

Report:

IndustriALL Global Union Regional Conference

“Towards Sustainable Industrial and Energy Policy”

3-4 September 2014, São Paulo, Brazil

Day 1: Wednesday, 3 September, 2014

Opening Messages

Tina Hennecken, Director of the Friedrich Ebert Foundation (FES) São Paulo office; and Jorge Alemeida, Regional Secretary of IndustriALL Global Union Latin America and Caribbean office; welcomed the participants to the conference by providing an introduction to the work of each organization and a rationale for the conference.

Message of **Tina Hennecken**, FES

Highlights of Tina's opening comments:

Welcome, and thank you to all of the participants for attending this conference.

This is an important seminar on an important topic: sustainable development. Friedrich Ebert Foundation would like to thank IndustriALL for proposing it.

FES is a left-leaning German political foundation that works in over 100 countries, with unions and other partners.

Sustainable development has been on our agenda for many years now, and is only becoming more important. Fighting for social justice was always important for us, but now climate change poses a new challenge. Indeed, climate change threatens social security and threatens the development of sustainable industries. The question is how to integrate the social and the ecological dimensions.

Fortunately, Brian Kohler, who is an expert in these matters, will guide our discussions.

Message of **Jorge Alemeida**, IndustriALL

Good morning. Welcome!

With thanks to FES for their support, this conference addresses one of IndustriALL's five priorities and is a step towards our next World Congress.

This is a critical moment in history. Workers' rights are being threatened, and all over the world we are battling to protect our rights and against diminishing social security and social programs. Employers pretend that they can use only precarious workers and do not need to respect human and social rights.

IndustriALL believes the opposite. Workers' rights and social security are vital to sustainable development. Right here in Brazil is an example. Many people have been lifted from poverty, not by ignoring social rights, but by enhancing them.

IndustriALL has identified five priority areas for action:

- Build union power throughout the world by supporting the development of united, strong, democratic, independent, representative and sustainable trade unions.
- Confront global capital by organizing international campaigns to pressure multinational companies into recognizing and negotiating with trade unions at the global level.
- Campaign for workers' rights, a living wage and healthy and safe workplaces. Increase women's participation and the number of women in leadership roles.
- Fight against precarious work.
- Promote sustainable industrial employment.

Sustainable industrial policy is vital, sustainable employment has to be the centre of attention, from which we can progress.

Introductory Session: Global Concepts Presentation

Introductory remarks, and presentation of the IndustriALL concept paper

The IndustriALL discussion paper, "Towards Sustainable Industrial Policy" was presented by **Brian Kohler** using the standard powerpoint developed for this purpose. However, the narrative accompanying the presentation and elaborating the slides emphasized very strongly:

- (1) the three dimensions of sustainability (social, environmental, and economic);
- (2) climate change and the link to energy choices;
- (3) the concept and application of Just Transition.

The intent of this emphasis was to encourage the group to approach the subsequent sessions from the perspective of sustainability, and to avoid having the conversation descend towards a traditional trade-union discussion of industrial policy.

A traditional trade-union discussion of industrial policy tends to look at primarily economic development and social beneficitation in the form of job creation. Other social indicators tend to become subsumed in the economic arguments; and the environmental dimension of sustainability tends to be entirely ignored.

Sustainability or sustainable development is a concept that is simultaneously complex, subtle and radical. Therefore correct framing of the discussion in the opening presentation and remarks of any conference on sustainability, is crucial.

Brian noted that he came to learn, as well from all the participants and that the workshop was intended to be interactive. Sustainable industrial policy is a difficult subjects, and the participants were challenged to exchange ideas and provide feedback to IndustriALL.

Highlights of Brian's opening comments:

What is sustainability? The usual definition of sustainability is "meeting the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet theirs". Sustainability must therefore address a broad range of needs, and can be considered a rather radical concept. It is a vision of the future that is different to the "casino economy" of today. Everyone will be affected.

Industrial Policy is a plan to encourage desired patterns of industrial development and growth.

We need to merge this idea with the concept of sustainability. This is not always easy, but it is necessary. We face a triple crisis: social, environmental, and economic.

We face a race to the bottom. The historical link between productivity and wages has been broken; global value chains are out of control, governments compete for foreign direct investment by cutting regulations and enabling low-cost production while receiving minimal or no taxes in return. One percent of the world's population controls 40-50 percent of global wealth. At the finish line in this race to the bottom, you will find situations like the Rana Plaza collapse in Bangladesh. On the environmental dimension, we need look no further than global climate talks which are in failure mode. Entire species, the entire planet, is in trouble

Imagining a sustainable future is not hard. Besides the obvious, protection of the environment, a sustainable future would:

- Respect human rights (including labour rights) everywhere
- Guarantee greater equality by diminishing the huge global disparities in income and wealth
- Use technology for social benefits
- Improve labour standards

To get there, we will need a Just Transition. If we do not plan for a Just Transition, an unjust one is guaranteed. Changes should benefit both today's and tomorrow's workers, and not just a tiny wealthy elite. Just Transition is the key to progress: if workers do not believe that the transition will be a just one, they will oppose it with all their might. It is insufficient to say that lots of so-called "green jobs" might be created. We have to make sure that those new job are decent jobs that benefit everyone.)

It is important to recognize that the free market will not ensure a just transition. Only government intervention will solve it. Therefore, we need to strengthen governments and remind them of their responsibilities to their people. We need to explain to them what we want and why we want it

Creating a Just Transition requires sustainable industrial policies, strong social safety nets, and creative labour adjustment programs. All governments pursue industrial policies, even those that claim they are ideologically opposed to intervening in the market. The social, environmental and economic results a society gets are predicted by the policies it pursues. Even ignoring such interventions as the building of infrastructure or military spending, non-intervention (if such a thing existed) is itself a policy choice with predictable outcomes. We need to engage in debate, agree on goals, and set targets for getting to them.

