

THE CANADIAN INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT AGENCY
AND THE CANADIAN LABOUR CONGRESS:
A DEVELOPING PARTNERSHIP

A Thesis
Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies
in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements
for the Degree of
Master of Arts

in the

Department of Political Studies
University of Saskatchewan

by

MURPHY, Michael Joseph
Saskatoon, Saskatchewan
Canada

December 1986

The University of Saskatchewan claims copyright in conjunction with the author. Use shall not be made of the material contained herein without proper acknowledgement.

102000498235

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
Abstract of Thesis	i
Acknowledgements	iii
List of Abbreviations	iv
Introduction	1
Chapter 1: The Origins and Development of the CIDA/CLC Relationship	9
Chapter 2: Defining the CIDA/CLC Relationship	19
Chapter 3: The Role of CIDA in Canadian Foreign Policy	25
Chapter 4: The CLC, Social Democracy and International Development	50
Chapter 5: A Convergence of Interests	74
Chapter 6: CIDA, The CLC and South Africa	92
Chapter 7: Conclusions: A Developing Partnership?	114
List of Appendices and Tables	122
Appendices	A1-A11
Bibliography	B1-B4

ABSTRACT

The thesis analyses the relationship between the Canadian Labour Congress (CLC), which is Canada's largest trade union central or federation, and the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA), which is the government agency that administers the Canadian foreign aid programme. It traces the history of that relationship from 1969 to 1983 and documents the linkages between the two organizations, especially as regards the many projects which CIDA has funded for the CLC's International Affairs Department. The projects are compiled and analysed geographically and by sponsoring organization.

An explanation is offered as to why the CIDA/CLC relationship has developed and expanded. This is done in the context of a critique of the Canadian foreign aid programme, which is virtually synonymous with CIDA. The Canadian aid programme, and CIDA, are seen as serving the foreign and domestic interests of the Canadian state, which seeks to maintain present national and international class relations. CIDA, it is argued, maintains the CLC relationship because it allows CIDA, as an instrument of the state, to contribute to legitimization of the state and in the process to exert some influence over the working class in Canada and in the developing countries.

A critical examination is also offered of the international policies pursued by the leadership of the CLC. The CLC is seen as maintaining the CIDA relationship because it contributes to the advancement of the social-democratic ideology within the labour movement in Canada and overseas; it strengthens the CLC as an international actor, especially within the powerful International

Confederation of Free Trade Unions; and it legitimizes the present leadership of the CLC.

The thesis argues that the convergence of interests between CIDA and the CLC is based primarily on a shared interest in exerting influence on the working class in both the Third World and Canada. Given the strategic importance of South Africa and the important role played by the trade union movement in the struggle for liberation in that country, major projects that CIDA has funded for the CLC in that country are examined, in the context of the role of the international labour federations in South Africa.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My thanks to:

- my thesis advisors, Dr. Richard Nordahl and Dr. Jeffrey Steeves of the University of Saskatchewan for their teaching, advice and support. I am deeply grateful to Dr. Nordahl for his exemplary thoroughness, clarity and encouragement in my final year of work on the thesis.
- the other members of my thesis committee, Professor Ron Wheeler and Dr. Don Story, for their interest and critical suggestions.
- Dr. David Smith for facilitating my entry, as a mature student, to graduate studies.
- Laurie Thompson for stimulating my interest in this area of study and activism.
- my friends and family for their patience and encouragement.
- Valerie Fink, whose word-processing skills made it all seem easy.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AALC	AFROAMERICAN LABOUR CENTRE
AFL/CIO	AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOUR/CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS
AIFLD	AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF FREE LABOUR DEVELOPMENT
CIA	CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY
CIDA	CANADIAN INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT AGENCY
CTUC	COMMONWEALTH TRADE UNION COUNCIL
CUPE	CANADIAN UNION OF PUBLIC EMPLOYEES
CUPW	CANADIAN UNION OF POSTAL WORKERS
CUSA	COUNCIL OF UNIONS OF SOUTH AFRICA
CUSO	CANADIAN UNIVERSITY SERVICE OVERSEAS
FOSATU	FEDERATION OF SOUTH AFRICAN TRADE UNIONS
IBRD	INTERNATIONAL BANK FOR RECONSTRUCTION AND DEVELOPMENT
ICDS	INSTITUTIONAL COOPERATION AND DEVELOPMENT SERVICES DIVISION
ICFTU	INTERNATIONAL CONFEDERATION OF FREE TRADE UNIONS
ILO	INTERNATIONAL LABOUR ORGANIZATION
ITS	INTERNATIONAL TRADES SECRETARIAT
LCC	LABOUR COLLEGE OF CANADA
NDP	NEW DEMOCRATIC PARTY
NGO	NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATION
OATUU	ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN TRADE UNION UNITY
ODA	OVERSEAS DEVELOPMENT AGENCY
OECD	ORGANIZATION OF ECONOMIC COOPERATION AND DEVELOPMENT
ORIT	INTERAMERICAN REGIONAL ORGANIZATION OF WORKERS
SACTU	SOUTH AFRICAN CONGRESS OF TRADE UNIONS
SADCC	SOUTHERN AFRICA DEVELOPMENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE
TUC	TRADES UNION CONGRESS (BRITAIN)
TUCSA	TRADE UNION COUNCIL OF SOUTH AFRICA
UNCTAD	UNITED NATIONS COUNCIL ON TRADE AND DEVELOPMENT
WCL	WORLD CONFEDERATION OF LABOUR
WFTU	WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS
ZCTU	ZIMBABWE CONGRESS OF TRADE UNIONS

INTRODUCTION

This thesis documents and analyses, for the first time, the series of development projects funded by the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) with the Canadian Labour Congress (CLC). It covers the period 1969 to 1983. Drawing on primary information obtained from CIDA and the CLC, it demonstrates the growth in the diversity and quantity of the projects funded in that period and looks in some detail at four of them to illustrate the activities undertaken in South Africa by the CLC with CIDA funds.

The thesis also examines the relationship that has developed between CIDA and the CLC since 1969 and within which the donor/client relationship of the projects is conducted. Drawing on CIDA and CLC literature, as well as secondary material in the areas of international aid, social democracy and the politics of international trade unionism, the thesis offers an explanation for the initiation and growth of the CIDA-CLC relationship.

This explanation is offered within a Marxian framework as utilized by, inter alia, Ralph Miliband, James O'Connor, James Petras, John Saul, Leo Panitch and Harry Magdoff.¹ The essential characteristics of this framework are the use of class analysis as a means of understanding contemporary society; a critical perspective on social democracy as a reformist ideology that seeks to mediate the essentially antagonistic relationship between capital and the working class; and a perception of the state as an instrument of the ruling class. The objective of the thesis is not to validate the theses underlying the Marxian framework. The data dealt with in this thesis fit well into the Marxian framework, however, and in this sense lend support to it.

CIDA is the official aid arm of the Canadian government. It has grown from modest beginnings in the 1950's to a two billion dollar a year undertaking in the early 1980's. It is largely the creation of successive Liberal administrations, who have accepted and attempted to implement the targets and objectives determined by the United Nations regarding aid to the developing countries.

Through CIDA, the Canadian government has sought also to achieve political objectives, both in relation to the developing nations and within Canada. As regards the former, the disbursement, amount, timing and withholding of aid is subordinated to the government's foreign policy objectives. The neglect of Nicaragua as an aid recipient, in relation to the other states of Central America, in the past few years is a graphic illustration of the political use of aid. As regards the Canadian political process, the practice of tying Canadian aid to purchases from this country of goods and services allows the government, through CIDA, to determine the allocation of contracts on a regional and corporate basis, in accordance with its political wishes. In its allocation of aid funds, the government also responds politically to the pressures of the wide range of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) involved in international development assistance programmes.

Among these NGOs is the Canadian Labour Congress (CLC). The CLC is Canada's largest trade union central, with a 1983 membership of 2.3 million workers. Through its organic relationship with the New Democratic Party, the CLC is linked with the international social-democratic movement and the Socialist International. Through its affiliation with the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions

(ICFTU), the CLC is part of the social-democratic labour movement throughout the world, and in fact plays a very important role in that movement.

The CLC has been involved, since its inception in 1956, in international affairs. Through the ICFTU, the CLC has developed links with trade unions in many of the developing countries. It has provided moral, organizational and other material support for workers' struggles throughout the world. Through its own International Activities Fund and through the ICFTU's International Solidarity Fund, the CLC has provided funds for trade union education and organizing in the developing countries, together with the provision in Canada of training programmes for trade unionists from the third world. The work done by the ICFTU and the CLC in the developing countries is subject to their overall political directive, which is the promotion of social democracy in the international labour movement and the building of links between the labour movement and social-democratic parties.

Recognition by the Canadian government of the international role played by the CLC is reflected in the long-standing practice of consultation between the government and the CLC on international issues, for example, through presentations by the CLC to the House of Commons Standing Committee on External Affairs and Defense. In recent years this relationship between the Canadian state and the CLC with respect to international issues has been concretized by a growing partnership between CIDA and the CLC. This partnership takes the form of consultation, of personnel linkages and, most recently, of CIDA-CLC cooperation in the funding of trade union projects in the developing

countries. This latter form of partnership has grown from a single project in 1969/70, with a CIDA input of \$8,100, to the situation in 1983, where in the first seven months of the year 17 new projects totalling \$1.8 million of CIDA input were approved.

CIDA as an institution has received considerable academic attention, but this has been focussed on CIDA as a whole or on the financially dominant Bilateral and Multilateral Divisions. Much less attention has been paid to the Non-Governmental Organizations (NGO) Division of CIDA. This Division is relatively small, but it provides the government, *inter alia*, with a vehicle through which to respond to the sectors of the Canadian constituency that have an interest in international development and resources to contribute to international aid. It is through this division that CIDA makes funds available to organizations such as OXFAM-Canada, CUSO and the CLC for their development projects overseas.

Chapter One traces the development of the CIDA-CLC relationship from its modest beginning in the late 1960s to a remarkable growth in the early 1980s. The history of contacts between the organizations is outlined, and the relationship is defined as "long-standing, ongoing and expanding."

Chapter Two defines the CIDA-CLC relationship as that between a large governmental agency which administers Canada's official programme of international development assistance and Canada's largest trade union central, which is a non-governmental organization in a client relationship with CIDA. The ways in which the relationship are cemented and implemented are examined.

In order to set the stage for the thesis that is developed in Chapter Seven, the nature of CIDA is explored in Chapter Three. CIDA's

role and objectives in the context of Canada's international development assistance policy, and in the overall context of Canadian foreign policy, are critiqued using a model developed by Magdoff and Dickinson. This Marxian model helps makes sense of CIDA's role, including its relationship with the CLC. Canada, through its foreign aid programme (which is virtually synonymous with CIDA), is seen as seeking to advance the interests of Canadian-based capital and of capitalism internationally. Its relationship with its clients, including the CLC, can be understood in these terms.

The Canadian Labour Congress is analysed in Chapter Four. It is argued that the CLC's domestic and international policies have been primarily determined by its social-democratic orientation and by its close ties with social democracy in Canada and throughout the world. The CLC's promotion of social democracy is examined, as is its advocacy of bipartite and tripartite relations between labour, the state and business (bipartism and tripartism are defined on p. 55). The drive by the CLC's leadership for legitimacy and influence is also examined.

Chapter Five provides an analysis of research data regarding the CLC projects funded by CIDA from 1969 to 1983, by sponsoring institutions and geographic area. The analysis shows that most of the projects are undertaken in conjunction with the International Confederation of Trade Unions and its related International Trade Secretariats. A surprisingly large number of the projects are undertaken in Canada as labour education. A significant number of projects also benefit the CLC-initiated Commonwealth Trade Union Congress. The regional distribution of projects is also examined, and an explanation offered for that distribution in Africa, Asia, the Caribbean and Central America, and Latin America.

CIDA has funded a number of CLC projects in and concerning South Africa. Chapter Six examines Canada's policy towards South Africa, and the implications of that policy for CIDA. The recent phenomenal growth of trade unions in South Africa is documented, as are the interests of the international labour confederations in South Africa, especially the ICFTU. Four projects funded by CIDA for the CLC in South Africa are discussed in the context of their common interests, and as concrete examples of the type of projects funded by CIDA for the CLC.

Chapter Seven presents the conclusion of the thesis. An explanation is offered, from the perspectives of the CLC and CIDA, as to why a relationship has developed between the two organizations. From the CLC's viewpoint, the relationship contributes to the advancement of social democracy in Canada and internationally: it stems primarily from the tendency towards tripartism shown by the CLC's leadership in the mid-1970's and today provides a concrete example of the bipartite relationship seen by the CLC's leadership as appropriate for the Canadian labour movement; it strengthens the CLC as an international actor; and it legitimizes the leadership of the CLC, providing opportunities for career advancement, patronage and access to power mechanisms. From CIDA's perspective, the relationship contributes to CIDA's need for legitimization and gives the Canadian state, through CIDA, a mechanism of influence over labour in Canada and internationally. The final conclusion reached is that the convergence of interests between the CLC and CIDA results from a common interest in exerting influence over the working class, both in Canada and internationally, so as to promote reform and discourage radicalism in the trade union movement.

A Note Regarding Research: Little work has previously been done in this area. Requests for information were made to a wide variety of labour historians, political scientists, NGO employees, trade union activists, government sources and resource centres across Canada.² These requests produced little concrete information and, in a few cases, cautions regarding the sensitivity of the subject matter. A thorough examination of CIDA and other Canadian government publications (including the minutes of the Standing Committee on Defense and External Affairs) likewise produced little relevant information. Subsequently, however, a successful application was made by the author to CIDA under the Access to Information Act. This produced edited copies of some of the CIDA/CLC projects, as well as the financial data from which the Tables and Appendix 1 were compiled by the author. Subsequent approaches to the CLC's International Affairs Department produced more detailed project information and answers to some specific queries. Other very useful sources were the CLC's monthly publication Canadian Labour, for the entire period under study, and a CIDA official (who asked to remain anonymous) with first-hand knowledge of the CLC and the CIDA-CLC relationship.

References

- 1 See, for example, Ralph Miliband, The State in Capitalist Society (London: Quartet, 1973) and Marxism and Politics (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977); James O'Connor, The Fiscal Crisis of the State (New York: St. Martins' Press, 1973); James Petras, Latin America: Reform or Revolution (Greenwich, Conn.: Fawcett, 1968); Leo Panitch (Ed.), The Canadian State: Political Economy and Political Power (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1977); John Saul and Stephen Gelb, The Crisis in South Africa (New York: Monthly Review, 1981); and Harry Magdoff, The Age of Imperialism (New York: Monthly Review, 1969).
- 2 These sources included, inter alia, the National Library, Ottawa; the Canadian Institute of International Affairs; Info Globe (the Globe and Mail's computerized data bank); the Labour College of Canada; the Labour Centre at Carleton University; the Public Archives; Ottawa; and the International Labour Organization, Canadian Branch.

CHAPTER ONE

The Origins and Development of the CIDA/CLC Relationship

"The International Affairs Committee has proposed that all avenues of cooperation in international development be explored with a view to maximizing the contribution in money and manpower that the unions of Canada may make. Any arrangements entered into, of course, must be consistent with the Congress policy of independent, unfettered action on its part."

- Report of the International Affairs Department to the 1968 CLC Convention.¹

"... there are lessons here for the domestic concerns of governments and trade unions. Presumably the two will always have to exist in a democracy, and neither should allow ideological approaches on foreign policy issues to result in the encouragement of actors who have anti-democratic hopes for the future of their own society. The skillful use of governmental development aid monies to fund open requests for technical assistance initiated by 'reformist trade unions' in developing countries and channelled through their counterpart organizations in the democracies would get at some of the root causes of social discontent, lessen the chances of successful Soviet exploitation, and tie the donor organization more firmly to the recipient organization and thus to the democratic option."

- John Harker, Director of International Affairs, CLC (1983).²
(author's underlining)

The relationship between the Canadian International Development Agency, the aid arm of the Canadian government, and the CLC pre-dates the setting up of CIDA in 1968. The External Aid Office of Canada, CIDA's predecessor, funded two Labour Leadership Programmes with the CLC in the 1960's. Under these programmes, trade unionists "from other lands" attended courses at the Labour College of Canada (LCC), which was then run jointly by the CLC and the Confederation of National Trade

Unions in conjunction with McGill University and the University of Montreal. The approach to External Aid was initiated by Max Swerdlow, then Education Director for the CLC.

Details of these programmes are provided by David Kwavnick in his study, Organized Labour and Pressure Politics. He states that one student, from Malaya, under the Colombo Plan attended the LCC in 1963; in 1964 this increased to nineteen, and in 1965 to fifty-nine. The CLC was responsible for bringing the students to Canada, and by 1966 the External Aid office was providing \$200,000 to fund eighty students at the LCC. Kwavnick comments:

This and similar public expenditures in aid of interest-group activities constitute a form of patronage. Such patronage is easily available to any group that is recognized as having a mandate to speak on behalf of a legitimate interest, subject only to the proviso that the purpose for which the money will be used is not contrary to government policy.³

The programme was discontinued in 1967, to the expressed regret of the CLC.⁴

CIDA, under its first President, Maurice Strong, replaced the External Aid Office in 1968. Included in its new structure was a programme to support voluntary organizations (also referred to as non-governmental organizations) with a budget of \$5 million. The CLC welcomed this initiative, but cautioned that "the disbursement of such funds can only be effective and productive ... if it is handled with the utmost care and after close and continuing consultation with all of the interested voluntary organizations, including our Congress." The CLC advised that the criteria established for the administration of such a programme should not be "too rigid and mechanical," and noted

that "government involvement in the affairs of voluntary organizations has always been, and still remains, a delicate subject."⁵

So, from the outset of the CIDA/CLC relationship, the CLC's wish to avail itself of government funding for its international labour activities was clear, and a precedent already existed in terms of the CLC/External Aid Office grants. The CLC was cautious, however, of government involvement in the CLC's international activities. The first CIDA/CLC project was undertaken in 1969, a small workers' training project costing \$8,100 and presumably undertaken at the LCC (see Appendix 1). In the same year, the CLC's Director of International Affairs, A. L. Hepworth, moved to the LCC and was replaced by John Simonds, who had previously worked as the Caribbean representative of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU).

In 1970 CIDA funded two major projects with the CLC, both of which were organized through the ICFTU, with which the CLC has been strongly affiliated since its inception. The first of these projects was "an ambitious new worker education programme," according to the CLC President Donald MacDonald. CIDA contributed \$100,000 towards the cost of five CLC-ICFTU workshops, in Francophone Africa, Anglophone Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean, although CIDA's contribution was downplayed by the CLC's Director of International Affairs.⁶ The second project entailed a CIDA grant of \$75,000 towards the cost of expanding the Inter-American Institute for Labour Studies in Cuernavaca. This Institute was run by the ICFTU's regional affiliate in Latin America, the Inter-American Regional Organization of Workers (ORIT).

Table 1 shows the number of projects undertaken by the CLC with CIDA funding in the period 1969 to 1983, together with the dollar totals. These projects will be analyzed in more detail in a later chapter, but the point can be made now that the majority of the overseas projects funded by CIDA through the CLC are undertaken in conjunction with, or on behalf of, the ICFTU.

There is no obvious explanation for the gap in the CIDA-CLC relationship in the years 1971 to 1974. An appointment of note within the CLC, however, was that in 1973 of Romeo Maione as Director of International Affairs, with John Simonds being promoted to the position of CLC Executive Secretary. Maione had previously been the CLC's Assistant Director of International Affairs (1963 to 1966) and after that had been Director of the Canadian Catholic Organization for Development and Peace which, like the CLC, was a non-governmental organization (NGO) in a client relationship with CIDA. Maione is currently Executive Director of CIDA's NGO Division, which until recently was the division responsible for funding CLC projects.

The CLC's 1972 Convention, as had the 1970 and 1968 Conventions, adopted a report by the International Affairs calling on the government "to increase its support for the non-governmental organizations which are involved in aid programmes in the developing countries."⁷ CIDA did not approve any further CLC projects, however, until 1975-76, when three projects were approved. These three projects, totalling \$89,350, were all in respect of education programmes for Canadian workers on issues of international development. This is another recurring theme in the CIDA/CLC joint projects - of the 66 such projects funded in the period 1969 to 1983, 22 projects were in respect of labour education in Canada.

TABLE 1
CIDA/CLC PROJECT TOTALS
 Summary 1969-1983

<u>Year</u>	<u>CIDA \$</u>	<u>CLC \$</u>	<u>Number of New Projects</u>
1969/70	8,100	NOT SHOWN	1
1970/71	175,000	NOT SHOWN	2
1971/72	NIL	NIL	0
1972/73	NIL	NIL	0
1973/74	NIL	NIL	0
1974/75	NIL	NIL	0
1975/76	89,350	NOT SHOWN	3
1976/77	253,690	\$290,998	6
1977/78	63,042	66,810	3
1978/79	595,483	233,386	5
1979/80	80,000	30,000	1
1980/81	343,513	173,085	8
1981/82	817,892	179,039	21
1982/83	517,285	475,302	10
April/Oct. 83	1,284,608	N/A - SEE NOTE 2	6
TOTALS	<u>\$4,227,963</u>		<u>66</u>

Source: Tabulated by the author from information provided by CIDA.

Note 1: This summary shows the total value of new projects approved in the given year - in some cases disbursements are made over two or three years.

Note 2: New accounting system by CIDA does not show CLC contributions to 1983 projects.

In terms of personnel, two important changes took place within the CLC in the mid-1970's. In 1974 Joe Morris replaced Donald MacDonald as President of the CLC. Morris, known colloquially as "Geneva Joe" because of his peripatetic travels, was a determined tripartist who in the course of his career chaired the International Labour Organization (ILO), was a member of the Independent Commission on International Development Issues (1978-1980 - the 'Brandt Commission') and put tripartism firmly on Canadian labour's agenda. (This will be dealt with in Chapter 4.) Morris appointed John Harker to replace Romeo Maione as the CLC's Director of International Affairs in 1975, a position that Harker has held since then. Harker, a former Executive Director of the Professional Association of Foreign Service officers, brought with him to the CLC knowledges of, and contacts with, the Department of External Affairs.

1976, the year of intense debate within the CLC regarding tripartism, bipartism and the entire question of labour-government-business relationships, was the year in which the CIDA/CLC relationship was consolidated and expanded. In that year, six new projects were approved, totalling \$253,690, with an apparent CLC input of \$290,998 into the same projects (it is not clear from the project descriptions whether the CLC input represents cash, or "in-kind" contributions, or both).

The funding by CIDA in 1978 of a CLC project that involved the hiring of an overseas project officer was a significant precedent that was subsequently expanded upon. CIDA funds were used to hire an Asia Project Officer, based in Singapore, for the ICFTU, on secondment from the CLC. In the same year the CLC undertook its first major programme

of direct assistance to a third world trade union, in Zambia, with CIDA support, and became involved in the setting up of the Commonwealth Trade Union Council (CTUC). Total new CIDA commitments to the CLC in 1978 exceeded half a million dollars.

Another precedent was set in 1980 when CIDA agreed to co-fund a Development Education Animator for the CLC's International Affairs Department. This position was concerned with coordinating education work on international issues with the Canadian labour movement as well as with publicising international labour issues in the Canadian constituency.

An examination of Appendix 1 indicates the growth in the geographic scope of the CIDA/CLC projects. By 1980, projects had been undertaken in Canada, Mexico, the Caribbean, West Africa, Central America, Malaysia and Zambia. In 1981, projects were also undertaken in India, Ecuador and the Philippines; in 1982, initiatives were taken in Belize, Barbados and Zimbabwe; while in 1983, the first CIDA/CLC projects were undertaken in Colombia, Jamaica and South Africa. The number of new projects undertaken has varied from 8 in 1980 to 21 in 1981 and 10 in 1982. CIDA financial commitments have steadily expanded, from \$89,350 in 1975-76 to \$1,284,608 in the first seven months of 1983-84.

CIDA established its Institutional Cooperation and Development Services (ICDS) Division within Special Programmes Branch in 1980, and this had immediate beneficial results for the CLC. ICDS was created out of NGO Division so as to allow organizations that did not have a specific fundraising capacity (such as credit unions, trade unions and universities) to undertake overseas projects without having to contri-

bute funds for matching by CIDA. The effect of this change on the CLC is indicated in the increase in the number of projects submitted and in the increases in the matching ratio from the previous level of three to one to a much higher level.

The growing links between CIDA and the CLC were reflected in Labour Canada's Labour Organizations in Canada which in 1981 listed for the first time 'CIDA Coordinators' in a description of the staffing of the CLC - these four positions were filled by Bruce Gillies, Alan Amey, Xavier Sandoval and Luc Boutin.⁸ In the following year, 1982, only Amey and Sandoval are listed as 'CIDA Coordinators', but in the same year CIDA approved five projects that allowed the CLC to hire five regional project planners for the Caribbean, Francophone Africa, Anglophone Africa, Latin America and Asia. In 1983-84, CIDA approved the extension of the development education programme in Canada; supplementary grants for the African project planners; and 'Phase 2' grants for the five regional project planners, to a total of \$860,462 for these projects. The regional project planners were to work "with the ICFTU" and were responsible "through the ICFTU and the CLC, for the development of written projects which outline the needs and objectives of trade unions in the Third World."⁹

An unusual instance of CIDA/CLC cooperation took place in 1979, when the CLC mounted "Operation Solidarity" which delivered a large quantity of aid to Nicaragua, mainly through the Confederation de Unificacion Sindical (CUS), which like the CLC is affiliated to the ICFTU. CIDA, the Armed Forces and Air Canada helped the CLC to move tons of donated and purchased goods to Nicaragua.¹⁰

To summarize: the relationship between CIDA and the CLC is long-standing, ongoing and expanding. From initial limited support in the late 1960's for training overseas trade unionists at the Labour College of Canada, CIDA has gradually expanded the scope of its links with the CLC. There has been a steady increase in the number, diversity and value of projects supported, and cooperation has been facilitated through established institutional linkages and personal connections. CIDA has shown an increased willingness to fund CLC staff positions, and as of the end of 1983 six out of the nine CLC International Affairs positions were paid for through CIDA grants. The setting up of ICDS by CIDA has greatly increase the CLC's ability to undertake more, and financially larger, projects than it has in the past.

