FINAL REPORT

MIDTERM EVALUATION:

AIFLD-AID COOPERATIVE AGREEMENT IN EL SALVADOR

Contract No. 519-0368-C-00-3077-00

Submitted to:

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The American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD) project strengthens democratic labor unions in El Salvador through services provided by the National Union of Workers and Peasants (UNOC) and other democratic unions. This mid-term evaluation assumes a two-year project extension and was carried out through the collection of data from AIFLD records, AIFLD personnel, project participants, and knowledgeable observers. Major findings and conclusions:

- With the end of the civil war, the leftist threat to democratic trade unionism has diminished. Collective bargaining agreements should be first priority, working with UNOC to identify unions and industries which are promising candidates for collective bargaining.

- Inter-organization differences are a barrier to centralized union-cooperative training. Cooperative administration courses played an important role in helping cooperatives become viable agribusiness operations.

- AIFLD client union federations receive less administrative support, and rural organizations are using village banks and agribusiness initiatives to attain self-sufficiency.

- UNOC's credibility within the democratic labor movement and its policy formation and presentation of democratic labor's positions on national issues were strengthened through the project. The key was technical team (1 economist and 2 lawyers), who played a crucial role in strengthening the Inter-Union organization (under UNOC leadership) and the post-civil war labor-government-management forum. The project extension should add three more professionals to the technical assistance team to assist unions in the field with agrarian and worker rights problems and to research the state of collective bargaining contracts, union/federation organization, and to collect information leading to productive union organization campaigns.
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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

1. **Project purpose.** Since the 1960s, the American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD) has been carrying out activities which strengthen democratic labor unions in El Salvador. In 1990, AIFLD and AID signed a Cooperative Agreement to enable AIFLD to expand its activities so as to improve the services provided by the National Union of Workers and Peasants (Unión Nacional de Obreros y Campesinos - UNOC), as well as other democratic trade unions. The agreement provides funding to enable AIFLD to actively promote the process of democratization through the development of a strong and vigorous democratic labor movement, representing the interests of urban and rural workers in a progressively more open and pluralistic society. AIFLD's program includes the following objectives:

- Assist the UNOC in increasing membership, upgrading management and operational capabilities, improving the human rights situation of workers, upgrading leadership capabilities, and elaborating a strategy for attaining self-sufficiency.

- Assist urban unions in negotiating new collective bargaining contracts, introduction of health and safety programs, increase income and employment, improve social welfare, and improve administrative and program capabilities.

- Assist rural unions by assisting families to gain access to land, improve overall production, support farmers in defense of their rights, increase employment, income and social welfare, and upgrade management.

- AIFLD would also support the newly created Salvadoran Labor-Management Foundation by supporting its start-up and initial social and economic programs.

2. **Evaluation purpose.** AID contracted to carry out a mid-term evaluation of the AIFLD project, assuming a roughly two-year project extension, in order to appraise progress in implementation, assess the likelihood of achieving project objectives, identify elements constraining its successful execution, and report lessons learned to date. The evaluation methodology is based on the collection of data from AIFLD records, AIFLD personnel, participants in AIFLD-sponsored activities, and persons with knowledge of Salvadoran unions and rural organizations. In addition, information was collected through observation of AIFLD-sponsored training events and through visits to individuals and groups who have benefitted from the AIFLD program.
3. Findings and conclusions.

**Opposition to the left:** AIFLD in the past saw both radical anti-unionists and radical non-democratic unionists as equal threats to the development of a pluralistic society in which democratic unions played an important role. With the end of the civil war, the leftist threat to democratic trade unionism has diminished.

**Training:** While AIFLD had proposed to establish a centralized training facility, lower level training was carried out by the individual unions and federations, although training content varied little. Inter-organization political differences appear to be the principal barrier to centralized union-cooperative training. AIFLD’s cooperative administration courses played an important role in helping cooperatives become viable agribusiness operations.

**Administrative support and future self-sufficiency:** AIFLD provided administrative support for client union federations during the project, the first year with few controls over spending, the second based on real budgets, and the third focused on weaning the union federations from this support and/or assisting organizations in setting up programs to make them self-sufficient. Rural sector agribusiness components involving the sale of fertilizer to member cooperatives and the marketing of sesame were supported by AIFLD through bank-rate loans to cooperative organizations and should lead one federation to self-sufficiency within a year.

**Improved UNOC capabilities:** UNOC’s capabilities, regarding its credibility within the democratic labor movement and its policy formulation and presentation of democratic labor’s positions on national issues, have been unquestionably strengthened through the project. The key has been the hiring of excellent, dedicated technical people (1 economist and 2 lawyers), who have not only helped to strengthen UNOC as a respected labor organization but who have also played a crucial role in the viability of the Intergremial (under UNOC leadership) and of the Foro (again, under UNOC leadership). However, this team’s important role in assisting UNOC in these roles means they have had less time for other tasks also important to UNOC.

**Collective bargaining agreements:** AIFLD achieved just four of ten new collective bargaining agreements planned, although the construction union agreement covered the largest union in El Salvador. The distrust of unions by the private sector coupled with the focus of unions on political questions hindered the achievement of this objective.

**Microenterprise and village banks:** AIFLD successfully provided small loans to the rural and urban poor through village banks (rural) and microenterprise programs (urban). AIFLD learned this
program from other agencies but now requires no further assistance in running the program. The program is progressing toward self-sufficiency.

4. Principal recommendations.

- AIFLD should downplay, though not abandon, the anti-leftist strategy of the past and concentrate on helping the democratic union movement to achieve successes in the area of collective bargaining, the ratification of ILO agreements, and the passing of new and workable Labor and Agrarian Codes.

- AIFLD should strive toward centralized training by attempting "informal" centralization through the reservation of funds for inter-organization training. AIFLD should continue to give cooperative administration courses but also prepare local training entities to give them by providing course outlines, teaching techniques, and other materials.

- AIFLD should continue its self-sufficiency drive for its client unions and federations, although some funds should be reserved to assist clients on an occasional basis and to assist unions and federations which wish to join the democratic labor movement. With rural organizations, AIFLD should emphasize agribusiness programs with other cooperative organizations to lead rural sector federations to self-sufficiency.

- The project extension should add three more professionals to the technical assistance team, including one labor lawyer to assist unions in the field with agrarian and worker rights problems, plus two professionals (1 sociologist, 1 lawyer) to form the core of a UNOC labor research team to study the state of collective bargaining contracts, the state of union and federation organization and registration, and to collect information leading to productive union organization campaigns.

- AIFLD should make collective bargaining agreements its first priority, working with UNOC to identify unions and industries which are promising candidates for collective bargaining, and it should look for responsible and creative ways of coaxing reluctant private sector entities to the bargaining table.

- AIFLD should continue these programs. As organizations become self-sufficient and require little continued technical assistance and training, AIFLD should expand the program to other organizations.
AIFLD Evaluation

I. INTRODUCTION

A. Background

Since the 1960s, the American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD) has been carrying out activities which strengthen democratic labor unions in El Salvador. The majority of funding received by AIFLD has come from the U.S. government.

On May 31, 1990, AIFLD and AID signed a Cooperative Agreement to enable AIFLD to expand its activities so as to improve the services provided by the National Union of Workers and Peasants (Unión Nacional de Obreros y Campesinos - UNOC) and the Democratic Workers Central (Central de Trabajadores Democráticos - CTD), as well as other democratic trade unions. The agreement provides funding to enable AIFLD to actively promote the process of democratization through the development of a strong and vigorous democratic labor movement, representing the interests of urban and rural workers in a progressively more open and pluralistic society. AIFLD's program includes the following objectives:

- Assist the UNOC in increasing membership, upgrading management and operational capabilities, improving the human rights situation of workers, enhancing voter registration activities, upgrading leadership capabilities, and elaborating a strategy for attaining self-sufficiency.

- Assist urban unions in negotiating new collective bargaining contracts, introduction of health and safety programs, increase income and employment, improve social welfare, increase skills, and improve administrative and program capabilities.

- Assist rural unions by assisting families to gain access to land, improve overall production, support farmers in defense of their rights, increase employment, income and social welfare, and upgrade management.

AID has contracted Checchi and Company Consulting Inc. to carry out a mid-term evaluation of the AIFLD project, assuming a roughly two-year project extension, in order to appraise progress in implementation, assess the likelihood of achieving project objectives, identify elements constraining its successful execution, and report lessons learned to date. The evaluation will be used as an independent assessment of the validity of this approach to supporting democratic labor unions in El Salvador.
The Scope of Work requested that the contractors examine the following areas, each of which is followed by the section or sections of the document which deal with each area:

a) Assess whether AIFLD’s strategy is appropriate and effective, whether the goals and objectives are relevant and are being met, and whether the operating procedures are relevant and effective for strategy implementation and goal achievement.

- AIFLD’s strategy appropriate and effective, goals and objectives relevant and being met, operating procedures relevant and effective for strategy implementation and goal achievement, pp. 5-7.

b) Evaluate the effectiveness of methodologies and techniques used by AIFLD to implement activities.

- Sections IV-VI. See especially pp. 60-61,

c) Evaluate AIFLD’s educational and promotional activities, including training and publications. With respect to training, assess whether they have a formulated strategy, are focused and effective, and if the presentation is appropriate to accomplish their stated objectives. Also assess the overall impact of their training.

- Training, see VI.A. Training and Education
  - by UNOC technical assistance team, pp. 27 (chart), 28.
  - voter registration, pp. 32-33.
  - centralized training unit, p. 43
  - short courses, pp. 43-45.
  - cooperative administration, pp. 45-46.
  - international training, pp. 46-47.
  - informal sector, p. 51.
- Promoters, see VI.C. Promoters, pp. 52-53.
- Overall impact of training, see pp. 45, 46.

d) Evaluate the managerial and financial structure/capability of AIFLD. Areas to be addressed include appropriate assignment of tasks, level of morale, and level of efficiency, and possibilities for self-sustainability of democratic trade unions beyond the period of AID funding.

- Managerial and financial structure/capability, see VIII.A, p. 68.
- Tasks, morale, and efficiency, see VIII.A, p. 68.
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- Self-sustainability of unions, see V. AIFLD’s Administrative Support Program, pp. 34-41.

e) Assess whether AIFLD has appropriate indicators and generates enough statistics to evaluate the impact of its activities and to pinpoint specific problem areas.

- Indicators and statistics, see VIII.B.

f) Assess whether the current mix of technical assistance and training for AIFLD [-supported union] staff is adequate. Recommend areas where modifications or additions should be made.

- See VI.G.

g) Examine the relationship of AIFLD activities to other local and international entities who work in El Salvador, including other AID activities. Assess the effectiveness of communication between AIFLD and these organizations.

- Relationship to international entities, see V.C.2. on relationship to ICFTU; VII.A. IMI-BAC.

- Relationship to local entities, see III.F. AIFLD’s role in labor politics in El Salvador.

- Relationship to other AID activities, see VI.F. FIPRO and FEPADE; VII.B. FOES; VI.D. Mobil health unit.

h) Evaluate AIFLD’s relationship to unions and the private sector.

- Relation to unions, see III.F.

- Relation to private sector, see II.A. General Goals and Strategies

i) Assess whether AIFLD’s relationship to sub-grantees is adequate, accessible, effective and efficient. Assess whether actions taken by sub-grantees with AIFLD funds have been in line with USG policy.

- IMI-BAC and FOES, see VII. Sub-grants

- Sub-grants to unions and federations, see V. AIFLD’s Administrative Support Program and VI. AIFLD’s Program Activities, especially p. 44.

- Relation to USG policy, p. 7.

j) Evaluate the overall impact of AIFLD’s activities. Cite specific achievements, and quantify impact and accomplishments.
AIFLD Evaluation

where possible. Evaluate whether the project is on track in
meeting project objectives as well as overall Mission Strategic
Objectives as stated in the FY 93-97 Program Objectives Document.

- Throughout document. See especially IX. Conclusions and
  Recommendations, pp. 70-76.

k) Assess whether AIFLD has managed its resources in a cost
effective manner, and whether the investment of resources has
produced a reasonable return. If possible, calculate a
cost/benefit ratio.

- Reasonable return on resources, pp. 29, 33, 35-38, 63, and
  sections VI and VIII.

l) Assess project impact/sensitivity to women in development
issues.

- See Annex 4.

B. Evaluation Team and Methodology

The evaluation team was composed of two individuals. The
team leader, Dr. Stephen Stewart, is an American social scientist
with extensive experience in neighboring Guatemala and elsewhere
in Central America, with a long record of experience as a
consultant on AID-funded projects, including three months during
the previous year and a half. Danilo Jiménez is a Costa Rican
social scientist and labor specialist with recent experience in
evaluating AIFLD projects in South America and extensive
experience and contacts with labor in Central America.

The evaluation was carried out during a six-week period
between February and April of 1993. The evaluation team
methodology is based on the collection of data from four sources:
AIFLD records, AIFLD personnel, persons who have participated in
AIFLD-sponsored activities, and persons with other knowledge of
Salvadoran unions and rural organizations. AIFLD records include
reports sent to the AID project officer and the files on which
these reports are based, including training and support programs
with individual unions and federations. AIFLD personnel were
interviewed to provide additional explanations regarding the
records and the broader view of AIFLD activities.

Information was gathered from participants in AIFLD-
sponsored events through interviews which provided primarily
qualitative and some quantitative data. In addition, information
was collected through observation of AIFLD-sponsored training
events and through visits to individuals and groups who have
benefitted from the AIFLD program.
AIFLD Evaluation

II. Strategies: AIFLD and AID

A. General Goals and Strategies of AIFLD

The primary goal of AIFLD is "to promote actively the process of democratization through the development of a strong and vigorous democratic labor movement, representing the interests of urban and rural workers in a progressively more open and pluralistic society" (Proposal, p. 1). Its strategy has been to occupy what it considers the Salvadoran center but which has put it in opposition to the strong right and left wings in a polarized society: the reactionary right of rich landowners and industrialists and the Marxist left of the former FMLN guerrillas. It rejects both equally strongly: the right as anti-union and with no appreciation of the right and need of workers to express their needs and demands through unions, and the left as undemocratic and therefore counter to the democratic union ideal.

This project contains the elements of the general AIFLD strategy of opposing the radical right and left wings. The AIFLD strategy has centered on strengthening the ability of the democratic labor movement to represent itself through UNOC, and it has been very successful in raising the level of political savvy in UNOC to present sensible proposals, carry out intelligent analysis, and in general lead the labor movement, both democratic and leftist, at the present time. At the same time, AIFLD’s strategy has been to provide support for lower levels of union activity through UNOC affiliates and other democratic organizations, such as:

- supporting training in unionism (both urban and rural), plus promoters to facilitate organization;
- supporting training in technical areas to assist unions in helping themselves (administration, marketing, village banks, microenterprise);
- supporting union organization and solidarity through an efficient mobil health unit, involving both treatment and the training and supervision of unpaid health promoters;
- supporting activities and policies designed to push it in the direction of self sufficiency.

To oppose the left, AIFLD has supported UNOC and other democratic unions and federations so that they will not come under the influence of the left, whether the leftist federations like UNTS and FENASTRAS or the leftist former guerrillas of the FMLN. With the end of the civil war as well as the Cold War during the period of this Cooperative Agreement, the situation for AIFLD is different than the one prevailing when the project
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began. While AIFLD's basic strategy continues to focus on opposing the non-democratic portion of the movement, it needs to downplay this aspect of its strategy and concentrate on shoring up the weaknesses in the democratic union movement in relation to the private sector to achieve successes in the area of collective bargaining contracts.

AIFLD has attempted to achieve balance between the rural and urban sectors in the labor movement, not an easy task given the natural differences between the two sectors. It has worked closely with the rural sector in the past, especially during the agrarian reform in the 1980's, and it recognizes that the rural sector represents much of the strength of the labor movement, given the decimation of labor unions during the civil war. But urban unions are closer to the natural interest of AIFLD and its parent organization, the AFL-CIO, and the end of the civil war has given AIFLD an opportunity to work more in this area. In addition, AIFLD has also worked with the growing informal sector made up of former salaried workers, migrants from rural areas, and their families who take up low level sales in an effort to survive.

On balance, AIFLD has achieved its objectives, and its strategies have been sound. The labor movement is stronger at present than three years ago, and the strengthening of UNOC in particular has given the labor movement both a strong voice in dealing with the private sector and the government as well as leadership over the left-dominated unions. It has assisted the labor movement in attaining a strong participation in the Legislative Assembly through providing assistance to labor Deputies elected in 1991. Its continued presence and assistance has helped cooperatives mature and progress in the rural sector and helped unions in the urban sector to continue to seek negotiated improvements which favor labor but which ultimately should favor management and government as well.

AIFLD's strategy is to work through existing labor, cooperative, and informal sector organizations. It works through UNOC to help labor to achieve political credibility. It works through federations and unions to strengthen urban union organizations, and it works through cooperative federations to assist the rural sector to become self-sufficient and viable socioeconomic entities. It works through federations and informal sector organizations in support of urban microenterprise, and through cooperative federations in support of rural village banks.

While recognizing the difficulty of the rural and urban poor to attain self-sufficiency, AIFLD has operated with an overall goal of assisting and forcing the labor organizations with which it works to learn to maintain their own operations. Rural cooperatives have been taught to use agribusiness techniques.
Urban organizations have been pushed to accept the fact that they must identify fund-raising mechanisms, including dues, if they are to survive. Microenterprise and village banking operations must attain self-sufficiency.

AIFLD is, of course, a labor organization. It feels that a strong democratic society requires a strong democratic labor movement and the acceptance of that movement by society. It feels that the Salvadoran private sector has progressed little toward accepting the presence of a strong democratic labor movement. It would welcome improved labor-management relations, but it does not feel that the onus of initiating improved labor relations rests entirely with itself or the Salvadoran labor movement in general.

Actions taken by AIFLD-supported organizations have been in line with USG policy. The AIFLD CPD closely monitors the actions and attitudes of organizations which either have or which might have a formal relationship with AIFLD. Particular attention is paid to how democratic the organization is in terms of the relationship between members and leadership. Non-democratic organizations and those with strong ties to leftist, authoritarian politics are avoided.

B. AID Mission Strategic Objectives FY93-97

The AIFLD project contributes to Mission Strategic Objective No. 3: "Promote enduring democratic institutions and practices," under Program Output No. 2., "Expand channels of communication and participation," through the activity "Strengthening of civic organization/voluntary associations" (Strategic Objective Program Overview). The AIFLD has contributed in a major way toward this Strategic Objective.

Unions and cooperatives should be major democratic voluntary institutions in a democratic society. In El Salvador, due primarily to agrarian reform, cooperatives represent an extremely important institution and one which AIFLD has supported during the present project through working with and supporting cooperative associations both within and outside the UNOC framework.

The cooperatives, as social institutions made up of a sector with poor organizational skills, have been and continue to be in urgent need of assistance of the type provided by AIFLD: cooperative management, cooperative marketing, cooperative agricultural assistance. Under Strategic Objective 2, Equitable Economic Growth, the Program Objectives Document mentions "technical assistance and technology transfer to non-traditional and traditional agricultural export producers; market assistance for export and diversified producers" (p. 16), and "improved
technology and extension systems will be established particularly for coffee, non-traditional exports and locally produced diversified crops. Marketing assistance, training and credit will be available for encouraging increased investment" (p. 18). It must be stressed that purely technical assistance for cooperatives often fails if not accompanied by organizational, administrative, and social technical assistance of the type provided by AIFLD under this project.

Unions, for North Americans, are standard democratic social institutions, and we often forget that in the first half of the 20th century, this was not the case. Unions then were often rejected out of hand by industrialists, as they are today in El Salvador. Nonetheless, the high population density of El Salvador (highest in Latin America) means that a considerable proportion of the population must derive a livelihood as industrial workers, and while the Salvadoran is considered by others and by himself as an extremely hard worker, lack of equitable treatment by employers was a key factor in stimulating the recent civil war.

Unions are still weak in El Salvador, and the union movement needs continued support. The experience of the civil war created a consciousness of responsibility among many labor leaders, and these leaders require continued support to achieve real gains in the form of collective bargaining agreements for their union members. The Program Objectives Document appears to stress the creation of jobs over the labor-management relationship inherent in those jobs, but it is the opinion of the evaluation team that job creation and job quality (determined through union collective bargaining) should be crosscutting objectives.

The AIFLD project has also contributed in minor ways to other Strategic Objectives. Its microenterprise and village bank subcomponents are mentioned as important factors in its overall program, although these areas are the specific focus of other projects. Similarly, the AIFLD project contributes to health objectives through its mobil clinic.
III. Overview of Union-Cooperative-Informal Labor Sector

A. Defining the Labor Sector in El Salvador

The labor sector in El Salvador is defined practically in terms of class and contains virtually everyone in the lower and lower middle classes who belong to an organization representing their class interests. Among the types of organization involved are the following:

**Urban-based labor organizations**

- Labor union, strictly defined. In this category are labor unions which represent workers in specific industries organized legally to represent them in collective bargaining. Unions in this category are the construction workers in SUTC, who work for various contractors, and the textile workers in STIUSA.

- Guild or trade workers. In this category are individuals who work at the same job but at different businesses, such as construction bosses and bus dispatchers.

- Public employee associations. These associations act very much like true unions in that they bargain collectively with public sector entities (teachers with the Ministry of Education, public works employees with the Ministry of Public Works, etc.) and they also strike, but they differ in that they are not legally recognized for the purposes of collective bargaining and any strikes they call are technically illegal. In fact, however, they function like unions.

**Rural-based organizations**

- Land-based cooperatives. These are cooperatives in which the land is owned cooperatively; the individual farmer does not own his own land. There are numerous variations on this scheme. The farmers may grow just one cash crop, which they farm and market collectively, or they may grow a cash crop collectively but have individually assigned plots for growing subsistence crops, or they may have only individual plots where the farmer grows what he wishes, although the land title is collectively held.

- Marketing or other cooperatives. These are cooperatives where the individual farmer owns (or at least occupies) his own land, but where farmers have joined together to either market produce jointly or belong to a credit or consumer cooperative.
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- Small farmer associations. These are not cooperatives but rather less formal organizations which join small farmers together to either defend themselves against real or imagined incursions of the government or large farmers, or to act as a political pressure group.

