

## global worker

#### **FEATURE**

Building global union power in the auto industry

#### SPECIAL REPORT

Inditex and IndustriALL

#### **PROFILE**

Josée Shimbi Umba



## Welcome to global worker



**Jyrki Raina**General Secretary

"Too many corporations and governments actively oppose workers' demands for fairness and social justice."

#### Building power through networks and GFAs

Union networks in the auto industries and the global framework agreement with garment giant Inditex are helping to defend union rights of millions of workers.

The Action Plan of IndustriALL Global Union commits us to building genuine union power by uniting workers in networks for solidarity and joint action, including global level corporate campaigns. The Plan calls for more global framework agreements (GFA) with multinational companies, and for World Works Councils recognized by the employers.

Unions in the automotive industry have been at the forefront of this strategy. In this issue of Global Worker we highlight the developments in the auto sector where the first union networks were set up in the late 1960's.

Today, global union networks are up and running at a number of German, French, US and Japanese car giants. At Volkswagen, GM, Ford, Peugeot Citroën, Renault, Daimler, BMW, Volvo and Bosch, the management has recognized the network or World Works Council, and covers the costs of regular meetings.

As Bob King, president of the United Auto Workers (UAW) and co-chair of IndustriALL's automotive section points out, unions are building solidarity in new and innovative ways. IndustriALL affiliates from Japan, Brazil, South Africa and many other countries have supported UAW's organizing drive at Nissan in Mississippi.

IndustriALL president Berthold Huber emphasizes the role of global framework agreements in securing workers' rights throughout the supply chain. Violations of union rights occur often, especially in supplier and subcontracting companies.

This is why our GFA with Inditex is so ground-breaking. The Spanish clothing giant hardly has any production of its own, but its suppliers employ a million workers in China, Bangladesh, Brazil and many other countries. They are all covered by the agreement.

In our feature, we tell how the GFA has been turned from paper into a living reality. We have managed to get hundreds of dismissed workers reinstated in Turkey and Cambodia. Together Inditex and IndustriALL have trained union representatives and managers in a pilot project in Turkey. Now we will expand training to Bangladesh, Cambodia, India and China, with the support of specifically hired coordinators.

With networks and GFAs, IndustriALL wants to create conditions for organizing and growth, to build union power that will help to improve the wages and working conditions of workers. Ensuring freedom of association is therefore fundamental.

As we see in this Global Worker, wherever unions can operate, they are making a difference for the benefit of people, both in terms of decent income and social protection. IndustriALL affiliates are mobilizing for continued minimum wage increases, universal health care and pensions in Indonesia; living wages in Cambodia; and for fundamental rights in the countries of the ex-Soviet Union.

Too many corporations and governments actively oppose workers' demands for fairness and social justice. That is why it will always be a struggle.

#### Jyrki Raina

General Secretary



@JyrkiRaina

#### IndustriALL Global Union

Representing 50 million workers across supply chains in the mining, energy and manufacturing sectors at the global level.

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#### globalworker

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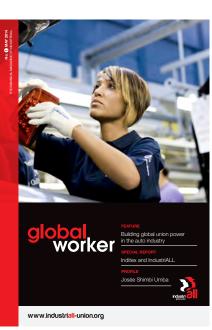










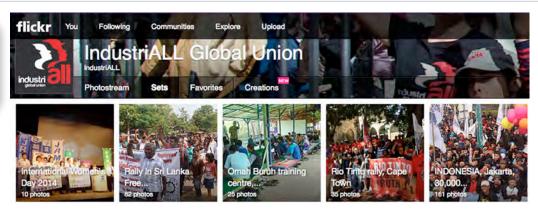


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Pictures of meetings and events can be found in their original size and can be downloaded free of charge. Please acknowledge their source in your materials.









# Colombian mining and energy trade unions make progress towards unity

Killings, detentions and persecution of trade unionists as well as abuse of labour rights and outsourcing are all challenges faced by three of IndustriALL Global Union's affiliates in the energy and mining sectors in Colombia. Believing in strength by numbers, the three trade unions have now embarked on a journey towards unity.

COUNTRY: Colombia UNIONS: USO, SINTRACARBÓN, SINTRAELECOL

## profile

TEXT: Valeska Solis TRANSLATION: Chris Whitehouse PHOTOS:





Electricity industry workers' union SINTRAELECOL, oil workers' union USO and coal industry workers' union SINTRACARBÓN have decided to merge in order to increase their capacity to counter the influence wielded by multinational companies and to stand up against abuses of power by the authorities.

"At a time when Colombia is going through an economic, political and social crisis, we have decided to take a new initiative to promote unity," said the executive committees of SINTRAELECOL, USO and SINTRACARBÓN a joint statement last year. A coordinating body, CUSME, has since been formed to support the merger.

Colombia's anti-trade union climate has led the unions to focus on building strength. Over the years, the three unions have been put to the test with a number of conflicts; SINTRACARBÓN's struggle against Carbones del Cerrejón Limited and Prodeco at the Calenturitas mine has seen the trade union defending the rights of workers as well as the residents of local communities affected by mining operations; SINTRAELECOL has battled persecution and threats against workers in

the electricity sector; while USO has fought against political persecution and violation of labour rights by Pacific Rubiales. USO leaders have also suffered arbitrary detention, with four employees of Pacific Rubiales detained for 75 days before they were finally released in January 2014. Trade union leaders believe that acting together could act as a catalyst in the fight for better living and working conditions.

"Unity in the mining and energy sector is the only way to respond to the predatory model that holds sway in Colombia. Long live unity!" says Pablo Santo, president of SINTRAELECOL.

#### Progress towards unity

In March this year, CUSME met to prepare a strategic plan to amalgamate the three unions. This process involves the creation of committees to draft documents for discussion and approval; regional seminars; and a national plenary to approve and reaffirm the process of unity.

Jorge Almeida, IndustriALL's Regional Secretary for Latin America and the Caribbean, emphasizes the importance of the decision taken by the three affiliates in Colombia to merge:

"Uniting several unions is not an easy task but it can be achieved if those involved have the political will and motivation to pursue it. The merger of the three global federations that joined forces to become IndustriALL is a good example."

With the support of IndustriALL and their Swedish affiliates, CUSME will continue to inform its members that the mining and energy sector needs a strong trade union that gives solidarity to workers involved in disputes and responds forcefully to the aggression and ignorance displayed by

#### USO, SINTRACARBÓN, SINTRAELECOL

#### USO

CUSME

has 22,000 members www.usofrenteobrero.org



@uso\_meta

SINTRACARBÓN organises 6,500 members www.sintracarbon.com



@sintracarbon

SINTRAELECOL has 6,700 members www.sintraelecol.org



@sintraelecol

the national and transnational companies that exploit Colombia's energy and mineral resources.

Edwin Castaño, USO president, says:

"Now, more than ever, workers in the mining and energy sectors want unity."

While, **Jairo Quiroz**, leader of SINTRACARBÓN concludes:

"The move towards unity and the creation of a single mining and energy union, CUSME, is a necessity for workers in the sector. We are gradually making progress and this will be good for the Colombian trade union movement."





It is more than two decades since the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics disappeared from the global map. Many of the nations that broke away from what was once the biggest country in the world proclaimed they would follow a market-oriented path. As a result of the liberal reforms that took place, workers' and trade union rights came under enormous pressure. Here is a closer look at some of the most recent developments in the region.

#### **Azerbaijan**

In Azerbaijan, the International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC) notes that despite improved legal guarantees in the Labour Code of 1999, transnational companies are frequently violating workers' rights by concluding fixed-term contracts for one to three months; depriving workers of annual leave days; imposing overtime with no extra pay; and failing to transfer social insurance dues. Furthermore, employers often prevent workers from creating trade unions with threats of dismissal.

#### **Belarus**

Workers in Belarus have been put on the leash of precarious employment. In 1999, Alexander Lukashenko, President of the Republic of Belarus issued the notorious decree No. 29 allowing employers to use fixed-term contracts for all categories of workers. The decree, which is a national law, has made it possible for employers to gradually force almost all workers in Belarus into a wicked system of precarious employment. The luckiest 35 per cent of workers sign their contracts for five years, 30 per cent conclude three-year contracts and another third are obliged to renew their contracts annually. There is also evidence of even shorter-term contracts for some groups of workers. The system allows the employer to get rid of a worker that disagrees with company policy or tries to establish an independent union organization at no cost. For a trade union it is extremely difficult to reinstate a worker who has been fired, as employers will simply say the worker's contract has expired, even though it might previously have been renewed many times over.