References

- 1 Canadian Labour, May 1968, p. 73. (Monthly publication of the CLC)
- 2 John Harker, Encouraging Enthusiasm, Avoiding Imposture: An Activist Foreign Policy in Defense of Democracy (Ottawa: C.I.I.A., 1983) p. 14.
- 3 David Kwavnick, Organized Labour and Pressure Politics (Montreal: McGill, 1972), p. 106.
- 4 Canadian Labour, May 1968, p. 74.
- 5 CLC Brief to Government, 1969, quoted in Canadian Labour, July 1970, p. 47.
- 6 Canadian Labour, October 1971, pp. 8-9.
- 7 Canadian Labour, July/August 1972, pp. 6-8.
- 8 Labour Canada, Labour Organizations in Canada 1981 (Ottawa), p. 158.
- 9 Canadian Labour, February 1982, p. 7.
- 10 Canadian Labour Congress, Labour's Views on International Affairs, October 30, 1979.

CHAPTER TWO

Defining the CIDA/CLC Relationship

Excerpt from an interview between Stephen Lewis and Dennis

McDermott, newly elected President of the Canadian Labour Congress
(1978):

Lewis: Do you know if the CLC has contact with CUSO or CIDA types?

McDermott: Yes, they have but most of the activities of the CLC's International Affairs Department were, to me at least, a deep dark secret. I never heard about them.

Lewis: No, no one does.

McDermott: I have stumbled into meetings where there are people from CIDA, from CUSO, and from other places. Romeo Maione (former international affairs director of the CLC) works for CIDA so I know we have contracts there. I think CIDA has financed some projects the CLC has been involved in.¹

CIDA is contributing over \$500,000 dollars this year (1980) to assist the CLC in implementing international education programs where experienced Canadian trade union leaders impart their knowledge to help speed development of trade unions in the Third World. CIDA feels its investment is in the national interest because the only way that the world can survive today is 'by assuring that every body is developing ... justly', said Maione (Director of CIDA's Non-Governmental Organization Division).²

At its most basic level, the relationship between the Canadian International Development Agency and the Canadian Labour Congress can be defined as a client relationship between a large government agency that administers Canada's official programme of international development assistance (CIDA) and a non-governmental labour organization (the CLC) which is Canada's largest trade union central. CIDA provides funds for the CLC's activities in the field of international development.

The relationship is cooperative and ongoing, and is implemented through established organizational structures, personnel linkages, information exchanges and financial transactions.

Organizational Structures: The CIDA-CLC relationship is effected primarily through the Institutional Cooperation and Development Services Division (ICDS) of CIDA's Special Programmes Branch and through the International Affairs Department of the CLC. It is between these two organizational sections, both of which are located in Ottawa, that the day-to-day linkages between CIDA and the CLC are maintained, monitored and relayed to other levels of the respective organizations (see Appendices 2 and 3 for organization charts of CIDA and the CLC respectively). Prior to the setting up of the ICDS Division in 1981, the CIDA/CLC relationship was effected through CIDA's Non-Governmental Organization (NGO) Division.

Personnel Linkages: There are and have been a number of specific personnel linkages between the CLC's International Affairs Department and CIDA and between the CLC and other government departments that are closely connected with CIDA. A key direct link is Romeo Maione, former Director of the CLC's International Affairs Department and now Executive Director of CIDA's NGO Division. Alan Amey, until recently Development Education Animator for the CLC, and before that Project Officer for the CLC in Asia, was formerly a CIDA employee. John Harker, present Director of the CLC's International Affairs Department, was formerly Executive Director of the Professional Association of Foreign Service Officers (i.e., employees of the Department of External Affairs); Rick Jackson, presently Development Education Officer for the CLC and formerly the CLC Project Officer for Latin America, was

employed by the Department of External Affairs at the Canadian High Commission in Santiago, Chile, from 1973 to 1977. Bruce Gillies, a foreign service officer with the Department of External Affairs, was seconded to the CLC's International Affairs Department for two years under the 'Executive Interchange' programme, and the CLC is expected to second an officer to External Affairs in due course.

The cordial relationship that exists between the CLC and CIDA is illustrated by the fact that in 1981 the CLC organized a cross-Canada joint tour for the Acting Director of CIDA's Cooperatives, Unions and Professional Associations Programme, ICDS, and for the CLC's newly-appointed Development Education Animator.

In addition to the links through CIDA, the CLC's International Affairs Department maintains a number of other links with the federal government, through the Department of External Affairs, Labour Canada, and the Department of Industry, Trade and Commerce. Relations with the federal government as such are maintained through the annual presentation of a CLC Brief to the government, and through periodic CLC presentations to Standing Committees and Sub-Committees of the House of Commons and Senate, and to Royal Commissions.³ In addition, interaction takes place through a number of bipartite and tripartite institutions on which both the government and the CLC are represented, for example, the Canadian Labour Market and Productivity Centre. At the international level, contact is maintained through membership in the International Labour Organization (ILO) and in the Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD).⁴

Information Exchange: The flow of information between the two organizations takes the form of exchange of reports, the submission of

project applications and evaluations by the CLC to CIDA and ongoing communication between the two bureaucracies.

There are periodic communications between Harker (of the CLC) and Allan Gotlieb, Undersecretary of State for External Affairs. Neither of the two is reluctant to call the other on special issues. Regular contacts are maintained with External Affairs desk officers who sometimes use the CLC network of contacts to obtain information on special areas.⁵

This contact is supplemented by the practice of exchange of visitors from Third World countries, usually at the initiative of the CLC. Thus, a visiting trade unionist from a developing country will be brought to CIDA by the CLC, partly to provide CIDA with first-hand information on the labour situation in the country concerned and, in some instances, to report on the progress of projects that have been funded by CIDA and the CLC with the visitor's trade union.

Financial Transfers: The CLC is one of the over 200 Canadian non-governmental organizations that is supported financially by CIDA each year.⁶ This financial support usually takes the form of grants that are provided by CIDA in respect of projects relating to international development that are initiated by the NGO and approved by CIDA. CIDA grants are usually made on a project-by-project basis and in the case of projects approved by NGO Division they are usually on a 'matching' basis, i.e., CIDA provides funds in proportion to the funds (or value of services) contributed by the NGO.⁷ The matching ratio is usually three CIDA dollars to one NGO dollar.

In the financial year 1983-84 CIDA will commit at least \$1.2 million dollars towards the new projects that it will co-finance with the CLC, and will disburse at least \$1 million in initial payments towards these projects and in ongoing payments towards projects

approved in previous years. Appendix 1 gives a complete listing of all CLC projects approved by CIDA between 1969 and 1983 and lists also three projects submitted to CIDA and awaiting approval as of October 1983.

References

- 1 CUSO Forum, Vol. 6, No. 2, 1978, p. 3.
- 2 John Clark, "Canadian Labour Congress as an International Actor" in International Perspectives, September/October 1980.
- 3 See, for one of many examples, "Monitor Human Rights in Eastern Europe, CLC Tells Government" in Canadian Labour, November 1980, p. 8.
- 4 Canadian Labour and the World, CLC pamphlet, undated (circa 1978).
- 5 John Clark, op. cit., p. 10.
- 6 CIDA, Partners in Tomorrow--Fifty Years of CIDA's Non-Governmental Organization's Program, (Ottawa, 1984), p. 11.
- 7 CIDA, Annual Report 1984/85, (Ottawa, 1985), p. 37.

CHAPTER 3

The Role of CIDA in Canadian Foreign Policy

"The emergence of a single-minded predisposition to advance Canadian economic interests, narrowly defined, is widely acknowledged as a most important feature in the development of Canadian foreign policy in the last decade-and-a-half.

- Cranfield Pratt, 1984.¹

This chapter will critically examine CIDA's objectives and role in the context of Canada's development assistance policy and in the overall context of Canadian foreign policy. The CIDA-CLC relationship can then be located and interpreted in this context.

Canada's foreign policy objectives are determined to a large extent by Canada's interests as a developed capitalist state. As such, Canada's interests lie in the preservation and advancement of the entire capitalist system and, within that system, of Canadian-based capital. Within this overall objective, the Canadian state plays the role of ensuring that the interests of the various sectors of Canadian capital - national, regional, commercial, industrial and agricultural - are reconciled under the direction of those sectors of capital that are dominant at any given time.² It can and does happen, though, that a particular policy in relation to international affairs will reflect the unresolved tension of the ongoing struggle between the different sectors of Canadian capital. For example, the long-standing salmon fishing dispute between Canada and the U.S. reflects the unwillingness of sectors of capital on both sides of the border to accept an agreement that would reflect the fluctuating balance that prevails between U.S. and Canadian economic interests, but which would not

reflect the vital interests of the sectors of capital most immediately affected by the dispute.

The Canadian state also plays the role of legitimizing foreign policy to the Canadian electorate. This is effected through a process that, in essence, obscures the fundamentally economic basis of foreign relations and converts it into diffuse concepts such as "the national interest," "international goodwill" and "Western values."³

Foreign aid is a component of foreign policy, and in the area of foreign aid this dual tension - between the interests of the different sectors of Canadian capital, and between the unwritten and written objectives of foreign policy - is readily apparent. Canada's programme of international development assistance has since its inception been characterized by unremitting struggle between the advocates of "enlightened" aid and the advocates of self-interest;⁴ between those with the long-term view that the interests of Canadian capital, and the capitalist system, are best served by a programme of international development assistance that will in fact represent a transfer of resources to the developing countries, and those who are more concerned with short-run returns to Canadian-based capital. At the same time, and overlapping with the first tension, is the contradiction between the stated, or written objectives of foreign aid, and the unstated, unwritten objectives that underlie the official ones. This latter contradiction has led to an ongoing public debate between those who, with great difficulty, maintain the official line and those who clearly see the gaps between the stated objectives and the practice.⁵

For Canada, foreign aid is virtually synonymous with CIDA, as it is through CIDA that about 80% of Canada's official development

assistance is routed to the recipient countries.⁶ CIDA is a very large agency with a 1984-85 budget of \$1.64 billion, a staff of over 1,100 employees and total administration costs in 1981-82 of \$77 million.⁷

Among the more serious criticisms levelled at CIDA⁸ have been that it is a political instrument of the Canadian government rather than a neutral mechanism for aid delivery; that Canada's aid programme is intended to benefit Canadian industry and commerce more than the developing countries who receive the aid (a variation on this criticism is that, while the intent of the aid programme may be sound, in practice it helps Canada more than the developing countries); that CIDA has grown to be a huge, parasitic and costly bureaucracy; that many of the aid projects undertaken by CIDA are inappropriate at best and harmful at worst; that CIDA's practice of "tying" most of its aid to purchases of Canadian goods and services results in excessive costs of aid to the developing countries; that CIDA provides aid to oppressive and exploitative regimes, thereby legitimizing and maintaining those regimes; that CIDA's aid, as with most aid provided by the developed world, fosters dependency rather than stimulating and supporting self-reliant development in the Third World; and that Canada helps to finance international institutions, such as the World Bank, whose practices have been consistently questioned as being more in the interests of the developed than the developing world.

Many of these criticisms are based on an idealized conception of CIDA which is based more on CIDA's inability to meet its stated objectives than on a realistic assessment of CIDA as an instrument of the state in carrying out Canada's foreign policy objectives. A better understanding of CIDA's actual objectives and role can be gained by

applying to CIDA the propositions regarding foreign aid developed by Harry Magdoff. According to Magdoff,⁹ the purpose and/or result of the U.S. foreign aid programme is as follows:

1. To implement the world-wide military and political policies of the United States.
2. To enforce the open-door policy; for freedom of access of raw materials, trade, and investment opportunities for U.S. business.
3. To ensure that such economic development as does take place in the underdeveloped countries is firmly rooted in capitalist ways and practices.
4. To obtain immediate economic gains for U.S. businessmen seeking trade and investment opportunities.
5. To make the receivers of aid increasingly dependent on the U.S. and other capital markets. (The debts created by the loans extended perpetuate the dependency of aid-receivers to the capital markets of the metropolitan centers.)

Harley Dickinson has adapted these propositions in a useful examination of Canadian aid to the Caribbean, but has chosen to disregard the first proposition as "the least applicable to the Canadian situation."¹⁰ His essay sets itself "the task of outlining, and supplementing this outline with empirical data, the part that foreign aid in general, and Canadian foreign aid in particular, plays in the world capitalist system."¹¹ As Dickinson was not concerned with Canada's overall foreign policy, the following model will retain and adapt Magdoff's original framework, and will add a further proposition so as to allow for the discussion of legitimization.

The Functions of CIDA as Canada's Aid Arm

1. To implement Canada's foreign policy

In commenting on the government's plan to set up in 1984 a formal aid-trade fund that will compel countries receiving development assistance from Canada to buy Canadian-made products, the senior Vice-President of CIDA said that "there has been no change in the policies of official development assistance, only a change in the wording to reflect the unwritten objectives of serving Canada's political and economic interests."¹²

Although Canada is not a major world power, and although the U.S. exerts considerable influence on the formulation and implementation of Canadian foreign policy, it is clear that there are definable Canadian interests, interests that foreign policy is developed to serve.¹³ This is demonstrated by, for example, the continuation of Canadian trade with Cuba after Fidel Castro moved to socialize the economy. This decision was taken and maintained in the face of determined U.S. opposition.¹⁴ More recently, Canada decided not to support a trade embargo against Nicaragua.¹⁵

The nature of the Canadian political economy, plus Canada's geographical position, also contribute greatly to the evolution of Canadian foreign policy. Thus Canada seeks to develop its relationship with countries that are interested in buying Canadian products, e.g., Japan and India, or that have raw materials or other goods to sell to Canada - e.g., Indonesia, South Africa. Canadian investment in and trade with the Caribbean is also a result of the geographical proximity of Canada to the Caribbean, while another factor is the avoidance of competition in areas where the U.S. has a dominant interest, e.g., Mexico.

Aid plays an important role in the establishment and consolidation of Canada's relations with the developing countries.¹⁶ Canada's decisions as to which countries will receive Canadian development assistance are determined in part by the circumstances of the countries themselves (by their needs, level of development, etc.), but they are also affected by Canada's perceptions as to where the application of aid will best serve Canada's long-term interests. Thus, the fact that Canadian bilateral aid to Africa is, at 41%, greater than that given to another other region,¹⁷ reflects the level of underdevelopment that prevails in much of Africa but also reflects Canada's interest in Africa as a source of markets, raw materials and investment opportunities. It is also a reflection of the fact that Canadian aid to Francophone Africa can be seen in terms of "pre-empting Quebec's attempts to use African contacts as a way to legitimize Quebec sovereignty."¹⁸

The major aid mechanism through which Canada directly achieves its foreign policy objectives is CIDA's Bilateral Division, which administers programmes with selected developing countries on a government-to-government basis. Other mechanisms are also available, however, including the use of the influence that Canada derives from its position as an aid-giver in international negotiations (such as those taking place around the proposals for a New International Economic Order, UNCTAD, etc.) or from its membership and clout in the major international economic institutions, such as the IBRD, and the International Development Association. Even CIDA funding of a Canadian NGO can contribute to the achievement of an overall foreign policy objective - for example, the only significant aid that was provided to

Cuba in the early 1970's was through Canadian University Service Overseas, CUSO.¹⁹ The many smaller divisions of CIDA are also instrumental in this regard, including the Industrial Cooperation Division, the Management for Change Programme and the recently launched Petro-Canada International Assistance Corporation, which is financed from development assistance funds and which makes available to developing countries such as Tanzania and Senegal the expertise in oil and gas exploration and production of the state-run Petro-Canada.²⁰

2. To enforce the open-door policy: for freedom of access to raw materials, trade and investment opportunities for Canadian business

An examination of CIDA's publications over the past fifteen years makes it very clear that there is official acceptance of the view that foreign aid programmes should be used to open up markets, provide sources of raw materials for Canadian enterprises, and encourage Canadian investment abroad. For example, CIDA justified its initial involvement with the Inter-American Development Bank as "helping Canadian suppliers to become more familiar with Latin American markets and increase the interest of Latin American buyers in Canadian goods and services"²¹; CIDA's Annual Report for 1975-76 pointed out that "Canada has trailed other developed nations in investing abroad"²²; and CIDA President Michael Dupuy said in 1977:

The bilateral aid programmes provide foreign markets for key Canadian industries and may sometimes represent a major source of contacts... By establishing Canadian technology and expertise in the developing countries on whatever terms we grant them, we are laying the groundwork for repeat business and for expansion of Canadian trade in the future.²³

The damaging impact on the Canadian economy of the world-wide recession in the last decade has resulted in greater emphasis on the

promotion of trade through aid. In the 1984 Budget Speech, the Minister of Finance announced that, while the government maintained its commitment to devote 0.5 percent of GNP to official development assistance by the mid-1980's and 0.7 percent by the end of the decade, "we shall require closer coordination of our development assistance and our export financing policies."²⁴ The government will therefore set up a special fund, which will be allocated up to one-half of the projected increase in Canadian development assistance, in support of an expanded role for Canadian firms in developing countries.

Guidelines for the special fund will be developed in consultation with the business community and its objectives are defined as follows:

to help Canadian firms to provide additional goods and services in support of Third World development and to increase the Canadian share of procurement in multilateral development projects. It will also be the government's intention to enhance industrial cooperation between Canada and developing countries.²⁵

While the details of the special fund have not yet been finalized, it can be expected that it will move Canadian aid even more in the direction of a credit mixte, under which CIDA will provide parallel funding for projects financed by the Canadian Export Development Corporation (EDC). This change has long been sought by Canadian business, and some concessions in that direction have already been made by government. To quote from Carty and Smith's comprehensive study of Canadian foreign aid:

... a significant portion of [the] promised increase in official development assistance over the next decade will be accounted for by export and investment promotion programs directed by business-oriented arms of the government that are unrestricted by mandates to develop Third World countries.²⁶

3. To ensure that such economic development as does take place in the underdeveloped countries is firmly rooted in capitalist ways and practices

Magdoff's proposition, as stated above, can be expanded as follows: that international capital uses foreign aid to control the direction that development will take place in Third World countries and the extent to which development will occur. This control manifests itself in many inter-related ways, which include the withholding of aid, the imposition of conditions on the approval of aid, the use of credit and loans, the favouring of certain types of projects over others,²⁷ the amount of aid made available to a given country, the ideological impact of technical assistance programmes that involve personnel placements, the ideological impact of technology that has been developed within capitalist relations of production, the promotion of programmes that result in demographic changes within the recipient country (whether these are population control programmes or programmes that involve relocation or restratification of sectors of the population) as well as support for projects that directly or indirectly contribute to the control or repression of sectors of the recipient society.

Capitalism internationally is based on an international division of labour and on the international exploitation of labour.²⁸ Foreign aid by capitalist countries is aimed at maintaining that division and that exploitation so as to preserve the system and maximize profit, which is the fundamental dynamic of capitalism. Foreign aid is a mechanism whereby the class struggle between owner and worker is influenced at the international level. This is done in three

fundamental ways: by supporting capitalism internationally and combatting the spread of socialism and communism; by creating and strengthening a ruling class in the developing countries that will ally itself with international capitalism, while simultaneously strengthening capital in the donor countries; and by attempting to keep down peasants and workers in the developing and developed countries.

Before applying this analysis to Canada and to CIDA, it must be pointed out that acceptance of the analysis does not entail denial of certain facts that appear to run counter to the analysis. One such fact might be that Canada provides aid to Mozambique, Nicaragua and a few other countries who have clearly opted for socialist development; in response, however, it can be pointed out that Canadian aid to socialist countries is extremely limited.²⁹ Such aid can be understood better in terms of Canada's regional strategies, or of responses to effective lobbying, of trade promotion, of support for Commonwealth countries and the implementation of a foreign policy which is distinctively Canadian rather than American, than in terms of Canada's apparently non-ideological aid policies. So, for example, Canadian aid to Mozambique must be seen in the context of that country's untapped economic resources, its key geopolitical situation and its friendly and supportive relationship with independent states and liberation movements in southern Africa.

Another fact involves the nature of CIDA and the struggles that take place within its bureaucracy as policy is worked out and implemented. There are progressive people within CIDA (especially people who have worked in the developing countries and have been affected by that experience) who try to emphasize the humanitarian

rather than the economic and ideological motivation in establishing policy and developing programmes.³⁰ Yet the room for leeway is slight, and while some victories may be won by the humanists,³¹ the overall direction of CIDA is primarily determined by CIDA's objective existence as an organ of the Canadian state.

3.1 CIDA and International Capitalism

CIDA can now be examined in the context of the preceding analysis. As regards the first role, that of the promoter of capitalism internationally, there are many statements by government leaders and CIDA officials that illustrate official awareness of this role. Consider, for example, Mr. Pearson's statement at the 1950 Colombo Conference (which marked Canada's entry into the field of foreign aid):

We of the free democratic world must demonstrate that it is we and not the Russians who stand for national liberation and economic and social progress.³²

Mr. Diefenbaker subsequently stated:

\$50 million a year...would be cheap insurance for Canada, for the opinion of the Asiatic representatives [at Colombo] was that this plan, if launched in time, would do much to halt communism in Asia.³³

The Secretary of State for External Affairs saw the role of aid in 1967 as being "to undermine the seeds of unrest and to create good customers,"³⁴ while the official statement that accompanied CIDA's establishment in 1968 defined its purpose as being:

... to establish with the recipient countries those political attitudes or commitments, military alliances or bases that would assist Canada or Canada's western allies to maintain a reasonably stable and secure international political system.³⁵

More recently, Minister of External Affairs Mark MacGuigan referred to the use of bilateral aid "to try and ensure the stability

and growth of the world,"³⁶ while the anti-communist thrust of Canada's aid programmes was acknowledged (and deprecated) by former External Affairs Minister Michell Sharp:

We have got ourselves into an international rat race, using aid in an effort to win friends, influence customers and outbid the communists.³⁷

CIDA's role as a proponent of international capitalism is reflected in the totality of its operations, but can be most readily observed in its multilateral programmes. Multilateral aid constitutes about one-third of Canada's official development assistance and, as can be seen from Appendix 4, it is made up of capital subscriptions, loans and contributions to international financial institutions that provide loans for developing countries (especially the International Development Association, through which the World Bank makes soft loans, as well as grants to many United Nations agencies). The role of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the Inter-American Development Bank and the components of the World Bank group have been repeatedly criticized for their promotion of the interests of the developed rather than the developing countries³⁸; CIDA's participation in these organizations is an indication of Canada's junior partnership in the present international economic order. As Carty and Smith put it:

Ottawa's contributions to multilateral institutions do not guarantee immediate rewards, because Canada's procurement record within these agencies is uneven, but they promote the general welfare of the western economic system.³⁹

3.2. CIDA and Ruling Classes Internationally

An influential critique of international aid undertaken in recent years is that of the Institute for Food and Development Policy and

released in 1981 under the title of Aid As Obstacle. In their Introduction, authors Francis Moore Lappe, Joseph Collins and David Kirley stated:

Field investigations and other research have led us to realize that U.S. foreign assistance fails to help the poor because it is of necessity based on one fundamental fallacy: that aid can reach the powerless even though channeled through the powerful...Official aid reinforces the power relationships that already exist. Certainly this is the case with government-to-government aid... The most important lesson of development [is] the need to first address the question of control over productive forces.⁴⁰ [authors' emphasis]

These conclusions apply also to Canadian government-to-government aid, and critics of CIDA have pointed to many instances where Canadian aid has led to the reinforcement of ruling-class power and privilege.⁴¹ But such criticisms are usually offered from the perspective that ruling-class consolidation is a deplorable side-effect of foreign aid: they do not recognize that the strengthening of capitalist class structures is an objective of foreign aid. Donor nations, such as Canada, want the recipient countries to remain within the capitalist orbit and remain receptive to further aid and trade arrangements with the donor countries. This can only be done safely by ensuring that the class structures of capitalism are replicated in the developing countries and that the emergent bourgeoisies are amenable to ongoing relationships with the capitalist countries.

Thus an examination of many CIDA programmes with non-socialist developing countries will indicate that components of those programmes directly contribute to the reinforcement of existing class relations. Of course not all of CIDA's aid can be explained in terms of support for Third World ruling classes, but much of the aid supplied through

bilateral and multilateral channels does have this consequence.⁴² Furthermore, especially through the practice of "tying" bilateral aid to purchases of Canadian goods and services (which will be increasingly extended also to multilateral aid through the proposed Special Fund), foreign aid has the objective and consequence of providing orders, markets and subsidies for Canadian-based capital. This of course strengthens the maturing Canadian ruling class, thereby also helping to ensure the maintenance of capitalist class relations in Canada.

3.3. The Impact of Aid on the Working Class

Capitalism's ambivalent relationship towards labour is reflected in foreign aid. Capitalism needs labour so as to ensure a workforce and a market but fears labour as a force that can destroy capitalism: so foreign aid seeks to influence the working class - agricultural, industrial, service and commercial - that is inevitably created as modernization occurs, and as more and more of the developing world is drawn into the capitalist market economy. Influence over labour internationally is crucial to the survival of the system, especially as regards providing a compliant labour force for the multi-national corporations.⁴³

In strengthening capitalist class relations through multilateral and bilateral channels, foreign aid contributes to the preservation of the status quo as regards the working classes. But this can also be achieved through aid that directly affects the working classes and especially through projects that are initiated with various forms of working-class organizations - trade unions, peasants' organizations, slum-dwellers' associations, etc. Where such projects are undertaken on a bilateral basis, they of course involve government mediation at

the donor and recipient levels and so will be financed only if they pose no threat to the established order. Projects involving community groups, trade unions, etc. are often small and so are more usually undertaken by non-governmental organizations from the developed countries - i.e., development agencies, church groups, trade unions - than by government itself. Yet many such NGO projects are financed in whole or in part by the government of the donor country, as part of its overall objective of ensuring that aid maintains capitalist relations of production in the developing countries, in this instance through influencing the direction of working-class organizations.

Donor government funding for NGO projects with working-class organizations in the Third World is widespread internationally and is discussed in Appendix 10. In Canada, CIDA provides grants for such projects through the NGO and ICDS (Institutional Cooperation and Development Services) Divisions of Special Programmes Branch. The NGO Division deals with private Canadian organizations that have an interest in international development and have a fundraising capacity in Canada: CIDA funds are provided to these organizations on the basis of matching grants for approved projects. ICDS Division deals with Canadian organizations that likewise have an interest in international development but which do not have a fund-raising capacity for their overseas work. CIDA provides grants to such organizations without their having to contribute themselves to approved projects.⁴⁴

The legitimization function in Canada of NGO and ICDS Divisions will be discussed later in this chapter. As regards their overseas work, the major point to be made is that it does not contradict the overall function of Canada's foreign aid programme. By funding

projects with community groups in the developing countries CIDA gains goodwill for Canada, it gathers information and, most importantly in terms of influencing working people, it takes the pressure off the capitalist system (locally, nationally and internationally) by preserving the myth of "ripple-effect" development, i.e., that once people in the developing countries have seen the effect of aid in one corner of their pond, it will spread to all corners.

