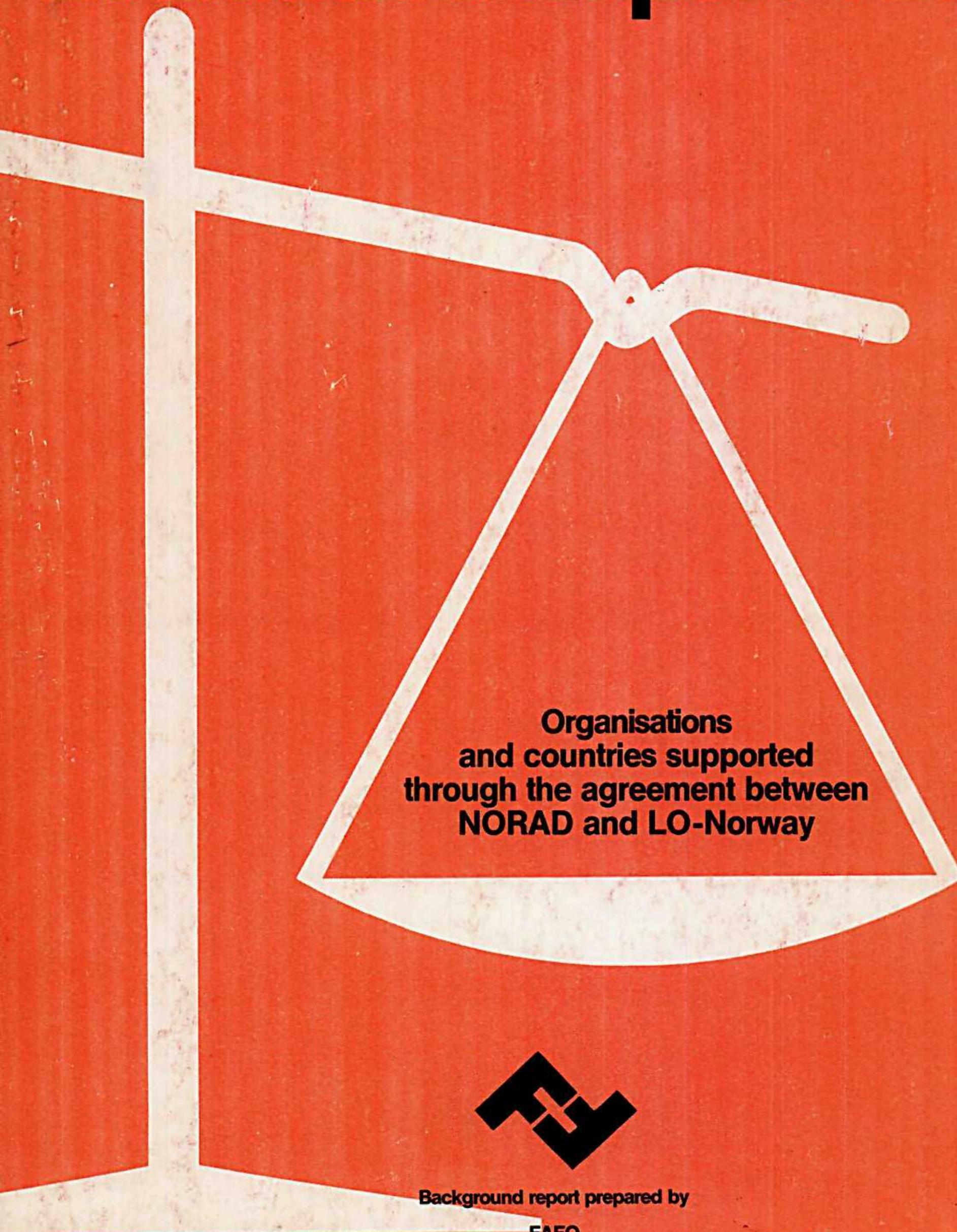


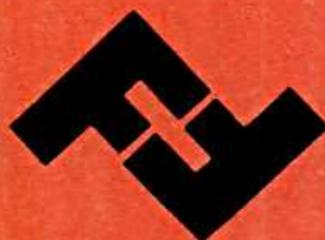


THE ROYAL NORWEGIAN MINISTRY  
OF DEVELOPMENT COOPERATION

# Evaluation Report 1B.85



**Organisations  
and countries supported  
through the agreement between  
NORAD and LO-Norway**



Background report prepared by

**FAFO**

Norwegian Trade Union Center for Social Science and Research



A STUDY OF THE ORGANISATIONS AND COUNTRIES  
SUPPORTED THROUGH THE AGREEMENT BETWEEN  
NORAD AND LO-NORWAY

BY

JENS GRØGAARD AND AUDUN GLEINSVIK

August 1984

The views and interpretations expressed  
in this report are those of the authors  
and should not be attributed to the  
Ministry of Development Cooperation.

**F A F O**

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## PREFACE

This report is the result of a desk study on the profile of trade unions in the Third World. The countries included are those that have been supported through the agreement between the Norwegian Agency for International Development (NORAD) and the Norwegian Federation of Trade Unions (LO). LO has supported trade union organisations in these countries with funds from NORAD.

The study has been carried out by the Norwegian Trade Union Centre for Social Science and Research (FAFO) on the request of the Royal Norwegian Ministry of Development Cooperation (the Ministry).

The information requested by the Ministry was:

For each of the 35 relevant countries:

- A list of the existing trade union organisations, with number of affiliates, relationship to political parties, international affiliation, organisational apparatus, and representativeness.
- The conditions for trade union activity in the country.
- If statistics were easily available: Comparison of the socio-economic status of trade union members with other groups.

This study could not have been carried out without the generous help of Ketil Nordahl at the International Labour Office (ILO), Peter Waterman at the Institute of Social Studies, and Johan Ludvig Karlsen at the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU). Except for the three institutions mentioned above, we have also visited the Indonesian Documentation and Information Centre (INDOC, Leiden, The Netherlands), World Confederation of Labour (WCL), and Amnesty International in Norway. We would also like to thank the staff of the International Department of LO-Norway for the use of their archives and other generous assistance.

Susan Høivik has changed the manuscript into proper English. Liv E. Buttingsrud and Erik Ivås has done the typing. Thanks to them all.

While working on this study, we have met trade unionists and researchers who have expressed interest in an update of this study, and preferably a more extensive study on the same subject. We would therefore invite readers who have comments, corrections etc. to send a note to FAFO, Lilletorget 1, 0184 Oslo 1, Norway.

Jens B. Grøgaard

Audun Gleinsvik

## INTRODUCTION

### On sources

We would like to present a few remarks concerning the reliability of the information given in this report.

Because of the tight time schedule, it has not been possible to collect written material on all relevant subjects. It has been necessary to use unofficial documents which we cannot quote with full reference. We have also used information given to us in interviews by persons who do not want to be quoted. This use of sources is common and accepted in journalism, but not usually accepted among researchers because the information cannot easily be verified by others.

Information from different sources has often been contradictory. We have used our judgement about the reliability of the sources, but on many questions the report presents differing views and contradictory information.

As to the reliability of the data: On many of the questions we have been asked to deal with, our data are of varying quality. Sometimes the data are out-dated, sometimes we have had to rely on information from sources themselves with interest in giving biased information. Among the data we suspect of being biased are the unions' own figures on membership and ILO data on wage-levels.

On membership data: In many of the countries included in this study, the union members do not pay dues. Some unions differentiate between members who pay dues and those who do not. Some unions make a distinction between members and "supporters." Membership figures probably tend to include "supporters" and members who do not pay dues. Many trade union leaders would be interested in exaggerating the present strength of their unions.

On wage data: We have found several discrepancies between data on wages from different sources. It seems that ILO often gives data on

legal minima where minima are effective. Data on wages probably refer to the formal sector, which often makes up only a minor share of the economy.

On the ratings of political and civil rights: These ratings are collected from Kurian (1982). The rating is a number on a descending scale where 1 is highest (a "free" country) and 7 is lowest (a "not free" country). Our impression from comparisons with reports from Amnesty International and other sources is that the definition of "freedom" is rather legalistic, and does not always give a good indication of the true situation in the various countries.

On international affiliation: In this report we have generally used the short forms of the names of international organisations. Some brief notes on these organisations follow here. There are three main types of international trade union organisations:

(a) Worldwide organisations: In these the national general unions are members. There are three such organisations:

International Federation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU). Founded in 1949. Organises 85 mill. workers in 134 affiliated unions in 94 countries. ICFTU has no affiliates from Eastern Europe, but from all other continents.

World Confederation of Labour (WCL): Founded under the name International Federation of Christian Trade Unions (ICFTU) in 1920. Changed its name to WCL in 1968 and no longer has articles on religion in its constitution. WCL has affiliates in 70 countries (Mielke, 1983). WCL seems to have its main strength in Latin America and some countries in South East Asia.

World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU): Founded in 1945. In 1980, WFTU claimed 190 mill. members in 80 countries, but this may include all organisations that had representatives at the world congress of WFTU (Mielke, 1980). WFTU has its main strength in Eastern Europe, but organises unions on all continents except Australia and the Pacific. In the Third

World, Latin America seems to be the strongest area for WFTU.

(b) Regional organisations: There are two types of regional organisations: branches of the worldwide federations and other (independent) organisations. ICFTU and WCL have regional organisations on all continents. WFTU has a different structure. Main regional organisations are as follows:

Asia:

Asia Regional Organisations (ARO): Branch of ICFTU.

International Confederation of Arab Trade Unions (ICATU):  
Associated member of WFTU.

Brotherhood of Asian Trade Unions (BATU): Branch of WCL.

Africa:

Organisation of African Trade Union Unity (OATUU): The OATUU was founded in 1973 by most trade union centres in Africa and representatives of OAU. OATUU is recognised by the OAU as the sole international labour movement in Africa (except for smaller organisations within Africa). OATUU works for unity (one union in each country) in the labour movement. In its constitution, there is an article providing for international disaffiliation of African trade unions. This policy has weakened the unions' possibilities of developing close cooperation with organisations outside Africa and has been heavily criticized. It could be seen as a tool for weakening the trade union movement in Africa and increasing government control of labour relations. Despite this policy, some African unions are affiliated to the worldwide federations or trade secretariats.

African Regional Organisation (ARO): Branch of ICFTU.

Pan-African Workers' Congress: Branch of WCL.

There are several organisations for smaller parts of Africa.

Latin America:

Organizacion Regional Interamericana de Trabajadores (ORIT):

Branch of ICFTU. Founded in 1951. In 1967, ORIT had 52 affiliated unions in 37 countries. The unions included 28 mill. members. Also unions in the USA and Canada are members.

Central Latinamericana de Trabajadores (CLAT): Branch of WCL. Founded in 1954 under the name of CLASC. In 1967, CLAT had 37 affiliated national centres and some other affiliated unions in 35 countries. Its unions had a total membership of 6.5 mill.

Congreso Permanente de Unidad Sindical de los Trabajadores de America Latina (CPUSTAL). Closely linked to WFTU. Founded in 1964. Has approx. 25 affiliated unions with a total membership of some 4 mill.

- (c) Trade secretariats: The secretariats are similar to the worldwide federations, but they organise industrial or crafts unions and not national centres. To some extent, the trade secretariats are industrial branches of the federations, but there are also some secretariats not connected to any federation. In Coldrick & Jones (1979), mention is made of 53 trade secretariats. The secretariats often play an important role in the trade union movement; indeed, in some countries, they have more influence and are more active than the international federations. For more information see Coldrick & Jones (1979) and Mielke (1983).

This report also includes references to the institutes called American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD), African-American Labor Centre (AALC), and Asian-American Free Labor Institute (AAFLI). These are primarily education centres financed by trade unions in the USA and governmental institutions in the USA. AIFLD is also sponsored by multinational cooperations operating in Latin America. These centres, and the role they play, have been criticized and much debated. A main objective of these centres is to contribute to the fight against communism. For further readings, see Coldrick & Jones (1979) and Mielke (1983).

Among the written material, the following works have been used as sources for most countries:

- Mielke (ed.): Internationales Gewerkschaftshandbuch (Opladen,

1983). This book includes articles on almost all countries where there exist trade unions. It also has articles on the international federations. Most of the articles are rather analytic, with differing methodological and political perspectives. For African countries, this book has been the main source for the present report.

- Kurian, G.T.: Encyclopedia of the Third World (London, 1982). This work has been a major source of information on economy and recent political events. It also gives the rating for political and civil rights.
- Delury, G.E.: World Encyclopedia of Political Systems (Harlow, 1983). This has been an important source of information on political systems. Information on trade unions is scarce, included only when trade unions are considered a major political force.
- Coldrick, A.P. & P. Jones: International Directory of the Trade Union Movement (New York, 1979). Contains lists of most of the unions, with any affiliation to trade secretariats, membership, etc. It is fact-oriented and gives little information on the strength and profile of the unions.
- Dunkerley, J. & C. Whitehouse: Unity is Strength (London, 1980). A handbook on trade unions in Latin America. Both analytic and fact-oriented. Published by Latin America Bureau.



## SUMMARY

This study has been carried out by the Norwegian Trade Union Centre for Social Science and Research (FAFO) on the request by the Royal Norwegian Ministry of Development Cooperation (the Ministry). It covers 35 countries in Asia, Africa, Latin America and Europe.

### Terms of reference.

According to the "terms of reference", the study should prepare information in the following fields:

- \* A list of existing trade union organisations in the 35 receiving countries covered by the Agreement between LO-Norway and NORAD (the development co-operation Agency of the Ministry). It should also provide information on the political affiliation of unions, their international affiliation, their organisational apparatus and representativeness.
- \* The general conditions for trade union activity in the countries.
- \* If statistics were easily available, the study was also supposed to present a comparison between the socio economic status of trade union members and non affluent groups in each country.
- \* This information should be presented as a fact-sheet as free of normative assessments as possible.

The receivers of the development assistance covered by the Agreement between LO-Norway and NORAD were both national federations, branch organisations and regional and local unions. Most of them were of course affiliated to the same international federation (the ICFTU, see below) as LO-Norway, but in some of the African projects non affiliated unions were also included. The development assistance was distributed both bilaterally and multilaterally (through the ICFTU). The study concentrates on dominant national federations and branch organisations. Some of the receiving countries have a rather complex trade union structure indeed.

### Worldwide federations, regional organisations and Trade secretariats (ITS's).

There are three worldwide or international federations:

- \* International Federation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU). ICFTU was founded in 1949 and it claims some 85 mill. workers in 134 affiliated unions in 94 countries. ICFTU has no affiliates from Eastern Europe.

- \* World Confederation of Labour (WCL) WCL was founded in 1920 and organises workers in 70 countries. It seems to have its main strength in Latin America.
- \* World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU). WFTU was founded in 1945. It claims some 190 mill. members in 80 countries. WFTU has its main strength in Eastern Europe, but organises unions on all continents except Australia and the Pacific

There are two types of regional organisations, either branches of the worldwide federations or independent regional organisations:

\* Regional branches of ICFTU:

- Asia: Asia Regional Organisations (ARO)
- Africa: African Regional Organisation (AFRO)
- Latin America: Organizacion Regional Interamericana de Trabajadores (ORIT)

\* Regional branches of WCL :

- Asia: Brotherhood of Asian Trade Unions (BATU)
- Africa: Pan-African Workers Congress (PAWC)
- Latin America: Central Latinamericana de Trabajadores (CLAT)

\* Regional branches of WFTU :

- Asia / Africa: International Confederations of Arab Trade Unions (ICATU)  
(associated member of WFTU)
- Latin America: Congreso Permanente de Unidad Sindical de los Trabajadores de America Latina (CPUTAL)  
(closely linked to WFTU)

- \* Organisation of African Trade Union Unity (OATUU). OATUU was founded in 1973 by most African trade union centres and the representatives of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU). OATUU is recognised by OAU as the sole international labour movement in Africa. This policy of OAU has weakened the ability of unions to develop close links with the worldwide federations outside Africa and has been heavily criticized .

Trade secretariats (ITS's) are similar organisations to the worldwide federations, but they organise industrial or crafts unions (branches) and not national centres. To some extent the trade secretariats are industrial branches of different worldwide federations, but there are independent secretariats too. Today, some 53 Trade secretariats operate on a world scale.

Common characteristics of the situation for  
trade union activity in the receiving countries.

The general impression of the 35 countries both with regards to political system, economic structure and the structure of the trade union movement is that variations dominate similarities. Still, there are some common characteristics:

The economic recession of the '70s (and '80s) has struck industries both in industrialized and developing countries all over the world. It seems to be nearly impossible to gain real wage increases in a situation marked with gaps in business and diminishing profits. This is the case in the rich world as well as in poor countries. The international recession often turns an offensive strategy into a defensive one. The unions have to fight hard but to maintain the conditions of work and the living standards of their members.

The labour movement hardly recruits members outside the formal sector of the economy. In the third world countries the economy seems to be dominated by an informal sector (i.e. not regulated by laws). In some of the receiving countries, no more than 2-10% of the economic active population was covered by formal economic relations.

Internationalization of industries ('capital') through establishment of Export Processing Zones (EPZ's), which is a typical feature in many Asian countries in particular, could also be regarded as an extension of informal labour relations. Thus, heavily regulated through agreements between the established firms and the government, labour is generally not allowed to organise and to act collectively. We believe that such processes limits the growth of organised labour effectively in many countries. Even though these zones are endowed with large firms and modern technology, i.e. they represent a potential for the extension of organised labour and formal industrial relations, the labour conditions are comparable to the general conditions elsewhere in the informal or unregulated sector.

Violations of human rights is a dominant feature in most of the receiving countries covered by this study. In many countries there is no right to freedom of organisation and collective bargaining. In most countries these rights are limited especially among civil servants and agricultural workers.

Violations of human rights, the mere size of the informal sector and the global economic recession are factors which create a unfavourable climate for trade union activity and the ability of unions to defend the interests and rights of workers in general.

Some spesific features of the receiving countries.

Africa:

In Africa you will find some of the least developed economies in the world. These countries are characterized by their microscopic formal sector. Another African characteristic is the tendency to operate with a state controlled trade union movement. We believe this is the case in Cameroon, Central African Republic, Egypt, Kenya, Tanzania and Zaire in particular. It is important to add that even though the government does control the central apparatus of a trade union organisation, the control at local level is not at all complete. There are always some degrees of freedom (to act, to protest, to disobey) at local level.

The establishment of the OATUU did influence the African trade unions significantly. The OATUU stated two basic principles for trade union activity in member countries:

- \* All national centres and federations are supposed to be members of OATUU only. This principle implies that it is difficult for a national centre to join one of the worldwide federations (ICFTU, WCL and WFTU).
- \* OATUU established a principle which demanded one and only one national centre in each country. Needless to say, forced unification 'from above' is quite different from a process of unification which grows 'from within'. This may imply an intensified government control over trade unions in the long run.

There are some important exceptions from this 'African rule'. In countries like Zambia, Senegal and Upper Volta the trade union movement does influence the social and political life of their nations in a direct manner.

Tribal conflicts do reduce the unity ('from within') in some trade union movements in Africa. This seems to be the case both in Zimbabwe and in Burundi.

Asia:

The receiving countries in Asia may be divided into two broad categories, three Norwegian main partner countries (Pakistan, India, Sri Lanka) and four ASEAN countries (Philippines, Indonesia, Thailand, Malaysia). If one national centre in each country is the dominant feature of Africa, the diversity of unions dominates Asia. In India there are at least 10 national centres. The exception from this 'rule' is first and foremost Indonesia. After the introduction of a new society in the late '60s, the Indonesian trade union movement was restructured by the government. The authorities established one national centre for the private sector (the FBSI) and one body of corporative institutions for the rest of the society (the KORPRI's). In many cases even FBSI seems to function as a mere prolongation of the Labour Ministry. The Pakistan trade union movement also suffer from grave violations of human rights (by the government) and direct government intervention in labour relations.

Some specific features of the Asian countries should be listed:

- \* The Sri Lankan trade union movement is to an important extent structured along lines of ethnicity (If 'tribe' is interpreted as 'nation' in Zimbabwe, this is a parallel case). The ethnic conflicts in Sri Lanka influenced the political orientation of some important trade unions.
- \* The Malaysian trade union movement seems to be dominated by racial minorities (Descendants of Indian Tamil and Chinese immigrants). The agricultural sector in Malaysia is highly organised (covers 65% of MTUC membership).
- \* Child- and slave labour is quite common features in both Thailand and Malaysia. While the Thai labour movement seems to take little actions against it, the Malay labour movement does carry out concrete actions. The wage level in the formal sector in both the Philippines and in Thailand seems to be higher than the average for Asia (in formal sector).
- \* The Philippine trade union movement is divided and the trade union opposition (the 1. May Movement) has given priorities to a political fight against the regime (of Marcos).
- \* Diversification along lines of 'political unionist' and 'trade unionist' orientations does not follow a simple pattern in the 7 Asian countries. The trade union movement in India and Sri Lanka is basically 'political', while the trade union movement in Malaysia, Thailand, Pakistan and Indonesia seems to be 'trade unionist'. This can not be explained by reference to political repression alone, while the trade union movement in the Philippines shows a 'political' orientation despite government repression.

Latin America:

The four Latin American countries covered in this study (Mexico, Ecuador, Peru, Jamaica) are hardly representative of Latin American labour rel-

ations. We lack some important large countries (Brazil, Argentina and so on). The four countries must be treated separately:

- \* Mexico is dominated by one political party and an affiliated union. Government control over labour is strong in Mexico.
- \* The trade union movement in Ecuador has been radicalized since 1978. There is some cooperation between unions related to different world-wide federations on a case to case basis .
- \* Peru has a rather strong communist oriented (or actually Trotskyist) trade union movement. The remaining part of the trade union movement in the country seems rather weak.
- \* Jamaica is dominated by a 'political unionism'.

One specific feature of Latin America is ORIT (the regional branch of ICFTU). ORIT is a Pan American organisation, i.e. it organises both unions in highly industrialized countries (Canada and USA ) and unions in less developed countries . The ARO, of course , also organise unions from industrialized countries (Japan), but it is probably correct to claim that ORIT has reflected the dominant US position in America directly. In many cases one may claim that the US trade union movement has been more occupied by the fight against communism ('containment') than by improved socio economic conditions for American labour outside the US. Today, the orientation of ORIT is now longer that one-sided . The radicalization of labour unions during the '70s( e.g. CEOSL in Ecuador), such initiatives as the Contadora initiative and increased European interest in Latin American problems are factors which have influenced the orientation of ORIT. ORIT now represents a broader spectre of interests and political orientations.

### Europe:

The study covers one European country, Portugal. The most important feature of the Portugese labour movement is that it reflects the rivalry between East and West. This rivalry probably weakens the Portugese labour movement.

Main tasks for the trade union  
movement in the receiving countries.

Four fields of activity dominates the trade union orientation in most of the 35 countries covered by this study.

Trade unions are occupied by violations of human rights. This is probably an imperative for trade unions because establishment of institutions favourable to the improvement of conditions of work and income are so heavily related to principle rights as the right to express vital interests and opinions publicly, the freedom of organisation and the right to carry out collective bargaining. These important instruments of labour are always repressed or limited in societies dominated by violations of basic human rights.

Issues related to wages and job security. The global economic recession has forced unions to change strategy from negotiating wage increases and improved conditions of work (the offensive strategy) to defend status quo (the defensive strategy) .

Trade unions are occupied by developing measures to extend the impact of the formal economic sector. Important means are negotiating laws for labour and industrial relations .

Most unions have given priorities to education. Thus, important for the overall improvement of conditions of work and workers standard of life, this is probably part of a defensive strategy . Educational measures are not regarded as 'threatening' and 'dangerous' by political leaders and local elites as regular trade union activity. This means that education probably represents a niche for relatively free trade union activity in most countries with restrictions in other vital freedoms. This is perhaps a typical orientation in the African trade union movement.

Trades and Trade secretariats.

In many countries, where the national centre(s) does(do) not function properly, specific branch- or crafts organisations do function effectively. Here the activity of the related ITS's are of great importance for the local unions. The international organisation of rural workers (IFPAAW) could safely be mentioned as an active Trade secretariat, despite its limited resources and the general repression of rural workers all over the world.

The hierarchy of international labour.

The study indicates one specific hierarchy of workers in each nation, ranked by rights (job security, conditions of work etc.) and wages:

\* Workers in key trades.

These industries are generally characterized by high labour productivity and are often vital to the national economy. This enable employees to demand both high wages and formal rights of security and conditions of work ( Many miners belong to this category ).

\* Workers in industries with general agreements between employers and employees.

This category represents the rest of the formal economic sector. It includes industrial workers employed in large factories with modern technology (except FPZ's ), high salaried civil and private servants (bank, insurance and so on ).

\* Civil servants and low salaried workers in private services.

The right of civil servants to organise and to collective bargaining is normally restricted. Still, these employees have high degree of job security which compensates for lack of organisational freedom and low wages (to some extent ). The civil servants can be placed at the borderline between informal and formal industrial relations. Private servants often belong to the informal system ( sometimes high salaries and little job security ).

\* Rural workers / The informal sector.

In this category we will place most agricultural workers, workers in small 'unregulated' factories and most self employed.

The informal sector covers all categories of workers and self employed. It is important to stress that some self employed are high salaried, but the general impression is that self employed are poor people. Another category of workers in the informal sector are those employed in the 'primitive' labour market. 'Primitive' refers to a situation where workers have to accept the day-to-day price on labour. Combined with heavy unemployment and underemployment, the labour price is often less than the requirements of subsistence. This mechanism consolidates the size of the informal sector because low wages force the rest of the family (children, wives and grand parents) into self employment if the family shall survive from starvation. This 'evil' cycle can only be broken through increased labour organisation ( expansion of formal relations in the labour market ). It is also important to stress that the trade union movement in some countries represents the only organised opposition to a repressive- and elite oriented regime. We believe that the trade union movement has these important functions even though it is weak judged by our standards of trade union activity and efficienc

ASIA

(1) THE POLITICAL SYSTEM (based on Delury, 1983 and Kurian, 1983)

India is a federal parliamentary republic built as a federation of 22 states and 9 union territories. States are mainly organized along language lines.

The Indian constitution divides the functions of government between the states and the centre through three detailed lists:

- The Union List: Defence, energy, foreign affairs, posts and so on belong to the functions of the Centre.
- The State List: Police, prisons, property tax, agriculture belong to the functions of the States.
- The Concurrent List: Economic and social planning, marriage, contracts and so on are items on which either the States or the Centre may act upon.