Trade union oppression in Belarus also allows employers to get rid of a local union by failing to confirm its address in the course of registration, which is legally binding for any organization. Consequently, people working for a non-registered union can be imprisoned. Recognizing the dangers of precarious employment and the threat to workers, independent unions submitted a complaint to the International Labour Organization (ILO) in 2000 against violation of trade union and workers' rights. The ILO has since made several recommendations to the Government of Belarus and sent a number of missions to the country, most recently in January 2014. Unfortunately, the latest mission reported "no fundamental change or significant progress in implementing the Commission of Inquiry's recommendations to amend the legislation in force." The mission furthermore noted, "While some previously raised problems have become less acute, new problems have arisen."

Many governments have chosen to crush the power of the unions that might resist liberal reforms.

#### PHOTO 1:

Belarusian IndustriALL affiliate REP holds an action against fixed-term contracts suggesting the citizens in Brest, Belarus, December 2013. *IndustriALL* 



#### Georgia

Despite positive amendments introduced in July 2013 to Georgia's much criticized Labour Code, freedom of association remains a serious concern. Although the law prohibits discrimination based on trade union association, it does not set in place clear mechanisms protecting workers against anti-union discrimination. What's more, the right to strike for some groups of workers remains under prohibition or seriously hindered because of an extremely difficult and compulsory conciliation process.

#### Moldova

In March 2013, proposed amendments to the Labour Code and the law on trade unions were jointly submitted to the Moldovan Parliament by the American Chamber of Commerce, the National Confederation of Moldovan Employers and the European Business Association on the grounds that they would improve the investment climate in the country. If enacted, the amendments would remove the legal guarantees granted to trade union members and elected trade union leaders, making it easier for an employer to dismiss activists.

#### Kazakhstan

In 2011, workers of the Kazakh oil company KazMunaiGas (formerly Kazakhoil) went on strike. Due to inactivity by the authorities, bordering on complicity with the oil company, the labour dispute escalated into bloody riots in Zhanaozen, which left 17 people dead and many wounded.

The ensuing trial, orchestrated by Kazakh authorities in March 2012, sentenced 37 people to prison or other punishment. Under the pressure of the international community, two of seven imprisoned workers were released. Three people, including Roza Tuletaeva, the only woman, were moved to a colony-settlement, while Shabdal Utkilov and Kanat Zhusipbaev remain in custody.

Ex-Karaganda governor, Sultan Kaliev, proposed as a candidate by the Government, was elected as the new president of the Federation of Trade Unions of Kazakhstan (FPRK). One of his very first actions was to establish a national union in the oil and gas sector, and there is high a risk that the IndustriALL Global Union affiliate will be forced into joining this new structure.

In September 2013, a new bill on trade unions was submitted for consideration by the Kazakh parliament. The bill, which would introduce compulsory registration of trade unions while imposing a membership threshold, is clearly oriented at the strangulation of unions that are not FPRK members.

#### **Kyrgyzstan**

Strikers in Kyrgyzstan could face up to 15 years in jail if a set of proposed amendments to the Criminal Code is passed by parliament. The proposals would mean that directors and staff of strategically important enterprises could be imprisoned for up to 15 years if accused of being the reason for the failure or stoppage of production.

IndustriALL believes, if adopted, the amendments would be a blatant violation of international and constitutional norms according to which workers enjoy their right to strike. The Criminal Code bill is scheduled for consideration by parliament in April 2014.

#### Russia

The new labour code, adopted by the Russian Duma (parliament) in 2001, came under fire from the ILO and ITUC for prohibiting collective bargaining by a trade union unless it represents over 50 per cent of the workforce, therefore locking out minority unions. The labour code also undermines the right to strike through a complicated procedure which outlaws

strikes in solidarity for other workers as well as all national strikes which make direct demands to the Government.

In 2009, the Constitutional Court, under the pretext of applying the principle of equal rights to all Russian citizens, adopted new amendments to labour legislation allowing employers to dismiss or punish trade union leaders through compulsory transfer to another job without preliminary consent from a trade union.

#### **Ukraine**

At the time of going to print, the situation in Ukraine remains unpredictable. Before the clashes at Maidan Square at the end of 2013, unions were fighting the International Monetary Fund, which was promoting reform that would decrease unions' capacity to protect members and exclude minority unions from tripartite dialogue. IndustriALL continues to monitor the situation and assist affiliates in the development of counteractive measures.

Liberal reforms, of which precarious employment is the most serious, are being encouraged by the governments in countries that made up part of the former Soviet Union. The aim is to attract foreign and national capital, as well as safeguard power. To achieve this goal many governments have chosen to crush the power of the unions that might resist liberal reforms. The future of the trade union movement in the region depends entirely on its capacity to build an adequate resistance.



#### PHOTO 2:

On 25 March 2014, around 3,000 workers from RMG Gold and RMG Copper, mining enterprises in Kazreti, Georgia, successfully ended their strike that began on 14 February 2014. IndustriALL

#### PHOTO 3:

Role-play at the IndustriALL workshop on collective bargaining in Georgia, June 2013. IndustriAl I





## IndustriALL mobilizes global support for garment workers in Cambodia

The rights of garment workers in Cambodia have become a priority for IndustriALL Global Union following the government's brutal crackdown on wage demonstrations in January, leaving four people dead, 39 injured and 23 people in prison.

Since then, public demonstrations have been banned, freedom of association has been suspended and garment factories have launched multimillion dollar law suits against union leaders. Global unions and brands have come together in condemning the violence against the wage protestors and have repeatedly called for the Cambodian administration to set out a path towards a minimum living wage and release the detainees.

IndustriALL has been instrumental in leading a global campaign of solidarity in support of the garment workers who are fighting for an increase in the minimum wage, as well as the release of 21 out of the 23 wage protestors that remain in prison.

As the future of garment workers in Cambodia hangs in the balance, IndustriALL, together with UNI Global Union and the

International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC), has been continuously negotiating to keep the channels of communication open between garment workers, factory owners and the government. In collaboration with UNI, the ITUC and the International Labour Organization (ILO), IndustriALL has secured the backing of 30 international clothing brands in a series of meetings and communications with the Cambodian government.

## Violent response to demand for increased minimum wage

IndustriALL has eight affiliates in Cambodia who represent garment workers. In December 2013, IndustriALL and the affiliates hosted three crucial meetings with unions to agree on a common figure for the minimum wage negotiations where they settled on US\$ 160 a month (the minimum wage of US\$ 80 per month was one of the lowest in the world). It would still not be a living wage, but a step forward for the 400,000 garment workers, which generate exports worth US\$ 5 billion a year.

The government and employers only accepted a raise to US\$ 95, which was later changed to US\$ 100 a month. Mass

demonstrations and strikes in support of the new wage demand on 2 and 3 January this year turned deadly after violent suppression by government authorities. Police opened fire on protestors, killing four and seriously injuring 39 others. It was not the first time lethal force had been used against the garment workers. In November last year, a woman garment worker was killed after police fired water shots and beat demonstrators.

The horrific violence in January prompted a global outcry, with unions in Thailand and Korea demonstrating outside Cambodian embassies in solidarity for the garment workers. In a letter to Prime Minister Hun Sen, unions and brands condemned the violence by Cambodian authorities, demanding justice and assurances that it wouldn't happen again.

Cambodia has been ruled by Hun Sen, a defector from the Khmer Rouge regime, for the past 28 years. He has vowed to continue running the country until he is 74. General elections in July 2013 saw him cling on to power but were denounced by the opposition, the Cambodia National Rescue Party (CNRP), which said they lost out on 2.3 million votes as a result of widespread

The horrific violence in January prompted a global outcry, with unions in Thailand and Korea demonstrating outside Cambodian embassies in solidarity for the garment workers.



vote rigging. The ruling Cambodian People's Party won 68 seats in the parliament compared to the CNRP's 55.

Since the January strikes, public demonstrations have been banned and 21 wage protestors have remained in prison virtually incommunicado and without trial.



Cambodia's garment industry has boomed in recent years and now makes up 80 per cent of the country's exports. Despite the industry being valued at **US\$** 5 billion per year, workers have failed to benefit, receiving a pitiful wage on which they can barely scrape a living.

60 per cent of garment workers in Cambodia are unionized, but are split into several unions. Building unity is indispensable for greater worker power.