By funding projects with trade unions in the developing countries, the state (through CIDA) gains goodwill, information and some influence over sections of the working class in the Third World. So for example when CIDA funds projects such as the Worker Training Programme for Southern Africa (\$119,935 - See Appendix 1, p. A1-3), it gains goodwill for Canada and for the Canadian state with the Commonwealth Trade Union Council (which organized the project), and with trade union leaders from Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland, and Zimbabwe.⁴⁵ CIDA's awareness of and tacit acceptance of the ideological position of the CTUC, and the CLC, ensures that the project will not reinforce radical tendencies within the labour movement in southern Africa. CIDA reserves the power to reject any application from the CLC that it might find unacceptable for any reason. The normal project application and evaluation reporting by the CLC provides CIDA with information on the projects and on its progress, and thus on the labour movement in southern Africa.

Also, because a considerable number of the projects co-sponsored with the CLC are for education projects with Canadian labour in Canada, the state also, and in the same process, gains an element of influence over the education of Canadian labour. It is very significant that the first financial support of any magnitude given to the labour movement

in Canada by the state was by way of CIDA, and the implications of this for labour will be discussed in Chapter Four.

4. To obtain immediate economic gains for Canadian businesses seeking trade and investment opportunities

There has been recognition for a long time of the fact that aid is good for Canadian business.⁴⁶ In 1963 the Secretary of State for External Affairs noted in parliament that "our aid programmes provide a stimulus to the domestic economy and contribute to a betterment of employment conditions, since the main part of our aid funds is spent in Canada,"⁴⁷ while the 1984 Budget Speech emphasized "the important benefits for the Canadian economy, since procurement of Canadian goods and services to support development projects overseas is a stimulus to Canadian industry and can help develop export markets."⁴⁸

The increased emphasis in recent years on the benefits accruing to Canadian business through aid represents a concession, in difficult times for the Canadian economy, by the government towards those sectors of Canadian capital who are more concerned with short-run economic gain than with the long-term health of the capitalist system. Through CIDA, the government helps Canadian business in a number of different ways, ranging from the provision of information to the personal contacts developed through Special Branch's Management for Change programme, but the two major sources of CIDA support for business are the "tied aid" requirement and the subsidies provided through the Industrial Cooperation Division (ICD) of Special Programmes Branch. "Tied aid" means that 80% of the aid provided by CIDA under the bilateral programme must be spent on Canadian goods and services, although exceptions can be and have been made to this rule. This requirement is now being expanded to

apply to some Canadian multilateral aid, through the aid-trade fund. As regards subsidies, ICD has a "variety of instruments whose objective is to encourage the involvement of the Canadian private sector in the development of Third World countries... In 1982-83, CIDA provided some \$20 million to more than 275 Canadian firms for feasibility and project preparation studies, and technology development and transfer."⁴⁹

5. To make the receivers of aid increasingly dependent on Canadian and other capital markets

Frantic efforts by international bankers to put together packages that will stave off bankruptcy of one or more of the developing countries have become a regular event, with Mexico the most recent debtor to be rescued. These crises are due to the vast indebtedness of the developing countries to the international financial institutions and to private banks and financial institutions in the developed capitalist countries.⁵⁰ So great has their indebtedness become that many developing countries cannot repay even the interest on their accumulated debts.

This situation has been brought about in large part by the developed countries, which have encouraged the debtor nations to finance their development by means of loans from international capital, including Canadian capital. As of 1976 (and the total has certainly grown since then) Canadian banks were owed about \$13.3 billion by Third World nations, and they earned an estimated \$1 billion a year on interest payments alone from Third World countries.⁵¹ This private banking activity was paralleled and reinforced by Canadian government loans - in 1977, Canadian shares and subscriptions in the World Bank came to \$745 million, while Canadian donations to the Inter-American

Development Bank came to over \$439 million.⁵² Canada's enthusiastic participation in the creation of links of financial dependency between the developed and developing nations is reflected in the fact that Canada is the only nation in the world with a membership in every international development bank.⁵³

6. To serve the functions within Canada of the legitimization of government and the provision of patronage

Canada's foreign aid programme also serves the internal political objectives of the state. The state publicizes the aid programme in as attractive a manner as possible and in the process legitimizes not just the aid programme but the state itself, which wishes to be seen as a benevolent dispenser of assistance to the world's needy.⁵⁴ Most of this promotional work focusses on food and emergency aid, and the people-to-people programmes of NGO Division. Seldom if ever is attention drawn to the implications of the multilateral programme or to the business-oriented programmes of CIDA's Industrial Cooperation Division and Bilateral Branch.

The process of legitimization also occurs through government funding of overseas projects in conjunction with Canadian NGO's, and of organizations such as learner centres and cross-cultural centres who carry out community education work on third world issues. In the financial year 1982-83, CIDA provided \$64 million in grants to 174 Canadian NGO's which carried out over 2,100 projects in 115 developing countries, and also provided \$5.3 million through its Public Participation Programme for groups carrying out development education projects in Canada.⁵⁵ Each one of these NGO's and groups has a defined constituency, ranging from a small number of volunteers to tens of

thousands of financial supporters. By providing financial support for the NGO's and for their regional and national coordinating agencies (such as the Saskatchewan Council for International Cooperation and the Canadian Council for International Cooperation), CIDA reaches a large constituency, legitimizes the entire aid programme and, by extension, legitimizes the state itself. It can be noted that the acceptance of funds from CIDA also determines to an extent the type and extent of work done by these NGO's and groups, as continued funding is dependent on a positive evaluation by CIDA of their programmes. Should CIDA disapprove of the work done by a recipient of its funds, then funding can be restricted or terminated. This happened in the case of SUCO, the Francophone equivalent of CUSO, when CIDA disapproved of the high proportion of funds SUCO was spending on public education in Canada, as opposed to overseas projects. CIDA withdrew its funding and SUCO virtually collapsed.⁵⁶

The question of patronage also arises here. Clearly, the provision of business contracts through tied aid requirements for Canadians is simultaneously a form of patronage and legitimization. Government can award contracts to a business sector, a geographic region or even individual companies, thereby building political support and enthusiasm for aid.⁵⁷ At a much smaller level, patronage also becomes an issue when CIDA becomes a major source of income for NGO's and learner centres. With financial dependency comes an unwillingness to criticize, an acceptance of stated or perceived government guidelines, a concern regarding job losses by NGO paid staff, and other negative effects that have been well described by Martin Loney.⁵⁸ State funding of private organizations has a long history, especially

as regards community and minority groups, but it is only in recent years that its effects have been felt in the area of international assistance. It is now also an issue for the CLC, given its growing dependency on CIDA for CLC projects in the Third World.

Conclusion

Foreign aid is not in contradiction with the foreign policy objectives of the developed capitalist states, but is an extension of these objectives. Through its foreign aid programme, which is virtually synonymous with CIDA, Canada seeks to advance the interests of Canadian-based capital and of capitalism internationally. CIDA's programmes are intended to achieve this objective by facilitating the promotion of specifically Canadian interests such as national unity and a position of influence in the international community. CIDA provides long-term and short-term benefits for Canadian industry, commerce and investors. It contributes to the global maintenance of capitalist class relations and capitalist relations of production, as well as promoting increased dependency by Third World countries on Canadian and other capital markets. It furthermore legitimizes the Canadian state and facilitates patronage to industry and non-governmental organizations.

References

- 1 Cranford Pratt, "Canadian Policy Towards the Third World: Basis for an Explanation", in Studies in Political Economy, Spring 1984, p. 27.
- 2 Garth Stevenson, "Federalism and the Political Economy of the Canadian State" in Leo Panitch (Ed.) The Canadian State: Political Economy and Political Power (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1977), pp. 90-97.
- 3 Ralph Miliband, The State in Capitalist Society (London: Quartet, 1973), pp. 188-189.
- 4 See, for example, Robert Carty, "Giving for Gain: Foreign Aid and CIDA" in Robert Clarke and Richard Swift (Eds.), Ties that Bind (Toronto: Between the Lines, 1982).
- 5 "Critics Call Canada's Tied Aid a Poor Gift", Globe and Mail, March 1, 1984.
- 6 Globe and Mail, March 1, 1984.
- 7 CIDA, Annual Review, 1981/82.
- 8 There is a growing body of critical writing on Canadian aid. The objections summarized here are to be found in: Robert Carty and Virginia Smith, Perpetuating Poverty: The Political Economy of Canadian Foreign Aid (Toronto: Between the Lines, 1982); Robert Martin: 'Who Suffers Whom? Notes on a Canadian Policy towards the Third World', Canadian Forum, April 1976; Robert Clarke and Richard Swift (Eds.), Ties That Bind (Toronto: Between the Lines, 1982); Keith Spicer, A Samaritan State? External Aid in Canada's Foreign Policy (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1966); and A. Palacios Hardy and Litvinoff Martinez, Canadian Aid: Whose Priorities? (Toronto: Latin American Working Group, 1973).
- 9 Harry Magdoff, The Age of Imperialism (New York: Monthly Review, 1969).
- 10 Harley Dickinson, "Canadian Foreign Aid" in John Fry (Ed.) Economy, Class and Social Reality (Toronto: Butterworths, 1979).
- 11 Ibid., p. 100.
- 12 Globe and Mail, March 1, 1984.
- 13 See, for example, Don Munton, "Stimulus-Response and Continuity in Canadian Foreign Policy Behaviour During Cold War and Detente" in Brian W. Tomlin (Ed.), Canada's Foreign Policy: Analysis and Issues (Toronto: Methuen, 1978), p. 4.
- 14 Robert Carty and Virginia Smith, Perpetuating Poverty (Toronto: LAWG, 1981), p. 41.

- 15 Globe and Mail, May 2, 1985, p. 13.
- 16 Carty and Smith, op. cit., pp. 38-44 (especially as regards Canada's involvement in the Colombo Plan).
- 17 CIDA, Annual Aid Review, 1982, p. 23.
- 18 Carty and Smith, op. cit., pp. 59-60.
- 19 Interview with David Gallagher, former CUSO field staff in Cuba, 1984.
- 20 CIDA, Annual Report 1984/85, p. 10.
- 21 CIDA, Annual Review, 1971/72, p. 53.
- 22 CIDA, Annual Report 1975/76, p. 77.
- 23 Michel Dupuy, "Notes for an Address to the Empire Club of Toronto", November 3, 1977, pp. 5-6.
- 24 Budget Speech, 1984.
- 25 Ibid.
- 26 Carty and Smith, Opus cit., p. 111.
- 27 Frances Moore Lappe, Joseph Collins and David Kinley, Aid as Obstacle (San Francisco: Institute for Food and Policy Development, 1981), p. 47.
- 28 See, for example, Giovanni Arrighi, "International Corporations, Labour Aristocracies and Economic Development in Tropical Africa" in Robert Rhodes (Ed.) Imperialism and Underdevelopment (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1970).
- 29 CIDA, Annual Report, 1984-85, pp. 85-89. Of a total "country to country" aid programme of \$1.3 billion, \$107 million (8%) went to the self-defined, socialist countries of Angola, Burkina Faso, China, Ethiopia, Grenada, Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, Nicaragua and Zimbabwe.
- 30 Gary Gallon, "The Aid Fix: Pushers and Addicts", International Perspectives, November/December 1983.
- 31 For example, in the case of the liberation movements in Southern Africa, CIDA altered its position from refusal of aid to acceptance of the projects submitted by Canadian NGO's on behalf of the movements (interview with Brian Krempien, former CUSO field staff in Botswana, 1983).
- 32 Quoted in Brian Krempien, "The CIDA Connection" (unpublished mimeo, 1978), p. 1.

- 33 Quoted in Spicer, op. cit., p. 23.
- 34 Hansard, November 26, 1967: quoted in Krempien, op. cit., p. 1.
- 35 Globe and Mail, July 25, 1969.
- 36 Quoted in Carty and Smith, op. cit., p. 110.
- 37 Mitchell Sharp, "Canada's Stake in International Progress", Dialogue, 1961, p. 4.
- 38 See, for example; Lappe, Collins and Kinley, op. cit.; Cheryl Payer, The Debt Trap: The IMF and the Third World (New York: Monthly Review, 1974); Teresa Hayter, Aid as Imperialism (London: Penguin, 1971); and Robert Ayres, Banking on the Poor (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1983).
- 39 Carty and Smith, op. cit., p. 110.
- 40 Lappe, Collins and Kinley, op. cit., pp. 10-11.
- 41 See Reference 7 above: also Jeffrey Steeves, "CIDA, The Policy Process and the Third World, 1968-1979" (unpublished mimeo, 1980), p. 22.
- 42 For reinforcement of this general point, see "Reaching the Poorest: Six Rules for Real Aid", New Internationalist, August 1983; "Aid to the Third World: The Impossible Development" in IDAC Document 2, IDAC, Geneva (undated) and Teresa Hayter and Catharine Watson, Aid: Rhetoric and Reality (London: Pluto, 1985, p. 246); specifically in relation to the benefits of the "Green Revolution" to ruling classes see Aid: The New Trojan Horse, Development Education Centre, Toronto (undated).
- 43 See, for example, Giovanni Arrighi, "A Crisis of Hegemony" in Amin, Arrighi, Frank and Wallerstein (Eds.), Dynamics of Global Crisis (New York: Monthly Review, 1982).
- 44 Interview with CIDA official, April 1984.
- 45 CLC Project Application form to CIDA, 1983.
- 46 Carty and Smith, op. cit., p. 167.
- 47 Hansard, November 14, 1983, p. 1516 - quoted in Krempien, op. cit.
- 48 Budget Speech, 1984.
- 49 CIDA, Annual Aid Review 1982, p. 42.
- 50 James O'Connor, "The Meaning of Economic Imperialism" in Robert J. Rhodes (Ed.) Imperialism and Underdevelopment (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1970), pp. 101-144.

- 51 Carty and Smith, op. cit., p. 168.
- 52 Ibid., p. 67.
- 53 Ibid., p. 146.
- 54 Harley Dickinson, "Contradictions in Canadian Bilateral Aid" in John Fry (Ed.) Contradictions in Canadian Society (Toronto: Wiley & Co., 1984), p. 77. For a general analysis of legitimization, see James O'Connor, The Fiscal Crisis of the State (New York: St. Martins' Press, 1973), pp. 6-7, and Reg Whitaker, "Images of the State" in Leo Panitch (Ed.), op. cit., pp. 29-30.
- 55 CIDA, Annual Aid Review, 1982.
- 56 Ian Smillie, The Land of Lost Content: A History of CUSO (Toronto: Deneau, 1985), pp. 306-307.
- 57 Carty and Smith, op. cit., pp. 102-103.
- 58 Martin Loney, "Bankrolling the Revolution", Canadian Dimension, Vol. 12, No. 2.

CHAPTER FOUR

The CLC, Social Democracy and International Development

The expressed policy of the CLC internationally is to 'avoid the (so-called) extremes of left and right,' that is, the unbridled forces of the multi-nationals on the one hand and the revolutionary and communist forces on the other.¹

The domestic and international policies of the Canadian Labour Congress have, since its inception in 1956, been primarily determined by the social-democratic orientation of the leadership of the CLC and of the dominant unions within the Congress.

The historical background to the ascendancy of social democracy within the Canadian labour movement has been well documented elsewhere, most notably by Abella, Laxer, Horowitz and the Saskatoon Solidarity Committee.² This chapter will discuss three inter-related factors that stem from the social-democratic orientation of the CLC, at first in terms of their impact within Canada and then in terms of their application in the developing countries. The three factors are: the promotion of social democracy within the labour movement; the pursuit of bipartite relations between labour and the state, and of tripartite relations between labour, the state and business; and the drive of the CLC's leadership for legitimacy and influence.

Promotion of Social Democracy

In their essay "Beyond Social Democracy," Ralph Miliband and Marcel Liebman make a number of incisive observations on the ideology of social democracy:

[Social democracy] has in essence been a project of moderate reform within the framework of capitalism, a striving, at best, to achieve a better deal for

organized labour and the "lower income groups" inside capitalist society; and this has been linked to the wish to see the state make a more effective contribution to the management of capitalism.³

Specifically, they critique present-day social democracy as seeking to limit the reform which it has itself proposed and implemented, so as to pacify and accommodate capitalist forces; as being deeply concerned to narrow the scope of political activity to carefully controlled party and parliamentary channels; as performing a watchdog function against the spread of socialist ideas and influence in the labour movement; as being supportive of the global counter-revolutionary crusade which capitalist governments have been waging since World War II under the leadership of the United States; and as playing a notable and dishonourable role against liberation movements in the former colonies.⁴

The Canadian labour movement, like many of its European counterparts, has long wished to have its interests represented in the legislative process, both provincially and federally. Organized labour has traditionally regarded the liberal and conservative parties as representing the interests of the corporate sector, and has promoted the emergence of social democratic parties which would adopt a platform based on the interests of labour, i.e. the protection of bargaining gains, enlightened social legislation, progressive occupation health programmes and preservation of trade union rights.

In Canada, the CLC's support for social democracy is shown in its official endorsement of, and close ties with, the New Democratic Party (NDP). The NDP, which defines itself as a social democratic party⁵, was set up in 1961 as a joint initiative of the CLC and the social-democratic Co-operative Commonwealth Federation (CCF), and since then

the CLC leadership has worked continually to champion the NDP as the party that represents the interests of workers.⁶ The linkages between the CLC and the NDP are very extensive, both at the national level and at the provincial levels, where close ties exist between the various federations of labour and the provincial NDP. The CLC provides funds and personnel for the NDP's election machinery⁷ and the internal resources of the CLC - publications, on-the-job canvassing campaigns, conventions, etc. - are placed at the disposal of the NDP.

The enthusiasm of the CLC's leadership for organic links with the NDP is not uniformly shared by the rank-and-file membership. The NDP's willingness to enact back-to-work legislation when in power in the provinces, together with the ambivalence of the party on issues of vital concern to labour (the Saskatchewan NDP, for example, enacted pro-labour legislation when in power but also implemented wage controls in 1976)⁸, has motivated activists in the labour movement to call for independent political action by labour, that is, safeguarding the interests of labour through mobilization, unity and struggle rather than through the electoral option of electing the NDP or any other party claiming to represent labour.⁹ The issue of support for the NDP versus independent political action is an extremely contentious one which surfaces at most labour conventions in Canada, right down to the district and local levels. For now, the pro-NDP position is the dominant one, but the inability of the NDP to attain power at the federal level, together with its anti-labour policies at the provincial level, has called the CLC leadership's policy of unfettered support for the NDP repeatedly into question.¹⁰

At the international level, the CLC's championship of social democracy primarily takes the form of close involvement with the

International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU). According to the CLC's publication Canadian Labour and the World,

Canadian labour's main link with the outside world is the ICFTU...[which], with its almost 70 million members and 125 affiliates in close to 100 countries, is the only free international trade union organization representing workers on all continents and crafts. The CLC and its predecessors, has been among its most active affiliates ever since its inception in 1949.¹¹

The ICFTU is one of the four major labour confederations that link workers on an international basis and operate programmes at the international level. The other three confederations are the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU) which represents some 193 million workers in 73 federations mainly in eastern Europe and the Soviet Union;¹² the World Confederation of Labour (WCL) which has about four million members worldwide and which was formerly the International Federation of Christian Trade Unions; and the American Federation of Labour/Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL/CIO) which is not an international confederation, other than that it links Canadian and American workers, but which maintains a world-wide programme that promotes the particular interests of the AFL/CIO.

The ICFTU was set up as an anti-communist Cold War initiative so as to separate the European unions from the WFTU and to ensure the successful implementation of the Marshall Plan.¹³ The AFL-CIO is presently a member of the ICFTU, having left in 1969 and rejoined in 1981, but the ICFTU primarily represents the European trade unions. Because of the strength within the ICFTU of social democratic unions such as the TUC of Britain, the West German DGB, the Scandinavian union centrals and the Canadian Labour Congress, the ICFTU is in essence a

federation that links and supports social-democratic unions and unionists throughout the world. It works closely with the International Trade Secretariats (ITS) referred to later in this chapter. Its conventions and conferences bring together the leadership of mainly social democratic unions around the world, so as to develop common positions in dealing with, for example, transnational corporations or opposition to apartheid. Through its International Solidarity Fund, and through the coordination of bilateral programmes between its affiliates in the developed countries and those in the Third World, the ICFTU funds many educational and organizational projects in the developing countries. These projects are undertaken only with ICFTU affiliates or with unions being wooed by the ICFTU; support is not provided for unions affiliated with the WFTU or WCL, even when those unions are demonstrably representative of workers in a given country and are doing excellent trade union work.¹⁴

The CLC's relationship with the NDP is paralleled at the international level by the close relationship between the ICFTU and the Socialist International. This is the organization that links social-democratic parties and organizations throughout the world (including the NDP). It has over a hundred affiliates in almost as many countries, including over twenty parties that are currently in power in their respective countries,¹⁵ and is a reflection of the growing influence of social democracy internationally, especially in the Third World.¹⁶

One form that the CLC's involvement with the ICFTU takes is that of personnel linkages. CLC Presidents and other Executive members have filled many prominent positions in the ICFTU, including that of

President, while at least two members of the CLC's International Affairs Department are former ICFTU employees, as is the present Director of the CLC - initiated Commonwealth Trade Union Council. The CLC's official positions on international affairs, e.g., on the Middle East and Central America, are generally those of the ICFTU and as such reflect the ICFTU's social-democratic ideology.¹⁷ Also, the CLC provides funds annually for the ICFTU's International Solidarity Fund, which finances projects with unions in the Third World that are affiliated with the ICFTU or with whom the ICFTU wishes to develop a relationship. (In fact, the CLC's own International Activities Fund was until 1966 known as the "ICFTU Activities Fund of the CLC". The name was changed so as to allow the CLC, once it meets its contribution of \$50,000 per annum to the ICFTU, to employ a surplus on worthwhile bilateral projects outside of the ICFTU mechanism.¹⁸)

The CLC also jointly funds projects with the ICFTU, outside of those financed through the International Solidarity Fund; in fact, many of the projects financially supported by CIDA are CLC-ICFTU joint undertakings. Another linkage is through the International Trade Secretariats (ITS) which bring together at the international level many national unions operating in specific or related trades and industries; for example, the International Federation of Plantation, Agricultural and Allied Workers (IFPAAW) brings together many unions of rural workers throughout the world. The ITS are ostensibly autonomous but in practice have close links with the ICFTU and generally follow ICFTU policies.¹⁹

The Pursuit of Bipartism and Tripartism

By bipartism is meant a cooperative relationship between labour and the state, or between labour and business; by tripartism is meant a

cooperative triangular relationship between labour, the state and business. Counterposed to both bipartism and tripartism is radical or class struggle unionism, which maintains that there is a fundamental, irreconcilable contradiction between the interests of the working class and the interests of capital, whether the latter are expressed directly or through the state, which represents the collective interests of capital.

Bipartism and tripartism are both manifestations of corporatism. Leo Panitch in his study "The Development of Corporatism in Liberal Democracies" identifies the common premise of the many varieties of corporatist theories as being that:

class harmony and organic unity were essential to society and could be secured if the various functional groups, and especially the organizations of capital and labour, were imbued with a conception of mutual rights and obligations....A limited organizational pluralism, generally operating under the aegis of the state as the supreme collective community, would guarantee²⁰ the major value of corporatism--social harmony.

Panitch points out the affinity between social democracy and corporatism, related to social democracy's belief in class cooperation rather than class struggle as the dynamic for social change. He critiques the "gradualism, parliamentarism and tripartism" characteristic of the practice of contemporary social democratic parties.²¹

In Europe, where social democracy has a long history and where the labour movement has long been dominated by social-democratic leadership, bipartism and tripartism are firmly established and institutionalized.²² As a result, labour-capital relationships are to a large extent developed and controlled through various institutions that involve the participation of labour, capital and the state. It is

through such institutions that overall wage agreements (often referred to as "national agreements" or "national understandings") are negotiated, while other tripartite institutions deal with issues such as productivity, occupational health and safety and the impact of technological change. Under this system, the power of the labour leadership is greatly increased and centralized,²³ and the conflicting interests of labour and capital are "managed" at a considerable distance (physically and metaphorically) from the point of production. Despite this, however, there are frequent manifestations of conflict between labour and capital, especially when (as at present) a severe recession greatly limits the ability of capital to deliver the benefits that the system requires if industrial peace is to be secured.²⁴ Such a crisis also undermines the ability of the labour leadership to convince its membership that the social contract is worthwhile.

In Canada, the European tripartite model of industrial relations has made little headway. On government's side, this has been due to a lack of enthusiasm for such a system by successive liberal administrations, who have resisted the corporatist conception of the state implicit in the system.²⁵ On labour's side, tripartism has been promoted by the CLC's leadership but opposed by the more radical trade unions and unionists, especially the growing number of workers in the public sector for whom the state is also the employer. The President of the Canadian Union of Postal Workers said in 1976:

The natural state between labour and capital always has been and will continue to be an adversary one,²⁶

a sentiment echoed by the Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union:

The free enterprise system, be it government or corporations, has never willingly given anything to those who work to produce the profits,²⁷

and by the President of CUPE Saskatchewan Division:

Labour's fight to defeat wage controls has been side-tracked by the CLC's tripartite discussions with business and government. I can think of no better way to kill a militant labour struggle than to call for participation with the enemy at the height of the struggle. This is exactly what the CLC leadership did.²⁸

Discussions around tripartism within the CLC have generated enormous controversy, especially at the 1976 and 1978 Conventions, and have indicated that a major difference exists between the direction advocated by the leadership and that favoured by sectors of the membership.²⁹ These sectors have repeatedly called for an end to all bipartite and tripartite relationships by the CLC - the 1980 CLC Convention received 15 resolutions condemning bipartism and tripartism, which is an exceptionally high number of resolutions for any topic. Yet despite the manifest opposition of some of the CLC's members, the CLC leadership continues to implement a form of "creeping tripartism" by participating in an increasing number of tripartite and bipartite institutions and undertakings. The CLC's enthusiastic participation in the newly established Canadian Labour Market and Productivity Centre, which is a government-financed institution that brings together labour, government and business as co-participants in the planning of components of the Canadian economy, is the most recent manifestation of the CLC's leadership's willingness to pursue tripartism despite the opposition of influential sectors of the membership.³⁰ (It should be noted that the provincial Federations of Labour, which are directly responsible to the CLC, also participate in bipartite and tripartite institutions, again in the face of vocal opposition by some sectors of the membership.³¹)

The question of government funding for labour programmes is a key aspect of the tripartism debate. As indicated previously, the CLC was aware of the sensitivity of the issue, and especially of the possibility of the growth of dependency on government funding, when accepting relatively small amounts from the External Aid Office in the late 1960's. These concerns were of less concern in the mid-1970's, when increasingly large grants were obtained from CIDA for "international" projects, although many of these projects were in fact for labour education programmes in Canada on international development issues (see Appendix 1). According to a senior CIDA official, the approval of these grants caused considerable discussion in government circles, as there was widespread distrust of labour and questioning of the legitimacy of labour's interest in international development. The government was also aware of the precedent that was being set in providing significant state funding for the labour movement.³²

The precedent was set, however, and this facilitated the extension of state funding for labour programmes that began in 1977 when Labour Canada introduced a five-year programme of grants for labour education with the CLC and other labour organizations. Under this programme the CLC received \$15.5 million in the period 1977 to 1983³³ and will receive a further \$10 million in the three-year period from 1983 to 1986 (see Table 2).

