

R. Hough



American Institute for Free Labor Development

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Executive Director

November 21, 1990

The Honorable Bernard Aronson
Assistant Secretary of State for
Inter-American Affairs
U.S. Department of State
Washington, D.C. 20520

Dear Bernie:

It is unfortunate that our schedules did not permit our meeting prior to my departure to Tokyo to attend the ICFTU Executive Board Meeting and to Mexico on an AFL-CIO delegation dealing with the Maquilladora Problem.

Therefore, I would just like to touch on a few subjects that we can discuss at greater length at our meeting on December 14th.

Haiti

We have just returned from Haiti where the situation concerning the elections is highly problematic. We have been cooperating with Ambassador Adams and the AID Mission in urging the four labor confederations of different ideologies to participate, albeit reluctantly, in the electoral process. Attached are reports that you may find useful since they reflect the Haitian workers' viewpoint.

Nicaragua

While, with your assistance and that of the Embassy, we are taking the organizational initiative in labor away from the Sandinistas, the new government remains very unsure of itself and unfortunately compromised with the Sandinistas in their continuous recalcitrance. We have undertaken a support role with Nina Shea, of the Puebla Institute in a program also sponsored by Freedom House and the Americas Society to hold a high level forum next Spring on the occasion of President Violetta Chamorro's first year in office, which will review the status of democratic development. I believe that US government support for this undertaking is crucial.

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El Salvador

In spite of the recent bad news from the FMLN on the peace front, we are convinced that the forthcoming March elections will be the key to the future of democracy in that Country. With AID assistance we will be helping the democratic trade union movement become fully involved in a civic education and "get out the vote" effort.

However, we still have the "gnawing" problem that the Christiani government, for its own political reasons, has refused to grant legal recognition to the labor-management foundation which was set up as a result of your intervention with Larry Egelberger. We would appreciate a call from you to President Christiani on this matter.

Dominican Republic

What looked like a very positive attitude on the part of that government towards the elimination of human and trade union discrimination in the export zone in order to avoid negative action on the part of the US government regarding the General System of Preference, may have been negated by a "union busting effort" on the part of Westinghouse Corporation.

We have kept Ambassador Taylor informed of these developments and we hope that wiser heads will prevail at Westinghouse. Your appropriate officers have the details on this case.

Looking forward to seeing you on the 14th and with every personal wish for Happy Thanksgiving to the Aronson family,

Sincerely,



William C. Doherty
Executive Director

cc: Tom Kahn- AFL-CIO
Tony Freeman-AID
Tony Kern AID
Top AIFLD Staff

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MEMORANDUM

November 20, 1990

TO: Mr. William C. Doherty

FROM: Jesse Friedman *JF*

SUBJECT: Conversations with Coupet and Kessler
Elections in Haiti

In the last few days our people in Haiti have met with various union groups and individuals to explore ideas we discussed during our recent visit there. The results of their conversations are not very encouraging.

1. It is unlikely that a coalition of centrist democratic candidates can be formed for the first round. Everyone wants to be president. Our people feel that whoever moves, even a little, to push for such a coalition would be badly burned.
2. Father Aristides, in the opinion of our people, is more popular outside of Port au Prince. This contrasts with Berlangers' analysis that Father Aristides' popularity was limited to the Port-au-Prince area.
3. Jean Claude Coupet feels that there will be no elections. I have to take his opinion seriously since he gets around more than anyone else I know, and he has a good track record. I cannot forget that in 1987 he told me that there would be no election and I did not listen carefully enough to him, perhaps because I did not want to hear his message.



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MEMORANDUM

November 15, 1990

TO: The Files
FROM: William C. Doherty
SUBJECT: Haitian Election Report

I traveled to Haiti on November 9, accompanied by AIFLD Deputy Executive Director, Jesse Friedman. We met with approximately thirty labor leaders from diverse sectors of the Haitian labor movement (CAT, OGITH, Teachers, and FOS); these were people who would otherwise not get together on any other issue except the need to hold an election. Former President Jimmy Carter was extremely instrumental in convincing these trade unionists of the importance of their participation in the election process during his recent visit to Haiti.