Follow IndustriALL's work in Cambodia on Twitter @industriall GU

#### Workers around the world rally to show support

IndustriALL spearheaded a global day of action by union affiliates and NGOs around the world in solidarity for the detainees to demand their release ahead of a bail hearing on 11 February.

IndustriALL affiliates organized demonstrations and hand-delivered letters to Cambodian embassies in Brussels. Canberra, Dhaka, Geneva, Honduras, Hong Kong, Jakarta, Manila, Seoul, Sri Lanka, Tokyo and Washington D.C. Affiliates in many other countries across the globe also sent letters or petitions to Cambodian embassies.

"The message to the Cambodian authorities is clear," says IndustriALL's general secretary Jyrki Raina. "We will not stop until all the workers are released."

A week after the detainees were denied bail, IndustriALL and the ITUC were joined by H&M, Inditex, Gap, C&A and Puma in a high-level meeting in the capital Phnom Penh hosted by Deputy Prime Minister

Keat Chhon, with several ministers including the Ministers of Labour and Commerce and other senior government officials present. In frank discussions. brands expressed their desire for stability, a functioning wage mechanism and healthy industrial relations.

Since the meeting, however, the government has alarmingly suspended freedom of association of workers in Cambodia, refusing to register new unions until the new trade union law is passed, which might not be until the end of the year.

The government suspension is in direct contravention of ILO's Convention 87, ratified by Cambodia, which guarantees that workers and employers, without distinction whatsoever, shall have the right to establish and to join organizations of their own choosing without previous authorization.

In a further act of discrimination against the unions, the Ministry of Labour now requires union leaders to prove that they do not have a criminal record before registering new branches of their organization.

The Cambodian Garment Manufacturers Association (GMAC), which has failed to condemn the government's deadly use of force against demonstrators, has also retaliated by filing law suits totaling US\$ 72 million against six union leaders for damage to factories during the protests.

#### **Brands join global unions** in committing to wages and rights

In response to the deterioration of relations between garment workers, the government and factory owners, IndustriALL, Uni and the ITUC together with 30 major brands, including H&M, Inditex, Gap, Adidas and Nike, signed a joint letter to the Deputy Prime Minister of Cambodia on 14 March asking for an inclusive and prompt mechanism for determination of the minimum wage, freedom of association for unions, and respect for the rights of the 21 detainees.

While recognizing the right of factory owners to seek redress from anyone proven to have committed criminal damage to their property, brands and unions also expressed fear that proposed legal action against trade unions would escalate the

situation and make it more difficult to find constructive solutions

"Global unions and brands are united in their efforts to support this process to seek an end to the stalemate over the minimum wage," says Raina whilst acknowledging that all the brands must commit to paying more to suppliers cover the costs of increased wages.

"The impact of wage increases on the selling price will be negligible for the brands and yet life-changing for garment workers. Brands need to assure factory owners that they are prepared to take the minimum wage into account and absorb the extra cost."

IndustriALL will continue its action for workers' rights in Cambodia, to ensure a living wage, and the right to freedom of association and collective bargaining without fear of violence.



#### **LIVING WAGE**

Poverty wages have a devastating impact on workers. A living wage is the minimum income necessary for a worker to be able to meet basic needs, such as housing, clothes and food. Living Wage is an issue on all continents and throughout the global supply chains, and it is central to the **Decent Work Agenda. IndustriALL is** campaigning on this issue with its affiliates.

**Read more on** www.industriall-union.org

#### PHOTO 1:

KMWU solidarity action, Seoul, Korea. KMWU

#### PHOTO 2:

Protest action in Colombo. Sri Lanka. NFTU

#### PHOTO 3:

Demonstrations in Dhaka, Bangladesh. NGWF





COUNTRY: Indonesia UNION: **KSPI** 

## profile

Petra Brännmark

#### **MAIN PHOTO:**

30,000 workers rally in Jakarta for an



@saidiqbalkspi



## THE STRUGGLE **CONTINUES**

Charismatic Indonesian trade union leader Said labal is the epitome of the dynamism his trade union confederation, the KSPI, has shown in the last few years. Faced with problems such as outsourcing and a minimum wage that is too low, Said Iqbal is committed to fight for change.

Jakarta, February 2014. Members of the KSPI come out in force to protest against broken promises from the government. Although the Ministry of Labour passed a decree in 2013 increasing the minimum wage it has not yet resulted in a significant hike.

"The raise is irrational and not realistic, as it will not cover living costs," says Said Iqbal, president of IndustriALL Global Union affiliate FSPMI as well as the Indonesian Trade Union Confederation (KSPI). "The minimum wage must be raised to a living wage and all workers must benefit from social security."

#### **Trade union action** in Indonesia

Indonesia is a country with 259 million inhabitants spread over more than 18,000 islands. The young democracy has no strong trade union tradition, and yet the KSPI's members are strongly committed to the key issues they are fighting for.

Said labal explains that as trade unionists. they fight for predominately three things: the end of the low wages system, social protection, meaning social security for all workers, and against outsourcing.

"We struggle for a reform of the social security system, with universal coverage of the health insurance and a mandatory pension fund for formal workers. We fight against a low wage policy, and want a decent wage and a sectorial wage. And then there is the neverending fight against precarious work. We want a change in the employment status, and importantly to change the regulation for outsourcing."

There is a clear strategy and method behind the work; from concept to lobby to action. After agreeing on a concept, trade unionists discuss with stakeholders who range from the political sphere to non-governmental organizations (NGOs). Both traditional media and social media are used, with a heavy presence on Facebook and various mailing lists. And then comes the action.

Huge demonstrations, with numbers of participants unionists can only dream of in other parts of the world are not uncommon in Indonesia. The May Day Rally in 2013 saw as many as 500,000 workers marching side by side in all regions in Indonesia. In the capital Jakarta around 135,000 rallied in front of the presidential palace.

"These marches and campaigns are important to get the support of the people," says Said Iqbal.

#### KSPI and FSPMI

IndustriALL has 12 affiliates in Indonesia, with a total of around 1.3 million members. The Federation of Indonesian Metal Workers' Union (FSPMI) has around 220,000 members.



#### Minimum wage

When comparing the minimum wage in Asia, Indonesia with its US\$ 210 per month in the biggest production areas, lags behind China, Thailand and the Philippines. And in Taiwan, minimum wages are more than three times higher.

Said Iqbal says that through workers' mobilization the minimum wage has increased with on average 40 per cent in 2013 and 20 per cent in 2014. But it is simply not enough.

"The main problem is that the minimum wage in Indonesia is far from covering the basic living need. For a worker on minimum wage, he or she will only be paid to cover 82,29 per cent of their needs."

"We must introduce a compulsory wage scale for employees who have been working for more than one year. Wages above the minimum must be negotiated. There must be government regulations on minimum wage. Companies that pay below the minimum wage must be monitored."

#### Why does the Indonesian social security need to be reformed?

More than 150 million Indonesians have no social security cover. Parliament passed a bill on universal health insurance meant to apply to all citizens as of January 2014. But the government is being very slow in



implementing it, and for millions of workers a proper health insurance has yet to materialize.

"The existing coverage is discriminative, limited and profit oriented. The tripartite body was excluded in drafting policies and decisions on the implementation of social security," says Said Iqbal.

Now there are increased concerns to secure the pension reform agreed to enter into force from 1 July 2015.

"Increased social security will help people move from the informal to formal sector. Employers' attempts to draw back already adopted reforms are a threat to social peace and Indonesia's path towards prosperity for all citizens."

#### OMAH BURUH

A KSPI training centre found its unlikely home on a half built bridge, meant to connect the two parts of industrial zone Bekasi, Jakarta, The existing, rickety bridge connecting the two parts is privately owned and charges a fee for passing. The government aimed to build a bridge free of charge, but as they failed to settle with the landowners on one side of the river the construction came to a halt and the bridge has been left unfinished.

With thousands of members in the industrial area, the KSPI has gradually turned the bridge into a fully-fledged training centre. Up to a thousand workers pass by every day, on their way to or from work. Some even spend the night.

#### **Outsourcing**

Conditions for outsourced workers in Indonesia are tough. There is no social security, workers are not covered by collective bargaining agreements, and union busting is common. Indonesian

labour law states that outsourced workers should not be placed in core production business, which they often are.

"We ran an intensive, large-scale campaign on outsourcing, including both mass rallies and intense lobbying," says Said Iqbal. "The campaign resulted in new legislation on outsourcing enacted on 21 November 2013."