There are four significant factors about these grants. The first is that they were initiated "in response to a proposal from the CLC."³⁴ Second, they were referred to in the Throne Speech of 1976, along with a number of other proposals for tripartite institutions such as the Canada Centre for Occupational Safety and Health and the Quality of

TABLE 2

Labour Canada Grants for Labour Education to the CLC

1975-1976	Unspecified Grants
1976-1977	Unspecified Grants
1977-1978	\$ 1,500,000 ("Post-Controls Initiative")
1978-1979	\$ 2,300,000
1979-1980	\$ 2,565,600
1980-1981	\$ 2,803,599
1981-1982	\$ 3,130,932
1982-1983*	<u>\$ 3,223,110</u>
Total 5 Years 1977-1982/83	<u>\$15,523,241</u>

* The programme has subsequently been extended for four more years, to March 31, 1986, for a four-year total of \$10 million.

Growth in Dependency of CLC on Government Funding

<u>Year</u>	<u>Labour Canada Grants to CLC</u>	<u>CIDA Grants to CLC</u>	<u>Total Grants</u>
1980/81	\$2,803,599	\$ 293,898	\$3,097,497
1981/82	3,130,932	569,705	3,700,637
1982/83	3,223,110	554,025	3,777,135
1983/84	2,572,572 (9 months)	1,044,510 (to Oct. only)	3,617,083 (part of year)

These figures reflect the dependency of the CLC on government funding for CLC programmes in Canada and overseas. The CLC's member-financed budget is now around \$7 million: the grants from Labour Canada and CIDA, when complete, will amount to around \$4 million this year. This means that over one-third (36%) of the CLC's total expenditures will come from government this year, and this figure is increasing.

Source: Compiled by author from data provided by Labour Canada and CIDA.

Working Life programme, as "post-control initiatives." In other words, the government saw them as concessions to the labour movement following the imposition of wage controls in 1975.³⁵ Third, these grants were begun when John Munro was the Minister of Labour. Munro is to the left within the Liberal Party and was therefore more supportive of the idea of state financial support for labour. Fourth, the acceptance of these grants by the CLC represented an erosion of the CLC's financial independence, so that by 1983, 36% of the CLC's expenditures were met by the government (see Table 2 for details).

Since 1977 the CLC leadership has further expanded bipartite and tripartite undertakings, but this "creeping tripartism" has not gone unnoticed or unchallenged by articulate sections of the membership. In 1982, the CLC agreed to participate in the Governor-General's Canadian Study Conference, a tripartite initiative "to aid the development and quality of decision making among people who will be in positions of influence and leadership over the next few decades."³⁶ Following controversy and "some confusion" among the membership, the CLC Executive suggested that the Conference be postponed to a later time.³⁷ More recently, the CLC's participation in the Canadian Labour Market and Productivity Centre has been challenged in a resolution to the 1984 CLC Convention by the Canadian Union of Postal Workers (CUPW), who demanded that the CLC instead "get on with the job of providing leadership to the trade union and political struggles of the membership."³⁸ Likewise, the Canadian Union of Public Employees (CUPE), which is Canada's largest union, raised doubts about the Labour Market and Productivity Centre and expressed a "lack of enthusiasm for their assailants' suggestion that they now form a partnership."³⁹ As regards

the relationship with CIDA, a CUPW resolution to the 1984 CLC Convention (see Appendix 5) indicates a concern that government funding will adversely affect the CLC's independence. Tripartism remains a source of contention within the CLC, but the leadership is able to implement it through its firm control of Congress and of its dominant affiliates, and because of the lack of information by the CLC membership as to the extent of the initiatives taken by the leadership.⁴⁰

The international activities of the CLC also reflect the leadership's tripartite preferences. This is most clearly seen in terms of the CLC's relationship with the International Labour Organization (ILO). It is also indicated in an examination of projects undertaken by the CLC overseas.

The ILO, according to a CLC publication, is a "tripartite world body representative of labour, management and government. It disseminates labour information and sets minimum international labour standards, called 'conventions,' offered to member nations for adoption."⁴¹ It is a UN agency, and each member government sends four delegates (two from government, one each from business and labour) to its annual International Labour Conference, which elects a Governing Body made up of twenty-four government representatives and twelve each from business and labour. Thus, as with most tripartite institutions, the assumption is that the government representatives are neutral and that there is equality of representation between business and labour. In practice, of course, governments usually support business, either directly or indirectly, and the combined forces of government and business can at any time outvote and outmaneuver labour.

One commentator has observed that the ILO, "with all its faults, seems to be the only world body that can fight for workers' rights and try to protect workers."⁴² But while it is true that the ILO has been of value to workers, another perception of the ILO is revealed in a 1977 U.S. government study that made the case for continued U.S. membership in the ILO. That report stated that the U.S. should be seeking new ways within the ILO "for the promotion of free enterprise philosophy and protection of foreign and domestic interests of the U.S." The report continued that one of the unstated reasons for the U.S. establishing the ILO "was to combat radicalism in the labour unions."⁴³

The CLC's relationship with the ILO resembles its relationship with the ICFTU in that it is long-standing, prominent and cemented by many linkages of personnel. Many senior CLC executives have played major roles in the ILO, the most notable being Joe Morris (nicknamed "Geneva Joe" because of his frequent visits to the headquarters of the ILO). Morris, who was then President of the CLC and leader of the Canadian workers' delegation to the ILO, was appointed Chairman of the ILO in 1977 (Morris was also later to become a member of the tripartite Brandt Commission). CLC publications carry reports on the ILO regularly, while two former directors of the CLC's International Affairs Department subsequently moved to positions with the ILO. Another connection was through Bruce Gillies who prior to being seconded to the CLC by External Affairs worked with the ILO.

In 1983 the CLC undertook its first CIDA-financed project with the ILO. The project has a CIDA input of \$499,000 and is the single largest project financed by CIDA for the independent trade union

organizations of trade workers in South Africa and Namibia. The project, which will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 6, will be administered by the former CLC/ICFTU Project Planner for Southern Africa. Fellowships provided under the project will involve a three-month stay at the ILO's vocational training centre in Turin, Italy, and will focus on high-level union staff development.⁴⁴

In addition to its participation in the ILO, the CLC is also represented on the Trade Union Advisory Council (TUAC) of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD). The OECD brings together the governments of Europe, Canada, the U.S., Australia, New Zealand and Japan. The role of TUAC, which brings together ICFTU and WCL unions, is to advise the OECD on labour matters.

As regards projects, a direct example of the CLC's promotion of tripartism through its international projects is the Fifth Duke of Edinburgh Commonwealth Study Conference, which was held in Canada in 1980. The CLC contributed \$80,000 (see Appendix 1). According to the account published in Canadian Labour:

Three hundred representatives from 32 Commonwealth countries spent 21 days studying "People in an Industrialized Society" under the chairmanship of H.R.H. Prince Philip. Divided into 20 groups, they visited every region of Canada, meeting with labour, business and community leaders. Following CLC Executive Vice-President Shirley Carr's address on the state of siege that unions currently face in Canada, members shook their heads in disbelief. At the end of 21 days, there was an understanding but an expressed regret, that the adversarial system continues, and concern about our future.

Delegates...concluded that business, labour and government must work closer together to improve health and safety conditions provide employment for youth and prepare for the technological revolution.⁴⁵

This is a clear instance of the use of the project mechanism to promote tripartism internationally. Given the close identification of the tripartite approach with social democracy, however, the question can be raised as to whether the labour education programmes undertaken by the CLC in the developing countries, especially those undertaken in conjunction with the ICFTU, advocate tripartism as a solution to labour's problems. The same question can be raised in relation to the labour education programmes on international issues that are organized by the CLC for Canadian labour leaders, often with CIDA funding. This would require close study of the content and structure of these programmes and is beyond the scope of this paper.

The Drive for Legitimacy and Influence

The House of Labour, as the CLC is sometimes referred to, is a house divided, and its social-democratic leadership presides over an institution which is subjected to many conflicting tensions and demands.⁴⁶ These would include the unresolved struggle between the social-democratic and more radical tendencies in the labour movement; the antipathy between the newer public sector unions and the older-established, numerically smaller, private sector unions; the ongoing dispute with the building trades, who broke away from the CLC in 1981 to establish the Canadian Federation of Labour; the financial, organizational and directional problems caused by rising unemployment; and the growing attack on labour by business and government as the economic crisis continues.

In addition, the CLC has to deal with the internal problems that are common to most bureaucracies - the need for financial stability,

for career advancement opportunities for its bureaucrats, for control, and for legitimacy both from its own membership and from external sources, especially business and government.

The CLC's response to these external and internal demands is affected by immediate and subjective factors, but is determined primarily by its social-democratic ideology. The CLC in fact displays a remarkable consistency in its allegiance to that ideology and in applying it to the changing circumstances of the labour movement, through, for example, the pursuit of tripartism.

In order to maintain its control and influence over its membership, the CLC has worked to legitimize itself. As regards its own membership, this has involved the maintenance of a balance of action and posturing, with an emphasis on the latter.⁴⁷ Towards business the CLC has adopted a policy of tough public talk and back-room "understandings." As for government, David Kwavnick has commented on "the excessive concern of the Congress leadership to secure recognition and acceptance of their organization as the voice of organized labour in Canada."⁴⁸ The CLC also, despite its apparent hostility towards government, looks to government to mediate between labour and capital in a tripartite division of power. It also looks to government for funds that will allow the CLC to increase its programmes and thereby its legitimacy and influence, both with its membership and within the overall political economy of Canada.

The relationship with CIDA has helped the CLC to achieve greater legitimacy and influence. Using CIDA funds, the CLC has increased the size of its International Affairs Department, in terms of staff (from two in 1975 to at least nine today) and in terms of the number and

value of projects undertaken. The creation of additional staff positions has given the CLC an opportunity both to advance its political agenda overseas and to dispense a form of patronage within the labour movement, as well as increasing the authority of the CLC hierarchy. The projects that have been undertaken in Canada have allowed the CLC to provide more education programmes with labour leadership, thereby enhancing the CLC's image and influence, for example, at the CLC's Summer and Winter Schools, which attract trade union staff and elected delegates from across Canada. Overall, the CLC's budget and organization structure has grown, with resulting growth in resources and impact.

Another instance of the CLC's quest for legitimization with CIDA support was the 1980 creation within the CLC's International Affairs Department of the position of "Development Education Animator."⁴⁹ The dual role of this position was to coordinate within the CLC education programmes on international issues, such as are offered at labour summer schools, seminars, etc., and to provide information on international labour issues to the NGO constituency in Canada (the same constituency as is dealt with by the CLC's funding source in CIDA, i.e., NGO Division). The Development Education Animator position therefore served to legitimize the CLC's international work and furthermore to ensure that other NGO's ability to undertake educational work with CLC-affiliated unions was monitored and controlled.

The Development Education programme was expanded considerably since it was set up. In 1980-81 CIDA provided \$32,000 and the CLC \$19,250; in 1981-82 the respective contributions were \$39,650 and \$18,650 respectively, while in 1982-83 they increased to \$66,854 for

CIDA and \$25,613 for the CLC for a period of two years (see Appendix 1).

The CLC's international status has also improved as a result of the CIDA grants. This is especially true of the CLC's position within the ICFTU, as the CLC is now routing increasing amounts of funds through the ICFTU and the International Trade Secretariats, as well as providing five project officers (in Asia, Latin America, Anglophone Africa, Francophone Africa and the Caribbean) on secondment to the ICFTU. Thus John Harker, International Affairs Director for the CLC, could claim in 1979 that "it is widely acknowledged now that the CLC is the pivotal affiliate of the ICFTU."⁵⁰ Also, the \$499,000 project with South African and Namibian workers (previously referred to) raises the CLC's profile within the ILO and by virtue of its large size, increases the CLC's influence in relation to South Africa.

The relationship with CIDA has also allowed the CLC to expand its overseas work on a bilateral basis, outside of the ICFTU. This has long been an objective of the CLC, which limited its international projects to participation in the ICFTU's International Solidarity fund for many years so as to emphasize Canadian labour's separateness from the questionable international activities of the AFL-CIO.⁵¹ Thus the CLC's International Activities Fund was renamed (as indicated previously) and expanded. A bilateral programme was initiated in 1978-79 with the funding of the "Administration Training for Unionists" project in Zambia (CLC \$37,500; CIDA \$12,500), which CLC President McDermott referred to as "the first major direct assistance programme the CLC has developed in many years."⁵²

In the same year the CLC also took another initiative in setting up a working party, chaired by former CLC President Joe Morris, aimed at creating a Commonwealth Trade Union Council (CTUC). CIDA provided \$50,000 and the CLC \$16,700 towards the costs of the Working Party, and CLC International Affairs Director John Harker was sent to London for six months as administrator. The initiative in setting up the CTUC came from the CLC which had for many years joined trade unionists from other Commonwealth countries in meeting to discuss matters of mutual concern following the annual ILO Conferences.⁵³ The CLC saw in the creation of the CTUC an opportunity for the CLC to increase its own international influence without being in competition with the ICFTU, and to displace a waning British influence with the trade unions of the Commonwealth.⁵⁴ It also provided an alternative international vehicle for the CLC should the European unions of the ICFTU become increasingly preoccupied with the new European Trade Union Confederation at the expense of the ICFTU's international programmes.

Following the establishment of the CTUC, CLC President Dennis McDermott was elected as its first chairman, and a former ICFTU staffperson, Carl Wright, became its first director. In 1980 the CLC provided \$25,000 for the CTUC, matched by CIDA's \$75,000, and in 1981 the CLC provided another \$12,500, with CIDA supplying an additional \$61,962. Since then, the CLC and CIDA have jointly funded a number of projects through the CTUC, including projects in Zimbabwe and Belize, while a \$120,000 project awaiting approval by CIDA will provide assistance to trade unions in Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland and Zimbabwe, "with occasional assistance to other Trade Union National Centres in SADCC countries (Southern Africa Development Coordination

Conference - Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe) as required."⁵⁵

Clearly the CTUC mechanism gives the CLC and ICFTU a useful mechanism for operating in the two important countries of Zimbabwe and South Africa. And just as clearly CIDA funding for the CLC's international projects facilitates the CLC's growing influence on labour unions throughout the world, either directly or through the ICFTU, the ILO or the CTUC.

References

- 1 Judy Darcy, "Does the Union Make Us Strong?" in Canadian Dimension, Vol. 17, No. 4, Sept. 1983, p. 35.
- 2 Irving Abella, The Canadian Labour Movement, 1902-1960 (Ottawa: Canadian Historical Association, 1975); Robert Laxer, Canada's Unions (Toronto: Lorimer, 1976); Gad Horowitz, Canadian Labour in Politics (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1968); Saskatoon Solidarity Committee, Partners in Imperialism (Saskatoon: 1981).
- 3 Ralph Miliband and Marcel Liebman, "Beyond Social Democracy," in Miliband, Saville, Liebman and Panitch (Eds.), Socialist Register 1985/86 (London: Merlin Press, 1986), p. 477.
- 4 Ibid., pp. 478-479.
- 5 NDP - A Guide to the New Democratic Party, (Ottawa: NDP, 1984).
- 6 See, for example, "Unionists Hail NDP for Vow to Tax Rich", Globe and Mail, May 30, 1984.
- 7 Nick Fillmore, "The Right Stuff", Canadian Dimension, June/July 1986.
- 8 Saskatchewan Labour, October 1977, p. 1.
- 9 See Canadian Dimension issues dealing with CLC conventions, especially Aug./Sept. 1976, June and August 1980, June 1982. Also Cy Gonick, "The Growing Left in the CLC", Canadian Dimension, Oct./Nov., 1982.
- 10 Ibid.
- 11 Canadian Labour Congress, "Notes on Labour", No. 6.
- 12 CLAT Report (Brussels), August 1984, p. 1
- 13 Michael J. Sussman, AIFLD: U.S. Trojan Horse (Washington: EPICA, 1983), p. 2.
- 14 Darcy, op. cit., p. 35.
- 15 Socialist International Annual Report 1983.
- 16 See, for example, James Petras, "The Growing Intervention of Social Democracy in Latin America", unpublished paper, 1981.
- 17 See the international section of Canadian Labour, 1973-1983.
- 18 Canadian Labour, May 1968, p. 72.
- 19 Labour Canada, Directory of Labour Organizations of Canada, 1983, p. 238.

- 20 Leo Panitch, Working Class Politics in Crisis (London: Verso Press, 1986), p. 132.
- 21 Ibid., p. 5.
- 22 See, for example, John P. Windmuller, Labour Relations in the Netherlands (New York: Cornell, 1969), pp. 435-438.
- 23 Leo Panitch, "Labour's Manifesto", This Magazine, Nov./Dec. 1986.
- 24 See, for example, Leo Panitch, Social Democracy and Industrial Militancy: the Labour Party, the Trade Unions and Incomes Policy 1945-1974 (London: Cambridge University Press, 1976).
- 25 Anthony Giles, "The Canadian Labour Congress and Tripartism", Industrial Relations, Vol. 37, No. 1, 1982, p. 123.
- 26 Quoted in Canadian Dimension, Vol. 11, No. 7.
- 27 Ibid.
- 28 Quoted in Canadian Dimension, Vol. 12, No. 4/5.
- 29 For a thorough analysis of this controversy, see Giles, op. cit.
- 30 See "Government-Business-Labour Accord" in CUPE Facts, March 1984.
- 31 "Bipartism and Tripartism - Who Wins?", The Forge, May 21, 1982, p. 5.
- 32 Interview with CIDA official, April 1984.
- 33 Based on figures supplied to author by Labour Canada, December 1983.
- 34 Labour Canada Annual Report 1977, p. 26.
- 35 Interview with CIDA official, April 1984.
- 36 Canadian Labour, January 1982, p. 6.
- 37 Canadian Labour, October 1982, p. 11.
- 38 CUPW Resolution to 1984 CLC Convention, Resolutions Handbook.
- 39 CUPE "The Facts", Vol. 6, No. 2, p. 12.
- 40 "Labour's Quiet Evolution", Globe and Mail, March 24, 1984.
- 41 Canadian Labour Congress, Notes on Labour, No. 5.
- 42 Don Thomson and Rodney Larson, Where Were You, Brother? (London: War on Want, 1978), p. 85.

- 43 Quoted in Ibid., p. 126.
- 44 Canadian Labour, November-December 1983, p. 6.
- 45 Canadian Labour, July 11, 1980, p. 13.
- 46 Geoff Bickerton, "The CLC at Thirty", Canadian Dimension, May 1986.
- 47 Bryan D. Palmer, Working Class Experience: The Rise and Reconstitution of Canadian Labour 1800-1980 (Toronto: Butterworth, 1983), pp. 293-298.
- 48 David Kwavnick, op. cit., p. 217.
- 49 Canadian Labour, December 1980.
- 50 Quoted in Saskatoon Solidarity Committee, op. cit., p. 24.
- 51 Interview with CIDA official, April 1983.
- 52 Canadian Labour, November 30, 1979.
- 53 Interview with CIDA official, April 1983.
- 54 Interview with CIDA official, April 1983.
- 55 CLC Project Application to CIDA, 1984.

CHAPTER FIVEAn Overview of the CIDA/CLC Projects

Table 3 shows the breakdown of CIDA/CLC projects for the years 1969 to 1983, by sponsoring institutions and by geographic area.

Table 3

Analysis of CIDA/CLC Projects by Sponsoring
Institution and Geographic Area, 1969 to October 1983

<u>Sponsoring Institution</u>	<u>No. of Projects</u>	<u>CIDA Input</u>
ICFTU/ITS	34	\$2,596,315
CLC Directly Sponsored, in Canada	20	494,843
CTUC in Canada	1	80,000
CTUC Overseas	7	369,744
ILO	1	499,000
CLC Directly Sponsored Overseas	<u>1</u>	<u>125,287</u>
TOTALS	<u>64</u>	<u>\$4,170,589</u>
<u>Geographic Area</u>		
Africa - Anglophone/Francophone Dual Projects	2	118,280
- Anglophone, Excluding South Africa	4	388,607
- Francophone	1	167,002
- South Africa	<u>3</u>	<u>617,800</u>
Subtotal, Africa	<u>10</u>	<u>1,291,689</u>
Asia	12	479,673
Caribbean and Central America	8	552,059
Latin America	6	564,362
Multinational	<u>7</u>	<u>707,963</u>
TOTALS	<u>43</u>	<u>3,595,746</u>
Plus: Canada	<u>21</u>	<u>574,843</u>
	<u>64</u>	<u>\$4,170,589</u>

Source: Tabulated by author from data provided by CIDA.

Sponsoring Organization: These are listed in declining order of frequency, as follows:

1. ICFTU/ITS

Between them, the ICFTU and the International Trade Secretariats sponsored 34 projects (79%) of the 43 overseas projects financed by CIDA and the CLC in the given period. Of the total of 34, 28 are with the ICFTU and 6 with the ITS. ICFTU projects have been funded by the CLC and CIDA since 1970, are geographically widely distributed and remain a major component of the CLC/CIDA programme. The ITS projects have been primarily in Asia.

The funding by CIDA in 1983/84 of further two-year placements of CLC/ICFTU Project Officers in five regions of the world will result in a continued flow of ICFTU (and, to a lesser extent, CTUC) projects to the CLC and CIDA.

2. CLC Projects in Canada

One third of all CIDA/CLC projects have been in respect of projects in Canada (21 out of 64), and these have been primarily for the international affairs component of CLC conferences, schools and seminars held across Canada. Four of these projects, with a total CIDA input of \$168,246, have been in respect of hiring staff (Development Education Animators) for the CLC's International Affairs Department.

The total expenditure of CIDA funds on this category amounts to \$574,843. It should be noted that these projects constitute a form of tied aid (see p. 41). The financial contributions made by NGO's to Canada's Official Development Assistance (ODA) figure are generally regarded as being completely untied, i.e. as not requiring the purchase of Canadian goods and services,¹ but this is not the case - administra-

tion costs and education programmes are primarily incurred in Canada and should be excluded from ODA calculations.

Although six CLC projects in respect of Canadian labour education were funded by CIDA in 1981/82, only one was funded in 1982/83 and none had been requested up to October 1983 in respect of the financial year 1983/84. It may be that the availability of Labour Canada grants has superceded the need for CIDA funds in this area, with the exception of funding for the Development Education Animator positions.

3. CTUC Projects

While the CTUC is a long way from displacing the ICFTU as the prime recipient of CIDA/CLC funds, this sector has grown steadily since funding was first provided in 1978/79. The initial grants were made to the fledgling CTUC itself, but more recent grants have been channelled to Commonwealth trade unions via the CTUC, in Belize, Barbados, Jamaica and Zimbabwe. The proposed Worker Training Programme with the SADCC countries of southern Africa will provide the CLC with an opportunity to establish contacts with trade unions in all of the countries of southern Africa, and projects from these countries can be expected to flow to the CLC and CIDA in the coming years.

4. ILO Project

This project, "Education Assistance for Black Workers in South Africa" is one of the most recent CIDA-CLC undertakings, and its importance within the South African context will be examined in the next chapter. As regards the project itself, the Director of the CLC's International Affairs Department has stated:

The ILO/CIDA/CLC project is an integral campaign of the ILO Programme of Action against Apartheid and we have assigned Roger Falconer of the Steelworkers to work on the project full-time for a year. By the way, the proposal was changed when we put in Roger. We insisted with ILO that he be paid a salary more in line with his CLC job than with the UN, and the budget was thus reduced. Roger will, of course, have to be replaced² as our Project Planner for Anglophone Africa.

What is unusual about this project is that it represents an international overlapping between the functions of Labour Canada (the federal department of labour) and CIDA. In the past, the Canadian government's involvement in the ILO has been exclusively through Labour Canada, which has an annual budgetary allocation for Canadian participation in the ILO. This project supplements Canadian financial support for the ILO through CIDA funding, and it parallels on the international level the overlap that now exists between Labour Canada and CIDA in the funding of labour education programmes in Canada.

5. CLC Directly Sponsored Overseas

The fact that the CLC has undertaken only one project overseas on a bilateral basis (the Zambian Administration Training for Unionists project of 1978/79, already referred to) is a reflection of several factors. An obvious factor is the CLC's limitations as regards finances and as regards the identification, implementation and evaluation of projects. The placement of the CLC/ICFTU Project Planners overseas greatly increases the CLC's ability to find and monitor projects, however, and directly-sponsored projects can be expected to increase. Other considerations, however, may counterbalance this tendency, especially the CLC's continued loyalty to the ICFTU and the availability of the CLC-initiated CTUC mechanism.

Further bilateral initiatives would underscore the CLC's influence and capabilities but would present some risk for the CLC in terms of possible competition with the ICFTU and in terms of possible political problems for the CLC, given the close relationship that often exists between Third World trade unions and political parties and movements.³

The CLC has to be fully aware of the possible political implications of support for a particular Third World union or confederation of unions. It is clear, for example, that the Zambian project presented no problems in this regard, as it was undertaken with the Zambia Congress of Trade Unions, which is the only labour confederation in Zambia and is firmly under the control of Zambia's UNIP government.