The President of India may, on the advice of the Prime Minister, suspend the state government and rule directly from New Delhi. This system of government has been used with increasing frequency since the '60s. In 1975 Prime Minister Indira Gandhi introduced emergency (martial law). The emergency was lifted in 1977, but this action demonstrated the power of the central government of India. It would appear that Indian government in practice is heavily centralised.

Government and Executive

Effective executive power belongs to the Prime Minister and the Cabinet of Ministers. The Prime Minister is appointed by the President and must be able to command majority support in the Lok Sabha, the lower house of the Parliament.

The Indian Parliament is bicameral. Lok Sabha consists of 542 members elected by popular vote, 92 members directly recruited from the outcastes and 40 seats reserved for members of the

Scheduled groups (the depressed groups). The Lok Sabha may introduce finance bills and has power over ordinary legislation as well. The Rajya Sabha (Council of States, the upper house) has power over ordinary legislation, but may only delay introduction of money bills. Candidates for the two chambers are nominated by the recognised political parties. A candidate must put up a deposit of Rs. 500 to run for a Lok Sabha seat, and Rs. 250 to run for a Rajya Sabha seat.

Delury claims that two types of conflicts have created severe tensions in the Indian system of government recently:

- (1) Conflicts between the Supreme Court, defending basic constitutional rights and human rights and the central government's wish to increase parliamentary supremacy.
- (2) Conflicts between the central government and local governing bodies. M. Gandhi envisioned a partyless government at the village level; and most parties continue to pay lip service to this ideal. The main local government institution, the Panchayati Raj (Council of Five), is in practice based on traditional systems of government using aspects of caste, economic status and religion to keep local authority. This, however, is at odds with the national goals espoused by the leading parties (in particular the Congress Party).

(Delury, 1983, pp. 442 ff.)

In practice there are three mass-based political movements in India: The Congress movement, the Janata movement and the Communists. Janata and Communists are numerically smaller than Congress. Support for them is often confined to a narrower geographical area.

Table 1. Indian Prime Ministers since 1967

Jawaharlal Nehru	1947-64	Congress
Lal B. Shastri	1964-66	"
Indira Gandhi	1966-77	"
Morarji Desai	1977-79	Janata
Charan Singh	1979-80	"
Indira Gandhi	1980-	Congress

Table 1 shows that Nehru and his daughter Indira Gandhi have governed India for 32 of its 37 years of independence. Further, the Congress Party has held the majority of seats (in the Lok Sabha) for 34 of these 37 years.

### Parties

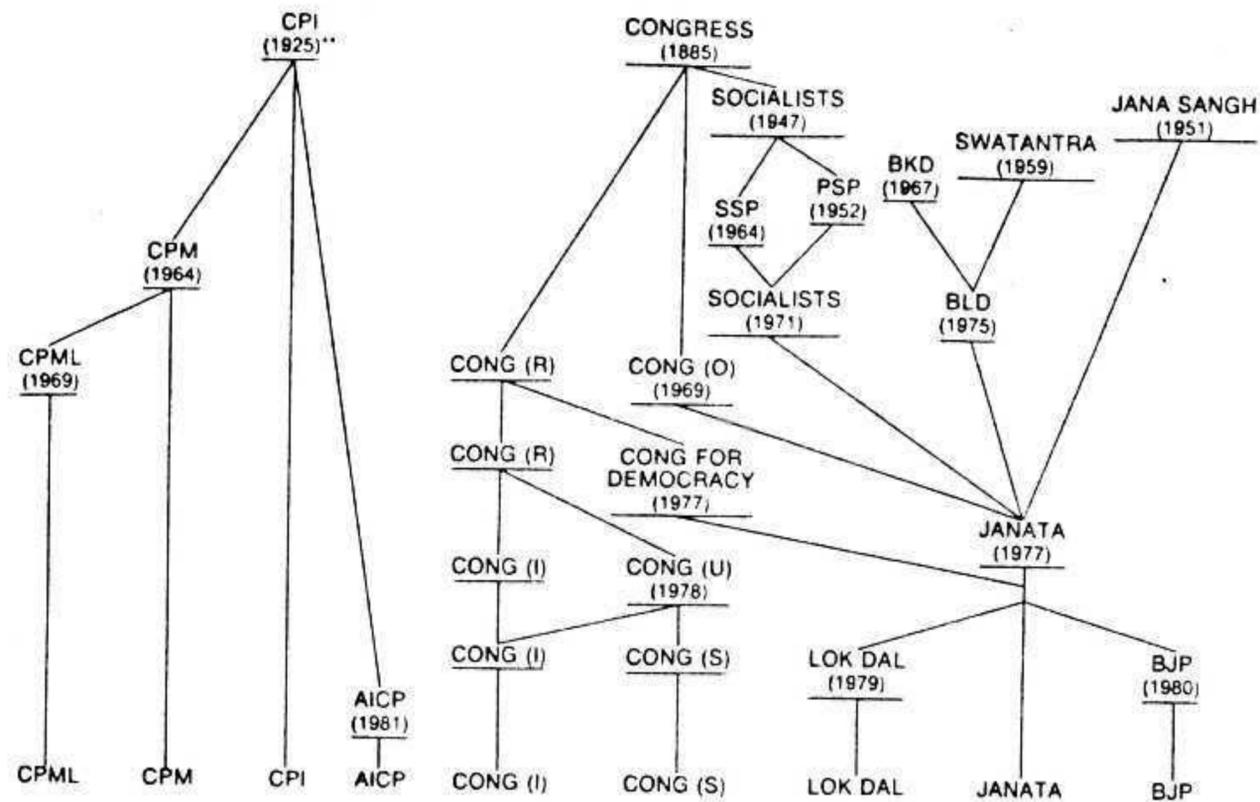
Indian National Congress Party: Founded in 1885. Was strongly opposed to the British during World War II. Congress has received between 41% and 48% of the popular vote in each election except in 1977, where it received only 33%. Congress espouses moderate socialism and a planned economic growth based on a mixed economy and self-sufficiency. It has land reform on its programme, but in spite of egalitarian and socialist rhetoric, Congress has actually geared the expansion of private economy, with little redistribution of income and property. Its foreign policy favours non-alignment, but Congress is in practice close to the Soviet Union in most matters.

Indian People's Party (BJP): Founded in 1980. Is the current manifestation of the Janata Sangh (militant Hindu nationalist politics). At the time of emergency acts Janata Sangh leaders were imprisoned and the party was banned (1975-77). BJP became one of the four coalition partners in the Janata coalition 1977-79. Enjoys considerable support in the north Hindu belt of India. Delury claims that the BJP combines moderate socialist economy policy with nationalist and conservative orientation in matters of morals and values.

Communist Party of India (CPI): Founded in 1925, it split in 1964 into a pro-Soviet party (CPI) and a pro-China party (CPIM). CPI stands rather close to the Congress Party in most political matters. Works for land reform and state planned industrialisation. CPI lost much traditional Communist support in Kerala and West Bengal to CPIM, but retains important support among leftist voters in Bihar, Andhra Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh.

Communist Party of India, Marxist (CPIM): Strongly opposed to the Congress Party and to its Soviet-oriented foreign policy. CPIM

Figure 1. Indian party system since independence



\* Adapted from Richard L. Park and Bruce Bueno de Mesquita, *India's Political System*, 2d ed. (Englewood Cliffs, N. J. Prentice-Hall, 1979).  
 \*\* Numbers in parentheses indicate date of founding.

Quoted in Delury, 1983, p. 445.

Table 2. Lok Sabha elections in 1980

Parties	Number of Candidates	Number of Seats Won	% of Seats	% of Votes
Congress (I)	489	351	66.9	42.66
Lok Dal	292	41	7.8	9.43
CPM	62	35	6.7	6.03
Janata	431	31	5.9	18.94
DMK	16	16	3.0	2.15
Congress (U)	212	13	2.5	5.31
CPI	50	11	2.1	2.60
AIADMK	24	2	0.4	2.38
Akali Dal	7	1	0.2	0.71
Others	200	16	3.0	3.24
Independents	2,830	8	1.5	6.54
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>4,611</b>	<b>525*</b>		

\* Polling was postponed for 17 seats.

Quoted in Delury, 1983, p. 443.

is anti-imperialist and works for a more peasant-oriented transformation of the Indian social system ('Maoist notion').

Lok Dal: Formed in 1975. Anti-urbanist and conservative. Strong support among prosperous agriculturalists in the north of India.

Minor parties:

- Akali Dal (Sikh party)
- CPML (Marxist-Leninist)
- Democratic Socialist Party
- Congress (J) (personalistic)
- Muslim League.

There are also many other smaller, locally based political parties.

(2) GENERAL CONDITIONS OF TRADE UNION ACTIVITY

India's industrial relations are conducted within a complex legal framework. Principal acts regulating these relations are the Trade Union Act of 1946, the Industrial Employment Act of 1946, and the Industrial Disputes Act of 1947. Collective bargaining was legally recognised in 1947, but its use has been closely supervised (and regulated) by the government. A Code of Discipline, 1958, applicable to both private and public sector undertakings, requires employers and employees to utilise the existing machinery for settlement of disputes and to avoid direct actions. (Coldrick/Jones, 1979, p. 469)

When disputes cannot be solved by mutual negotiations the conciliation machinery steps in. The Code of Discipline (1958) provides for voluntary and compulsory adjudication of industrial disputes by several industrial tribunals and labour courts. (Kurian, 1983, p. 800)

Indian labour legislation regulates most aspects of the industrial relations in the country:

- (1) Factories Act of 1881 (amended several times and revised in 1946): This act regulates conditions of work and arrangements of social welfare and security inside factories, plantations and mines (uniform 48 hour week for adults, 9 hour working day, prohibition of child labour, limitations on night work for women, regulations on working conditions due to noise-levels, lighting, sanitary arrangements, medical care, daily rests, paid holidays, rest periods and so on). (Ministry of Labour)
- (2) Minimum Wage Act of 1948: Regulates minimum wage levels in different sectors all over the country. This Act also enables the government to fix hours of work in the less organised industries. (Ministry of Labour, March 1981, p. 22)
- (3) There are special regulations for workers in rural areas, where levels of organisation are generally low and where labour relations and conditions of work are dominated by 'primitive' labour market relations and 'patron-client'/'traditional' values and practices (slave-like relations, semi-feudalism). (Ministry of Labour, 1981, pp. 39ff)
- (4) The government has established tripartite systems to ensure that the public interest is represented in industrial relations settlements. The best known example of such tripartism is the annual Indian Labour Conference. This government-led mechanism of consultation deals with discipline, efficiency, welfare and inter-union rivalries. (Blum, 1981, p. 243)

In 1975, the Gandhi Cabinet introduced martial law, and all strikes and lock-outs were forbidden. In the period of emergency rule (1975-77), strikes decreased sharply because of stringent government control. On the other hand, lock-outs, which had represented only 16.4% of time lost in disputes in 1974, rose to 77% in 1975. When emergency regulations were lifted in 1977, time lost due to lock-outs fell to 47% the following year. (Kurian, 1983, p. 800)

In recent years, two laws have been in focus for evaluating Indian labour relation practices. The Essential Services Maintenance Act (ESMA) defines measures for direct government intervention in 'essential services' of all kinds. The Indian Trade Union Council (INTUC) defends the introduction of ESMA, maintaining that

the act regulates labour disputes in services essential to the maintenance of law and order, safety, security and health in the society. INTUC (ICFTU). Another ICFTU affiliate, Hind Mazdoor Sabha (HMS) strongly holds, on the other hand, that the ESMA has the potential of intervening in the normal industrial process. To show opposition to this law, a massive demonstration was held in New Delhi on 23 November 1981, called by eight trade union centres (including HMS, CITU, AITUC, BMS: i.e., the whole trade union opposition of India). The political opposition believes that ESMA, together with the National Security Act (NSA), under which persons can be arrested without warrant and held without trial for a certain period, is the instrument of the Gandhi government to suppress even legitimate political opposition in the country. (ICFTU) From informed sources (ISS, the Hague) we were told that of the 96,000 cases brought to court according to these laws, some 25,000 cases represented government actions against trade union leaders and members. We were told that ESMA and NSA actually function as instruments for government repression of worker demands for higher wages, better working conditions and reduction in the length of the working-day. (In the unorganised sector, all persons work more than 10 hours a day as employees and/or as self-employed.)

India has ratified 34 ILO Conventions, but none of the basic Conventions (not ratified No. 87 on Freedom of Association, No. 98 on Collective Bargaining, or No. 151 on Labour Relations in Public Services). The All Indian Loco Running Staff Association and the Trade Unions International of Transport Workers (WFTU Trade Secretariat for Transport Workers) presented a complaint against the Indian government to ILO referring to the detention of 12 railway workers in 1981. These workers were detained under the National Security Act (NSA). Later another 14 trade union members have been detained under the same act. The ILO Committee of Experts gave this conclusion:

"(The ILO Committee of Experts) would draw the Government's attention to the importance of the principle of the right to strike and would stress that emergency legislation should not be used to punish the exercise of legitimate trade union rights. It notes that the trade unionists were released within a few months."

(ILO, Feb.-March 1984, §473a)

It would not be correct to state that there is no right to strike in India, but we must stress that the legal right to strike is heavily restricted due to direct government intervention (especially in the public sector). Also, the system of voluntary and compulsory adjudication of industrial disputes by industrial tribunals and courts creates severe problems for most unions due to their limited financial resources.

In terms of political and civil rights, India is classified as a "free country" with a rating of 2 in political rights and 3 in civil rights (highest rating: 1, lowest rating: 7). (Kurian, 1983, p. 786) India exhibits all the characteristics of a democracy: an independent judiciary, a free press, regular elections (turnout appr. 52%), voting rights for all citizens and a military apparatus under political control. Still there are limitations to oppositional activity due to:

- ethnic and religious bonds and conflicts
- disharmony between states, and between federal government and the states
- repressive police (and in some cases military) interventions. Amnesty International has documented widespread torture and inhumane treatment in jails
- problems of undertrials (more than 80% of all cases against political prisoners (and trade union members) in some states). This of course restricts the justice of trials.

We must add that traditional 'values' are particularly dominant in the rural districts, i.e. human relations according to rules of caste and status. These factors restrict the possibilities of trade union activity all over India. It is also important to stress that legislation covers only the organised, formal part of Indian industrial relations. Blum states that this 'civilized' pattern covers only some 3-4% of all Indian labourers (Blum, 1981, p. 251).

### (3) IMPORTANT TRADE UNION CENTRES

According to Coldrick/Jones, the trade union movement in India developed along these lines:

Until 1915, plantation labour was practically slave labour under a system of indenture with penal sanctions. Generally the development of trade unionism was handicapped by factors of poverty, illiteracy, caste, religious animosities and seasonal and migratory factory labour. Before 1920, the labour movement was indeed fragmented and weak. There were many strikes and mass-based political actions all over India directed against the British rulers and the domestic capitalist class. Textile workers in Ahmedabad established the Textile Labour Association (TLA), and railway workers organised into trade unions in some regions. These unions functioned as social security agents for their members, organising schools, hospitals, libraries and marketplaces for cheap foodstuffs and clothing (marketplaces for the poor), but they had limited bargaining power. The All Indian Trade Union Congress (AITUC) was established in 1920. The formation of AITUC was helped by legislative reforms and by the inclusion of some trade union members in official assemblies and councils. The end of the 1920s marked a period of intense labour activity and inter-union rivalry. Moderate trade union leaders left AITUC in 1930 and formed the Indian Trade Union Federation (ITUF). In 1931 the hard-core Communists left AITUC and formed the Red Trade Union Congress (RTUC). Two years later ITUF and some non-affiliated unions formed the National Trade Union Centre (NTUC). The late 1930s once again led to unification of the three trade union centres. The hard-core Communists dissolved the RTUC in 1935 and rejoined AITUC, while the moderates of ITUF rejoined AITUC in 1940. During the war, AITUC once again became the sole representative of organised labour in India. Generally speaking, AITUC was pro-British and Communist.

This orientation was indeed provocative. Nationalist leaders once again left AITUC in 1947 and formed the Indian National Trade Union Congress (INTUC). A year later the socialists formed Hind Mazdoor Sabha (HMS), and finally in 1949 the Trotskyists established their own trade union centre, the United Trade Union Con-

gress (UTUC). In the '50s and '60s the Indian trade union movement continued the process of differentiation. By now, there are more than ten national and regional centres, as well as many independent local unions. (Coldrick/Jones, 1979, pp. 467ff)

Generally India is dominated by political unionism, with most trade unions directly affiliated to a political party. This give the unions direct influence in decision-making, but creates at the same time a system of inter-union rivalry. More than 50% of all strikes in the early '80s have been due to this kind of political-based inter-union rivalry. (Omvedt, 1983, p. 61)

Here we shall mention seven trade union centres, and some independent or affiliated unions supported through the agreement between LO-Norway and the Norwegian Agency for International Development (NORAD).

Trade union centres:

(a) Indian National Trade Union Congress (INTUC)

Established: 1947

International affiliation: ICFTU (plus trade secretariats)

Political affiliation: The Congress Party (of Indira Gandhi)

Table 3. Indian National Trade Union Congress

A: Membership by state as on March 15, 1981

B: Membership by industry as on March 15, 1981

S.No.	Name of Pradesh	No. of Union	Membership
1.	Andaman & Nicobar	11	1541
2.	Andhra	276	112316
3.	Assam	48	300312
4.	Bengal	527	630503
5.	Bihar	132	260020
6.	Chandigarh	14	2428
7.	Delhi	153	168657
8.	Goa	12	17394
9.	Gujarat	128	128069
10.	Haryana	84	43335
11.	Himachal Pradesh	47	22266
12.	Jammu & Kashmir	12	2164
13.	Karnataka	188	102186
14.	Kerala	393	153235
15.	Madhya Pradesh	162	140153
16.	Maharashtra	199	486714
17.	Manipur	4	1188
18.	Meghalaya	5	770
19.	Orissa	45	55232
20.	Punjab	128	68666
21.	Rajasthan	260	77742
22.	Sikkim	2	3600
23.	Tamilnadu	222	113989
24.	Tripura	11	7021
25.	Uttar Pradesh	351	123909
	Rlys.	14	358329
	P & T	16	141300
<b>TOTAL :</b>		<b>3445</b>	<b>3523039</b>

S.No.	Name of Industry	No. of Union	Membership
1.	Textiles	339	519265
2.	Iron & Steel	63	101802
3.	Metal Trades	61	20787
4.	Engineering	444	232052
5.	Electricity, Gas, Steam & Power	99	148379
6.	Transport	268	181806
7.	Plantation	60	347582
8.	Mining & Quarrying	142	300835
9.	Agriculture	83	199875
10.	Sugar	173	95150
11.	Cement	59	41135
12.	Chemicals	193	62848
13.	Bldg., Civil Engg. & Public Works	114	80970
14.	Food & Drinks	151	57588
15.	Tobacco	40	31292
16.	Tanneries & Leather Goods Mfg.	15	5825
17.	Paper & Paper Products	48	36886
18.	Printing & Publishing	74	23331
19.	Local Bodies	155	46941
20.	Glass & Potteries	70	26494
21.	Petroleum	29	18478
22.	Salaried Employees & Prof. Workers	414	162464
23.	Personnel Services	101	22245
24.	Banks & Other Financial Institutions	90	128939
25.	Port, Docks & Maritime	32	94843
26.	Coir	9	8074
27.	Brick Kilns	4	695
28.	Wood & Wood Products	14	1724
29.	Plywood	12	1550
30.	Rubber Products	37	16369
31.	P. & T Industry	16	141300
32.	Rural Workers	5	1530
33.	Miscellaneous	17	4346
34.	Railways	14	359639
<b>TOTAL :</b>		<b>3445</b>	<b>3523039</b>

Source: INTUC, 1981.

Profile: Nationalist and trade unionist. INTUC states that the first responsibility of a large trade union is to do service for 'society', second to do service for particular

worker interests (INTUC, 1981, p. 77). The organisation further states that its goal is to create peace between the different participants in industrial relations (labour, capital and society) (ibid., pp. 74-75). Other important goals are:

- Nationalisation of all production
- Full employment
- Improvement of work welfare through peaceful actions and legislation (ibid., pp. 2-3).

INTUC is actually the trade union arm of the Congress Party. The organisation defended the introduction of martial law (1975), and defends most of the political actions put forward by the various Congress Cabinets. INTUC considers strikes as double-edged weapons, generally unsuited to improve workers' welfare even in the short run. Legislation and close connection to important political forces are seen as more adequate measures. (Ibid., pp. 47ff)

(b) All India Trade Union Congress

Established: 1920

International affiliation: WFTU (plus trade secretariats)

Political affiliation: Communist Party of India (CPI), pro-Moscow political party

Membership: Claims more than 1 mill. members (0.345 mill. members according to Indian government).

Profile: AITUC has in practice cooperated closely with the Gandhi Cabinets. It defended the introduction of martial law (1975), but has been strongly opposed to the introduction of ESMA. In this case AITUC cooperates with the trade union opposition (to Congress) in India. The amicable relation to Congress (and some kind of mutual 'understanding' between AITUC and INTUC) has been eased by the pro-Soviet foreign policy of India the last decade. AITUC works for nationalisation of industries, but does not operate with the INTUC concept of 'industrial peace' in theory. In practice, however, the two unions operate in a similar manner.

Four INTUC affiliated unions/organisations have received assistance through the agreement between LO and NORAD:

(i) Indian National Mineworkers' Federation (INMF)

Established: 1949

Membership: c. 200,000 in 95 affiliated unions (Coldrick/Jones, 1979, p. 278)

International affiliation: MIF (ICFTU)

(ii) Indian National Textile Workers' Federation (INTWF)

Established: 1948

Membership: 371,000 (1976), 416,000 (1979) (Coldrick/Jones, p. 279)

International affiliation: ITGLWF (ICFTU)

INTWF has its centre in Bombay. The strike among Bombay textile workers (run by the Datta Samant Union) (two-year strike at this date) must have created severe problems for the INTWF (responsible way of behaving, particularly when Congress is in office). According to G. Omvedt, the independent Datta Samant Union recruited from both INTUC, HMS, AITUC and BITU.

(iii) NTUC Central Women Workers' Committee

Task: To improve current legislation for providing women workers with the same wages as given to men for the same work.

In 1976, the Lok Sabha passed an Act which required equal pay for women and men in similar jobs (Equal Remuneration Act of 1976). INTUC claims that this law did immediately benefit 30 mill. women workers all over India. (INTUC, pp. 46-47) This law may be very important, but we cannot know if it has been implemented in factories and workshops all over India. We doubt that it has.

(iv) Labour Organisation of the Rural Poor (LORP)

Established: 1975

Affiliation: Sponsored by INTUC and ICFTU and ICFTU-ARO

Task: To organise peasants, tenants and self-employed in the rural districts of Kusumih Kalan, Ghazipur and Uttar Pradesh in order to increase self-reliance among the rural population.

Membership: Covers 113 villages (ICFTU, 1980)

Services provided:

- (1) Bank loans and fertilisers (to avoid going to usurers)
  - (2) Pump sets (irrigation measures)
  - (3) Fish farming and poultry for the very poor
  - (4) Dairy cattle (which provide milk for members)
  - (5) Loans to agricultural labourers (no land ownership) with a low interest rate (11% p.a.)
  - (6) Draught bullocks for the smallest cultivators
- (Hodson, 1980, pp. 312-13)

Assessments of the effects of this project are rather contradictory. ILO expert D.Hodsdon argues that the project has carried out its intentions. He admits that it has not been possible to implement the fundamental transformations (of the local economic and social structure) needed, but does defend the project. (Hodsdon, 1980, pp. 3 and 37ff)

Five LORP employees (sacked by the project leaders) give quite another impression of the results of the activities. They argue that nothing has actually happened in the villages in question. They claim that the LORP simply adjusts to the existing social structure of the village and develops a hierarchy inside its own organisation which mirrors the social and economic inequalities in the villages. The local landlords, usurers and village heads are still supreme, and nothing has been changed. (Unpublished paper from LORP employees.)

(c) Hind Mazdoor Sabha (HMS)

International affiliation: ICFTU (plus trade secretariats)

Political affiliation: Lohia and Praja Socialist Parties.

Supported the Janata alliance (1977-80)

Membership: Claims 2,981,000 members in 1,938 unions. According to government officials, HMS membership is some 3/4 of a million.

Profile: HMS was divided into two trade union centres in 1981. The two unions joined together again under the HMS Convention May 9-11 1984 in Jaipur.

HMS is now cooperating with the trade union opposition (to the Gandhi Cabinet) in India. The organisation strongly opposes the introduction of ESMA (combined with NSA) because it believes that this law will legalise direct government interventions and regulations in labour disputes and lead to increased government control of the political opposition in the country.

HMS profile is generally trade unionist, but the organisation stresses the importance of regular workers' interests. It is not a trade union task to represent 'society'. HMS is socialist, i.e. its goals are nationalisation of production, full employment and more equitable distribution of income. HMS stresses the absurdity of the following 'dilemma': While India is among the then most advanced industrial powers of the world, more than 50% of the population are struggling in poverty. (HMS, pp. 1ff)

(d) Centre of Indian Trade Unions (CITU)

Established: 1964

International affiliation: no data

Political affiliation: Communist Party of India (Marxist) (CPIM)

Membership: Claims some 450,000 members in 928 unions. According to government sources its membership is less than 400,000 (1984)

Profile: Established after the split in the Indian Communist Party (CPI). The pro-Chinese communists left CPI and formed their own 'Maoist' party, the CPIM, in 1964. They estab-

lished CITU because this political split also affected the AITUC. CPIM was heavily attacked and suppressed by both Congress supporters and the police in the '70s. In 1974 these violent attacks had reached such proportions that the ILO lodged a formal complaint with the central government (Coldrick/Jones, p. 469) This political repression has weakened the CITU heavily.

(e) United Trade Union Congress (UTUC)

Established: 1949

Membership: Claims some 600,000 members in 618 unions (1980).

According to government sources (1979) UTUC organised no more than 550,000. It is generally regarded as much smaller than CITU.

Political affiliation: Trotskyist party

International affiliation: No data

Profile: Belongs to the trade union opposition (i.e. opposed to the policy of the Congress Party and its affiliate INTUC).

(f) Bharatiya Mazdoor Sangh (BMS)

International affiliation: No data

Political affiliation: Linked to the right-wing Janata Sangh Party, supported the Janata Alliance in 1977.

Membership: Claims 1.8 mill. members in 1,723 unions. According to government sources (1984), BMS organises some 1.2 mill. workers.

(g) National Front of Indian Trade Unions (NFITU)

International affiliation: WCL

Membership: Claims 529,000 in 166 unions. According to government officials, NFITU's membership is no more than 1/4 of a million (1979)

Profile: No data.

