of young American trade union leaders traveled on exchanges to England, Germany, Belgium, Switzerland, and France. In addition, over 1,200 foreign students, government leaders, political party officials, and opinion-makers visiting the United States were received by the AFL-CIO and thoroughly briefed on the Federation's domestic and international programs and policies. The exchange program strengthens mutual understanding and fraternal bonds between the AFL-CIO, its affiliates, and democratic unions in Europe, Asia and the Pacific, Africa, Central and South America, and the Caribbean, while the visitors' program reinforces foreign understanding of the aims and activities of free trade unionism here and abroad.

The Results

This is a broad panoply of work. Justice to its accomplishments, to its variety and intensity—the trade union leaders released from jail, the struggles against exploitation of children, the campaigns against such evils as apartheid long before they became popular, the achievements in material terms and in terms of human rights and dignity of trade unionists in other lands as a result of our solidarity with them—cannot be done in a booklet.

But, to summarize briefly, despite widespread government restrictions on organizing and collective bargaining, and in spite of exploitation by aggressive employers through low wages, unions are developing throughout Africa, Asia, and Latin America. Democratic unions and forces there and elsewhere deserve continuing AFL-CIO assistance in

behalf of working people. As Lane Kirkland pointed out on page 1, "long-range programs [are] required to sustain that process." That process does not only reinforce workers' rights and economic progress abroad. It reinforces workers' solidarity internationally—and solidarity is the basis of trade unionism and of workers' rights, abroad and here. It is the foundation of the American labor movement. International workers' solidarity is the answer to sweatshop competition, multinational corporate maneuvering, and unfair trade practices. In supporting workers' rights abroad, we continue to pave the road of improved conditions and rights for American workers.

In a 1986 conference on AFL-CIO international activities held at the George Meany Labor Studies Center, Lane Kirkland summed it up: "...I will not presume to tell you that we are not susceptible to errors of judgment, nor that we have never made mistakes. But I ask you to compare our record in international affairs to the judgments of our business community, our foreign policy think-tanks, and our political establishment. . . We've done pretty well in pursuing this foreign policy. . . It has played its part in the worldwide struggle for democracy. It has contributed to our nation's security and to the interests of the workers we represent. For this we have much to be proud of and less than most to apologize for..."



President
Lane Kirkland

Secretary-Treasurer
Thomas R. Donahue

**American Federation of Labor and
Congress of Industrial Organizations**

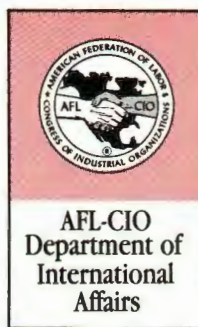
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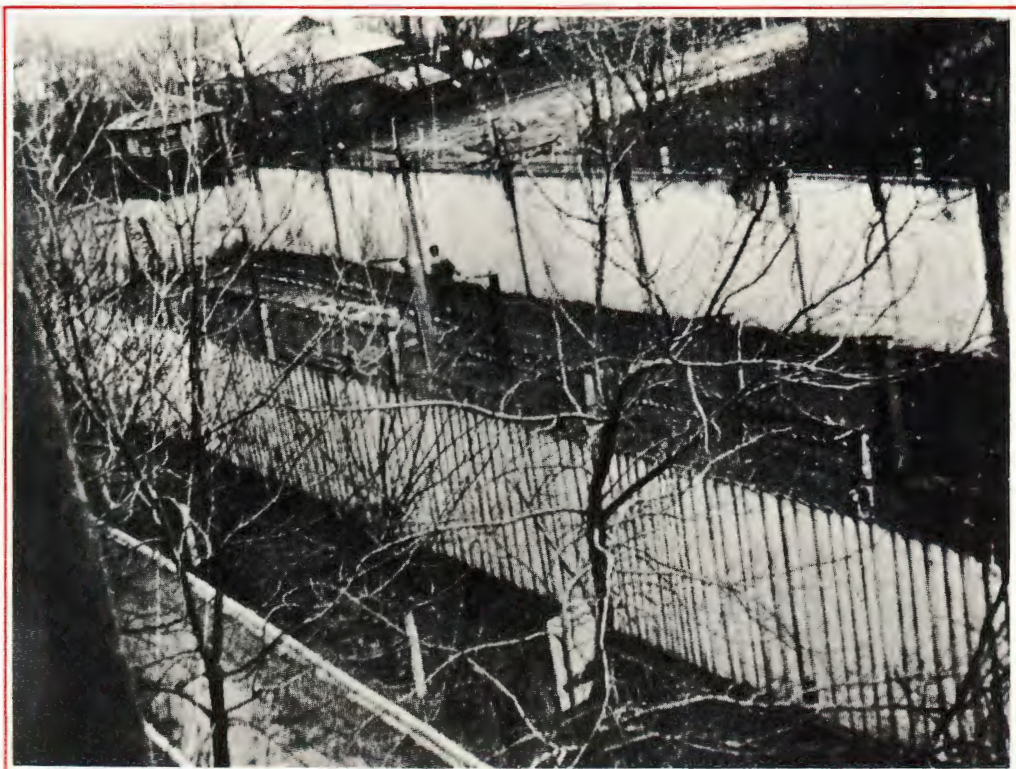


CRUEL & USUAL PUNISHMENT

by
*Ludmilla
Alexeyeva*



FORCED LABOR IN TODAY'S U.S.S.R.



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Cruel & usual Punishment Forced Labor in Today's U.S.S.R.,
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"This study on forced labor in the USSR was conducted by Ludmilla Alexeyeva in conjunction with the foundation for Soviet studies. A major portion of the research was funded by a grant from the Free trade Union Institute."