Who is going to pay for the transition? The global response to the 2008 economic crisis shows that there is no shortage of money, it is only a question of priorities. If tens of trillions of dollars could be hastily found to bail out criminal banks, then finding a mere few hundred billions of dollars to save the planet should be easy. Another option would be to institute a financial transaction tax, a very small percentage tax on global financial transactions. An idea sometimes referred to as a "Tobin tax" or a "Robin Hood tax" would help to stabilize economy by reduce harmful speculation, and at the same time raise billions of dollars that could be used for environmental mitigation, adaptation, and Just Transition programs. Finally, we should not talk about sustainability without talking a little bit about limits on corporate profits, or on excessive executive compensation packages. Simply limiting tax loopholes would go a long way.

At its founding congress, IndustriALL promised "a new global and social model that puts people first, based on democracy and global justice". We represent workers in resource extraction, processing, manufacturing, and all sorts of industries. We represent workers that are anxious about

the transition to a sustainable future, as well as workers who are anxious for the transition to start. We have a lot of power, speaking for some 50 million workers, worldwide.

The goal for this meeting is to have a good discussion and debate, to articulate a union perspective for sustainable industrial policy in this region, for our important industrial sectors but particularly for the energy sector. We will use the outputs from this meeting, along with other similar ones, to write union policies and to prepare to influence government policies. Much of these two days will be spent in small-group discussions, reporting back to the entire group, on a set of prepared questions.

Finally, I would like to say a word or two about climate change. There is no climate change debate: of 13,950 peer-reviewed climate articles (1991-2012): only 24 rejected human-made global warming. Other studies of the scientific literature have revealed similar results. Apart from a very few contrarians, almost every scientist in the world with credentials in the field agrees that we have caused ourselves a huge problem. The 2015 climate talks in Paris are a crucial moment, as it may be our last chance to strike a fair, ambitious, and binding emissions target to control climate change. If we fail in Paris, we will need to rely on technologies not yet proven to maintain a planet that is comfortably habitable.

The seminar consisted mainly of facilitated small-group discussion/brainstorming of concepts. What should trade unionists have to say on sustainability's social, economic and environmental dimensions? How should energy issues and climate constraints shape industrial policies?

Discussion Points

- 1. What issues are most important to you? What impacts will there be on workers from possible sustainability solutions?*
- 2. What are the biggest challenges to sustainability in different regions and different industrial sectors, and how can the particular challenges and concerns of different regions and industrial sectors be taken into account?*
- 3. How can we increase affiliates' capacity to promote the policy in their countries?*
- 4. How can we influence governments to ensure a workers perspective is considered, and which other actors must IndustriALL and its affiliates engage with? How can we get public recognition of the importance of industrial policy for workers?*
- 5. Energy issues*

There were 22 participants representing trade unions from Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, the Dominican Republic, Honduras, Mexico, El Salvador, Trinidad and Tobago.

In addition, there were 3 FES and 2 IndustriALL staff; and also technical support persons (translators and sound equipment technicians).

Session One: Global Concepts Analysis

Small Group Discussions: "Which issues are most important to you (will impact workers the most) in developing IndustriALL Global Union's Sustainable Industrial Policy?" (Consider the three dimensions of sustainability: social, economic, environmental)

Group 1: Argentina, Chile, Mexico

<p><i>Social Dimension</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • We need to win the support of communities affected by multinational corporations (MNCs), especially where there have 	<p><i>Environmental Dimension</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • New energy systems will create new realities for trade unions 	<p><i>Economic Dimension</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Corporations and politicians must change their view of workers as only a "cost". Union participation in the formulation
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<p>been severe effects on the local populations</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The involvement of the rest of civil society (other NGOs) can help us change attitudes towards workers, society, and the environment • We believe that unions have to participate in the entire process, in fighting climate change and formulating a sustainable industrial policy • Governments and MNCs typically agree; and rarely consult us. MNCs say they are socially responsible, unions need to unmask the false image that MNCs create, the MNCs violate laws, treaties, and agreements. We need a work plan to discipline the MNCs • Unions are at a disadvantage in terms of capacity: human resources, research, etc. We seem always to be on the defensive. Yet, we have to fight back, we have to step forward and formulate ideas for the future • Proposal: create a work plan to fight against corporate impunity 		<p>of sustainable social policy can help workers get decent, secure work</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Globalization of the economy dictates the globalization of the labour movement
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Group 2: Argentina, Colombia, Dominican Republic, Honduras, Mexico

<p><i>Social Dimension</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Two situations exist in Latin America. In some countries, we have responsible, progressive governments that are worried about workers' rights, the environment etc. They are generally non-neoliberal, left-wing governments. In other countries, we find government by right-wing governments with neo-liberal policies that don't care about workers' rights, the environment, and encourage precarious work through low regulations • We need to reach out to the 	<p><i>Environmental Dimension</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Greater commitment to research and development of greener energy systems is needed 	<p><i>Economic Dimension</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Governments only care about MNCs and the financial sector
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<p>democratic, progressive governments and support them in their fight for sustainable industrial policies that encourage decent work, good salaries and defend workers and social rights and care for the environment</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To reach a sustainable future, workers must influence that future 		
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Group 3: Argentina, Colombia, Costa Rica, El Salvador