The unreliability of membership figures is demonstrated in the following table (no systematic rank of unions:

Table 4. Members of trade union centres and number of affiliated unions

Organi- sation	No. of unions	Members claimed by unions (mill.)	Members according to government surveys (mill.)			
	1980	1980	1958/79	1977	1979(May)	1984*
INTUC	3,457	3.504	1.023	2.448	2.388	2.250
AITUC	1,130	0.775	0.508	2.345	1.308	0.345
HMS	1,938	2.981	0.242	1.114	1.075	0.750
UTUC	154	1.239	0.091	0.363	0.559	-
CITU	928	0.446	-	1.500	0.818	0.345
BMS	1,723	1.879	-	-	0.859	1.200
NFITU	166	0.529	-	-	0.225	-
NLO	249	0.407	-	-	0.203	-
TUCC	182	0.217	-	-	0.034	-
Total	9,918	11.977	-	-	7.469	-

Source: ICFTU

Source: Mielke, 1983, p.548

\*Source: Labour Commission India sent by Royal Norwegian Embassy, New Delhi 29.5.84.

From the table we see that INTUC is by far the largest trade union centre, and that BMS is probably the second largest centre according to government sources. Other major union centres are HMS, IATUC, CITU and probably also UTUC. At ISS, the Hague, our informants stressed that government data on membership were no more reliable than the membership figures claimed by the unions themselves. The heavy politisation of trade unions in India of course influences government attitudes (and probably also reported membership figures) towards the various trade union centres. Informants at the ISS also claimed that the independent (often regionally based) trade union movements have been growing, while the traditional trade union centres have stagnated. This tendency towards stagnation is indeed indicated by government-reported membership figures from 1958/59 to 1984. If these figures are reliable (which we doubt), AITUC, CITU, HMS and UTUC have lost a great many members and INTUC has lost some, while the right-wing BMS is growing fast. In fact, we do not know the correct membership picture.

(h) Ahmedabad Textile Labour Association (TLA)

Established: 1920 (by M. Gandhi)

Membership: 30,000

International affiliation: Sponsored by ICFTU

Political affiliation: None. Cooperated with INTUC from 1946. When INTUC (and the Congress Party of Mrs. I. Gandhi) started to cooperate with the Indian communists (AITUC and CPI), TLA left INTUC (Axelsson/Perjus, 1978, p. 29). TLA is strongly anti-communist, but is not affiliated to any major political party.

Geographical basis: The state of Gujarat (and the city of Ahmedabad)

Profile: TLA supported the Janata Alliance in 1977. It has created its own local political party, which is represented in the State Parliament of Gujarat.

A basic idea of TLA is that improvement of the welfare of its members presupposes inclusion of the whole 'community', the whole social and economic environment of the local factory or workshop. In accordance with this principle, TLA has developed institutions which include the whole worker family and related groups of people. TLA has built schools, hospitals, its own bank (in order to release the grip of moneylenders and usurers), and social activities which cover most of surrounding community.

TLA does not strike (even though it grew out of a textile strike in 1920). Peaceful resistance and cooperation without reduction of the productive capacity are the weapons of TLA. The organisation has had little success with regard to improved purchasing power for its members, most of whom still earn the minimum wage (Rs. 400-450 per month, 1978). We must add that Indian textile industry has faced severe losses in profit the last decade. This is due to a stagnating world market for textiles and increased competition from other Newly Industrialised Countries in Latin America and South East Asia, and due to the fact that income is so unequally distributed in India. (Ibid., pp. 30-35)

We may state that a very defensive position against local textile owners is irrational, because the only way to save the Indian textile industry is through a fundamental improvement of workers' purchasing power. TLA may also state this, but its measures have not been very efficient so far. TLA believes that there is no fundamental conflict of interest between the poor inhabitants of cities and the rural poor. The instrument of improvement is to better the local city market for rural goods and city textiles. TLA works to organise such markets. (Ibid., p. 33)

(i) Self Employed Women's Association (SEWA)

Established: 1972 (formally recognised by the authorities)

Membership: 16,000 urban and rural members according to SEWA;  
fluctuating membership between 3,000 and 10,000

according to D. Jain, p. 20. 5,000 according to ICFTU

Geographical basis: The state of Gujarat (with particular influence  
in the city of Ahmedabad)

International affiliation: Sponsored by ITGLWF (ICFTU)

Political affiliation: None. SEWA grew out of the women's branch of TLA. TLA was originally affiliated to INTUC, and through INTUC to the Congress Party of Mrs. I. Gandhi. TLA went out of INTUC in the early '80s to emphasise its independence together with the women's section SEWA. SEWA advocates the Gandhi ideology of 'society', peace and cooperation.

Profile: SEWA is an organisation of poor working women. Its members work as vendors of goods, or operate services on the pavements and vacant lots of the city of Ahmedabad; some are casual wage-earners. (D. Jain, p. 20)

SEWA presents the following picture of its 'average' member:

Neela Narsaiah - Bidi Worker

"I have been rolling bidis for the past 30 years", says 45-year old Neela Narsaiah. "I was married at the age of eleven and was a mother at the age of sixteen. I have six daughters and a son and was sterilised after my son was born. I came from Sholapur and

I learnt the art of bidi rolling from a neighbour. I roll 1000 to 1500 bidis per day. We have to collect everything from the Seth's house. How much do I earn daily? The Seith paid Rs. 1.50 for 1000 bidis initially, but now it is Rs. 5. I am still reeling under debt. You see, I had to spend three to four thousand rupees for each of my daughter's weddings.

My health is failing me now. I am not able to roll more than 700 bidis. My arms are swollen from continuous cutting of the leaves. I resort to massage without effect. My eyes burn and continuous inhalation of tobacco has made me asthamatic. When can I rest? My day begins at 5.30 a.m. and ends at 11.30 p.m.

My life began with bidi rolling and perhaps, it is going to end doing just the same." (SEWA, p. 2)

The Association offers its members seven basic kinds of services:

- (1) Bargaining and representation through the SEWA union
- (2) Legal aid and grievance resolution service on an individual basis
- (3) Credit and saving facilities through the SEWA bank
- (4) Supply of raw materials, tools and equipment and technical assistance
- (5) Social security and welfare (medical care and so on)
- (6) Training in trades and occupation
- (7) Forming alternative organisations which can provide higher and more durable wages. (D. Jain, p. 27)



The table indicates the following:

- (1) Most SEWA members are illiterates. Only garment makers can usually read and write (82% literacy).
- (2) A considerable part of SEWA members are slum dwellers, particularly seasonal workers like waste pickers, bamboo workers and head loaders.
- (3) Widespread indebtedness.
- (4) Monthly incomes vary from Rs. 50 (garment makers) to Rs. 355 (vegetable vendors), i.e. 1:7. Family incomes vary from Rs. 200 (firewood pickers) to Rs. 1800 (cottonpod shellers), i.e. 1:9. Most SEWA members earn less than Rs. 200 per month and most SEWA 'families' earn less than Rs. 450 per month. SEWA members (and self-employed women in general) are thus very poor.

Each SEWA member pays an annual subscription of Rs. 3, payable in monthly instalments of 25 paise. Default for a continuous period of six months can lead to suspension of membership. (D. Jain, p. 29)

#### SEWA organisation

Established:	SEWA, 1972	Mahila cooperative bank of SEWA, 1974	Mahila SEWA trust, 1975
President/ Chairman	A.N. Buch	A.N. Buch	A.N. Buch
General Secretary/ Director	Ela Bhatt	Ela Bhatt	Ela Bhatt
	Executive Committee	Board of Directors	Board of Trustees
	SEWA members in Section Committees, Trade Committees, Group Leaders and members. Leaders on all levels are elected.	SEWA members	SEWA members

Source: Ibid., pp. 28-29.

SEWA is a trade union for 'outsiders'. That means that the organisation must provide other services for its members than standard trade unions do. It does provide bargaining assistance to members, but generally presents the impression more of a social security body than a traditional trade union. The fight against usurers has the highest priority.

During caste riots in Gujarat, the TLA took no position. SEW, who largely organises harijan (outcaste) persons, came out for the latter. The TLA then tried to expel SEWA leader E. Bhatt, and to take over control of SEWA, but with no success. This has created great tensions between TLA and SEWA. (P. Waterman, European Unions and Third World Labour: The Netherlands-India Case, 1983.)

#### (4) REPRESENTATIVENESS

We have seen that some of the unions dealt with in the preceding have only a local/regional basis. According to INTUC, only INTUC, BMS, HMS, AITUC and UTUC cover more than five states and five industries (INTUC, p. 62ff.). (INTUC has probably 'forgotten' CITU!)

In assessing trade union strength in India, it is important to take into consideration the structure of the Indian labour market. Here we will present some general statements only, and not deal with local or regional peculiarities. This of course reduces the validity of our statements. According to P. Waterman, the Indian labour forces has the following structure (Table 6):

Table 6. Structure of the Indian labour force, 1978

<u>Category</u>			
<u>1. Self-employed</u>			
A. Cultivators	128.13		49.1
B. Non-cultivators	32.25		12.4
C. TOTAL		160.38	61.5
<u>2. Wage &amp; salary earners</u>			
A. Organised sector			
i. Public	15.0		5.7
ii. Private	9.83		3.8
iii. TOTAL		24.82	9.5
B. Unorganised sector			
i. Agricultural workers	58.34		22.3
ii. Non-agric. workers	11.41		4.4
iii. Others	5.96		2.3
iv. TOTAL		75.71	29.0
C. TOTAL		100.54	38.5
TOTAL (I+II)		260.92	100.0

Source: Sengupta, 1981: footnote 6.

Note: The source does not defined 'organised sector', but this probably refers to enterprises with 10+ workers. It is evident that those in the 'organised sector' represent not only a fraction of the total labouring population (under 10%), but also of the total waged population (under 25%). The proportion would be even smaller if the household labour of women was included within the workforce.

Quoted in P. Waterman, January 1982, p. 21.

Some 61% of the Indian labour force are self employed; c. 10% of the labour force are employed in the organised sector (10+ employees) and 29% are employed in the unorganised sector (10 employees or fewer). The organised sector employs some 24 mill. persons (1978). According to IFPAAW, less than 1% of the agricultural workforce is unionised. We may conclude that organised labour scarcely involves the agricultural sector, which employes nearly 71% of the total Indian labour force (the sum of 1.A and 2.B in Table 6 above).

According to P. Waterman the (locally/regionally based) independent labour union movement has about the same size as the labour movement covered by the largest national centres. The national centres (between 10 and 12) claim some 12 mill. members. If these two statements are correct, some 20-24 mill. workers are organised in trade unions all over India, i.e. the unions all together organise some 9-10% of the Indian labour force. If the official estimate and the Waterman statement are correct, the share of organised labour is this some 4-5% of the total labour force. Menez confirms this last estimate when stating:

In 1980 there were 8 million registered union members in the organised formal sector. Certain sectors publish absurdly inflated figures for union membership, which bear no relation to the real number of militants and members. About half the union membership is real (i.e. 4 mill.). The CITU and BMS are thought to be expanding the fastest, which would show a double radicalization, an accentuation of social polarization at least as revealed by these unions."

Menez refers to surveys which provide evidence that contract labour and casual labour are again on the increase, accelerating after 1965 all over India. Many large industries have a pool of casually available workers that are mobilised whenever business is on the upswing. This category often represents more than 30% of the workforce 'employed'. On top of this, there is a considerable number of workers employed through contractors (all sorts of bonded labour). These workers are heavily exploited by the contractors, but they may demand regular employment (secured by the contractor). The structure of unions must, according to Menez, be coupled to the factory-hierarchy of workers. The factory-hierarchy may broadly be divided in six categories of employed labour.

Factory-hierarchy

Status

(1) Officers and foremen	Protected status by law and unions
(2) Permanently employed	Protected status
(3) Temporary labour	Uncertain status
(4) Casual temporary labour	Very uncertain status
(5) Job helpers	Very uncertain status
(6) Bonded labour	Considered as outside the workforce as such.

The foremen and permanently employed labour force are the focus of the trade unions, although they are mostly in minority at factories (according to the same surveys). Category (1) and (2) are the ones organised in unions permanently affiliated to INTUC, HMS, BITU, BMS, UTUC and major independent unions.

The temporary labour force either belong to a specific plant/factory (then they are originally not organised in a trade union) or they are employed through contractors (who are obliged to provide employment). They often move together with their contractor from factory to factory seeking employment. Menez claims that such 'professions' may be organised in unions very loosely affiliated to the large unions (and the closely connected political parties). These 'unions' are led by the contractor. Menez states:

"He (the contractor) will usually be the leader of (the) union supporting the party in power (INTUC when Congress rules and BMS when Janata stays in power) ... but some are even to be found within marxist and socialist unions (e.g. at the Bombay port)."

(Menez, op.cit., pp. 52-53)

This reveals a picture of at least three types of unions. Some are permanently affiliated to the dominant national and regional centres organising workers of category (1) and (2); some permanently independent (locally based unions) organising the same categories of workers; and some 'chameleons' led by contractors organising other categories of workers and shifting position according to alliances in power at the time. The latter category of workers and unions is hardly considered part of the working class by other integrated (and protected) workers and unions.

Does the factory-hierarchy model reflect a hierarchy of castes (and tribes)? Menez answers yes to this question. There is no one-to-one relationship between status according to caste and factory status, but there is a correlation. Attractive jobs usually employ high-caste representatives. Most trade union leaders are also recruited from middle castes and upper-middle castes. The last two groups of people mostly constitute the so-called urban middle class. Menez concludes that this caste influence creates a strong hierarchical structure inside the trade unions. Untouchables (low caste) are unionised in large numbers only where they form the vast

majority of the workforce (at each plant), such as in the leather industry of Agra and the textile industry of Hinganghat. (Ibid., pp. 58-60)

In this hierarchic structure, charismatic leadership is vital. Axelsson/Perjus and Menez state that the life of the local unions centres around the leader, his birthdays, marriage and other important occasions in his life. The costs of these feasts must be provided by the leader. It is very difficult to finance such arrangements from check off dues only. Union members subscribe but little money and infrequently. If the union shall survive, the leader must draw his income from the factory (the management) and other sources. Such a situation may be a source of corruption. Lack of funds can transform the leader from an idealistic trade unionist into a corrupt local 'mafia-leader'. (Menez, p. 61, and Axelsson Perjus, p. 16)

Menez claims that the practice of drawing income from the employers is a dominant feature in the independent unions (covering 50% of organised labour), and to some extent in the INTUC and AITUC (Menez, p. 61).

The above impressions are all general and do not allow for regional/local variations. This is of course a problem with this kind of ideo-typical statements. They are only true 'on the average' and are necessarily vague. Confronted with local, specific, empirical evidence this 'average' may indeed collapse. Still, it presents a picture of the situation in factories and unions which may be close to the truth many places.

(5) SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS

According to World Development Report (1983), income distribution in India was as follows in 1975-76:

Table 7. Income distribution in India 1975-76

	Highest 5%	Highest 10%	Highest 20%	Fourth quintile	Third quintile	Second quintile	Lowest 20%
Proportion of national income received	26,3%	33,6%	49,4%	20,5%	13,9%	9,2%	7,0%

Source: World Bank, WDR, 1983, p. 200.

According to Kurian, some 36% of the Indian population lived in absolute poverty (1975-76). (Kurian, 1983, p. 791)

In order to get a clearer picture of living conditions of Indian workers, let us decompose into major sectors of the labour force (and sectors of the economy). We will use broad categories only.

Agriculture

The agricultural sector is scarcely unionised (only 1% according to IFPAAW). Some 71-72% of the Indian labour force, however, are employed in this sector. G. Omvedt claims:

The top 10% of families control some 57-62% of total land, and the top 15% control some 75%." (Omvedt, 1983, p. 41)

If each hectare produced the same amount of value, then land distribution would indicate income distribution. In practice, however, this is not the case, because big estates both employ more advanced technology and benefit from economies of scale. Omvedt claims that the top 5% of rural families actually control more than 47% of total assets and that the top 1% probably controls some 23% of total assets in agriculture. (Ibid., p. 42)

If we de-compose rural families into four major categories we obtain this picture:

Table 8. Rural families, by main categories

<u>Category</u>	<u>Proportion (%)</u>
Rural workers (I)	5-10% (only wage labour)
Rural workers (II)	15-20% (semiproletarianised, some cultivation and some wage labour)
Sum I, II	c. 25%
Cultivators operating less than 2.5 hectares	40% (poor)
Middle peasants	20% (fairly well off)
Rich peasants, landlords, farmers	15% (very rich, but heavily stratified)
Total	100%

Source: Omvedt, p. 44.

Omvedt claims that generally 65% of the rural families must be regarded as rural poor, although there are important regional differences. (Ibid., p. 46)

If this decomposition of rural families is correct, we have identified 50% of the total Indian population as rural poor. The remaining 21-22% of the Indian population living in rural areas receive (according to this estimate) an income above the poverty level.

### Industry

According to Waterman, average income differentials in manufacturing industry 1974-75 present this pattern:

Table 9. Manufacturing industry, wage differentials 1974-75

	Registered (10 employees)	Unregistered	
		Urban	Rural
Employees (million)	5.6	4.7	10.8
Wage workers (million)	4.4	1.0	0.8
Annual wage per worker (Rs.)	3,831	1,551	822

Source: Dandekar 1978, quoted in P. Waterman, Januar 1982, p. 22.

Thus, within manufacturing industry, the wage differential for workers is in the order of 1:(rural unregistered), 1.8 (urban unregistered):4.6 (urban registered). (Waterman, p. 22)

An HMS research report states that such average figures in practice hide large variations in wage level among workers. There is a little group or rather well paid workers in the modern factories in metropolitan India. The same HMS report states that the index number of real earnings of workers drawing less than Rs. 400 per month (c. prescribed minimum wages in industry) declined from 103 to 66 in purchasing power from 1961 to 1975. To this we must add that the level of minimum wages lies far below the need-based minimum, according to the same source (HMS, pp. 3 and 10).

#### Services and state corporative sector

No data. Many employees in the state service sector belong to the scheduled castes. Although low paid, they are at the same time secured permanent employment. Still, these persons (and their families) can hardly be regarded as well-off in terms of income.

Conclusion: The data are fragmented and general in nature, so we cannot draw any precise conclusions. They do indicate that there is a small section of industrial workers in the formal (registered) sector that are well paid (max. 5% of the total labour force). Average wage differentials among industrial workers are in the

order of 1:4.6 (average on broad categories of workers) and nearly 50% of the workers in manufacturing industry earn on average a wage close to the 1-level. If we regard Rs. 400 as a minimum standard of monthly pay (no national standard have been implemented, but both HMS and Axelsson/Perjus indicate Rs. 400 as a minimum wage (1978)), we see that none of the reported average annual earnings, not even the registered sector, reach that level (of Rs. 4,800 p.a.). This indicates that the proportion of well-off wage earners is indeed small.

In agriculture, most families are poor. Some 30-35% of the families are classified as either middle peasants (i.e. 'middle class') or as prosperous (lords, farmers, peasants), while the large remainder are very poor indeed.

INDONESIA

(1) BASIC FACT SHEET

Date of independence: August 17, 1945

Population: 153 mill (1983)

Population growth: 2.3% p.a.

Labour force: 60 mill. (1983)

Religion: Muslims (90%), Christians (4%), others (6%).  
Cleavage between the orthodox and nominal  
Muslims. Secular state, but dominated by  
Pancasila ideology.

Race: 300 ethnic groups. Most of these belong to the  
Malay stock. Javanese (5/9) Sudanese (1/9),  
Madurese (1/18). Major minority group:  
Chinese (app. 4 mill.)

Language: 250 different languages. The official language  
is Bahasa Indonesia (close to standard Malay  
language)

Literacy: 62%

Economy and distribution

Unit of currency: Rupiah (US \$1=R 625.7 (1980), US \$1=980 (1984))

GNP/C: \$530 (1982)

GNP/C annual  
growth rate: 5.7% (1970-77). 2% growth in 1982.

Inflation: 20% p.a. (1970-78)

Income distribution:

Table 1. Percentage share of household income, by percentile groups  
of households

Lowest 20%	quintile	quintile	quintile	Highest 20%	Highest 10%
6.6	7.8	12.6	23.6	49.4	34.0

Proportion of population in absolute poverty: 51% (1978)

Production:

Table 2. Share of GDP by sector (1973 and 1982), %

	1973	1982	Share of labour force (%)
Agriculture	40	34	62
Mining and Industry	19	23	9
Commerce and services	24	28	25
Construction & Transport	12	12	2
Others	5	3	2

Source: FBSI (Socio-economic overview, 1983)

Major exports: Oil (2/3 of total export income in 1982)

Unemployment: 4% (official figures in 1982)

Underemployment: 44% (FBSI estimate in 1982, does not include the unemployed)

Only a small share of the labour force can be characterized as wage-earners. According to Quelle (Statistisches Bundesamt, Wiesbaden, March 1980), of the total labour force of 55 mill. (1976) 21.5 mill. is to be defined as self-employed. The number of wage-earners was estimated at 14 mill. in 1976 (Mielke, 1983, p. 558)

Constitution & Government. Political structure

In formal terms, Indonesia is a unitary state with a constitutional government. Beneath this facade of constitutionalism is an authoritarian regime dominated by a president whose power is based primarily on the support of the armed forces. A 'New Order' was introduced by President Suharto after the killing of some 1 mill. persons in 1965/66. The official explanation of these events is that the communists attempted a coup d'etat. (Six leading generals were killed.) The coup did not succeed, and the following year probably 1 mill. communists and 'communists' were killed. We do not question the claim that there really was a coup. What is obvious, however, is that the military physically wiped out the entire political opposition in Indonesia the following year. The 'New Order' rests on five principles (Pancasila) as follows: Religion, humanity, Indonesian unity, guided democracy and social justice. The Pancasila ideology now rules all important institutions in the Indonesian society.

The president controls the three most important institutions in Indonesia: Bappenas (the national economic planning body), Pertamina (the national oil company) and Kopkamtib (the commanding agency for security and order).

The two national legislative bodies are also controlled by the president. The People's Consultative Assembly meets once every five

years to elect the president. 460 members of the 'Assembly' are appointed by the President directly or indirectly (appointed by the provincial governors), while 460 members constitute the Parliament representatives. The Parliament is elected for five years. Of its 460 members, 364 are elected and 96 are appointed by the President (mostly representatives for the armed forces, whose personnel do not have the right to vote) (Delury, 1983, p. 461).

Only three political parties are allowed to run general election campaigns: Development Unit Party, Indonesian Democratic Party, and Golkar.

Golkar is the sole political party allowed to exist as a campaigning unit between elections. Golkar is the main instrument by which the President has maintained his personal dominance and the dominance of his allies in the armed forces and in the civilian bureaucracy. All civil servants and employees in state corporations must join Golkar. The party is financed by the state. Golkar obtained 64% of the votes in the 1982 General Election. At present, official Indonesian policy (and Golkar policy) consists of the following principal elements:

- Western-oriented foreign policy;
- Growth-oriented economic policy (foreign investors are now more closely regulated than in the early '70s. The Government gives priorities to joint ventures and state-owned cooperations);
- Moderate support to the New Economic Order policy of UNCTAD.

Two other political parties are formally recognised by the government and are financed by the state. They are only allowed to run election campaigns, and have few possibilities to function as political parties between elections.

Development Union Party. DUP is an Islamic party, and its major concern is religious matters. DUP differs from Golkar (and government) policy on three matters in particular:

- DUP opposed a government-sponsored marriage bill;
- Works for greater openness and meaningful competition in the electoral system;
- Argues for the need for more equal distribution of income in the Indonesian society.

DUP obtained 28% of the popular votes in the 1982 general election.

Indonesian Democratic Party. PDI is the new expression of the Indonesian Nationalist Party. PDI is now a minor party: in 1982, it obtained only 8% of the popular votes. The main political issue is to work for decentralisation of the Indonesian state apparatus (more power to regional and local governing units).

(2) GENERAL CONDITIONS OF TRADE UNION ACTIVITY

Indonesia has ratified only 8 ILO Conventions. (Four of these were ratified by the Dutch colonial government.) Of the two principal ILO Conventions, the Right to Collective Bargaining Convention (No. 98) and the Freedom of Association Convention (No. 87), Indonesia has ratified only Convention No. 87. The one recognised trade union centre, the FBSI, has criticised the Indonesian government for not ratifying Convention No. 98 (Sudono, "The Birth and Development of FBSI", p. 16).

An independent Indonesian exile institution, Indonesian Documentation and Information Centre (INDOC), in Leiden, the Netherlands, has made various attempts to raise Indonesia as a special case (discussion theme) at ILO Annual Meetings. It seems now clear that at least Australian and Irish trade union representatives will bring the issue up at the 1984 Annual Meeting.

In terms of civil and political rights Indonesia is classified as a partly free country, with a rating of 5 in political rights and 5 in civil rights (on a descending scale where 1 denotes the highest and 7 the lowest in civil and political rights). (Kurian, 1983, p. 818).

It seems clear that 'The New Order', born under the leadership of President Suharto, is intent on regulating nearly all aspects of social life in Indonesia, including trade union activities and industrial relations.

An instruction secretly cabled on 21.2.81 to all regional military commanders in the capacity as regional executive officers of KOPKAMTIB ordered direct military intervention in labour disputes. This secret instruction was confirmed by law in September 1982 (Law No. 20: 'Basic Law on Defence and Security'). Law No. 20 (1982) empowers the army to intervene in labour disputes in the interest of defending and maintaining 'security' (INDOC, 1982-Update, p. 2 and 1983-Update, p. 2).

There exists further evidence of the complete militarisation of labour relations in Indonesia:

- (a) Admiral Sudomo moved from KOPKAMTIB to become Minister of Manpower and Sutopo Yuwono, former head of BAKIN (State Intelligence Service) became Director-General in the same Ministry in March 1983 (SH 10.9.83 quoted from INDOC, 1984, p. 5). This implies that the no. 2 and no. 3 figures in the Army hierarchy formally lead the Ministry of Labour.
- (b) Special 'teams' have been formed to cooperate in order to stop and/or limit labour unrest which disturbs foreign investors and the national 'security'. The 'teams' consist of representatives of KOPKAMTIB, different Ministries and trade union representatives. They are specially applied in Free Process Zones (PdR 31.8.81 quoted from INDOC, 1983, p. 3).
- (c) Tripartite councils which deal with industrial disputes seem to consist of four parts: The Police/Security forces, the Government/Ministries, Labour, and Capital. (INDOC, 1983, p. 3)

Formally, the Indonesian Constitution of 1945 and Laws No. 22 of 1957 and No. 14 of 1969 confirm the right to strike in Indonesia. However, there are some important limitations. Presidential Decree No. 7 of 1963 and Presidential Decision No. 123 of 1963 define some 'vital bodies' where strikes (and go slow-actions) are forbidden by law. Vital bodies are:

State departments, air and sea communications, railways, harbours, transport services, civil aviation services, radio, post and telegraph, and all state cooperations.