**Informal sector organizations**

- Microenterprise sales organizations. These are associations of individuals dedicated to the sale of low-priced goods in the market, who sell at street stalls, and who work as ambulatory street hawkers.

- Microenterprise cottage industry organizations. These may be groups of men or women who work at the production of low-priced items. While primarily an urban activity, it may also be carried out in rural areas or rural communities.

**Communal organizations**

- These are communities, either small rural communities or marginal urban areas, which organize as a whole to attempt to improve their level of existence, either through community infrastructure projects or through productive projects involving massive participation of members of the community.

There is occasional overlap or lack of clarity involved in the above classification. There are urban cooperatives, either of the credit union type (see STIUSA, below) or for production, such as the fired workers from the ADOC shoe factory who have formed a production cooperative to produce shoes themselves. There are some true rural unions, such as SICAFE, the coffee harvest workers organization, but they do not at present play an important role. Finally, there is some overlap between what is called above "small farmer associations" and "communal organizations," at least if the latter are found in rural areas.

The informal sector organizations have sprung up in part due to rapid population growth and to a shrinking economy during the civil war, which has produced a large number of out-of-work adults with no traditional source of income. Some have migrated from the countryside seeking jobs, others have lost jobs, and many are members of families with one wage earner in urgent need of a second income. While they may have been workers or peasants with participation in union or rural sector organizations, the informal sector has not until recently provided these people with a voice and an organization that would permit them to participate fully in the labor movement. The informal sector organizations provide such an organizational framework and are thus important participants in the democratic process.
It will be noticed that there is apparently no rural wage earner sector, and the reason is that there are relatively few regular wage earning workers in El Salvador. The agribusiness plantations such as coffee and sugar have small numbers of regular employees which are supplemented at harvest by migrant laborers on contract. Migrant labor is especially difficult to organize, whether in El Salvador or elsewhere, and no attempts have been made to do so in El Salvador.

B. STIUUSA: an Independent Union

STIUUSA provides a fair example of the union category. It was founded in 1958, three years after the company, called Industrias Unidas S.A. (IUSA), opened its doors. IUSA, a foreign-owned company, processes raw cotton into cloth. STIUUSA affiliated with the General Union Central (Central General Sindical - CGS) at its inception, and it has had a relationship with AIFLD off and on since it began. It has about 900 members and includes all workers but not supervisory personnel, who must resign from the union if they are promoted to such positions.

Collective bargaining agreements are worked out every two years, although the salary component of these agreements may be renegotiated a year after the agreement is signed. The agreements are negotiated by the 11 members of the Steering Committee (Junta Directiva) of STIUUSA and a three-member panel from the company. The contract usually takes about a month and a half to negotiate, and while 20 negotiating sessions are legally stipulated, the contracts are usually done after 10-15 meetings. The contract has 80 clauses which, among others, regulate absences, emergency actions, worker pregnancy, worker protection in the work place, social services, the labor-management committee, and, of course, salaries.

STIUUSA has struck three times, although none of the strikes involved salaries. The unsuccessful 1967 strike involved an attempt by some members to involve the union in a federation, a move eventually rejected by union members, and the union has maintained its independence ever since. The 1986 strike involved a struggle between two groups, one of which unsuccessfully attempted to form a new union within IUSA.

Some years ago, STIUUSA formed a savings and loan cooperative (or credit union), which has become very successful: CACIUUSA. While all union members are automatically accorded membership, the credit union also has a minority of members outside the union, and it functions essentially like a bank. It loans money at bank rates (16%) but requires the member investment in the cooperative to be paid from the loan if it has not already been paid.
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STIUSA thus appears to be a quite successful union. It has no problems with management and has the security of regularly negotiated collective bargaining agreements, and it has also managed to organize a successful credit union, which is no easy task. STIUSA provides a model of what every union, federation, and owner should look to when dealing with the question of unionism from whatever point of view.

C. Federations and Their Variations

Unions, cooperatives, informal sector organizations, and communal organizations have joined forces in a bewildering array of associations, federations, confederations, and similar groupings (see Annex 3 for acronyms) which are extremely difficult to categorize and understand. A few are straightforward. FENASTRAS is primarily a federation of urban labor unions, although this limited focus shows signs of weakening, and FENASTRAS would like to become active in the rural sector. ADC is an umbrella organization for rural organizations only, mostly cooperative organizations or federations but probably including some rural communal organizations. ACOPAI is an association of rural cooperatives only, but it belongs to both UNOC and ADC.

1. Salvadoran Workers Central - CTS

Most commonly, these organizations contain members of several or all of the above categories: labor union, cooperative, informal sector, and communal. CTS (Central de Trabajadores Salvadoreños) is an example: there are four unions, one cooperative organization, two organizations from the informal sector, and one communal organization.

```
  CTS
 /    /
| UNION| COOPERATIVE|
|      | INFORMAL     |
|      | COMMUNAL     |
| ANTMPAS| UNTC         |
| ASTTUR | AVEAS        |
| SETENES| ANCEI        |
| ATMES  | FECODEIN     |
```

This picture is complicated by the fact that membership is not stable in the federation. In 1991, CTS listed 11 affiliates, including the CCS (Central Campesino Salvadoreño), ATMOP (Ministry of Public Works union), and SITECOS (a burlap factory union), which were gone in 1992. CCS changed affiliation to
CONFRAS, which is allied to (but not a member of) UNTS. ATMOP divided into two groups, one allied to UNTS and the other organized in a credit union. SITECOS was never recognized legally, and the factory owner effectively broke the will of the workers to unionize. However, three new members were listed as having joined in 1992: FECODEIN, a CTS credit union, and an informal sector group from San Miguel. In a recent interview, the CTS secretary general did not include the credit union nor the group from San Miguel, nor the UCEM, a peasant women's group listed in 1991, which brings the present membership to just eight. Similar changes are found in virtually all federation-type organizations.

The numbers of individuals involved in affiliated organizations, and thus the total numbers in a federation, are difficult to determine. The CTS secretary general provided the following numbers for the present CTS affiliates:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Organization</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Members (or percentage)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ANTMSpas</td>
<td>Asociación Nacional de Trabajadores del Ministerio de Salud Pública y Asistencia Social.</td>
<td>4500 (out of 19,000)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ANCEI</td>
<td>Asociación Nacional de Comerciantes de la Economía Informal.</td>
<td>400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AVAES</td>
<td>Asociación de Vendedores Ambulantes de El Salvador.</td>
<td>500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ASTTUR</td>
<td>Asociación de Trabajadores del Turismo.</td>
<td>800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNTC</td>
<td>Unión Nacional de Trabajadores Campesinos.</td>
<td>2500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ATMES</td>
<td>Asociación de Trabajadores Municipales de El Salvador.</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SETENES</td>
<td>Sindicato de Empresa de Trabajadores Enlatadora de El Salvador.</td>
<td>95 (out of 110)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FECODEIN</td>
<td>Federación de Comunidades de Desarrollo Integral.</td>
<td>20,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Most federations have a difficult time existing, let alone provide some sort of service to their members, due to scarcity of funds. The current minimum wage in El Salvador is now 930 colones per month (about $107), workers without collective bargaining agreements usually make less than minimum wage, and income may be much lower among peasants and the informal sector. Members' first obligation, if they have any at all, is to pay some sort of dues to their own organization, and only a small portion of that is passed on to the federation.
AIFLD Evaluation

CTS calculates its income from its affiliates as minimal:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Organization</th>
<th>Income</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ANTMSPAS</td>
<td>400 Colones</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ASTTUR</td>
<td>500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNTC</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ANCEI</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AWAES</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SETENES</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ANTMES</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FECODEIN</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total: 1150 Colones/month

CTS can use this amount to pay for a secretary. It must look elsewhere for funds for other expenses.

However, five of the nine members of the executive committee are paid for through salaries paid by their institutions but for which they do not work. The national tourism institute pays three salaries for ASTTUR members, the Ministry of Health pays two salaries for the ANTMSPAS representatives, and the Ministry of Public Works pays one salary (although the Ministry's union has left CTS). The two peasant members and the women's representative have no such support.

The existence of this system, where an employer pays an individual a salary for work carried out in a federation, may contribute to the maintenance of multiple federations. If the federation leadership does not have to worry about its own income, it can allow itself the somewhat egocentric luxury of leading a small federation which has little clout and provides few services to its affiliates, instead of seeking the common good of federations with as many affiliations as possible which should make it possible to provide more services and to play a more powerful role in the union movement.

2. FESINCONSTRANS

FESINCONSTRANS (Federación de Sindicatos de la Construcción, Transportes y de Otras Actividades) is an independent federation aligned with neither UNOC nor with UNTS and is said to be allied with the government party, ARENA, and its political allies, MAC and PCN. All of its members are labor unions; none are cooperatives, informal sector, or communal. Many of its unions have affiliates and sub-affiliates (called seccionales and subseccionales) in different towns in El Salvador. Its strongest unions are perhaps SUTT (transportation), STIASSYC (textiles), and STPCAS (building materials), and the fact that another union, SIGMO, is for construction foremen makes FESINCONSTRANS strong in the construction sector. The unions are listed below:
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SUTT Sindicato Unión de Trabajadores del Transporte (3 seccionales, 8 subseccionales)
STIASSYC Sindicato de Trabajadores de la Industria del Algodón, Sintéticos, Similares y Conexos (2 seccionales, 9 subseccionales)
SIGMO Sindicato Gremial de Maestros de Obra de la Industria de la Construcción (2 seccionales)
SGTGCE Sindicato Gremial de Trabajadores Guardianes de Centros de Esparcimiento (1 seccional)
SIPOS Sindicato de Fotógrafos Salvadoreños (1 seccional)
STPCAS Sindicato de Trabajadores de Productos de Cemento, Arcilla y Similares (2 seccionales, 7 subseccionales)
SIGPS Sindicato Gremial de Pintores Salvadoreños
SPCES Sindicatos de Profesionales Contables de El Salvador
STP Sindicato de Trabajadores de Pedreras
SETFOSA Sindicato de Empresa Trabajadores Fábricas Oliva A.S.
SETVISA Sindicato de Empresa Tenería La Victoria S.A.

While no information was available regarding the changing composition of FESINCONSTRANS, one of the unions, SETFOSA, has been said to be an independent with no affiliation. Regarding membership, Ricardo Soriano, the Secretary General, informed the evaluation team that present membership totaled about 26,000, down from a high of 43,000 in 1989.

FESINCONSTRANS appears better off financially than CTS. The union collects 50 centavos per months per member, and monthly income was calculated at between 13,000 and 18,000 colones per months from dues. Soriano stated that this did not cover regular monthly expenses of about 25,000 colones, much less extra expenses such as the upcoming annual federation congress.

When asked what other sources of funds the federation had, Soriano first said that outsiders have several opinions: the present government (according to UNOC), the military (according to UNTS), and the private sector (according to FENASTRAS and FEASIES). The truth, he said, is that FESINCONSTRANS has been attempting to make money in construction in 1987, constructing what will be a total of 520 low-income housing units in Ilopango, and he showed pictures of the development. While it is probable that some initial capital was provided from some non-union source (such as the government, military and/or private sector), the federation appears to be seriously attempting to become self-sufficient through this venture.

D. Politics and Labor

In most countries, organized labor has a keen interest and heavy involvement in politics, and El Salvador is no exception. And as is usually the case elsewhere, labor organizations have few natural links to conservative political parties, which in El
Salvador means the ruling ARENA party and their allies the PCN and MAC. However, lack of funds and a desire for power has lead a few unions and federations to come under the influence of these political parties. Specifically, the General Union Central (Central General Sindical - CGS), the Popular Democratic Unity (Unidad Popular Democrática - UPD), FESINCONSTRANS, and a few independent unions have been linked to the right through programs which have helped these union organizations to prosper in hard times.

Such organizations are fairly uniformly rejected by the rest of the labor movement, which are either center-left or left. On the left, El Salvador has two principal political entities: the National Union of Workers and Peasants (Unión Nacional de Obreros y Campesinos - UNOC) and the National Union of Salvadoran Workers (Unión Nacional de Trabajadores Salvadoreños - UNTS), each of which contains numerous federations and unions. In addition, there are several groups or federations of unions and cooperatives which are not aligned (at least, not currently) with either UNOC or UNTS.

UNOC leans politically toward parties of the moderate left, including the Christian Democrats (PDC) and social democrats, including the Social Democratic party (PSD), the National Democratic Union (UDN), the Nation Revolutionary Movement (MNR), and the Popular Social Christian Movement (MPSC), the latter two grouped together as the Democratic Convergence (Convergencia Democrática - CD). Several members of UNOC were elected to the National Assembly in the 1991 mid-term elections, seven under the PDC banner and one as CD. The rural sector produced six of the eight Deputies, as only Francisco Colocho of the CD came from a union (SIPES, the port workers) while Félix Blanco came from a government "union" association.

Amanda Villatoro (PDC), from UCS (member of CTD)
Arturo Magaña (PDC), from UCS (member of CTD)
Miguel Requeno (PDC), from UCS (member of CTD)
Orlando Arévalo (PDC), from ACOPAI
Eleázar Benítez (PDC), from ACOPAI
Félix Blanco (PDC), from CTS
Simón Parada (PDC), from ACOPAI
Francisco Colocho (CD), from SIPES

It should be noted that National Assembly candidates are required by law to stand for office as a member of a legally recognized political party, making it impossible to run as an independent. Political power can be a powerful attraction, and observers have noted that some of the "labor" Deputies appear to have fallen under its spell, to have become enamored of politics, and to have become more politicians than labor leaders. Two close observers of labor coincide in their opinion that some of
the Deputies put labor first before politics while others have placed their party membership before their role as labor leaders.

UNTS leans politically toward the far left. It was a creation of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (Frente Farabundo Martí de Liberación Nacional - FMLN) in 1986 during the civil war as a civilian support organization of workers and peasants, and it continues to follow the FMLN politically. Before 1980, the groups which made up the FMLN each had a popular base organization. These were:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Political organization</th>
<th>FPL</th>
<th>ERP</th>
<th>RN</th>
<th>PRTC</th>
<th>PC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Popular organization</td>
<td>BPR</td>
<td>LP-28</td>
<td>FAPU</td>
<td>MLP</td>
<td>UDN</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In 1980, these were united in a mass organization called CRM (Coordinadora Revolucionaria de Masas), and a good proportion of the members were union people and campesinos. In 1980-81, the leaders and some members joined the armed conflict which may have been a tactical error, since it left these civilian organizations without leadership and weakened the CRM. In 1983-84, the FMLN formed a new mass organization, heavily labor, called the Comité de Unidad Sindical 10 de Mayo (CUS), which never got off the ground. In 1984-85, they formed another, called MUSYGES, which again never seemed to function. Then in 1986, they formed the UNTS, which continues to be the mass organization of the FMLN today, including true unions, guild-like unions, peasant groups, and cooperatives, as well as women's groups, humanitarian groups, and so on.

Today, the UNTS is composed of federations and individual unions which outside observers group as "managed" by the sub-groupings of the FMLN itself, including the Popular Liberation Forces (Fuerzas Populares de Liberación - FPL), the Popular Revolutionary Army (Ejército Revolucionario Popular - ERP), the National Resistance (Resistencia Nacional - RN) or National Revolutionary Armed Forces (Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias Nacionales - FARN), and Communist Party (PC), and the Revolutionary Party of Central American Workers (Partido Revolucionario de Trabajadores Centroamericanos - PRTC). The UNTS itself does not recognize these sub-groupings any more than the UNOC recognizes set relationships with the PDC or the CD.

UNOC and UNTS are to some degree vestiges of the Cold War. UNOC represents the commitment to pluralistic democracy; UNTS represents the commitment to one-party Marxism in the old Soviet mold. UNOC (and/or its member organizations and/or leaders of those organizations) has ties to the center-left political parties in El Salvador, principally the PDC and to a lesser
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degree the CD, which have represented a pluralistic alternative during the last decade. UNTS (and/or its member organizations and/or leaders of those organizations) has ties to the FMLN organizations mentioned above. Ultimately, UNOC's ties were to AIFLD and the United States, while UNTS's ties were to communist trade union organizations and the former Soviet Union.

The past decade saw the major players in the Cold War play out minor chess matches in El Salvador in which the unions and federations and their leaders were pawns to be won and lost. The game was one in which the UNTS played an aggressive role, creating unions and popular organizations in an effort to mobilize massive civilian efforts in support of the FMLN military effort. UNOC's role was reactive, seeking to counter the moves of UNTS and to weaken the mass organizational effort by splintering the union movement, creating a pluralistic counter-union to balance each Marxist-controlled union in the UNTS.

The Cold War is now over as is the civil war which tore El Salvador apart for 12 years, but the experiences and habits developed over the years are hard to break. UNOC and UNTS still focus a good part of their energies toward this inter-union, politically-charged rivalry. Perhaps the most important aspect of this situation is that both organizations dedicate considerable attention to political concerns at the expense of unionism.

The question is whether this highly political focus has positive or negative effects on the labor movement as a whole. There are those who claim that the high level of political activity is necessary at this juncture to assure and consolidate political gains favoring labor which have resulted from the Peace Accords ending the civil war. This argument affirms that without such political activity, the government (at present conservative) and the private sector will attempt to push the clock back and reestablish owner-labor and management-labor relations similar to those which were key factors in causing the civil war.

Others affirm the opposite. They feel that the labor movement should dedicate its principal efforts at working out new collective bargaining contracts with owners and management, that it should take advantage of the enlightening impact of the civil war on owners and the supposed openness of some owners to a more equitable sharing of profits to push for sensible, reasonable, equitable collective bargaining contracts which will eventually tie the owners and unions together in a 'social contract' of improved productivity with both better wages and higher profits.

The only thing certain through all of this is that there is a high degree of uncertainty and lack of direction in the labor movement. For those favoring political activism, there is no guarantee that labor or confederation leaders will be able to
deliver member votes, neither through UNOC or through UNTS. Those favoring depolitization of the movement have no clear strategy for doing so, nor any visible program for approaching their traditional foes, the private sector managers and owners.

E. The Intergremial and the Foro

The Intergremial is a union federation summit organization which contains five labor-peasant organizations: UNTS, UNOC, CTS, AGEPYM, and CGT. The Intergremial was formed to discuss questions of common interest and to express political positions representing a broad spectrum of labor opinion, as is obvious from the existence of the UNTS in the Intergremial along with UNOC and other non-leftist organizations:

The Intergremial plus ADC, UPD, and FESINCONSTRANS represent labor in the tripartite Social and Economic Concertation Forum (Foro de Concertación Económica y Social, known as the "Foro"), along with eight members of the private sector and eight members of the government. The Foro was established as part of the Peace Accords ending the civil war as a way of bringing together the opposing sides involving one of the principal causes of the civil war, which is the inordinate concentration of wealth in the owner class.

The Foro had an uneventful beginning with both sides demonstrating a lack of trust in the good faith of the other side, particularly as the private sector considers labor unions to be either certainly communist or probably communist, depending on the degree of radical sentiment of the individual owner. The Foro accomplished virtually nothing of note until very recently when, at the request of unions, the United States was asked to review El Salvador's participation in the General System of Preferences (GSP).
The GSP provides for favorable import treatment of developing nations, such as El Salvador, but removes this treatment where it contributes to the violation of internationally recognized workers rights, as defined in section 502(a)(4) of the Trade Act of 1974, of workers in the recipient country, including any designated zone or area in the country.

The relevant section of the 1974 Trade Act states that the term "internationally recognized worker rights" includes—

(A) the right of association;
(B) the right to organize and bargain collectively;
(C) a prohibition on the use of any form of forced or compulsory labor;
(D) a minimum age for the employment of children; and
(E) acceptable conditions of work with respect to minimum wages, hours of work, and occupational safety and health.

The threatened removal of the preferential treatment for Salvadoran exports brought about the development of an Agreement of Principles and Commitments (Acuerdo de Principios y Compromisos) in February of this year (1993). The Agreement has considerable potential importance for labor-owner relations, since it explicitly supported such things as:

- that only labor-owner interaction will lead to socioeconomic stabilization, tolerance and mutual respect;
- that only through absolute respect for union rights and laws would improve economic reactivation;
- government help in procuring the legal recognition of law-abiding unions;
- government and private sector will not hinder the union organizing work, while union organizers will maintain respect for management;
- the promise to work toward the ratification of International Labor Organization agreements;
- the promise to work toward the development of a new Labor Code;
- the creation of a tripartite commission to seek solutions to labor-management problems.
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In spite of the somewhat forced nature of the Agreement, it at least is a public statement of principles and promises signed by the principal public, private, and labor sector leaders and organizations. At worst, it will remain as just an empty statement. At best, it opens the door for the private and labor sectors to exchange views and discuss issues.

This latter is very important, since even the simple process of exchange of views has been seriously hindered by the process of civil war. Neither side wishes to give the impression of caving in to the other, and serious peer pressure causes even the most optimistic and open individual on either side to hesitate before entering into such exchanges. Owners feel pressure from other owners to avoid these discussions, since they might lead to wholesale unionizing pressure in a particular industrial sector. The impression is that owners feel that if one owner gets involved in an exchange of views, the strategy of all owners to resist unions will be compromised, the solidarity which functions to protect the owners will be weakened, unionism will be encouraged and heartened by the exchange and thus will renew efforts to unionize, and that eventually more and more industries and businesses will be unionized.

Unionization to many in the private sector is synonymous with communism, who perceive that communism is not dead, in spite of the apparent changes in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union. To many, all unions are the same: all are communist, including all unions in the United States. For these people, the Agreement by the Foro is either a mistake by the private sector and the government or a tactical move to remove the threat of the GSP sanctions which can best be ignored.

Nonetheless, less radical members of the private sector who would like to take steps to improve labor-management relations, but who hesitate to contradict the generally held positions of their peers, may well be encouraged by the Agreement to initiate a few contacts with labor and to begin the long process of improving labor-management relations. If this happens, and if the government keeps its promises to sign off on ILO accords and to help develop a new Labor Code, the Agreement may signal a watershed in the peace process and the advance of a modern, democratic, and dynamic El Salvador. But this is a big "if."