There seems to be a consensus that if the election were held tomorrow, Father Aristides would win. A few people believe the Army would not allow him to govern and he has been described by various sources as a psychotic whose only message is to tear down all institutions that exist, because they are evil, and to punish the wicked. He has no program and no formal organizational apparatus behind him, but he enjoys popular support from the urban slum dwellers and, of all people, Madame Mitterrand of France. He recently toured France and reportedly received substantial financial contributions from citizens of that country. Some informed sources say he has Quadaffi money. Some also say that he is a Marxist-Leninist despite his anarchistic "front" image.

Leopold Belanger estimates that the democratic center would get 60 to 65% of the popular vote, but there are approximately five serious candidates in the center, all of whom want to be President. Instead of getting the popular majority, they run the danger of fighting amongst themselves to discover who is the biggest midget. Unless they form a sensible and acceptable coalition, Aristides could win in the first round - that is, if there is to be a first round.

Another problem is that of Leslie Managat. Managat is reportedly receiving funding from Venezuelan and German Christian Democrats. Although he is a decent man himself, he has cast his lot with the far right murderous elements of the militia and from the labor leaders' point of view, it is totally irrelevant that he is a decent person because if he assumes power he would only be a front man for the killers. This is a real threat since Managat claims to be the legitimate President of Haiti following the 1988 election. He claims that he never resigned from the Presidency. His supporters have publicly threatened to wreak havoc upon the Country if he is not allowed to be a candidate. The Electoral Board has declared him ineligible to run. All of the labor leaders asked us to be their emissaries in advising Venezuelan and German friends that Managat is not the friend of democracy that they perceive him to be, but instead, their potential political worst enemy. They would like to see the Venezuelan and German support cut immediately.

We left Haiti convinced that the election is a 50-50 proposition at best. We feel that a central coalition is the only practical approach towards promoting a successful electoral process, but accomplishing this will be no easy task, as each candidate has his own ambitions and however slim his chance may be, he probably thinks he can win.

Thus far labor has contributed enormously and successfully in achieving 2.7 million registrants. Labor played a considerable role in getting the workers out for this process. The next phase will be a broad series of education seminars and the final big effort will be in helping get workers and campesinos to the polls. Labor has not officially endorsed any candidate. We met with Ambassador Alvin Adams prior to our departure from Haiti and, of course, transmitted our views to him and his senior staff.



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WILLIAM C. DOHERTY JR.
Executive Director

GORDON F. ELISON
Country Program Director

October 22, 1990

TO: Jose Estrada
AIFLD Assistant Director

FROM: Don Ellenberger
AIFLD/N Program Officer

SUBJECT: MONTHLY REPORT FOR SEPTEMBER, 1990

LABOR AFFAIRS AND UNREST

This month has been one of tension and conflict in the labor field. While the democratic labor confederations began to strengthen themselves by organizing new unions and increasing membership in old ones, Sandinista labor leaders orchestrated a campaign of intimidation and unrest among workers and in state and privately owned businesses.

A developing tactic among the forces of labor unrest is the physical occupation of places of business by a minority of workers backed up by larger numbers of political henchmen, usually armed with clubs and in some cases automatic weapons. On September 18, four installations of ENABUS, the state run urban bus system were forcibly taken by a minority of workers who chained and padlocked the gates effectively denying the majority of the workers access to the workplace. According to the left wing press, these workers were supported by the so-called popular masses from the surrounding communities and barrios, who erected tents and strung hammocks in front of the bus installations. The Sandinista police arrived but took no action either against the lockout or the profuse burning of tires in front of the bus barns. The apparent motive for the taking of the bus system by less than 10% of the workers is the demand for the reinstatement of a small number of fired members of the

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Sandinista Union (fired for cause), a promise of no more firings, and the conversion of the company into a cooperative run by the Sandinista workers. As of Sept. 28, 12 of the 15 bus routes remain paralyzed.

The director of the terminal number 6 ENABUS facility was wounded in the face by a rifle shot as he walked inside the compound. He managed to escape while being pursued by armed thugs inside and outside the facility. He waited for hours bleeding and terrorized in the dark in a ditch outside the premises until daybreak.