The result of this intensive campaign is a new set of regulations issued by the labour minister on outsourcing practices. In state owned enterprises, 16 million workers enjoyed a change of status from outsourced workers to permanent and direct contract workers. The new regulations also call for equal wages between permanent, contract and outsourced workers.

#### What does the future hold?

Although trade unions in Indonesia have shown they can make a difference to workers' lives, many struggles still lie ahead. The minimum wage must be raised to a living wage and all workers must benefit from social security. Said Igbal says that for 2015, the unions will ask for a 30 per cent increase of the minimum wage.

"We need a good minimum wage if we want to build a welfare state. And we refuse to wait. We need to find this solution together with the other Indonesian trade unions."

IndustriALL backs the campaign of Indonesian trade unions for continued increases of minimum wages to secure a living wage, the social security reform and limiting outsourcing in favour of decent jobs.

"An increase of the minimum wage is nothing to fear," says IndustriALL general secretary Jyrki Raina. "Last year there were wage increases in many countries around Asia. Unions in Bangladesh managed to get a 77 per cent increase in 2013, and the minimum wage in China is already higher than in Indonesia. It is high time that Indonesian workers and their families get their share of the profits they actually help create."

Watch Said Iqbal on the IndustriALL YouTube channel

There are six trade union confederations in Indonesia, of which the KSPI is one. Together, they have around 4 million members.



#### PHOTO 1:

Jvrki Raina at meeting at Omah Buruh. IndustriALL

#### PHOTO 2:

Rally on the streets of Jakarta. IndustriALL





**Shifting the** balance campaigns to defend workers against corporate abuses of power

## campaigns

TEXT: **Adam Lee** 

**MAIN PHOTO:** 

Locked out members of USW protesting against Crown Holdings. USW

More than ever, IndustriALL Global Union is helping workers level the playing field. Through building capacity of local unions, organizing them into global union networks, and working with these networks to implement campaign strategies and tactics, IndustriALL is campaigning to help shift the balance of power back in the unions' direction.

December 2013 was a banner month for social dialogue at IndustriALL Global Union. Global Framework Agreements (GFAs) were signed with three companies; SCA in Sweden, Norske Skog in Norway and Solway in Belgium. A milestone was reached; there are now more than 100 global agreements between companies and Global Union Federations (GUFs).

GFAs are written agreements negotiated at a global level between GUFs like IndustriALL and multinational corporations. When worded and implemented correctly, these agreements can serve to protect the rights of workers at a company's operations across the globe.

However, this milestone also begs a question: what does it mean for the tens of millions of workers employed by the thousands of multinational companies that haven't signed a global agreement? In comparison, December was not a good month for members of IndustriALL affiliate Free Trade Zones and General Services Employees Union (FTZGSEU) employed by Ansell in the Biyagama free trade zone in Sri Lanka. By December, they had been on strike for two months and many families were becoming desperate.

The strike was precipitated by Ansell management's vicious abuse of workers and unions. This included refusal to bargain in good faith, victimization of union leadership, paying poverty wages, and even forcing workers to urinate at their work stations to maintain fast production.

#### Fighting back

Although in some ways an extreme case, companies like Ansell are all too common. If unions were to ignore the Ansells of the world and focus all their attention on companies that take the high road, most workers' livelihoods would be under threat.

Unions historically did not spring into existence through harmonious dialogue with employers. They came into being when workers organized themselves and demanded redress for employer injustices. Workers and their unions organizing themselves and building unity and solidarity remains a vital component of any fight back against employer injustice.

However, in the face of giant multinational corporations and powerful industry associations, organization on the shop floor by itself is often not enough. Unions at an individual worksite are often on the losing end of an imbalance of power.

IndustriALL is taking an increasing role in industrial campaigns. These campaigns can be against a single abusive employer, as in the case of recent or ongoing campaigns against Ansell, Crown and Rio Tinto. They can also be against multiple companies or even industry associations, as in Bangladesh and Cambodia.

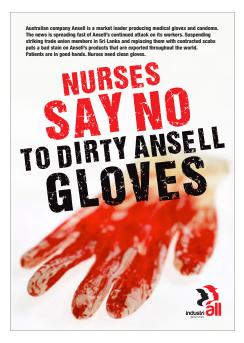
#### The Ansell campaign

Ansell is an Australian-based manufacturer of medical gloves and condoms. Well before the FTZGSEU called a strike at Ansell, IndustriALL responded to Ansell's atrocious health and safety practices by providing an expert critique of these practices. This helped FTZGSEU pressure regulatory authorities to step up scrutiny of health and safety practices at the plant.

Unions historically did not spring into existence through harmonious dialogue with employers. They came into being when workers organized themselves and demanded redress for employer injustices.



In October last year, 294 Ansell workers were fired when striking in support of eleven sacked colleagues and trade union representatives. With lower courts ruling in favour of reinstating the dismissed workers, the Supreme Court ordered Ansell to negotiate a settlement with FTZGSEU. When management refused to do so, IndustriALL escalated the campaign, sending a high level delegation to speak at a rally of striking workers as part of an attempt to build support throughout Sri Lanka for the union.



Building international support is one of the main priorities of the campaign. To this end, there is a LabourStart campaign, which has generated nearly ten thousand letters of protest to Ansell management. IndustriALL's executive committee has responded with a strong resolution and a firm commitment of support from all regions of the globe.

IndustriALL has filed a complaint to the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) concerning Ansell's violation of OECD guidelines. The OECD guidelines set international standards for multinational enterprises in areas including employment, human rights, health and safety, and corruption, and include a complaint mechanism.

Since Ansell has refused IndustriALL offers of dialogue over the dispute in Sri Lanka, the OECD complaint enables IndustriALL to pressure Ansell to either reconsider the offer or face potentially damaging public exposure of its inhumane practices.

Ansell's business depends upon having a reputation for high quality sanitary gloves. The campaign is branded with the slogan "No to Dirty Ansell Gloves" and IndustriALL has done extensive outreach, both directly and through supportive affiliates, to Ansell customers raising concerns about the company's ability to meet their needs while the strike continues.

In February, IndustriALL escalated the campaign further. IndustriALL general secretary Jyrki Raina travelled to Sri Lanka and participated in a rally in support of the strikers. He also met with the President of Sri Lanka to raise concerns about the dispute. Receiving extensive media coverage, Jyrki Raina's visit helped shine a light on Ansell's callous corporate behaviour.

#### The road to victory

The strike and campaign have had a huge impact. Around the time of Raina's visit, it was disclosed that many of Ansell's gloves produced during the dispute are returned due to defects. It was also announced that Sri Lanka's Board of Investment had rejected Ansell Lanka's application for tax concessions in light of the dispute.

Ansell management has not yet made a fair offer to resolve the dispute. When Sri Lanka's Supreme Court again took up the case on 3 March it was clear that Ansell had no intention of trying to find a viable solution. The Supreme Court had proposed the reinstatement of the 294 workers, but Ansell claims to have filled the vacancies. The Chief Justice ordered that the Sri Lankan labour tribunal should hear all the cases, except for 35 workers who have received severance payment. If still unresolved, the Supreme Court will hear the case

With no end of the conflict in sight, IndustriALL will continue with the campaign and mount increasing pressure on Ansell to do the right thing.

The landscape for unions is more treacherous than ever. Corporate management is breaking new barriers in its ruthless pursuit of profits. European companies that practice social dialogue at home are unleashing anti-union attacks in North America and elsewhere.

The road to victory in the face of abusive employers will not be short. IndustriALL will continue to move down that road through building campaign capacity and running effective campaigns. It is working with its affiliates and with other global union federations to leverage campaign resources and experience.

#### RIO TINTO CAMPAIGN

Claiming to abide by good corporate practice, mining and metals giant Rio Tinto's behaviour includes major disputes with trade unions, communities, indigenous peoples and regulatory authorities. With the campaign, IndustriALL Global Union aims to build union power at Rio Tinto plants around the world, uniting workers in the struggle for decent work.

www.industriall-union.org/riotinto

#### **CROWN**

120 workers at the Toronto, Canada, plant of US can manufacturer Crown, have been on strike since 6 September 2013. The workers are members of IndustriALL affiliate the United Steel Workers (USW). The campaign aims to stop Crown's "protracted campaign attacking workers, and unions."

www.takebacksnomore.ca



@Steelworkers #TakeBacksNoMore

#### **STOP PRECARIOUS WORK**

On 7 October every year, the World Day for Decent Work, IndustriALL Global Union calls on all its affiliates to mobilize their members and join the global fight to STOP Precarious Work.