State cooperations include plants in the following sectors: Oil, mining, coal, chemical industry, pharmaceuticals, electricity, electrical machinery, sugar, rubber and tobacco estates, tourist hotels and banks.

Some foreign enterprises are also protected by the two laws of 1963: Shell, Stanval & Caltex, Goodyear Tyre and Dunlop Rubber. (INDOC, 1983, p. 6)

The Minister of Manpower, Admiral Sudomo, has stated that it is legal to strike, but added:

M"... many people do not read the full text of this law ... (One) must have permission. And for sure I will not give permission to strike" (BB 21.12.83, quoted from INDOC, 1984, p. 9).

At any rate, there are some legal strikes in Indonesia, and FBSI adds:

"The government has announced that 142 strikes took place in Indonesia in 1982 and 1983 through May ... Although it is impossible to document, newspaper reports and word-of-mouth have lead to a consensus among observers in Jakarta that for every strike in the official figures, there are possibly two additional strikes" (FBSI, Socio-economic Survey, 1983, p. 24)

The same FBSI survey also reports that workers have protested against government-imposed negotiators who negotiate on behalf of the workers (ibid., p. 24).

There is no freedom of association in Indonesia. Wage-earners are allowed to organise only under the umbrella of FBSI or under the umbrella of KORPRI. All workers employed in civil service and in state corporations are required to belong to KORPRI. Then they are automatically members of Golkar (the 'Head' of 'the Great Family' of institutions). KORPRI is not a trade union centre. The various KORPRI's have no bargaining functions. Other wage-earners are allowed to organise only in FBSI affiliated unions. This means that only wage-earners in the private sector (and some self-employed) are allowed to organise, and that they are forced by law (heavily sanctioned by the police and military) to choose FBSI if they want to join a trade union organisation. Membership in FBSI does not automatically imply membership in Golkar.

FBSI does not have a bargaining function. In 1982, some 3,050 Collective Labour Agreements covering some 6,000 firms were signed in Indonesia, but FBSI leader A. Sudono adds that the mere existence of government-initiated company regulations (the Manpower Minister's Regulation No. 2, 1976) has been misused by employers. Employers refuse to negotiate or even to accept the formation of a local union (under the FBSI umbrella), arguing that there is already a company regulation at work. (Sudono, 'The Birth and Development of the FBSI', p. 13)

In assessing the conditions for trade union activity, generally one must bear in mind the continued existence of death squads all over

Indonesia, documented attacks on trade union members (dismissals, torture, imprisonment) and general militarisation of social relations, which creates an atmosphere of fear in most social relations. Vim Kok, leader of Federatie Netherlandse Vakbeweging (FNV), gave this statement to a Dutch newspaper after a visit to Indonesia:

On very essential points there is no right of the Indonesian trade union movement to defend the interests of their members" (Volkskrant, 8.2.84 quoted from INDOC, 1984, p. 2).

Still, Vim Kok concluded that the only recognised trade union centre, the FBSI, potentially play a part in the development of workers' influence in Indonesian society.

### (3) IMPORTANT TRADE UNION CENTRES IN INDONESIA

As we have observed, the Indonesian government has developed a concept of the great family of institutions. Golkar is the political expression of this concept. After banning communist unions and political parties, the government created this new order for labour relations consisting of among others Golkar (the party), KORPRI (state sector) and FBSI (private sector). In section 2 above we noted the very limited opportunities for trade union activity. FBSI of course has to balance on a very tight line in order to fulfill some of its trade union functions. It has to be pure trade unionist and non-political if it wants to obtain government understanding for the necessity of increased wages and social security arrangements for the working population of Indonesia.

#### Federasi Buruh Seluruh Indonesia (FBSI)

Date of establishment:	1973
Membership:	3 mill. (approximately 20% of the wage-earning part of the labour force)
International affiliation:	ICFTU through constituents, WCL affiliate
Connection to political parties:	Are required to join the Golkar family, but FBSI's members are not forced to join Golkar. A trade unionist orientation is necessary in order to obtain anything.

Finance: check off system introduced in 1977, but most expenses are probably met by the government. The central organisation seems to be partly financed by the state, while local unions must rely on check off dues.

(4) ORGANISATIONAL APPARATUS AND REPRESENTATIVENESS

Organisational apparatus

Central apparatus:	<u>Plenary Central Executive Board</u> (29 members); <u>Central Executive Committee</u> (11 members, incl. the leaders of the PCEB); <u>Advisory Council</u> (7 members).
Regional apparatus:	Executive Boards (Regional) ..... 26
	Central Executive Boards of affiliated industries ..... 21
	Regional Executive Boards in industries at provincial level ..... 204
	Central Executive Boards at municipal level ..... 276
Affiliated unions:	Unions affiliated to FBSI ..... 9,988

According to an FBSI socio-economic survey covering 9 provinces (Java and Sumatra), FBSI members have the following characteristics:

- (1) Sector: 70% of the FBSI members are employed in the modern sector (manufacturing, transportation, tourism, bank & finance, commerce, construction, services, oil and mining);  
20% of the members are employed in the traditional sector (plantation estates);  
10% are employed in the informal sector (self-employed drivers, conductors, salesmen and so on)
- (2) Age: 65% of the members in the modern and traditional sectors are below 30 years of age
- (3) Sex: 35% are women
- (4) Education and skill: Even in the modern sector, 35% of the members are illiterate (never attended school);  
70% (all sectors) are poorly educated.

Source: FBSI, Socio-economic Overview, August-September 1982.

The FBSI profile can be summarized in four points:

- the aim of FBSI unionism is to support the transformation of traditional, feudalistic and agrarian community into a modern industrial society based on Pancasila (The five principles);
- pure trade unionism;
- as a partner in creating and maintaining industrial peace;
- as a partner in obtaining equitable distribution of income.

(Sudono, pp. 4, 5)

### Representativeness

The organisational picture of FBSI is a heavily concentrated organisation, and the profile of the union indicates that it must be careful not to irritate the government (or the security police). Still, FBSI remains the sole existing trade union federation in Indonesia at present, and is probably the only body able (potentially) to represent the interests of the working population. Given the rigorous limitations on trade union activity in general, it would be unrealistic to expect the FBSI to function as a representative of the working population in most matters. It is also important to stress that FBSI (together with the two mentioned opposition parties in Parliament) potentially articulates some opposition (organised) to the government in Indonesia. No other organised bodies actually exist. Rather than draw clear conclusions, we will put forward a pro et contra list to give some indications of the representativeness of FBSI:

- Pro
- (1) FBSI has negotiated 3,050 collective labour agreements covering 6,000 companies;
  - (2) FBSI has officially criticised the government for:
    - imposing company regulations which limit trade union activities locally;
    - not recognizing the Freedom of Association Convention (ILO Convention No. 98);
    - not having implemented a national minimum wage;
    - not having implemented a national social security system for workers;
    - not making the existing Minimum wage regulations a Minimum Physical Need Level Wage.
  - (3) FBSI has, in cooperation with ILO, Human Resource Development Centre, Friedrich Eber Stiftung, Asian-American Free Labour Institute, ICFTU and WCL, developed education projects and educational programmes for trade union leaders and workers;
  - (4) FBSI has undertaken a socio-economic survey documenting the very low real-wage levels all over Indonesia.

- Con. (1) Interviews with regional experts at the ILO, ISS and ICTFU gave the impression that most of the actual leadership of FBSI also participates in the policy making process of Golkar (now, even A. Sudono seems to have joined Golkar);
- (2) FBSI participates in the tripartite 'Teams' (actually four parts including the security police) all over Indonesia. The function of these 'teams' is to control labour unrest. FBSI encourages the government to let KOPKAMTIB deal with labour disputes. This role of FBSI leadership has been heavily criticised by representatives of the Metalworkers and Ceramical Workers Union (INDOC, 1983, pp. 6 and 16);
- (3) FBSI is cautious when criticising police actions against its own members;
- (4) as the only recognised (and actually established by the regime (1973)) trade union centre in Indonesia FBSI may be said to function as an arm of the Ministry of Manpower, fulfilling two basic functions: control and legitimation:
- Legitimation: The international society demands the existence of a trade union centre in all countries. A government controlled centre gives the regime the proper legality;
  - Control: The very existence of but one legal trade union centre can function as a barrier to real labour opposition and real labour unrest. It will also guarantee that labour opposition cannot manifest itself in alternative organised bodies.

The Western principle of trade union organisation may be formulated thus:

"While unity in the trade union movement is of course an ideal for any country, it should be based on a voluntary process and grow from within."

The worker in Indonesia actually has no choice but to join FBSI or KORPRI.

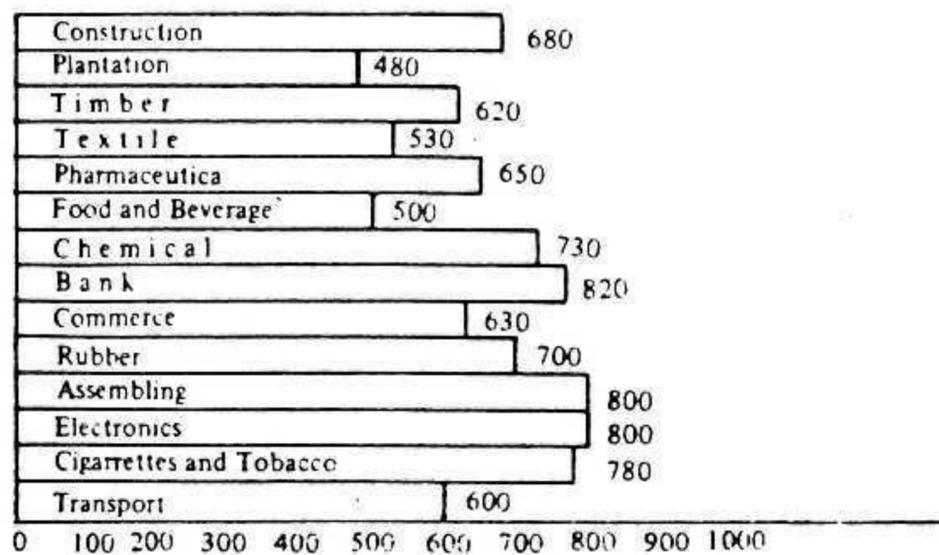
It is probably correct to claim that the central organisation of FBSI is squeezed between two forces: First, the pressure from above; the tight political regulations and an expanding KORPRI. This is probably the case in tourism, hotels, oil and shipping. Second, FBSI experience pressure from below, from local unions and branch organisations protesting against government control and manipulation (picking candidates and representatives, close government cooperation with management, and so on).

(5) SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS OF FBSI MEMBERS

The major results of the FBSI socio-economic survey in 1982 on working conditions and wage levels among members of the unions may be summarized like this:

Table 3. Minimum wages (nominal) on different industries (average)

No	Sector	North Sumatra	Jakarta	West Java	Central Java	East Java	Bali	Average
		(Rp)	(Rp)	(Rp)	(Rp)	(Rp)	(Rp)	(Rp)
1	Construction	700	1000	600	600	600	600	680
2	Plantation	500	-	500	400	500	500	480
3	Timber	600	1000	600	500	500	500	620
4	Textile	600	700	600	400	400	500	530
5	Pharmacy	600	800	600	600	600	600	650
6	Food & Beverage	600	600	500	400	400	500	500
7	Chemical	800	1000	700	600	700	600	730
8	Bank	800	1000	800	800	800	700	820
9	Commerce	700	800	600	600	600	500	630
10	Rubber	600	1000	800	700	700	600	700
11	Assembling	-	1000	-	-	800	-	800
12	Electronic	-	1000	1000	-	-	-	800
13	Cigarettes & Tobacco	600	1000	800	800	800	700	700
14	Transport	700	800	700	600	600	600	600
	Average	700	1000	700	600	600	600	780



Source: FBSI Research Dept. Survey. Sept. 1983.

Working conditions:

- 100% of the firms provide paid annual leave
- 52% provide luncheon allowance
- 45% provide transport allowance
- 15% provide family allowance
- 30% provide bonus
- 65% provide major holiday allowance (Christmas and Idul Fitri)
- 70% provide some medical treatment (mostly through the Social Treatment Plan).

The general conclusion of the survey is that the vast majority of Indonesian workers (FBSI members included) earn less than 1000 Rupiahs a day (\$1). According to the officially stated Minimum Physical Need Level per month, a worker's family with three children needs Rp. 130.000 to live. When we add to this consideration the fact that an average Indonesian family has four children, we may draw two conclusions:

- (1) Workers must work (paid) more than 7 hours a day, 6 days a week.
- (2) The wife and the children must somehow find parallel income sources (self-employment, work for wages, work for necessities) if the standard family shall avoid suffering from starvation, given the levels of wages actually paid in the Indonesian private economic sector.

Given these data, it is probably correct to draw this final conclusion: The vast majority of industrial workers in Indonesia earn less than the prescribed physical minimum. Thus they share a common destiny with the "non-affluent" groups (self-employed, unemployed, plantation workers and small peasants) of Indonesian society.

MALAYSIA

(1) CONSTITUTION, GOVERNMENT AND POLITICAL STRUCTURE

Malaysia gained independence from Britain in 1959. Since then, Malaysia has developed a parliamentary federation of 11 states which comprises Peninsular Malaysia and the two states Sabha and Sarawak on the island of Borneo. The legislature consists of the king and the two majlis (councils), the Senate and the House of Representatives. A simple majority in both houses is sufficient to carry out legislation. Money bills are effectuated by the House of Representatives. Since independence, the government coalition, dominated by the highly conservative United Malays National Organisation, has held absolute majority of the House of Representatives. Martial law was introduced in Malaysia in 1969 and has not been lifted since that date. The last general election were held in 1982.

House of Representatives election results (1982)

National Front:

United Malays National Organization (UMNO)	70	(69)
Malayan Chinese Association (MCA)	24	(17)
Berjaya	10	(9)
United Bumiputra Party (PPBB)	8	(8)
Sarawak National Party (SNAP)	6	(9)
Sarawak United People's Party (SUPP)	5	(6)
Gerakan	5	(4)
Malayan Indian Congress (MIC)	4	(3)
Others	-	(6)
	<u>132</u>	<u>(131)</u>

Opposition parties:

Democratic Action Party (DAP)	9	(16)
Pan-Malaysian Islamic Party (PAS)	5	(5)
Independents	8	(-)
Others	-	(2)
	<u>22</u>	<u>(23)</u>
Total seats	154	

(Figures for 1978 are in parentheses.)

Delury, 1983, p. 653.

Malaysian politics are dominated by the following orientations:

- (1) Free trade orientation, which includes export-oriented growth policies and liberal attitudes toward foreign capital. Malaysia has developed several Free Processing Zones (FPZ)
- (2) Western oriented foreign policy. Active member of ASEAN co-operation (includes Thailand, Indonesia, Philippines and Singapore).

Malaysia is a multi-racial country where Malays constitute some 55%, Chinese some 30% and Indians some 10% of the population. (Delury, 1983, p. 652)

## (2) GENERAL CONDITIONS FOR TRADE UNION ACTIVITY

The basic law governing industrial relations in Malaysia is the Employment Ordinance of 1955. It covers standards for most workers, and requires employers to give workers written contracts of employment.

The Trade Union Ordinance of 1959 and the Trade Union Regulations of 1959 govern the formation and registration of trade unions, internal administration, cooperative rights and responsibilities, the qualifications and conduct of officers and financial provisions.

The Industrial Relations Act of 1967 encourages free collective bargaining, but incorporates an element of compulsory arbitration to promote national unity, economic development and creation of job opportunities. Permanent negotiations and consultative machinery, along British lines, exist for government employees, and there are wage councils for some other industries. The Malaysian Labour Relations Code also includes Wage regulation Orders which define measures to promote worker welfare. (Coldrick/Jones, 1979, p. 550)

In 1980, drastic changes were made to the three above-mentioned major labour laws. The Malaysian Trade Union Congress (MTUC) protested strongly against these changes and lodged a complaint with the ILO against the government's attempt to reduce trade union freedom. The ILO Committee of Experts (on Freedom of Association) agreed that the new laws ran counter to the principle of freedom of association. (ICFTU, Congress Report, 1983, p. 149)

Malaysia has ratified 11 ILO Conventions. Among these are No. 98 on Collective Bargaining. Malaysia does not recognise the Right to Freedom of Association (Convention No. 87). There have been presented several complaints to the ILO against labour relation practices of the Malaysian government since 1979.

Complaints against the Malaysian government to the ILO:

- (1) Case No. 911 (Final Report May 1980), complaint by IMF/MTUC:
  - refusal of the Registrar to allow metal workers' union and electrical workers' union to organise the workers in certain undertakings.

MTUC tried to organise workers in multinational corporations producing electrical equipment. The Registrar refused to recognise the local unions because the Malaysian authority had promised the multinationals to prohibit trade union activity in their Malay plants. The MTUC Women Secretariat ran a campaign of signature among the employees (mainly young women workers) to demonstrate the local support of the MTUC. MTUC brought the case to court. We do not know the result of this case, but the case will probably go against the MTUC. This is an important case because the electronic industry employes some 100,000 women workers all over Malaysia.  
(LO-Norway)

- (2) Case No. 928 (Final Report May 1980), complaints by IFT:
  - arrests of leaders and members of Malaysian Airline Employees' Union & IFT's Asian representative
  - cancellation of registration of MAEU

- (3) Case No. 965 (Final Report November 1981), complaint by MTUC:
  - adoption of amendments to trade union legislation further restricting trade union rights

- (4) Case No. 1022 (Final Report May 1982), complaint by IMF:
- refusal by Registrar to allow electrical industry workers' union to organise workers in radio and electric parts factory.

Despite these controversies, Kurian claims that Malaysian labour legislation and conditions of employment are among the most advanced in Asia. (Kurian, 1983, p. 1156)

Mielke adds that there is a very limited right to strike. Employees in public services are not allowed to strike and the government works hard to impose limitations on the private economic sector as well. Disputes are often quickly brought to the Industrial Court due to government intervention. In the late 1970s, 50% of the strike actions in Malaysia were caused by conflicts in connection with negotiations, while 50% were caused by problems of labour relations (unfair labour practices) at plant level. Mielke also claims that the practice of the central Registrar poses severe problems especially for trade union federations in Malaysia. It seems to be government policy to limit the development of strong federations. (Mielke, 1983, pp. 764 and 766.) Also, most agricultural workers, taxi drivers, construction and building workers are not allowed to organise by the Registrar. They are automatically registered as self-employed persons (Mielke, 1983, p. 764).

In terms of civil and political rights, Kurian ranks Malaysia as a partly free country with a ranking of 3 in political rights and 4 in civil rights (on a descending scale where 1 denotes the highest and 7 the lowest in rights) (Kurian, 1983, p. 1149).

We must add that this level of freedom does not include sections of the agricultural (and rural) work force of Malaysia. Asia Labour Monitor reports that contract workers in rural Malaysia live a slave-like existence on several plantations all over the country. Malaysian Deputy Minister K. Pathmanabhan has told the press that what the newspapers, trade unions and other observers revealed was only the tip of an iceberg. Accounts from contract workers have revealed this picture:

- No wages have been paid for several years
- Workers have been beaten regularly and their wives sexually abused by foremen and owners

- Local police have collaborated with the estates to control escape routes
- Workers (and their families) have had to work more than 12 hours a day, seven days a week
- Children have been sold to pay 'worker debts' to employers.

The Malaysian press has reported that many of those employed as contract workers were illegal Indonesian immigrants at the mercy of their employers. (ALM, September 1983, pp. 2-3)

This example demonstrates that some groups of people are not part of the advanced labour relation standards and practices of Malaysia, but we have not been able to estimate their relative size. Kurian states that working conditions in plantation and mines are generally good by Asian standards all over Malaysia, and that trade union rights are respected. Interestingly, the strongest union in Malaysia is the plantation workers union (NUPW). NUPW mainly organises workers in rubber plantations. (Kurian, 1983, p. 1156)

### (3) IMPORTANT TRADE UNION CENTRES

As of June 1976, there were 361 registered trade unions in Malaysia, with a total of 513,000 members. (Coldrick/Jones, 1979, p. 550.) Mielke reports that there were 320 trade unions in Malaysia in the early 1980s (250 in Central Malaysia, 50 in Sarawak and 20 in Sabha) with 600,000 members. (Mielke, 1983, p. 763) The unions are organized variously on lines of trade, occupation and industry. Registry controls of all trade unions are periodically undertaken by the Department of Labour and Industrial Relations. Government officials carry out periodical inspections of trade union accounts and check membership data and so on. (Coldrick/Jones, 1979, p. 550) There are no regular payment of check-off dues. (ICFTU)

Malaysian Trade Union Congress (MTUC)

Date of establishment: 1949

International affiliation: ICFTU (affiliated unions are members of ICFU-ITSs)

Membership: (1975) 321,000 in 103 unions (225,000 reported to ICTFU, Congress, Oslo, 1983)

Publications: Suara Buruh (newsletter)

The President of MTUC, P.P. Narayanan, is the president of ICFTU.

Some of the major affiliated unions:

National Union of Plantation Workers (NUPW)

Date of establishment: 1954

International affiliation: IFPAAW (connected to ICFTU)

Membership: 165,000

National Union of Commercial Workers

Date of establishment: No data

International affiliation: FIET (connected to ICFTU)

Membership: 10,037

National Union of Bank Employees

International affiliation: FIET

Membership: 9,977

Railwaymen's Union of Malaysia

International affiliation: IFT (connected to ICFTU)

Membership: (1976) 9,116

National Mining Workers' Union of Malaysia

Date of establishment: 1955

International affiliation: None

Membership: approx. 14,000

Other unions:

(a) Federations:

Congress of Unions of Employees in the Public and Civil Services (CUEPACS)

Date of establishment: 1957

International affiliation: PSI (connected to ICFTU)

Membership: (1975) 90,000 in 60 unions in the public service

Publications: Suara Cuepacs

Other federations include All Malayan Federation of Governmental Medical Employees Trade Unions (AMFGMETU) with nine affiliated unions; Amalgamated Union of Employees in Government Clerical and Allied Services (AUEGCAS) with some 6,000 members; and Federation of Indian School Teachers' Union (FISTU) with five affiliated local unions.

(b) National centre:

Malaysian Workers' Movement (MWM)

Date of establishment: No data  
International affiliation: WCL  
Membership: No data

Many independent individual unions are affiliated to ITSs. Most of the unions are small (less than 1000 members) and poor (Kurian, 1983, p. 1156).

Malaysian unions are allowed to undertake joint economic ventures.

- The NUPW has gone into textile production;
- CUEPACS has invested money and started coconut chemical processing factories;
- MTUC has initiated the Workers' Bank (August 1975) and has in collaboration with the Malaysian Co-operative Society embarked on land development;
- Other unions have initiated housing and plantation projects;
- The Transport Workers' Union (TWU) has undertaken to set up an Institute of Technology to provide workers with technical training.

(Coldrick/Jones, 1979, p. 550)

(4) ORGANISATIONAL APPARATUS AND REPRESENTATIVENESS

In 1980, some 600,000 of a total labour force of 4 mill. were organised. The share of organised workers has not increased for the last 20 years (Miele, 1983, p. 764).

Kurian claims that the organised labour union movement is entirely the creation of Indian and Chinese groups of workers. The largest union, the NUPW, organise mostly Indians (probably half of them are women). Indians, though numbering only 10% of the Malaysian population, clearly make up a substantially higher percentage of trade union membership. (Kurian, 1983, p. 1156)

The MTUC represents some 60% of the organised part of the labour force. MTUC is not formally recognised by the Malayan authorities as a trade union centre, but is tolerated by the government. This implies that MTUC has to limit its activities. It cannot function as a central bargaining body, but it may provide consultancy services and coordinating services for its affiliates. The affiliated unions at plant and branch level are recognised by the authorities. These unions negotiate conditions of work, labour relation laws and practices, wages, social security arrangements and so on. The attitude of trade unions towards political parties is mainly 'trade-unionist'. The unions are not affiliated to political parties (even though some parties have been trying to infiltrate them). Unions effectively carry out training programmes for their members and officers (Mielke, 1983, p. 767).

#### Organisational apparatus:

- MTUC: A rather loose federation (due to government restrictions) dominated by the plantation workers' union (NUPW) and a few other large unions (miners, commercial workers, railwaymen)
- CUEPACS: No data
- MWM: No data.

CUEPACS applied for affiliation to the ICFTU in 1982. To date, it has not yet been affiliated because talks are still going on between the MTUC and CUEPACS with a view to forming a united movement. (ICFTU, 1983, p. 149) Our information (based on interviews with regional experts at the ILO, ICFTU and ISS) indicates serious rivalry between MTUC and CUEPACS, and that the government has been using CUEPACS as an instrument to split the MTUC. Mielke claims that CUEPACS represents the right wing of the Malaysian trade union

movement, and that the organisation collaborates closely with the Malaysian authorities (representing the trade union movement at ILO Conferences and so on). (Mielke, 1983, p. 763)

#### (5) SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS

Data on wage levels for trade union members are not available. Kurian presents some data which indicate different levels of earning for various groups of wage-earners in 1976:

General: Wages in East Malaysia are generally higher than in Peninsular Malaysia.

Wages are considerably higher in urban areas than in rural areas.

There is no national minimum wage regulation.

Wage levels: rubber plantations	US \$42.45-116.03
oil palm estates	US \$48.23
coconut estates	US \$47.78-95.55
bus companies	US \$56.42-148.79
gravel tin mines	US \$72.80-182.46
dredging tin mines	US \$91.90-286.65
electrical/electronics	US \$58-84

(Factory workers also receive bonus, living allowance and yearly bonus (1 extra monthly wage).)  
(Kurian, 1983, p. 1156)

The figures indicate that wage levels for workers with well-regulated, 'more advanced' labour relation practices, receive payment in a scale 1:2 for minimum wages and roughly 1:5 for minimum wage/maximum wage levels. The wages are considerably higher than wages received for similar work in other ASEAN countries (Thailand included). Kurian estimates that some 10% of the population lives in absolute poverty, and we have seen some examples of workers repressed by 'primitive' labour relation practices. The official unemployment rate is 7% (1978). Kurian adds that unemployment in big cities is at least 10% (some 5% in rural areas) and that this mainly hits young people (50% unemployment among youth in Malaysia). (Kurian, 1983, p. 1156)

The organised part of the labour force is probably considerably well off compared to the unemployed, the marginalised, the workers on the 'primitive' (non-regulated) labour market and other non-affluent groups. This should of course be regarded as one of the positive effects of trade union organisation and development of strong unions.