<p><i>Social Dimension</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Normally unions only react to challenges, we propose to be proactive and formulate ideas helping the workers. Each union should participate in the formulation of policies, especially in ways that help areas and communities that depend on existing industries • We propose that the state needs to provide energy security and to nationalize the energy resources • Europe and especially Germany are promoting Bettercoal, and we could do the same. What is the union doing? Are we ready to take part? • We need to forge links with the rest of civil society to engage in the fight for control over resources 	<p><i>Environmental Dimension</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The topic of clean energy: We need to research and analyse national policies in order to better contribute to it and to implement greener technologies 	<p><i>Economic Dimension</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • There will be some negative as well as some positive impacts; e.g. the demand for electricity, the consumption of energy, will affect workers • The reality is different from country to country: some countries re-nationalize, right-wing countries privatize, some countries are already almost fully privatized
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Group 4: Brazil, Trinidad and Tobago

<p><i>Social Dimension</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What is this sustainability? What kind of sustainability do the people want and how will it be implemented? 	<p><i>Environmental Dimension</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How can we change the paradigm of consumption to a new paradigm that appreciates resources and creates a greener economy. • How can we conserve, and especially re-use industrial goods and by-products, whether gases, liquids, or solids? 	<p><i>Economic Dimension</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • There is a jobs question, especially to jobs in industries that are presently considered “non-green”?
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Additional General Comments on Session One:

Brian: The discussion groups quickly focussed on the social dimension, and political realities that we face on our journey to sustainability. Tailored solutions will be necessary in specific regions and industrial groups. Clearly, all of the discussion groups believe that sustainability is intimately intertwined with questions of democracy.

Nevertheless, the environmental dimension was not entirely overlooked. There were interesting reflections on reuse and recycling, and a belief that greater commitment and investment in research and development are urgently needed.

The remarks on Bettercoal are pertinent, but it is premature to judge it since the Bettercoal Code has only recently been released and their auditing process has barely begun. IndustriALL was involved in developing the code, but right now is not participating actively; although Brian will be at a conference discussing Bettercoal in the week following this conference.

Session Two: Participants' Experiences

Small group discussions: evaluation and discussions of the status of sustainability/unsustainability on the basis of actual situations in workplaces and in their surrounding communities, regions, or nations. What are the major challenges and concerns of different regions? What are the major challenges for in the different industrial sectors?

Group 1: Argentina, Chile, Mexico

<i>Social Dimension</i>	<i>Environmental Dimension</i>	<i>Economic Dimension</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • We have common problems. We need a global union that allows us to react to the different challenges. We need to form alliances with other national and international organizations. We need to use our power to influence government to create policies for sustainable development • One challenge is existing laws and arrangements, which are difficult to change • A second challenge is outsourcing, were we don't have protection. We must achieve changes in this area, also legislative changes. • In the neo-liberal market we have one problem in common, which is corruption. Only looks to increase profits and incomes of the richest, the wealth is concentrated and not distributed to the common people. Corruption is an evil that degrades everything, hinders the implementation of laws and regulations that would help the 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Technologies hold part of the answer to environmental challenges but the benefits of new technologies must be redistributed to the benefit workers and all people. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mining, petroleum, gas, energy: a problem is that MNCs exploit primary resources, extract them, export them, process them or use them in manufacturing elsewhere and sell these products back to the country of origin for high prices, generating profits in other (usually developed) countries • State needs to ensure that beneficiation occurs via reinvestment and the creation of value-added processing and manufacturing. This means the state must have sustainable industrial policies, and be willing to use its powers (e.g. economic instruments such as taxes)

workers and the development of a sustainable industrial policy. It is both caused by, and results in, the concentration of wealth in the hands of the few		
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Group 2: Argentina, Colombia, Dominican Republic, Honduras, Mexico

<p><i>Social Dimension</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Democratic governance forces MNCs to respect national and international standards of labour rights, environmental standards, human rights • Democratic governance must involve and respect all of society, including labour unions • Pressure governments to guarantee workers' rights with an adequate framework of legislation, regulation, and enforcement; with protections against corruption • Sectoral issues are not separable from labour rights, trade union rights, collective bargaining, better working conditions - without compromising the environment • Trade unions are too divided. To achieve a better quality of life for workers, we must centralize union power and resist attempts to divide us 	<p><i>Environmental Dimension</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Technological change can harm or benefit us, but we need new technologies to deliver their promises especially with respect to climate change. Governments and MNCs need to increase their support for research and development • Develop policies that help the environment; e.g. environmental efficiency 	<p><i>Economic Dimension</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • MNCs must be regulated to reinvest where they earn their profits. There must be a benefit to workers, and all citizens, from the exploitation of a nation's resources
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Group 3: Argentina, Colombia, Costa Rica, El Salvador

<p><i>Social Dimension</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • We have to present a well-considered proposal to generate sustainable energies examining pros and cons. E.g. large-scale hydro is renewable but has major effects on inhabitants • In Colombia, we defend the nationalization of companies. There is a difference between state and national companies, they have different objectives especially with respect to beneficiation. State companies can provide workers with better conditions, but increasingly 	<p><i>Environmental Dimension</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Corporations must take responsibility for their environmental effects. For example, in Colombia a river passes right through a coal mine; but the owners say it would cost too much to divert it. It should not be a question of jobs versus the environment • Do we fight to maintain jobs that destroy lives and the environment? • We have to present a well-considered proposal to generate sustainable energies examining 	<p><i>Economic Dimension</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The MNCs come and take the coal but don't help the regions. Value-adding industries are needed in regions where resources are extracted. It is the recurring question of beneficiation • Public policies really help the MNCs
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<p>share the same negative views of their workforce (that it is only a cost to be minimized).</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • We need to educate people about their rights • Have to fight precarious work, outsourcing • Start campaigns to have unified unions in the sectors, in Columbia there are two main unions, which not always get along. With more unified unions comes more power and laws can be modified. Fewer unions, but more members! • The “revolving door” between regulators and those regulated is a serious and worsening problem • Occupational health must be a key demand for sustainability 	<p>pros and cons. E.g. large-scale hydro is renewable but has major effects on inhabitants</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The industries have to develop more environmentally friendly products and methods of production • Coal may one day be phased out, we should prepare • People need more knowledge/education of industrial processes and their consequences, what goes on in industries 	
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Group 4: Brazil, Trinidad and Tobago