While in many industries including Plywood of Nicaragua, VIMSA (vehicle importations), TELCOR of Matagalpa, ENABUS at terminal number 5, SOVIPE, and others, workers are publicly requesting the privatization of these businesses, minority groups of workers are threatening to take drastic action should this occur. Sandinista workers at SOVIPE, DELMOR, Jaboneria Prego, El Caracol, and Camas Luna announced on Sept. 13 that they are ready to burn down the premises should the government continue to privatize them. In spite of these events, the communist trade union leaders at VIMSA have publicly called for the privatization of their workplace, saying that "...if we were opposed to this, we would be socializing misery."

At El Caracol the reinstated owner returned on Sept. 27 to take possession of the business as dictated by the Revisory Commission on Confiscated Properties. As she was reading the official document of reappropriation to the 70 plus workers, 50 armed turbas entered the premises and removed her by force. The campaign of intimidation and use of force by a minority to physically take the workplace away from the legitimate workers is in full operation. These attacks do not always go uncontested, however. When 2 trucks full of turbas attempted to take Plastic Records, workers there already working for the reinstated owners repelled them.

POLITICS AND PINATAS

More information continues to come to the surface regarding the giveaways of land, money, and vehicles to supporters and confidants of the previous government during the transition period. In the beaches of Masachapa new summer homes are being built on land that was given or sold for 50 dollars during the "Pinata" or interim between the elections and the inauguration of the new government. Edgardo Garcia of the ATC has benefited from this give-away through a title which was extended by the municipal judge. During this time 9,363 titles of land were awarded to ex-

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mayors, ex-functionaries of the Ministry of Agrarian Reform, and other Sandinista organizations. This represents almost 700,000 manzanas, over one fifth the land belonging to the Agrarian Reform, from where this land was taken. Checks for over \$900,000 were written to functionaries of the previous government in April, credited to general expenses. Sandra Guevara, personal assistant to Daniel Ortega, appeared at the Central Bank on April 24 hours before Ortega left the presidency and withdrew \$300,000 US in cash. Both of the bank signatures on the authorization of this withdrawal are illegible.

Nevertheless, the new Congress is not entirely silent regarding these events and abuses by the lame duck government of Daniel Ortega. Twenty six lifelong pensions were eliminated which had been given by the Sandinista government in April of this year. Also, the UNO voted unanimously to reform the immunity law which had been protecting Humberto Ortega and Joaquin Cuadra, Minister of Defense and Chief of State respectively. It also removes Daniel Ortega from immunity.

The present government has made a crucial and urgent call for a national concertation among labor, government, and business, in an attempt to resolve some of the crushing economic problems which beset it. Antonio Ibarra, Vice-minister of government, said that the priorities in the concertation will be to slow the hyperinflation and reduce the size of the state. He said that if the government has to reduce its personnel in half it will do so. In light of this, the Sandinista labor sector is posturing and threatening to boycott the concertation if the government does not guarantee an end to firing of public workers. It also demands the end of currency devaluations and the suspension of the law authorizing the return of confiscated properties.

Nevertheless, the concertation process began on Sept 27, introduced by UNO deputy Adan Fletes and supported by Sergio Ramirez. They will attempt to reach an agreement between government, labor and business which will bring the country out of its economic crisis.

In spite of the apparent participation of the Sandinista Front, turbas attacked and severely damaged several diplomatic vehicles parked in front of the Olof Palme Convention Center where the concertation was being inaugurated. Among the vehicles damaged were the Venezuelan Ambassador's car, the Cardinal's car, the Soviet Ambassador's car, and others. Damaso Vargas, CST leader and Sandinista Assemblyman and Dr. Zamora, ex-diplomat have been

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accused by the attorney general of instigating and encouraging the riot.

On Sept. 27, FSLN delegates walked out of the Assembly en masse after a new law reclassifying school administrators as politically sensitive positions was passed. This law redefines the positions of ministerial assistants, vice ministers, general directors, regional and local delegates, and school administrators as positions of confidence and therefore subject to political appointment. The government will now begin replacing school administrators who were appointed by the previous government, often because of their political orientation and regardless of their administrative capabilities.