Unions are pushing against this tide by organizing precarious workers, fighting laws that expand precarious work and mobilizing in support of secure employment with good pay and working conditions.

www.industriall-union.org

#### **ACTION ON BANGLADESH**

More than 160 global brands and retailers have signed the historic Accord on Fire and Building Safety in Bangladesh with IndustriALL Global Union and UNI Global Union, launching a major project to make the garment industry safe and sustainable. The campaign to guarantee freedom of association, organize workers and raise minimum wages continues.

www.industriall-union.org/actionon-bangladesh

#### PHOTO 1:

Image used in campaign against Crown Holdings. USW

#### PHOTO 2:

Jyrki Raina rallying with dismissed Ansell workers in February 2014. IndustriALL







# Building global union power in the auto industry

IndustriALL Global Union's activities in the auto industry focus on building union power through company networks and using strong influence in certain countries to hold multinational employers to account around the world.

The table below illustrates the developed international trade union structures inside the market-leading automotive companies. IndustriALL Global Union serves as a network of company networks in the industry. International solidarity and union power are exerted to achieve company-recognized World Works Councils that provide top-level mechanisms for labour influence over company strategy as mentioned in the Action Plan adopted by the Founding Congress in Copenhagen in 2012. In all of these bodies IndustriALL plays an important role, recognized by the management. IndustriALL has a seat throughout the entire World Works Council meetings including for the management reporting of corporate strategy.

IndustriALL affiliates organizing internationally in the major auto companies:

COMPANY	NETWORK	GFA	EMPLOYMENT
BMW	Extension of EWC, including delegates from South Africa and China	Yes	100,000
Bosch	Global meeting every third year recognized by the company	Yes	281,000
Daimler	Global network recognized by company	Yes	275,000
Fiat/Chrysler	Global network not recognized by company	-	215,000
Ford	Global network recognized by company	Yes	181,000
GM/Opel	Global network recognized by company	-	212,000
Honda	Asian trade union network	-	190,300
Hyundai/KIA	Global network not recognized by companies	-	86,100/over 40,000
Nissan	Global trade union network	-	160,500
PSA Peugeot Citroën	Global network recognized by company	Yes	194,600
Renault	Global network recognized by company	Yes	121,800
Toyota	Asian trade union network	-	333,400
Volkswagen	Global network recognized by company	Yes	572,800
Volvo AB	Global Forum recognized by company	-	110,000

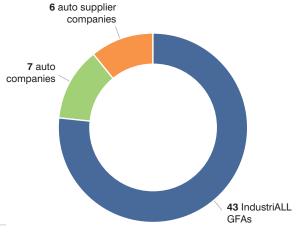
Bob King, UAW President and Co-Chair of the IndustriALL auto sector:

"In IndustriALL Global Union, there is a vision of economic and social justice without borders. The automotive affiliates are helping to make this vision a reality, working together in new and innovative ways. From Brazilian workers taking swift action to stop retaliation against a Nissan worker in Canton, Mississippi, to auto unions uniting to condemn violent repression at Ssangyong Motor in Korea, the UAW has found this cooperation inspiring and effective."

Erich Klemm, Chairman of The Daimler World Employee committee:

"As companies extend and enforce their international activities, worker representations must build up transnational structures if they want to prevent workers becoming a pawn to globalized production orders and cross border decision making. The ultimate goal of the international bodies at Daimler is to create mutual trust, time and again, for worker representation across borders in the spirit of solidarity. The meetings ensure equal information for all and discussion on an equal footing with the top management.

"We succeed in this with the support of international unions – and including the workers representatives from new sites. Plants and workforces need to have a face for one another."



The Volkswagen World Works Council illustrates how effective this body can be. All local level Human Resources managers are invited to meetings where the workers' representatives have a platform to voice local complaints in front of the full international management, CEO and unions. No local level HR manager wants an open discussion of labour complaints in his or her plant, so plant level unions have greatly increased opportunities to reach an agreement in the lead up to these annual meetings.

French auto companies are also well organized internationally by IndustriALL affiliates. The GFAs with Renault and PSA Peugeot Citroën are model agreements with strong language on decent wages, trade union rights, health and safety, coverage of the supply chain and the setting up of a World Works Council to follow implementation.



Helmut Lense, IndustriALL's Auto and Rubber Director, on World Works Councils:

"Companies have to fund trade union travel and participation costs in the meetings, not because of law but because of the power of the union. There is no question of this payment affecting the union's independence. Depending on the home country of the company, these meetings are usually led by the respective Works Council, not by the management. The Works Council invites management to the meeting and insists that the CEO comes and reports to the union.

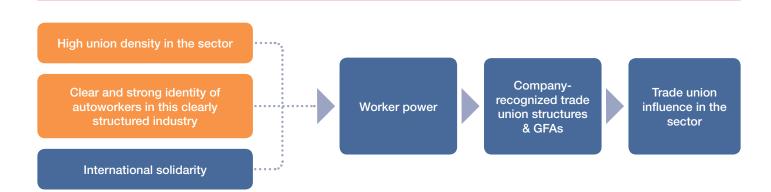
"The unions say to management that workers need a global structure, that management does not pay for their flights to international meetings. neither should the union. 'You are doing your work as company management, we are doing our work as the union on a global level. Each side is doing its job and it is paid by the company'."

Numerous standard-setting industrial relations systems and agreements in the industry put pressure on other auto companies to follow suit. The Global Framework Agreement with Ford is

IndustriALL's only GFA signed with an American company. And the pattern of influence is extended down the supply chain, where most violations occur.

The supply chain has added importance in the auto sector compared to other industries, as 70 to 80 per cent of the average car's value comes from the supply chain. The auto sector does not differ from the general trend whereby the majority of labour rights violations occur in the supply chain. Ensuring supply chain coverage in global framework agreements is a priority for the sector. The above pie chart illustrates the high number of IndustriALL GFAs with companies in the supply chain, the majority of which are German companies for example Bosch, Mann & Hummel and ZF.

Global industrial relations agreements with BMW, Renault, PSA and Volkswagen (VW) have been instrumental in solving conflicts at auto suppliers. On a regular basis IndustriALL coordinates the international intervention to a rights violation in manufacturers within the auto supply chain in Turkey. This IndustriALL response is greatly strengthened by leverage through the network of GFA with the major auto companies buying the product, whether it be rubber seals for the engine, ball bearings, or the wheels.



#### **Exporting union power**

The German union IG Metall is IndustriALL Global Union's largest affiliate. High union density, with an ever-increasing membership has positioned IG Metall to dominate the Works Council mechanism in Germany that was originally established to weaken Germany's unions. IG Metall uses its sway on the supervisory board of all major German companies in the sector.

"Everywhere in the world people still work under appalling conditions and are persecuted and oppressed because they organize a union," said Berthold Huber, president of IndustriALL Global Union. "Our central task is to enforce minimum social standards in order to make globalization more humane. We are negotiating with companies on Global Framework Agreements so as to implement minimum conditions in all locations of the company and in their supply chains."

IG BCE, also large and influential, exerts important pressure within supplier sectors such as tyre, glass and leather industries, while CNM-CUT of Brazil is very active in international auto activities with a strong presence in the sector.

Likewise, the Japanese Auto Workers Union (JAW) use their high union density and influence with management of Japanese multinational companies to lobby in support of fellow autoworkers in other countries.

Concrete examples include supporting the organizing drive of the UAW at Nissan's plant in Canton, Mississippi, the STUHM trade union at Honda's plant in Jalisco, and Unifor's organizing efforts at Toyota in Canada.

The JAW is also leading a number of activities to build union networks in Asia. The JAW has taken the initiative to launch, in August 2013, the Asian Autoworkers' Network. The new network's common understanding is:

"... that it is greatly important for Asian autoworkers' unions to come together in solidarity and exchange ideas and opinions. We hope this ... will contribute to deepen relations among autoworkers' unions in Asia and eventually lead to MNC union networks that IndustriALL envisions."

#### **Effective international** solidarity in action

IndustriALL auto union affiliates from all continents fight for each other in the knowledge that only by achieving decent working conditions everywhere can a sustainable industry be built.

Members struggle against vindictive automotive employers and complicit governments in India, Korea, Mexico, Russia, and Turkey to name a few.

Indian autoworkers similarly constantly struggle for their basic trade union rights and will gain from increased international solidarity from the global union network.