<p><i>Social Dimension</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The problem is structural and inherent in our present economic and development model. It must change if we want sustainable development • Corruption halts progress • The production system is too concentrated, we must produce in a less centralized manner • Agriculture (especially for biofuels e.g. sugar cane, and for export crops) is becoming more centralized in Brazil. This has resulted in jobs and better environmental performance. Yet, most of what is consumed for food comes from small-scale farms. The small-scale farmers should be protected and preserved • We need to reconcile the needs of the workers, the environment. 	<p><i>Environmental Dimension</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Brazil has one of the cleanest energy records, we need to maintain a diversified and decentralized energy system • A sustainable future will still require transportation needs to be addressed. Automobiles are a problem to be solved. For example, in Brazil a lot of ethanol is produced and most cars can use gasoline or ethanol • Small-scale hydroelectric generation is promising, for the benefit the communities and the environment • Large scale hydro gets criticism which is legitimate but more sustainable energy forms also have negative externalities (there is no completely “green” energy) • The sustainability debate is more ideological than technical; but should it be this way? • To balance social, economic and environmental imperatives for sustainability, we have to 	<p><i>Economic Dimension</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Development is still an issue • The automobile sector is the principle sector of industrial development in Brazil
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	radically change our consumerist attitude, not only parts of it. We cannot follow the wasteful consumption model of North America, we need a more conserving and re-using one	
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Additional General Comments on Session Two:

Again in this discussion session, the focus on socio-political realities was strong, although environmental and economic considerations were not forgotten.

Difficult to say how important the problem of corruption is, but it is huge. Corruption makes solutions to other problems impossible (it stops progress). It is everywhere. In some countries it is blatant, in others it is more hidden. However, the invisible corruption in developed countries is at least as damaging, for example the “revolving door” between regulators and those regulated. When governments are clearly acting against the interests or wishes of the majority of their citizens, there can only be two explanations: incompetence, or corruption.

Technological innovation that benefits the environment, workers, and society in general is urgently needed. However, MNCs are not committed to this task so the public sector must step in, invest, and ensure the necessary research and development takes place

Countries with natural resources should benefit from their development; socially as well as economically, and without negative environmental consequences. Citizens should have a say about their country's resources, and should benefit from them.

The “jobs versus the environment” argument is a false one. We need both, or we will ultimately have neither. Furthermore, insisting on unsustainable jobs puts unions at jeopardy. In the end both jobs AND credibility are lost. When unions side with industries against environmental regulations, they lose the jobs, and destroy their unions in nearly 100% of cases. Industry always tries to enlist unions to delay necessary steps, while they arrange things for their benefit. That accomplished, they abandon their allies – us – and leave us with an unjust transition.

Day 1 Summary / Impressions for the day

- Brazil: Remembered talking to Lula about a labour law. And he said governing sometimes is too difficult in reality. Lula is a shining example as a union organizer who became President.
- Brazil: The ability to govern is important, making alliances, even if we cannot change everything, we need to change something. Also have to acknowledge the advancements. In Brazil we have reached a kind of limit. The communication between unions and the population has to be improved, talk about numbers, talk about government programs and where they stem from, so people can understand the advancements. Have to point out government action, not all is a meritocracy. Some problems are structural, e.g. private campaign financing. We need more direct democracy, referenda, ... If we don't convince people, we will lose.
- Brazil: Sustainability has many layers, concerns all sector. Need to engage in a process, also depends on time. The most important thing: the planet and humanity. In his work, there are fights (Petrobras). In 12 years, the company has doubled size. People don't realize the positive effects of union work, we have to make it visible. The referendum is an answer to the June 2013 protests. Congress is not concerned with sustainability. With the referendum we hope to achieve a political system that really benefits society.