## PAKISTAN

(1) INTRODUCTION

Pakistan comes very close to being a theocratic state. Islam is the official religion, adhered to by some 98 % of the population. Pakistan has had only two direct elections in its history: in 1970 and 1977. The Constitution provides for a parliamentary democracy with a bi-cameral parliament and an independent judiciary. After the military coup in 1977, all political parties were banned and national elections were postponed for an infinite period. All constitutional provisions were suspended by the new ruling military junta. In 1978, General Zia ul-Haq appointed an advisory council of 16 general, senior civil servants, and politicians. This advisory council has in practice been the supreme executive in Pakistan since 1978. The leaders of the former ruling Pakistan's People's Party were all arrested or killed, and most of those surviving are still under detention. Pakistan has been ruled by martial law since the military take-over in 1977.

The generals and their allies in the civil services have wiped out organised political opposition, but it is probably correct to claim that there are severe tensions between the existing supreme ('The Council') and the judiciary. For example, the government has endorsed a system of punishment for 'criminal' actions as outlined in the Islamic code of Sharia. When the government recommended amputation as punishment for theft, this was rejected by the Supreme Court. (Kurian, 1983, pp.1362-1364)

(2) GENERAL CONDITIONS OF TRADE UNION ACTIVITY

Pakistan inherited the Indian Trade Union Acts of 1926 and the Indian Trade Union Disputes Act of 1929, and adopted the Indian Industrial Disputes Act of 1947, which legalised collective bargaining. A military government imposed severe restrictions on trade union activity in the 1950s and 1960s. After 1969, most

restrictions were lifted; strikes were legalised and industrial disputes increased and became more violent. The Industrial Relations Ordinance of 1969 and the Industrial Relations Act of 1975 (introduced by the Bhutto government) enabled trade unions to operate more freely. The Bhutto government also introduced a National Industrial Relations Commission, which promoted the formation of national trade union centres by allowing for national bargaining units and dealt with labour disputes. At national level, collective bargaining took place in a tripartite labour conference, but in practice most bargaining was carried out at factory level. Trade unions in the public sector were still heavily restricted. They did not benefit from the 'Ordinance' (which secured freedom of association), and their right to collective bargaining was restricted. (Coldrick & Jones, 1979, pp.570ff.)

The military government which took power in 1977 introduced new restrictions on trade union activity in most sectors. Strikes were generally banned. In 1981 the military government introduced Martial Law Regulation No. 51, empowering the authorities to ban any trade union. The tripartite conference reacted sharply against this regulation, and President Zia ul-Huq assured that the regulation would not be applied against trade unions. MLR 51 was soon followed by a MLR 52 forbidding strikes and open-air meetings. As a result of the promulgation of MLR 51 and 52, employers in the private and public sector started to press the government to apply the two regulations. At ICFTU level we were told that the MLR 51 and 52 served to increase the power of the employers and heavily reduced the impact on industrial relations of existing collective agreements. Unions in air-lines, educational institutions, medical professions, television and broadcasting, and in some state corporations (printing and paper production industries) were banned. (ICFTU)

Pakistan is a member of ILO and has ratified 30 ILO Conventions. Among these are both the Freedom of Association Convention (No. 87) and the Right to Organise and Collective Bargaining Convention (No. 98).

The Federation of Oil, Gas, Steel, and Electricity Workers (FOGSEW)

submitted a complaint of alleged violations of trade union rights in Pakistan in a communication dated 7.9.82. The complaint concerned the continuing application of the Essential Services Maintenance Act (ESMA, 1952) in public services (television and broadcasting, hospitals, air-lines, teachers, water power, gas and electricity among others). Workers in these services are not allowed collective bargaining nor are they allowed to appeal state/government decisions to a labour court. The ILO Committee of Experts has expressed its grave concern about these violations of trade union rights in Pakistan. (ILO, 25.2-3.3, 1984, 225th Session, §§ 161ff.)

In terms of political and civil rights, Pakistan is classified as a "not-free" country with a rating of 7 in political rights and 5 in civil rights (1: high freedom, 7: lowest freedom). (Kurian, 1983, p.1363)

The fanatic Jamaat-e-Islami group is being encouraged to beat up oppositional groups (students, workers) when these demonstrate against the government.

Our conclusion is that trade union rights are heavily restricted in Pakistan today and that it is very difficult for trade unions to defend the interests of their members. It is probably relevant to take into account the fact that Pakistan has been a frontier state (against 'communism') after the Soviet invasion in Afghanistan. This position has given the government legitimacy to demand 'national unity and responsibility', a position which may be misused by employers faced with strong and active trade unions. We regard this foreign policy aspect as at least a potential limiting factor on trade union activity in the country.

### (3) IMPORTANT TRADE UNION CENTRES

#### Pakistan National Federation of Trade Unions (PNFTU)

International affiliation: ICFTU.

Political affiliation: No data, probably none. According to ISS,

PNFTU is generally pro-government, no matter which government. This was not confirmed at ICFTU level.

Membership: 130,000 in 270 unions (Coldrick & Jones); 150,000 reported to ICTU in 1983.

According to figures reported in Coldrick & Jones, 1979: Three major affiliates reported these membership figures (1979):

- All-Pakistan Railwaymen's Federation	88,000
- Pakistan Transport Workers' Federation	93,000
- Sind Hari Federation (Plantation Workers' Union)	c. 23,000
Total	c. 204,000

This simple calculation indicates the unreliability of membership figures. PNFTU may either have lost membership or may have reported too low membership to ICFTU in 1979 and in 1983, or the membership figures of the three affiliated unions may represent inflated figures.

#### All-Pakistan Federation of Trade Unions (APFTU)

International affiliation: ICFTU, IMF/ICDTU.

Political affiliation: No data. Pro-government, regardless of government?

Membership: 255,000 (1974); 458,000 reported to ICFTU in 1983.

#### All-Pakistan Federation of Labour (APFOL)

International affiliation: ICFTU.

Political affiliation: No data. Pro-government, regardless of government?

Membership: 363,000 reported to ICFTU in 1975 (Mielke, 1983); 375,000 in 1983 according to ICFTU.

The political affiliation or orientation of the three above-mentioned national centres is a matter of controversy. All three unions strongly opposed MLR 51 and 52 introduced by the military junta in 1981. We may also point to the existing tensions between the government and the military junta. The junta is the supreme executive in Pakistan at present, and the ministers seem

well aware of that. The Minister of Labour strongly opposed the introduction of measures which could be used to weaken trade union centres because his position vis-a-vis the junta rests on the current strength of the unions. MLRs may therefore be regarded as measures to reduce the influence of the government generally, and to reduce the power of the Minister of Labour in particular. In this fight between the junta and the government (of course many portfolios are held by generals: Zia ul-Haq holds nine of them himself) PNFTU, APFTU, and APFOL support the government (i.e. its non-military ministers). PNFTU has also criticised the measures introduced to limit trade union activity in the public services (actions against the airlines unions in particular). As a result of these tensions, the president of PNFTU (Sharif) was refused participation in the ILO Conference in 1981. These examples indicate that the three unions are at least not pro junta in their political orientation.

There are many other trade union centres and independent unions at branch and factory level. We focus here on the following trade union centres:

All-Pakistan Confederation of Labour (APCOL)

International affiliation: ITGLWF/ICFTU.  
 Membership: 78,000 (1976).  
 Political affiliation: No data.

United Workers' Federation (UWF)

Membership: Some 70 unions according to ICFTU (PNFTU report).  
 Political affiliation: Leftist leaning.  
 International affiliation: No data.

Pakistan Trade Union Federation (PTUF - Lahore)

International affiliation: Probably none.  
 Membership: No data, has probably some strength among railway workers in Lahore district (ICFTU).  
 Political affiliation: Pro-Peking?

Pakistan Trade Union Federation (PTUF - Karachi)

International affiliation: WFTU.

Membership: No data. Small, according to ICFTU.

Political affiliation: Pro-Moscow.

National Labour Federation of Pakistan (NLFP)

Political affiliation: Closely linked to the religious movement, Jamaat-e-Islami, which is supported by the military junta. ICFTU claims that this trade union centre is financed by "Jamaat", and since the banning of all political parties in 1977, the NLFP and student organisations are the political expression of the "Jamaat" party.

Membership: No data. NLFP claims to represent trade unions in:

- Pakistan Steel Corporation (Karachi)
- Development Authority (Karachi)
- Metropolitan Corporation (Karachi)
- Shipyard and Engineering Works (Karachi)
- Airlines (at present banned by the junta)
- Railwaymen's unions.

Pakistan Trade Union Congress (PTUC)

International affiliation: WCL.

Membership: This organisation is a fraud, according to PNFTU information. WCL itself claims that PTUC has some strength among rural workers (plantation workers). PTUC has received substantial financial support from ILO.

Pakistan Central Federation of Trade Unions (PCFTU)

Political affiliation: Rightist orientation.

Membership: No data. Organises some local unions in Karachi, according to PNFTU information.

Coldrick & Jones, 1979, mention another two trade union centres:

- Pakistan Mazdoor Federation (PMF) with 71,000 members in 38 unions

- United Trade Union Federation of Pakistan (UTUFP) with 15,000 members in 17 unions. (Ibid., p.572)

#### (4) REPRESENTATIVENESS AND ORGANISATIONAL APPARATUS

##### Organisational apparatus:

No data. PNFTU runs a Solidarity House in Karachi, to be used as an educational institution for the whole Karachi area. APFTU has a sound economy, based on check off dues. (ICFTU)

##### Representativeness:

No data on actual strength in sections of the working class. PNFTU organises at least three large unions at branch level: plantation workers, transport workers, and railwaymen, even though membership figures are probably inflated.

According to Mielke, there were more than 6,500 trade unions in Pakistan in 1980, but most of them are small and weak. (Mielke, p.881)

Only a small section of Pakistan's labour force is organised. According to Kurian, this labour force numbered some 20 mill. persons in 1978. Roughly 58 % were employed in agriculture, 19 % in industry, and 23 % in services (private and public). Female participation was estimated at 9 % only. Kurian adds that probably more than 50 % must be regarded as self-employed, 30 % as unpaid family helpers, and some 18-20 % as employees. Unemployment is officially estimated at 2 % of the labour force, but the real figure is probably close to 20 %. In addition there is some 30 % underemployment. Thus, only 50 % of the labour force are regularly employed. (Kurian, p.1371)

The unionised part of the labour force is to be found in industry and services. Agricultural workers are involved only to a limited extent indeed (no exact figures, but probably less than 1 %). Altogether some 1-1.3 mill. workers are organised in trade unions, i.e. 5 % of the total labour force.

Profile:

At ICFTU level we were told that the tight limitations on trade union activity in general forced the unions to follow a defensive strategy. Their task was to defend what workers already had got, with little opportunity to improve working conditions and wages.

(5) SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS

CNP/C: US\$230 (1978), world rank no. 108.

Income distribution: 8.4 % of the national income is received by the lowest 20 %, while 17.4 % of the national income is received by the top 5 %.

Proportion of population in absolute poverty: 34 %.

According to PNFTU sources, daily incomes in 1981/82 were as follows:

- Self-employed, high-wage group (port workers, taxi drivers, rickshaw drivers, grocers, carpenters, masons, electricians, plumbers, etc.) Rs.100-300
- Skilled and technical workers (average daily wages) 70-100
- Unskilled workers 20- 50
- Agricultural workers (ILO, Annual Labour Statistics, p.626, covers average daily wages in 1981) 19.53

Nominal wages vary, according to these figures, in the order of 1 (agricultural worker/low paid unskilled) : 5 (high-paid skilled workers) : 10 (high-paid self-employed).

Accordingn to ILO, average wages in manufacturing in different branches/industries in 1979 varied between Rs. 503 per month to Rs. 727 per month. Thus, wages in manufacturing are nearly equalised between branches/industries on average. This may indicate large mobility of labourers.

Physical minimum subsistence level is probably close to the income level of agricultural and unskilled workers.

PHILIPPINES

(1) BASIC FACT SHEET (based on Kurian, 1983 and Delury, 1983):

Independence:	1946
Population:	52.5 mill. (1982)
Labour force:	18 mill. (1982)
Population growth:	2.6% p.a.
Religion:	Roman Catholic (85%), Protestant (9%), Muslim (5%), others (1%)
Race:	Indo-Polynesian (88%), Moro (5%), Mountain people (6%), Chinese (1.3%)
Language:	Filipino (55%) and English. Many different dialects
Literacy:	85%
Unit of currency:	Peso (\$1 = P 7.56, August 1980)
GNP/C:	\$510 (1978)
GNP/C annual growth rate:	3.7% (1970-77). Economic recession since 1980
Inflation:	25% p.a. (1978-82)
Income distribution:	20% of the population has 50% of value added at its disposal. Growing inequality since 1980.
Proportion of population in absolute poverty:	16%
Production:	Most Filipinos engage in subsistence agricul- ture producing rice, coconuts, abaca and corn. The non-subsistence economy is based upon ex- tractive industries (forestry, mining, fishing and agricultural plantations). Some 68% of the total workforce are employed in the agricul- tural sector. Agricultural plantations produce mainly pineapples, bananas, sugar and copra for exports. Local manufacturing enterprises are mainly in- volved in food and drug processing, textiles and auto assembly. The industrial sector em- ploys 14% of the workforce. Commerce employs some 11%.
Unemployment:	Official figures: 5% Other estimates: 20% in the Manila region and 14% elsewhere
Underemployment:	38% (ICFTU estimates which include the unemployed)

Constitution  
& Government:

Parliamentary democracy was formally adopted under martial law in 1973. It has never been fully implemented by President Marcos. Martial law regulations were lifted in 1981, but the President has continued to rule by imposing decrees. All important decisions are taken by the President himself.

Since June 1978 legislative power has ostensibly been vested in the unicameral Interim National Assembly (IBP). The IBP has 200 members: 146 are elected for a six year period by popular vote while the rest are appointed by the President from government-sponsored youth, agricultural and trade union organisations and from the Cabinet itself. This system of indirect representation through government sponsored organisations ensures that Marcos stays in power even if he loses a general election. Still, the political opposition did make considerable progress in the general elections in May 1984.

The members of the Supreme Court and the regional and local governing bodies may be removed by the President.

Party structure:

New Society Movement (KBL). The KBL is essentially financed by the government. The leaders are President Marcos and his wife Imelda (daughter of the prominent Romualdez family of Leyte). The KBL is the Marco instrument for gaining support in popular elections.

Social Democratic Party (SDP). Founded in 1981. It calls for a mixed economy with key economic enterprises owned by the state. Advocates a pro-US foreign policy. Financed through donations.

United Democratic Organisation (UNIDO). Founded in 1981. UNIDO is made up of five anti-Marcos political groupings. Wants to restore democracy and fight corruption. Financed by donations.

Mindano Alliance. Founded in 1978. Is occupied with human rights issues, but focuses primarily on local concerns. Financed by donations.

Minor political parties are:

Moro National Liberation Front (guerrilla war against the government); CCP (pro-Peking); and PKP (pro-Moscow).

(3) GENERAL CONDITIONS OF TRADE UNION ACTIVITY

The government imposes the following requirements for government recognition of trade unions:

1. Registration fee.
2. Periodical information about officers and members, financial reports, constitution and by-laws.
3. There must not be another recognised union (or another collective bargaining unit) where the union intends to operate.
4. The union must organise 50% (or more) of the workers in the respective bargaining unit.

(A.M. King, 1982, p. 68)

Until 1972, when Marcos introduced martial law, collective bargaining was legal, and organised labour was represented by more than 6,000 unions. A Presidential Decree of 1972 banned strikes and demanded a restructuring of the trade union movement on a one industry-one union basis. Later the strike limitations were lifted, but the ban remained on strike actions in vital industries. "Vital industries" included all export industries and most of the competitive plants supplying the domestic market (multinationals included). (Ibid., p. 74)

The Presidential Decree of 1972 led to the establishment of the Trade Union Congress of the Philippines (TUCP) in 1975, an event welcomed by Marcos. Still, unity was not achieved, and other trade union centres than TUCP were in some way tolerated, though not formally recognised by the government. According to King (1982), one of the problems of unification on a one industry-one union basis was that leaders who did not expect to be reelected (and who then would lose their small kingdoms) withdrew from unification efforts. At the same time the government favoured TUCP-affiliated unions and the TUCP leadership. (Ibid., p. 72) Marcos defended some 'kings' against others.

Labour laws also regulate minimum wages. Here we can report the following applications:

- Only 39% of the total labour force may, protected by the law, demand minimum level wages (all sectors);
- Implementation of minimum wages is concentrated on metropolitan Manila. Most small and medium firms use the 'going rate' in the market rather than paying according to the law ('primitive' labour market);
- Not all are covered by the law (just a few plantation workers, no houseworkers, househelpers, teachers or apprentices).

(Ibid., pp. 83-84)

The Philippine government has ratified the basic two ILO Conventions concerning the Freedom of Association and the Right to Organise (1948, No. 87) and the Right to Organise and Collective Bargaining (1949, No. 98). The trade union opposition, in this case represented by the Kilusang Mayo Uho (KMU), have presented a complaint to the ILO against the infringement of trade union rights to organise and to bargain collectively, and against the arrests of prominent trade union leaders by the government in September-October 1982. The General Secretary of KMU was still under arrest when an ICFTU-team visited the Philippines last year. (ILO and ICFTU)

G.T. Kurian (1982) classifies the Philippines as a partly free country with a rating of 5 in civil rights and a rating of 5 in political rights (on a descending scale in which 1 is the highest and 7 the lowest). Filipinos have somewhat more freedom to speak, write and publish than most other people in South-East Asia. Still, violations of human rights under martial law (1972-81) and later have been extensively documented. Church sources have estimated the number of political prisoners at between 500 and 1,000, and ruthless torture of political prisoners has been documented by Amnesty International.

Martial law was formally lifted in 1981, but the President has continued to govern by imposing Presidential Decrees. In practice nothing really changed after the 1981 upheaval.

Society in the Philippines is dominated, politically and economically, by landlords, by the military and by private capital (domestic and foreign). Together, these forces constitute an authoritarian regime. This makes it very difficult to carry out trade union activities and to defend the interests of the working population.

### (3) IMPORTANT TRADE UNION CENTRES OF THE PHILIPPINES

There are more than 10 major labour federations in the country, but the five federations listed below account for more than 80% of all organized workers:

#### (a) Trade Union Congress of the Philippines (TUCP)

Date of establishment: 1975

General Secretary: D.T. Mendoza

Publications: TUCP Bulletin (monthly), Research Centre Memo,  
Philippine Labour Research Bulletin

Membership: 1.9 millions claimed in 23 unions (1.2 mill. according  
to ICFTU)

International affiliation: ICFTU.

TUCP absorbed Philippine Congress of Trade Unions in 1974 and includes:

#### National Association of Trade Unions

Date of establishment: 1954

International affiliation: WFTU

Membership: 27,000

#### National Labour Union Inc.

Date of establishment: 1929

Membership: 100,000

Publication: National Labor Unionist (quarterly)

#### Philippines Association of Free Labour Unions

Date of establishment: 1951

International affiliation: (ICFTU former member)

Membership: 238,000 in 49 unions

National Congress of Unions in the Sugar Industry of the Philippines

International affiliation: IFPAAW (connected to ICFTU)

Philippine Transport and General Workers Organisation

Membership: 45,000 in 180 affiliated unions

(b) Philippines Trade Union Council

Date of establishment: 1954

International affiliation: ICFTU

Membership: 238,000 in 49 affiliated unions

(c) Trade Unions of the Philippines and Allied Services (TUPAS)

International affiliation: WFTU (since 1975)

Membership: 50,000

President: B. Tupaz (still under house arrest)

TUPAS does not organise into branch unions, but only constitutes an umbrella of local, company-based unions.

(d) The first of May Movement (KMU)

International affiliation: None (has contacts with ICFTU)

National affiliation: National Coalition for the Protection of Workers Rights (NCPWR)

Date of establishment: 1980

Membership: 350,000

KMU organises unions formerly affiliated to TUCP and some independent unions. Declares that pure trade unionist orientation will not do in Philippine society ('political unionism')

(e) Federation of Free Workers (FFW)

International affiliation: WCL and regional organisation BATU

Membership: 500,000

President: J.C. Tan

Organise workers in iron/metal plants, textiles, and Free Process Zones. Organise some civil servants.

On May 1, 1981, KMU, TUPAS, and 8 other trade union centres established the Solidarity of Philippine Workers (PMP). According to KMU, PMP has 150,000 members outside KMU, i.e. PMP as such organises some 500,000 workers.

If we include FFW, we see that the trade union opposition of the Philippines has considerable strength compared to the dominant federation of TUCP.

King also mentions the Federation of Free Farmers (FFF), claiming more than 10,000 paying members. FFF is probably the largest organisation in the agricultural sector, organising tenants, small farmers, salt makers, livestock raisers and agricultural workers. FFF was formed by Catholic laymen in 1953. Though effective, the organisation represents only a fraction of all agricultural workers in the Philippines. (Ibid., p. 113)

#### (4) ORGANIZATIONAL APPARATUS AND REPRESENTATIVENESS

TUCP had roughly 78% of total reported trade union membership in 1980. After 1981, and the establishment of PMP, TUCP has probably lost strength, at least relatively. Still, TUCP is considered as the only trade union centre of the Philippines, and has completely dominated tripartite conferences since 1975. The trade union opposition claims that TUCP is a government organ. TUCP does share many of the government goals, but we would stress that there are various tensions within TUCP, tensions which cannot be reduced to personal rivalry. At the same time TUCP claims that the opposition fought unity because its leaders were afraid of losing personal power. That, too, may be part of the story, but TUCP also defended the arrests of political leaders (KMU, TUPAS) on the argument that they were "communist". TUCP criticised the government for not investigating the killing of opposition leader Aquinas.

ICFTU sent a formal protest to the Marcos Cabinet when it arrested veteran union leader Olalia during a strike against unfair labour conditions in August 1982. Olalia represents KMU. (ICFTU, Congress Report, 1983, p. 150)

The profile of the trade unions can be summarised thus:

TUCP: Defines its task in a trade unionist way. As a trade union centre, it has responsibility for coordinating negotiations

on wage levels, labour laws, working conditions and security and welfare arrangements. It is responsible for industrial peace together with the employers' associations. It also has responsibility for the wealth of the whole nation.

KMU/PMP: Genuine, militant and nationalist unionism: According to KMU/PMP, the labour movement has tried to obtain improvements through peaceful, non-political negotiations. This has resulted in the establishment of a government-led trade union movement (TUCP) which actually functions as a barrier to improved working conditions and material welfare for the Filipino working population. Now the struggle must be 'political' (i.e. peaceful political opposition to the regime). To improve the lives of workers it is vital to get rid of Marcos. KMU/PMP wants to stop what it calls 'invasion of foreign capital'. (ICFTU sources)

FFW: At the WCL level, we were told that most WCL-affiliated unions have a trade unionist profile. This is also the case with the FFW (no affiliation to political parties or even political movements). Still, FFW does cooperate with the trade union opposition on a case-to-case basis (i.e. KMU and others).

#### Organisational apparatus:

TUCP: Constitutes an umbrella of 23 branch- or industry-based unions and federations.

KMU: Consists of six federations. Constitutes a loose super-structure above these federations.

FFW: No data available.

#### Representativeness:

According to KMU, only 11% of the Filipino labour force is organised into trade unions. As the total labour force is some 18 mill., this leaves 1.98 mill. organised workers all over the Philippines. If we, however, take as our basis the number of organised workers of the above mentioned unions, the total is some 2.24 mill. organised workers. If we add that the above mentioned unions only organised some 80% of all unionised workers (the 20% left are independent), we reach 2.8 mill. organised all over the Philippines. If we, however, take as our basis the number of organised of the above mentioned unions, the total is some 2.24 mill. organised workers. If we add that the above mentioned unions only organised some 80% of all unionised workers (the 20% left are

independent) we reach 2.8 mill. organised all over Philippines. If that figure is correct, actually 15% of all workers are organised and not only 11% as KMU claims. This calculation clearly demonstrates that membership figures must be used with care.

Anyway, the picture of trade unions outlined here shows a clearly split trade union movement (TUCP, KMU and FFW and some others) and indicates that the Marcos regime favours the TUCP. The opposition demonstrates considerable strength.

The question of representativeness can be viewed in another way. What have the trade unions actually achieved, and how many workers do they cover, when bargaining for improved conditions for workers in the Philippines? To sketch an answer to this question we have to take into account the (often severe) limitations which the authorities put on trade union activities.

Ramos made a survey in 1978-79, asking local trade union leaders (all unions and affiliations) for information about their priorities and goals. Ramos concluded that first priority was job security. Second priority was wage increases, and at the bottom of the list came political goals, increased worker influence and so on (quoted in King, 1982, p. 107). We may interpret this answer as an indication of the problems confronting trade unions in a state of political repression and economic crisis (high unemployment, reduced world market prices on export commodities and so on). The strategy can hardly be anything but defensive. Unions try to defend what workers already have obtained.

Snyder also made a survey. He concluded that only 29% of the local unions had collective bargaining agreements, only 11% had conducted a strike, and 55% of all the unions covered had done none of these. King concludes: "There was little collective bargaining between workers and employees. Moreover, the content of collective agreements comprised mainly reiterations of legislated benefits rather than new gains for workers" (King, op.cit., p. 142).

From Table 2 we see that only 321,000 workers (of some 2 mill. organised) were covered by collective bargaining agreements in 1980 (16.1%). If we compare with Table 1 (1979 as a base year), we see that collective bargaining is most developed in manufacturing and

Table 1. Filed collective bargaining agreements and workers covered by industry: 1979 (percent)

Industry	CBAs %	Unionised Workers Covered %
Agriculture, forestry, hunting & fishing	10.9	12.7
Mining & quarrying	1.2	3.2
Manufacturing	44.2	49.4
Electricity, gas, water utilities	0.0	0.0
Construction	0.8	2.7
Trade/Commerce	12.2	4.6
Transport, storage, & communication	25.9	21.9
Services	4.8	5.5
<b>Total</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Table 2. Number of currently effective CBAs, 1963-1980

Year	Number of CBAs	Number of unionised workers covered(a)
1963	544	152,864
1964	607	149,322
1965	488	116,144
1966	574	113,652
1967	624	124,800
1968	520	97,760
1969	584	131,400
1970	598	157,274
1971	738	154,242
1972	852	165,288
1973	787	153,465
1974	1,784	337,354
1975	1,763	273,335
1976	2,016	261,501
1977	2,033	216,066
1978	1,961	286,873
1979	1,715	287,450
1980	1,720	321,661

a) Only estimates for years 1963-1973 based on the number of CBAs multiplied by the average number of workers covered by CBAs which reported average.