In spite of the political divisions in the labor movement, there appears to be common threads of interests and attitudes. First, the labor movement has expressed it desire for improved relationships with management and recognizes that it must move away from confrontation and accept good faith negotiation as its strategy. Second, the labor movement wants a Labor Code that provides it with effective legal protection. The present Code, which allows individuals the right to strike but prohibits unions from doing so, must be reformed. Third, the labor movement wants
an Agrarian Code or other legislation which protects the gains won through the agrarian reform. The reformed rural sector wants to concentrate on solving the practical problems involved in farming without having to worry about defending the farms themselves. Fourth, the labor movement wants ratification of ILO Code. At present, the labor movement's principle interest is the Foro which it sees as the best mechanism at this point in time for achieving its goals.

F. AIFLD's Role in Labor Politics in El Salvador

AIFLD has been a major player in the Salvadoran labor movement during the last decade, and perhaps, in the last three decades. AIFLD's focus has changed over the years, adapting to current circumstances, including moving from a time of standard support of trade unions to a period when it focused primarily on agrarian reform to the present mix between urban and rural sectors.

AIFLD was a major player, perhaps the major player, in the agrarian reform program, focusing heavily on this area between 1978 and 1990. AIFLD worked closely with the U.S. government and AID in pushing for the implementation of the three-phase land reform package of 1980. Phase I, though allegedly not complete, did convert many permanent plantation workers into cooperative owners of large holdings, although it did not include seasonal workers on these plantations. Phase II, which was aimed at smaller landowners, has not been implemented. Phase III, also known as Decree 207, applies to those who rented or sharecropped land, and has been the focus of attention during the present government. All land was to eventually be purchased by the beneficiaries.

As originally presented, the agrarian reform process was to involve three stages: (1) the distribution of land among landless peasants; (2) the establishment of a land reform institution to regulate and structure the legal aspects of reform, including the adoption of an Agrarian Code; and (3) the instruments for providing credit and technical assistance to the new land owners.

During the 1980's AIFLD worked with the peasant organizations and cooperatives involved in the agrarian reform, with special attention to UCS and ACOPAI. AIFLD's work brought it into a political crossfire between the extreme right, unhappy about the agrarian reform because it was the right which lost the land to the reform, and the extreme left, which saw the agrarian reform as reactionary or counterrevolutionary.

Land reform has been hindered by the understandable lack of knowledge at all levels on the part of its beneficiaries. At one
level, the new owners were unprepared to plan and execute plantation strategy regarding use of resources. In sugar, for example, the reformed plantations produced poor harvests following the reform, although a sugar mill owner affirms that many have turned the corner and are achieving better harvests at present.

On another level, the reform beneficiaries were unable to take advantage of political opportunities during the Duarte presidency when the Phase I reform could have been solidified under UCS and FESACORA control of the Salvadoran Agrarian Transformation Institute (Instituto Salvadoreño de Transformación Agraria - ISTA) and the Phase III under ACOPAI control of the Financial Institution for Agricultural Lands (Financiero Nacional de Tierras Agrícolas - FINATA).

The arrival of the conservative ARENA government has meant that ISTA and FINATA as well as the courts have become institutions which in many ways are unfriendly to the cooperative members of the agrarian reform. The original law (Law 207) provided for co-management (cogestión) of the cooperatives, and many of the managers placed by the government, both during the Duarte government as well as the present government, either personally enriched themselves at the cooperative’s expense or provided counterproductive management, or both. Co-management was removed when Law 747 replaced Law 207 in 1990, but abuses of a similar system (facilitadores) has continued to plague the cooperatives.

It is in this context the AIFLD has worked politically, using its resources and knowledge to help the agrarian reform along through support of agrarian organizations, particularly ACOPAI and UCS. The UNOC technical assistance team began work on a new Agrarian Code in conjunction with its rural organizations, such as ACOPAI, in response to the bill for an Agrarian Code drafted by the government. Various other organizations have also produced versions of the Agrarian Code according to their interests. UNOC’s criticism of the government version is that it ignores the importance of the cooperative as the basic unit in an Agrarian Code.

In the area of trade unions, AIFLD has worked toward a principal objective of strengthening non-leftist independent unions, and to do so, has focused on two sub-objectives. First, in order to strengthen independent unions, it had to be sure that the unions were, in fact, independent, and that meant free of control by the left. Therefore, a certain portion of AIFLD’s energies were dedicated to wresting control of the union movement from leftists and in keeping non-leftist unions strong. Without going into detail, this was done by identifying individuals in a leftist union who were unhappy with the direction of management of the union. These individuals were then encouraged to break
with the leftist union and to set up a new, democratic versions of the union.

AIFLD usually provided such breakaway unions with funds for administrative support to pay for a locale, a secretary, and for organizer personnel - in short, to keep the new union afloat economically in order to attract members from the Marxist union. As the new democratic union grew at the expense of the Marxist union, the Marxist unions were weakened.

Second, strengthening independent unions meant securing collective bargaining contracts from management, and that meant helping the unions in their struggle with owners and management. This sub-objective was often more difficult to achieve than the first one, since management continued to consider all unions as Marxist.

Logically, these two sub-objectives were intertwined: there was no sense in aiding a leftist union in collective bargaining, since that would just strengthen the leftist union and weaken free trade unionism as a whole. Similarly, a free trade union without a collective bargaining agreement was almost by definition a weak trade union and thus more likely to be persuaded to convert to a leftist orientation. But AIFLD's strategy was complicated by the fact that it would be perceived as anti-union through its lack of support for collective bargaining agreements by leftist unions, and it would be painted as leftist (if not communist) by those who suspect that all unions are communist, meaning that an organization that supports a collective bargaining agreement is by definition communist.

In the polarized environment of El Salvador, AIFLD has been condemned by both sides, even today. In the space of 24 hours, the evaluation team was told (1) that AIFLD had been forming labor leaders who provided raw material for the communist trade unions in El Salvador, and for that reason AIFLD should leave the country, and (2) that AIFLD was dedicated to union-busting and weakening the union movement in El Salvador, and for that reason AIFLD should leave the country. Ironically, the source of (1) was the owner of a shoe factory, while the source of (2) was the federation which tried unsuccessfully to unionize that factory.
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IV. AIFLD's Program with UNOC

A. Increased Membership in UNOC

One objective in the UNOC component of the Cooperative Agreement states that the project will "increase UNOC membership by at least five new federations or unions and by an additional 20,000 new rural and urban workers." Progress toward this objective has been neither smooth nor predictable. In early 1990, according to the AIFLD proposal (p. 3), UNOC was composed of five federations and unions, and it looked like this:

```
UNOC

CTD  UCS  SIPES  ACOPAI  FECORASAL

(11 unions)
```

At that time, the construction workers union, SUTC, was part of CTD, but it later became an independent member of UNOC. UCS was then and still is a member of CTD, in fact the largest of CTD's members, which is perhaps why it has separate representation in UNOC. CTS, a large democratic federation, joined UNOC during the project, as did OSILS, but FECORASAL left UNOC and is now affiliated to CONFRAS, a leftist cooperative federation. These changes have resulted in the following chart:

```
UNOC

CTD  UCS  OSILS  ACOPAI  CTS  SIPES  SUTC

(10 unions)  (8 orgs)  (260 coops)  (8 orgs)  (union)  (union)
```

In addition, it is expected that the large federation CGT, which was originally affiliated to UNOC and which left due to internal political problems, may return to UNOC after an absence of more than three years. Even without CGT, UNOC has grown. CTS and OSILS are two federations representing about 14 affiliated unions or cooperatives. If CGT does join UNOC, it will bring some 21 additional organizations into the organization.
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AIFLD appears unconcerned with the numbers. The evaluation team asked AIFLD what the pre-project member affiliations, and no one had any idea what they were. The project proposal has no numbers, and it is therefore difficult to establish that the growth in UNOC involves 20,000 workers, the target figure. The evaluation team suggests that research be carried to provide both AIFLD and UNOC a better idea of the numbers involved in both the organizations they work with as well as other organizations (see next section). The evaluation team also suggests that numbers of federations and unions and the numbers of consequently affiliated workers are important as a measure of political backing for UNOC-sponsored initiatives, such as the labor code, agrarian code, and other labor and cooperative legislative projects.

B. Technical Assistance (Módulo Técnico) at UNOC

One of AIFLD's objectives in the Cooperative Agreement was to "upgrade the leadership capabilities and analytical skills of senior and middle level UNOC and affiliate officials so as to facilitate more effective policy formulation and presentation of democratic labor's positions on national issues."

To achieve this objective, AIFLD has provided technical assistance to UNOC in the form of a full-time technical assistance team working at UNOC headquarters consisting of three professionals: a labor lawyer, an agrarian lawyer, and an economist. This team's scope of work consists of three principal activities:

1) Advise labor deputies [in the Legislative Assembly] regarding issues on which they are consulted;

2) Provide labor-union, agrarian-cooperative and economic advice to union organizations affiliated to UNOC; and

3) Produce analyses and opinions on issues presented to the Legislative Assembly.

Each month the technical assistance team produces a report of its specific activities during the previous month. In order to better understand these activities and the level of effort, the evaluation team has categorized activities based on these reports during nine months of 1992. The evaluation team cautions that this categorization may be inexact due to occasional misunderstanding of the activities described, but the team feels that the categorization is roughly as found in the following chart.

Through this exercise it is evident that the UNOC technical assistance team is fulfilling its mission. About one-third of its activities relate directly to the UNOC deputies and their
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role and activities in the Legislative Assembly. The team prepares position papers, attends committee meetings, answers correspondence, and generally assists the deputies in their work. The team is accessible to all: the evaluation team was able to observe how the deputies simply walk in and informally request assistance, and their opinion of the technical assistance team is extremely high. In truth, the UNOC deputies are among the best prepared in the Assembly, since other deputies must rely on their parties to provide this assistance, and only the most important of the deputies can rely on the level of assistance of these UNOC deputies.

FIVE ACTIVITY CATEGORIES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Month</th>
<th>Assembly/Political #</th>
<th>Advice unions #</th>
<th>Training #</th>
<th>Foro or Intergrem #</th>
<th>Misc. #</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>35.3</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>23.5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>15.8</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>42.1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>62.5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>31.3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>34.6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>26.9</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>11.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>28.6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>33.3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sept.</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>32.1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>14.3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>14.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oct.</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>36.4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>12.1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov.</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>20.0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>15.0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>20.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dec.</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>50.0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>16.6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>34.4</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>22.8</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>7.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The technical assistance team also dedicates a fair portion of its time (about 15%) to questions involving the Intergremial and its participation in the Foro. The technical assistance team itself estimated that close to one-half of its time is dedicated to the Foro, at least recently. The time spent by the technical team has had very positive results, according to an advisor to the Intergremial from another institution: Alex Segovia of CENITEC. Segovia points out that the UNOC team makes it possible for the labor sector to be prepared for the Foro meetings with the private sector and government, to respond quickly and cogently to needs and opportunities presented in the Foro, and to generally win the respect of both UNOC’s partners in the
Intergremial as well as the Intergremial’s colleagues from the private sector and the government.

The most important role the technical assistance team had as regards the Foro was the development of the February 17, 1993, Agreement of Principles and Commitments (see III.E., above). This Agreement was based on an earlier (February 10, in Diario Latino) Intergremial document developed by the UNOC technical assistance team, although the final document represents the results of negotiations among all three parties: government, private sector, and labor.

Another important segment of the UNOC technical team’s activities is advice and assistance to individual labor unions and federations involving specific problems with management. An example involves the UNOC member construction union, SUTC, in 1992. In March, one activity mentioned is advice provided SUTC in its collective bargaining negotiations with the construction company organization, CASALCO. In April and May, the technical team did a study of prices for SUTC, presumably to justify salary increases, to contribute to the collective bargaining process. In June, SUTC apparently went on strike, and the technical team provided advice and assistance. In July, the team attended two meetings with SUTC and an arbitration panel regarding the collective bargaining. The conflict was resolved in SUTC’s favor (see VI.E. Collective Bargaining, below).

The reports also show how the technical team provided advice and assistance to a union and federation which is not a member of UNOC but rather a rival: FENASTRAS. In April and May, the technical team provided advice to workers fired from the ADOC shoe factory for attempting to start a union, the advice coming in the form of legal alternatives in response to the Ministry of Labor’s rejection of their request to unionize. In June, the team helped prepare a legal document for presentation to the Ministry of Labor, and continued working with ADOC workers in July. In September, the team provided assistance to these workers involving the creation of a cooperative made of the fired workers. According to the technical assistance team, the ADOC workers sought help from UNOC only after their unsatisfactory experience with FENASTRAS legal help.

The team also gave talks to other FENASTRAS unions in September on international law and the constitutional basis for unions, and in October on union rights and collective bargaining. It prepared to participate in a FENASTRAS seminar with a presentation on the value added tax. Also in October, the team produced a pronouncement on the part of CTD, a UNOC member, denouncing the detention of one of the FENASTRAS officials at the El Salvador airport. The relationship with FENASTRAS is particularly encouraging due to the hardline leftist position that FENASTRAS has maintained in public. It appears as if there
may be more labor solidarity behind the scenes than is evident from public declarations.

Returning to the theme of the technical assistance team at UNOC, the miscellaneous category includes activities involving fact-finding: visits to other institutions to collect information which may be of use either to the deputies or to the unions. This category also includes publications, including a weekly analysis of the union-political situation, called "Coyuntura," in the Diario Latino newspaper. The technical assistance team has confirmed that the government and others read this analysis carefully, since they are often contacted personally to clarify or expand on particular points.

The UNOC technical assistance team also assists UNOC and member organizations in the preparation of paid political announcements (campos pagados). These announcements are used by many organizations of all political tendencies to communicate their views, and they are considered an important activity by the labor movement. The UNOC team helps assure that these announcements are well written, communicate what the organization wishes them to say, and avoid language which might be counter-productive to the intent of the organization.

The campos pagados are carried out through the press, radio, and television. The average press announcement was one full page of newspaper, while radio and television announcements were 30 second spots. Based on the average cost of a campo pagado, in 1992 the following organizations had these campos pagados:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Organization</th>
<th>Press</th>
<th>Radio</th>
<th>Television</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>UNOC</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>1325</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CTS</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACOPAI</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>106</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNICAÑA</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FESINCONSTRANS</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SIMES</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The total cost in 1992 for these announcements was 283,732 colones for radio spots, 246,900 colones for newspaper announcements, and 127,100 colones for television spots, for a grand total of 657,732 colones, or about $77,390 ($1 = 8.5 colones).

In the opinion of the evaluation team, the UNOC technical assistance team is one of the most positive aspects of the AIFLD program and should be expanded. One area of expansion concerns assistance to unions similar to that provided by the technical assistance team to SUTC. The problem is that many problems occur outside San Salvador, and UNOC needs to be capable of providing assistance anywhere in the country, which means the addition of a
labor lawyer with adequate resources (mileage, per diem) to do so.

The second area involves research to allow UNOC to access the best information available concerning labor and peasant organizations. The suggested two-person team should probably include a labor lawyer and a sociologist. Among the types of information needed are:

1) The numbers of affiliated members of unions, cooperatives, and thus the federations they belong to.

2) The dues or other payment structure for maintaining the organization, as well as amounts passed on to federations.

3) Institutional affiliations with federations and/or other umbrella organizations, and what that affiliation means to both the union/cooperative and to the federation regarding services and representation.

4) Legal statuses of unions and cooperatives. Problems with non-recognition of elections (acefalía) for unions. Possible strategies to remedy problems of legal status.

5) Comparisons between unionized and non-unionized factories as regards wages for workers with the same time with the factory and in the same job, working conditions, accident rates, benefit packages.

The UNOC technical assistance unit should also be strengthened as regards its computer capabilities. The one computer they have at present is insufficient for their current word processing needs, and the current staff must often wait their turns to use the machine. Three computers should be added, two for additional text processing and one with math coprocessor for data processing, plus database software, training in its use, and a secretary-data entry specialist.

C. Improve Human Rights Situation

The AIFLD human rights and workers rights strategy is based on a human rights data collection and reporting system for UNOC members and the carrying out of human rights seminars and grassroots level meetings on human rights topics.

The data collection and reporting system is coordinated by Oscar Mena at UNOC, which has three regional reporters in the east, central, and western regions of the country. Each reporter files a report monthly briefly detailing the cases encountered
and the action taken. In some cases these reports are handwritten, in others typed, and UNOC has a report form with a case number, the party affected, the UNOC (or other) organization involved, a synthesis of the case, and action taken.

The evaluation team carried out a rough analysis of the reports from June through December, 1992. The case numbers reveal that about 30 cases were formally reported from June to November (the December forms were unavailable). However, the regional reports included about 80 identifiable incidents which are categorized below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of incident</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Peasants removed from land, or threatened with removal, by individuals or government</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>45.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Individuals detained for common crimes, both or illegally</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>18.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Individuals threatened with physical violence by armed forces or police</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>10.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Individuals fired from their jobs, usually without legally-prescribed severance</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Individuals attacked, usually by the armed forces or police</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Existence of illegal armed forces in the area</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>80</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The most noteworthy item in the above list involves land, and these cases representing nearly half of all cases for the most part stem from the agrarian reform program. Previous owners appear on land which seemed abandoned and has been worked by small farmers for as much as eight years, or politicians initiate proceedings against a cooperative to recuperate the land for former owners. Many cases involve the most recent land distribution carried out through the government’s land reform entity, FINATA, where FINATA has threatened to take land away from program beneficiaries if they do not pay.

Detention by the authorities is another important category. In some cases, the reporter simply provides advice to the detainee who does not deny his or guilt for committing a crime. But in several cases individuals were detained without due process, meaning no judicial order was obtained before the individual was detained, and there are a number of cases of
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detainees being beaten. The police and armed forces are also named as responsible for both beatings without arrest and in threats of violence against individuals.

While the civil war situation at the beginning of this Cooperative Agreement may have merited a human/worker rights coordinator with equal focus on human rights and worker rights, the present situation of peace, coupled with the existence of ample institutional support for basic human rights through the United Nations presence and the various other human rights organizations, means that UNOC should refocus its efforts exclusively on worker rights and civil disputes involving the cooperatives and the agrarian reform. In addition, it should not just report these cases but follow up, using the legal resources of the UNOC technical assistance team and/or referring individuals and groups to other appropriate legal assistance.

D. Voter Registration

The evaluation team was able to discover little about activities involving the objective on voter registration. The only documentation in this regard comes from the quarterly reports. The second quarterly report (October-December, 1990) mentioned, as an additional second quarter accomplishment, the following:

UNOC commenced its civic action and voter registration campaign by developing announcements for radio, television and print media to promote organized labor’s viewpoints on agrarian reform, beneficiary rights, suspension of GSP benefits for El Salvador, etc.

The third quarterly report (January-March, 1991) mentioned as an additional third quarter accomplishment, the following:

AIFLD sponsored an Exchange Trip to El Salvador for nine (9) trade union leaders who participated as official election observers at the March 10th elections. The delegation was comprised of four labor leaders who were also Congressmen in their respective countries. These were Rodolfo Seguel from Chile, Luis Ojeda from Venezuela, Juan Alfaro from Guatemala and Luis Negreiros Criado from Peru. The labor delegation was divided into four groups which visited electoral sites in the central and western parts of El Salvador in the company of representatives AIFLD/ES. The conclusions of the group were in general favorable to the electoral process although several instances were noted that suggested some systematic manipulation of the electoral settings by the ARENA party.
The media messages may well have contained messages to stimulate voter registration. The second activity clearly did not. AIFLD/ES could provide no further documentation regarding voter registration, nor did institutional memory make it possible to reconstruct activities. The CPD and rural sector advisor both arrived after the activity had been completed, and while the urban sector advisor began work early in the project, he was absent precisely during the pre-election period on special assignment to Haiti.

The evaluation team concludes that voter registration was not an appropriate area for AIFLD intervention and that it should not consider including this type of activity for the 1994 elections in an extension of the Cooperative Agreement.
V. AIFLD’s Administrative Support Program

A. AIFLD’s Program To Date

1. Urban Sector

AIFLD has been providing "administrative" or "budget" support for unions, federations, and peasant groups to cover basic expenses (rental of locale, utilities, telephone, secretary, etc.) at least since the mid-1980’s, and probably longer. The 1986-1989 Cooperative Agreement (Attachment II, Project Description) stated that AIFLD would "place more emphasis on services and projects...and less on budget support." The 1990 AIFLD proposal states (p. 28) that it is considered essential to continue the administrative subsidies provided to the unions to ensure that the objectives of the CA are approximated. At the same time, a more concerted effort will be made to facilitate and monitor the progress of the unions towards relative self-sufficiency, to avoid creating a situation of indefinite economic dependency.

In spite of these objectives, the reality of the Salvadoran trade union movement has not favored their achievement. The Checchi evaluation of the 1986-89 Cooperative Agreement stated (p. 27):

After discussing the issue of self-sufficiency with a number of trade union officials, the team concluded that this objective is not only unrealistic but that its pursuit would have a deleterious effect upon more immediate and pressing objectives, such as increasing the number of centrist trade unions affiliated with UNOC.

In discussions with AIFLD personnel for the present document, the evaluation team found that while the urban unions and/or federations have few funds collected from poor workers, with effort they can learn to function without administrative support without weakening democratic unionism in El Salvador. AIFLD has experimented with several strategies both to assist union organizations toward self-sufficiency as well as to force them to accept an inevitable end to AIFLD administrative support.

To force UNOC trade unions and federations to focus on self-sufficiency, in March of 1992 AIFLD began with an analysis of the basic administrative needs of the urban unions and federations, which usually involved rental of locale, utilities, telephone, secretary, and conserje (combination janitor-night watchman-messenger), and then entered into agreements with its client unions and federations. In the agreements, AIFLD agreed to pay
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100% of these costs for the next six months before beginning progressive reductions to 80% (7th month), 60% (8th month), 40% (9th month), 30% (10th month), 20% (11th month), and 10% (12th month), after which there would be no further support.