Geographic Distribution of the CIDA/CLC Projects

As can be seen from Table 3, more of the CIDA-CLC projects are undertaken in Canada than anywhere else (21 out of 64). Of the remaining 43 projects, 10 have been undertaken in Africa, 12 in Asia, 8 in the Caribbean and Central America, 6 in Latin America and 7 have been multinational in that they apply to more than one continent. This distribution of CIDA-CLC projects is, of course, not random but reflects a convergence of the objectives and capabilities of the CLC, its relationship with the ICFTU and more recently the CTUC; the relative spheres of influence of the ICFTU, the AFL-CIO, the WFTU and the WCF; geographical factors; Canadian interests, broadly defined, and especially as perceived by CIDA, the funding agency; and the international political economy, especially as regards the interests of international social democracy. A limited application of these factors, by region, follows.

1. Africa

The decline and attempted revitalization of ICFTU fortunes in Africa can be seen in the CLC/CIDA projects. The first major overseas project undertaken with CIDA funding was for ICFTU Human Resources Workshops in Nigeria, Dahomey, Senegal, Mexico and Barbados (1970/71). The ICFTU's fortunes in Africa were then at a low ebb⁴ and were further undermined by the setting up of the Organization of African Trade Unity (OATUU) which brought together the two major all-Africa labour confederations and which was determinedly independent of affiliation with the ICFTU, WCL, WFTU and AFL-CIO. ICFTU influence was also diminished by the decolonization process, which weakened the position of ICFTU affiliates, such as the TUC of Britain.

This project also reflected the growth of CIDA's interest in Francophone Africa, which in turn reflected the Canadian government's wish to limit Quebec's sovereignty claims by establishing federal hegemony in the area of aid to Francophone Africa.⁵ The second CIDA-CLC project in Africa - a Labour Union Education Programme that was done through the ICFTU in 1976 and brought together labour leaders from four Anglophone and eight Francophone programmes - also reflected this attention to Francophone Africa.

In 1978/79 two CIDA-CLC projects were funded for Africa. One was the setting up of a Working Party to establish the CTUC, which was a key component in the ICFTU-CLC strategy for renewed influence in southern Africa,⁶ and in Asia. The other project was the Zambia Administration Training for Unionists which was originally also intended for trade unionists from Zimbabwe. It was decided, however, to split the project and to leave the Zimbabwe component until after independence, which came two years later.⁷

Following the establishment of the CTUC, CIDA/CLC projects were approved for CTUC administration costs in 1980 and 1981. Also in 1981 came approval for the hiring of the CLC/IFTU Project Planners, which for the first time placed CLC staff in Anglophone and Francophone Africa.

The first CIDA/CLC/CTUC field project was also approved in 1981 to do educational work with the Zimbabwean Congress of Trade Unions (ZCTU), which in 1981 united all six labour federations in Zimbabwe. The choice of Zimbabwe is significant because of Zimbabwe's relatively advanced economy, its social-democratic orientation, its growing working class, its rich natural resources (including strategically important minerals) and its proximity to South Africa. The ICFTU has been working in Zimbabwe for years, as have the ITS and the social-democratic Friedrich Ebert foundation. The ICFTU has provided training courses, funding for the unity conference in 1981, and funding for the new ZCTU Labour College.⁸ The social-democratic government of Norway provided a course in company and union economics,⁹ and the ILO, which allots more money to Africa than to any other region, has organized seminars on workers education and "advanced training abroad for key personnel."¹⁰ The CTUC representative "has a desk in with the ZCTU and seems to be working with them closely."¹¹

But social democracy faces stiff competition for influence in the Zimbabwean workers' movement. The African American Labour Centre of the AFL/CIO has a representative in Zimbabwe and the AALC (which is widely believed to be funded by the CIA and which also gets funds from major multi-national companies with investments in Africa¹²) does a lot of educational work there. The ZCTU also receives assistance from

Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, China and the Soviet Union. The non-aligned OATUU is also involved, in worker-education programmes.

Canada is also interested in Zimbabwe, partly because of Canadian investments and trade opportunities, but also because of Zimbabwe's influential position in southern Africa, its proximity to South Africa, and joint participation in the Commonwealth by Canada and Zimbabwe. Canada quickly opened a High Commission in Harare, Zimbabwe after independence, and this can be an indication of opportunities for Canadian trade and investment opportunities. The High Commission in Harare also provides Canada with a forward listening-post in relation to South Africa.

The three most recent CLC/CIDA projects have been in South Africa itself, and these will be examined in the next chapter. The Project Planner positions were extended by CIDA in 1983 for another two years, including those in Anglophone and Francophone Africa. Two projects were awaiting CIDA approval as of April 1984. One is for the extension of the CTUC/ZCTU project for another year. The extension provides for salary and administration costs for a CTUC representative in Zimbabwe; the production of written materials for study circles; a workshop in Harare for 30 participants, including 9 from Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland; and training for six senior ZCTU officials at the TUC's Ruskin College, in England, for ten weeks. (In passing, it is interesting to note that ICFTU/CTUC/CLC trade union courses are almost invariably for Third World union leaders and rarely, if ever, for the rank-and-file.) An interesting innovation in terms of the CLC's handling of this project is that the CLC is requesting a 10% administration fee from CIDA on top of the project's budget. Other

NGO's have succeeded in getting CIDA to contribute to their administration costs by this mechanism which, in this case, would give the CLC's International Affairs Department a \$4,151 fee for mediating between CIDA and the CTUC.

The second "pending" project has already been referred to, i.e. the CTUC Worker Training Project with the SADCC. This project is a direct outcome of the Harare workshop mentioned above, in that the delegates to that workshop (held in May 1983) recommended that a CTUC project of educational assistance be developed for Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland, with occasional assistance to Malawi, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe, as requested by those countries. The project is for three years and will cost \$448,000, of which \$120,000 is being requested from CIDA.

As regards Francophone Africa, no CIDA-CLC projects have been undertaken since 1976, other than the ongoing funding of the CLC/ICFTU Project Planner. An item in Canadian Labour of October 1983, "illustrates the kind of positive work accomplished in the developing countries by the CLC-sponsored project planners working for the ICFTU,"¹³ i.e., the provision of a fleet of trucks to the government of Chad (then being maintained in power by French troops) "to assist it in delivering food where it is most needed." The trucks were donated jointly by the Socialist International and the West German Association of Worker-Samaritans. The fleet will later be turned over to the Chadian Labour Federation. The other projects from Francophone Africa are presumably being funded by the ICFTU.

To conclude, the CLC-CIDA projects in Southern Africa show clearly the resurgence of ICFTU interest and influence in that area, and the

role being played by the CLC in that resurgence. CLC support for the CTUC has been instrumental in getting projects underway in a growing number of countries in the region, and the placement of the ICFTU/CLC Project Planner in Anglophone Africa has resulted in the initiation of projects within South Africa itself.

2. Asia

Of the 12 CIDA/CLC projects in Asia, five have been in India, two in the Philippines, one in Malaysia, and four in respect of project planners with the ICFTU. All of these projects have been with the ICFTU, or with the related ITS, especially the International Federation of Plantation, Agricultural and Allied Workers.

The prototype of the CLC/ICFTU project planner mechanism was developed in Asia, with the location of a partly CIDA-funded CLC staffperson in Singapore on secondment to the ICFTU in 1978/79. This project was extended the following year and provided the model on which the project planner proposal for five regions, including Asia, was made to CIDA in 1981.

The CLC's initiative in setting up the CTUC also has implications for future programming in Asia, but no CTUC projects in Asia have yet been submitted to CIDA.

Overall, the CLC's relative lack of activity in Asia appears to be due to the increasing prominence given to other programmes, especially in Africa. In this it parallels a major shift that has occurred in Canadian bilateral aid, where the percentage given to Asia declined from 69% in 1970/71 to 39% in 1979/80 while the percentage given to Africa rose from 21% to 48% in the same period.¹⁴ CIDA's declining interest in Asia is due to limited Canadian investment and trade with

the region; to the high level of aid given to Asia by other western development agencies; to the expansion of the African and Latin American programmes; and "because of political concerns about countries of the region."¹⁵

3. The Caribbean and Central America

CIDA and the CLC have co-sponsored eight projects in this region - of these, seven have been in the Caribbean and one in both the Caribbean and Central America. Four of the projects have been done through the ICFTU and four through the CTUC. Six of the projects have been in the area of education, and the remaining two have been in respect of the ICFTU/CLC project planner positions. At least three of the education projects have involved the sending of Canadian trade unionists to labour institutes and research centres in the Caribbean. CLC/CIDA support for the CTUC also helps to raise the profile of Canadian trade unionism in the Caribbean.

CLC links with the Caribbean go back to the mid-1960s, when students were brought to Montreal for courses held at the Labour College of Canada that were financed by CIDA's predecessor, the External Aid Office. In 1969 the CLC made a small direct grant to the Library of the Barbados Workers Union, and the CLC's incoming Director of International Affairs at the time, John Simonds, had formerly been the ICFTU's special representative in the Caribbean.¹⁶ The CLC brought the General Secretary of the Trinidad and Tobago Labour Congress to Ottawa in 1970¹⁷, and the 'Human Resources' project undertaken in the same year by the ICFTU, with CIDA and CLC funding, included a workshop for trade unionists in Barbados.

The CLC's relatively high profile in the Caribbean is understandable, given the geographic proximity, the Commonwealth connection and the strong Canadian interest in the region. Canada has long-standing historic links with the Caribbean,¹⁸ Canadian banks are very prominent in the region, Canadian direct investments are in the region of \$1 billion,¹⁹ and Canadian industry is well established, especially in the bauxite industry. Canada's programme to the Caribbean, which was described in a Cabinet document as "a useful support for peace and stability within the region and hence an effective support for all Canadian interests,"²⁰ is rapidly increasing and the Caribbean is already the highest per capita recipient of Canadian bilateral aid. There is also growing cooperation between the U.S. and Canada in providing aid to the region, due to the growing strategic importance of the area to the U.S. and Canada's wish to preserve its interests there.

As regards Central America, CLC/CIDA involvement has been limited to two initiatives. One of these is a substantial 1982 Project with the Belize Trade Union Institute, towards which CIDA donated \$107,595 and the CLC \$9,095. Belize is a Commonwealth country (formerly British Honduras) which borders Guatemala and has not, so far, been part of the revolutionary process that is taking place elsewhere in Central America, especially in Nicaragua, Guatemala and El Salvador. Belize is, however, "on the rim of the cauldron" and the Socialist International has shown an interest in promoting social democracy in that country."²¹ The CLC/CIDA project was carried out through the CTUC after a feasibility study had been carried out by the Canadian Education Director of the United Auto Workers. As part of the project,

an instructor training course was held in Belize by the Canadian Education Director of the United Steelworkers of America.²²

The CLC's involvement elsewhere in Central America has been limited by the AFL-CIO's extensive programmes there, through the American Institute for Free Labour Development, whose activities have been well documented.²³ The CLC, with some CIDA, Air Canada and Canadian Armed Forces support, did become involved in Nicaragua in 1979. The CLC organized "Operation Solidarity" to airlift \$500,000 worth of emergency aid materials to Nicaragua. This aid was channelled primarily through a tiny, and discredited, ICFTU affiliate in Nicaragua, the Confederation de Unificacion Sindical (CUS). The CUS was also supported by the AFL-CIO (in fact it operated out of the U.S. Embassy) and was one of two unions allowed to operate under the Somoza dictatorship.²⁴ The CLC's support for the CUS was an indication of the importance that international social democracy, and the ICFTU, attached to Nicaragua and to Central America. It was also an indicator of the ICFTU and CLC's determination to support the ICFTU affiliate, despite its non-representativeness in the Nicaraguan trade union movement, while denying support to the WFTU affiliate, the CST, which represented the majority of Nicaraguan non-agricultural workers. Social democracy remains very interested in Nicaragua, but its support is now evidenced more through international diplomatic activity than through the ICFTU link.

4. Latin America

The CLC has funded at least six projects in Latin America with CIDA support. All of these have been sponsored by the ICFTU, including two projects to fund the CLC/ICFTU project planner in Latin America.

The CLC's first direct venture into funding third world projects (that is, outside of the ICFTU's International Solidarity Fund) was in Ecuador. In 1967 the CLC made a \$1,000 grant to six rural communities in that country,²⁵ following a request by a CUSO volunteer whose father was the CLC's Director of Research at the time. This appears to be the only instance of a CLC humanitarian project with no labour links.

One of the CLC/CIDA projects in Latin America - the Columbia "Assistance to Taxi Co-op" venture of 1982, with \$59,000 of CIDA input - seems anomalous in that it is with a co-op rather than with a union and is direct rather than done through a mediating institution. Another project, the Cuernavaca Labour School project of 1970, brings up the question of the ICFTU and CLC relationship with the AFL/CIO, and the related question of spheres of influence.

The Inter-American Regional Organization of Workers (ORIT) is the ICFTU's Regional affiliate in Latin America, but when it was set up in 1951, ORIT was very much under the control of the AFL. Its affiliates were weak, however, and so the AFL-CIO (following their merger in 1955) set up the American Institute of Free Labour Development (AIFLD) in 1961 so as to allow the AFL/CIO to operate more freely in Latin America. The AIFLD was planned and supported by the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), which required a better vehicle than ORIT for its purposes.²⁶ The AFL/CIO withdrew from the ICFTU in 1969 but did not withdraw from ORIT, as the AFL/CIO wanted to monitor and influence developments there as well as through the AIFLD. So struggle has continued within ORIT as the social-democratic tendency attempted to reassert its influence within ORIT and to clear up its image, badly tarnished by its identification with the AFL/CIO/CIA in the eyes of the Latin American labour movement.

In 1970 the CLC, with the aid of a \$75,000 grant from CIDA, undertook to double the size of ORIT's Inter-American Institute for Labour Studies in Cuernavaca, Mexico. This Institute served 29 countries in the Caribbean, Central and South America and CLC support for the project was a major profile-building exercise. The Canadian Minister of Labour visited the project following its opening.²⁷

(As an aside, it can be recorded that the Institute, which former CIA agent Philip Agee described tersely as being "financed and controlled by the CIA"²⁸, has since been handed over by ORIT to the Mexican labour movement for use as a training centre.)

In recent years the CLC has played a prominent role in the rehabilitation of ORIT, i.e., moving it away from U.S. influence and back under ICFTU control. The placement of CLC/ICFTU project planners and monitors in Latin America has contributed to this increased role for social democracy in Latin America, and CIDA has funded four such projects.

Canada's interests in Latin America are substantial, and, as with the Caribbean, have a considerable history. Canada has always deferred to the U.S. in what the latter has long regarded as its backyard, and Canadian aid to the region did not begin until after the Cuban Revolution. The possibility that other revolutions might take root in Latin America alarmed the Americans, who put pressure on Canada to become more involved in the region. It also alarmed Canada, which saw the need for Canada to develop an identity for itself, separate from that of the U.S., in Latin America. So while Canada in general co-operated with the U.S. in this area, on occasion - for example, in its refusal to boycott Cuba - Canada declined to go along with the U.S.

and acted more in its own interests.²⁹ Canada's overall policy towards Latin America remains one of supporting the U.S. so as to protect mutual interests, e.g., in Chile, while on occasion pursuing a course that is believed to be more in Canadian economic and diplomatic interests, e.g., refusing to join the Organization of American States despite U.S. pressure to do so.³⁰

Multinational Projects

Most of the CIDA/CLC 'multinational' projects have already been referred to, especially those for the CTUC. The Agency Project fund set up in 1981/82 "did not meet the needs of the CLC at that time and was consequently closed."³¹

References

- 1 See, for example, Gary Gallon, "The Aid Fix: Pushers and Addicts" in International Perspectives (Department of External Affairs, Ottawa), November-December 1983.
- 2 Letter to author from John Harker, February 22, 1984.
- 3 Interview with CIDA official, April 1984.
- 4 Ken Luckhart and Brenda Wall, A History of the South Africa Congress of Trade Unions (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1980), p. 394.
- 5 Carty and Smith, op. cit., p. 60.
- 6 Saskatoon Solidarity Committee, op cit., p. 25.
- 7 CLC Project Application to CIDA.
- 8 Harare Herald (Zimbabwe), February 4, 1983.
- 9 Moto Magazine (Zimbabwe), September 1983.
- 10 Harare Herald, April 8, 1983.
- 11 Letter to author from faculty member at University of Zimbabwe, December 1983.
- 12 Moto, September 1983.
- 13 Canadian Labour, October 1983.
- 14 Carty and Smith, op cit., p. 51.
- 15 Ibid., p. 47.
- 16 Canadian Labour, June 1969.
- 17 Canadian Labour, June 1970.
- 18 Robert Chodos, The Caribbean Connection (Toronto: Lorimer, 1977).
- 19 Carty and Smith, op. cit., p. 50.
- 20 CIDA, "A Review of Canadian Development Assistance in the Western Hemisphere," (mimeo, circa, 1974) quoted in Carty and Smith, op. cit., p. 51.
- 21 Dave Broad, "Belize - On the Rim of the Cauldron", Monthly Review, February 1984, p. 46.
- 22 Labour World (Canadian Labour Congress) September-December 1982.

- 23 Sussman, op cit.
- 24 "Union Organizing in Nicaragua", Guardian (New York), January 9, 1980.
- 25 Canadian Labour, December 1967.
- 26 Sussman, op cit., p. 8.
- 27 Canadian Labour, February 1971, p. 13.
- 28 Philip Agee, Inside the Company (London: Penguin, 1975) p. 611.
- 29 Chodos, op. cit., pp. 36, 88.
- 30 Carty and Smith, op. cit., pp. 63-64.
- 31 Letter to author from CIDA, January 16, 1984.

CHAPTER SIX

CIDA, The CLC and South Africa

Canada's position, as the 1970 Foreign Policy for Canadians explained, was to limit its "support of the principle of freedom" because of the interests of many "businessmen who see better-than-normal opportunities for trade and investment in the growing economy of the Republic of South Africa."¹

In this chapter Canada's position on South Africa will be examined briefly, as will the implications of that policy for CIDA. The recent rapid growth of the trade union movement in South Africa will be analyzed, and the interests of the international labour confederations in the South African labour movement will be examined, especially those of the ICFTU. Four South African projects submitted by the CLC to CIDA for funding will then be discussed in the context of their common interests as regards trade unions in South Africa.

Canada and South Africa

A considerable body of critical writing exists concerning Canada's relations with South Africa. Canada has been described in this writing as hypocritical, as fence-sitting, and as trying to have its cake and eat it.² For while Canada regularly deplores South Africa's institutionalized racism, it maintains trade, industrial and investment ties with the apartheid regime.

Canada's policy towards South Africa has been characterized by its unwillingness to do anything that might threaten in a substantial way Canadian investment in South Africa (estimated at over half a billion dollars)³, or that might damage Canadian trade with South Africa - in 1983 Canada exported \$166 million worth of goods to South Africa and

imported \$216 million worth,⁴ including important "strategic" minerals such as chrome, manganese and vanadium. In addition, the Western Alliance (of which Canada is a member) supports South Africa, in the belief that defence of the Cape sea-route is important and that white South Africa provides a bastion against communism in that country and in all of southern Africa.

Canada's vehicles for promoting its interests in South Africa have been the Department of External Affairs, through which Canada maintains diplomatic links with South Africa; the Export Development Corporation, which facilitates Canadian trade with South Africa; and CIDA. While CIDA's role has been very small, it has been interesting in that it has been exclusively through trade unions that CIDA has worked in South Africa, in collaboration with the CLC.

Trade Unions in South Africa

An Outline of the Recent History of the Black Trade Union Movement

The impact of apartheid on the black working class and trade union movement in South Africa is profound, as apartheid is basically a racist justification for class exploitation. The black working class in South Africa has been relentlessly oppressed by capital and by the state; every effort by the black working class to improve its lot has been met with coercion, violence, infiltration and attempts at co-optation.⁵ Whatever reforms that have been won have been dearly bought and are constantly under attack.

Efforts by black workers in the early years to organize were met with determined opposition by employer and state, who saw such moves as a direct challenge to the apartheid system. Even the white working

class in South Africa initially encountered great opposition in its attempts to form trade unions, and this struggle almost culminated in civil war in 1922.⁶ However, early white working-class militancy was undermined by a leadership that compromised with the state. The terms of the compromise were that white workers would continue to benefit from job reservation and from pay scales considerably in excess of those of blacks, in exchange for non-interference by white labour in the struggle between the state and black labour.

The history of the black trade union movement in South Africa is marked by cycles of organization and repression. As early as 1920, the Industrial and Commercial Workers Union (ICU) was bringing together rural and urban workers in a general union. By 1927 it had 100,000 members.⁷ It was relentlessly attacked by the state and had collapsed by 1930.

The Council of Non-European Trade Unions was set up during WW 2 as rapid growth occurred in the number of African workers in urban industry. By 1945 the federation had 158,000 members; again the state increased its repression and the CNETU collapsed in the following five years.

Also of note was the African mineworkers' strike of 1946, when 100,000 miners shut down 21 mines.⁸ The state's response, as always, was direct and brutal: the police killed twelve strikers, injured 1,200 and broke the strike.

The South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU), at the peak of its ten-year span of above-ground organizing, brought together 53,000 members in 45 affiliates.⁹ The state gradually intensified all of its measures of "legal" sanctions, plus harassment, intimidation and

imprisonment of militants, to the extent that SACTU was driven underground in the mid-1960's.

These cycles of black working class militancy and state repression must be put in the context of the economic and political changes that were taking place in South Africa and internationally. As South Africa developed as an industrial and resource-extraction centre, the demands for skilled and semi-skilled labour grew.¹⁰ The limitations imposed by apartheid on the use of black labour became clear in the periods of growth, and more black workers were gradually admitted to the labour force. This was particularly true during the Second World War, when the South African economy boomed. Politicization of growing numbers of workers ensued, as did moves towards the formation of black unions and struggles for better wages and conditions.

The Durban strikes of January 1973 are generally regarded as marking the beginning of the most recent cycle of worker militancy and state repression. Major labour confrontations also took place in 1970 and 1972, but the wave of strikes in the metal and textile plants in Durban were on a much larger scale: in a three-month period, more than 160 strikes took place, involving 61,410 workers.¹¹

Many factors contributed to this explosion of black worker dissatisfaction. Of major importance were the material considerations of low wages, inflation, unemployment and poor working conditions. The severe economic crisis in South Africa resulted in further deterioration in living standards for black workers to the point that they were forced to fight back, to "organize or starve." At the ideological level, South African workers were being influenced by the Black Consciousness Movement, led by Steve Biko, which restored pride and

confidence to an oppressed people, and by the military acts of the ANC.¹² The coming to power of national liberation movements in Mozambique and Angola also had an effect on the morale of South Africa's black workers, as did the militancy of the Namibian workers who in 1971-72 closed down the mining industry in Namibia and seriously disrupted other sectors of the economy.

The Durban strikes brought into being a number of new, independent unions for black workers and transformed the labour scene in South Africa. Black militancy continued through the 1970's, with a series of strikes at the gold mines, general strikes in support of the student uprisings in Soweto (1976), and strikes for union recognition in a number of different sectors and industries.

The South African state responded to the growth of an organized black workers' movement with a combination of repression and reform. The former took the traditional forms of coercion, while the latter looked for new methods of control. Following the reports of the Wiehahn and Riekert Commissions (the former recommended the recognition of African trade unions provided they registered with the state, while the latter recommended tightening up the pass laws), legislation was introduced aimed at bringing the independent black trade unions firmly under government control and at further controlling the movement of black workers within South Africa. Since then, the incidence of strikes has declined considerably and repression is on the upswing,¹³ but the black trade unions continue to unite and organize, to attract new members, to negotiate better contracts and, in general, to maintain pressure on employers and state. As 'Africa Confidential' put it:

The legislation flowing from the Wiehahn report has uncorked the genie of labour activism from the bottle, and the government knows there is little it can do to contain it.¹⁴

Black Trade Unions in South Africa Today

Before beginning to analyze the present situation as regards the black trade union movement in South Africa, the point must be made that changes are taking place with great rapidity within that movement. One consequence of this fluidity is that it is very difficult to make general comments as regards configurations, alliances and trends.

It is clear, however, that three major tendencies exist within the black labour movement in South Africa. These tendencies will be referred to as "collaborationist," "contract unionist," and "political unionist"; obviously this nomenclature has its limitations, but it may suffice as a convenient short-hand for the essential feature of each tendency. These tendencies can be identified within the overall trade union movement, but it should be pointed out that, especially as regards the latter two tendencies, more than one tendency can exist within a confederation or even within an individual union.

1. The Collaborationist Tendency

The Trade Union Council of South Africa (TUCSA) is a white-dominated union central that brings together white trade unions and a number of their "parallel," or controlled, counterparts of Asian, Coloured and African unions. TUCSA was set up in 1954 in recognition of the fact that unionization of black workers was inevitable, and that it was in the interests of the South African state, the corporations and the white trade unions that the emerging black trade unions should be controlled rather than autonomous.

Two examples of "parallel" unions are the National Union of Clothing Workers (NUCW) and the Federated Mining, Chemical and

Explosive Workers Union (FMECWU). NUCW "continues to stress a preference for negotiation by workers' leaders on industrial councils rather than by any form of direct action by workers. Accordingly, widespread strikes by African clothing workers during 1982 were indicative of a growing distance between NUCW officials and the rank and file."¹⁵ The President of NUCW, Lucy Mbuvelo, is an apologist for the South African regime who frequently visits the U.S. to speak on the progress being made in South Africa in the labour field.¹⁶

FMECWU is another "parallel," of the whites-only South African Boilermakers' Society, and is "apparently oriented towards the recruitment of coloured and skilled African workers,"¹⁷ who pose the greatest threat to well paid white skilled workers and their reservation of all better paying categories of jobs.

A recent article published by the Africa Fund described well the relationship between a "parallel" union and its white mentor:

The National Union of Clothing Workers is affiliated with the white Garment Workers Union, and black union members complain that it makes all the important decisions. Anna Scheepers, leader of the white union, is reputed to veto any action of the black union she doesn't like. "She calls the executive in and lectures them like grade school children and then lets them go back and reconsider; usually they do."¹⁸

Little more needs to be said regarding the collaborationist tendency, other than that it is being quickly weakened by the growing politicization of black workers in South Africa. The "parallels" are being challenged and replaced by the independent trade unions ("independent" being the term used to describe unions not affiliated to white trade unions - they are democratic, African-controlled, and serve the interests of black workers rather than the interests of the system).¹⁹

2. The "Contract Unionist" Tendency

The unions who collectively constitute this tendency have a number of characteristics in common and a number of significant differences. The features that they share are a commitment to union democracy; a militancy as regards organizing and promotion of economic and workplace issues; a non-antagonistic, flexible position regarding registration of unions and dealing with Industrial Councils; a commitment to their members rather than to the working class as a whole; and a fairly short history. Their differences revolve primarily around the issue of multi-racial unions and the related question of the role to be played in the black union movement by white supporters.²⁰

Three major groupings can be identified within this "contract unionist" tendency: the Federation of South African Trade Unions (FOSATU); the Council of Unions of South African (CUSA); and a number of independent, unaffiliated black unions.