The high-profile example of current ongoing struggle in India is at the Japanese company Maruti Suzuki's motorbike plant in Manesar. From 15 to 31 January 2014 over 2,000 demonstrators marched to New Delhi from the neighbouring state Haryana to demand the release of 147 arrested workers and the reinstatement of 2,300 suspended workers.



In December 2012, local management of the Finnish car parts multinational PKC sacked 100 workers involved in a Los Mineros organizing drive among other unacceptable tactics to maintain the protection contract at the Ciudad Acuña plant in Mexico.

IndustriALL is working to support a union of Volkswagen workers, SITIA, in becoming a federation structure that can organize especially new auto plants in Mexico. The coverage of the union will then by extended to auto suppliers.

The co-chair of the industrial sector, Gabriela Pignanelli, comes from SMATA, the Argentinian autoworkers' union that is returning to international activities and becoming more and more active.

#### "When we fight, we win"

South African affiliate NUMSA regularly mobilizes to win gains for its members in the auto sector, and has established sectorwide bargaining. For example in October 2013 NUMSA's motor component workers went on strike for four weeks to win a new three year collective agreement with wage rises per year of 10, 8 and 8 per cent.

NUMSA can regularly be counted on to take action in solidarity with fellow autoworkers in other countries. Action in support of the UAW's organizing campaign at Nissan has been wide-ranging. In mid-2013 NUMSA hosted a UAW delegation for a week of high profile activities culminating in a noisy picket at the Japanese embassy, demanding government intervention to stop union busting at the Nissan plant in Mississippi.



#### PHOTO 1:

Chris Crump and Rocky Dialcovo at the UAW-Ford Technical Training Center. Ι ΙΔΙΛ/

#### PHOTO 2:

Choi Byeong-seung and Cheon Ui-bong on a 50-metre electrical pylon near the Myeongchon Gate of Hvundai Motor's factory in Ulsan, 18 October. KMWU

IndustriALL auto union affiliates from all continents fight for each other in the knowledge that only by achieving decent working conditions everywhere can a sustainable industry be built.

The ITUWA has won good collective agreements in Russia through mobilizing members at Ford, Volkswagen and Benteler Automotive. ITUWA organizes workers at 17 automobile companies and suppliers after establishing itself in 2007 through a successful strike at Ford in St Petersburg.



#### VW workers in the US denied right to organize

US union, the United Auto Workers (UAW) has played a historical leading role in the sector, and continues to do so. The various UAW organizing drives at factories of non-US multinationals continue at differing stages, each has important international union support. The 12-14 February unionization vote at VW in Chattanooga Tennessee confirmed to the world that basic labour rights are not present in the US.

The important vote was undoubtedly derailed by outside political interference.

The UAW has filed objections in the US with the National Labour Relations Board (NLRB) over the underlying and deviant behaviour by politically elected officials in the Volkswagen unionization vote in Chattanooga. The UAW lost the representation election, 626-712, but despite Volkswagen's neutrality and granting UAW right of access to the plant, an anomaly in such US labour cases, Tennessee politicians inexplicably interfered in the process, and now might have jeopardised future VW expansion in Chattanooga.

Republican Party elected officials in Tennessee, the state's Governor, Bill Haslam; US Senator, Bob Corker; and an influential state senator, Bo Watson, all heartily joined right-wing lobbying groups invading Chattanooga to thrash the UAW and crush the 22-page neutrality agreement worked out by the UAW and Volkswagen, with assistance by IG Metall of Germany.

"Forty-three votes was the difference," said UAW secretary treasurer, Dennis Williams at a press conference following the vote. "It's very disturbing when this happens in the United States of America when a company and union come together to have a fair election process."

#### IndustriALL GFAs now cover over 10 million workers

For IndustriALL, trade union networks are genuine tools in building global union structures, linking trade unions within a company regardless of whether a global agreement exists. Trade union networks are cornerstone structures in confronting global capital. IndustriALL now has 43 such agreements across a number of industrial sectors.

**Global Framework Agreements** are negotiated at a global level between trade unions and multinational companies and set out the standards for workers' rights and decent working conditions throughout the companies' operations and its supply chains.

The unique feature of GFAs is the ongoing relationship with labour and the possibility for the workers themselves in the companies, through their trade union, to monitor and ensure rights are respected and conditions are improved.



#### **Organizing Nissan** workers in the US

After Nissan workers in Canton, Mississippi, began an effort to form a union and approached the UAW for assistance, local management responded harshly by conducting intensive group and one-on-one meetings and showed antiunion videos to communicate its strong opposition to the union. These activities have created an atmosphere of fear and intimidation that is clearly in breach of the workers' right to make a free choice regarding unionization.

IndustriALL registered serious concerns regarding Renault-Nissan's response to union organizing efforts in the United States to CEO Carlos Ghosn in March 2014.

General secretary Jyrki Raina's letter stated:

"While I applaud Renault's signing of the Global Framework Agreement (GFA), and the Alliance's public commitment to respect global labour standards. including those contained in the OECD **Guidelines for Multinational Enterprises** and the United Nations' Global Compact, it is important to recognise that Nissan's conduct at its U.S. assembly plants is inconsistent with these internationallyrecognized labour standards. Renault-Nissan cannot claim it is respecting workers' human rights by merely complying with weak U.S. labour laws."

In its support of UAW's organizing drive at Nissan IndustriALL works with automotive affiliates in Japan. France, Brazil, South Africa, and elsewhere around the world.

#### PHOTO 3:

GM worker Kenneth Tracy Jr. at work in the metal finish section of the body shop. He is a member of UAW Local 5960 in Lake Orion, Michigan. UAW

#### PHOTO 4:

Factory workers in Brazil. Rossana Lana / SMABC

IndustriALL registered serious concerns regarding Renault-Nissan's response to union organizing efforts in the United States to CEO Carlos Ghosn in March 2014.

## Setting the common plan of action

In his role as IndustriALL Automotive and Rubber Director, Helmut Lense facilitates annual meetings of the IndustriALL Automotive Working Group that brings together autoworker unions from at least 18 countries and all of the auto companies. The working group discusses and sets common strategies and concrete actions for the sector aiming to stabilise the relationship between the unions, companies and countries to support organizing everywhere and to help strengthen existing and new unions in the sector, in line with the IndustriALL Action Plan.

The location of the working group meetings is strategically chosen; in 2010 it started in Detroit, USA, to discuss the organizing strategies of the UAW. In 2011 and 2012 the meeting was held in India and Russia to build connections between local unions struggling to begin organizing drives together with union representatives from the companies' home union. In 2013, the meeting was conducted in Japan to develop the vitally important relationship with the Japanese unions. And in 2014 the meeting will be in Thailand to strengthen the Asian union movement in the sector and to show Asian unions that IndustriALL is focussing on the region and supporting their efforts.

Another important area of work for the sector is to focus on these specific countries: Mexico, India, Russia and China. Specific focus on India began in 2014, seeking to build unity amongst the Indian auto unions and to develop relations and solidarity between the Indians and headquarter unions from the various auto companies such as Ford and Daimler. Next year a new focus will begin on Russia, and the country focus that began in 2013 on Mexico will continue. These country specific activities are run with a small group of key union leaders who have real influence inside their respective companies. Each workshop works to a similar structure, with the two priorities to increase awareness of the local conditions and then to build the connections between local unions and the headquarter union.

### From the IndustriALL Global Union Action Plan:

To fulfill its mission IndustriALL will work towards the following goals:

- Develop cross-border recruitment and organizing campaigns by using union networks in MNCs and Global Framework Agreements (GFAs)
- Build genuine union power to rebalance the power of MNCs in favour of workers by uniting workers in networks for solidarity and joint action, including global level corporate campaigns
- Push for recognition from employers for formalized World Works Councils and networks
- Pursue agreements with MNCs to establish mechanisms of regular social dialogue at global and/or regional level to enable constructive industrial relations leading to global level negotiations
- Build up the necessary organizational procedures to enable the conclusion of agreements beyond GFAs with MNCs

**Jyrki Raina**, general secretary of IndustriALL Global Union:

"We are proud of the advances made in the auto sector in building union power through networks. Strong networks and high levels of organizing combine in the sector to empower workers throughout the supply chain and make GFAs a strong tool. GFAs remain one of the best ways to secure workers' rights and improve conditions in multinational companies in our globalized economy. We will continue to support GFAs to negotiate, monitor compliance and improve conditions. Global capital is an immense force, its power must be tempered by the power of people acting together."