Sources: 1977 Yearbook of Labor Statistics, Labor Statistics and Information Service, Dept. of Labor.

Labor Relations Division, ILMS, "Labor Relations Scene", n.d.

Labor Statistics Service, Dept. of Labor, Selected Labor Indicators, June 1980.

Bureau of Labor Relations, Dept. of Labor

Quoted in King, 1982.

transport, storage and communication. There are hardly any CBAs in mining, public utilities, construction or services. CBAs in agricultural sector cover some 12% of all organised in that sector. These figures indicate the size of the 'primitive' labour market in the Philippines. No more than 11-15% of the labour force is unionised, and effective CBAs cover only some 16% of the organised labour force.

#### (5) SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS

We lack data on income levels for organised workers as such. Actually we are only able to sketch out the socio-economic structure of the Filipino labour force.

Incomes tend to be highly unequally distributed in the Philippine economy. 20% of the population receives more than 50% of total national income, and income inequality is growing.

ILO presents this table (Table 3) for the development of average wage-levels in a non-agriculture sector and in the agricultural sector from 1973-81:

Table 3. Wages in non-agricultural activities and wages in agriculture 1973-18 (Pesos, daily wage)

	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981
non-agri- culture(a)	13.1	14.4	14.9	15.5	17.2	19.3	21.3	22.3	-
agri- culture	-	-	-	8.4	9.9	10.1	10.6	10.7	12.1

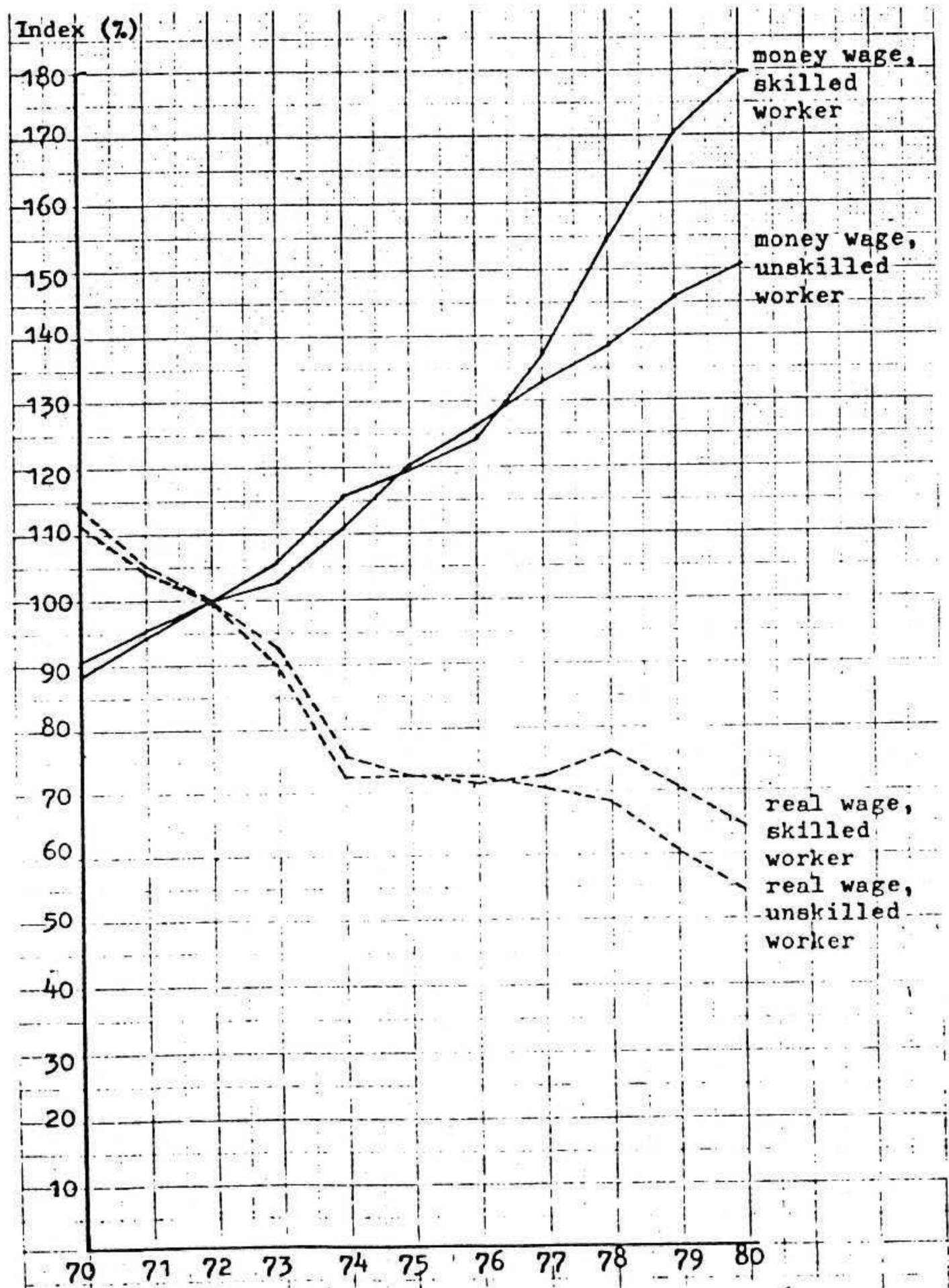
a) Skilled wage earners, Manilla

Source: ILO.

These estimates include a monthly cost-of-living allowance (COLA) and an extra month pay annually (13th month pay). Wages are much higher among skilled workers in Manila than in the agricultural

sector (c. 2:1, nominal wage level). Wage levels for skilled and unskilled workers all over the Philippines probably differ very little. This is demonstrated in Figure 1 (below).

Figure 1. Index of average daily basic money and real wages rates of laborers in industrial establishments in metro Manilla 1970-September 1980 (1972=100)



SOURCE: Thirty-first Statistical Bulletin 1979, Dept. of Economic Research, Central Bank of the Philippines.

Quoted in King, p.88.

Fig. 1 demonstrates that the real wages of the working population have decreased considerably since the introduction of martial law in 1972. This is due to the sizeable inflation characteristic of the '70s. Nominal wages increased due to regular wage regulations twice a year, but this was far too little to compensate for inflation (20-30% p.a. from 1978-82). Mielke supports this, stating that wage levels for skilled workers fell from 100 (1972) to 78 (1978), and for unskilled workers from 100 (1972) to 66 (1978). Wages for agricultural workers fell even more in terms of purchasing power (Mielke, 1983).

In 1978, approximately 3.3 mill. employees were minimum wage earners. That is, some 57% of the paid workforce were receiving wages close to the poverty limit. King also states that a considerable portion of Filipino workers receive less than the prescribed minimum wage. (King, p.86)

Table 4 presents legislated basic minimum wage as of March 1981.

If we compare tables 3 and 4, we see that average nominal wage for skilled workers in Manila is some 4-5 Pesos above legal minimum wage level in National Capital Region (NCR). Agricultural workers earn less than the prescribed minimum wage level on average. If we interpret the minimum wage level as a minimum level for meeting physical needs (very often it is less than that), this means that more than one member of each family earning less than the prescribed minimum is forced to get some kind of paid work if the family is not to suffer starvation. According to King, the minimum wage level grew from 8 Pesos (1972 as base year) to 10 Pesos (1972) during martial law (1972-81) for non-agricultural workers, and from 5 Pesos (1972) to 6 Pesos (1972) for agricultural, non-plantation workers. This is set out in Fig. 2.

To this positive development of real minimum wages we must add that unemployment among the Filipino labour force is probably more than 15% (officially 5%). Furthermore, some 35% suffer due to underemployment, and we have seen that only 39% of the total labour force may, protected by the law, demand minimum level wages (all sectors).

Table 4. Legislated basic minimum wage in various economic sectors as of March 1981

Sector(a)	Capitalization(b)		
	High Estimate	Medium Estimate	Low Estimate
Non-agricultural workers, National Capital Region	P18.00	P17.56	P16.97
Non-agricultural workers, outside NCR	P17.00	P16.56	P15.97
Agricultural workers, plantations	P15.00	P14.56	P13.97
Agricultural workers, non-plantations	P14.00	P13.56	P12.97

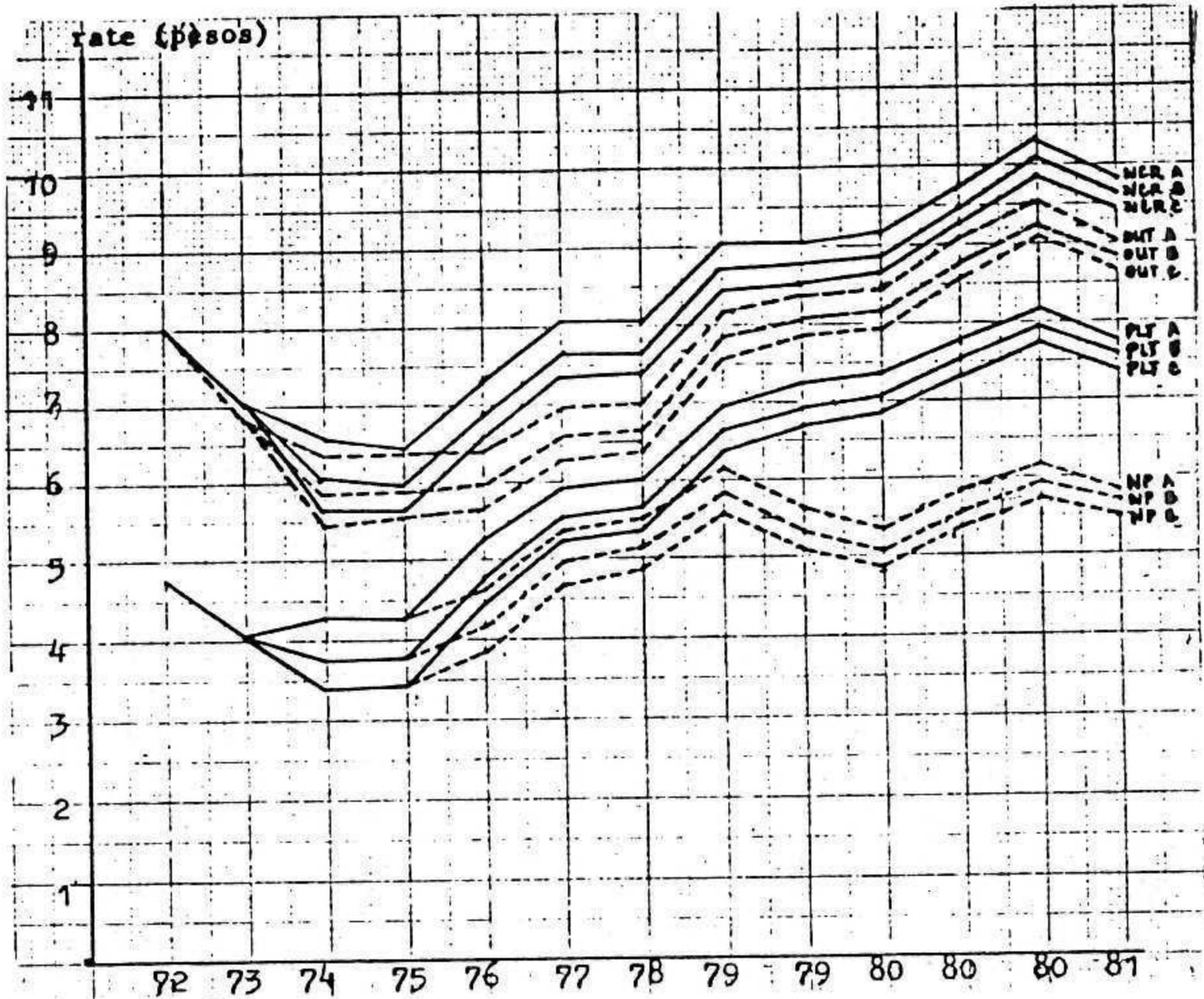
(a) Definitions: National Capital Region (NCR) covers the cities of Manila, Pasay, Caloocan, and Quezon, and the municipalities of Makati, Mandaluyong, San Juan, Las Pinas, Malabou, Navotas, Pasig, Pateros, Paranaque, Muntinlupa and Taguig of Rizal Province, and the municipality of Valenzuela of Bulacan Province. Agriculture includes farming in all its branches and among other things includes the cultivation and tillage of the soil, dairying, the production, cultivation, growing and harvesting of any agricultural and horticultural commodities, the raising of livestock or poultry, and any activities performed by a farmer as an incident to or in conjunction with such farming operations, but does not include the manufacturing and processing of sugar, coconuts, abac, tobacco, pineapple or other farm products. Plantation agricultural workers refer to those agricultural workers employed in any plantation or agricultural enterprise with an area of more than 24 hectares in a locality or which employs at least 20 workers. All other agricultural workers are considered non-plantation agricultural workers.

(b) Based on the size of capitalization of the establishment.

Source: National Wages Council, quoted in King, op.cit., p. 80

In such a situation of course, workers with permanent employment are privileged. All the same, the figures show that the income levels of organised skilled and unskilled workers have decreased considerably during the period of martial law, and that income differences at the bottom of the wage-hierarchy have diminished since 1972. This means that the majority of Filipinos are poorer than ever and that a considerable number of the 'privileged' skilled workers now are closer to poverty than ever. When comparing wage- and income-levels in agriculture and in manufacturing we must also add the (non-measurable) consumption opportunities in rural areas due to the parallel existence of subsistence farming.

Fig. 2. Real effective minimum wage 1972-81 (Pesos, daily wage)



Effective Minimum Wage (EMW) = The totality of the basic minimum wage and sum of wage supplements which include mandatory monthly COLA and 13th month pay.

Legend: Sector: NCR: National Capital Region, non-agricultural workers  
 OUT: outside NCR, non-agricultural workers  
 PLT: agricultural workers in plantations  
 NP: other agricultural workers  
 Capitalisation: A: P 1 million or more  
 B: more than P100,000, but less than 1 million  
 C: P100,000 or less.

Source: National Wages Council, Rep. of the Philippines. King, 1982, p. 82.

## SRI LANKA

(1) POLITICAL SYSTEM AND POLITICAL PARTIES

Sri Lanka is regarded as a parliamentary democracy where a cabinet of ministers is responsible to a single-chamber national assembly. This national assembly is elected through popular vote. In 1972 the Bandaranayke government (1970-77) introduced a constitution which vested sovereignty of judicial, executive, and legislative powers to the National State Assembly entirely. This constitution gave the Prime Minister the real executive power in Sri Lanka. A French style (or sometimes called a US-style) "Gaullist" system of government was introduced by the winning United National Party (UNP) in 1977. This led to the promulgation of a new Constitution in 1978, introduced in order to reduce the executive power of the Prime Minister (and thus to increase the power of the elected President of the Republic). According to the new Constitution, the President has the following executive powers:

- The President may exercise power directly and through the Prime Minister.
- The President himself may hold any ministerial portfolio.
- All ministers, the Prime Minister included, hold office at the President's pleasure.
- The President can dismiss the Parliament, submit bills of national importance, call for new elections, and declare national emergency. (This power had belonged to the Prime Minister and the National State Assembly according to the 'Bandaranayke-Constitution' of 1972.) (Delury, 1983; Coldrick & Jones, 1979; Kurian, 1983)

It would appear that the new Constitution introduced by UNP increased the importance of the presidential election and reduced the impact of general elections (for NSA seats).

Table 1. Results of general elections in 1977

1977	
United National Party	50.9 % (5/6 majority of seats, i.e. 139 seats)
Tamil United Liberation Front	6.8 % (16 seats in parliament, main opposition party)
Sri Lanka Freedom Party	30.0 % (8 seats only)
Others	12.3 %
<hr/>	
Total	100.0 %

Source: Kurian, 1983, pp.5 and 26.

The political opposition of Sri Lanka claims that the UNP has established a system of government which in practice destroys the parliamentary democracy of the country. Amnesty International has expressed grave concern about arrests of many political leaders of the opposition parties in late 1982. They were detained without trial under the emergency regulations from 21 October 1982 (one day after the last presidential election). All were arrested in connection with an alleged "conspiracy against the state". (Amnesty International, 1983, p.233) During martial law the President (who was re-elected) extended the Parliament for another six years (the 22 December Referendum). If this system of arresting opposition leaders becomes the rule in the future, it will of course be impossible to define Sri Lanka as a parliamentary democracy any more.

#### Political parties

United National Party (UNP): Majority of seats since 1977. Has free trade and export orientation as major strategy of economic growth and industrialisation. Originally had support from high caste privileged groups, but now also gain support from the Sinhalese

middle-class and from racial minority groups (Tamils). Has some 100,000 members. Financed by dues, donations, and sale of publications.

Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP): SLFP grew out of the Sinhala Maha Sabha which was founded in 1937. In 1956, Mr. Bandaranayke led a Sinhala-Buddhist oriented front to victory. SLFP stayed in power until 1964. It won majority of seats once again in the 1970-election. Mrs. Bandaranayke became Prime Minister for seven years. SLFP is a left wing socialist party. It is committed to nationalisation, state intervention, and uses import substitution as major growth strategy. Some 65,000 members. Financed by donations, dues and sale of publications.

Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF): Ethnic party representing Tamil interests. Works for regional autonomy. Strongly opposed to the Bandaranayke government when the party was founded in 1977 (At first a coalition of North Jaffna Tamils and 'Middle' Indian Tamils of CWC). Was the major opposition party to UNP in Parliament after the 1977-election. TULF lost its 16 seats in Parliament when the UNP government introduced a law (the 6th Amendment) which forced the members of Parliament (and all state employees) to sign a declaration which demanded none support to the Tamil efforts of establishing an independent Tamil state in the North Jaffna province. The 16 seats are still empty.

#### Minor parties:

- Ceylon Equal Society Party (LSSP): Trotskyist. Won 4 % of the votes in 1977. Some 4,000 members.
- Ceylon Workers' Congress (CWC): Both a trade union and a local/regional political party. Does not demand Tamil autonomy but does cooperate with TULF.
- Communist Party of Sri Lanka (CPSL): Moscow-oriented, 2 % of the votes in '77.
- Jathika Vimukthi Peramuna (JVP): Maoist oriented. Very small party.

Source on political parties: Delury, pp.938-941.

## (2) A NOTE ON RACIAL RELATIONS

Sri Lanka is a multi-racial and multi-religious society. Of the population 72 % are Sinhalese and more than 90 % of them are regarded as Buddhists. Some 18-20 % of the population are Tamils,

most of them Hindu. There is also a significant Muslim minority in Sri Lanka.

The Tamils can be divided into two major groups: The Jaffna Tamils of the North and East Coastal areas are the descendants of the ancient Tamil kingdoms of Sri Lanka. The Indian Tamils, on the other hand, were imported to Sri Lanka from India during British colonial rule as plantation labour. This group was deprived of its right of citizenship after independence in 1948. Three separate laws ensured that Indian Tamils were not allowed to vote.

Agreements between India and Sri Lanka (Bandaranayke government of 1964 and 1974) gave citizenship to some 300,000 Indian Tamils while the rest (some 650,000) were forced to accept Indian citizenship. Many were repatriated to India, but a significant group of "stateless" persons remained in Sri Lanka (i.e. repatriation was not carried out effectively).

There have been many racial clashes in the country since independence (1957, 1958, 1961, 1965, 1977, 1981, 1983). The latest one was very serious. Some Tamil extremists ("Tamil tigers") killed 13 Sinhalese security soldiers. We may safely state that this group of extremists grew out of broad Tamil frustration at general government disinterest in matters of concern to Tamils and due to provocative behaviour by the security police. The Sinhalese population (often led by some right-wing Buddhist extremists, but probably also by leftists of Sinhalese origin) reacted immediately with violence ("the Tamils killed 13 national heroes.") The result of this revenge was:

- More than 1,000 Tamils killed.
- Burning and looting of thousands of Tamil homes, factories, shops and workplaces, rendering more than 150,000 people homeless and with more than 100,000 jobs lost.
- Many internal refugees, and refugees to South India.

(Source: ICFTU)

The racial relations issue in Sri Lanka is highly controversial indeed. Our thesis is that if ethnicity (some mixture of race, language, and religion) is to be regarded as a separate force in Sri Lankan politics, it must be shown that a shift of government (always based on majority Sinhala support) from conservative to socialist or vice versa does not significantly change the impact of government priorities in matters of concern to the Tamil minority. We believe that it is indeed possible to pose that argument.

(a) SLFP led governments: It is clear that both the TULF (dominated by Jaffna Tamils) and the CWC (dominated by Indian Tamils) strongly opposed the SLFP government from 1970-77. Especially the agreements of repatriation of "stateless" Tamils (last agreement in 1974) were regarded as some kind of "horse trading" by representatives of Tamil political parties. The nationalisation of plantations between 1972 and 1975 also produced great bitterness, among Indian Tamils in particular. It may be argued that the President of CWC, Thonderman as a plantation owner himself, was opposed to this wave of nationalisation as part of personal interest (personalities mean a lot both in the trade union movement and in the political parties of Sri Lanka). But it is still true that this nationalisation led to food shortages on many plantations. The actual mechanism is rather complex, but we believe that a combination of mismanagement of estates, negative effects of the import substitution policy, and the fact that agriculture was supposed to finance mechanisation of other economic sectors (traditional socialist strategy), led to this explosive situation. Kurian claims that of the 297 CWC-led strikes between 1972 and 1975, 119 of them were related to food shortages. (Kurian, 1983, p.4)

(b) UNP led governments: The CWC joined the "United Liberation Front" during 1977 elections, but the President of CWC, Thonderman, later became a member of the UNP Cabinet, while the TULF continued to oppose the UNP policy in the National State Assembly. This inclusion of Thonderman in the government may be regarded as a very clever, conscious action by the right-wing government. First the Tamils were drawn into a system of anti-worker policy, which of course created great anger among the Sinhalese working class. Second, the government did not carry out its promises (right of citizenship to all Tamils). It seemed to be more occupied with repressing the political opposition (of socialist Sinhalese) through arrests, declaration of emergency and presidential actions than to improve the conditions of the Tamil population. (In 1982, the President used the 22. Referendum to renew the life of the existing Parliament without calling for a general election. The parliamentary opposition were critical to this procedure and appealed to a boycott of the Referendum). Critics also claim that the government did little to stop the 'revenge' of the Sinhalese in the mid-summer riots of 1983.

If this argument is correct, we may conclude that ethnicity is a separate political factor in Sri Lanka, and that the victims are the Tamil population, regardless of the government. It is anyway dominated by Sinhalese interests (capitalist or working-class, but still, Sinhala). If this were not the case, the ethnic factor could be regarded as an instrument of some kind of class and/or religious interests. We believe ethnicity is a significant separate factor in Sri Lanka although it may serve as an instrument in other countries.

This may also explain why the Tamil population, with a dominant, poor, plantation working class, does not support the working class parties of Sri Lanka. The TULP is opposed to the present conservative government, while the CWC actually has joined the Cabinet of Ministers. Thus, some Tamils are both opposed to the Sinhala socialists and to the Sinhala conservatives, while some Tamils (the poor tea-plantation workers) support the conservatives. A strange and a very complex situation indeed.

### (3) GENERAL CONDITIONS OF TRADE UNION ACTIVITY

Trade unions are governed by the Trade Union Ordinance of 1935. This Ordinance requires that unions in the public services are not affiliated to any political party. The Trade Unions (Amendment) Act of 1970 partially relaxed some of the regulations applicable to public servants' unions with regard to political affiliation and freedom to form federations.

The Industrial Disputes Act of 1950 provides for the promotion of collective agreements and services of conciliation, voluntary and compulsory arbitration. Public servants were excluded from these provisions.

Generally, collective agreements cover wage rates, incentive payments, holiday pay, allowances, hours of work, bonuses, terminal benefits, strikes, mobility of labour, functioning of trade unions, and union subscriptions. In 1975 four major collective agreements were in operation. Ceylon Mercantile Union (CMU), Ceylon Workers'

Congress (CWC), and Ceylon Estates Staffs' Union (CESU) negotiated agreements with their counterparts, and three other large unions were covered by the Manual Workers' Collective Agreement of 1971. (Coldrick & Jones, pp.612-613)

A White Paper, introduced in 1978, proposed that Labour Councils should take the place of the existing trade unions in order to settle labour disputes. The trade unions opposed this, and the UN government confined the new rules to the public sector only. (C.R. de Silva, CFL Publication, p.36)

It must be added that the public sector accounted for 54 % of the value of production in manufacturing, 63 % of the ownership of the acreage under tea, 32 % of the ownership under rubber, and some 11 % of the coconut acreage when this White Paper was introduced in 1978. (Ibid., p-37) Thus, the public sector did indeed involve an important proportion of the Sri Lankan economy. De Silva stresses that probably 1 million workers were covered by the new government regulations (i.e. some 20 % of the labour force).

During the general strike in July 1980, probably more than 40,000 workers in the 'essential' services were dismissed. The 'essential' services represent public service and state corporations. According to ICFTU and ILO, 13,000 workers were unemployed in 1983 due to their participation in the 1980 general strike. (ICFTU and ILO, 15-18 Nov. 1983, §§ 351-458).

Two basic acts introduced in 1979 (Essential Public Services Act and Prevention of Terrorism Act) seem to have enabled the dismissals of employees and later, even arrests and victimisation of trade union representatives in Sri Lanka.

The Ceylon Federation of Labour and WFTU presented a complaint to ILO against the government handling of the general strike in July 1980. The ILO Committee of Experts expressed its deep concern about the development of industrial relations and requested to be kept continuously informed by the government of Sri Lanka (Case No. 988 and 1003, §§ 351-458)

Sri Lanka is a member of ILO and has ratified 25 ILO conventions. It has not ratified the important Freedom of Association Convention, No. 87, but it has ratified the Collective Bargaining Convention, No. 98.

Kurian classifies Sri Lanka as a "partly free" country with a rating of 2 in political rights and 3 in civil rights (on a descending scale where 1 denotes the highest and 7 the lowest degree of freedom). (Kurian, 1983, p.1634)

In view of recent events in the country this is probably a too high ranking. Amnesty International has expressed grave concern about the situation of human rights (and trade union rights) in the 1981-83 Annual Reports.