FOSATU

FOSATU is the largest federation of black trade unions, with a 1982 membership of 105,690 members. Its member unions include, inter alia, the United Auto Workers (UAW); the National Union of Textile Workers (NUTW: this was formerly an unregistered "parallel" union with TUCSA, but now competes with NUCW - see above); the National Auto and Allied workers Union (NAAWU); and the Chemical Workers Industrial Union (CWIU).

Most FOSATU unions have applied for registration under the Industrial Conciliation Amendment Act of 1979, and some have in fact registered. FOSATU's position on registration was influenced by its

members' experiences and interests, which suggested that in some circumstances registration could benefit those unions.²¹ As FOSATU is firmly multi-racial, registration is only completed when FOSATU non-racial constitutions are accepted by the Registrar.

FOSATU's reluctance to mix politics with trade union work is reflected in its statement:

You can't fight the employers and the state at the same time. We need to be strongly organized to fight the employer, where's the strength to take on the state?²²

CUSA

CUSA had a membership of 88,621 in 1982. Most of its unions are registered, and include the United African Motor Workers Union (UAMWU) and the National Union of Mine Workers (NUM). NUM was set up in 1982, but by April 1983 had 18,000 members.²³ It is the first organization to negotiate for blacks in the goldmines since the original discovery of gold in 1886, although it presently represents just a fraction of the 418,000 blacks who work in the gold mines.

CUSA is committed to shopfloor democracy and, like FOSATU, it takes an open position on the question of registration. CUSA is, however, far more influenced than FOSATU by the ideology of the Black Consciousness Movement. It consists of black unions only and disagrees with FOSATU's acceptance of support from white activists and academics.

Independent Unaffiliated Unions

The explosion of trade union activity in recent years has brought into existence a number of black trade unions who are not "parallels" and who are not affiliated with FOSATU or CUSA. The majority of these

new unions have decided against registration - see next section - but a number have applied for registration and are ideologically close to either the FOSATU or CUSA position. An example is the Black and Allied Workers Union (BAWU) which is very much influenced by the Black Consciousness Movement.

3. The "Political Unionist" Tendency

A number of the new independent unaffiliated unions have demonstrated militancy which extends past the primarily economic shopfloor issues to the broader political issues that affect non-whites in South Africa. These issues include racism, lack of adequate housing, education and health services, the migrant labour system and the creation of Bantustans. In addressing these issues, the independent unions are attacking the legal and economic basis of apartheid itself.²⁴

Among the most prominent of these unions are the General Workers Union (GWU); the South African Allied Workers Union (SAAWU); the African Food and Canning Workers Union (AFCWU/FCWU); the Black Municipal Workers Union (BMWU); the General Workers Union (GWU); and the Motor Assembly and Component Workers Union of South Africa (MACWUSA). In general, these unions share a commitment to militancy, to non-racial organizing and to serving the interests of the working class as a whole; a determined opposition to registration and to participation in Industrial Councils or any other legitimizing institutions of the state; a belief in union democracy; the use of consumer boycotts to support strikes and lockouts; and a programme of building supportive links with community organizations.²⁵ They also

share a conviction that the trade union and political struggles must be closely linked. To quote Thozamile Botha of MACWUSA: "We want abolition of the apartheid system, not just a few reforms."²⁶

Although the South Africa Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU) was forced to work underground after 1964, due to repression, it is clear that many of the "political" unions have historic and personal links with SACTU or are influenced by SACTU's positions.²⁷ Throughout its history, SACTU has maintained that in South Africa labour's struggle must be linked closely with the liberation struggle. SACTU has been determinedly non-racial: its slogan is "An Injury to One is an Injury to All" and it has advocated struggle along class rather than colour lines. It has also emphasized the need for unity in the worker's movement so as to confront and challenge employers and the state.

The extent of SACTU influence inside South Africa today is a subject of some debate,²⁸ although there appears to be agreement as to the important role played by SACTU internationally, in its ongoing struggle against apartheid. To this writer it is clear that, while none of the independent new unions identify themselves as SACTU affiliates for security reasons, these unions follow the traditional SACTU principles mentioned above.

Predictably, it has been against the political independent trade unions that state repression has been focussed in recent years, with many leaders and officials being detained, tortured, harassed, imprisoned and even killed. Neil Aggett of the FCWU/AFCWU died following torture in detention in 1982; 73 year-old Oscar Mpheta of the same union was sentenced to 5 years in jail in 1983 for "inciting terrorism"; Thozamile Gqweta of SAAWU was repeatedly jailed and

tortured for union activity, leading to a nervous breakdown; Barbara Hogan of the same union was sentenced to 10 years for "treasonous activities" in 1982. And so on - about 50 trade unionists are in prison or detention in South Africa at present;²⁹ the unions affected quickly replace the arrested leaders and continue to organize.

A Note on Unity

Since August 1981 at least five unity conferences have been held that have brought together FOSATU, CUSA and most of the unaffiliated independent unions.³⁰ Predictably, this has been a very difficult process, given the divergent views that exist between the various tendencies in the black union movement. Yet progress has been made and formidable obstacles at least partially overcome. Differences regarding registration have been recognized, and the different tendencies have shown understanding and flexibility as regards the positions on registration taken by the others. Regional solidarity committees have been set up to promote solidarity at the local level. Ongoing discussions are planned so as to coordinate inter-union support, especially in situations of strike and lockout.³¹

One of the areas of difference yet to be dealt with is that of international affiliation. This debate is, to an extent, a repeat of that which took place when the Organization of African Trade Union Unity (OATUU) was set up. Some black unions and federations already have links with international confederations such as the ICFTU and the WFTU; and today's debate centres around the difficulties involved in such affiliation (as the South African government makes it very difficult to do so), and the extent to which international affiliation can influence the trade union movement in South Africa.

The International Labour Federations and South African Labour

Although the black unions in South Africa still represent only 6% of the black workforce,³² it is clear that their importance and representativeness is growing. South Africa is by far the most industrialized and technologically advanced country south of the Sahara, and its large population and numerous natural resources make it a key country in relation to the economic development of the entire southern African region. In addition, its military strength and strategic location make it a key actor in the politics, not just of Africa, but in the wider context of East-West relations.

It is therefore not surprising that the international labour federations have taken considerable interest in South Africa and have taken steps to strengthen and expand their affiliates there. The American Federation of Labour/Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL/CIO), the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU), the World Confederation of Labour (WCL) and the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) have all taken action to ensure that their particular interests are promoted, and this has led in some instances to competition and conflict of interest. It is also worth noting, however, that the ICFTU, WFTU and WCL have all consistently spoken out against apartheid and have worked together on a number of international conferences and campaigns against apartheid.³³

The International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU)

Although the AFL-CIO affiliated with the ICFTU from its inception to 1963, and reaffiliated in 1981, the ICFTU primarily represents the European trade unions. As a federation that links and supports

social-democratic unions throughout the world, the ICFIU is frequently in competition with the AFL-CIO and the WFTU for influence in a particular union or national federation, as each of these federations has a specific ideology which it defends and promotes. Within the ICFIU itself, struggle has been ongoing between the social-democratic and the more right-wing tendencies, with the former prevailing.

The ICFIU has a total affiliated membership of seventy million workers throughout the world. In Africa, ICFIU fortunes have risen and fallen, and recently seem to be on the rise again. The ICFIU set up its African Regional Organization in 1960, by which time it was already well established throughout the continent, partly at the expense of the WFTU.³⁴ Later, however, the ICFIU lost influence, partly due to the setting up of the Organization of African Trade Union Unity, an OAU-linked Pan-African body that allows its member unions (if they so wish) to affiliate with federations such as the ICFIU. Also the AFL-CIO has been active in many of the countries in which the ICFIU has affiliates and has been able, through unscrupulous methods and greater resources, to take affiliates away from the ICFIU.³⁵

In recent years, the ICFIU has been mounting a come-back in Africa, especially in southern Africa. This has been facilitated by the setting up of the Commonwealth Trade Union Council, in which the CLC took the initiative.

As regards South Africa itself, the ICFIU has been active and vocal internationally in opposition to apartheid. It has called for boycotts of South African products and for isolation of South Africa in the international community. It has supported many action campaigns and conferences aimed at drawing attention to the exploitation of

workers under apartheid.³⁶ It has regularly protested to the South African government regarding the ill-treatment of trade unionists.³⁷ Within South Africa, however, the ICF*U has played a much less progressive role. It was instrumental in setting up and financing the Federation of Free African Trade Unions of South Africa (FOFATUSA) in 1959, in direct opposition to SACTU and with the support of SATUC, the white-controlled union federation.³⁸ FOFATUSA dissolved in 1965, but according to Luckhardt and Wall, "the early 1970's witnessed further attempts by the ICF*U to circumvent SACTU."³⁹

Predictably, the ICF*U's social-democratic orientation has made it difficult for it to identify with either the "parallel" unions or with the more radical independent unions that are explicitly political in their linkage of union struggles with the broader struggle against apartheid. The ICF*U has looked for influence mainly in the "contract unionist" tendency, first with the Black and Allied Workers Union (BAWU) and later with the Sweet Food and Allied Workers Union (SFAWU). SFAWU is affiliated with FOSATU, one of the new federations in South Africa and SFAWU also has links with the Urban Training Project in Johannesburg.

The ICF*U has most recently been providing support for FOSATU and for the Urban Training Project; the CLC and CIDA have provided funds for both through the ICF*U.⁴⁰ The Urban Training Project is a service-body largely providing education to affiliates of the Confederation of Unions of South Africa (CUSA)⁴¹; so it is clear that the ICF*U is supporting both FOSATU and CUSA within the "contract unionist" tendency. CUSA is in fact a full affiliate of the ICF*U, as is CUSA's National Union of Mineworkers, which also has ties with the

Miners International Federation. FOSATU, CUSA and the unaffiliated Media Workers Association of South Africa were represented at the ICFTU's 13th Congress in Oslo, 1983.⁴² Clearly the ICFTU is keeping its options open in its efforts to ensure an ICFTU presence in South Africa.

The CLC has played an important role for the ICFTU in South Africa, as the CLC has provided funds, staffing and ideological support for ICFTU initiatives there. The CLC's ability to get CIDA funding for projects in South Africa has enhanced the CLC's reputation and increased its usefulness and clout within the ICFTU.

CIDA/CLC Projects in South Africa

See Appendices 6 to 9 for detailed descriptions of four projects funded by CIDA for the CLC. The project descriptions were obtained by the author through the Access to Information Act. They are included in full because of their interest and because they are not readily accessible to trade union members or others interested in the overseas programmes of the CLC.

The projects are:

1. FOSATU General and Formal Educational Activities Programme (Appendix 6)

This is a million dollar project which allows FOSATU to carry out recruitment campaigns and educational activities. It is sponsored by the ICFTU, which has, according to the project description, provided substantial support to FOSATU for sometime. CIDA provides \$47,520 of the total cost. The political nature of some of the education work done by black trade unions under apartheid is clear from the provision

of courses on "How to understand the South African labour laws" and "How to respond to the Weickahn (sic) Commission."

2. Urban Training Project (Appendix 7)

This is a three-year, multi-million dollar project, also sponsored by the ICFTU. It will allow the Urban Training Project to run a number of educational courses and seminars with black workers. The CLC-provided project description notes that "the UTP has close relations with the unions of CUSA but retains an independent status and it does in fact provide educational services for unions outside CUSA." An informed source has said of the UTP, however, that "it claims to be open to any union affiliates but in fact is known to be exclusively CUSA."⁴³

Three points of note from the CIDA project description are: a) the stipulation that CIDA funds should be earmarked for educational purposes only, and should not be used for organizing activities, recruitment of members etc.; b) the clearance of the project by "Mission" (i.e., the Canadian Embassy in Pretoria) and by External Affairs - this is now standard practice for all NGO submissions to CIDA in respect of South African projects; and c) the reference to supervision by the East African Project Planner of the ICFTU (who is of course a CLC staffer, funded by CIDA).

3. Assistance to Industrial Health Research Group (Appendix 8)

This is another ICFTU-sponsored project, and it is unusual in that the participating unions include some of the independent black unions previously described - the Food and Canning Workers Union and the General Workers' Union, in addition to CUSA and FOSATU unions. The

project is, however, small, with a CIDA/CLC input of only \$50,050. This figure includes a 10% administration charge, which is used by the CLC to cover its costs in administering the project, in line with the practice of other NGO's.

4. Workers Education Assistance to independent trade union organizations of Black workers in South Africa and the National Union of Namibian Workers (Appendix 9)

There are a number of interesting features to this project. First, it is very large, in fact the largest CLC project by far approved by CIDA to October 1983. Second, the sponsor is the ILO, rather than the ICFIU. (The implications of this for the cementing of the tripartism arrangement between the CLC and the Canadian state have been discussed in a previous chapter. It is not coincidental that former CLC President Joe Morris is mentioned in the CLC's application as being involved in the initiation of the project.)

Third, the CLC submission puts this project in the context of the ILO "broadening the scope of its assistance to liberation movements," but this reference is deleted in the CIDA project form. This deletion is understandable given that CIDA will not generally fund projects with South African liberation movements submitted by other Canadian NGO's for matching grants.⁴⁴ Furthermore, the CIDA project form states: "We have been assured by CLC that these unions have no links with the African liberation movements."

According to the CLC's International Affairs Department, the project will benefit a number of trade unions affiliated to CUSA and a number of unaffiliated trade unions, including the National Union of Namibian Workers. A total of approximately 70 South African and Namibian workers will participate in the project.

Conclusion

South Africa is economically the most dominant country in Southern Africa, with internationally important natural resources and a large working class. The ICF TU is keenly interested in expanding its influence in South Africa, and it has been looking for likely partners within the South African labour movement, especially with CUSA and FOSATU.

The CLC has helped the ICF TU in South Africa by expanding its project programme there, increasingly using CIDA money to finance those projects. The CLC has in recent years directed its project funds mainly towards the non-radical trade unions, including CUSA and FOSATU, but it has also put small amounts of money into the non-affiliated independent trade unions. The CLC has been keeping its options open, in fact, as the trade union movement in South Africa undergoes tremendous, rapid change. It can be expected that CLC programming in South Africa, as in Canada, will be characterized by the promotion through the ICF TU of social-democratic leadership and unions (currently believed by the CLC to be best achieved through FOSATU and CUSA), and by a related withholding of support for trade unions that are internationally affiliated with the WFTU or are believed to be SACTU-influenced unions. The CLC will continue to "avoid the extremes of left and right" and will look for a social-democratic vehicle between the "political" and "collaborationist" tendencies which it can use to advance the interests of social democracy in South Africa.

CIDA, for its part, fulfills its mandate through those projects as a source of funding for Canadian NGO's with programmes in the developing countries. It also continues the overall understanding achieved between the Canadian state and the CLC. Furthermore, it

affords the Canadian state some indirect influence over the development and direction of the trade union movement in South Africa, a country regarded as of crucial strategic and economic importance to the Western Alliance, and confirms Canada's image as a benevolent "non-superpower" in the developing world.

References

- 1 Carty and Smith, op. cit., p. 63.
- 2 See, for example, Words and Deeds: Canada and South Africa (Toronto: TCLSAC, 1971).
- 3 SACTU Solidarity Committee, Trafficking in Apartheid (Toronto: 1985), p. 3.
- 4 Ibid., pp. 14, 33.
- 5 See, for example, John S. Saul and Stephen Gelb, "The Crisis in South Africa," Monthly Review (Special Issue), July/August 1981; Dennis Lewycky and Susan White, An African Abstract (Winnipeg: Manitoba Council for International Cooperation, 1979); C.I.S., Black South Africa Explodes (London, 1977); and No Sizwe, One Azania One Nation (London; ZED Press, 1979).
- 6 Lewycky and White, op. cit., p. 145.
- 7 Black Trade Unions in South Africa (Pamphlet, no source attributed), Toronto, 1982.
- 8 The Africa Fund, Black Unions in South Africa (New York: The Africa Fund, 1982), p. 1.
- 9 Ibid.
- 10 Ibid.
- 11 Luckhardt and Wall, op. cit., p. 449.
- 12 Guardian (Manchester), August 10, 1980.
- 13 Guardian (New York), January 26, 1983.
- 14 Africa Confidential, Vol. 23, No. 14, July 17, 1982.
- 15 Roger Southall, Labour Migrancy and the Independent Unions in South Africa (University of Ottawa: IDSEG Discussion Paper, 1983), footnote 47.
- 16 Africa Fund, op. cit., p. 5.
- 17 Southall, o.p cit., p. 14.
- 18 Africa Fund, op. cit., p. 5.
- 19 Africa News (London), undated clipping (at One Sky).
- 20 "Union Unity" in South African Labour Bulletin (Johannesburg), Vol. 8, No. 6, June 1983.

- 21 Phil Bonner, Independent Trade Unions Since Wiehahn, from u.d. South African Labour Bulletin.
- 22 Quoted in Africa Fund, op. cit., p. 6.
- 23 Financial Post (Toronto), April 9, 1983.
- 24 Globe and Mail, June 2, 1983.
- 25 In These Times, September 9-15, 1981.
- 26 New African, London, December 1980.
- 27 New African, May 1981.
- 28 See Africa Confidential, Vol. 24, No. 23; In These Times, September 9, 1981; and A Question of Solidarity (London: SOFSAA, October 1982) for differing views on this issue.
- 29 Guardian (New York), July 13, 1983.
- 30 Workers Unity (London: SACTU Newsletter), #39, 1984.
- 31 Africa News, op. cit.
- 32 Africa Confidential, July 7, 1982.
- 33 Luckhardt and Wall, op. cit., p. 475.
- 34 Thompson and Larson, p. 52.
- 35 Ibid., pp. 54-58.
- 36 Organize or Starve, p. 381.
- 37 In These Times, March 17, 1983.
- 38 Organize or Starve, p. 384.
- 39 Ibid., p. 482.
- 40 CIDA project descriptions provided to writer, December 1983.
- 41 Canadian Labour, December 1983.
- 42 Africa Confidential, Vol. 24, No. 23.
- 43 Personal communication with writer.
- 44 Interview with OXFAM-Canada project staff, August 1983.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Conclusion: A Convergence of Interests

The CIDA-CLC relationship is an imperfect one, as is the relationship between most funding sources and the recipients of those funds. Bureaucratic requirements as regards accountability and evaluation can cause friction between giver and receiver, as can political issues that arise from time to time relating to particular projects and countries of operation. But the CIDA-CLC relationship is by and large acceptable to both parties, in that it ultimately reflects a convergence of interests between them. From the perspective of the CLC's leadership, the relationship with CIDA has been developed because:

1. It contributes to the advancement of social democracy in Canada and internationally. This is achieved through support for the ICFTU in the form of project co-sponsorship, financing of staff who are seconded to the ICFTU and the promotion of the ICFTU through the content of educational projects both overseas and in Canada. It is achieved through financial and personnel support for trade unions in the Third World that are controlled by a social-democratic leadership or open to social democracy. It is also achieved through co-sponsorship of projects with the International Trade Secretariats that are linked to the ICFTU, and through support for the CIUC.
2. It is in part a product of the move in the 1970's by the CLC's leadership in the direction of bipartism and tripartism, so as to achieve the relationship with the state and capital that social

democracy indicates as being appropriate for labour. Bipartism and tripartism also have an immediate promise of reward for the CLC's labour aristocracy, in terms of increased influence and prestige. The CIDA/CLC relationship is a bipartite relationship, and the expansion of the CIDA-CLC relationship in the mid-1970s was a testing ground in state funding for CLC projects at the same time as wage controls were being imposed on the membership. The CIDA funds represented a trial run for the Labour Canada grants that followed and that will have delivered \$26.3 million to the CLC by 1986.

3. It strengthens the CLC as an international actor. The CLC is the predominant labour central in a relatively wealthy developed Commonwealth country. It has almost two and a half million members and has a long-established interest in international affairs. It is prominent within the European-dominated ICFIU but is itself North American. It has limited financial resources, especially for its international affairs programme which is financed by voluntary contributions from its affiliates and members. While in politics political power may spring from the barrel of a gun, in international trade union activity it springs largely from the chequebook. CIDA funds allow the CLC to do things on a scale that the CLC could never undertake otherwise. CIDA funds also allow the CLC to take a very active role within the ICFIU and the CTUC, while the \$490,000 recently channelled by CIDA to the ILO via the CLC will certainly increase the CLC's influence within that body.
4. It legitimizes the leadership of the CLC and provides opportunities for career advancement and patronage. Although most rank-and-file

members of the CLC have little information as to the content of the CLC's international programmes, international working-class solidarity is well rooted in the Canadian labour movement, and the expansion of the CLC's international work is useful to the CLC's leadership as a component of the overall legitimization of that leadership.

The budget of the CLCs International Affairs Department grew from \$27,000 in 1972 to \$300,975 in 1981 (the latter figure does not include CIDA grants, and its staff has grown from two in 1974 to nine in 1984 (including the five CLC/ICFTU project planner positions overseas). In addition, the various projects being undertaken through the ICFTU and CLC mechanisms are providing a growing number of short-term contracts in exotic places for Canadian trade unionists, especially trade union staff. Thus the CIDA grants allow the CLC to dispense some patronage within the trade union movement and to advance the interests of the CLC's bureaucracy, whose careers benefit from a larger, more influential CLC.

From CIDA's perspective, the relationship with the CLC has been developed because CIDA is an instrument of the Canadian state and of Canadian foreign policy. CIDA's objectives are to contribute to the state's overall functions of facilitating capital accumulation, legitimizing the capitalist system and maintaining the mechanisms of control, especially of the working class. CIDA in its full programme contributes to all three functions; CIDA in its relationship with the CLC is primarily concerned with short-term legitimization and control so as to minimize coercion and to facilitate long-term accumulation.

Legitimization

The relationship with the CLC legitimizes the state in the same way as does the relationship with any other of the NGO's that CIDA funds. It represents a deal whereby criticism and opposition to government policies are muted through the disbursement of grants. As Martin Loney puts it: "It is, after all, fundamental; you do not bite the hand that feeds you."¹ Through participation in special programmes, the CLC legitimizes Canada's aid programme and the state itself. Internationally, the projects funded by CIDA through the CLC advance the interests of "Canada" in addition to those of the CLC, and serve the function, particularly useful to the state, of demarcating between Canadian and U.S. interests.

Control

The large grants made to the CLC via CIDA and later via Labour Canada have affected the relationship between organized labour and the state in Canada over the last ten years. Despite wage controls, "6 and 5" legislation and many other attacks on organized labour in Canada, the working class has not been mobilized to fight back. Industrial relations have rather been marked by unease, occasional militancy (as exemplified by CUPW), much rhetoric from the CLC leadership and a marked shift towards strengthening management in the balance of power between labour and management.

Internationally, support for CLC projects has allowed CIDA to monitor and indirectly influence the labour movement especially in areas where Canada has a particular interest, e.g., the Caribbean and southern Africa. Through its bilateral and multilateral programmes CIDA contributes to the emergence of compliant ruling classes in the

developing countries; through its Special Programs Branch it contributes to the emergence of a compliant working class (see pages 36-39).

CIDA's objective interests in cooperating with the CLC have also been facilitated by subjective factors. Foremost among these would be the personnel linkages between CIDA and External Affairs, and the CLC. Crucial linkages in this regard are that of Romeo Maione, who moved from being director of the CLC's International Affairs Department to being Director of CIDA's NGO Division (then the CLC's funding source in CIDA); and that of John Harker, who moved at the same time to the CLC's International Affairs Department from being Executive Director of the Professional Association of Foreign Service Officers (i.e., the association representing one level of External Affairs' employees).

Another subjective factor concerns the NGO Division of CIDA, through which the CLC projects were originally funded. NGO Division developed and applied an increasingly wide definition as to what constituted an NGO² so as to be able to include as many non-profit organizations as possible in its programmes, thereby widening the legitimization base and maximizing private contributions to Official Development Assistance. There was no basis for excluding the CLC from the NGO Programme; indeed, when the requirement that participating organizations should contribute a quarter of the funds required for a particular project became a constraint for the CLC, this was (perhaps not coincidentally) resolved by CIDA's creation in 1981 of the Institutional Cooperation and Development Services Division (ICDS). ICDS has a different mandate from Treasury Board than does NGO Division, and ICDS provides funds on a non-matching basis to NGOs (such as the CLC) who do not have a fund raising capability.³

To summarize

The convergence of interests between the CLC and CIDA can in part be explained in terms of a common interest in exerting influence over the working class, both in Canada and internationally. The CLC is of course an organization of the Canadian working class, but its present leadership has shown itself to be more concerned with the promotion of social democracy, bipartism and tripartism, and legitimation of the CLC itself than with promoting the long-term class interests of Canadian workers. The CLC's international affairs programme is not planned as a vehicle to promote solidarity between Canadian and Third World workers, but rather a vehicle for promoting social democracy internationally and in Canada, and for promoting the ambitions of the CLC's leadership. State funding for labour activities, in Canada and internationally, is one of the mechanisms used by the CLC's leadership to consolidate their own positions and to impose a direction on the rank-and-file membership, some of which remains critical of the collaborative stance of the CLC in an economic climate that increasingly bears down on working people.

CIDA is as much an instrument of the state as is the Department of External Affairs or the Department of Justice, despite its special status as an Agency headed by a President rather than a Minister. As an instrument of the state, CIDA contributes to the overall goals of that state, including legitimization and the control of the working class. CIDA was the channel for the first major funding of the labour projects of a class-collaborative CLC leadership, and it remains an important source of funds for the CLC despite the growth of the Labour Canada programme.

The fact that CIDA provides funds via the CLC for the promotion of international social democracy can be explained in terms of the non-threatening, reformist nature of social democracy itself, the considerable compatability between the ideology of the dominant Liberal Party (which developed CIDA) and that of social democracy, and the pursuit internationally by Canada of a foreign policy that aims at "counterbalancing U.S. influence over Canada's trade and foreign policy with the growing economic and political power of Western Europe and Japan."⁴

As regards the international working class, the CLC projects allow CIDA to play an indirect role in ensuring that radical forces are contained and reformist forces encouraged. The interests of international social democracy (via the ICFIU and the CLC) and the Canadian state (via CIDA) converge on this issue. As long as they do, the CIDA-CLC relationship will continue to develop and expand.