ECONOMICS

The month of September began with an exchange rate of 900,000 cordobas to the dollar and finished with a rate of 1,180,000 to the dollar. Francisco Mayorga, Minister of Finance, reiterated this month the need to lower the national deficit, and emphasized that the entire country must sacrifice. Inflation was measured at 60% in August. Gasoline now costs \$2.15 per gallon.

Another area of the economy being hard hit is the agricultural sector in the north of the country due to, among other things, a serious drought. Campesinos there are requesting extensions on their credit because they will be bringing in much smaller crops than usual. It is estimated that 80% of the campesinos who took loans will be unable to repay them.

On the brighter side, the Minister of Labor presented a plan calling for investment of 15 million dollars for the reconstruction of schools, hospitals and roads which would generate employment for 8 thousand construction workers. The SCASS union has signed a collective bargaining agreement in order to begin work in this public sector. Currently, there are 20,000 construction workers out of work.

Unemployment is estimated by The Prensa to be running at 34.1 percent.

INTIMIDATION AND THREATS

While the government struggles with an economy deliberately sabotaged by the Sandinista unions and while attempts to establish the framework for future cooperation between the various segments of the Nicaraguan society, the

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opposition continues its threatening and vitriolic stance. Daniel Ortega this month warned in Mexico that Nicaragua is on the verge of a major social explosion due to the government's imposition of economic order. Edmundo Jarquin, Sandinista assemblyman, announced that the country could explode in a social conflict even before the concertation process has a chance to work. The Popular Struggle Front was formed by Sandinista representatives to "resist in an organized manner the government's plans." And of course the incessant physical takeovers of businesses by Sandinista "workers" continues to unsettle the country. The Prensa editorialized "Since the failed riot in July, the Sandinista front has insisted in keeping the pistol against the head of the Nicaraguan people, threatening with a continuation of their terrorist tactics, with new violence, if their conditions are not met." At the back of all this is the foot dragging of the police to take an active role in maintaining public order and security.

However, there is hope on the horizon. INCAE has enrolled 40 police officers in a course on peaceful conflict resolution.

Mr. Friedman

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MEMORANDUM

November 19, 1990

TO: The records

FROM: Jose Estrada *[Signature]*

SUBJECT: Trip to San Salvador - Nov. 13 - 15

The reason for this trip was to make an evaluation of the role of UNOC and its components vis-a-vis the forthcoming elections for the "Asamblea Legislativa" and "alcaldes", to be held next March 1991. In a previous trip it was concluded that those elections are critical in relation with the peace process and the continuation of the National Dialogue between the GOES and the FMLN.

1. The Peace Process - In the last three meetings between the FMLN and the Government, there has not been substantial progress. In the latest meeting in Mexico, it was agreed to give the U.N. Representative a role as intermediary instead of a conciliator. This action may accomplish more tangible results.

The GOES continues to pursue its economic policy and political agenda. The FMLN, in turn, is keeping all of its options open, including sabotaging the forthcoming elections. The possibility of a cease fire prior to the elections is not good. There is a chance for a truce during the day of the elections. In the meantime the FMLN continues its attacks against military installations as well as subversive actions mainly in the city of San Salvador.

2. The Political Parties - The political parties are getting ready for the elections. The opposition believes that they can win a majority in the "Asamblea", an optimism that is not shared by outside observers. Violence is not discounted. The parties in Government (ARENA) and its allies (PCN and MAG) are already moving forward. The PDC, Convergencia and UDN are behind schedule, still looking for candidates.

3. Organized Labor - Labor represented by democratic UNOC, leftist UNTS, and independent unions are positioning themselves for the election. For the first time in years labor seems to play a role in the forthcoming elections:
 - a. UNOC - Two components of UNOC, the UCS and ACOPAI are already committed to run in the election under the banner of the PDC. see list attached. There is a possibility that a representative of SUTC will also run.
 - b. Independent Union - Felix Blanco, CTS, might be a candidate with the PDC.
 - c. UNTS - Centeno might be a candidate with the UDN (Communist Party). It is believed that the UNTS will follow the FMLN guide line as close as possible.
4. U.S. Embassy - The Embassy sees as a positive step for labor leaders in UNOC to run as candidates. The feeling is that participation will normalize the process.