- Brazil: Lula has lifted 40 million out of poverty to what some call “new middle class”, I prefer to call “workers class”, now they have the possibility to consume. In the first years, they consumed, using natural resources. A process that has radically improved the quality of life, directly or indirectly affects the environment negatively. If all those people bought air condition, we would need to construct another Itaipu. There is a profound discussion about “degrowth”, in Europe they talk about it. This is a difficult topic for unions. The workers which are organized in IndustriALL will be the first to suffer from a transition, which is inevitable. The effects of global warming will hurt the weakest the most.
- Brazil: Talks about the question about the governments that don't respond to people's need. She is a follower of Gramsci, so her analysis is that the Workers Party government has made social advancements but cannot do politics that threaten the neoliberal system. Contradictions of Marina (presidential candidate): How can she fight for environmental policies within this neoliberal economic system. We have to evaluate the “green” jobs, many of them are socially precarious jobs or informal jobs. We have to convince people that they have to change their behaviour of consumerism and recognize the value of green jobs.
- Brazil: Corruption, Brazil is one of the most corrupt countries, has always had in it in its history. Press and media say that corruption is increasing but it is only more visible due to reforms of Lula (more power to federal police). Corruption has actually decreased in recent years. The former governments were hiding everything. We have to be self-critical, we are all consumers. One of the most important policies of PT is the minimum wage. Now people can buy cars and use plains, but we have to talk about the negative consequences as well. We need to invest and R&D, to diminish the negative effects. We need industries to develop the country.
- Argentina: The union movement is at an important stage. We need not only talk but put the words into action. They are many social, political and environmental changes that we need to face and it's really valuable to have the opportunity to exchange ideas and formulate answers to the problems. In Argentina there is also the problem that governments once in power don't fight for union rights, corruption is also a problem in Argentina. That's why we need to reunite and fight.
- Argentina: We have to take the ideas from here to our countries, regions and unions and initiate discussions there, so that civil society can discuss them. Social, political and energy questions: the whole society needs to stand up but they need to have the knowledge. We need to achieve a change towards energetic sustainability.
- Trinidad and Tobago: No single solution. But to achieve change, we need to have the power to convince the ones affected, which is almost everyone. Workers' confidence in unions needs to be restored. This will be accomplished by addressing the problems. We need to form alliances with NGOs, social groups, environmental groups, not regards ourselves as an elitist group, but a part of civil society. We need a different system of governance that does not concentrate all the power in people who represent only MNCs. Elections in 2010, huge support from the labour movement to the opposition but after election it turned around, former unionist enacted neoliberal policies as minister of labour. So, we need broader alliances and effective lobbying. Need to convince them by numbers (of membership).
- Costa Rica: The most pressing issue is how we can change public opinions. The attack on workers is systematic and constant. The neoliberal press helps in those attacks to keep labour movements down. We are working in social networks, radios, forums to get through our message. The big business-men really rule the small countries (governments have less power). The fight needs to continue. Education is vital, workers need to be conscious. We are making union fights, we have meetings. We are losing our own country. Sometimes local companies are worse than MNCs because they know the country and legal loopholes better.
- Brazil: This topic needs to be perceived as a global agenda. We have watched the great climate talks and many countries don't want to sign the agreements. It's essential to fight global warming. 50 years ago nobody was expecting to need to buy mineral water, could drink tap water. It's important to know that Dilma doesn't have all the power, she needed to make concessions to big corporations to get to power. Lula did the same. The Workers' Party only has 17% in the Senate, the

Brazilian parliament is extremely conservative and represents big business. Nevertheless, 45 laws that benefit workers have been passed. The poor now have access to infrastructure, health system and education. But unions continue to be under attack from the judicial side.

- Brazil: Governments need to govern for everyone, not only for the workers. PiG (Partido da Imprensa Golpista) is a phrase coined to refer to the few families who control almost all Brazilian media, which is an invisible opposition that indoctrinates the population. Lula did not manage to democratize the media, the internet helps but it is still difficult. Problems are similar in all other countries.
- Argentina: Already Peron talked about environmental policies. Environmental policies need to be developed together with the workers. The biggest challenges to environmental changes are the inherent costs. The workers are guilty as well because they are so divided. So we need to build unity to defend labour rights. We need to enshrine workers' rights in the constitutions.
- Colombia: Colombia will re-elect Uribe, who represents neoliberal policies. We have aligned with this government have accomplished some rights (night shifts). We have initiated political reform in the Congress. The government continues to outsource jobs, which increases precarious work and jobs that do not have a minimum wage. The root of the problem is economic: the concentration of wealth. IndustriALL Colombia leads all the initiatives for political reforms.
- Colombia: We cannot say that Colombia has had the same political changes like Brazil under Lula. Colombia is a sad example in terms of health, environment and workers' conditions. Only 4% of workers in Colombia are unionised. It is easier to be paramilitary or guerrilla in Colombia than a trade unionist. In Colombia union workers are routinely threatened and killed. The government is corrupt, there are many revolving doors between the government and business. We need to organize more people in unions and change Colombian society.
- Honduras: Things have changed after the 2009 coup d'état. The workers have formed a party. Eight percent are organized in unions. The electric sector is the strongest. We have initiated talks with UNI and now with IndustriALL to affiliate the electric sector to these Global Unions. We have an ultra-right-wing government that privatizes everything and passes laws to diminish union power and influence. Climate change will heavily affect Honduras, people already need to emigrate.
- Mexico: There are two general topics: a critique of the economic model and a critique of power. It is a crisis of global capital that is a result of the economic system, spreading through global value chains. Privatization (e.g. of the coal industry) and disregard for the environment (e.g. fracking) are underway. Not only is inequality increasing, the entire species is threatened. We need an alternative, a more democratic government. We need a direct democracy instead of a representational democracy. How did Brazil manage to get thousands of people on the street, when prices for public transport were increased? We cannot allow the politicians to formulate answers in isolation; the workers and unions must be part of the formulation. We must decolonize our minds from consumerism. We need to achieve "buen vivir" (a good life).
- Colombia: We need to build confidence and fight corruption. We need to build a strategy to make our proposals heard and fulfilled. We need to tackle root problems for the whole country but also have adaptable policies according to the needs of specific region.
- Mexico: The business-men are the ones who rule, who persecute workers and unionists. The right-wing president said that unions are a cancer that needs to be eliminated. MNCs have the government in their pocket. Corruption results, they set the price. The business-men want to oppress all social movements, including unions – colleagues are frequently assassinated; they destroy the environment only to make more quick profits. We need a unified answer to the casino capitalism that threatens all of Latin America.
- Mexico: We have lost the value of life to the value of economics. Returning to such values is the only way to save the planet. It is futile to only accuse politicians, we are all responsible. We have to fight the biggest problem: corruption. The global unity of workers is vital, it is only because of this that we are alive and fighting. Yet unions sometimes feel they must defend a workplace or an industry that destroys lives and the environment in order to save jobs. This is a mistake, but how can we change it? Only united are we strong!