NETWORKING IN THE AUTO INDUSTRY – HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

PAVING THE WAY
FOR CROSS-BORDER
ORGANIZING IN OTHER
INDUSTRIES

From the beginning the automobile industry has played a leading role among industrial sectors and been a trailblazer in terms of worker representation at the world level and through global framework agreements. Unions in the sector pioneered the creation of global bodies for worker networking to challenge the growing power of multinational corporations.

One of the three predecessor organizations to IndustriALL Global Union, the International Metalworkers' Federation, held a World Auto Conference in Detroit in 1966. At the conference, hosted by the UAW, the first trade union networks were created within multinational companies. The UAW drove the initiative to establish the union networks at General Motors, Ford and Chrysler. These were the first company union networks. Autoworkers were the first to adapt their organizational structure to corporate globalization.

UAW President Walter Reuther was chair of the global union auto sector, a position held today by the current UAW president Bob King.



PHOTOS 5 AND 6:

Mercedes-Benz Sindelfingen Plant, Germany. Daimler AG Next year a new focus will begin on Russia, and the country focus that began in 2013 on Mexico will continue.





## special report

PHOTO: Inditex

#### **Inditex and IndustriALL Global Union: Getting results** from a global framework agreement

The global framework agreement (GFA) between IndustriALL Global Union and the world's largest fashion retailer, Inditex, stands as a model of a successful GFA for the rest of garment sector. Established in 2007, it has helped to reinstate workers expelled for being union activists, raise salaries and promote freedom of association in countries where unionization has traditionally been weak.



A GFA serves to protect the interests of workers across the operations of multinational companies, setting the best standards for trade union rights, health, safety and environmental practices. GFAs are constantly reviewed and improved by IndustriALL.

"The Agreement allows us to do our work with the factory owners," says Isidor Boix from Spanish union Industria-CC.OO, who acts as IndustriALL's coordinator for implementation of the GFA with Inditex. "We have been able to translate the good intentions written in the contract into concrete activities."

Spanish-based fashion group Inditex has 6,340 stores in 87 different countries employing more than 128,000 people worldwide. The retail and administration staff is covered by a GFA concluded with UNI Global Union. Largely consisting of the Zara chain of stores. Inditex also has seven other brands: Massimo Dutti, Bershka, Stradivarius, Oysho, Pull & Bear, Uterqüe and Zara Home.

Much of the company's success has been achieved by adopting the latest catwalk looks and delivering them to the high street in a matter of weeks. To achieve such a rapid turnaround from design studio to shop floor, approximately 50 percent of production is manufactured in proximity countries to Spain such as Turkey, Portugal and Morocco. Other key areas of production include Brazil, Argentina, Pakistan, China, India, Bangladesh and South East Asia. It has approximately 6,000 different suppliers.

The GFA between IndustriALL and Inditex covers more than a million garment workers toiling for the group.

"As a global organization, IndustriALL has the capacity to reach and defend workers spread out across the group's enormous supply chain. The GFA has succeeded in integrating workers' rights into the group's corporate behaviour and ethical guidelines. As a result of this positive partnership, factory owners are learning to consider trade unions as key to creating a sustainable workforce," says Jyrki Raina, IndustriALL's general secretary.

"The GFA is like a direct line of communication between the workers and the company here," says Félix Poza, Director of Corporate Social Responsibility at Inditex. "It is a way to receive the problems and be involved in the solutions. We have been able to resolve some critical situations in some countries."

The relationship has progressed well beyond the original agreement, with Inditex and IndustriALL taking on joint training initiatives and country visits. "The GFA is something we have integrated into our normal activities," says Poza.

However, success was not achieved overnight and there were five years of dealings with Inditex before the 2007 GFA was signed with IndustriALL's predecessor the International Textile, Garment and Leather Workers' Federation (ITGLWF).

It was the 2005 Spectrum factory collapse in Bangladesh that spurred greater action from Inditex. Sixty-four workers died and 80 people were injured when a building with an illegal number of floors collapsed. The ITGLWF fought to secure compensation for victims from brands sourcing from the factories. In the end it was only Inditex, whose supplier had subcontracted to the factory, which agreed to pay compensation in line with international standards.

The cooperation over the Spectrum disaster boosted the relationship between ITGLWF and Inditex and led to the GFA being signed in October 2007.

The collaborative agreement sets out to ensure the effective application of International Labour Standards throughout Inditex's supply chain including those workplaces not represented by IndustriALL trade unions. It also means IndustriALL is recognized by Inditex as its global trade union counterpart for workers in its Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) commitments.



"Corporate Social Responsibility can be a problem for unions because it is very unilateral. It is the companies that make the decisions and carry out the audits and so on," says Boix. "Other big brands, for example H&M and Gap, have got CSR declarations but they lack a clear definition of the role of unions. The GFA provides a much-needed mechanism to establish a relationship between Inditex's CSR agreement and local unions.

"The local union can say to Inditex 'I want to visit this factory to see what happens there' and Inditex will phone the factory and organize it."

"The GFA is like a direct line of communication between the workers and the company here."



In the past 12 months, IndustriALL has carried out numerous factory visits in seven different countries. Since 2007, the GFA has enabled IndustriALL to resolve problems of the liberty of unions, monitor working conditions in suppliers' factories and successfully fight for the reintegration of workers expelled for being unionists, for example in Peru, Turkey and Cambodia.

"We are free to talk openly to workers without factory owners or Inditex being present," reveals Boix.

The GFA also further enforced workers' right to organize in Inditex's Code of Conduct for External Manufacturers and Suppliers, which has 'respect for freedom of association and collective bargaining' as one its pillars.

However, in practice, implementing unionization is not necessarily straightforward. "It is a mechanism that doesn't always work well. In countries like Morocco it is very difficult to establish a union presence, whereas in countries like Brazil it is much easier," says Boix.

"It is a challenge for everybody, also for IndustriALL, which has to work in many countries to improve the capacity of the local trade unions," agrees Poza.

"Many factories have no union representation at all, so we talk to workers about the role of unions, trade union law and help establish organization in the factories," says Boix. "For a lot of people we meet, it is the first time they have ever been given the chance to talk about their working conditions collectively."

#### **Living Wage**

As a direct result of the GFA, the concept of a living wage was introduced into Inditex's Code of Conduct. "Wages should always be enough to meet at least the basic needs of workers and their families and any other which might be considered as reasonable additional needs" it reads. This definition was agreed with former head of ITGLWF Neil Kearney and introduced to the Code in 2007.

"It is a key point and milestone for us. Including a definition of an acceptable wage was a radical concept at the time," says Indalecio Pérez from Inditex's CSR department.

"What is the impact of wages on the price of a piece? In many cases it is just cents when you compare it to the price of the raw materials, the cost of the cutting, manufacturing and transport," reflects Poza. "We have been living with increasing salaries in the past year and the business is still running."

However, Pérez admits it is often difficult to make an impact acting individually: "We are just one company, even if we are a big company. But if you compare our entire production to production worldwide, we are a small percentage. We have limited effect if we go it alone. We (brands) need to tackle it together, and deal with local organizations and credible institutions and governments. We cannot substitute the role of governments."

#### **Inditex**

- The GFA covers 1 million garment workers making clothes for Inditex
- The world's largest garment retailer with 8 different brands
- Headquartered in La Coruña in north west Spain
- Employs 128,313 worldwide as of 31 January 2014
- 6,340 stores in 87 countries
- Founder Amancio Ortega ranked third richest man in the world
- In 2013, Inditex's net sales grew by 5% to €16.7 billion
- In 2013 it had a net income of €2.4 billion

#### 2012 Protocol

As Inditex has grown into a fashion colossus so the GFA with the company has strengthened. The 2012 Protocol further advanced the agreement by specifying the role of trade unions in the enforcement of the GFA within Inditex's Supply Chain.

"The 2012 Protocol developed the practical side of the accord," says Boix. "The evolution of Inditex has also been the evolution of our relationship with them."

The Protocol recognizes the important role that local unions play in implementing the GFA given their proximity to factories. Where local unions identify a breach regarding the GFA it will notify Inditex and IndustriALL, who will introduce a Corrective Action Plan should a breach be confirmed.

Central to the Protocol is that IndustriALL and Inditex put in place training schemes aimed at providing a better understanding of the GFA. These should involve managers, officials, workers and supervisors from suppliers and external manufacturers, as well as representatives of local trade unions from each of the countries involved

In addition to the original GFA, the Protocol requires Inditex to give a full list of all its 6000 suppliers and subcontractors including the volume of their production for Inditex, enabling IndustriALL and local union affiliates to make better contacts with workers.