References

- 1 Martin Loney, "Bankrolling the Revolution" in Canadian Dimension, Vol. 12, No. 2.
- 2 Interview with CIDA official, April 1984.
- 3 Ibid.
- 4 Saskatoon Solidarity Committee, op cit., p. 23.

LIST OF APPENDICES AND TABLES

APPENDICES

- A.1. Analysis of CIDA/CLC Projects 1969 to 1983
- A.2. CIDA Organization Chart
- A.3. CLC Organization Chart
- A.4. CIDA Multilateral Disbursements 1981, 1982
- A.5. C.U.P.W. Resolution to 1984 CLC Convention
- A.6. FOSATU Project (CIDA and CLC Applications)
- A.7. Urban Training Project (CIDA and CLC Applications)
- A.8. Industrial Health Group (CLC Application)
- A.9. I.L.O. Education Project (CLC and CIDA Applications)
- A.10. Experiences Elsewhere - U.K., U.S.A., West Germany

TABLES

		<u>LOCATION</u>
Table 1	CIDA/CLC Project Totals, 1969-1983	Chapter 1
Table 2	Labour Canada Grants for Labour Education to the CLC	Chapter 4
Table 3	Analysis of CIDA/CLC projects by Institution and Area, 1969-1983	Chapter 5

APPENDIX 1: ANALYSIS OF CIDA/CLC PROJECTS 1969 TO 1983

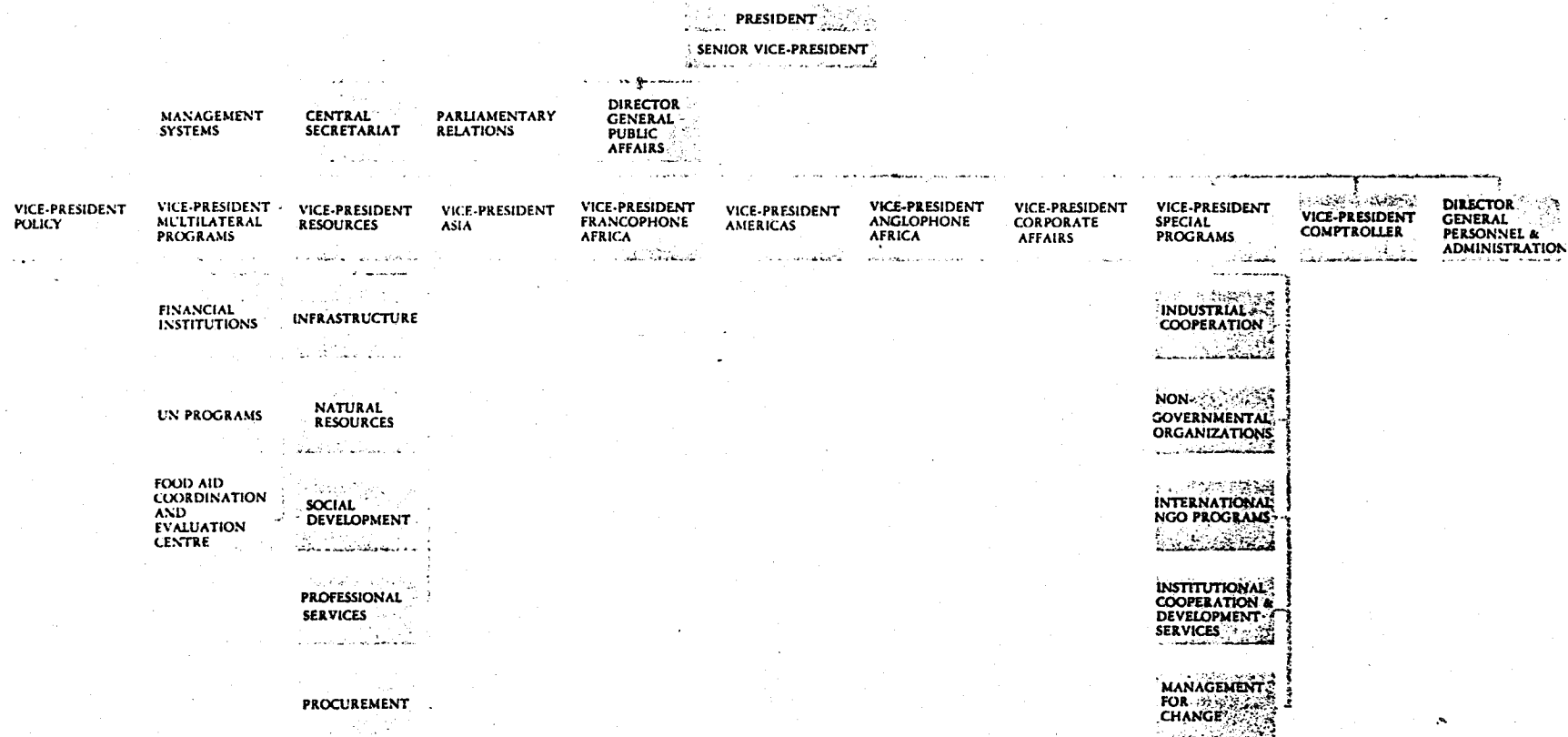
Year	Country	Name of Project	CIDA Project No.	CIDA Commitment \$	CLC Commitment \$	Total CIDA New Commitments for year	Total CIDA Disbursement for year	Number of News Projects in year
1969/70	Canada	Workers' Training	70/C53-3	8,100	N/A	8,100	8,100	1
1970/71	Multinational	Human Resources Workshops-ICFTU	70/C53-4	100,000	N/A	175,000	175,000	2
	Latin America	Cuernavaca Labour School-ORIT/ICFTU	70/C53-2	75,000	N/A			
1971 to 1974		NO NEW PROJECTS						
1975/76	Canada	CLC Workshop	20-70-C53-1	2,350	N/A	89,350	89,350	3
	Canada	International Workshops	20-70-C53-2	7,000	N/A			
	Canada	Labour Union Education Programme	C53-6	80,000	N/A			
1976/77	Canada	CLC Regional Conferences	C53-5	45,406	66,743	253,690	215,690	6
	Canada	CLC Week-Long Schools	C5304	49,984	66,743			
	Canada	International Involvement Workshops	C5302	1,900	1,112			
	Caribbean	Labour Union Education Programme (ICFTU)	C53-7	88,000	88,000			
	Africa	Labour Union Education Program (ICFTU)	C53-6	50,000	50,000			
	Canada	Overseas Trade Union Visitors	C53-6	18,400	18,400			
1977/78	Canada	B.C. International Education	C53	16,000	23,810	63,042	101,042	3
	Caribbean/CA	Labour Union Education Programme	C53	15,000	5,000			
	Malaysia	Workers' Institute of Technology	C53	32,042	38,000			
1978/79	Canada	B.C. International Education	20-70-C53-8	17,358	23,811	595,483	291,659	5
	Asia	Asian Region Project (ICFTU)	70-C53-15	27,625	8,975			
	Multinational	Monitors' Program and International Office (ICFTU)	70-C53-9	388,000	145,500			
	Multinational	Commonwealth Trade Union Secretariat (CTUC)	70-C53-14	50,000	16,700			
	Zambia	Administration Training for Unionists (CLC)	70-C53-12	112,500	37,500			
1979/80	Canada	Duke of Edinburgh 5th Commonwealth Study Conference (CTUC)	70-C53-16	80,000	30,000	80,000	292,036	1
1980/81	Canada	Labour Media Workshop	70-C53-10	19,000	7,050	343,513	293,898	8
	Canada	Development Education Animator	70-C53-9	32,000	19,250			
	Ecuador/C.A.	Women's Monitor Programme (ICFTU)	70-C53-20	124,527	96,934			
	India	Secretarila Course (ICFTU)	70-C53-22	19,937	6,646			
	India	Trade Union North-South Issues Workshop (ICFTU)	70-C53-24	20,000	4,050			
	Multinational	Commonwealth Trade Union Council (CTUC)	70-C53-17	75,000	25,000			
	Asia	Asian Region project Year 2 (ICFTU)	70-C53-18	30,837	11,013			
	Philippines	IFPAW/NACUSIP Trade Union Education (ITS)	70-C53-21	9,425	3,142			
	[Zambia	Supplementary, Trade Union Training]	70-C53-12	12,787	—			

Year	Country	Name of Project	CIDA Project No.	CIDA Commitment \$	CLC Commitment \$	Total CIDA New Commit- ments for year	Total CIDA Disburse- ment for year	Number of News Pro- jects in year
1981/82	[Multinational	Agency Project Fund (APF)	C53-1	(54,901)	37,500]			
	Belize	Trade Union Institute	C53-1	2,085	0			
	[Canada	APF Administrative Costs	C53-1	(2,473)	2,473]			
	Multinational (L.A.)	ITCLWF Study (ITS)	C53-1	18,750	0			
	Multinational	Study for Monitor Expansion (ICFTU)	C53-1	14,251	7,380			
	Philippines	IFPAW/NACUSIP Trade Union Education (ITS)	C53-1	14,358	0			
	Caribbean	Project Planner, Caribbean (ICFTU)	C53-26	60,200	6,866			
	Caribbean	Researcher, Caribbean Congress of Labour (ICFTU)	C53-31	89,303	4,252			
	Canada	B.C. Winter School	C53-16	17,502	15,967			
	Canada	School of International Affairs, Atlantic	C53-14	7,310	7,213			
	Canada	Development Education Animator	C53-15	39,650	18,650			
	Canada	Prairie School, Winnipeg	C53-17	17,487	12,356			
	Canada	Development Education Animator	C53-9	29,760	19,250			
	Latin America	Latin America Monitors, Phase IV (ICFTU)	C53-25	97,515	5,731			
	Africa	Project Planners, Africa (ICFTU)	C53-40	63,280	7,013			
	Multinational	Commonwealth Trade Union Council (CTUC)	C53-41	61,962	12,500			
	Canada	Port Elgin School	C53-13	8,950	7,500			
	Asia	Project Planner Asia (ICFTU)	C53-39	64,155	7,055			
	Africa	Anglophone Project Planner (ICFTU)	C53-30	59,850	2,850			
	Latin America	Project Planner (ICFTU)	C53-28	63,280	3,013			
	Zimbabwe	Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions (CTUC)	C53-37	30,870	1,470	760,518 (Excluding APF and Administration)	569,705	19
1982/83	Belize	Trade Union Institute (CTUC)	C53-26	107,595	9,095			
	Canada	Development Education Programme	C53-19	66,854	25,613			
	Columbia	Assistance to Taxi Co-op (ICFTU)	C53-27	59,000	0			
	India	National Rural Labour Federation, Education (ITS)	C53-43	51,865	2,358			
	India	Neelamalai Planation Workers' Union (ITS)	C53044	41,676	1,895			
	India	Rural Workers Organization - Printship (ITS)	C53-49	11,431	0			
	Jamaica	Joint Trade Union Research Centre (CTUC)	C53-33	42,232	30,000			
	[Africa	Supplementary, Anglophone Project Planner (ICFTU)	C53-40	3,000	0			
	Africa	Supplementary, Project Planners (ICFTU)	C53-40	5,000	0			
	Canada	Port Elgin CLC Summer School	C53-18	9,832	8,900			
	South Africa	Fosatu Education programme (ICFTU)	C53-47	47,520	394,162	517,285	554,025	10
	South Africa	Urban Training project (ICFTU)	C53-48	71,280	3,279			

Year	Country	Name of Project	CIDA Project No.	CIDA Commitment \$	CLC Commitment \$	Total CIDA New Commit- ments for year	Total CIDA Disburse- ment for year	Number of News Pro- jects in year
1983/84	Caribbean	Project Planner Phase 2 (ICFTU)	C53-26-2	147,644	N/A			
to Oct. 1983 only)	Latin America	Project Planner Phase 2 (ICFTU)	C53-28-2	145,040	N/A			
	Anglophone							
	Africa	Project Planner Phase 2 (ICFTU)	C53-30-2	169,600	N/A			
	Asia	Project Planner Phase 2 (ICFTU)	C53-39-2	156,322	N/A			
	Francophone							
	Africa	Project Planner Phase 2 (ICFTU)	C53-40-2	167,002	N/A			
	South Africa	Education Assistance, Black Workers (ILO)	C53-50	499,000	N/A	1,284,608 (to October)	1,044,610 (Expected)	6 (To Oct.)
Not Yet	Zimbabwe	Extension ZTUC Assistance (CTUC)	Requested	45,666	N/A			
Approved	South Africa	Industrial Health Research Group (ICFTU)	Requested	50,050	N/A			
	Southern							
	Africa	Worker Training Programme (CTUC)	Requested	119,935	N/A			

Source: Compiled by writer from information provided by CIDA under the Access to Information Act

CIDA - ORGANISATION CHART (1982)



CLC ORGANIZATION LIST - 1983

Departments/Services
 Organization/Organisation
 Director/Directeur
 E. Johnston
 Bank Workers Organizing Committee/Comité de la syndicalisation des employés de banque

Education/Éducation
 Director/Directeur
 Jim Brechin

Labour Education and Studies Centre/Centre d'éducation et d'études syndicales
 Director/Directeur
 Gregg Murtagh

Administration and Finance Officer/Agent de l'administration et des finances
 Marjorie Carver

Research and Program Officers/Agents de recherche et de programmes
 Jim Schneider, Dave Bennett

Workplace Health and Safety Officer/Agent de la santé et sécurité au travail
 Claire Marie Fortin

Audio-Visual Production Officer/Agent de la préparation de l'audio-visuelle
 Bob Baker

Audio-Visual Production Assistant/Agent adjoint de la préparation de l'audio-visuelle
 Jane Burton

Women's Bureau/Bureau de la main-d'oeuvre féminine
 National Representative/Représentant national
 Carol Aitken

Political Education/Éducation politique
 Co-ordinator/Coordonnateur
 Pat Kerwin

National Representative/Représentant national
 George Nakitsos

Organizer/Organisateur
 Bob Fortin

Research and Legislation/Recherche et législation
 Director/Directeur
 Ronald Lang

National Representatives/Représentants nationaux
 Bob Baldwin, Murray Randall, Katherine McGuire

Economist/Économiste
 Vacant/Poste vacant

Statistician/Statisticien
 Dawn Ventura

Public Relations/Relations publiques
 Co-ordinator/Coordonnateur
 Charles Bauer

Assistant Editor/Rédacteur adjoint
 Mary Kehoe

International Affairs/Affaires internationales
 Director/Directeur
 John Harker

National Representative/Représentant national
 Brian Mallon

CIDA Co-ordinators/Coordonnateurs (ACDI)
 A. Arney, Javier Sandoval

Social and Community Programs/Services des programmes sociaux et communautaires
 Co-ordinator/Coordonnateur
 Vacant/Poste vacant

Union Label Trades and Services/Étiquette syndicale et des services
 Secretary-Treasurer/Secrétaire-trésorier
 E. Johnston

Production Manager/Directeur de la production
 Myles Hayes

Welfare and Personnel Assistant/Adjoint au bien-être et au personnel
 Vacant/Poste vacant

Table VI - 1

CIDA - Multilateral Assistance Disbursements,
by Recipient, 1981 and 1982

	(\$ Million)	
<u>Category/Recipient Organization</u>	<u>1981</u>	<u>1982</u>
Capital Subscriptions (Investments):	21.1	37.9
Caribbean Development Bank (CDB)	0.8	1.1
International Finance Corporation (IFC)	4.2	4.3
Asian Development Bank (AsDB)	9.1	0.9
Inter-American Development Bank (IDB)	7.0	2.1
International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD)	-	29.0
African Development Bank (AfDB)	-	0.5
Loans and Contributions (Advances):	288.1	146.0
African Development Fund (AfDF)	30.0	-
Asian Development Bank (AsDB)	56.7	-
Caribbean Development Bank (CDB)	5.9	3.0
Inter-American Development Bank (IDB)	19.4	-
International Development Association (IDA) (WORLD BANK GROUP)	176.1	143.0
Grants:	220.8	272.6
World Food Program (WFP)	98.7	128.9
United Nations Development Program (UNDP)	45.0	51.0
United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR)	4.0	4.6
United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestinian Refugees (UNRWA)	7.3	7.8
United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF)	10.0	12.0
United Nations Fund for Population Activities (UNFPA)	7.7	9.5
International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD)	-	14.0
Consultative Group on International Agricultural Research (CGIAR)	9.1	10.2
Other United Nations Agencies	12.3	19.5
Other Multilateral Organizations	26.4	15.1
Regional Development Banks	0.3	-
<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>530.0</u>	<u>456.5</u>

Source: DAC Questionnaire (1981 and 1982), Table 2A.

FUNDING FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (139 words)

WHEREAS the federal government has repeatedly refused to support the many struggles for liberation and justice occurring throughout the world;

WHEREAS, in order to properly implement the policies of the Congress, it is essential that the International Affairs Department of the CLC be independent of government influence;

WHEREAS the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) is an agency of government designed to promote government objectives in international affairs;

WHEREAS the CLC receives substantial financial support from CIDA for its international work.

BE IT RESOLVED the Congress make full disclosure of the amount of funds received from CIDA, including any amount used for staff persons in Canada and abroad.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED the Congress take action to become independent from financing from CIDA.

Source: Resolutions Book, 1984 CLC Convention

Organisational background

Project background

FOSATU is, as mentioned above, now reported to have a signed up membership of 70,000 and a paid-up membership of 48,000. As will be seen on the attached Recognition Agreements, FOSATU has concluded a number of agreements with several companies. It has also been involved in over 20 strikes in factories, organised by some of its affiliates (i.e. Leyland in Cape Town, Colgate in Johannesburg etc.).

FOSATU has, for some time, received a substantial support from the ICFTU, and this project is a continuation of this support in the field of recruitment campaign and educational activities.

Project description

The project consists of two interdependent stages meant to be implemented partially at the same time. The first stage aims at creating, developing and sustaining an active and informed trade union membership through discussion and action on basic trade union issues, such as:

- How to organise a workplace.
- How to win unions economic gains.
- How to build a factory leadership.
- How to commence grievance procedures and other structures for negotiation.

These subjects will be treated through the vehicle of the union meeting, both formal and informal.

The second stage is directed at specific and current problems, for which seminars, conferences and longer-term courses will be organised on the following subjects:

- How best to negotiate at company level.
- How to understand the South African labour laws.
- How to develop health and safety campaigns at the workplace.
- How to respond to the Weickahn Commission.

Besides the directly educational activities, the programme also contains a number of supporting administrative functions.

Budget

	<u>1982</u>	<u>1983</u>	<u>1982</u>	<u>1983</u>
Recruitment Campaign Programme				
Staff (regional coordinators, promoters)				
1982 (12 x 13 x SAR 350) plus				
(12 x 14 x SAR 300)	105,000			
1983 (12 x 13 x SAR 400) plus				
(12 x 14 x SAR 350)		121,200		
Programme venues	36,500	40,300		
Transport/travelling	61,000	74,000		
Equipment/administration	34,450	18,500		
Campaigns and meetings	27,000	27,800		
FOSATU complaint service	8,100	9,150		
	<u>272,050</u>	<u>290,950</u>	272,050	290,950
Educational Activities Programme				
Seminar Programmes (national/regional)	36,000	39,600		
Labour studies course	16,000	17,600		
Research and course development	52,000	52,800		
Administration and contingency fund	15,330	16,863		
Publications and printing unit	54,050	40,565		
	<u>173,380</u>	<u>167,428</u>	173,380	167,428

Overall coordination

Staff (main coordinators, assistant, typist)	17,400	19,800		
Meetings (accommodation, travel, evaluation conference in 1982)	48,400	41,700		
Travel and administration	12,550	14,870		
	<u>78,350</u>	<u>76,370</u>	<u>78,350</u>	<u>76,370</u>
Grand Total requested (S.A. RAND)			<u>523,780</u>	<u>534,748</u>

Request: The CLC is requested an allocation of SAR 40,000 as an earmarked contribution for the Educational Activities Programme.

Project : Urban Training Project (UTP)
Executing Agency : Urban Training Project
Sponsor : ICFTU
Duration : 3 years
Contribution requested by UTP from ICFTU : 1982 - SAR 191,596.87
Contribution expected from ICFTU (inclusive CLC) : 1982 - SAR 180,000.00
Contribution requested from CLC : 1982 - SAR 60,000.00 (C\$ 78,000.00)

Organisational Background

The UTP was established in 1971 and from 1972 it started an adult education service for workers requiring an understanding of unionism. By 1976 the UTP services covered independent black trade unions in the following sectors: transport, chemical, building, food, paper, glass, laundry and motor assembly. The UTP played a great part, through its educational services, in the emergence of these unions.

Since then, the UTP has continued to run educational programmes although the emphasis within these was naturally changed from the pre-union stage to the present situation, where an increasing number of independent unions are recognised by the employers.

Besides this, the UTP has been running a legal clinic and a research unit. The latter has however been taken over by the Council of Unions of South Africa (CUSA) - the creation of which the UTP assisted. As from 1982 CUSA is also scheduled to take over the legal clinic.

The UTP has close relations with the unions of CUSA but retains an independent status and it does in fact provide educational services for unions outside CUSA.

Project Background

The UTP has, since its inception, been receiving support from several sources other than the ICFTU. In 1979 the ICFTU contributed towards UTP's research activities and supported its educational programme from 1981. The educational activities among black workers are basic in an effort to overcome at least some of the ill-effects of apartheid, produced through an inferior school system. The changes proposed in South African labour laws by the Wiehahn commission's fifth report also increases the need for an educational effort in order to enable the current active trade unions to keep up to date with the possibilities and restraints of the 1:

Project Description

The UTP proposes to run a number of educational activities with a total of 6,800 participants. The activities are as follows:

Local residential seminars: for general members, shop stewards, shop steward committees and National Branch committees (total 47 with 3370 participants).

National Residential seminars: for organisers (7 with 280 participants), educators (7 with 280 participants), occupational health (7 with 280 participants), combined union Executive Committees (2 with 240 participants).

Shop steward courses: 4 day courses with a total of 500 participants; 2 day courses with a total of 500 participants and 5 day courses with a total of 300 participants.

Other courses: including pre/post recognition courses for branch officials/shop stewards (3 day courses with a total of 200 participants) and one day seminars in black townships (80 seminars with 10 participants).

Besides the courses themselves supporting activities and publications are included.

<u>Budget</u>	<u>1982</u>	<u>1983</u>	<u>1984</u>
1. <u>Staff Salaries</u>	<u>SAR</u>	<u>SAR</u>	<u>SAR</u>
Head office - 17 persons	146,322.05	175,590.97	210,720.53
Durban - 4 "	25,442.14	30,530.35	36,636.40
Port Elizabeth - 3 "	19,373.28	23,247.84	27,897.40
Pretoria - 3 "	17,068.32	20,481.84	24,578.20
West Rand - 3 "	17,068.32	20,481.84	24,578.20
East Rand - 3 "	17,068.32	20,481.84	24,578.20
Newcastle - 3 "	17,068.32	20,481.84	24,578.20
Vereeniging - 3 "	17,068.32	20,481.84	24,578.20
	<u>276,479.07</u>	<u>331,778.36</u>	<u>398,145.33</u>
2. <u>Capital Expenditure</u>			
Administrative	11,200.00	49,440.00	16,128.00
Audio - visual aids	15,000.00	8,280.00	9,936.00
	<u>26,200.00</u>	<u>57,720.00</u>	<u>26,064.00</u>
3. <u>Rents and incidentals</u>	<u>43,200.00</u>	<u>50,699.52</u>	<u>62,208.00</u>
4. <u>Education and Training</u>			
Staff travel subsidy	12,240.00	14,688.00	17,625.40
Publications	18,000.00	21,600.00	25,920.00
Courses and seminars:			
- local residential seminars	84,250.00	101,100.00	121,310.00
- national residential seminars	50,600.00	60,720.00	72,800.00
- shop steward courses	29,500.00	35,300.00	42,480.00
- other courses	7,800.00	8,360.00	11,232.00
	<u>202,390.00</u>	<u>242,008.00</u>	<u>291,441.60</u>

	<u>SAR</u>	<u>SAR</u>	<u>SAR</u>
5. Other running costs	89,500.00	106,400.00	126,680.00
	<u> </u>	<u> </u>	<u> </u>
Grand Total	637,769.07	789,465.88	904,538.93
	<u> </u>	<u> </u>	<u> </u>

Contributions requested by
Urban Training Project:

ICFTU	191,596.87	232,207.22	268,634.02
Other Donors	446,172.20	557,258.66	635,904.91
	<u> </u>	<u> </u>	<u> </u>
	637,769.07	789,465.88	904,538.93
	<u> </u>	<u> </u>	<u> </u>

Expected contributions for 1982:

SAR

Canadian Labour Congress	60,000.00
Other ICFTU contributions	120,000.00
Other Donors	457,769.07
	<u> </u>
	637,769.07
	<u> </u>

Appendices:

1. UTP report 1980
2. Detailed request from UTP
3. UTP proposed budget 1982
4. UTP proposed budget 1983
5. UTP proposed budget 1984

GLC APPLICATION TO CIDA

PROJECT SUBMISSION

Canadian Organization: Canadian Labour Congress
Local Organization: ICFTU
Country: South Africa
Title: Assistance to Industrial Health Research Group
Contribution requested: \$50,050 (includes 10% admin.)

Organisational Background

The Industrial Health Research Group was created in 1980 and has since operated in a number of fields in close cooperation with the independent black trade unions. The group has prepared a booklet on asbestos; conducted a screening on hypertension among the Cape Town stevedores, prepared a detailed commentary on two new health and safety bills and a ready made course on health and safety to be used in different unions. The unions with which the group is cooperating are the General Workers' Union, with which a joint committee is established, African Food and Canning Workers' Union, Food and Canning Workers Union, Orange Vaal General Workers' Union, unions affiliated to CUSA and South African Allied Workers Union. A number of unions have expressed their satisfaction to the ICFTU with the group for providing knowledge and information in a field which is highly technical and specialised. This information is vital to the majority of black people, more particularly when it comes to negotiating with management on health and safety matters. indec.

Project Background

The Industrial Health Research Group has been supported by the ICFTU in 1980 and 1981. The background of this is the important supportive function it constitutes for the independent unions who, on the background of knowledge and education from the group, are able to raise health and safety questions through different channels, thus assisting their members more efficiently in negotiations with management.