JE:msc

O F E R T A

SANTA ANA	1°	Lugar.....	ARTURO MAGAÑA
SONSONATE	"	"	SIMON PARADA
LA LIBERTAD	"	"	AMANDA VILLATORO
SAN MIGUEL.....	2°	Lugar	REGUERO
NACIONAL	3.	Lugar.....	ORLANDO
SAN SALVADOR	4.	Lugar	?
LA UNION	2°	Lugar	ACOPAI
AHUACHAPAN	1°	Suplente	ACOPAI
LA PAZ	1°	Suplente	U.C.S.
SAN VICENTE.....	1°	Suplente	U.C.S.
CHALATENANGO	1°	Suplente	ACOPAI
MORAZAN	1°	Suplente	U.C.S.
SAN SALVADOR	3.	Suplente	?

Mr. Friedma

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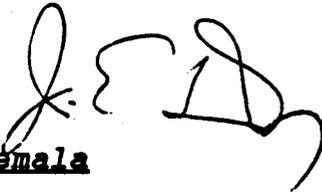
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MEMORANDUM

November 20, 1990

TO: The Records
FROM: Jose Estrada 
SUBJECT: Trip to Guatemala

I visited Guatemala with David Jessup on November 10 - 13, at the invitation of CUSG to observe the national elections. David will submit the report on the elections. What follows is my assessment on the impact of the election on organized labor in general and in particular to CUSG and our program in Guatemala:

1. Elections - The electoral process on November 11 was free and legitimate. International observers, the TSE, the media and the different political parties agreed on the legitimacy of the event.
2. Two contenders, Jorge Carpio Nicolle, from the Union del Centro National (UCN), and Jorge Serrano Elias, from Movimiento de Action Solidaria (MAS), were the winners in first and second place. There will be a second round to elect a President on January 6, 1991, since none of those two candidates obtained 50% plus one vote. In fact both candidates obtained almost the same amount of votes, slightly higher percentage of votes was for Jorge Carpio.
3. The other candidates and parties split the votes, and the election of a president in January will depend on which way those votes will go.
4. Based upon conversations at the local level as well as politicians in El Salvador that followed the Guatemalan elections closely, it is believed that Jorge Serrano has the best opportunity to be elected President.

5. Both candidates are from the Center Right of the political spectrum. Whoever wins, will move in the direction of other countries in the region: free market, privatization, new liberal policies, etc.
6. The CUSG Secretary General ran as a candidate for the UCN. Other CUSG members also ran for "alcaldes". Alfaro was elected "Diputado". In that capacity he will play a role in the "Asamblea Legislativa".
7. CUSG has two options:
 - a. If Jorge Carpio becomes the new President, Alfaro will probably become the Minister of Labor, and from that position he may help to strengthen organized labor in general and CUSG in particular. AIFLD should be ready to support an organizing drive that may accomplish an unprecedented growth of labor in Guatemala.
 - b. If Jorge Serrano is elected, the situation for CUSG will be more complicated. Alfaro plans to continue as Secretary General and "Diputado" at the same time. Due to lack of leadership in CUSG, and probably the GOG animosity against labor, there will not be much chance for improvement. AIFLD should be prepared to re-evaluate its program in Guatemala

JE:msc



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Executive Director

November 19, 1990

Mr. John J. Barry, President
International Brotherhood of
Electrical Workers
1125 15th St. NW
Washington, D.C. 20005

Dear Jack:

We have been in touch with Dick Mills and Ev Lehman concerning a very serious problem that has developed with the Westinghouse Corporation and their newly formed union, affiliated to the National Confederation of Workers in the Dominican Republic. The details of the incident are contained in our November 19th "Briefs" attached.

The unions in the Dominican Republic have joined with various AFL-CIO affiliates in a joint organizing campaign to try to break the anti-union barrier which has existed for more than thirty years in the export zones of the Dominican Republic. This radical union busting activity of Westinghouse is taking place despite assurances from the government of the Dominican Republic to the trade union movement of that country and, as a matter of fact, to the government of the United States that the Conventions of the ILO regarding freedom of association, right to form unions and bargain collectively would be respected.