• Chile: A little history: Allende implemented some social rights but in 1973 Pinochet came to power and changed everything for the worse. One of the cruellest persecutions of leftist parties and unions followed, leaving many dead and missing. We are still fighting to recover some of the things that we lost then. The Pinochet political and economic model is still in place, the neoliberal philosophy prevails. Social changes have been difficult. Only a few families effectively own Chile. Inequality is one of the worst in the world. The educational system is one of the least accessible and most expensive in the world. All things are expensive to the ordinary citizen, including energy. We are fighting for change with President Michelle Bachelet. Bachelet has heard the demands from the street in her program: free education, labour rights, reform of the pension system, increase in the minimum wage.

Brian: trying to summarize the problem, when we talk about sustainable industrial policy, we need to talk about public policies and the problems of democracy. The public policies that are chosen are good predictors of the social, environmental and economic results obtained.

Day 2: Thursday, 4 September 2014

Session Three: Solutions – Options and Tools

Brian: Summary of Day one - Yesterday the focus of discussions veered strongly towards politics. Today I would like to focus some attention on technical issues. Therefore the first question I would like you to discuss today in your small groups is about energy. “What are some of the energy issues, and possible solutions, that trade unions (locally, nationally and internationally) should consider?”

Group 1: Argentina, Chile, Mexico

<p><i>Social Dimension</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Same forms of energy generation, hydro and turmoil, in Mexico, Chile and Argentina • Problems of energy distribution in Mexico • Some industries have their own generating capacity for their own needs, and export the surplus despite domestic energy shortages. We should first meet the needs of the domestic market before allowing exports 	<p><i>Environmental Dimension</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In Argentina, waste energy production is developed, has reduced hydro, still a small percentage but in the long run could be a solution for greener energy. Burning waste provides some 30,000 households with heat and 40.000 with electricity • Other renewable forms of energy are coming online 	<p><i>Economic Dimension</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • There are many problems: supply, supply chain issues, lack of an adequate distribution infrastructure (i.e. the grid is inadequate), high and rising prices • Energy exported from Mexico to the US, for cheap prices • Chile does not import or export energy, problems with supply because of privatization that led to high prices
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Group 2: Argentina, Colombia, Dominican Republic, Honduras, Mexico

<p><i>Social Dimension</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Energy not equally accessible for whole population, or to all industries. Even in countries where there is an energy surplus, citizens end up paying more • We want to enshrine the human right to energy access for all, in the constitution. A social tax to support this is 	<p><i>Environmental Dimension</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Need to prioritize photovoltaic, wind, biofuel – but these are not equally exploitable in all regions therefore a regional strategy is needed as well • In Argentina we have turmoil in the energy sector – governments need to show leadership and manage the 	<p><i>Economic Dimension</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A problem is the partial privatization of energy, which means a loss of sovereignty and a loss of energy security and a loss in the democratic control of the energy system • Results of privatization: job losses, outsourcing, attacks on unions, collective bargaining, increased use of precarious
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justified – as the situation is now, the state effectively subsidizes multinationals	potential conflicts of interest • Should invest in R&D of clean energy forms	labour • Result of privatization: higher prices for energy for consumers and industries, no more subsidies
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Group 3: Argentina, Colombia, Costa Rica, El Salvador

<p><i>Social Dimension</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • An energy policy may exist, but it is a secret from the citizens. In practice, governments are following an agenda set for them by MNCs • Neither social (e.g. stability or quality of jobs) nor environmental impact (e.g. public health, climate change) are a top priority for policy-makers 	<p><i>Environmental Dimension</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Energy sources that should be promoted are those that have the least impact on the environment. Hydrocarbons must be de-emphasized. Renewable and low-carbon energy such as wind and solar are the future • Cost Rica is a windy country, so there should be more wind energy but we cannot depend on it because only parts of the country are windy • Biofuels may be one of the cleanest energy forms but we are examining the question of its impact on food supply security 	<p><i>Economic Dimension</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The energy matrix (generation sources, energy transport, transmission and distribution grid, pipelines, etc. Including the entire supply and value chain) results from government policies. Presently, these are based on political expediency and commercial and trade considerations, but not on sustainability principles. The policies chosen or eschewed (non-intervention in the market is itself, in that sense, a policy choice) predict the outcomes that a nation enjoys
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Group 4: Brazil, Trinidad and Tobago

<p><i>Social Dimension</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Petrobras usually buys oil crops and recycled oils to manufacture biodiesel, from large corporate farms and suppliers. This disconnects the production of these fuels from the social dimension. Small-scale and family farms should also benefit from the switch to biofuels • Heavy industries do not always produce positive social progress, despite jobs created • IndustriALL needs to explore the labour and other impacts, and the potential for union organizing, of a greener economy based on greener sources of energy such as wind and solar. The wind and the sun must be considered part of a nation's resources and part of 	<p><i>Environmental Dimension</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sugar cane for bioethanol is sourced from industrial-scale large agriculture. These fuels may result in a better balance with the environment; but they are not produced in a socially responsible manner • Metals industries have a heavy environmental impact due to the resources they consume and the waste products they produce. They are also heavy energy users • Some industries have environmental impacts that are largely unnoticed; e.g. chemicals used in tanning leather • Some industries: mining, metals, sugar cane growing, forestry (pulp and paper) are paying more attention to e.g. 	<p><i>Economic Dimension</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • This discussion group included participants with an interest in oil and other energy sectors, metals industries, textiles. These industries are all dominated by MNCs. This affects energy security, and again disconnects the production of a resource from the social dimension of sustainability. A debate is need about the power MNCs have over national and social interests • Companies like Petrobras say they are focused on sustainably within the company and make a lot of noise about Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR), but their main interest still profit
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the “commons”	reforestation of damaged areas; but unclear if it is being done at an acceptable rate • Genetically modified plants are turning up in biofuels and forestry and cotton	
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Additional General Comments on Session Three:

Brian: Biofuels can be made from almost anything that can be grown. Some fuels are used more-or-less as harvested or found, such as biomass and bagasse. However biofuels also include biodiesel and bioethanol; which I prefer to discuss separately because both of these require significantly more processing or treatment before they can be used. That is not to say that there are no issues with fuels like bioethanol or bagasse. For example, genetically modified organisms are being used to produce both of these products.

Some groups have started talking about “energy democracy”. Energy is a necessity of life, thus it should not be treated like any commodity; and governments should ensure that their citizens have access to necessities as a matter of right. Is it true that who controls energy production, controls the government?

It is interesting that many participants believe that their government is pursuing a particular energy policy or policies, but that it might not be written down or made public. It can only be suspected that these unwritten policies include an agenda of privatization, deregulation, and speculation in energy. This creates problems for us in terms of wages and precarity, but it is also negative for the development of industries, since two requirements for industry are often (1) a reliable source of energy; and (2) stability of price.

We may wish to be cautious about phrases such as clean energy, or green energy. The problem with the words is that that it implies zero environmental impact. This will not be achievable, all forms of energy have an environmental impact although the size and nature of that impact vary greatly.

All forms of renewable energy are growing, but as trade unionists we should be aware that the fastest growing renewable energy source is photovoltaic energy.

Unions are more involved in the distribution side than on the production side of energy, although we have members in both sectors. The question for us remains, how can we achieve a Just Transition in the energy sector?

On the question of achieving a Just Transition, it is important that all three dimensions of sustainability are addressed simultaneously. There will be changes, whether we do nothing or whether we are proactive. If we fail to engage, however, we do not know how, or by whom, this transition will be managed.

Session Four: Solutions – Options and Tools

Small group discussion: “How can we increase the capacity of our affiliates to promote sustainable industrial policy, policy with a worker's perspective, in their countries?”

Group 1: Argentina, Chile, Mexico

<i>Social Dimension</i>	<i>Environmental Dimension</i>	<i>Economic Dimension</i>
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<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Unions should take more responsibility for the education and training of workers, funded by employers and governments. We need to include specialized programs that increase awareness of our concerns • Renew dialogue with government authorities • Forge unity between different unions • Increase unionisation! It is imperative that we organize • Constitutional reform that enshrine the right of energy security for everyone 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Take a proactive stance towards the promotion of greener, sustainable energy systems 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Creation of energy user assemblies
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Group 2: Argentina, Colombia, Dominican Republic, Honduras, Mexico

<p><i>Social Dimension</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Promote membership of workers in unions through organizing campaigns • Strategic alliances with other interest groups / sectors / NGOs promoting the right to unionise. We must fight against governments and employers that want to take it away • Greater activity of unions in international bodies such as IndustriALL Global Union • Educate workers of the benefits of belonging to unions. Share best strategies among affiliates on how to do this • Move from company-based unions to industry-wide unions 	<p><i>Environmental Dimension</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • We need a major global campaign on sustainability, it is not a problem trade unions can ignore 	<p><i>Economic Dimension</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Strategic alliances with consumers and self-employed workers
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Group 3: Argentina, Colombia, Costa Rica, El Salvador

<p><i>Social Dimension</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • We must organize and grow, increase the number of members, merge and unite different unions, to create a strong major industrial union for the mining and energy sector in Colombia • To enhance the framework and exchange of knowledge, research. What is our informed view? Unified unions with 	<p><i>Environmental Dimension</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Unions must take part in transformations in the energy sector. We cannot simply wait, and be reactive – we must think ahead and prepare for what is coming 	<p><i>Economic Dimension</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Example: membership in the energy unions is declining because of growing micro-generation; which in turn has been facilitated by privatization and policies like feed-in tariffs that favour small energy producers. If this is a problem now, what will we face in 10-20 years of such policies?
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<p>unified policies have more strength. Example: one of the most advanced unions in Colombia is the oil workers' union. They have been able to have an influence on oil policies in Colombia</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Unions should be proactive and make proposals, be more open towards Global Framework Agreements (GFAs). In Costa Rica they have managed to create social dialogues forums dealing with problems concerning the whole country. There is some suspicion of this model, but it is an example that has provided some success; e.g. ENEL, Carrefour. We do not use them to their fullest advantage 		
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Group 4: Brazil, Trinidad and Tobago

<p><i>Social Dimension</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • These are broad, crucial and pressing questions for unions. Sustainability issues are democratization issues that go beyond traditional trade union issues • Starting point: Political action already implemented by CUT and in Trinidad & Tobago • Expand across society the union agenda • Political reform (referendum) • Leadership training and capacity-building is needed on these issues • Invest in, make better use of, communication tools (both traditional media and new media: e.g. internet social networks, email lists) • In Brazil, in CUT we have identified the need to make our unions more active outside the plant, form a “citizen union”, discussion forum with different societal and political actors 	<p><i>Environmental Dimension</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Make people aware of the importance of sustainability, that these are their issues, they are our issues 	<p><i>Economic Dimension</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Examine our relationship with companies, e.g. partnership with some MNCs is possible but only on certain issues
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Additional Comments by Brian: We deal with MNCs all the time. At the international level, we have a number of Global Framework Agreements with MNCs that are willing to recognize union rights. Not all corporations are the same, the ones that sign GFAs tend to be the better ones. Some CEOs are sincerely concerned about our issues (better ones: Unilever, Solvay). Other ones are just using CSR or sustainability for green-washing and public relations efforts (Walmart, Rio Tinto, ...).