CTS was one of the federations which signed the agreement. CTS, as shown above in III.C.1., averages about 1150 colones per month (about $132 at an exchange rate of $1 = 8.7 colones) in income from its affiliates. AIFLD, apparently ignoring what little income CTS had, provided an institutional support budget of 4050 colones per month ($465/month) for the first six months of the agreement for the following budget:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Account</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Accountant salary</td>
<td>1200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secretary salary</td>
<td>1000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conserje salary</td>
<td>750</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Telephone, water, electric</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rental of locale</td>
<td>500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Office supplies</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>4050</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The reductions in the budget would thus be as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Month</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>September</td>
<td>3240</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October</td>
<td>2430</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November</td>
<td>1620</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December</td>
<td>1215</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January</td>
<td>810</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February</td>
<td>405</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In January, 1993, CTS could hold out no longer. On January 17, the CTS Secretary General, Felix Blanco (also a Deputy in the Legislative Assembly), sent the AIFLD Country Program Director (CPD) a letter essentially begging that the budget cuts be reconsidered, and the CPD restored the entire budget of 4050 colones, less 1200 for the accountant since the latter could be covered in the microenterprise component.

The other unions and federations have managed to hold out for the time being and have not presented request for renewal of the administrative support, although the CPD expects they may do so if the project receives an extension. AIFLD is determined that administrative support of this type will not continue to be used regularly with those unions and federations with which it now works, including CTS. If CTS cannot survive as an independent federation, it will probably have to choose between disappearing altogether or merging with another federation.

Not all federations collect as little money as CTS from their affiliates. CGT has always had a policy of insisting that
their affiliates collect dues and on receiving a portion of those
dues. The local AIFLD director calculates that CGT receives
perhaps 20,000 colones per month from its affiliates. Similarly,
as mentioned above, FESINCONTRANS receives 13-18,000 colones per
month.

2. Rural Sector

The rural sector administrative support has involved just
three organizations in any major way: UCS, ACOPAI, and FEDECAS.
The ACOPAI and FEDECAS organizations involve cooperatives only,
while UCS contains both cooperatives and communal organizations.
ACOPAI belongs to UNOC and also to the peasant umbrella
organization, ADC. UCS belongs to UNOC directly but also belongs
to CTD, itself a member of UNOC, and like ACOPAI participates in
the ADC umbrella. FEDECAS is an independent federation.

Unlike the urban sector, the rural sector program does not
distinguish between purely administrative support and support for
program activities, such as promoters, but it can be understood
that the bulk of administrative support in the rural area
involves organization and promoters. Training is budgeted
separately in the rural sector as it is in the urban sector.

UCS received AIFLD support from May, 1990, to December,
1991, and has received no support since that time due to a
misunderstanding between UCS leadership and AIFLD personnel who
are no longer present in El Salvador. UCS received a total of
$403,000 in funds (source: AIFLD financial reports) for
administration and organization over 20 months for an average of
about $20,000 per month, most of which went to support some 300
promoters. Since that time UCS has had to reduce its
organizational program, but it has maintained some of its
previous program through funding from the Friedreich Ebert
Foundation. In the meantime, AIFLD has maintained good relations
with UCS leaders through their participation in UNOC.

As of the end of February, 1993, ACOPAI had received
$260,000 (source: AIFLD financial reports) for an average of
$11,800 per month. The rural sector is also operating under a
regimen of progressively reduced budgets. According to the rural
sector’s projections for disbursements, ACOPAI’s January, 1993,
budget is $7010 and goes down to $5071 in May of 1993. Per diem
travel funds represent $1609 in the budgets for each month, which
means that the reductions must come from salaries or other
expenses.

The other organizations currently received administrative
and organizational funding are FEDECAS ($1513 per month with no
reduction January-May), FESACORA ($3494 per month January-
February and $3302 March-May), and UNICAÑA ($2051 per month with
no reduction January-May). None of the three receives a separate
travel per diem. All four organizations, including ACOPAI, have separately budgeted training programs which in some cases are the same each month (ACOPAI and UNICAÑA) and in others different from month to month (FEDECAS and FESACORA).

The AIFLD rural sector program has carried out experimental programs which should eventually help at least some of the rural sector organizations to cover their administrative and organization expenses. One of these programs involved the provision of loans to ACOPAI (1991 and 1992), UCS (1991), and FEDECAS (1992) to purchase fertilizer. By effecting bulk purchases, these organizations were able to negotiate favorable prices from a large distributor of 5-7% below normal cost. They were then able to finance the sale of the fertilizer to their client organizations at regular prices, with the profit from the sale going to finance the organizations. ACOPAI paid off the 1991 loan and is in the process of paying back the 1992 loan. The UCS loan was changed to a donation. FEDECAS lacks just about $10,000 to finish paying off AIFLD. All interest on loans was at bank rates.

The second program involved the international marketing of sesame seed through ACOPAI. A loan of 1.089 million colones was made to purchase sesame from member growers (and others) at competitive prices. The program was not without problems, and the first year (1991) ACOPAI actually lost money and was able to return just 800,000 colones to AIFLD. The 1992 program made available only the 800,000 colones AIFLD had received from the previous year, but this time ACOPAI appears to have made money. The AIFLD rural sector advisor calculates that ACOPAI will cover the previous year’s loss and will make about $5 per quintal on the total sale of 20,000 quintals, or $100,000. ACOPAI will distribute this money in the following way:

ACOPAI reserve fund (one-third) $33,000
ACOPAI administration (one-third) 33,000
Participating cooperatives, according to 16,500
the amount their members sold (one-sixth)
Individual members of the cooperatives (one-sixth) 16,500

(about) $100,000

The experience has served the cooperative leaders well in learning about international marketing. The past year’s sesame was sold to a broker in San Francisco, California, who now is exploring the possibility of having the ACOPAI cooperatives produce pumpkin seed for his company in addition to sesame.

The third project involves the village banks. AIFLD lends money to ACOPAI at bank rates, around 1.3% per month (about 16% per year). ACOPAI at first lent the money to its members at 3% per month (36% per year) but plans to increase the rate to 4%,
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which it calculates would be sufficient to pay for the administration of the program (2 supervisors and 6 promoters, plus a percentage of the general manager’s time). AIFLD has about one million colones invested in the village bank program, so the 2.7% ACOPAI will make on that amount is 27,000 colones, enough to cover the 11,000 in salaries plus other expenses for the village bank program.

These three programs should mean that ACOPAI will not require any administrative support after the current Cooperative Agreement expires. ACOPAI will still be dependent on AIFLD for loans through the revolving funds for fertilizer, sesame, and village banks, but all of these funds will be repaid with interest. If ACOPAI continues to successfully administer these funds, it should eventually be able to build up enough capital and credibility to graduate to the commercial banking system.

Looking toward a project extension, the rural sector program plans to expand the fertilizer program to include agricultural chemicals and equipment as well as fertilizer. The rural sector office will continue to work with ACOPAI and FEDECAS and will study the possibility of including one other federation in the program. Interest income from the program should be used as a revolving fund to allow AIFLD to continue these activities in the future with other federations without requiring further AID funds.

In light of the continuing need to develop the cooperative sector, the question arises as to whether AIFLD is the institution best able to do so. The opinion of the evaluation team is that it is, for two reasons. First, support for the rural cooperative movement strengthens the labor movement as a whole through strengthening the rural cooperative members of the labor federations, and AIFLD work with both rural and urban sectors helps to bring the two together to continue to build their historical sociopolitical alliance. Second, while one usually thinks of AIFLD in terms of traditional labor unions operating in factories in an urban setting, AIFLD has acquired extensive experience in the rural setting as has become as capable at working with rural cooperatives as with urban trade unions.

B. The Past and Future Roles of Administrative Support

1. The Past

Administrative support (AS) in the past has been used in great part as a mechanism for countering extreme leftist influence in the trade union movement, and not just in El Salvador. AS has been offered to dissident members of leftist trade unions to leave the latter and form a "democratic" (i.e.
non-leftist) union, bringing with it as many of the leftist union’s members as possible. AS was then to be used to maintain and strengthen the non-leftist union and keep it from returning to the leftist fold. This use of AS was justified, it was said, because the leftist unions themselves were receiving their own AS from leftist sources, such as the governments of Nicaragua, Cuba, and the former Soviet Union, and from other leftist movements in Europe or elsewhere. AS was thus a key Cold War tactical weapon.

In El Salvador, due to the focus on agrarian reform in the early 1980’s and AIFLD’s close involvement with it, AS was used as much or more with rural peasant organizations, such as UCS, as it was with urban unions. The extreme left painted these organizations as counter-revolutionary or reactionary, while the extreme right attacked them for their role in transferring land resources from the very rich to those who actually worked the land.

This use of AS has never been really secret, and certainly union and peasant organization observers in El Salvador have always been perfectly aware of it. The extreme left has been very sensitive to it and understandably condemns it as weakening the unions (their unions) and the labor movement in general (as managed by the extreme left). Even more moderate observers feel that this activity has on occasion weakened the labor movement. Still, in the Cold War context, this use of AS was seen as justified to protect workers and peasants from being unwillingly and completely controlled by the extreme left.

2. The Present

The Cold War may be over, but Marxists in El Salvador and elsewhere have not simply folded their tents and silently slipped away. The Communist Party is now legal and functioning politically as part of the FMLN on the far left of the political spectrum. Both urban labor and rural peasant organizations form an important sector of the UNTS, which is linked to the FMLN. The leftist vs. non-leftist dichotomy thus still exists in the labor sector of El Salvador and will probably continue to be an important fact of life in the country for some years to come.

The leftist unions and peasant organizations receive their AS from sources which cannot be documented here but which probably include the FMLN and at least some of the sources which have backed the left over the years. FENASTRAS, for example, works out of a large building constructed with funds from Norway. At least some AS funds must come from the FMLN itself.

The right also provides AS to unions in an attempt to build voter support for future elections. The conservative MAC, PCN, and ARENA parties are named as the supporters of the FESINCONTRANS, General Union Confederation (Confederación
General Sindical - CGS), and UPD federations and the small number of unions that belong to them. Both the extreme leftist and center-left unions and federations see these three as having sold out their natural labor interest to anti-labor and anti-peasant parties of the right for financial support. What AS the center-left unions and federations receives comes from AIFLD in diminishing amounts and, perhaps and to a lesser degree, from the Convergencia and PDC parties.

3. The Future

The use of AS has often been a key factor in multiplying the number of unions, as mentioned above in relation to the establishment of counter-unions to those dominated by the extreme left. It is also probable that the sheer amounts of money available in the competition for affiliates in the past has increased or at least maintained the number of federations which group these unions together. Also, while some federations may represent valid and distinct ideological differences, in many cases new federations rise out of the personal differences of their leaders.

At any rate, it is difficult to see the real differences between the present federations, such as CTD, CTS, CGT, and OSILS, within or close to UNOC. ACOPAI and FEDECAS, which limit themselves to agricultural cooperatives, are the only ones which are distinct from the others. The eventual reduction in AS will hopefully contribute to the joining (or, in some cases, the rejoining) of smaller federations into a smaller number of larger ones. If AIFLD continues to reduce AS across the board with all unions and federations to eventually remove itself entirely from AS, no one union or federation will suffer inordinately.

C. Sustainability

1. Weaning the Unions and Federations

It is tempting to ask what will happen when all AS is cut off to the UNOC federations, as it will be shortly by AIFLD. If some federations lose their AS from AIFLD, they may attempt to find AS elsewhere. The political parties might contribute if they feel the federation is half-way capable of delivering votes, and the obvious parties to pick up the AS of UNOC federations are the Convergencia and the PDC. Another source of AS funds might be international organizations, such as CLAT or European labor organizations.

It is also possible, however, that some federations would cease to exist in a sort of Darwinian selection process. Federations which collect sufficient dues funds, which successfully find other AS sources, or which discover a self-
sustaining mechanism (a business venture, for example, where the profits go to the federations) will survive, while others will cease to exist. The survivors will eventually acquire new affiliates from those left by the less successful federations. In this way, one can imagine the present affiliates of CTD, CTS, CGT, and OSILS all affiliated to just one of the four. At present, CGT appears to be the strongest of the four with more affiliates (20+ where the other three have less than 10), while CTS is the weakest and most likely to merge with another.

Given this scenario, it is difficult to determine what AIFLD's strategy should be during the next two years. Three years ago AIFLD felt that CTD was the best candidate to unite the democratic unions, and AIFLD naturally favors CTD as a member of its international federation, the ICFTU (see below). AIFLD feels that CGT is at present perhaps the strongest federation. There is a federation or perhaps two which it feels have the best chance of succeeding, and it could channel some AS resources in that direction.

Finally, it is important to note that the unions, peasant, communal, and the informal sector organizations themselves should survive, regardless of what happens to their federations. The unions traditionally collect dues from their membership, whether or not they are affiliated to a federation, and the other organizations may do the same. The only difference is that they need not pass on a portion of these dues to a federation. Unions and other organizations might well decide to switch federations themselves if it becomes obvious that membership in another federation would be more productive.

2. AIFLD, the ICFTU and Bringing Federations Together

AIFLD has three related organizational ties: (1) to its parent organization, the AFL-CIO; (2) to the international union organization to which the AFL-CIO is affiliated, the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU), known in Spanish as the Confederación Internacional de Organizaciones Sindicales Libres - CIOSSL; and (3) to the ICFTU's regional organization, the Interamerican Regional Organization of Workers (Organización Regional Interamericana de Trabajadores - ORIT). Throughout Latin America, AIFLD generally tries to work closely with organizations which are members of ORIT and thus fellow members of the ICFTU.

In El Salvador, the long-time affiliate of ORIT was the CTD, and this fact caused AIFLD to focus on CTD as the best candidate for bringing the democratic labor movement together in the 1990 proposal for the current Cooperative Agreement. Ideally, AIFLD would like to see more federations affiliated with ORIT, but there is a problem: FENASTRAS.
FENASTRAS has been linked over the years with the FMLN and was previously a member of the now nearly defunct communist trade union federation in Prague, but last year it resigned its membership in this organization and applied for membership in ORIT. New members in ORIT must have the support of existing members, and this meant that FENASTRAS needed the support of CTD to become a member. CTD became convinced that FENASTRAS had dropped its Marxist orientation and supported FENASTRAS' application, and FENASTRAS was admitted.

AIFLD hoped that it would be able to begin working with FENASTRAS, but its hopes were dashed, as FENASTRAS more or less suddenly reverted to its former ideology and has expressed its distaste for AIFLD. This poses a problem for AIFLD (and CTD) regarding other new potential members of ORIT, such as CTS, CGT, or OSILS, since FENASTRAS holds virtual veto power over their applications. AIFLD is hopeful that the 1994 FENASTRAS elections may bring in a steering committee with more moderate views.

3. Sustainability and the UNOC-support program

AIFLD has sustained UNOC virtually since its inception. Since it is not a true federation (much less a union), it has no dues-paying member support. UNOC's role has been primarily political: paid political announcements, technical assistance to the labor deputies, and especially the work with the Foro. These activities have been and continue to be important to establish recognized legal protection for labor through the passage of a labor code and to consolidate the achievements of agrarian reform through the passage of an agrarian code. In addition, UNOC has participated responsibly and positively in the eventual establishment of improved labor-management relations through its work with the Foro.

UNOC will not be able to sustain this level of effort beyond the project extension, and at present it has no other source of funds. However, if UNOC is able to achieve its goals as regards the labor and agrarian codes, as well as consolidating its positions as labor's voice, it should be able to cut back on much of its program. At the same time, the unions and federations which are members of UNOC must begin to provide some modest support. AIFLD should analyze the UNOC budget with a view toward identifying the basic financial needs (rent, telephone, water, a secretary) of the organization, and it should help UNOC develop a strategy to progressively cover these needs with federation and union funds.
VI. AIFLD's Program Activities

A. Training and Education

1. Strategies: a Centralized Training Unit

The AIFLD proposal of 1990 leading to the Cooperative Agreement proposed the creation of a centralized education program to carry out basic trade union education and training (pp. 28, 30-31). It planned to do so to enhance quality and administrative control, to locate the program possibly at CTD, and to make the program "available to all democratic unions and their members, regardless of whether affiliated or not to the CTD." This unit, "to be jointly managed by UNOC/CTD/AIFLD," would "unite the best training talent...with adequate financial and technical resources to effect a quantum improvement in the education program."

This excellent strategy was not carried out due to problems between AIFLD and CTD, apparently of a personal nature, which the evaluation team has not been able to fully understand. As a result, training continued to be carried out much as it had before, with individual unions and federations organizing and scheduling their events, soliciting funds for the events from AIFLD, and carrying them out with no coordination with other organizations.

The resulting training has undoubtedly not achieved the quality planned in the initial proposal. AIFLD records include monitoring records where AIFLD personnel arrive at the training site at the stipulated time, find no one present, and discover that the site managers have no record that an event was planned for that time and place. In other cases, AIFLD is informed in the middle of the week that an event scheduled to begin on Monday will not be carried out, and permission is sought to reschedule the event for the following month.

The evaluation team suggests that AIFLD renew its efforts to establish centralized training. This might perhaps be possible now at CTD, if the personal problems of the past have been resolved, since CTD appears to have the best training unit in the democratic labor movement. If that option is not viable, it would perhaps be possible through UNOC itself, especially given the credibility of UNOC at present in the labor movement and the membership of nearly every important federation and union in UNOC.

2. Techniques and Methodologies: Short Courses

Training techniques and methodologies do not appear to vary much from one organization to the next. Generally speaking,
training events are scheduled for one or two days, occasionally a week, depending on the level of training. Local leaders usually receive just 1-2 days. The events take place in sites adequate for the purpose, usually simple hotels with a large room for lectures.

Training events are arranged through signed agreements between AIFLD and the union or federation for training to be given over a year. These agreements contain projected budgets, probable sites for training, and themes to be given. Each month the union or federation presents a training plan to AIFLD and receives the funds necessary to carry it out. AIFLD maintains strict control over the organizations as regards these events. It will not tolerate organizations which are not serious about training and has cut off training agreements with organizations, such as OSILS, which are lax about fulfilling the terms of the agreements. In addition, individual training events are monitored by AIFLD staff as to whether they were actually held and the staff member’s opinion of the training presentations.

While each organization will vary somewhat the content of its training classes, those provided by CTS appear typical. A two-day CTS training event will usually involve lectures over five or six themes. All events include three lectures: Principles and Objectives of the CTS, How to Organize Groups (Organización de Cuadros), and Current Events (Realidad Nacional). The first two lectures are invariably given by the CTS leadership for obvious reasons, while the third may be given by the leadership or by an outside speaker.

Complementing these three lectures are two or three additional lectures directed toward the type of participant: union, cooperative, communal, or informal sector. The lectures given are the following:

Union

1) Labor legislation: what exists, what the union movement seeks, possibilities and prospects.
2) Collective bargaining: what the contracts contain and how they are negotiated.
3) Communication: problems entailed by poor communication and techniques of good communication.

Cooperative

1) Cooperative administration: techniques and importance of good administration.
2) Agrarian legislation: what exists, problems involved, what the movement seeks, possibilities and prospects.
3) Pesticide management and soil protection, or other agricultural themes.
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Communal

1) Communal organization: how communities are organized.
2) Community development: techniques which can be used to achieve development goals in the community.

Informal sector

1) Microenterprise administration: techniques and importance of good administration.
2) Rights and other legal aspects of microenterprise: what the movement seeks, possibilities and prospects.
3) Marketing: techniques and methods.

CTS will seek lecturers for its program from a variety of sources. AIFLD personnel may participate directly, if asked, as do members of the UNOC technical assistance team. Other sources are the Salvadoran Institute for Political Studies (Instituto Salvadoreño de Estudios Políticos - ISEP), the Jesuit university (Universidad Centroamericana José Simeon Cañas - UCA), and the Center for Technical and Scientific Studies (Centro de Investigaciones Técnicas y Científicas - CENITEC). If the lecturer requires payment, CTS pays a maximum 200 colones.

The short course training impacts on participants in two ways. First, it provides them with information concerning the organization to which they belong so that they can participate productively and constructively in that organization. At the same time, they have the opportunity to discuss current and political events with their leadership where they both learn of the organization’s position on issues and can provide their own opinions on those issues.

Second, this training provides participants with useful knowledge in their areas of economic interest. Those involved in some sort of business, whether the agribusiness of cooperatives or the microenterprises of the informal sector, learn useful information on business administration and marketing. Labor union participants learn the details of collective bargaining agreements. All learn pertinent information about the legal ramifications involving their particular sector.

3. Techniques and Methodologies: Cooperative Administration

AIFLD has held two of its own training courses in San Salvador, each lasting one month (250 hours) and given by the AIFLD rural sector technician (Formación Gerencial para Asociados y Técnicos de Organizaciones Rurales). These courses are oriented primarily toward preparing cooperative managers, although the most recent course also included a microenterprise manager. The most recent course was attended by 27 persons, 16 of whom were officers and/or employees of cooperatives. Nine of
those attending were promoters with CTD (=UCS), CTS, ACOPAI, and FEDECAS, and four of the nine were at the same time members of cooperatives. One individual was listed only as a member of a cooperative and another was an accountant-administrator at an organization which trains health promoters. Organizations represented were ACOPAI (10), FESACORA (5), FEDECAS (4), CTD/UCS (2), CTS (2), CGT (1), and three others.

The most recent course, given February-March, 1993, was held at the Siesta Hotel in San Salvador, and trainees not living in the immediate area were put up in the hotel during the week but went home on weekends. Classes were from 8:00 a.m. to 5:00 p.m. with a two-hour lunch break and 15-minute coffee breaks in the morning and afternoon. The course contained classes on the following subjects:

- Mathematics
- Management
- Microeconomics of Production
- Aspects of Economics and Finance
- Profitability and Investment
- Interpersonal Relations and Communication
- Communication Techniques and Audiovisual Aids
- The Environment and Pesticides

The teaching technique consisted of lectures, repetition, and exercises. For example, one whole day was given over to review of production costs. Trainees were given "homework" to do in the evening, which was checked the following morning.

In light of the generally low level of education found among cooperative members, this type of training event is extremely important. Cooperative managers need to know how to calculate the rate of return for investments, which investment will bring the highest return, whether to invest or not, and so on, and thousands of cooperative members depend on them for their success. AIFLD should continue to provide this sort of training while at the same time lobbying other training organizations, such as FEPADE, to provide similar courses. If FEPADE or another institution were provided with clear course outlines based on successful courses already given, they should be able to provide courses of similar quality.