The Protocol also marks a complete shift in attitude by Inditex with regard to workers and unions.

"In 2012 we dramatically changed the relationship with IndustriALL in a positive way because we tackled the relationship with the unions from a preventative point of view," says Pérez.

"We realized that asking for a living wage, asking for freedom of association and promoting collective bargaining is a preventative and a proactive way of guaranteeing a sustainable supply chain."

#### Training

As a result of the 2012 Protocol, joint IndustriALL and Inditex training projects have taken place in countries including Turkey, Morocco, Brazil, Portugal, Argentina and China.

"The training has been positive and an opportunity to talk to workers and trade unions in a different way," says Poza. "We get to hear about the needs of the workers and what can be improved. Ultimately, we are talking

#### PHOTO 1:

Aleix Gonzalez, Félix Poza and Indalecio Pérez from Corporate Social Responsibility at Inditex. Inditex

#### PHOTO 2:

Isidor Boix. IndustriALL

#### PHOTO 3:

Inditex factory, Spain.

"As a global organization, IndustriALL has the capacity to reach and defend workers spread out across the group's enormous supply chain."

about the sustainability of the factory and in the end you are talking about the sustainability of the entire business model."

The meetings have given IndustriALL and local trade unions an opportunity for open dialogue with top management at the factories, which has been unprecedented in many countries.

Training projects, which always include IndustriALL representatives, have been started in nearly all supplier countries, also providing a new opportunity to build relationships between the Inditex's country CSR teams and local trade unions.

"When we started we didn't have any involvement with local trade unions and now in a very short time we have created channels of communication in each of the countries," adds Poza.

#### **GFA Coordinators**

In a further significant step, Inditex has committed to funding a network of coordinators whose sole role is to help implement the Agreement. Trade union experts will be assigned in countries with significant production output for Inditex and will be able to work with the company's local CSR teams. The first GFA Coordinators will be assigned to Bangladesh, Cambodia, Turkey, India, China and Latin America.

A structure of GFA coordinators will enable Inditex and IndustriALL to share a constant dialogue with local affiliates, as has been achieved to a large extent in Turkey, Portugal, Brazil and Bangladesh.

#### Bangladesh health and safety commission

Alarmed by the high number of deaths caused by fires in Bangladeshi garment factories, Inditex launched a joint project with IndustriALL in January 2013 to carry out fire assessments and set up health and safety commissions in 200 factories in the country.

The project will help factories to be better organized and improve evacuation procedures in the case of an emergency. A Health and Safety Committee, which must be composed of union members, will be set up inside each factory and elected by the workers.



After the April 2013 Rana Plaza factory collapse, which killed 1,138 garment workers, Inditex inspectors began evaluating Bangladeshi suppliers in terms of structural risk as well.

Inditex is a signatory to the Bangladesh Accord on Fire and Building Safety, the ground-breaking agreement led by IndustriALL and UNI following the Rana Plaza disaster which commits brands to improving safety conditions in the country's garment factories.

Inditex has given the audit reports from its own fire and structural inspections to the Accord's administration.

As the GFA continues to grow and develop, Poza credits it with promoting mature industrial relations for the company. "The results of our collaboration have always been very positive and the Agreement has given us the capacity to solve problems. Sometimes it has provided solutions for other brands as well."

"With Inditex there is a willingness to cooperate even if we do not always see eye-to-eye," says Monika Kemperle, IndustriALL's assistant general secretary. "The Global Framework Agreement is an invaluable bond and the recognition of a long-term commitment from both sides to improve conditions for workers at all extents of Inditex's vast supply chain."

#### **CASE STUDY**



#### **PILOT TRAINING PROJECT IN TURKEY**

Approximately 50 elected workers' representatives, trade union leaders and managers from factories supplying garments to Inditex took part in a pilot training scheme marking a new phase in the GFA with the world's largest garment retailer.

The pilot project took place in Istanbul in April 2013 and also involved leaders from IndustriALL and its Turkish affiliates.

For many of the workers it was the first time they had openly discussed their working and living conditions - with the chance of an actual improvement.

Union representatives and factory managers were split up into two parallel sessions in which they discussed labour legislation in Turkey, ILO conventions and the key elements of the GFA with speakers from universities, trade unions and employers' organizations.

Lively debates ensued in both sessions, with workers focussing on ways to solve problems through dialogue and collective bargaining. Managers, meanwhile, discussed corporate social responsibility and how to promote dialogue with unions.

At the end of the parallel workshops, union reps and managers were brought together to reflect on the outcomes of their discussions with both sides equipped with a better understanding of workers rights, trade union law and how to achieve solutions through the spirit of dialogue.

It is hoped that better working relations will improve productivity, the results of which Inditex plans to share with workers to increase salaries.

#### PHOTO 4:

Inditex suppliers factory in Bangladesh. IndustriALL

#### PHOTO 5:

Training workshop in Turkey. IndustriALL

#### PHOTO 6: Inditex design floor. Inditex



## **FIGHTING** FOR WOMEN IN THE DRC

The Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) is torn apart by conflict fuelled by powerful foreign interests in its great mineral wealth. Josée Shimbi Umba is First Deputy General Secretary responsible for women's issues at the Council of Metalworkers Unions of the DRC (CSC), fighting for the rights of women in an environment of extreme exploitation and abuse.

In 1994, Josée was dismissed from her job as a nurse when requesting extended maternity leave during a difficult pregnancy. After four years at home she approached the union to challenge her unfair dismissal and was reinstated.

"I realised that without the union you have no one to fight for you," says Josée. She has continued to spread this simple message to other workers after being elected as a union representative in 1999. In 2003 she was put in charge of women's issues at CSC on a full-time basis, "I would go around from company to company in all the sectors we cover, share my story and encourage women to join the union."

At every company with trade union membership the CSC organize elections for a women's committee. The women's committee's main purpose is to highlight and combat the problems faced by women in the work place.

There are few formal sector jobs in the DRC, where surprisingly women outnumber men in terms of those with jobs. But these jobs commonly come at a price and it is an established practice that male bosses give jobs to women in exchange for sex. Once in employment sex is again used for job security and to advance, "we call this 'sofa promotions' here" shares Josée. Sexual harassment in the workplace is rife and can occur before and during employment.

Josée says the situation for women in the informal sector is worse; "Without the benefits of health insurance, retirement funds and family allowances, women in the informal economy face many hardships with no social protection."

They are also frequently harassed to pay 'taxes' by various corrupt state agents or have their goods confiscated.

Added to that is a level of violence towards women that is so extreme in conflict areas that the union promotes that women wear female condoms when going about their work. Rape is an everyday reality and so insurmountable to prevent at a systemic level that the best that can be offered is to ensure that there is protection in place. Josée explains, "when a woman is taken forcefully at least she may be spared sexually transmitted diseases."

These conflict areas are situated around mineral extraction, where small scale mining can be found. They are characterized by overcrowding as people seek out meagre opportunities to earn what they can from the demand for minerals which eventually find their way to multinational companies and the global market. Women come to sell things to the miners like food. What can be taken from them forcefully is sometimes sold willingly. "Women engage in prostitution in these areas as a way to survive or supplement what they earn from the goods that they are able to sell," says Josée.

Josée speaks of a project that the CSC has had for the last two years reaching out to women in conflict areas. But she acknowledges that little can be achieved without the political will on the part of government to address the underlying issues.

"It can be challenging, stressful and frustrating but it is a passionate job for me knowing I am helping other women" declares Josée. "Slowly we are getting

COLINTRY:

**Democratic Republic of Congo** 

**Council of Metalworkers** Unions of the DRC (CSC)

## profile

Aisha Bahadur

РНОТО:

Josée Shimbi Umba. IndustriALL



#### **COUNCIL OF METALWORKERS** UNIONS OF THE DRC

The trade union has 400,000 members and is growing steadily. They organize workers in a multitude of sectors, such as transport, mining, textile, teaching and building.

there, women are getting to know their rights, participating more in the union and I am proud to be part of positive change."

But the severity of the situation created by conflict is a huge obstacle to meaningful progress. "These minerals are not going anywhere. Multinationals could invest properly, create jobs and stability," rationalises Josée. "What we need is peace, when there is no peace, nothing can be achieved. This is my dream for the DRC, that we may know peace."