We have argued that ethnicity is probably one significant factor (among others) in explaining conflicts and riots in Sri Lanka since 1970. In order to assess the general conditions of trade union activity it is of course important to stress the limitations due to the new anti-worker, free tradist, policy of the Sri Lankan government.

(4) IMPORTANT NATIONAL CENTRES (based on Coldrick & Jones, pp.613-615)

All-Ceylon Federation of Free Trade Unions (ACFFTU)

Established: 1958, as National Workers' Congress (NWC).

International affiliation: WCL.

Membership: 6 unions.

ACFFTU affiliates include National Workers' Congress with some 60,000 members (1976), mainly in the plantations.

Ceylon Federation of Labour (CFL)

Established : 1948.

International affiliation: None.

Membership: 305,639 in 16 affiliated unions (1975).

Publication: Aramuna (AIM).

Cover hotels, estates, industry/manufacturing, ports, mercantile, banks, state corporations, public services, oil, gas.

Political affiliation: The Trotskyist LSSP.

Ceylon National Trade Union Confederation (CNTUC)

Established: 1966

Membership: 457,000.

Ceylon Trade Union Federation (CTUF)

Established: 1941.

International affiliation: WFTU.

Membership: 35,371 in 24 affiliated unions.

Political affiliation: CCP.

Ceylon Workers' Congress (CWC)

Established: 1940.

International affiliation: ICFTU, IFPAAW, PSI, expelled from IUF in May 1981.

Membership: 367,469.

Publications: Congress News (English), Congress (Tamil, bimonthly).

Political affiliation: CWC, regional party. Supports the UNP government.

Democratic Workers' Congress (DWC)

Established: 1956.

International affiliation: WFTU, TUI Agriculture.

Membership: 398,165.

Sri Lanka Independent Trade Union Federation (SLITUF)

Established: 1960.

Political affiliation: SLFP.

Membership: 65,132 in 35 affiliated unions.

International affiliation: WFTU.

Public sector federations:

Government Workers' Trade Union Federation (100,000 in 22 aff.)

Public Workers' Trade Union Federation (100,000 in 120 aff.)

Lots of individual unions, many in the public sector.

CWC, the only ICFTU affiliate, was expelled by the International Union of Food and Allied Workers' Association (ICFTU/IUF) partly because CWC did not support the general strike in July 1980 and partly because CWC President, Mr. Thonderman, Minister of Rural Development, did not allow the reinstatement of workers in the Milk Marketing Board. CWC was expelled in May 1981. The ICFTU disagreed in this, but did accept the right of IUF to carry out its decisions independently. (ICFTU)

#### (5) REPRESENTATIVENESS AND ORGANISATIONAL APPARATUS

##### Organisational apparatus

Data available only on CWC.

CWC: Organises mainly Indian Tamils working on tea plantations in the mid-country of Sri Lanka. The supreme executive of CWC is the Congress. Day-to-day activities are coordinated by a central apparatus, containing a juridical department, a workers education department, an international department, a department for communication (publication and information services), and an administration department. (CWC, Report of Activities, 1981)

RepresentativenessTable 2: Economically active population and labour force 1980/81

		Activity rate
Economically active population	5,715,000	47 %
Male	4,109,000	72 %
Female	1,606,000	28 %
(based on 1 year reference period)		
Employed population	4,731,000	
Male	3,623,000	
Female	1,118,000	
Unemployment rate		15 %
Male		12 %
Female		24 %

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Source: Socio-economic survey 1980/81, quoted in CWC, Country Report for ICFTU/IFPAAW/ADF Study Visit.

Table 3. Distribution of labour force by industry (1978)

	%
Agriculture, forestry, hunting & fishing	54.8
Mining & quarrying	0.4
Manufacturing	10.2
Construction	3.1
Electricity, gas, water & sanitary services	0.3
Wholesale and retail trade, restaurants & hotels	10.3
Transport, storage & communications	5.4
Community, social & personal services	14.8
Finance, insurance, real estate & business services	0.7

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Source: Kurian, 1983, p.1641.

According to Table 2, nearly 55 % of the labour force were employed in agriculture, forestry, hunting and fishing in 1978. This sector is dominated by the plantations producing tea, coconuts and rubber. Kurian also states that some 30 % of the economically active population were self-employed and/or unpaid family workers.

If we compare Table 1 and Table 2, we see that nearly 2.54 mill. workers were employed in the agricultural sector. (We have used the same proportions of the labour force in agriculture in 1980/81 as were reported in 1978 because this is confirmed in WDR, 1983.) According to claimed membership figures, some 850,000 of these employees were organised in the three unions CWC, DWC and ACFFTU. The three unions thus organise some 30 % of the agricultural labour force and, according to Kurian, probably nearly 50 % of the organised labour force in Sri Lanka (total: 1.5-1.6 mill. organised workers, all sectors). (Kurian, p.1641)

CWC and DWC both claim that they have a strong Sinhala basis. CWC is definitely a Tamil based union, but it is probably correct to state that DWC has a strong Tamil basis too .

#### (6) SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS

Principal indicators: GNP/C: US\$190 (1978).

World rank: 113.

Proportion of population in absolute poverty:  
22 %.

Table 4: Income distribution 1969-70

Percentage share of household income, by percentile groups of households

Lowest 20 %	Second quintile	Third quintile	Fourth quintile	Highest 20 %	Highest 10 %
7.5	11.7	15.7	21.7	43.4	28.2

Source: World Development Report. World Bank. 1983. p.200.

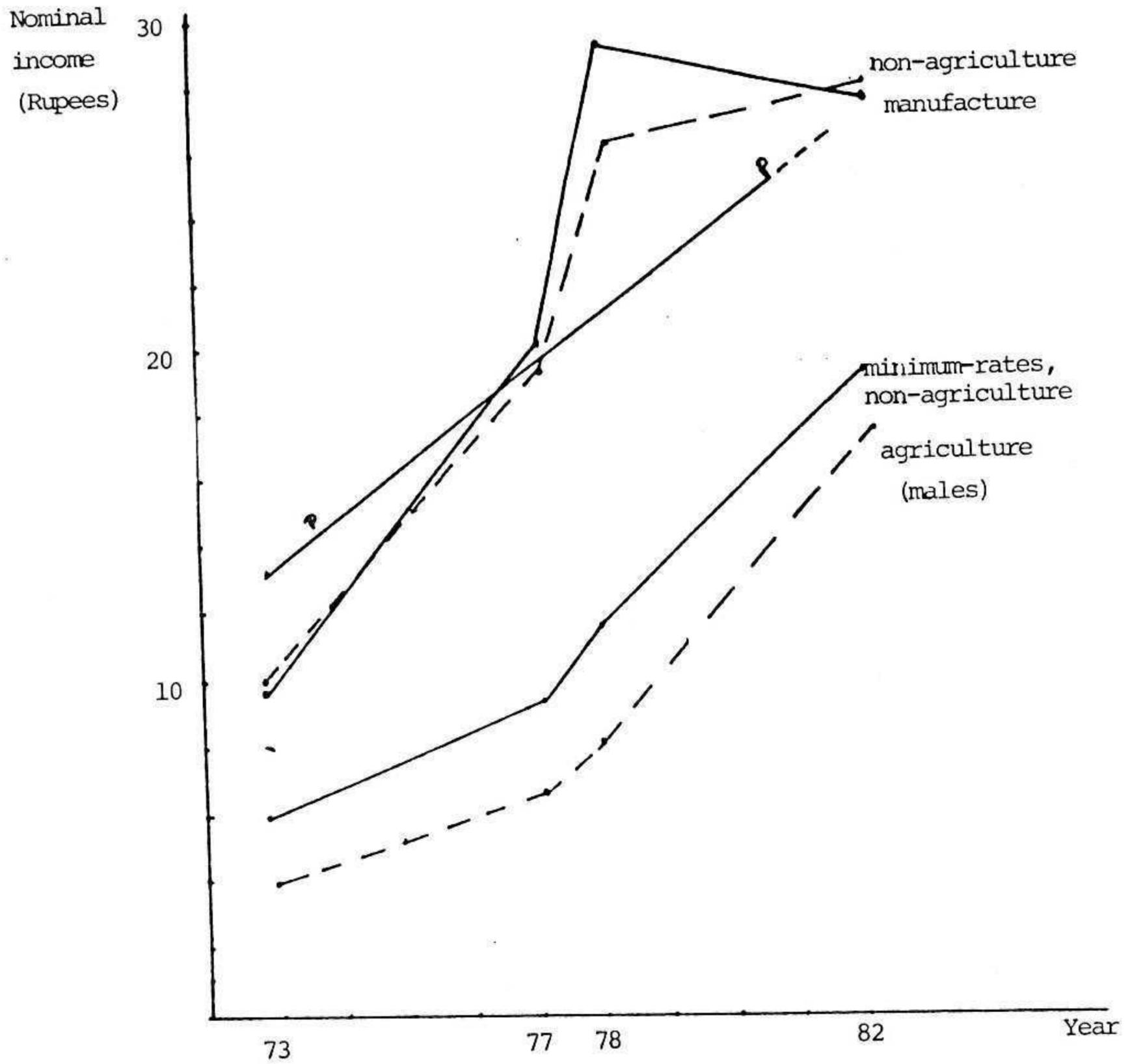
Sri Lanka is ranked as a low-income economy, and we see from Table 4 that incomes are very unequally distributed in the economy. While the lowest 20 % of households (ranked by income) had only 7.5 % of national income at their disposal, the highest 10 % received nearly 30 % .

Table 5 shows that nominal wages in agricultural and in non-agricultural activities developed along these lines:

1973:	Agriculture/non-agriculture	1 : 2.5
1977:	"	1 : 2.5
1978:	"	1 : 3.0
1982:	"	1 : 1.6

Wages (daily wages) are considerably higher (on average) in non-agricultural industries than in agriculture, but nominal wage differences have diminished since 1978. Non-agricultural workers have actually faced a reduction in their daily wages in real terms (and also in nominal terms for manufacturing workers) since the shift in government policy 1977/78. This probably means that many non-agricultural employees now are closer to poverty than ever, while plantation workers and minimum wage earners in other sectors have improved their incomes a little. Still, agricultural workers are very poor, due to the general state of underemployment (seasonal work on plantations).

Fig. 1 presents the essence of Table 5. According to Kurian, food prices increased some 11-12 % annually between 1970 and 1980. The line P-P presents this price increase in the Figure. A comparison of the growth rates of the curves indicates the development of purchasing power for major groups of employees (average figures) from 1973 to 1982. Agricultural workers lost purchasing power between 1973 and 1977, but have increased their purchasing power significantly since 1978. The same tendency occurs for minimum wage rates in non-agricultural activities. Nominal wages in non-agriculture (and in manufacture particularly) rose significantly until 1978. Since 1978, the purchasing power of workers in manufacturing has decreased, both nominally and in real terms (on average). We have to interpret these trends with care.

Figure 1. Nominal wage increases and food prices 1973-82

P: purchasing power of 10 Rs. (1970) from 1973 (= Rs. 13) to 1980 (= Rs. 25.5) according to food price increases in the period.

Table 5. Daily nominal wages by sectors 1973-75 (Rupees)

Sector	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982
Non-agricultural activities	9.97	12.48	13.72	14.40	19.19	26.95	25.41	27.22	27.52	28.28
- male	-	-	-	9.32	19.96	26.60	26.57	27.76	28.56	29.95
- female	-	-	-	9.47	15.80	17.23	19.64	24.66	25.25	24.22
- min. rates	5.83	6.88	8.04	8.77	8.81	10.83	12.65	15.39	17.12	18.78
Manufacture	9.75	12.30	12.183	12.99	19.05	28.75	24.85	27.52	28.25	27.79
- male	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	29.62	30.74	29.37
- female	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	22.34	23.87	23.92
Construction	6.40	9.71	10.74	12.01	13.02	12.40	16.96	21.06	28.57	-
Transport, storage & communication	11.32	13.91	16.99	18.52	21.47	23.89	29.48	29.85	30.15	31.10
Agriculture	-	-	-	-	-	-	11.20	13.88	14.19	16.48
- male	3.91	4.99	6.18	6.84	7.57	8.80	12.74	15.01	15.56	17.64
- female	3.58	3.80	4.72	5.23	5.98	7.61	9.65	12.74	12.81	15.32

Source: ILO, Year Book of Labour Statistics, 1983, pp.548, 557, 615, 620, and 627.

One possible interpretation:

The effect (on daily wage levels) of Bandaranayke policy (import-substitution as vehicle of growth) was an increase in real wages in non-agriculture, and a decrease in wages in agricultural activities. Minimum wages in manufacture also decreased in real terms in the Bandaranayke period. 1977/78 marked a shift in governmental orientation. The UNP cabinet introduced a new free trade policy (export orientation and free imports as vehicles of growth) which changed this situation dramatically. Wages in non-agricultural activities fell in real terms while wage levels for minimum wage earners and for agricultural workers (plantation workers) increased. Kurian claims that both minimum wages and agricultural wages are heavily regulated by various wage tribunals. These bodies secure an equalisation of wage levels for groups of plantation workers and for groups of minimum wage earners all over the country. Kurian also states that women's wages are on average 25 % below male wages, due to these regulations. (Kurian, 1982, pp.90ff.)

Another interpretation of the trends may be put in this way:

The political-economic basis of the Bandaranayke government was the support of industrial workers. Government policy secured a positive development of purchasing power for its supporters in manufacturing industries, financed partly by depressed wage levels in agriculture. In 1977/78 the shift in government changed this trend. The UNP government rested on popular support from agricultural workers (plantation Tamils) and prosperous country and city dwellers in Sri Lanka. This government introduced a free tradist anti-working class policy which heavily suppressed wage levels in manufacturing industries, but which allowed for some real wage increases in the agricultural sector and for minimum wage earner in non-agricultural activities.

The first interpretation sees the shifting trends in wage levels for various economic sectors as mirroring the 'invisible hand' of market forces, simply an effect of the shift from market regulations to market freedom. The second interpretation admits

political considerations. The government knew that a free trade policy combined with regulations of minimum wage levels (and wage levels for low-paid workers) would benefit both of the groups supporting the new government. Real wages for low-paid workers were protected by law; profits could increase due to the suppression of average wage levels in non-agricultural activities. Both the plantation Tamils and the well-to-do gained from this shift in policy, as the price was to be paid by the industrial (Sinhalese) working class throughout the country. Here we indicate an element of conscious political action, and not merely an 'invisible' effect of the working of the 'blind' market forces.

THAILAND

(1) CONSTITUTION AND GOVERNMENT

Thailand is a constitutional monarchy with the king as head of the state. Legislative power is vested in the National Assembly, which is composed of the elected House of Representatives and the Senate appointed by the king.

The armed forces have dominated the exercise of political power almost continuously since 1932. For 41 of the 52 years of constitutional monarchy in Thailand, a military officer has held the post of prime minister. (Delury, 1983, pp. 1006-1007)

The legitimacy of the regime is limited by its pervasive corruption. This lack of legitimacy may indicate why the dominant military elite and its allies have never been able (or willing, perhaps) to abolish the parliament. Still, power rests with the Monarch and the military.

In October 1976, a bloody military coup ended a three-year period of open politics in Thailand. The General Election of 1979 (where more than 8 political parties were represented in parliament) did not change this situation. The military dominance over Thai politics is now more manifest than ever. It is probably correct to connect the military takeover with events in South-East Asia following the Vietnam war (Vietnam's invasion of Cambodia and the strong US/Chinese opposition to Vietnam since that date).

Table 1. Turnout on General Elections from Feb. 1969 to April 1979

February 1969	50%
January 1975	47%
April 1976	46%
April 1979	40%
April 1979, Bangkok	19%

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Source: Delury, 1983.

The astonishingly low turnout in Bangkok clearly demonstrates voter apathy in the major city of Thailand. The military leadership and its allies in the state bureaucracy are the real rulers of Thailand, despite the freedom of elections, and the people of Thailand seem well aware of that.

#### GENERAL CONDITIONS OF TRADE UNION ACTIVITIES

Thai labour relations are regulated by the Labour Relations Act of 1975. This act specifies the fields of state intervention and control:

- (1) Job Regulation and Control. The Ministry of Labour administers research programmes (surveys) to check that firms actually implement labour practices in accordance with the law.
- (2) Registration of Unions and Employers' Associations. Trade unions and employers' associations must be filed with the Labour Registrar in order to obtain government recognition.
- (3) Collective agreements. The government requires collective agreements in each firm, but does not encourage centralized negotiations between federations of unions and federations of employers' associations.
- (4) Settlement of Trade Disputes. When conflicting parties are not able to reach agreement (at firm level), the Labour Department is empowered to conciliate the disputes. Strikes and lock-outs are not allowed in:
  - essential services (mostly public services)
  - when the country is under Martial Law (the last one was lifted in 1981)
  - when the national economy faces severe economic crisis.
- (5) Workmen's Compensation Fund and Severance Payment. Firms are obliged by law to pay 0.2-4.0% of the annual wage to a WCF. The Labour Protection Code of 1972 adds that management must pay 30 days' wages as severance pay for a worker regularly employed for 120 days or less, and some 180 days' wages upon termination of employment for more than 120 days. This is required because there is no social security system in Thailand. Firms are also obliged to pay (maximum) 30 days' sick leave annually (60% of normal pay each day of illness).

(6) Unfair Labour Practices. 246 trade union complaints were reported to the Ministry of Labour in 1976.

(7) Labour Education Programmes supported by the government.

It is difficult to evaluate actual labour practice (implementation of rules), but we have some indications: First it is important to stress that in Thailand the labour force is sharply split into different groups and fractions, a division which demonstrates the complex nature of labour relations in an industrializing country. The Thai Labour Department reported this structure in 1971:

Table 2. Structure of the Thai labour force in 1971 (percentages)

Subsistence system	3
peasant-lord relationship	32 ('feudal' relations)
primitive labour market	20 (probably no implementation of labour relation laws)
enterprise labour market	10 (mostly 'clean' labour relations)
enterprise corporativist system	6 (state enterprises, mostly 'clean' labour relations)
self-employed system	29 (all sorts of labour relations)

---

Total labour force,  
1971, 17,003,000, 100%

Source: Quoted from S. Chanpapaeng, 1973, p. 6.

Since 1971, Thailand has had an industrial growth rate of 8-9% annually. This has of course changed the structure of the labour market, but it is probably correct to state that even in 1984, there remain a dominant 'primitive' labour market and a system of 'feudal', 'semi-feudal' relations involving some 50% of the total labour force in Thailand. In 1978, more than 73% of the labour force was still employed in agriculture, forestry and fishing, while some 15% of the total labour force found its employment in manufacturing and commerce. The labour force in 1978 numbered some 22 mill. persons (47% of them women). A survey conducted by the Department of Labour in July-September 1978 reported that 52% of the employment in manufacturing was 'informal', i.e. employment in small firms (1-99 persons employed) where 'primitive' labour relations dominated. In the 'formal' sector (more than 100 employees), the textile and garment industries counted for more than 58% of total employment (Narong Petprasert, 1982, p. 14).

Our thesis is that implementation of Thai labour laws is found only in this 'formal' sector, involving large-scale manufacturing, commerce and some state enterprises. The rest of the labour market is dominated by lord-peasant relations and 'primitive' labour relations where laws are scarcely implemented and where there is only limited government control.

A government survey (Factory Department, Ministry of Industry) in 1980 reported that 5,976 factories in the four provinces of Bangkok, Samutprakarn, Northaburi and Pathunthani actually employed slaves: teenage girls who worked at least 12 hours a day for two meals only. The firms bought the girls from impoverished families for an annual pay of 3000-4000 B a year (Narong Petprasert, 1982, p. 16).

There is hardly any government intervention in rural Thailand in favour of agricultural workers. The following indications are put forward:

Thailand is a member of ILO and has ratified 11 ILO Conventions. The government has not, however, ratified the important Conventions No. 87 (Freedom of Association) or No. 98 (Collective Bargaining). The World Confederation of Labour (WCL) presented a complaint against the government of Thailand to the ILO in late 1981. On October 14, 1981, two leaders of a local union (affiliated to the National Congress of Thai Labour) were killed when trying to organise a union and to start collective bargaining at a local plant. The government made some arrests, and it became clear that the employers (Saha Farm Company Limited) had paid the killers. The government reported in its answer to the ILO Committee of Experts that it was impossible ('it was beyond the power of the government') to arrest the leaders of the company. The ILO Committee, knowing that 'primitive' labour relations are a key problem in Thailand, answered the Thai government in this way:

"The Committee draws the Government's attention to the principle that freedom of association can only be exercised in conditions in which fundamental human rights and in particular those related to human life and personal safety are fully guaranteed and respected; it requires the government to take appropriate measures to ensure that the right to personal safety of trade unionists is fully guaranteed."  
(Two Hundred and Thirty Third Report to the Committee on Freedom of Association, Case no. 1110, § 462,d.)

This is a clear example of non-intervention. Some cases of extreme police brutality have been documented, especially against farmer's unions. When peasants revolted against 'unfair labour practices' in February and August 1975, 21 peasant leaders and some student leaders were killed by the police/military. The government worked hard to destroy the peasant-student alliance represented by the Farmers's Federation of Thailand. There exists some freedom of association for 'blue collar' and 'white collar' workers in Thailand, but not for agricultural workers and peasants. This impression is strengthened when we take into account the repeated incidents of actions of the para-military groups (NAWAPOL, RED GAURS and VILLAGE SCOUTS) throughout the country.

In terms of civil and political rights, Thailand is considered as a partly free country with a rating of 3 in civil rights and 4 in political rights (complete freedom: 1, low freedom/no freedom: 7) (Kurian, 1983, pp. 1736 ff).

This is probably correct as long as emphasis is put on legal issues. However, we have to take into account that labour laws are hardly implemented outside the modern, large-scale industrial and commerce sector, which employs maximum some 25% of the labour force (when self-employment is not taken into account). This conclusion is also supported by Manusphaibool/Tantigate, 1977.

### (3) IMPORTANT TRADE UNION CENTRES

Official statistics in Thailand report 357 trade unions operating in Thailand as of 31 May 1981. These organised 200,000 workers (3-4% of total labour force) (Mielke, 1983, p. 1086, and N. Petpraset, 1982, p. 37).

In 1974, the Labour Coordinating Centre of Thailand (LCCT) was established. This centre was banned by the government in 1975, and some of the leaders joined the Communist Party of Thailand (PTC). At the same time the security police supported the establishment of the Thai Labour Centre (LCT), while radical and moderate trade union leaders (from 15 state enterprise unions) formed the

Federation of Labour Unions of Thailand (FLUT). This federation became the Labour Congress of Thailand (LCT) in May 1976.

Today, three federations dominate the organisational picture of the Thai labour movement: LCT, National Congress of Thai Labour (NCTL) and Free Labour Congress of Thailand (FLCT).

Labour Congress of Thailand (LCT)

Established: 1976

Membership: Organising 100,000 workers in 163 unions (50% of organised labour) (ICFTU, 1983)

International affiliation: ICFTU

Affiliation to political parties: The Democratic Party of Thailand has tried to control the union, but with scant success

Free Labour Congress of Thailand (FLCT)

Membership: No data

Profile: The federation is probably protected by the security police (ISOC)

National Congress of Thai Labour (NCTL)

Established: 1977(?) (in connection with the split of LCT into three fractions. This according to N. Petprasert, 1982)

There are many independent unions operating, some of which establish loose federations of action, together with LCT (on a single case to case basis) (Mielke, 1983, p. 1086).

(4) ORGANIZATIONAL APPARATUS AND REPRESENTATIVENESS OF TRADE UNIONS

LCT is probably the largest trade federation of Thailand, organising 50% of the trade union organised workers in Thailand (2% of the labour force). The Labour Act of 1975 allows collective bargaining only at plant level. Thus, LCT can only function as a coordinating centre of local trade union activities as far as bargaining is concerned. Mielke states that LCT is the 'moderate progressive, expression of the Thai labour movement at present' (op.cit., p. 1086).

Organisational apparatus.

No detailed data are available. LCT seems to function as a rather loose federation of locally based trade unions with some weight in the state corporative sector. LO-Norway supports a training programme for five public service unions in Thailand for the moment.

The receivers are:

- Electricity Generating Workers' Union
- Metropolis Electricity Authority Workers' Union
- The Labour Union of Metropolitan Water Works Authority
- National Housing Authority Workers' Union
- Provincial Electricity Authority Workers' Union.

The five unions are all affiliated to the Public Services International (PSI). The five unions organise 21,000 workers in the public sector. (ICFTU, Project Report, February 1982, 1982/NOR/ITS/VIII, p. 1.)

Representativeness

LCT: Strength in the state corporative sector (some 6% of total employment). Organises 163 of the registered 357 unions (1981) in Thailand, covering some 25% of the 'modern' sector. The 'modern' sector covers some 16% of total labour force (self-employed not defined as 'modern' employees).

ICTFU reports that nurses and civil servants are not permitted to organise, but this limitation do not affect the above mentioned public service unions. (Ibid., p. 2)

Trade unions are generally very little concerned about the wide-spread prostitution among women. This of course indicate the low female representation and influence in union policy, even though women cover nearly 50% of the Thai labour force. (LO-Norway)

#### (5) SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS OF ORGANISED WORKERS

Utrecht (1978) presents the following data on wage levels for different groups of workers, 1976:

Table 3.

<u>Groups of workers</u>	<u>Nominal pay/Bath(฿)</u>	<u>Nominal pay(US\$)</u>
Average wage (8-10 hour day)	30	1.50
(Average Philippines		1.30)
(Average Indonesia		1.25)
Average monthly wage (25 working days)	750	37.50
Skilled worker	1000-2000	50-100
Bus & car drivers	3000	150
White collar jobs	1500	75
Managers & higher echelons of technicians	10000-25000	500-1250
Foreign staff personnel	30000-75000	1500-3750

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E. Utrecht, 1978, p. 5.

The 1976 Minimum wage was ฿ 25 (\$1.25) per day. Reports from wage surveys show that many multinationals, especially Japanese, Taiwan and Honkong entrepreneurs, pay less than the prescribed minimum wage level, paying some ฿ 22-23 per day (i.e. \$1.10-1.15 per day). Still, multinationals are generally considered high wage firms (Utrecht, 1978, p. 5 and Manusphaibool/Tantigate, 1977, p.9). We must also take into account the fact that, while the prescribed

minimum wage has remained a stable  $\text{฿} 25$  nominal wage since July 1975, the annual inflation rate reached 13% (average) for the 1970s as a whole.