4. The George Meany Center

AIFLD training has included sending Salvadoran labor leaders to the George Meany Center in Maryland for four-week training sessions. Three of these labor leader trainees were interviewed by the evaluation team: Julio Oscar Sibrián Merlos (SIMES) José Alberto Rogel Montiagudo (SUTC), and José Antonio Vásquez (SIPES).
Sibrián, at present Secretary General of the SIMES teachers union, attended a course on trade unions and political action, given from October 16 to November 11, 1988, two years before the present Cooperative Agreement began. Rogel, at present Secretary of Organization and Statistics of the SUTC construction workers trade union, was at the Meany Center from August 2 through 28, 1992, attending a course on trade unions and the structural adjustment process. Vásquez, who is now Secretary General of the SIPES port workers union, attended a course on economic integration in Latin America from October 18 to November 14, 1992.

All three occupy important positions of leadership in three large and important unions. The unions of both Rogel and Vásquez have current collective bargaining contracts and both individuals claim to have respectful but firm relations with their respective employers. The teacher’s organization headed by Sibrián, although not permitted by law to enter formally into collective bargaining with the government, in fact negotiates regularly with the government on matters pertaining to wages, bonuses, and other matters of interest and SIMES has good relations with the government.

The three former trainees agreed that the courses which they had attended had been of great value to them and to their respective unions. They said they came out of the courses better prepared to deal with union matters and with a better overview perspective of Latin American problems affecting the workers and their unions. Rogel and Vásquez both had the opportunity to witness a general election in the U.S. and stated that they now better understand how American electoral processes work.

Vásquez suggested that the effectiveness of the courses could be enhanced and perhaps be less expensive if they could be given at least partially in Spanish, and if lecturers could be individuals familiarized with the Latin American reality concerning the subjects they lecture on. Sibrián suggested that it would be good if AIFLD organized a seminar on educational policies in Central America. He also suggested the possibility of some of the participants giving talks relating the situations in the various trainees’ countries. All three found the courses very useful, well-structured, and clearly delivered, and all three commended AIFLD for the program.

B. Informal Sector Credits

The term "informal sector" is generally used somewhat loosely. For the purpose of this report, it should be interpreted as referring to people living on the fringe of extreme poverty, with a very low level of formal education, thickly clustered in shabby dwellings without running water,
usually with large families, living precariously from various economic activities just productive enough to live from day to day. They are the marginal people and chronically unemployed or underemployed with neither employable skills nor developed abilities. They are the subjects and victims of high population growth, the "children of Sánchez." Their one asset is their will to survive, which often sharpens their wits and stimulates their initiative, pushing them to develop individual activities which keep them alive. Were they educated and had access to bank credit, they would be called "entrepreneurs."

In El Salvador, as in most Latin American countries, this informal sector has grown in numbers during the 1980's, due mainly to the modernization of agriculture and to the adjustment process which, it is hoped, will also absorb the majority of "informales" into the modern social and economic structure. The situation in El Salvador is compounded by the 12 years of civil war which not only scared away national and international investors but also brought about a considerable migration from the rural areas to the urban and semi-urban centers, thus bloating the informal sector.

The informal sector has begun to organize itself in "unions." These unions, like the rural unions, are not unions in the strict sense of the term, in that they are not salaried employees of a factory or the government. These unions are groups of microentrepreneurs who either sell on the streets or in markets or who make things for sale in cottage industries.

It is important to realize that many microentrepreneurs either (1) have experience as salaried workers but were laid off or (2) have family members who are salaried workers. Their organization into unions strengthens the labor movement in that an individual who loses his or her job does not cease to exist for the union movement but rather continues to participate in another form and through another type of union.

The organization of the informal sector into "unions" has the effect of bringing together sectors which share a common precarious economic situation. Their source of income may differ from that of standard labor unions but their level of income is very similar, and they thus share the common concerns of those attempting to live at a particular income level. By bringing together the standard labor unions and the informal sector "unions" in the same organization, the individual federations and umbrella organizations like UNOC acquire greater influence and political weight to influence political and government organisms to support programs which favor their union or their informal sector members, or both.
1. Urban Sector: Microenterprise Credits

The objective of this program is to provide financial and technical resources to the CTS and CGT union organizations, so that the latter can provide direct loans to informal groups (grupos solidarios) of microentrepreneurs in the informal sector associations or unions organized and run by those same microentrepreneurs. The program is especially important for the beneficiary members who would otherwise have no recourse to formal credit sources and ordinarily seek funds from loan sharks.

The CTS and CGT run their programs in much the same manner, with the exception that while CTS charges 3% monthly interest, CGT charges 4% with the goal of establishing a fund which it will be able to continue using when AIFLD funds are no longer available. Both CTS and CGT operate the program through associations of microentrepreneurs, CTS through two organizations (Asociación Nacional de Comerciantes de la Economía Informal - ANCEI and Asociación de Vendedores Ambulantes de El Salvador - AVEAES) and CGT through one organization (Asociación de Vendedores y Comerciantes Salvadoreños - AVECOS). All three associations are made up mostly of women who sell in marketplaces, parks, and streets and who have municipal licenses to do so.

The loans range from 500 to 4000 colones and are provided in three separate payments. Each solidarity group pays its parent organization (CTS or CGT) monthly, and each beneficiary may pay the treasurer of the solidarity group either daily or weekly. Beneficiary payments include capital, interest, and a 25% savings quota. CTS and CGT make monthly payments to AIFLD which include capital plus interest at bank rates, about 1.66% monthly interest.

The loan process contains the following steps. First, the union organization (CTS and CGT) signs an agreement with AIFLD specifying the daughter organizations that will participate in the program. Each of these latter then presents a list of 50 potential beneficiaries who will be invited to receive four weekly talks before any loan will be disbursed.

The first session is dedicated to explaining the program in general and how it should work, including loan period, amount of interest, and how payment will be made, and the point is made that the loans are not made to individuals but to the solidarity groups. Interested groups then receive a loan application. The next step involves a visit to the individual microenterprise to establish the type of business, an inventory of supplies and merchandise, and the individual's ability to pay.

Following these visits, the beneficiaries establish a Credit Committee made up of members of the organization and including the AIFLD program coordinator. This committee analyzes the loan
applications and approves loan amounts according to the ability to pay and the type of business. Once the loans are decided, the loan amounts are totaled, and the organization solicits the total amount from AIFLD.

At the second meeting with the beneficiaries, those who have qualified are informed as to the amount approved. These beneficiaries then form a solidarity group composed of members chosen by them, and a steering committee is elected with a president, secretary, and treasurer which will later open a savings account in a nearby commercial bank, a joint account with a member of the parent organization (CTS or CGT), in which they will deposit the funds to be paid out to each member.

The third meeting is used to produce a set of internal rules for each group and to train the steering committees of each solidarity group in the forms to be used to control payments made to each member. Once the parent organization receives its check from AIFLD, the organization makes out checks to each beneficiary. In the fourth meeting, each beneficiary signs an exchange letter for the amount received, and each solidarity group signs an agreement with the organization, including the amount of the loan. Finally, the organization hands out the checks to the individual beneficiaries. Both CGT and CTS have a microenterprise coordinator and one or two promoters charged with following up and assuring the monthly payment of the solidarity group to the organization.

2. Rural Sector: Village Banks

This program focuses especially on rural women who are poor and without access to formal credit institutions, and it provides funds to begin or enlarge non-agricultural activities (such as sales of fruit, vegetables, used clothing, food, and so on) to provide a second income for the home. Two organizations carry out the program with AIFLD: ACOPAI with 50 banks and FEDECAS with eight.

The village banks in this program are made up of groups of between 20 and 50 people, usually women, who meet once a week to discuss their small businesses. The village bank members themselves determine membership, decide on their rules, elect a steering committee, manage their funds, keep books, and approve and collect on loans. The loans are small: 400 colones per member for first time borrowers for four months, to be repaid in 16 weekly payments including capital, 3% interest, and required savings which must represent 20% of the total loan.

ACOPAI and FEDECAS each have a program coordinator or supervisor, plus promoters in charge of monitoring 5-10 banks in a particular geographic area, which involves a weekly visit to
carry out follow up on each group and its members and to assist in resolving problems.

The program begins with the signing of an agreement between the organization (ACOPAI and FEDECAS) and with AIFLD specifying the amount of funds to be made available. The organization then selects groups of women from its cooperative affiliates, carries out visits, and holds four meetings with each group. At the first meeting, the program is described: loan terms, amounts, how payment is to be made, interest, and that loans are to solidarity groups and not to individuals.

The second meeting is used to develop the rules under which the program will operate. In the third meeting, the members are trained and in particular the steering committee on the use of forms to maintain control over member payments. In the fourth meeting the organization turns over to the steering committee funds equivalent to 400 colones for each member, and the steering committee then makes cash loans to each member.

3. Informal Sector Targets and Beneficiary Feedback

The target for number of loans in the urban sector in the Cooperative Agreement was 1000 loans. At the time of this evaluation, a total of 953,000 colones had been loaned to 421 beneficiaries, less than half of the loans targeted. The target number of loans for the rural sector was also 1000, but at the time of this evaluation the target had been exceeded with 609,770 colones in loans to 1711 beneficiaries. About 90% of the beneficiaries in the urban sector were women, and 95% in the rural sector were women. Together, the 2122 loans to both sectors exceeded the target of 2000 total loans.

The evaluation team carried out more than 20 interviews with beneficiaries of the informal sector program in four cities within a 35 km radius of San Salvador as well as in San Salvador itself. 85% of those interviewed were women ranging in age from 22 to 60 years of age. Nearly all have children which are taken to the work place if they are under three or four years of age. 80% of the beneficiaries has some sort of fixed stand in the provisional markets around city squares; other are limited to a place on sidewalks or in parks where they sell earthenware, blouses, underwear, local food, and so on.

All of those interviewed said that the loans helped them in many ways. It made it possible to increase their stock at lower prices, improve the image of the business by enlarging exhibition counters or buying a stool. If they sold food, the loans allowed them to purchase silverware or an extra basket. More importantly, they were able to avoid the loan sharks charging 20-25% monthly interest.
Most said that the courses they had attended had taught them the importance of organizing in groups to promote their interests and to defend their rights. They also said they had acquired valuable information on maintaining accounts and managing their businesses. Finally, they all expressed their satisfaction for the end of the civil war, hoped that things would improve, and said they planned to vote in the 1994 elections.

4. AIFLD’s Role in the Informal Sector

AIFLD did not enter the informal sector alone. In September, 1991, AIFLD subcontracted the Foundation for International Community Assistance – FINCA (in El Salvador known as the Fundación Internacional de Asistencia Comunitaria – FINCA/ES), to carry out the program with CTS, according to a copy of the AIFLD-FINCA/ES agreement made available to the evaluation team. According to this agreement, FINCA/ES was to (loose translation of pp. 2-3):

1. Design the project in collaboration with AIFLD and CTS.

2. Develop and present to AIFLD an annual workplan.

3. Train and advise the solidarity groups.

4. Carry out visits to work places of beneficiaries along with representatives of AIFLD.

5. Carry out a credit and socioeconomic situation analysis of beneficiaries, along with CTS.

6. Provide support for project personnel selection.

7. Train project personnel in the methodology of microenterprise banks, including the preparation of manuals, reports, etc.

8. Train solidarity groups in educational-productive credit management.

9. Provide mechanisms and procedures to guarantee recuperation of loan credits.

10. Certify disbursements to solidarity groups and supervise their recovery.

11. Monthly follow up meetings of activities with project personnel and solidarity groups.

12. Advise on the supervision of loan management as well as the solidarity groups.
13. Carry out evaluations of impact, advance, and achievements of the project with AIFLD and CTS.

It is clear that AIFLD needed help in the field of microenterprise, and that FINCA/ES is an expert organization in the field. The September, 1991, agreement was extended to the present time through a letter of agreement. However, AIFLD now feels that it has learned the mechanics of microenterprise sufficiently well that it no longer needs FINCA/ES supervision. The observations of the evaluation team confirm that AIFLD has become a competent institution in the management of microenterprise loans.

The evaluation team applauds the initiative of AIFLD in attempting to provide needed assistance to the informal sector. While the activity is not one which is usually associated with AIFLD, its success in carrying out the program and its focus on organizations within the labor movement mean that it can provide an important contribution to both the informal sector as such and to the participation of that sector in the labor movement.

C. Promoters

AIFLD’s program with the unions and federations includes the use of promoters to assist in organizational activities. Typically, promoters are used to promote and coordinate AIFLD-sponsored activities, such as training, seminars, assemblies, village banks, microenterprise, and so on. They are the most constant point of contact between union members and the union hierarchy, and between the various unions and their federations. The evaluation team had the opportunity to meet several promoters during the evaluation and was impressed by their dedication to their jobs. They are usually young and chosen for the job for their energy and enthusiasm. As they participate in the promotion of training events, they themselves also receive training. In many cases, the promoters work outside the capital of San Salvador and represent the union or federation’s field presence.

In some cases, promoters can be used to increase membership, while in others they are not. Unions made up of those working at a particular industry have no way of increasing the number of union members. Cooperatives are similar in that agrarian cooperatives were formed from those working a plantation at a particular time and as such do not increase in membership. Government association unions and guild unions may use promoters to increase membership on an occasional basis. SIMES promoters have been asked by SIMES members to give talks to teachers in the schools they teach in.
More often, the primary role of promoters is to work with those who are already members. They help unions and cooperatives to resolve administrative and organizational problems so that the union or cooperative can better serve its membership. They visit the local level organizations to help maintain communication between the base level and the leadership.

The AIFLD program currently supports the activities of 17 promoters working in five organizations, each of which has other promoters working without AIFLD support. CGT has five AIFLD promoters, plus another seven or eight support by CGT. SUTC also has five AIFLD promoters, plus another 11 promoters who spend much of their time visiting unionized construction sites to check on whether those on the job belong to the union. CTS has four AIFLD promoters, all in regional positions: east, west, central, and the capital, plus about nine part-time promoters supported by the union. SIMES has two AIFLD promoters, plus two promoters supported by the union, while SIPES has one AIFLD promoter, plus 8-10 others support by the union.

D. Social Welfare: Mobil Medical Unit

The AIFLD mobil medical unit began in January in 1990, shortly before the present Cooperative Agreement began. The medical program is without doubt the best documented program within AIFLD, thanks in great part to the doctor who has run it since its inception, Dr. Dorisus Lainez de Rivera. She prepares monthly, quarterly, and annual reports detailing the total number of beneficiaries, whether urban or rural, and by their organization membership. Unfortunately, in her reports the beneficiaries have not been routinely differentiated by gender, although she has the data by gender in her database and gave the evaluation team the following breakdown for the entire period of the Cooperative Agreement (January/90 through March/93):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adults treated</th>
<th>Women</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>7,425</td>
<td></td>
<td>1,040</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural</td>
<td>6,153</td>
<td></td>
<td>2,216</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>13,578</td>
<td></td>
<td>3,256</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Children treated</th>
<th>Girls</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Boys</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>3,460</td>
<td></td>
<td>1,108</td>
<td>32.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural</td>
<td>2,847</td>
<td></td>
<td>1,190</td>
<td>41.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>6,307</td>
<td></td>
<td>2,298</td>
<td>36.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Dr. Lainez de Rivera’s reports also include illnesses treated and vaccinations (anti-polio, DPT, tetanus). Also, Dr. Lainez de Rivera’s reports contain the exact numbers and description of each medication provided.
The program trains rural health promoters who learn to give injections, provide attention to individuals with low-risk illnesses, give talks on hygiene, and make home visits. In the month of February, 1993, for example, the mobil medical unit gave talks to 635 health promoters (300 urban, 335 rural) on first aid (burns, wounds, fractures, transporting injured persons), environmental sanitation, sexually transmitted disease, drugs, how to attend patients, intestinal parasites, oral rehydration therapy, breast feeding, and the importance of vaccinating children under the age of five.

The health promoter program began in 1991. A total of 69 promoters have been trained, 44 in 1991 and 25 in 1992. They range in age from 17 to 55 years of age; 22 are women and 47 are men. The promoters are selected by their own communities where they live and work. Training was carried out over a four-week period by the Salvadoran Pro-Rural Health Association (Asociación Salvadoreña Pro-Salud Rural - ASAPROSAR). The communities selected to participate in the program are those with no nearby public health facilities but with cooperatives affiliated to organizations which belong to UNOC.

Once trained and back in their communities, the health promoters work without pay and are supervised both by their cooperatives as well as by Dr. Lainez de Rivera of the mobil health unit. The promoters report on the communities visited, number of families visited, how many talks they have given, how many attended the talk, and the acceptance of the promoters. The cooperative provides them with a first aid kit, and the promoters charge patients the cost of the materials (bandages, aspirin, etc.) to replace them.

The mobil unit functions in both urban and rural areas according to a carefully planned schedule which allows local promoters to advise those who might need assistance to attend the mobil clinic. In the 1991 calendar year, the unit treated people from SUTC (298), SITRASALUD (1048), SINATRAC (118), SIGAP (3), SIMES (16), OSILS (594), CTD (102), UNOC (15), SIPES (9), ASABUG (25), SIVA (5), STIT (50), IVU (3), ATME (1), STTIUSA (846), SETFOSA (550), AIFLD (668), and IMI (752).

Those who visit the medical unit are asked to contribute one or two colones if they are able, but no one is turned away if unable to pay. All medications are provided without charge; medications are received from the Ministry of Health (vaccinations) and as donations from private organizations. The majority of medications are donated by the AFL-CIO.

The mobil health unit appears to function like clockwork. It is extremely well-organized, contains multiplier-effect elements such as promoters, has established and maintained a schedule, and has produced statistics and information of very
The mobil unit contributes to union strengthening by improving the quality of life of union members and their families, and extending those services to nearby communities which are visited by the union health unit promoters. These activities contribute to a favorable climate for organizing low-income people in union, cooperative, and informal sector organizations. The mobil unit is cost effective in that it emphasizes preventive health care, hygiene, sanitation, and other practices which eventually reduce the need for people to visit formal health facilities.

E. Collective Bargaining

The Cooperative Agreement states that one of the objectives of the urban union component will be to "improve living standards by negotiating at least 10 new collective bargaining agreements between companies and unions without existing contracts." As the period of the Cooperative Agreement draws to a close, just four new collective bargaining agreements have been negotiated, an important collective bargaining agreement was renegotiated with AIFLD support, and a few non-binding "agreements" which are not strictly speaking collective bargaining agreements have been achieved.

The four new collective bargaining agreements involve SUTC, the construction trades union; SETFOSA, the Oliva industries (soap, candles) union; STPCAS, the building materials trades union; and SIMES, the teacher’s union.

SUTC, a member of UNOC, includes workers who are masons, electricians, plumbers, and others working in construction projects all across the country, making communication between workers and their union officials both important and difficult. AIFLD provided funds for transportation for the officials so that they could keep members apprised of advances in the collective bargaining negotiations. SUTC sought a raise of 70% over previous average salaries, but in 1991, the first year of the agreement, eventually accepted a 32% increase. The contract was...
renegotiated again in 1992 with the union once again asking for 65-70% increases and eventually accepting a 25-30% increase.

SUTC also successfully sued in March, 1992, with the help of the UNOC lawyer Miguel Angel Cardoza, to have union representation extended to other construction sites. The case, known in Spanish as Laudo Arbitral, was heard and resolved favorably for SUTC in an Arbitration Court on July 25, 1992, as a case of obligatory arbitration. The suit allowed SUTC to sue 121 separate construction companies and individuals at the same time to extend the benefits of SUTC’s existing collective bargaining contract to workers working for these 121 firms. The reason for the suit was to avoid having to negotiate separate contracts with each of the 121, many of which involved small construction sites of a few houses or one building. The contracts are in effect for three years and will be extended for one more year if neither party seeks a change during the final four months of the contract.

It should be noted that the construction industry appears to be the most highly unionized in El Salvador. According to Ministry of Labor lists of currently legal unions and number of members, there are more construction workers in unions than all other industries combined:

Sindicato Union de Trabajadores de la Construcción (SUTC) 35,938
Sindicato de Trabajadores de la Construcción y Conexos 24,073
Salvadoreños
Sindicato General de Trabajadores de la Industria de la Construcción 846
Sindicato General de Trabajadores de la Industria de la Construcción, Similares y Conexos de El Salvador 819
Sindicato de Obreros de la Industria de la Construcción, Similares y Conexos de El Salvador 533
Sindicato de Trabajadores de la Industria de la Construcción 180
Sindicato de Trabajadores Nacionalistas de la Industria de la Construcción 60

Total Number of Unionized Construction Workers 62,449

STPCAS is a member of the FESINCONSTRANS federation which is not affiliated with UNOC but with which AIFLD has worked. Negotiations stalemated at one point between the union and the company involved, called Blokitubos, and AIFLD helped by providing for meetings between workers and union officials. When the company threatened to close the factory, AIFLD helped pay for a public statement in the newspaper by the union detailing its demands but also its willingness to negotiate, which helped bring the company back to the table and eventually to a collective bargaining contract. Unfortunately, the company later abrogated
the agreement, the factory was occupied by the workers for a short time, and the factory is now operating without a union.

SETFOSA, another member of FESINCONSTRANS, is the union at the Oliva Factory which primarily makes soap and candles. AIFLD was invited by the union to the factory and, with company permission, made the visit and later had a meeting with management. Workers had wanted to point out dangerous working conditions involving, for example, carrying buckets up a staircase made slippery by soap residues, and one of the union demands was that the stairs be kept free of residues. Regarding salaries, the company claimed that the purchase of new equipment meant that increased salaries would not be possible, but AIFLD pointed out that Oliva exports to the U.S. and hinted at problems for the company if it did not negotiate new salaries. The company eventually complied.

The agreement involving SIMES, an affiliate of OSILS, is not strictly speaking a union collective bargaining agreement, since the Constitution of El Salvador forbids collective bargaining and strikes by government employees, and the teachers who are members of SIMES teach in government schools. Still, it is as close to a collective bargaining agreement as is possible for state employees.

SIMES had not originally intended to become involved in collective bargaining but rather in selling teachers a program they had developed which would help teachers program their time in class better and allow them to complete the year's curriculum on time. This project, which would generate income for SIMES, had to be negotiated first with the Ministry of Education (MOE). SIMES' success in doing so made its members decide to attempt to negotiate a new contract with the MOE.