Session Five: A plan of Action

Brainstorming and discussion of points to include in an action plan. Small groups critique and prioritize the proposed action plan points and develop strategies to actualize them. Final report-back from small groups and compilation of final output of the conference. Discussion of follow-up activities. "Suggest how (specific actions if possible) we would get to sustainable industrial policies for your country/region; for your national union; for IndustriALL".

Note: discussion in this session not differentiated by social, environmental, or economic dimensions

Group 1: Argentina, Chile, Mexico

- These issues deserve to be included and fully dealt with in union education materials
- We can use our union training centres to mainstream these issues and strengthen the capacity of union leaders to discuss them
- Publish policy papers and books about public policies; distribute these especially at union conventions and federation meetings
- Workshops and union training and education meetings are good opportunities for exchanging ideas
- The idea of new political parties – potentially positive but could leave us outside of government for a very long time
- The Mexican example is instructive. How do we develop our leadership to represent us well in the face of strong opposition? The government is against unions, so running in a political party not really an option
- We can build allies within academia, universities, and researchers
- Attacks on unions are to be expected if we challenge entrenched power. Political and corporate campaigns will be needed to push back against such attacks
- MNCs finance the president and exchange ministers
- We need to continue to build our international partnerships and support networks
- Union power depends on membership. We must organize, end outsourcing and end precarious work

Group 2: Argentina, Colombia, Dominican Republic, Honduras, Mexico

- Argentina: Even if the governments restrict unions as institutions from participation in the political process, (individual) workers can participate. We must not be afraid to engage in the political processes.
- Educate members – and leaders – to be political active
- Must not be afraid of mixing unionism and politics. It is easier to influence governments when you are part of them
- We cannot simply make demands without having thoughtful policy preparation. We have to have good proposals, be persistent, and follow up
- Using international bodies to denounce MNCs, promote our agenda
- Communication via old and new tools: e.g. social media, mainstream media
- Use union education centres to discuss and debate these issues

Group 3: Argentina, Colombia, Costa Rica, El Salvador

- We have to build support within the legislative branches; also there needs to be worker participation in the regulatory bodies, especially regarding energy. We want to be part of governmental decision-making processes we are a long way from achieving that. How can we create this space? If we are part of these decision-making bodies, there is a greater chance of getting our issues addressed
- Example: in Colombia there have only been brief periods of responsible democratic politics and respect for labour unions
- Political action is a means, not a goal. Must define our goals, and structure ourselves to achieve them. Union leaders must strengthen their understanding and perspective of public policy issues to reach goals
- Greater unity: having a single union per sector would give us more power to influence the agenda
- Stigma: Those unions which take part in social dialogues are characterized as part of the establishment by unions that see themselves as more radical; need to change this
- Unions need to deliver political education to our members, show them the possibilities of actually reaching power, the possibilities of making progress in broader areas than just pay
- In some cases unions are barred from participation in politics by law. Argentina, union members are practically banned from party work, so we do not have much influence within parties. Energy unions in particular are considered essential services and are often part of the public sector so are routinely restricted from political or industrial action
- Prepare leadership in communication skills such as public speaking. There is more to being a union leader today than simply talking to our employers
- Relationship between union and parties, constitution of my union forbids union leaders to be engaged in party politics
- Union leaders should be engaged in the political process, and in political parties, because MNCs are deeply involved in party politics
- IndustriALL could facilitate an exchange of information and advice between affiliates on how to influence governments
- Social engagement: this means that we must remind ourselves that we do not represent only workers, narrowly defined – we also speak for their families and the communities they live in and who depend on them

Group 4: Brazil, Trinidad and Tobago

- In Trinidad and Tobago, the government does not really work with or listen to unions
- We must watch government directions and be prepared to respond to government policy proposals
- To influence governments, we must use our existing and potential relationships with legislators and political parties to bring about sustainable industrial policies
- Our influence, our power, is based on membership and therefore we must always concentrate on organizing
- The media can be used to influence the government, but the media is failing us. Unions are portrayed in a negative way, and the media do not support our agenda
- A strong and independent media might be able to help us but today's media is neither
- ILO, OECD, WTO are not helping us with instruments that support sustainability. We might be able to interest them in adopting a sustainability agenda

Next Steps

Brian: These are broad and important questions. How will implementing a sustainable industrial policy benefit present day workers?

This workshop has been very helpful. This group clearly recognizes that there is a political dimension where we will succeed, or fail, to build a sustainable future. All of the groups we heard

from here are in broad agreement, but there are diverse challenges to driving this forward. We need a strong voice to demand our rights.

Your ideas will serve as input to IndustriALL Global Union's work developing sustainable industrial policies (along with input from other streams) and will lead to policies to be presented at the next World Congress. Ideas in this report can be immediately taken on board by affiliates who are ready / able to do so.

Tina: Thank you, it really became clear how vital the work is, to achieve a Just Transition.

Jorge: Thank you, good work, there are good winds of change in the region.

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With thanks to Leo Fried, who took extensive notes during the meeting.