Project Description

For the project period the Group envisages the following work tasks:

Workers' Manuals on Health and Safety topics, intended for the use by shop stewards and unions. Several will be produced during the project period.

Besides these, the group will endeavour to provide immediate information on request from unions and all groups of independent black workers.

A number of courses are foreseen, based on the ready made course, adapted for the appropriate context.

As carried out in stevedoring in Cape Town, the Group intend to conduct screenings on groups of workers for special hazards.

Finally the group plans to continue research into changing technologies, international standards etc. to improve the offers available to the unions.

To improve its coverage in the above respects the group intend to expand its activities by opening an office in the Eastern Cape where the demand for services such as the group provides are large.

Budget: for one year 1983/84:

Cape Town:

SAR

Salaries

SAR

3 at SAR 520 for 12 months

18,720 ✓

Travel

2 air trips Cape Town - Johannesburg return

520 ✓

2 air trips Cape Town - Durban return

520 ✓

3 air trips Cape Town - East London

Port Elizabeth return

620 ✓

Petrol for local travel in the western Cape

640 ✓

Stationary and printing

1,840 ✓

Typing

460 ✓

Equipment

1,200 ✓

Library

Journal subscriptions

460 ✓

Books, pamphlets and other publications

150 ✓

Translation services

1,380 ✓

Subtotal

26,510

26,510

=====

Eastern Cape:

Salaries

One at SAR 420 for 12 months

5,040 ✓

Travel

6 airtrips Cape Town - East London return

including local travel

1,240 ✓

Office rent

1,380 ✓

Library

200 ✓

Subtotal

7,860

7,860

=====

Subtotal

34,370

=====

Supervision Expenditure:

2 airtrips Brussels - East London - Cape Town	5,000		
Per diem and representation for ICFTU supervisor during stay in South Africa	3,500		
Lost time for supervisor	2,500		
Incidental administrative expenditure	500		
Subtotal	US\$ 11,500		
	=====		
Equal to	SAR 10,455	10,455	
<u>Grand Total</u>		SAR 44,825	:
<u>ICFTU Contribution</u>		- 9,825	
<u>Contribution requested from Canadian Labour Congress (CLC)</u>		SAR 35,000	
Equivalent to		C\$ 45,500	
		=====	

List of Appendices:

1. Report of activities March to June 1981
2. Article on Health and Safety organisation in three countries
3. Draft guide to Workmens Compensation
4. Report of activities June to August 1981
5. Workplan for 1982 and 1983
6. Draft pamphlet on asbestos
7. Draft comments on Conditions of Employment Bill.

1. Workers' Manual

As we have indicated in our reports to you, it seems that at the moment the need in the trade union movement is for short, easily understood material on particular subjects, rather than for a general manual. We plan to go on producing both (a) short fact sheets, such as those on boilers, spray painting, cold work and so on, based on a request from a particular group of workers and written up in a generalised form so as to be of use to all workers facing that hazard, and (b) longer publications on particular subjects, such as asbestos or health and safety organisation or pensions (in preparation).

The manual or manuals will be produced from these accumulated publications, so that it responds directly to the expressed needs of organised workers.

During 1983 we plan to complete the pensions booklet in its final form. We also plan to work with a group of university students who are completing an extensive research project on job evaluation schemes in South Africa, helping them to rewrite their material in a form useful to the union.

2. Consultancy

We expect that this will continue to take up a large part of our time in 1983, and to give rise to numerous publications. It is difficult to plan in advance which issues will come up during the year, but we expect to do work on the following areas, among others :

- sulphur and other hazards associated with fruit drying, for the Food and Canning Workers Union in the western and eastern Cape
- fish processing for the FCWU in the western Cape
- milling and grain dust for the FCWU in the western Cape and African Food and Canning Workers Union and South African Allied Workers Union in the eastern Cape
- various chemicals for FOSATU in northern Natal
- engineering hazards (welding, noise, metal dust) for the General Workers Union in Cape Town
- excessive overtime and problems of stress for the GWU in Cape Town.

3. Education

Here again it is difficult to plan with certainty, since arrangements for training courses depend on the unions' needs at any time.

Training courses which are planned are :

Cape Town : engineering workers (GWU) - still being negotiated with employers
canning workers (FCWU and AFCWU)

East London : milling workers (SAAWU and AFCWU)
officials and workers from SAAWU, GWU and AFCWU on workmen's compensation, unemployment insurance, sick pay and other problems
textile/chemical workers (SAAWU)

Various affiliate members of FOSATU in northern Natal, including the Paper, Pulp and Allied Workers Union, and Metal and Allied Workers Union in the Transvaal have also expressed interest in training courses on problems related to health and safety.

3. Surveys

Our experience with the blood pressure survey in 1981 and the lung function survey in 1982 lead us to conclude that survey work is likely to take up a large part of our time in the future. There is a virtual absence of scientific evidence about many industrial diseases and accidents in South Africa, and we feel that carefully designed and carried out surveys can begin to remedy this. Already the results produced have been of use to the unions in backing up their demands with scientific evidence.

The educational dimension of surveys in which the workers participate fully and increase their skills is also important. For the value of this to be maximised, it is necessary to involve workers at every stage including design, the survey itself, and the analysis and discussion of results. This process is very time consuming and, with the delays consequent on the bargaining process, makes it difficult to allocate time precisely in advance.

The survey of journalists and sub-editors to evaluate the harmful effects of video-display units (for the South African Society of Journalists) will continue into 1983. This survey takes two forms : a self-administered prospective survey on the subjective effects of the VDUs; and an objective ophthalmological survey on the longer term effects, which is being set in motion now and will be followed up at three-yearly intervals. There is widespread interest in this survey on a national level in the SASJ.

A major project for 1983 is survey work on byssinosis among textile workers. One of our group is undertaking pilot study of textile workers in a Transvaal factory organised by the National Union of Textile Workers (a FOSATU affiliate) this year, with Dr Neil White of the Health Care Trust. This is preparatory to the large-scale lung-function screening of textile workers in Natal.

The preparation of materials informing the workers of the reasons for, value of and methods to be used in, the screenings, the design of the questionnaires (in which we have already been involved)

the involvement of a large number of workers and committees in the screenings themselves, and the analysis, writing up and reporting back of the results, are likely to occupy a great deal of the group's time in 1983.

Textiles is the fourth largest branch of manufacturing industry in South Africa, employing some 112 000 workers (many of them in very large factories). Byssinosis is a compensable disease, but only one case has ever been compensated.

A further area for development in the coming years is that of worker self-survey. We have already set up small accident and sickness surveys to be conducted by workers themselves in some canning factories and one engineering factory in Cape Town, and we would like, depending on the progress made in these surveys, to institute other such surveys, both in Cape Town and in the eastern Cape. With the use of equipment such as a Casella personal sampler, noise level meters, and a Draeger hand pump for toxic gases and chemicals, workers can monitor dust levels, gas levels noise levels in their factories, and make demands based on information which they themselves have collected in a scientifically acceptable form.

4. Research

Apart from the research generated by requests from workers for information, we expect to do work in the following areas :

- Accidents : an analysis by industry of accidents and compensation.
- Access to medical services, through sick funds, medical benefit funds and medical aid schemes. In particular, we plan to analyse the schemes set up under various industrial council agreements or conciliation boards. MAWU in the Transvaal has already asked us to help analyse the metal industries' sick pay scheme, and other unions in the metal industry are also interested in the results.
- Factory health services for workers.
- The impact of TB on workers and their treatment.
- Other respiratory diseases. In particular, we plan to do further work on some of the issues raised in our analysis of the results of the lung-function tests on stevedores in Port Elizabeth. We plan to write up the results for publication so that they are available to other doctors and interested persons, and also to do further work in two main areas : (1) the way in which diagnosis is made, the basis for diagnosis and compensation at present is by X-rays, which probably underestimates disability. This method needs to be compared to other methods such as lung function tests. (2) the current argument that blacks have smaller lungs than whites must be seriously criticised. Where this argument is applied, it allows the underestimation of the extent of lung damage. The rationale for this argument is not scientifically based and requires attention.

Targets for research are particularly difficult to set, since the amount of time spent on research varies according to the pressure of other work.

5. Extension of the work

The number of requests for information from outside the Cape and as far away as northern Natal have raised the possibility of setting up groups similar to ours in other centres. It is clear that there is a great need for work on industrial health to service worker organisations in Durban and Johannesburg in particular.

We would like to facilitate the setting up of such facilities as far as we can, and we have already started discussions with doctors and others in these centres, with a view to interesting them in this sort of work. During 1983 we plan to continue these discussions and to involve interested doctors in helping us with surveys.

We have suggested that these people should spend some time with us in Cape Town so that they can find out about the sort of requests they will get in their own centres, look over our library and generally find out about the work.

We hope that in the next few years we will be able to help set up at least one group, similar to ours but independent of us, working in Natal or the Transvaal.

A PROPOSAL FOR ASSISTANCE ON EDUCATION PROGRAMMES
FOR INDEPENDENT TRADE UNION ORGANISATIONS OF BLACK
WORKERS IN SOUTH AFRICA AND FOR THE NATIONAL UNION
OF NAMIBIAN WORKERS.

Project: Workers' Education Assistance to independent trade
union organisations of Black workers in South Africa
and the National Union of Namibian Workers

Geographical
Coverage: Southern Africa

Executing Agency: The International Labour Office

Duration: One year

Co-operating
Organisation: Project to be carried out in co-operation with the
Canadian Labour Congress

Donor Contribution: \$465,520

ILO Contribution: \$ 42,320

1. Background and Context

The Declaration concerning Apartheid in South Africa, adopted by the 67th session of the International Labour Office, Geneva, 1981, calls for, inter alia, an increase of "the ILO's educational activities, and technical assistance to the liberation movements, the Black workers and their independent trade unions in South Africa", in co-operation with, among others, the Organisation of African Unity and international and African workers' organisations, and neighbouring and front-line states. Workers' education is mentioned among the technical services that the ILO is particularly called upon to use in broadening the scope of its assistance to liberation movements.

During the mission to Southern Africa undertaken on behalf of the Director-General of the ILO 17 April to 10 May 1981, and later in meetings held in Geneva in June 1981, Mr. J. Morris registered pressing needs for workers' education assistance to trade union wings of liberation movements and to Black workers and their independent trade unions in South Africa. Subsequent meetings in June 1982 confirmed the continuing need for such assistance.

The Canadian Labour Congress proposes to assist in the achievement of the ILO's objectives in this field through co-operation in the project which is described below.

2. Target Groups

South African and Namibian Black workers, men and women alike, including members of the National Union of Namibian workers and the independent Black trade unions of South Africa.

3. Objectives

(a) Development Objective

To strengthen and further the interests of Black workers and independent trade unions in South Africa and Namibia.

(b) Immediate Objective

Trade Unions leaders and activists capable of conducting trade union business including trade union organising activities as appropriate, and workers' educators able to conduct systematic trade union training and participation in national development.

4. Indicators of Objective Achievement

(a) For the development objective

- Increase in the membership of independent Black workers' unions in South Africa.
- Improved status of independent Black workers' unions in South Africa through recognition and ability to negotiate collective agreements on behalf of their members.

(b) For the immediate objective

- A significant number of those trained under the project will be using their improved skills as envisaged.
- The trade unions involved will have on-going workers' education activities capable of utilising those trained under the project.
- Teaching materials and aids for workers' education produced under the project will be available and used.

5. Assumptions

- The workers' organisations will be able to provide a sufficient number of suitable trainees.
- Trainees will be available to return to their countries on the completion of their training.
- Trained personnel will be able to utilise their improved skills as envisaged.
- The training materials produced under the project will be available for use and distribution to members of the workers' organisations.

6. Outputs

- Twelve (12) Black trade unionists and workers' educators trained through the fellowship programme of the project.
- Sixty to ninety (60 - 90) Black trade unionists trained through the project seminar programme.
- Workers' education training materials.
- Final report, 90 pages.

Activities

- Project co-ordination shall be carried out by the ILO in co-operation with the Canadian Labour Congress, which will play a particularly active role in preparing and implementing the project fellowship programme.
- Preparatory workshop to discuss scope and prepare implementation of seminar and fellowship programme.
- Workers' education expert in post, based in southern Africa.
- Local support staff engaged.
- Ordering of equipment.

Fellowship Programme

- Twelve (12) individual fellowships to black South African trade unionists and workers' educators, for three months' training at suitable institutions, during the course of 1983.

Seminar Programme

- Seven (7) training seminars (including preparatory workshop) of two weeks' duration to be organised in neighbouring and front-line states, or, where appropriate outside Africa.

- The purpose of these seminars will be to allow the trade union representatives an opportunity to implement their priority needs in the field of workers' education.
- Production of teaching and information materials; distribution to fellows, seminar participants and, through the co-operating organisations, to Black workers and their independent trade unions in South Africa and Namibia.
- Progress evaluation.
- Final evaluation (workshop).

BUDGET

Workers' Education Programmes for Independent Trade Union Organisations
of Black Workers in South Africa, and for the National Union of
Namibian Workers

	<u>Work Months *</u>	<u>U.S.Dollars</u>
Workers' Education Expert, Lusaka	12	81,000
Administrative Support		6,000
Travel and official business		10,000
Evaluation		10,000
Fellowships:		
12 at 2 months each		
10,100 standard cost for each		121,200
Seminars:		
7 at 2 weeks each		140,000
Educational equipment, study materials, translation		40,000
Reporting costs		5,000
Miscellaneous		10,000
Sub-total (net total)		423,200
Programme support costs, 10%:		42,320
Total		465,520
ILO contribution in kind, 10%:		42,320
Total		507,840

* Estimates for cost increases are not included. As costs may increase, a supplementary budget may be forwarded to CIDA to take account of inflation.

APPENDIX 10

Experiences Elsewhere

The CLC is not unique as a labour centre in its acceptance of government funds for its overseas programmes. This is also the practice in the U.K. and in the U.S.A., in Norway and Sweden¹, in Germany, Belgium and the Netherlands.²

Britain: Britain's Trades' Union Congress, to which the great majority of British union are affiliated, receives £75,000 a year for its Third World programmes from the British government.³ Unlike the CIDA grants to the CLC, which are made on a project-by-project basis, the British government makes available a lump-sum annual payment to the TUC for use on its international programmes. According to Thomson and Larson, critics of the TUC's international programmes, this

fits into a pattern that spread fast following the AFL-CIO departure from the ICFTU - an increasingly visible identify of interest between the international work of western trade union centres and the foreign policies of their governments ... it also underlines the present day reality, the way government and others are increasingly making use of trade union channels to have an impact on the labour movements on the underside of the globe.⁴

The U.S.: As regards the U.S., the entire question of the relationship between the U.S. government and the AFL-CIO is contentious, and this is especially true in the area of international affairs. For the AFL-CIO is widely seen, in the developing countries and in the U.S. itself, as an instrument of U.S. foreign policy. It is furthermore identified with the seamier side of that policy, to the extent that the term "AFL-CIA" is frequently used to describe the close identification of interests between the U.S. government and the AFL-CIO.

Two carefully researched and documented criticisms of the AFL-CIO links with the U.S. government in the area of international affairs are An Analysis of Our AFL/CIO Role in Latin America by F. Hirsch, and AIFLD: U.S. Trojan Horse by Michael Sussman.

Hirsch examines the role of the AFL, and later of the AFL-CIO, in supporting U.S. foreign policy by undermining communist or socialist-oriented unions throughout the world and replacing them with conservative or right-wing unions that have a friendly attitude towards the U.S. The AFL-CIO has received huge sums of money from U.S. AID, (the U.S. equivalent of CIDA) and also from the CIA, for its overseas programmes; William Doherty, Executive Director of the AIFLD (the

American Institute for Free Labour Development, the AFL-CIO's arm in Latin America) claimed that 92% of his budget came from government

funds, the balance being from the AFL-CIO and "some 95 business establishments with interests in Latin American."⁶ Hirsch documents how the AFL-CIO worked with the U.S. State Department, and the CIA, to split the labour movement and facilitate U.S. intervention in the Dominican Republic, Guyana, Guatemala and especially Chile. He concludes that "one large reason why the booming voice of the rank-and-file has not been raised against the AIFLD is that we have not really known about it" and calls for debate on the AFL-CIO's foreign programmes so as to bring them back under control of the U.S. rank-and-file.

Sussman's study puts the AFL-CIO's Third World programmes in the context of the "contract unionism" (under which the union's activity is reduced primarily to collective bargaining and negotiation of the contract")⁷ rigidly adhered to by the AFL leadership. He adds that

AFL-CIO programs in Latin America, as well as similar, smaller programmes in Africa and Asia, have their roots in more than anti-communist ideology. They are tied in with, and supported by, modern corporate imperialism and contract unionism in the United States.⁸

Sussman examines AFL-CIO support for U.S. foreign policy objectives in Brazil, Uruguay, the Dominican Republic and El Salvador. As regards government funding, he states that 90% of AIFLD funding "comes from the Agency for International Development of the U.S. State Department and a substantial portion of its leadership positions may be controlled by the CIA."⁹

An indication of the extent to which AFL-CIO dependency on U.S. government funding for its overseas activities has grown is given by Fay Hansen in her report "The AFL-CIO and the Endowment for Democracy."¹⁰ The National Endowment for Democracy (NED) was set up in 1983 with the objective of building "democratic" institutions abroad. According to Hansen,

NED is merely a more covert form of additional government funding for AFL-CIO foreign programmes. Government funds for the (AFL-CIO's) Free Trade Union Institute (FTUI) and for the AFL-CIO's three regional programmes have traditionally been provided by the State Department's Agency for International Development (AID) and the Department of Labour. Current estimates indicate that over \$20 million a year is funnelled to the FTUI from these governments sources. NED funds now swell the AFL-CIO's foreign activities budget (by about \$12 million a year), without the standard oversight and accountability requirements that apply to other agency funds.¹¹

Those NED funds are used by the AFL-CIO to build dual unions in Portugal, Nicaragua, Chad and the South Pacific Islands to allow the FTUI to compete with the WFTU.¹²

West Germany: Like the CLC, the West German labour movement supports trade unions in the developing countries both through the ICFTU's Solidarity Fund and through its own independent programmes. These programmes are subsidized by the Federal Government of West Germany, with the funds being frequently funnelled through foundations that are linked with the political parties in West Germany - for example, the Friedrich Ebert Foundation, whose board is made up of leading members of the Social Democratic Party, and is financed by government, business and unions. This foundation has run courses for trade union leaders in Zimbabwe¹³, and a former ICFTU staff person says of it: "There are quite clear parallels between the expansionist German foreign trade policy and the work of this foundation."¹⁴

References

- 1 ILO Information, Vol. 19, No. 2, May 1983.
- 2 Thompson and Larson, op. cit., p. 38.
- 3 Ibid.
- 4 Ibid.
- 5 F. Hirsch, An Analysis of our AFL/CIO Role in Latin America (San Jose: 1974), p. 7.
- 6 Hirsch, p. 5.
- 7 Michael Sussman, AIFLD: U.S. Trojan Horse (Washington: EPICA, 1983), p. 19.
- 8 Ibid, p. 20.
- 9 Ibid., p. 3.
- 10 F. Hansen, "The AFL-CIO and the Endowment of Democracy" in Economic Notes, May/June 1985.
- 11 Ibid., p. 12.
- 12 Ibid., p. 13.
- 13 Personal visit by writer, July 1980.
- 14 Ake Wedin quoted in Thomson and Larson, op. cit., p. 28.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS.

- Abella, Irving. The Canadian Labour Movement 1902-1960. Ottawa: Canadian Historical Association, 1975.
- Africa Fund. Black Unions in South Africa. New York, 1982.
- Agee, Phillip. Inside the Company. London: Penguin, 1975.
- Ayres, Robert. Banking on the Poor. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1983.
- Carty, Robert and Virginia Smith. Perpetuating Poverty: The Political Economy of Canadian Foreign Aid. Toronto: Between the Lines, 1982.
- Chodos, Robert. The Caribbean Connection. Toronto: Lorimer, 1977.
- Clarke, Robert and Richard Swift (Eds.). Ties that Bind. Toronto: Between the Lines, 1982.
- Fry, John (Ed.). Economy, Class and Social Reality. Toronto: Butterworth, 1979.
- _____. Contradictions in Canadian Society. Toronto: Wiley & Co., 1984.
- Hardy, A. Palacios and Litvinoff Martinez. Canadian Aid: Whose Priorities? Toronto: Latin American Working Group, 1973.
- Harker, John. Encouraging Enthusiasm, Avoiding Imposture: An Activist Foreign Policy in Defense of Democracy. Ottawa: C.I.I.A., 1983.
- Hayter, Teresa. Aid as Imperialism. London: Penguin, 1971.
- Hirsch, F. An Analysis of our AFL/CIO Role in Latin American. San Jose, 1974.
- Horowitz, Gad. Canadian Labour in Politics. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1968.
- Kwavnick, David. Organized Labour and Pressure Politics. Montreal: McGill, 1972.
- Lappe, Frances Moore, Joseph Collins and David Kinley. Aid As Obstacle. San Francisco: Institute of Food and Policy Development, 1981.
- Laxer, Robert. Canada's Unions. Toronto: Lorimer, 1976.

- Lewycky, Dennis and Susan White. An African Abstract. Winnipeg: Manitoba Council for International Cooperation, 1979.
- Luckhart, Ken and Brenda Wall. A History of the South Africa Congress of Trade Unions. London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1980.
- Magdoff, Harry. The Age of Imperialism. New York: Monthly Review, 1969.
- Miliband, Ralph, John Saville, Marcel Liebman and Leo Panitch (Eds.). Socialist Register 1985/86. London: Merlin Press, 1986.
- Miliband, Ralph. The State in Capitalist Society. London: Quartet, 1983.
- _____. Marxism and Politics. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977.
- O'Connor, James. The Fiscal Crisis of the State. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1973.
- Palmer, Bryan D. Working Class Experiences: The Rise and Reconstitution of Canadian Labour 1800-1980. Toronto: Butterworth, 1983.
- Panitch, Leo. Working Class Politics in Crisis. London: Verso Press, 1986.
- _____, (Ed.). The Canadian State: Political Economy and Political Power. Toronto: University of Toronto, 1977.
- _____. Social Democracy and Industrial Militancy. London: Cambridge University Press, 1976.
- Payer, Cheryl. The Debt Trap: The IMF and the Third World. New York: Monthly Review, 1974.
- Petras, James. Latin America: Reform or Revolution? Greenwich, Conn.: Fawcett, 1968.
- Rhodes, Robert J. Imperialism and Underdevelopment. New York: Monthly Review Press, 1970.
- SACTU Solidarity Committee. Trafficking in Apartheid. Toronto, 1985.
- Saskatoon Solidarity Committee. Partners in Imperialism. Saskatoon, 1981.
- Saul, John and Stephen Gelb. The Crisis in South Africa. New York: Monthly Review, 1981.
- Smillie, Ian. The Land of Lost Content: A History of CUSO. Toronto: Deneau, 1985.

- Socialist International. Annual Report 1983. Brussels, 1983.
- Spicer, Keith. A Samaritan State? External Aid in Canada's Foreign Policy. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1966.
- Sussman, Michael. AIFLD: U.S. Trojan Horse. Washington: Epica, 1983.
- TCLSAC. Words and Deeds: Canada and South Africa. Toronto, 1971.
- Thomson, Don and Rodney Larson. Where Were You, Brother? London: War on Work, 1978.
- Waterman, Peter (Ed.). For a New Labour Internationalism. The Hague: ILERI, 1984.
- Windmuller, John. Labour Relations in the Netherlands. New York: Cornell, 1969.

ARTICLES AND PAPERS.

- Bonner, Phil. "Independent Trade Unions Since Wiehahn," South Africa Labour Bulletin, (undated).
- Broad, Dave. "Belize - On The Rim of the Cauldron," Monthly Review, February 1984.
- Canadian Labour Congress. "Notes on Labour," (undated).
- Canadian Labour Congress. "Labour's Views on International Affairs," October 30, 1979.
- Clark, John. "Canadian Labour Congress as an International Actor," International Perspectives, September/October 1980.
- CLAT Report. Brussels, August 1984.
- Dickinson, Harley. "Canadian Foreign Aid" in John Fry (Ed.), Economy, Class and Social Reality, (Toronto: Butterworth, 1979).
- Gallon, Gary. "The Aid Fix: Pushers and Addicts," International Perspectives, November/December 1983.
- Hansen, F. "The AFL-CIO and the Endowment for Democracy," Economic Notes, May/June 1985.
- Krempien. "The CIDA Connection," unpublished paper, 1978.
- Loney, Martin. "Bankrolling the Revolution," Canadian Dimension, Vol. 12, No. 2, .

- Petras, James. "The Growing Intervention of Social Democracy in Latin America," unpublished paper, 1981.
- Pratt, Cranford. "Canadian Policy Towards the Third World: Basis for an Explanation," Studies in Political Economy, Spring 1984.
- Saskatchewan Trade Union Solidarity Committee. A First-Hand Report, 1985.
- Sharp, Mitchell. "Canada's Stake in International Progress," Dialogue, 1961.
- Southall, Roger. "Labour Migrancy and the Independent Unions in South Africa," IDSEG Discussion Paper, 1983.
- Steeves, Jeffrey. "CIDA: The Policy Process and the Third World 1968-1979," (mimeo, 1980).

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS.

- Government of Canada. 1984 Budget Speech, (Ottawa).
- CIDA. Annual Reviews 1981 to 1985.
- Dupuy, Michael. "Notes for an Address to the Empire Club of Toronto," 1977.
- Dupuy, Michael. Partners in Tomorrow, 1984.
- Government of Canada. Hansard, (Ottawa).
- Department of External Affairs. International Perspectives.
- Labour Canada. Annual Directory of Labour Organizations in Canada.
- Labour Canada. Annual Reports.
- Labour Canada. Labour Organizations in Canada, 1981.

NEWSPAPERS AND NEWSMAGAZINES.

- London, Africa Confidential.
- London, Africa News.
- Winnipeg, Canadian Dimension.
- Ottawa, Canadian Labour.
- Ottawa, CUPE: The Facts.

Ottawa, CUSO Forum.

Toronto, Financial Post.

Toronto, Globe and Mail.

Toronto, New Internationalist.

London, Manchester Guardian.

Geneva, ILO Information.

New York, Guardian.

Harare, Harare Herald.

San Francisco, In These Times.

Ottawa, Labour's Views.

Ottawa, Labour's World.

Harare, Moto Magazine.

London, New African.

Braamfontein, South Africa Labour Bulletin.

London, Workers' Unity.

Regina, Saskatchewan Labour.