Although SIMES began the negotiations alone and with little success, its teaching program had provided it with contact with the larger, more leftist teachers union, ANDES-21, and other smaller unions, and the decision was eventually made to form a block, called the Teachers' Front (Frente Magisterial) to negotiate improvements in salary as well as actions which they felt would improve the educational process in the schools. The MOE accepted some suggestions but not others, including salary increases. There was a short strike in March, 1992, but teachers went back to work after a week as negotiations were resumed.

Things came to a head in June, 1992. The MOE stated on a Wednesday that it would have its answer on the following Monday, but at this point ANDES-21 decided unilaterally to strike, while SIMES and others decided to continue negotiations, at least until they all felt that a strike was unavoidable. The SIMES-led Front eventually achieved an agreement some two weeks later, and while ANDES-21 denounced SIMES for capitulating, ANDES-21 eventually
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accepted the same agreement. In summary, it proved to be a victory for SIMES and for its patience over both the MOE and ANDES-21.

AIFLD’s role throughout was to provide assistance for meetings so that the Front could explain the negotiations to its membership and receive input from that membership. AIFLD feels that this sort of dialogue between membership and leadership is an important aspect of democratic trade unionism.

AIFLD had an important role in the renegotiation of the collective bargaining contract between SIPES, the longshoreman’s union, and the company, which came up for renewal in 1991. When the company refused to negotiate, SIPES went on strike, and the company’s response was to lock workers out, including the union offices on the company premises. AIFLD talked to key people in the government and threatened AFL-CIO retaliation, and negotiations were eventually restarted and an agreement reached.

AIFLD-supported unions have also occasionally achieved non-binding agreements which have effectively improved wages and working conditions, but the evaluation team was unable to document where these agreements have taken place. Indeed, the evaluation noted the lack of AIFLD documentation concerning all of the agreements, as no reports or summaries of these activities seem to exist at AIFLD.

It is clear that AIFLD did not completely achieve its objective of 10 new collective bargaining agreements where none had previously existed, but rather less than half that number. A factor which has been put forth explaining this low level of achievement is that unions in general have focused and continue to focus more heavily on the place of unions in the political arena.

The current AIFLD CPD believes that the original goal of 10 collective bargaining agreements was unrealistic, given the civil war climate at that time. He believes that the current climate is improved, however, and thinks that 3-5 new collective bargaining agreements might be possible in the next two years, probably based on the 24 labor-management disputes which UNOC has presented for consideration to the Tripartite Commission of the Foro. The CPD is probably not overly optimistic, in that he feels that no more than about 20% of those disputes will be resolved.

F. Occupational Health and Safety: FIPRO

AIFLD had originally planned to carry out an occupational health and safety program on its own but eventually agreed to work through the Industrial Prevention of Occupational Risk
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Foundation (Fundación Industrial para la Prevención de Riesgos Ocupacionales - FIPRO), which was set up with the private sector in a separate effort with AID financing. In spite of the fact that FIPRO's obvious goal was improved worker health and safety, the endemic lack of trust between labor and management caused labor to mistrust FIPRO at first, simply because it was run by management. It was not until the last year and a half that FIPRO and AIFLD managed to convince a few labor organizations to participate.

FIPRO's strategy is to carry out seminars linked to specific trade or factory studies to determine risks to health and safety. To date, seminars and studies have been carried out in conjunction with three unions: SIPES, SETFOSA, and SUTC. All were quite successful, and the findings of the studies helped the unions incorporate safety measures into their collective bargaining contracts, mentioned above.

On the basis of these successes, AIFLD hopes to carry out additional seminars with the above unions, plus carry out studies of two other factories. The problem is that, in spite of the control of FIPRO by the private sector, many private sector owners and managers are unwilling to participate, just as they are unwilling to negotiate collective bargaining contracts.

AIFLD's objective in working with FIPRO and the unions in this way is to increase the awareness of both sides of the need for a conscious effort to improve the situation, leading eventually to a government agency charged with monitoring health and safety in the workplace. In addition to the seminars with the unions, FIPRO has put together a compilation of laws concerning health and safety, which were scattered through numerous laws focusing on other topics. This compilation should form the basis for an eventual unified code and agency.

AIFLD affirms that it has contributed to the achievements of FIPRO in two specific ways. First, FIPRO has a goal of setting up a National Council for Occupational Safety (Consejo Nacional de Seguridad Ocupacional - CONASO) with tripartite representation: management, government, and labor. FIPRO on its own was unable to involve labor, and AIFLD brought labor in for workshops and meetings, resulting in five labor members for CONASO. Legalization of CONASO has been sought from the Legislative Assembly and should be achieved shortly.

The second way AIFLD has assisted FIPRO, according to AIFLD, involves the use of FIPRO for training and technical assistance. FIPRO has 57 affiliated companies and was able to involve them in requests for training and technical assistance in their plants. AID has hoped that unions might also make requests of this type, but it was not until AIFLD provided funds to SIPES to solicit
G. Adequacy of Technical Assistance/Training Mix

In the context of the AIFLD project, technical assistance means two very different things: consultation on policy and politics with union and cooperative leaders by the AIFLD staff and the supervision and monitoring of the rural sector agribusiness activities by the AIFLD rural sector coordinator. As regards the latter, technical assistance and advice provides the cooperative federations with an essential ingredient contributing to their eventual success as agribusiness organizations capable of managing their own farm supplies needs and of profitably marketing their own products. This technical assistance is complemented by training by the rural sector coordinator for lower level cooperative administrators which assists individual cooperatives in eventually achieving success in the micromanagement of their resources. In this sense, the AIFLD rural sector program presents a productive mix of technical assistance and training carried out directly by the rural sector coordinator.

Technical assistance for urban sector unions and for federations, both urban and rural, involves consultation and advice concerning the relationships of these organizations to each other, questions of common interest and how best to express their opinions, how to define their priorities and determine their strategies, and in general how to strengthen them as democratic participants in the context of present day El Salvador. The AIFLD staff, including the CPD, the rural sector coordinator, and the urban sector coordinator, all participate in this type of technical assistance.

The AIFLD staff does not itself carry out training in this area. Training for lower level participants such as union and cooperative members, as mentioned above, contains elements of the above themes and contributes to the democratic discussion of these themes between union/cooperative leadership and their members.

The evaluation team feels that this mix of training and technical assistance is adequate. AIFLD staff play an important role through their consultation and advisory technical assistance, but they should not be involved directly in training, except in the training events which are technical in nature, such as cooperative administration.
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VII. AIFLD's Subgrant Program

A. IMI-BAC

1. General Description

The Labor-Management Construction Institute (Instituto Obrero Patronal de la Construcción - IOPIC) has been part of the AIFLD program since 1988 before the present Cooperative Agreement began. Since May of 1991, the IOPIC has been located 4.5 kms east of San Salvador in a heavily industrialized zone on the Panamerican Highway, and the program has been managed through a sub-contract with the International Masonry Institute (IMI) of the American bricklayers union (BAC). The facilities are apparently adequate for the school objectives, although the site is rented by the school and cost $33,500 for the 1992-93 year.

IOPIC trains construction workers in five basic construction skills: bricklaying, carpentry, plumbing, painting, and electrical installation using an intensive vocational training methodology combining theory and practice and lasting 16 weeks. The IOPIC facilities can handle 120 students, including 60 on-site in dormitories, ranging in age from 17 to 38 years of age. Previous schooling is not required except for students aspiring to be electricians, who must have completed sixth grade.

Students receive a stipend of 10 colones per day, five for transportation to and from the facility and five which are saved for them by IOPIC and given the students in a lump sum when they graduate. Students are also provided hard hats and work clothing, and they are provided with a set of hand tools upon graduation. A total of 1300 students have graduated from the facility since it opened, and according to IOPIC, 100% of graduates have found work shortly after graduation, about half in construction sites where SUTC has collective bargaining contracts and half in other construction sites or on their own. Since some graduates are from small towns and return to work either for themselves or for small contractors, and since they do not maintain contact with the school or SUTC, it is not known whether they are working currently. They often find work through an employment service provided by IOPIC.

SUTC has a close relationship with IOPIC. Union leaders regularly give talks to the IOPIC students on SUTC, the advantages of union membership, the relationship of SUTC workers to management, and other topics. The SUTC-IOPIC relationship allows the former to educate these future construction workers on unionism and to prepare them to be conscientious members of SUTC.

The director of IOPIC is an American from BAC, while the rest of the IOPIC personnel is Salvadoran. The policies,
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Programming, and course development are overseen by the director following American norms and methods. Teaching materials are developed in the United States and must be approved by BAC, and these are then translated into Spanish. The evaluation team has concluded that the products of this training process (the students) are of high quality as witnessed by their rapid absorption into the labor market, an indication of the high quality training they receive.

The one-year 1992-93 budget for IOPIC was $749,511. The funding/reporting mechanism for IOPIC bypasses AIFLD/El Salvador completely, as IMI-BAC deals directly with AIFLD/Washington. The local AIFLD office has no knowledge of how the budget is actually spent or of any changes in budget expenditures, and thus the local AID office receives no information on the project from the local AIFLD office and has no control over the IOPIC budget. BAC-IMI does, however, prepare a quarterly report for AIFLD/El Salvador which AIFLD in turn uses in its quarterly reports for AID.

IOPIC has one female student at present, a university student in engineering and architecture, who signed up because she felt she needed some practical building knowledge to complement her university studies. IOPIC has not attempted to actively recruit women for its program. The evaluation team feels that IOPIC should study the experience of the woman currently studying and, if the experience is positive, consider bringing more women into the program.

2. Cost Effectiveness

The evaluation team questions the cost effectiveness of this training program. IOPIC produces about 360 graduates per year at a cost of nearly $750,000, which means that each graduate costs a little over $2000 to produce. The BAC-IMI director of IOPIC stated that he himself represented about half of the budget, which is born out in the budget he provided the evaluation team, which is included as an annex to this document.

This budget shows that 46.36% of the total budget is spent in Washington, including the director's salary of $92,000 and an item called "Shipping of household effects & Educ Allowances" of $37,400, although the in-country budget also includes $20,000 in education allowances. The in-country budget also includes $21,500 for housing allowance and $2250 for housing utilities. Thus, if no further adjustments were made, the IOPIC budget could be reduced to about $360,000 by simply handing over the project to Salvadorans to run, which would cut the cost per graduate by half to $1000.
3. The Future of IOPI in the Context of Technical Training

The institutionalization of technical training, or skill development, in Latin America began following World War II. The great majority of countries adopted as a model a government but autonomous and decentralized institution with its own income derived from a payroll tax and with tripartite representation (government, employers, and workers). An exception is Brazil where the private sector finances and administers technical training, although the training is subject to norms set by the government. Mexico and Peru took similar steps in the 1970's regarding the construction industry.

The only case in which workers provide a percentage of their salaries to assist in financing a technical training institution is the Dominican Republic, although the worker contribution is in large part symbolic and much smaller than the contribution of that of the private sector.

In El Salvador the development of technical training has been carried out in a disorderly and dispersed fashion. In the 1970's the Ministry of Labor created the General Directorate for Technical Training (Dirección General de Formación Profesional - DGFP) in San Bartolo with technical assistance from the ILO and a loan from the World Bank. The DGFP provides training in a variety of areas, but its dependence on government financing has meant that it has not been able to develop and meet the growing demand from the productive sector. More recently some ministries and government organisms have created training centers such as the Instituto Técnico Don Bosco and the Instituto Centroamericano - ITCA.

In the 1980's the Private Sector Foundation for Educational Development (Fundación Empresarial para el Desarrollo Educativo - FEPADE) was created with AID financing to be administered by the private sector. FEPADE began by providing high and middle level management training and later moved into the area of training in various technical fields, including construction through an agreement with the Salvadoran Chamber of Construction (Cámara Salvadoreña de Construcción - CASALCO). In 1990, the Interamerican Development Bank (IDB) provided a loan of several million dollars to strengthen technical training, and through an agreement with FEPADE, the latter assumed control of ITCA to strengthen and broaden its programs of study.

In 1990 the government of El Salvador, through the Ministry of Labor, began moving toward the creation of a national institution to oversee technical training, the Salvadoran Institute for Professional Formation (Instituto Salvadoreño de Formación Profesional - INSAFORP), and began a dialogue with the private and labor sectors with a view toward legislation. The ILO and Interamerican Documentation Center for Professional
Formation (Centro Interamericano de Documentación de la Formación Profesional - CINTERFOR) have provided support for this effort through consultants sent to develop legislation projects and to participate in discussions organized to support this initiative.

In 1992, the government established a committee including members of the private and labor sectors and chaired by the Ministry of Planning to develop the final legislative bill. The bill was finished in February, 1993, and will shortly be sent to the Legislative Assembly.

It is in this context that the future of IOPIC must be viewed. The IOPIC director informed the evaluation team of plans to continue the institute beyond the May 1993 termination date through a growing contribution of funds from other sources, such as SUTC, CASALCO, industrialists, and the government. The evaluation team suggests that AIFLD follow closely the development of INSAFORP and study the possibility of eventually locating IOPIC within the context of this new institution.

B. FOES

1. Description

The Cooperative Agreement (Attachment 2, p. 4) contains a separate component with the objective of creating a "private, indigenous, Salvadoran Foundation to promote social and economic development, particularly among the country's disadvantaged groups." The technical programs mentioned in the CA include "vocational training, housing, agriculture, health, microenterprise and infrastructure." AIFLD's principal role was to assist in setting up the foundation, developing an action plan, and "strengthening the Foundation's capability to carry out its series of social and economic programs." It was expected that after a three-year start-up period, "the Foundation will have matured to become a free-standing, independent Salvadoran development entity."

In August, 1990, the Salvadoran Labor Management Foundation (Fundación Obrero Empresarial Salvadoreña - FOES) was created, and it acquired legal status as a foundation in June, 1991. The FOES socioeconomic program was managed jointly by FOES and AIFLD until the end of 1992, when AIFLD turned over complete operational control to FOES. At present, AIFLD's only participation consists of one seat on the FOES Board of Directors, which meets monthly. Thus, as regards AIFLD's task of setting up FOES, that task can be considered complete.

FOES has three stated objectives: (1) its own development as an autonomous development institution; (2) the development of worker-peasant organizations through donations, loans, training,
and technical assistance; and (3) the promotion of improved labor-management relations through dialogue and cooperation. To achieve the second objective, FOES solicited funding from AID and received 80 million colones in local currency for the 1992-96 period with the understanding that FOES would be self sufficient at that point. At present, this donation represents most if not all of FOES funding to date.

2. FOES Development Projects and Self Sufficiency

FOES funds are used to provide loans and grants to union and legally recognized cooperative organizations, so that these in turn may offer financing for projects developed by their members. FOES assists these organizations developing projects. Although the evaluation team was unable to acquire complete information regarding projects, information available for June, 1992, allows for a summary description of development activities.

In June, 1992, five projects had been approved, and funds had been disbursed, for implementation in five different zones of El Salvador through donations and loans totaling 1,041,966 colones for cooperatives and unions affiliated to CGT, ACOPAI, and SUTC to benefit 262 families. The projects included activities such as the purchase of cattle, the establishment of a factory to produce concrete bricks, the construction of housing, and the reopening of four kms of road. In addition to the above, four additional projects had been approved, but funds not yet disbursed, for 1,241,066 colones to benefit 621 families in CGT and ACOPAI.

As regards self sufficiency, the executive director of FOES, Jorge Eduardo Tenorio, stated that FOES had established mechanisms to assure eventual financial independence, but he did not offer details. The plan is to be presented to the FOES general assembly in the next month or so.

Early in 1993, AID contracted with Panamerican Foundation to study the situation at FOES and to develop a self sufficiency plan. Although the evaluation team has not seen the final recommendations, we understand that several options were presented to FOES, among them that FOES would have to raise the interest charged for loans to its clients and at the same time lower FOES' operational costs if it wishes to attain self sufficiency before the AID funds are used up.

3. Improved Labor-Management Relations

As regards the objective of improved labor-management relations implicit in FOES' name, FOES publications make mention of activities to bring the two sectors together, "including the possible creation of an Institute of Industrial Relations to stimulate labor-management mediation and to train individuals
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from both sectors" (from Outline of Activities [Reseña de Actividades] published by FOES in 1992). The evaluation team was unable to acquire any concrete information regarding such activities.

Interviews with private sector entrepreneurs who were linked initially to FOES and with some union leaders have given the evaluation team the impression that FOES for various reasons does not enjoy sufficient credibility in either sector. Among reasons for lack of confidence on the part of the private sector is the presence and role of AIFLD as a union organization backed by the AFL-CIO. At a minimum, it would be preferable that AIFLD sever its relationship with FOES. Another factor affecting FOES is the close relationship of its executive director with the PDC, which causes potential participants to question whether FOES will act impartially and not politically in questions of labor-management relations.

It may be that, in time and with some restructuring, FOES might play a role in improved labor-management relations, but at this moment other options appear more viable in this area. For example, the Foro has established its Tripartite Commission to study and perhaps mediate in labor-management conflicts, and UNOC has presented the Commission with a list of some 24 possible conflicts for mediation. It is of course too soon to judge how well this mechanism will function, but the fact that it enjoys the participation of major players from the private sector, labor, and government means that whatever mediational activities it undertakes will carry considerable weight and will be watched closely by both labor and management.

In addition other organizations, either recently established or yet to be formed, may play a role. For example, the Center for Labor Studies (Centro de Estudios de Trabajo - CENTRA) very recently announced a round table where a representative of the Ministry of Labor, the president of the National Association of Private Enterprise (Asociación Nacional de la Empresa Privada - ANEP), and a union representative were to discuss alternatives for a new Labor Code. CENTRA, with financing from the Friedreich Ebert Foundation, might eventually play a role in improving labor-management relations, especially if it can establish and maintain a stance of neutrality, in spite of its labor focus, regarding labor and management as well as party politics. On the other hand, it may be unsuccessful, but at this point in time it enjoys a perception of neutrality in this area that FOES will have to work hard for some time to recover.
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VIII. AIFLD's Managerial Structure and Functioning

A. Task Assignment, Morale, Efficiency

From personal observation and conversations with personnel at all levels, it is apparent that each member of the office staff understands the tasks that have been assigned to them. There is a clear distribution of responsibilities and no apparent overlapping. Although the final decision concerning policy and administration rests with the CPD, there is adequate delegation of responsibility and authority at all levels of the hierarchy, resulting in adequate decision-making and the required action.

While this evaluation did not examine in detail AIFLD's financial accounting system, the financial administrator provided the evaluation team with financial records concerning some aspects of the program which assisted the evaluation team in understanding administrative support of unions and federations. He also provided information on expenditures for press, radio, and television announcements. In addition, the evaluation team was able to examine agreements between AIFLD and its client organizations which indicate a strong degree of control over the use of AIFLD funds.

Morale was observed to be high. AIFLD personnel appear to work in harmony in a rather pleasant environment, going about their business, know what their responsibilities are, and playing their roles according to established rules with which they are familiar. The evaluation team has no particular expertise in efficiency, but it was observed that many individuals are at their desk or in the field, even occasionally after working hours, and they seem to have a sense of purpose.

B. Indicators and Statistics

The AIFLD project has always been a politically-oriented project, and many of its goals are not always driven by quantitative but rather by qualitative criteria. For instance, it has had the goal of strengthening UNOC as an organization representing free and democratic labor interests in the political arena. As indicators of its success, it can point to the fact that UNOC has developed into a political leader with its members now serving in the Legislative Assembly, as well as UNOC leadership in the Intergremial and the Foro, and its success in the latter in developing a joint labor-government-private sector statement of principles.

However, as regards reporting AIFLD does not appear well organized and in some instances may not even know about its own achievements. It has no idea of how many new members have become
AIFLD Evaluation

affiliated to UNOC through its member organizations. Based on the reports it receives, AIFLD appears to have little idea about how the UNOC human rights coordination has worked, the numbers of violations presented, their types, and how they may or may not have been resolved. No one in AIFLD could produce information regarding the 1991 voter registration activities, which are included in the UNOC component objectives. It has made little effort to collect usable statistics on the number of training events, how they were organized, who they were given, attendance numbers, and so on.

The problems begin with the annual implementation plan. These documents contain rambling subjective descriptions of the present "situation" in the labor sector, interspersed at odd times with program goals or activities, many of which are not quantified or clear in the text. The implementation plan as such simply repeats the same project activities and then places as bullet or x in each of the 12 months. It is not that activities do not take place nor that the activities are not conducive to the general project goals, but rather that AIFLD does not have a system that shows how activities and goals fit together.

AIFLD does not seem to have developed an appropriate system of organizing and processing statistics that would make it possible to access current information and permit the evaluation of on-going projects at any time. It was not possible to obtain information on the number of new members affiliated to UNOC through its member organizations from AIFLD records. Virtually no report was available concerning the 1991 voter registration activities. No reports detail the present situation regarding collective bargaining agreements.

AIFLD requires that someone take charge of the institutional documentation and memory of the organization in the two year project extension, someone whose job it is to reconstruct the activities of AIFLD, how those activities have fit in with Cooperative Agreement project objectives and planned activities, how past activities and policies dovetail with those planned for the next two years, what measures seem reasonable at the beginning of each year's activities, and how those activities will contribute to project objectives. This individual should then be charged with regularly monitoring the progress in each activity area and both describing that progress as well as providing quantitative data where appropriate.

The evaluation team suggests that AIFLD give the responsibility of overseeing and monitoring to one of its in-country team, possibly Delano Stewart, the financial administrator, who appears capable of such a task, which in some ways resembles his accounting specialty.
C. Summary: End of Project Status (EOPS) indicators

The primary EOPS indicators for the AIFLD project are:

1. Upgrade technical and operational capability of UNOC and urban/rural unions.
2. Improve labor/management relations.
3. Improve the welfare of the urban working class.
5. Increase skills, employment, and incomes of trade union members through vocational training program.

Upgrade UNOC

The AIFLD project has been particularly successful in achieving improvements in the technical and operational aspects of UNOC. UNOC’s most visible achievements have been its work with the Intergremial and the Foro to give labor a credible and responsible voice in El Salvador. UNOC has provided training and technical assistance to labor deputies in the National Assembly, has advised unions and cooperatives, and provided training for union leaders.

Labor/management relations

The AIFLD project’s success has occurred mainly through the activities of UNOC and the Foro, where an important agreement was reached with government and the private sector (the Agreement of Principles and Commitments) in February of this year establishing objectives and a timetable for agreement on labor-management issues. The FOES component of the AIFLD project has yet to demonstrate its possible contributions toward improved labor-management relations.