What we had hoped would be an organizing breakthrough has been brought about because the government of the Dominican Republic is trying to avoid trade sanctions which may result from their violation of the US law concerning the general system of preferences.

Jack, both Dick and Ev have been extremely cooperative. We are hoping that the local Westinghouse management decision to bust this union, in light of the drastic consequences for the country, will be overruled by more senior officials here in the US. In the event that this is not possible, of course we will go to a full

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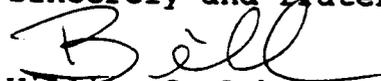
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court press trying to bring pressure on both governments from all levels of the US and international labor movement.

We have also made an initial contact with Bill Bywater's office, and of course we have his full support on this matter, although they indicated that IBEW is the principal union in Westinghouse.

With many thanks for your help on this most urgent matter.

Sincerely and fraternally,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Bill".

William C. Doherty
Executive Director

cc: Bill Bywater-IUE
Tom Kahn- AFL-CIO

November 19, 1990

DOMINICAN REPUBLIC
WESTINGHOUSE FIRES NEW TRADE UNION LEADERS

Efforts by the Dominican Government to improve worker rights and avoid possible GSP sanctions were dealt a sharp blow Friday by Westinghouse corporation, which fired nine leaders of a recently formed trade union. The action embarrassed government labor ministry officials who on October 11 had issued a press statement guaranteeing workers in the country's export processing zones, or "free zones," as they are called, the freedom to organize and join trade unions.

The new trade union at Westinghouse Dominicana S.A., in the Haina Free Zone, was formed on October 21. It was promptly recognized by the government on October 29. The union registered with the legal minimum of 25 workers, but grew quickly to more than 350 members out of a workforce of 1800. Several meetings were sought with management, to no avail.

On Wednesday, November 14, management convened a meeting of its workers in which the idea of a trade union was forcefully put down and the new union leaders were held up to ridicule. According to workers at the plant, the local manager, Ingrid Blonda, said, "There is no union here, just 16 agitators." Even prior to Wednesday, workers said, a supervisor named Victor Fernandez was fired for having shook hands with the union's leader.

On Friday, November 16, nine workers were fired from their jobs, seven of whom were on the new union's Executive Committee and two of whom were original founders of the union (see attached list). This action provoked a spontaneous protest by other workers, dozens of whom left their jobs for more than two hours. Because of the ensuing confusion, the factory was shut down for the day and workers were told to go home. The fired workers refused to accept their final paychecks because they regard the firings as illegal.

The management used company security guards and national police to forcibly remove the fired workers from the premises. When the union's general secretary, Alberto Delgado, sought to gather his personal belongings, guards broke into his locker and searched it before allowing him access.

Ironically, on the very day of the firings, the National Confederation of Dominican Workers (CNTD), to which

the new union is affiliated, took out a newspaper ad urging its members not to participate in a highly politicized general strike called by several leftist union groups seeking to bring down the government. The CNTD's decision was praised by the government as an act of responsible unionism. One of the signers of the ad was Alberto Delgado.

On Saturday following the firings, Belky Baez, the union's Financial Secretary, was also fired.

According to the CNTD, workers in the process of organizing unions in other companies are also being fired or threatened with firing. In the Haina Free Zone, fifteen workers were fired from Baxter International on Friday. Workers at Sylvania have been threatened with firing. In the San Pedro Free Zone, ten people were fired from Undelgalme Fashion on Saturday, including the General Secretary and two leaders of a union in formation.

The Minister of Labor, Washington de Pena, has told the CNTD he will support legal action against the companies. However, the labor code is weak when it comes to protecting workers against unjust dismissals. It is obvious that stronger measures will have to be taken.

Names of those fired:

Alberto Delgado, General Secretary
Rafael Delgado, Grievance Secretary
Alfredo Miseses, Corresponding Secretary
Juan P. Granado Mateo, Press Secretary
Juan Vasquez, First spokesman
Octavio Diaz, Presiding judge of Disciplinary Committee
Rugh E. Cuevas, Secretary of Disciplinary Committee
Apolinar Perez, original member
Eddy Felix Volquez, original member