Improved welfare

Four collective bargaining agreements improving salaries and working conditions were achieved during the life of the project, although the goal of 10 such agreements was not reached. Improvements in the welfare of the urban working class were also achieved through the provision of microenterprise credits to members of the informal sector.
Land reform beneficiaries

UNOC has provided advice and assistance to the rural cooperatives as well as a vehicle of expression in the political arena. The AIFLD project has helped rural cooperatives to achieve a measure of economic success through intensive training of key cooperative members, the provision of loans for fertilizers, and through support of international marketing of cooperative products.

Vocational training

The construction trades school, operating under the IMI-BAC sub-grant, provided quality instruction for new construction workers. Graduates of the school from urban areas were employed on construction sites on which the SUTC construction union has a collective bargaining contract providing higher income than non-union construction sites.
IX. Conclusions and Recommendations

A. Overall Strategy

Opposition to the left: AIFLD's strategy in the past has been on the one hand to oppose both the anti-union private sector by strengthening the democratic labor movement while on the other hand opposing the leftist, non-democratic labor movement through actions designed to weaken that movement. Both radical anti-unionists and radical non-democratic unionists were seen as equal threats to the development of a pluralistic society in which democratic unions played an important role. At present, however, with the end of the Cold War and of the Salvadoran civil war, the leftist threat has diminished greatly as a threat to democratic trade unionism.

Recommendation: AIFLD should downplay the anti-leftist strategy of the past, while not abandoning it, and should concentrate on helping the democratic union movement through UNOC to achieve successes in the area of collective bargaining contracts, the ratification of ILO agreements, and the passing of new, sensible, and responsible Labor and Agrarian Codes.

B. Training Activities

Centralized training: While an objective of AIFLD's 1990 Proposal was to establish a centralized training facility under CTD, lower level training continued to be carried out by the individual unions and federations, in spite of the fact that training content varies little among them. Inter-organization political differences and jealousies appear to be the principal barrier to centralized union-cooperative training.

Recommendation: AIFLD should continue to strive toward centralized training. It should begin by attempting "informal" centralization through the reservation of some funds for inter-organization training. For example, funds for CTS and CGT could be earmarked for joint, low-level training involving promoters and organizers from both organizations. The experience could be repeated with CTD and CTS, CTD and CGT, and so on, gently pushing the organizations together on training.

Administration training: AIFLD's cooperative administration courses have played an extremely important role in helping cooperatives become viable agribusiness operations. These courses are not just superficial introductions to areas such as cost accounting and return on investment but intensive courses designed to provide cooperatives with at least one individual
AIFLD Evaluation

inside the cooperative capable to assisting in these important areas.

Recommendation: AIFLD should continue to give these courses, but it should also look for ways in which the courses can be given by local training entities, such as FEPAGE. A detailed course outline, including teaching techniques, student materials, the length of time reserved for exercises and review, and so on, should be prepared by AIFLD as a first step toward seeking out alternative training institutions.

C. Publications

Paid political announcements: AIFLD, through the UNOC technical assistance team, assists the democratic labor movement in writing and editing paid political announcements for UNOC and its member organizations. These announcements represent one of the very few sources of communication with a broad spectrum of owners and managers in the private sector.

Recommendation: In continuing this program, AIFLD should work with UNOC to explore the use of these announcements to educate the private sector on the economic benefits of trade unionism in the context of a responsible democratic labor movement.

D. Self-Sustainability of Democratic Trade Unions

General administrative support for unions and federations: AIFLD has provided general administrative support for client union federations during the project, the first year with few controls over spending, the second based on real budgets, and the third focused on weaning the union federations from this support and/or assisting organizations in setting up programs which will shortly make them self-sufficient. Some federations, through income-generating activities and dues collection, are already close to self-sustaining.

Recommendation: AIFLD should not waver in its drive to self-sufficiency for democratic unions and federations which are its present clients. However, some funds should be reserved to assist client unions and federations on an occasional basis and to assist unions and federations which wish to abandon the leftist labor movement to join the non-leftist labor movement.

E. Indicators and Statistics

Lack of adequate reporting: AIFLD has done an inadequate job of maintaining reports on various activities, with the exception of the rural sector programs. It had no information on the voter
AIFLD Evaluation

registration program and no written reports on collective bargaining agreements. It has not collected usable statistics on the number of training events, how they were organized, who they were given to, attendance numbers, and so on. It had no system for collecting usable statistics for human and worker rights violations. Its annual implementation plans are rambling and unclear regarding objectives and the activities designed to achieve those objectives.

Recommendation: AIFLD requires that someone take charge of the institutional documentation and memory of the organization in the two year project extension, someone whose job it is to reconstruct the activities of AIFLD, how those activities have fit in with Cooperative Agreement project objectives and planned activities, how past activities and policies dovetail with those planned for the next two years, what measures seem reasonable at the beginning of each year's activities, and how those activities will contribute to project objectives. This individual should then be charged with regularly monitoring the progress in each activity area and both describing that progress as well as providing quantitative data where appropriate. The evaluation team suggests that AIFLD either give this responsibility to one of its in-country team. Among the present team, only Delano Stewart, the financial administrator, would appear capable of such a task.

F. Technical Assistance and Training Mix

Rural sector agribusiness programs: The rural sector program includes two important agribusiness components supported by AIFLD through bank-rate loans to cooperative organizations. The prospects for success in these ventures at present are good after a rocky beginning, and progress will depend on the technical assistance presence of the rural sector coordinator. These activities, involving the sale of fertilizer to member cooperatives and the marketing of sesame and other crops, should lead ACOPAI to self-sufficiency within a year.

Recommendation: AIFLD should emphasize programs of this type with other cooperative organizations, as appropriate, in an effort to lead rural sector federations to self-sufficiency. Continued technical assistance is crucial to the success of this program.

G. Relation of AIFLD to Other AID Activities

Fundación Obrero Empresarial Salvadoreña - FOES: FOES has been set up with AIFLD assistance. FOES apparently has little credibility among the private sector or labor. AIFLD has no real
role in its current functioning, in spite of the AIFLD Director’s sitting on the Board of Directors.

Recommendation: AIFLD should remove themselves from the FOES Board of Directors and discontinue any further formal relationship with FOES.

Occupational health and safety: Following a period of distrust on the part of unions, three unions participated in seminars and workplace studies through FIPRO, the private sector foundation, to identify situations that threatened worker safety. The FIPRO recommendations were incorporated into collective bargaining agreements.

Recommendation: AIFLD should continue to work with FIPRO (and, eventually, with CONASO) and the unions through seminars and workplace studies. AIFLD, with UNOC, should explore the possibility that a good relationship with FIPRO may lead to better individual relationships between labor and private sector companies, which in turn may lead to collective bargaining agreements.

H. Sub-Grantee: the IOPIC trade school

Construction trades vocational education: The trade school has successfully trained future construction trades workers, virtually all of whom get jobs and most whom join the SUTC construction union (others work on small jobs). However, the IMI-BAC arrangement is unnecessarily expensive.

Recommendation: AIFLD should discontinue this relationship with IMI-BAC for running the trade school. A local director should be sought to continue the school through the next two years, during which time financing should be sought either from the government, the construction industry, or both.

I. Overall Impact of AIFLD’s Activities

1. UNOC Component

Increased membership: UNOC at first did not experience notable increased membership from unions or federations, in part because AIFLD’s first director is said to have had an abrasive style which allegedly alienated some federations. The present director has improved that situation somewhat, and with the entry or re-entry of a few federations, the UNOC membership might well show a net gain.
**Recommendation:** UNOC, with AIFLD support, should continue attempting to bring in new unions and federations into the organization to further strengthen its role in representing democratic workers. It should document the process, including numbers and dates, through the addition of a research unit at UNOC (see below).

**Human rights:** The UNOC human rights unit has uncovered and reported both human and worker rights abuses and problems with the rights of workers. However, with the number of human rights organizations operating in El Salvador, the need for another human rights unit operating at UNOC is questionable. In addition, the unit does not coordinate sufficiently with the technical unit at UNOC to follow up on labor problems, such as workers fired without legally prescribed compensation.

**Recommendation:** This unit should be renamed the worker rights unit and should concentrate solely on worker rights problems. UNOC should reorient the labor lawyer and the small field team to help investigate supposed violations of labor rights, prepare the proper documentation, and present the cases to the proper authorities: the Ministry of Labor and the Tripartite Commission of the Foro.

**Improved UNOC capabilities:** UNOC's capabilities, regarding its credibility within the democratic labor movement and its policy formulation and presentation of democratic labor's positions on national issues, have been unquestionably strengthened through the project. The key has been the hiring of excellent, dedicated technical people (1 economist and 2 lawyers), who have not only helped to strengthen UNOC as a respected labor organization but who have also played a crucial role in the viability of the Intergremial (under UNOC leadership) and of the Foro (again, under UNOC leadership). However, this team's important role in assisting UNOC in these roles means they have had less time for other tasks also important to UNOC.

**Recommendation:** The project extension should build on the excellent work of this team by adding three more professionals to the team. First, one labor lawyer should be added to assist unions in the field with specific problems and with worker rights problems (see above recommendation on human rights). This individual should receive adequate mileage and per diem to visit unions with problems, both UNOC members and non-UNOC unions, the latter following acceptance by the UNOC Board of Directors. The other two new professionals (1 sociologist, 1 lawyer) should form the core of a UNOC labor research team to study the overall state of collective bargaining contracts, the present state of union and federation organization and registration, and other
information which can then lead to sensible and productive union organization campaigns.

Collective bargaining agreements: AIFLD did not achieve its goal of ten new collective bargaining agreements but rather just five were achieved by organizations with which AIFLD works. However, one of those agreements, that of SUTC, covered the largest union in El Salvador. To a great extent, the endemic distrust of unions by the private sector coupled with the focus of unions on political questions hindered the achievement of this objective by AIFLD. The breakthrough in the Foro and the establishment of an informal conciliation mechanism via the Foro's Tripartite Commission may provide new opportunities in this area.

Recommendation: AIFLD should make collective bargaining agreements its first priority in the project extension. It should work with UNOC and the federations to identify unions and private sector entities which are promising candidates for collective bargaining. On the basis of this identification, it should provide specific training for union leaders and members, assist the unions in planning collective bargaining strategies, and otherwise look for responsible and creative ways of bringing reluctant private sector entities to the bargaining table.

Voter registration: While AIFLD did appear to support union/peasant voter awareness and to contribute to labor's positioning on issues, it does not appear to have carried out significant voter registration activities preceding the 1991 election. In hindsight, it would have been extremely difficult to do so and maintain a credible non-partisan stance.

Recommendation: AIFLD should avoid attempting to carry out "voter registration" activities in the upcoming elections in 1994.

2. Programs with Unions and Federations

Microenterprise and village banks: AIFLD has successful in helping labor organizations to provide small loans to the rural and urban poor through village banks (rural) and microenterprise loans (urban). These programs work with individuals and groups without any other voice in the labor movement. AIFLD has learned this program from other agencies, such as the Foundation for International Community Assistance (FINCA), and now requires no further assistance in running the program. In addition, AIFLD has worked with its client organizations toward making the program self-sufficient.
**Recommendation:** While these activities at first glance appear to have little to do with AIFLD’s traditional area of expertise, which is trade unionism, these programs are an important aspect of labor’s move to organize the informal sector for common goals. AIFLD has achieved success and efficiency in the program and should continue it. Specifically, as organizations become self-sufficient and require little or no continued technical assistance and training, AIFLD should expand the program to other organizations.

**Mobil health unit:** The AIFLD-sponsored mobil health unit is functioning well. It is extremely well-organized, contains multiplier-effect elements such as promoters, has established and maintained a schedule, and has produced statistics and information of very high quality, although the data have not been disaggregated by gender. This unit plays a high-profile role in strengthening the identification of people with the labor movement in both urban and rural areas.

**Recommendation:** The mobil health unit should be continued, but AIFLD should begin to plan how the unit might be eventually financed and transferred to UNOC or to one of the federations.
DOCUMENTS REVIEWED
ANNEX 1: DOCUMENTS REVIEWED

Acuerdo de Principios y Compromisos, Foro para la Concertación Económica y Social, Diario de Hoy, 20 February 1993, pp. 32-33.

Solidarismo (draft), Danilo Jiménez. 1993.


Strategies to Improve Financial Self-Sufficiency for Non-Governmental Organizations, The Interamericas Group Inc.


Propuesta de la Intergremial de Trabajadores para la Firma de un Acuerdo Marco en el Foro para la Concertación Económica y Social, Diario Latino, 11 February 1993.
PEOPLE CONTACTED
ANNEX 2: PEOPLE CONTACTED

USAID/El Salvador

Sergio Guzmán, AIFLD project officer, Democratic Initiatives
Debbie Kennedy, Office of Democratic Initiatives
John Anderson, Office of Democratic Initiatives
Karen Freeman, Evaluation Officer
John Lovaas, Deputy Director
Sam La Foy, WID Officer

US Embassy

Kevin Johnson, Labor Attaché

AIFLD

Gordon Ellison, Country Project Director
Delano R. Stewart, Director, Administration and Accounting
Jean Claude Coupet, Coordinator, Urban Program
Victor Klachuk, Coordinator, Rural Program
Rosalinda de Chávez, Urban Program
Mayra Hernández, Rural Program
Dorisú Lainez de Rivera, Mobil Medical Unit Coordinator

BAC-IMI

Bill Smith, Construction School Director
Ricardo Antonio Jiménez, Program Coordinator

Fundación Obrero Empresarial Salvadoreña

Jorge Eduardo Tenorio, Director Ejecutivo
Ernesto Rivas Gallont, Chairman (appointed by AIFLD)

Panamerican Foundation

Edward Butler, Consultant
Donald Richardson, Consultant

GOVERNMENT OF EL SALVADOR

Ministry of Labor

Juan Cifontes, Minister of Labor
Daniel Eloy Gómez, Vice Minister
Federico Guillermo Guerrero, Director General
Samuel Rodríguez, Director General of Labor
Carlos Orellana, Director, Dept. of Social Organization

Grupo Asesor Económico Social (del Gobierno) - GAES

Francisco González, Social Area
INTERNATIONAL

Interamerican Development Bank - IDB
Stephen McGaughhey, Representative

International Labor Organization - ILO
Arnold Quesada Soto, Central American Regional Office

LABOR SECTOR

Sindicato Unión de Trabajadores de la Construcción - SUTC
Fredys Vásquez, Union Secretary General
José Alberto Rogel Montiagudo, Secretary of Organization and Statistics

Unión Nacional de Trabajadores Salvadoreños - UNTS
Humberto Centeno, Executive Committee
Mario Mejía, Executive Committee

Central de Trabajadores Democráticos - CTD
Carlos Hurtado, Secretary General

Sindicato de Industrias Unidas S.A. - STIUSA
Alberto Cea, Secretary General
Orlando Orellana, Executive Committee
Joanquín Banegas, Executive Committee
Francisco Calles, Executive Committee

Unión Nacional de la Industria de la Caña - UNICAÑA
Simón Parada, President (now Assembly Deputy)

Central General de Trabajo - CTG
José Luis Grande Preza, Secretary General
Audi Escobar, Executive Committee
Wilfredo Mejía, Urban Microenterprise Coordinator

Asociación de Cooperativas de Producción Agropecuario Integral - ACOPAI
Magdaleno Guzmán, Secretary General
Adelmo Rivas, Regional Coordinator Microenterprise - Rural

Sindicato de la Industria Portuaria de El Salvador - SIPES
José Antonio Vásquez, Secretary General
Unión Nacional Obrero Campesino - UNOC

Amanda Villatoro, ex-Secretary General (now Assembly Deputy)
José Antonio Candray, Technical Assistance team (AIFLD)
David Cardoza, Technical Assistance team (AIFLD)
Celín Meléndez, Technical Assistance team (AIFLD)

Central de Trabajadores Salvadoreños - CTS

Félix Blanco, Secretary General (also Assembly Deputy)
Orlando Echevarría, National Coordinator Microenterprise - Rural
Mayra Argentia, Coordinator Microenterprise - Urban

Federación Nacional de Sindicatos de Trabajadores Salvadoreños - FENASTRAS

Miguel Ramírez, Secretary for Organization and Statistics
Felipe Vásquez, Secretary of Finances
Sarain Molina, Secretary for Women’s and Juvenile Affairs
Remberto Vigil, Secretary of Conflicts
Ricardo Pérez, Secretary of Education and Propaganda
Leonidas Méndez, Secretary of Relations

Sindicato de Maestros de El Salvador - SIMÉS

Julio Oscar Sibrián Merlos, Secretary General

CALSADITO (cooperative established by workers fired by ADOC shoe factory for trying to establish union)

Oscar Armando Noyola, President
Baltasar López, Executive Committee

Federación de Comunidades de Desarrollo Integral - FEDECOIN

Teresa de Jesús Herrera Sánchez, President

PRIVATE SECTOR

Asociación Nacional de la Empresa Privada - ANEP

Juan Hector Vidal

AGAVE S.A. de C.V. (synthetic & natural fiber consortium)

Roberto Maida, General Manager

ADOC Shoe Factory

Roberto Palomo, owner/general manager
Compañía Azucarera Salvadoreña S.A.
Roberto Goodall, General Manager

Sigma S.A.
Abraham Rodríguez, Corporate Vice President

Industrias Unidas S.A.
Juan Vidri, Company President
Mario Vilá, Industrial Relations manager
Rafael Armando Cruz, Company Lawyer

OTHERS

Fundación Salvadoreña de Desarrollo Económico Social – FUSADES
Eduardo Nuñez, Director Ejecutivo

Fundación Latinoamericano de Ciencias Sociales – FLACSO
Hector Dada Hirezi, Director

Political Party Convergencia Democrática – CD
Rubén Zamora, Deputy

Centro de Investigaciones Técnicas y Científicas – CENITEC
Alexander Segovia, Director and advisor to Intergremial
Cristel de Arce, Administrator

Asociación de Medianos y Pequeños Empresarios Salvadoreños
Julia Evelyn Martínez, General Manager

Friedrich Ebert Foundation
David Mena, Labor Expert

Frente Farabundo Martí de Liberación Nacional – FMLN
Rafael Garay
UNION AND COOPERATIVE ACRONYMS
Annex 3: Union and Cooperative Acronyms

I. UNOC Unión Nacional Obrero Campesino.

A. SUTC Sindicato Unión de Trabajadores de la Construcción

B. CTD Central de Trabajadores Democraticos

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<td>Asociación Salvadoreña de Buhoneros</td>
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<td>8</td>
<td>SITRASALUD</td>
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C. OSILS Organización de Sindicatos Libres Salvadoreños

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<td>Unión de Trabajadores del Transporte – Seccional de Santa Ana (aparece también con FESINCONSTRANS)</td>
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<td>SIGMUS</td>
<td>Sindicato Gremial de Músicos</td>
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<td>Unión Nacional de Trabajadores Agrícolas</td>
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<td>Sindicato Gremial de Artistas Circenses Salvadoreños</td>
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D. ACOPAI Asociación de Cooperativas de Producción Agropecuaria Integral

E. CTS Central de Trabajadores Salvadoreños (in 1991)

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<td>Asociación Nacional de Trabajadores del Ministerio de Salud Pública y Asistencia Social</td>
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<td>Asociación Nacional de Comerciantes de la Economía Informal</td>
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5. AVAES  Asociación de Vendedores Ambulantes de El Salvador
6. ASTTUR  Asociación de Trabajadores del Turismo
7. UNTC   Unión Nacional de Trabajadores Campesinos
8. SITECOS  Sindicato de Trabajadores Empresa Cordelera SALVAMEX
9. ATMES  Asociación de Trabajadores Municipales de El Salvador
10. UCEM  Unión Campesina de la Mujer
11. SETENES  Sindicato de Empresa de Trabajadores Enlatadora de El Salvador

(Add the following for 1992)

FECODEIN:  Federación de Comunidades de Desarrollo Integral
ACOACCCTS:  Asociación Cooperativa de Ahorro, Crédito y Consumo de la Central de Trabajadores Salvadoreñas
ACOVEMI:  Asociación de Comerciantes y Vendedores Migueleños

(Remove the following for 1992)

CCS:  Central Campesina Salvadoreña (now with CONFRAS)
ATMOP:  Asociación de Trabajadores del Ministerio de Obras Públicas
SITECOS:  Sindicato de Trabajadores Empresa Cordelera SALVAMEX

F. SIPES  Sindicato de la Industria Portuaria de El Salvador
II. INDEPENDENTS (i.e. neither UNOC or UNTS)

A. CGT Confederación General de Trabajadores

1. ANTMAG Asociación Nacional de Trabajadores del Ministerio de Agricultura y Ganadería
2. STNIC Sindicato de Trabajadores Nacionalistas de la Industria de la Construcción
3. FECASAL Federación de Cooperativas Agropecuarias Salvadoreñas
4. UNACES Unidad Nacional Agropecuaria, Comercio e Industria, Ahorro, Crédito y Consumo de El Salvador
5. SGPAS Sindicato Gremial de Pilotos Automovilistas de El Salvador
6. UNES Unión Nacional de Educadores Salvadoreños
7. SIGESAL Sindicato Gremial de Enfermeros Salvadoreños
8. STTICRAM Sindicato Gremial de Trabajadores Municipales
9. SINDICO Sindicato de la Industria de la Costura
10. STELL Sindicato de Trabajadores de Empresa Lechería La Salud
11. SITRACSSA Sindicato de Trabajadores de Empresa del Club Salinitas S.A.
12. SINITED Sindicato Nacional de Industria de Trabajadores de Empaques Diversos
13. SGTIPAC Sindicato de Trabajadores de la Industria Pesquera y Actividades Conexas
14. SGTFO Sindicato Gremial de Trabajadores Ferrocarrileros de Occidente
15. SITRAHUA Sindicato de Trabajadores de Empresa San José Ahuacatitán
16. FACOPES Federación de Asociaciones Cooperativas de Pescadores Artesanales de El Salvador
17. ANTRAVEPECOS Asociación Nacional de Trabajadores, Vendedores y Pequeños Comerciantes
18. AVECOS Asociación de Vendedores y Comerciantes Salvadoreños
19. Asoc. Coop Textil El Pelícano
20. Asoc. Coop Textil Industrias Nahuat
21. Grupo Solidario Textil JOVISMAR

B. UNICAÑA

1. FESACORA Federación Salvadoreña de Cooperativas de la Reforma Agraria
2. FECORN0 Asociación de Cooperativas de Producción Agropecuaria Integral
3. ACOPAI Asociación de Cooperativas de Producción Agropecuaria Integral
4. FEDECOPADES Federación de Cooperativas de Producción Agropecuaria de El Salvador
5. FEDECAS Federación de Cooperativas Agrarias Salvadoreñas
C. ADC Alianza Democrática Campesina

1. COACES Confederación de Asociaciones Cooperativas de El Salvador
2. UCS Unión Comunal Salvadoreña
3. ACOPAI Asociación de Cooperativas de Producción Agropecuaria Integral
4. CCS Central Campesina Salvadoreña
5. CTC Central de Trabajadores del Campo

D. FESINCONSTRANS Federación de Sindicatos de la Construcción, Transportes y de Otras Actividades

1. SUTT Sindicato Unión de Trabajadores del Transporte (3 seccionales, 8 subseccionales)
2. STIASSYC Sindicato de Trabajadores de la Industria del Algodón, Sintéticos, Similares y Conexos (2 seccionales, 9 subseccionales)
3. SIGMO Sindicato Gremial de Maestros de Obra de la Industria de la Construcción (2 seccionales)
4. SGTGCE Sindicato Gremial de Trabajadores Guardianes de Centros de Esparcimiento (1 seccional)
5. SIFOS Sindicato de Fotógrafos Salvadoreños (1 seccional)
6. STPCAS Sindicato de Trabajadores de Productos de Cemento, Arcilla y Similares (2 seccionales, 7 subseccionales)
7. SIGPS Sindicato Gremial de Pintores Salvadoreños
8. SPCES Sindicatos de Profesionales Contables de El Salvador
9. STP Sindicato de Trabajadores de Pedreras
10. SETFOSA Sindicato de Empresa Trabajadores Fábricas Oliva A.S. (mencionado como independiente, ver abajo)
11. SETVISA Sindicato de Empresa Tenería La Victoria S.A.

E. Independientes

1. FEDECAS Federación de Cooperativas Agrarias Salvadoreñas
2. STIUSA Sindicato de Trabajadores de Industrias Unidas S.A.
3. SETFOSA Sindicato de Empleados y Trabajadores de la Fábrica Oliva S.A.
4. FECOPADO
5. AMS Asociación de Mujeres Salvadoreñas
6. ARAS Asociación Rural Agraria Salvadoreña
7. AGEPYM Asociación General de Empleados Públicos y Municipales
III. UNTS Unión Nacional de Trabajadores Salvadoreños

A. COACES Confederación de Asociaciones Cooperativas de El Salvador - FPL
1. FESACORA Federación Salvadoreña de Cooperativas de la Reforma Agraria
2. FEDECOPADES Federación de Cooperativas de Producción Agropecuaria de El Salvador
3. ANTA Asociación Nacional de Trabajadores Agrícolas
4. FEDECOOP (Puede ser sólo un proyecto, según Memorias de 1991)
5. FEDECACES Federación de Cooperativas de Ahorro y Crédito de El Salvador
6. FEDECONSUMO Federación de Cooperativas de Consumo
7. FENACITES Federación de Asociaciones Cooperativas de la Industria del Transporte

B. CONFRAS Confederación de Federaciones de la Reforma Agraria (Miguel Alemán) - ERP
1. FECORASAL Federación de Cooperativas de la Reforma Agraria Salvadoreña
2. FECORAPCEN Federación de Cooperativas de la Reforma Agraria del Área Para Central
3. FECORACEN Federación de Cooperativas de Reforma Agraria Central
4. FECORAO Federación de Cooperativas de la Reforma Agraria del Área Oriental
5. FENACOA Federación Nacional de Asociaciones Cooperativas Agropecuarias
6. FECOAIES
7. FECOAS
8. CCS Central Campesina Salvadoreña

C. ACC
1. CORESA Coordinadora de Repobladores Salvadoreños

D. FEASIES Federación de Asociaciones y Sindicatos Independientes de El Salvador
1. SINAS Sindicato Nacional Azucarero Salvadoreño
2. ASTEL Asociación de Trabajadores Telefónicos
3. STISS Sindicato de Trabajadores del Instituto Salvadoreño de Seguridad Social
E. FENASTRAS Federación Nacional Sindical de Trabajadores Salvadoreños

1. SOICSCES Sindicato de Obreros de la Industria de la Construcción, Similares y Conexos
2. SITREFOSA Sindicato de Trabajadores de Empresa Lácteas Foremost S.A.
3. STIP Sindicato de la Industria Pesquera
4. STITAS Sindicato de la Industria Textil, de Algodón y Acabados textiles, Similares y Conexos
5. SETA Sindicato de Empresa de Trabajadores de ANDA
6. SIES Sindicato de la Industria de la Energía Eléctrica de El Salvador
7. SIDPA Sindicato Industrial de Dulces y Pastas Alimenticias
8. SIAGC Sindicato Industrial de Aceites y Grasas Alimenticias
9. STITIGASC Sindicato de Trabajadores de la Industria Turística, Gastronómica, Actividades Similares y Conexas
10. SIGEBAN Sindicato de la Industria General de Empleados Bancarios y Asociaciones de Ahorro y Préstamo
11. SGTIO Sindicato Gremial de Trabajadores de Industrias Opticas
12. SETHPS Sindicato de Empresa Trabajadores Hospital Policlínica Salvadoreña
13. STELSA Sindicato de Trabajadores de Empresa Lechería La Salud
14. SNTITSC Sindicato Nacional de Trabajadores de la Industria de Transporte, Similares y Conexos
15. STIVAMAR Sindicato de Trabajadores de la Industria de la Venta de Automotores, Maquinaria Agrícola, Aditivos, Repuestos, Similares y Conexos
16. SITES Sindicato de Trabajadores de la Industria Textil de El Salvador
17. SIPES Sindicato de la Industria Portuaria de El Salvador
18. SIES Sindicato de la Industria de la Energía Eléctrica de El Salvador
19. SGTIVASC (En formación) Sindicato Gremial de Trabajadores Independientes de Ventas Ambulantes, Similares y Conexos
20. INSAFOCOP (En formación) Instituto Salvadoreño de Formación Cooperativa
21. ADOC (En formación) Empresa ADOC

F. CTC Central de Trabajadores del Campo

1. FEDEPAS
2. ADEC
3. ATAES
4. SITAS
5. ANIS Asociación Nacional de Indígenas Salvadoreños
6. AGEMHA Asociación General de Empleados del Ministerio de
Hacienda
8. FUSS
9. AGEUS
10. FESTIAUSES

G. CCTEM

5 organizaciones estatales

H. Independientes

1. SICAFE  Sindicato de la Industria de Café
2. ATMOP  Asociación de Empleados del Ministerio de Obras Públicas
3. ASEMJ  Asociación de Empleados del Ministerio de Justicia
4. ATRMIT
5. ANDES  Asociación Nacional de Educadores Salvadoreños
6. SITRALONB  Sindicato de Trabajadores de la Lotería Nacional de Beneficencia
7. SGTICSDES  Sindicato General de Trabajadores de la Industria de la Construcción, Similares y Conexos de El Salvador (antes miembro de FUSS)
IV. Coordinadora de la Central Latinoamericana de Trabajadores en El Salvador - COOR-CLAT-E.S. (according to publication on February 4, 1993)

1. Confederación General del Trabajo - CGT
2. Asociación General de Empleados Públicos y Municipales de El Salvador - AGEPYM
3. Unidad Popular Democrática - UPD
4. Federación de Sindicatos de la Industria de la Construcción, Similares, Transporte y Otras - FESINCONSTRANS
5. Unidad Nacional Agropecuaria, Comercio e Industria de El Salvador - UNACES
6. Asociación de Trabajadores del Ministerio de Obras Públicas - ATMOP, Seccional IGN
7. Asociación Nacional de Trabajadores del Ministerio de Agricultura y Ganadería - ANTMAG
8. Asociación Nacional de Trabajadores Municipales - ANTRAM
9. Sindicato Textil de Industrias Unidas S.A. - STIUSA
10. Sindicato Gremial de Empleados de Salud - SIGEEPSAL
11. Sindicato de Trabajadores Nacionalistas de la Industria de la Construcción - STNIC
12. Asociación Nacional de Trabajadores Vendedores, Pequeños Comerciantes y Similares - ANTRAVECOS
13. ATMOP, Seccional DUA central
14. Asociación Democrática de Trabajadores Agropecuarios Indígenas - ADTAIS
15. Asociación Cooperativa de Ahorro, Crédito, etc. Felipe Antonio Zaldívar - ACATFAZ
16. Federación de Cooperativas Agropecuarias Salvadoreñas - FECASAL
17. ATMOP, Seccional promoción habitacional
18. Fundación Central Ecológica de Trabajadores Salvadoreños - FUCETS
Annex 4

WOMEN IN DEVELOPMENT
ANNEX 4: Women in Development

**General:** The AIFLD project has three components: UNOC development, urban organizations, and rural organizations.

a) UNOC. The UNOC component contained no subcomponent directed specifically or indirectly toward women. However, the increase in membership in federations included an added focus on informal sector organizations, such as ANCEI and AVECOS, which are made up primarily of women.

The components designed to upgrade leadership, analytical skills, and the management and operational capabilities of UNOC focused on UNOC leadership, and perhaps the strongest of the leaders and the one taking most advantage of the subcomponent opportunities was Amanda Villatoro, previously UNOC’s only secretary general and now sharing the post on a rotating basis as she divides her time between her post as one of the labor Deputies in the Legislative Assembly.

b) Urban Unions. This component contains the microenterprise and social welfare subcomponents, directed mostly toward women, which will be detailed in the questions below. Other subcomponents focused on collective bargaining, improved working conditions, the construction trade school, and improved efficiency and programming in the unions/federations. Participants in the trade school were all men. Of the five collective bargaining contracts, four involved unions which were nearly 100% male (construction, construction materials, stevedores, soap and candle factory), while the fifth involved equal numbers of men and women: teachers.

c) Rural Unions. This component contains the village bank and social welfare subcomponents, directed mostly toward women, which will be detailed in the questions below. The technical assistance program involved primarily men working in agricultural production in cooperatives.

**Specific:** Assess project impact/sensitivity to women in development issues. Specifically, the contractor will address the following questions:

1. How are the interests and role of women (compared to men) taken into account in the design and implementation stages of the project?

The interests and role of women were taken into account in two important ways in the design and implementation stages of the project. First, the project included urban informal sector microenterprise organizations which are made up primarily (but not entirely) of women, organizations which have not been taken into account in the past by the labor movement as much as labor unions and rural agricultural cooperatives, both dominated by men. Second, the project included non-agricultural productive activities
in the rural sector through village banks, again with the participation primarily (but not entirely) of women. Both programs were directed toward improving primarily the income of women (compared to men).

2. In what ways did women (compared to men) participate in these processes?

The microenterprise and village bank programs required considerable training and technical assistance. The recipients of the training were primarily women (compared to men), and both AIFLD's training and technical assistance were carried out primarily by women.

3. What were the effects, positive or negative, of the project concerning women's (compared to men's): access to income, education and training, and with respect to workloads, role in household and community, and health conditions?

Given the fact that the microenterprise and village bank programs were directed primarily toward women, and that men had no comparable program, the positive effects of the project on women's access to income were greater than for men. Increased access to income rarely meant a greater workload for women, since the program simply provided a means to increase income from activities women were already carrying out. Increased income as well as training improved women's roles in household and community by providing them with greater independence and confidence in their abilities to sustain or contribute to sustaining their families.

The project also provided more training to women through this program than it did to men, although men received other types of training in other project components, such as agribusiness and fertilizer/pesticide use. Some training, such as that provided to cooperative managers, included both men and women, although the most recent training session contained 23 men and just four women. On balance, however, training was about equally distributed between women and men throughout the project.

4. How were the interests and role of women (compared to men) taken into account in the evaluation stage?

The evaluation team focused extensively on the microenterprise and village bank components of the project, carrying out individual interviews with over 20 women and attending a training session of 20 others.

5. Were significant factors concerning women (compared to men) overlooked at the design stage?

No.
6. Were gender-specific data available for each of the project stages?

Gender-specific data concerning participants in the village bank, microenterprise, and training components of the project has been available during the implementation and evaluation stages of the project. It should be noted, however, that a general lack of project level data was found, including gender data.

7. How did women's integration in AIFLD-supported activities affect the sustainability of project outcomes? Were outcomes more sustained (or less sustained) when women were taken into account in AIFLD activities?

Sustainability of overall project objectives regarding self-sufficiency of union and cooperative organizations was enhanced by women's integration into AIFLD-supported activities. Specifically, AIFLD-supported organizations have become more self-sustainable through the inclusion of village banks and microenterprise programs, which both provide (mostly) women with loans at reasonable terms but also provide for program and organizational self-sustainability through interest on these loans.

8. Are the results achieved by the project equally sustainable between men and women beneficiaries?

Since women beneficiaries participated in activities in which men did not participate, and vice versa, there is no clear measure or comparison between men and women concerning sustainability.
SCOPE OF WORK
SECTION C

DESCRIPTION/SPECs/WORK STATEMENT

C.1 BACKGROUND

Since the 1960s, The American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD) has been carrying out activities which strengthen democratic labor unions in El Salvador. Most of the funding they've received since this time has been from the U.S. government.

On May 31st, 1990, AIFLD and AID signed a Cooperative Agreement to enable AIFLD to expand its activities so as to improve the services provided by the National Union of Workers and Peasants (UNOC) and the Democratic Workers Central (CTD), as well as other democratic trade unions. The agreement provides funding to enable AIFLD to actively promote the process of democratization through the development of a strong and vigorous democratic labor movement, representing the interests of urban and rural workers in a progressively more open and pluralistic society. AIFLD's program includes the following objectives:

* Assist the UNOC in increasing membership, upgrading management and operational capabilities, improving the human rights situation of workers, enhancing voter registration activities, upgrading leadership capabilities, and elaborating a strategy for attaining self-sufficiency.

* Assist urban unions in negotiating new collective bargaining contracts, introduction of health and safety programs, increase income and employment, improve social welfare, increase skills, and improve administrative and program capabilities.

* Assist rural unions by assisting families to gain access to land, improve overall production, support farmers in defense of their rights, increase employment, income and social welfare, and upgrade management.

* AIFLD would also support the newly created Salvadoran Labor-Management Foundation by supporting its start-up and initial social and economic programs.

C.2 PURPOSE OF THE EVALUATION

The purpose of this contract is to carry out a mid-term evaluation of the AIFLD project (assuming a roughly two year project extension) in order to appraise progress in implementation, assess the likelihood of achieving project objectives, identify elements constraining its successful execution, and report lessons learned to date.
The evaluation will be used as an independent assessment of the validity of this approach to supporting democratic labor unions in El Salvador.

C.3 STATEMENT OF WORK

The Contractor shall report its findings, present conclusions that are based on the findings, point out examples of note-worthy accomplishments, and recommend improvements based on the overall evaluation exercise. Finally, the Contractor is expected to list and briefly discuss lessons learned that emerge from the analysis.

Specifically the Contractor shall undertake the following activities:

A. Assess whether AIFLD's strategy is appropriate and effective, whether the goals and objectives are relevant and are being met, and whether the operating procedures are relevant and effective for strategy implementation and goal achievement. If modifications are recommended, detail what these are.

B. Evaluate the effectiveness of methodologies and techniques used by AIFLD to implement activities.

C. Evaluate AIFLD's educational and promotional activities, including training and publications. With respect to training, assess whether they have a formulated strategy, are focused and effective, and if the presentation is appropriate to accomplish their stated objectives. Also assess the overall impact of their training.

D. Evaluate the managerial and financial structure/capability of AIFLD. Areas to be addressed include appropriate assignment of tasks, level of morale, and level of efficiency, and possibilities for self-sustainability of democratic trade unions beyond the period of AID funding.

E. Assess whether AIFLD has appropriate indicators and generates enough statistics to evaluate the impact of its activities and to pinpoint specific problem areas.

F. Assess whether the current mix of technical assistance and training for the AIFLD staff is adequate. Recommend areas where modifications or additions should be made.

G. Examine the relationship of AIFLD activities to other local and international entities who work in El Salvador, including other AID activities. Assess the effectiveness of communication between AIFLD and these organizations. Recommend any approach to improve formal or informal linkages with these organizations.
H. Evaluate AIFLD's relationship to unions and the private sector, and recommend approaches for improving these relationships.

I. Assess whether AIFLD's relationship to sub-grantees is adequate, accessible, effective, and efficient. Assess whether actions taken by sub-grantees with AIFLD funds have been in line with USG policy. Offer recommendations to improve their system of awarding sub-grants to unions and federations.

J. Evaluate the overall impact of AIFLD's activities. Cite specific achievements, and quantify impact and accomplishments where possible. Evaluate whether the project is on track in meeting project objectives.

K. Assess whether AIFLD has managed its resources in a cost effective manner, and whether the investment of resources has produced a reasonable return. If possible, calculate a cost/benefit ratio.

C.3.1 Background Information

1. The Contractor shall review the following documents for background information:
   b. The Cooperative Agreement.
   c. Information on AIFLD's activities from the ODI files.
   d. AIFLD trimester reports.
   e. Other relevant information from ODI's files.
   f. Semiannual review reports.

2. The Contractor shall discuss issues with appropriate AIFLD, AID, U.S. Embassy, GOES, and other public and private sector officials as necessary.

C.4 METHODS AND PROCEDURES

During the first week after arrival at post, the consultants will be briefed by USG and AIFLD personnel, shall thoroughly review pertinent documents, and shall submit a work plan. The work plan will schedule activities, describe the methodology to be followed, specify the information to be gathered, and specify the use of this information in the analysis to be undertaken.

The work plan must be approved by the A.I.D. Project Manager so that the parties are in agreement on the points to be addressed in the evaluation and on the methodology to be utilized. During the following four weeks, the Contractor will carry out the approved workplan to include interviews, review of documents, field visits, and preparation of reports. The final week shall be available for oral presentation of reports and revision of written documents.
C.5 REPORTS

A. Draft Report: Five copies in English shall be delivered to the A.I.D. project manager at least six working days prior to the scheduled date of departure from El Salvador. AID and AIFLD officials will review the draft report and recommend changes in the report three days before departure from country. The day before departure from country the Contractor will present the final draft report, incorporating drafting or substantive changes, if any. The body of the report should be approximately 40 pages.

B. Final Report: USAID will have 10 working days to review the above final draft before returning it to the Contractor. No later than three weeks after receipt of the final draft from USAID, the Contractor shall deliver six copies in English of the final report. The final report must contain the following:

1. Executive Summary: This should include development of project objectives, the purpose of the evaluation, methodology used, findings, conclusions and recommendations. It will also include comments on development impact and lessons learned. It should be complete enough so that the reader can understand the evaluation without having to read the entire document. The summary should be a self-contained document.

2. Project Identification Data Sheet (see Section C.6).

3. A paginated Table of Contents.

4. A copy of the scope of work under which the evaluation was carried out. Any deviation from the scope will be explained.

5. A listing of the evaluator(s); those interviewed, including host country personnel, their field of expertise and the role they played; and any field visits.

6. The body of the evaluation should include a) the economic, political, and social context of the project; b) evidence/findings of the study concerning the evaluation questions; c) conclusions based on the study findings; and d) recommendations based on the study findings stated as actions to be taken to improve project performance.

7. The lessons learned should be clearly presented. These should describe the causal relationship factors that proved critical to project success or failure, including necessary political, policy, economic, social and bureaucratic preconditions within the host country and AID. These shall also include a discussion of the techniques or approaches which proved most effective or had to be changed and why. Lessons related to replicability and sustainability will be discussed.
C. Project Evaluation Summary: The Contractor will complete the abstract and detailed summary portion of the A.I.D. "Evaluation Summary" for submission with the final report. USAID/El Salvador will provide the Contractor with appropriate forms and instruction.

C.6 OUTLINE OF BASIC PROJECT IDENTIFICATION DATA

1. Country: El Salvador

2. Project Title: American Institute for Free Labor Development

3. Project Number: 519-0368

4. Project Dates: May 31, 1990 - May 31, 1993 (The C.A. will probably be extended for roughly 2 years.).

5. Project Funding: $14,400,000

6. Project Designers: AIFLD

7. Responsible Mission Officials: (for the LOP)
   a. Mission Director: John Sanbrailo
   b. Division Director: Deborah Kennedy-Iraheta
   c. Project Officer: Sergio Guzmán


C.7 EXECUTIVE SUMMARY OUTLINE

Requirements:

1. 2-3 pages in length (single spaced)
2. Clear and concise summary which can stand alone apart from the rest of the report.

Elements:

1. Name of AID Office initiating the evaluation, followed by title and date of full evaluation report.

2. Purpose of the activity or activities evaluated. What constraints or opportunities undertaken does the activity address, what is being done to reduce the constraints? Specify the problem, then specify the solution and its relationship, if any, to overall Mission or Office strategy. State general and specific objectives.

3. Purpose of the evaluation and methodology used. Why was the evaluation undertaken and at what state -- interim, final, ex-post? Briefly describe the types and sources of evidence used to assess effectiveness and impact.
4. Findings and conclusions. Discuss major findings and conclusions based on the findings as related to the questions in the scope of work. Note any major assumptions about the activity that proved invalid, including policy-related ones.

5. Recommendations for this activity and its offspring (in the Mission, country or in the Office program). Specify the pertinent conclusion for AID in design and management of the activity, including recommendations for approval/disapproval or for fundamental changes in any follow-on activities.

6. Lessons learned (for other activities and for AID in general). This is an opportunity to give AID colleagues advice about planning and implementation strategies; how to tackle a similar development problem, key design factors, and factors pertinent to management and to the evaluation itself.

To be particularly addressed:

1. Project design implications/Findings/conclusion about this activity that bear on the design or management of other similar activities and their assumptions.

2. Broad action implications. Elements that suggest action beyond the activity evaluated and that need to be considered in designing similar activities in other contexts (e.g. policy requirements, procedural matters, factors in the country that are particularly constraining or supportive).