All the same, we must conclude that wage earners in Thailand with a stable income are well off, compared to the standard of living in the 'feudal' sector of the economy and compared to conditions of work and pay in the 'primitive' labour market of Thailand. According to Kurian (1983) 27% of the Thai population were living in absolute poverty in 1980. Wage-earners in the 'modern' Thai economic sector are not among those persons.



AFRICA



BOTSWANA

Organisations

Botswana Federation of Trade Unions (BFTU) is the main union in Botswana. We have found rather contradictory information on the number of unions and their number of affiliates. The two main sources are Inganji, Francis: Report to BFTU, and Mielke: Internationales Gewerkschaftshandbuch. The two sources do not use identical names for the trade unions, which may cause some misunderstandings. A list of the organisations with the number of affiliates is given in Inganji. We have compared this with the numbers given in Mielke (Right-hand column):

<u>BFTU affiliations</u>	<u>October 1981 Inganji</u>	<u>May 1980 Mielke</u>
Botswana Mine Workers' Union	3,400	2,000
National Union of Government Parastatal Statutory Bodies Manual Workers	3,400	4,000
Botswana Local Government Workers' Union	501	600
Botswana Railway Workers' Union	566	600
Botswana Commercial and General Workers' Union	800	655
Botswana Diamond Evaluators Workers' Union	75	45
Botswana Artisans' and Workers' Union	117	-
Botswana Meat Industry Workers' Union	600	650
Botswana Bank Employees Workers' Union	800	550

Non-BFTU affiliate membership by end of 1980

Botswana Construction Workers' Union	800	7,000
Botswana Bank Staff Employees' Union	80	550
Orapa Staff Employees' Union	26	-
Botswana Meat Corporation Staff Employees' Union	135	-
Co-operative Management Employees' Union	35	-
Non-Academic Staff Employees' Union	32	-
Central Bank Staff Employees' Union	36	-

In December 1983, BFTU reported 10 unions as members and 9,600 affiliates. This is 10.7% of total employment in the formal sector. BFTU expected that all the trade unions of Botswana would become members of BFTU by the end of 1985. Many of the leaders of BFTU are members of the ruling party (Botswana Democratic Party), but the union has a relatively independent position (Mielke:266-270). BFTU is a member of OATUU. It receives substantial support from the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung and AALC.

#### Representativeness:

The trade union movement is weak in Botswana. There are both vertical contacts (between leaders and members) and horizontal ones (between unions) (Mielke:266-270). BFTU is one of those most loyal to the government, but there have been illegal strikes also in BFTU unions with the leaders who are members of the ruling party. BFTU is primarily active in training and information programmes.

#### Organisational apparatus:

BFTU has 10 full-time employed in administration. As the law forbids full-time trade union work for trade union members, all those full-time employed in administration are professionals who are not members of any union. The economic situation for BFTU is very difficult. It has to rely on foreign support (AALC and Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung) to be able to carry out training programmes etc. BFTU lacks competent leaders (Mielke:269).

#### Conditions of trade union activity:

Botswana has ratified no ILO conventions.

The government has infringed trade union rights by limiting the right to organise for public employees. There are also limitations on the right to strike in some sectors (mainly export-oriented) (Mielke:266-270). As mentioned above, elected trade union representatives are not allowed to work full-time as trade union leaders.

Socio-economic status:

GNP per capita was \$620 in 1978, giving a world rank of 73. 31% of the population live in absolute poverty.

"Socio-economic development in Botswana" gives this table of earnings among employees:

Table 2. Mean monthly payments by economic activity and citizenship in 1980

<u>Economic activity</u>	<u>Mean monthly payments per person (Pula)</u>	
	<u>Citizens</u>	<u>Non-Citizens</u>
Freehold agriculture	47	544
Mining and quarrying	183	1271
Manufacturing	137	1044
Electricity and water	227	1917
Construction	116	894
Commerce	103	721
Transport and communications	200	1023
Finance and business service	210	1371
Community and social service	157	910
Education (private and state)	197	582
<u>Sub Total</u>	<u>144</u>	<u>977</u>
Central Government	283	723
Industrial class	112	-
Local Government	200	789
<u>Total</u>	<u>160</u>	<u>923</u>

Source: CSO, 1980 Employment Survey, August 1981.

The minimum wage varies with economic sector. The minimum is effective for few employees (Inganji:25). Even the minimum wage would represent relative wealth to a poor man (Inganji:27). The incident of poverty is most frequent among free-hold farmers (66%). 36-47% of the urban population live below the effective minimum level of subsistence.

BURUNDI

Organisations:

Union des Travailleurs du Burundi (UTB). Number of affiliates: Data not available. UTB was started by the government in 1967 and is closely linked to the ruling party (Mielke:293). Member of OATUU.

Representativeness:

UTB does not function as a trade union. It has no particular basis. Only 93,000 of the working population of 1.9 mill. are wage-earners. The union concentrates on training programmes, etc. (Mielke:293).

Conditions of trade union activity:

Burundi has ratified 23 ILO conventions, but not those concerning the right to organise, freedom of association or the right to collective bargaining (nos. 87 and 98). The military government would appear to be highly oppressive (Mielke:291-93), especially against members of the Hutu tribe.

Socio-economic status:

Data not available.

CAMEROON

Organisations:

Union Nationale du Cameroun (UNTC): 1.2 mill. affiliates, comprising 45% of the work force. The union is closely linked to the only political party, Union Nationale Camerounaise. Member of OATUU. The laws of UNTC state that a union may not join any international federation.

Representativeness:

No relevant data available.

Organisational status:

No data available.

Conditions of trade union activities:

Cameroon has ratified 42 ILO conventions. Among them are nos. 87, 98 and 135, but not supplementary conventions nos. 141, 151 or 154.

Cameroon is classified as a "not free" country with the negative rating of 6 in both civil and political rights.

The right to organise is restricted by law.

Strikes are illegal. Wages are, within certain limits, decided by the government. Within these limits, however, there is collective bargaining.

Socio-economic status:

The government sets minimum wages. The minimum varies with branch and region, the lowest minimum being for agricultural workers.

Generally, urban workers have a higher minimum than those in smaller towns, while workers in rural districts tend to get even less (Kurian:312).

CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

General remarks: In September 1981, all trade union activity was suspended until 1985. (ICFTU report from the 13th world congress: 133.)

Organisations (as of 1981):

Union Générale des Travailleurs du Centrafrique (UGTC): UGTC was suspended earlier in 1981 after a general strike. Estimated number of affiliates in 1974: 6,400 (Kurian:339). Affiliated to ICFTU from 1979. Only 1% of the labour force is unionised (Kurian:339).

Confédération Nationale des Travailleurs du Centrafrique (CNTC): Established by presidential decree in 1981 on the same day as UGTC was suspended. It is unclear whether or not UGTC members were automatically made members of the new organisation. CNTC has 6,000 affiliates, amounting to 10% of all wage-earners. Affiliated to WCL (ILO). After strikes in the public sector, all trade union activity was suspended in 1981.

Representativeness:

Only appr. 10% of the labour force are wage-earners. As mentioned above, 10% of the wage-earners were unionised in 1981. There were other unions than UGTC and CNTC, but these had only some 600 members (details not available) (ILO).

Organisational apparatus:

The unions have had one branch for the private and one for the public sector. There have been different professional organisations in this structure, as well as local branches of these professional unions. Members paid 1% of their wages to the union (Mielke:1208).

Conditions of trade union activity:

The Central African Republic has ratified 37 ILO conventions. Among these are conventions nos. 87 and 98, but not the supplementary conventions nos. 131, 141, 151 or 154.

The Central African Republic is classified as a "not free" country with a rating of 7 in both political and civil rights. During a short period in 1979, the UGTC was permitted to operate rather freely (ICFTU report from 13th world conference:132), but the rest of the period since independence (1960) has been difficult for trade union activity. There have been several arrests of trade union leaders and some organisations have been banned. As mentioned, all trade union activity was suspended in September 1981.

Socio-economic status:

GNP per capita is \$250 (1978; this yields a world-ranking of 100). In the Central African Republic, 53% of the population live in absolute poverty. Particular data on wage-earners are not available.

CHAD

General: In recent years, Chad has been ridden with civil war and intervention by Libyan forces, and no trade union activity has been reported. The country has been dominated by armies who terrorise the population. The judicial system no longer functions. Information has not been forthcoming since 1982.

Organizations:

Confédération Syndicale dy Tchad (CST): Established in 1979. 10,000 members (ICFTU report from 13th World Congress). Affiliated to ICFTU.

Union Nationale des Travailleurs du Tchad (UNATRAT): 8,000 members in 1975 (Mielke:1098). No international affiliation. Until 1975, UNATRAT was linked to the ruling party, but this came to an end when UNATRAT called for a strike in the public sector.

Representativity: No data available.

Organizational status: No data available.

Conditions for trade union activity:

The conditions for trade union activity are very bad, since parts of the country is dominated by civil war. Massacres on civilians have been reported by Amnesty International.

Chad has ratified 18 ILO conventions. Among these are conventions nos. 87 and 98, but not the supplementary conventions nos. 131, 141, 151, or 154.

Chad is classified as a not free country, with a rating of 6 in both civil and political rights.

Socio-economic status:

GNP per capita was \$140 in 1978, which gives a world rank of 120.  
75% of the population live in absolute poverty.

EGYPT

Organisations:

Egyptian Trade Union Federation (ETUF): has 3-3.5 mill. affiliates (Tawil, ILO) of 10-11 mill. employees (30%). Closely linked to the ruling party, National Democratic Party (Tawil, ILO, Mielke:174, and Delury:292). The Secretary General of ETUF is also Minister of Labour. ETUF is a member of ICFTU and OATUU.

United Arab Navigation Co. Trade Union Committee (Coldrick & Jones: 274)

No further data available.

Syndicate of Egyptian Journalists: Member of International Organization of Journalists (WFTU) (Coldrick & Jones:274)

Egyptian Teachers' Union (Coldrick & Jones:274)

No further information available.

Representativeness:

ETUF: There are free elections by secret ballot on trade union leaders. Although strikes are illegal and opposed by the leaders of ETUF, there have been some strikes (3;174), mainly on the local level. The strictly hierarchical structure gives the leaders firm control on the national level. The union is not involved in collective bargaining, as wages etc. are settled by the government. ETUF is mainly occupied with training and information programmes. The local trade unions have 50% of the representatives of the board of every firm or undertaking. Unions have influence on the overall social situation of their members through the unions' consultative function in the government, through the Minister of Labour and through the boards.

Organizational apparatus

ETUF is well organised and has many highly trained and educated leaders (Tawil, ILO). All ETUF representatives must be literate. The union carries out a wide range of training programmes.

Conditions of trade union activity:

Egypt has ratified 51 ILO conventions. Among the most important of these are nos. 87 and 98 and the supplementary no. 135, but not the supplementary no. 141 (rural workers), no. 151 (public service) or no. 154 (collective bargaining).

Amnesty International reports several violations of human rights in Egypt during the last 5 years, including infringement of the freedom of speech and the right to organise (see Amnesty Annual Report 1981, 1982, 1983). The right to strike (ILO convention) is not formally limited, but court actions are usually taken against every attempt to strike (Hodsdon:25). There is formal freedom of association in Egypt, but there are reports that in some cases, workers are forced to join the union (membership as a condition for receiving a visa and for renewal of taxi-driver's licence).

Socio-economic status:

According to Tawil (ILO), the lowest paid workers are the public employees. Hodsdon (ILO) states that construction workers' wages are at least double those of a farm worker (ETUF is relatively weak in the agricultural sector).

Since we lack data on where the union is strong, we cannot give any indication of the significance of trade union strength on wage levels.

GABON

Organisations:

Confédération Syndicale Gabonaise (COSYGA): 40,000-45,000 members, 31-36% of the wage-earners (1979) (Mielke:468). COSYGA is defined as a special branch of Gabon's only political party, Parti Démocratique Gabonaise (PDG) (Mielke:467), and is under government control (Mielke:470). All workers have to pay check-off to COSYGA, whether they belong to the union or not. The check-off is 0.2% of gross earnings (Mielke:468). Member of OATUU. COSYGA is particularly strong in the mining sector (ILO).

Representativeness:

PDG and COSYGA seem to have broad public support (Mielke: 467-70 and Delury:345).

Organizational apparatus:

Data not available.

Conditions of trade union activity:

Gabon has ratified 31 ILO conventions, among them the important conventions nos. 87, 98, and 135, but not nos. 141, 151 or 154.

The Secretary General of COSYGA has been imprisoned twice for illegal trade union activity (ILO).

Gabon is ranked as a "not free" country with a negative rating of 6 in civil rights and 6 in political rights (7 is lowest, 1 is highest) (Kurian:625).

Each union negotiates with the employers' organisation over wages, etc., but the right to strike is limited. Most disputes are settled by the government (Mielke:469).

COSYGA carries out some training programmes, but the organisation does not appear very active.

Socio-economic status:

Data not available.

## GAMBIA

Organisations:

Gambia Workers' Union (GWU): Number of affiliates: 3,000 (ICFTU, 1983, A-9) i.e. 10 % of the employees. Independent of political parties. Member of OATUU; ICFTU associate. In 1980, GWU was suspended by the government and has yet not been re-registered (Ibid., 133).

Affiliated unions: Gambia Farmers and Fisheries Union (35 members in 1976), Gambia Motor Drivers, Mechanics and Allied Workers' Union (800 members), Gambia Butchers' Union (120 members), and Gambia Government Motor Drivers and Mechanics' Union (200 members).

Gambia Labour Union (GLU): 7,800 members (1975) (Coldrick & Jones, 279) i.e. 25 % of the employees. Member of WFTU. It is not known whether KGLU has been de-registered like GWU. In July 1981 there was an attempted coup in Gambia, led by left-wing groups, but we have no information on whether this has influenced the authorities' attitude to GLU.

Gambia Trades and Dealers' Union. (Ibid., 280)

National Farmers' and General Workers' Union: Member of WCL Agriculture, TUI Agriculture. (Ibid., 280)

Gambia Teachers' Union: 400 members. Member of WCOTP. (Ibid., 280)

Gambia Journalists' Association: Member of IOJ (WFTU). (Ibid., 280)

At the end of 1979, GWU, Gambia Teachers' Union, and Hotel, Restaurant and Catering Workers' Union formed League of Trade Unions (LTU). LTU is yet not a new union but an organizational tool, where the aim is to form a new national union. (Mielke, 473)

Additionally, there exists an organisation called Gambia Trade Union Congress (TUC). This was formed by GLU together with several

other smaller unions. So far this organisation has not achieved recognition as a new union, but is affiliated to WFTU. (Ibid., 473)

Representativeness:

Of the non-agricultural labour force, 25 % are organised in trade unions. (Kurian, 644) GLU's official membership contradicts this number (officially GLU alone organises 25 % of all employees). If LTU succeeds in being registered as a new union, this will be the largest union in Gambia. (Mielke, 473) The Secretary General of GWU is said to have political ambitions reaching beyond the work of GWU, and this is to have caused the de-registration of GWU. (Ibid., 473)

None of the unions in Gambia seems closely linked to any political party.

Organisational apparatus:

No data available.

Conditions of trade union activity:

Gambia has ratified no ILO Conventions.

Gambia is classified by Kurian (1983) as a free country with a rating of 2 in both civil and political rights (1 is best, 7 worst). There are several parties and a parliamentary democracy. Collective bargaining between employers and employees is functioning.

The reason why GWU has been de-registered is in fact not quite clear.

Gambia has no army. In 1980 Senegalese troops invaded the country after the Gambian government had asked for assistance to fight the rebels who had tried to make a coup d'état.

Socio-economic status:

No data available.

## GHANA

Organizations:

Trade Union Congress TUC): In "Africa South of Sahara 1979-80", the number of TUC affiliates is reported to be 555,964, but it is not made clear whether this is the number of workers paying check-off or is only "paper-membership". Coldrick & Jones claim that the membership was 394,697 in 1976. (Ibid., p.283) A third alternative is given in "Internationales Gewerkschaftshandbuck": here the estimated number of affiliates is 380,000 for 1980. (Mielke, p.479)

TUC has 17 affiliated unions. These are, with international affiliation and the number of affiliates from (a) Africa South of Sahara, and (b) from Coldrick & Jones, pp.283-285.

	(a)	(b)
<u>Construction and Building Workers' Union</u> (PSI, ICFTU)	68,820	40,000
<u>General Agricultural Workers' Union</u> (IFPAAW; ICFTU, TUI Agriculture; WFTU)	111,184	81,600
<u>General Transport, Petroleum &amp; Chemical W.U.</u> ICPS; WFTU, ITF; ICFTU, IFPCW; ICFTU	15,704	4,500
<u>Private Road Transport Workers' Union</u>	21,700	20,000
<u>Health Service Workers' Union</u> PSI; ICFTU	12,000	38,000
<u>Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union</u> FIET; ICFTU, ITGLWF; ICFTU, IMF	114,000	80,000
<u>Local Government Workers' Union</u> PSI; ICFTU	36,000	38,000

	(a)	(b)
<u>Maritime and Dockworkers' Union</u> ITF; ICFTU	19,550	18,600
<u>Mine Workers' Union</u> MIF; ICFTU	21,200	23,074
<u>National Union of Seamen</u> ITF; ICFTU	8,416	7,000
<u>Post &amp; Telecommunication Workers' Union</u> PTTI; ICFTU, TUI Public Service; WFTU	11,200	7,422
<u>Public Services Workers' Union</u> PSI; ICFTU	28,000	15,600
<u>Public Utility Workers' Union</u> PSI; ICFTU	18,000	12,000
<u>Railway Enginememen's Union</u> ITF; ICFTU	701	816
<u>Railway and Port Workers' Union</u> ITF; ICFTU	13,587	10,810
<u>Teachers' and Educational Workers' Union</u> IFFTU; ICFTU	34,000	14,000
<u>Timber and Woodworkers' Union</u> IFBWW; ICFTU, TUI Agriculture; WFTU	20,850	4,000

TUC has not been much involved in political parties. In the last election (1979) TUC supported a social democratic party (SDF) which had little success.

There are no reliable data for the number of employees in Ghana. In the ILO "Yearbook of Labour Statistics", a figure of less than 500,000 (1980) is given, but this corresponds badly with the number

of affiliates in trade unions and especially the number of affiliates in 1966: 700,000. In Coldrick & Jones the share of employees organised in TUC is estimated at 75 % (1976). The number of affiliates reached a peak in 1966, but then the law that made unionisation compulsory was abolished.

Other trade unions: (Source: Coldrick & Jones, p.285)

Ghana Local Authority Teachers' Union:

Affiliated to INFEDOP/WFT; WCL.

Ghana Merchant Navy Officers' Association:

Membership: 390.

Affiliated to ITF; ICFTU.

National Association of Teachers:

Membership: 22,000.

Affiliated to IFFTU; ICFTU, WCOTP

We have no information on the profile of these organisations.

Representativeness:

TUC is the dominant union. It organises the majority of workers and has been (until the latest military take-over) an instrument for the workers of Ghana with one exception: it has not been closely connected to political parties. TUC was one of the founders of OATUU in 1973.

Organisational apparatus:

The supreme authority of TUC is the congress, which meets every four years. In the interim, decisions are taken by the executive board, which has one member from each of the 17 unions. TUC has eight special departments: administration, industrial relations, economics and research, organisation and welfare, international relations, education and training, finance and accounts, and publications and information. The organisation and welfare department assist workers in setting up consumer co-operatives. (Coldrick & Jones, p.282)

Conditions of trade union activity:

Ghana has ratified 36 ILO Conventions. Among these are Nos. 87 and 98. but not supplementary Conventions Nos. 135, 141, 151, or 154.

In 1975, the law that made trade union membership and check-off compulsory, was abolished.

Ghana was (1979) classified as a free country, with ratings of 3 in civil rights and 2 in political rights. (Kurian, 1983) Since then, the coup d'état of 31 December 1981 has changed the situation significantly. All elected trade union representatives have been suspended and a non-elected Association of Local Unions has been established by the government. ICFTU and several ITS's have submitted complaints to ILO against the government of Ghana for violations of ILO Convention No. 87.

Socio-economic status:

Since data on the strength of trade unions in different sectors are not available, we can give no indication as to the effects of trade union activity on the socio-economic situation.

Organisations:

Union Générale des Travailleurs de Cotes d'Ivoire (UGTCI):

Membership: 843,789 in industrial unions (1976) (Coldrick & Jones: 288). Furthermore, 90% of all employees are organised (Mielke:414). UGTCI is closely linked to the only party in the Ivory Coast, the Democratic Party of Ivory Coast (PDCI). Many of the leaders of UGTCI are also party leaders. UGTCI has never called a strike and co-operates closely with the government (Mielke:415). Member of OATUU.

Syndicat National de L'enseignement primaire public de Cote d'Ivoire: Member of WCOTP (trade secretariate, independent of central worldwide organisations) (Coldrick & Jones:288).

There exist trade unions that do not belong to UGTCI, but these have given no sign of ordinary trade union activities (Mielke: 415).

Representativeness:

UGTCI is without doubt the largest union in the Ivory Coast. Its associates in the party enjoy broad public support - 99% of the votes in elections, with 80% turnout (Mielke:415).

There have been some illegal strikes without the support of UGTCI.

Organizational apparatus: Data not available.

Conditions of trade union activity:

Ivory Coast has ratified 27 ILO conventions. Among these are nos. 87, 98, and 135, but not nos. 141, 151 or 154.

Amnesty International has reported several violations of trade union rights. Workers who have called for strikes have been arrested and conscripted into the army. (Amnessty International 1981 and 1982)

Socio-economic status:

We lack data on the strength of the trade unions in various sectors. Ivory Coast is one of the richest countries in Africa.

## KENYA

Organisations:

Central Organisation of Trade Unions (COTU): The only national centre in Kenya. With 300,000 members in 20 affiliated unions, COTU organises 23-25 % of the wage-earners. (Mielke, 1983, p.697) COTU's share of the wage-earners varies from approx. 10 % in agricultural work to approx. 90 % in local government administration, railways, and harbours. COTU is under government control. Its general secretary is chosen by the president of Kenya from a list presented to him by the executive board of COTU. COTU is member of OATUU.

Kenya National Union of Teachers: Approx. 90,000 members, (Mielke, 1983, p.697) i.e. 85 % of the total number in the sector. Member of SCOTP.

There are also several other unions not affiliated to COTU, but these have minor significance.

Representativeness:

Data here are scarce.

COTU - or at least some of its affiliated unions - has achieved significant results for its members. (Mielke, p.697) Although all strikes in Kenya since 1973 have in fact been wildcat strikes, these have been few and generally of short duration. Since COTU leaders do not call for strikes, these strikes are also protests against COTU.

Kenya National Union of Teachers is strong and well organised. It publishes a magazine with a sale of 60,000.

Organisational apparatus:

COTU seems well organised. It carries out educational courses and has started a "Labour College". COTU has also programmes for

bettering housing conditions for workers. The main source of funding is the check-off system.

In all the executive bodies of COTU, there are governmental representatives. Leaders of the individual unions are elected in ordinary elections, but the government has significant influence on the elections of COTU leaders. The Minister of Labour may at any time investigate the conduct of the leaders of COTU.

Conditions of trade union activities:

Kenya has ratified 42 ILO Conventions. Among these are Conventions Nos. 98, 135 and 141, but not Nos. 87, 151 or 154.

Kenya is classified as a partially free country with a rating of 5 in political and 4 in civil rights. (Kurian, 1983)

The freedom of association and the right to strike are restricted. In 1980, the government banned two unions: Union of University Workers and Union of Kenya Civil Servants. Our sources are inconsistent on whether these two unions at the time were members of COTU. Later on (1982), the government registered a new union, Kenya Civil Servants' Association, to substitute for the Union of Kenya Civil Servants. In 1983, however, the government de-registered Kenya Civil Servants' Association. This caused a complaint to ILO from PSI.

For a strike to be legal, the unions must go through a procedure in which the Ministry of Labour and the Industrial Court have the possibility to call the strike illegal.

As mentioned earlier, the government also has considerable influence on the elections of top union leaders.

Socio-economic status:

According to Kurian (p.943) average wages in 1977 were:

Finance, insurance, real estate, and business services	Ksh 22,728
Transport and communication	14,184

Restaurant and hotel	Ksh 13,200
Central government	13,200
Manufacturing	11,932
Construction	9,800
Agriculture and forestry	2,694

The government determines minimum wages, and unions and employers bargain on wages within limits set by the government. Minimum wages are higher in urban than in rural districts. Generally, wage-earners are better off than self-employed in rural districts.

## LIBERIA

General situation:

In 1980 there was a military take-over in Liberia. The situation in the country is still unclear. As of July 1st, 1984 it will again be possible to form political parties.

Organisations:

Liberian Federation of Labour Unions (LFLU): This is a coalition of three earlier organisations: Congress of Industrial Organisations (CIO), Labour Congress of Liberia (LCL), and United Workers' Congress (UWC). In 1978 CIO and LCL formed a new union: Liberian Federation of Trade Unions (LFTU). LFTU and UWC formed LFLU, which now is the sole national centre in Liberia. LFLU has 10-15,000 members (different contradictory sources); this amounts to 2-3 % of the labour force, and approx. 20 % of wage-earners in non-agricultural production (1976). Traditionally, unions seem to have been independent of political parties in Liberia. LFLU is affiliated to ICFTU and OATUU. Most of the unions are members of ICFTU or WCL trade secretariats.

There were unions outside the three national centres in 1978. We have got no information as to whether such unions still exist.

Representativeness:

LFLU organises only some 8 % of the wage-earners in Liberia. Before the military take-over in 1980, workers in agriculture did not have the right to organise. The government has now lifted this ban on unions in this sector, and this increases LFLU's potential significantly.

There is a check-off system for LFLU members, but only some 40 % of the members pay fees to the unions.

We lack data on the union's ability to express and work for the interests of their members.

Organisational apparatus:

Little information is available on trade union activities and organisation. It is not known how many unions are affiliated to LFLU.

All union administrators are paid by the national centre. Of LFLU's income from the check-off system, 40 % is redistributed to the local branches.

Conditions of trade union activities:

The situation in Liberia has not yet become fully stabilised after the military coup in 1980. Liberia is classified as a "not free" country with a rating of 6 in both political and civil rights. (Kurian, 1983) Liberia has ratified 16 ILO Conventions. Among these are Conventions No. 87 and No. 98. but not the supplementary Conventions Nos. 135, 141, 151 or 154.

Agricultural workers were formerly not allowed to form unions, but this ban has been lifted by the new military regime. Unions have been allowed to operate rather freely under the new government, but there is still a ban on strikes. Some illegal wildcat strikes have taken place, however.

NAAWU has lodged a complaint against the government because the National Agriculture and Allied Workers' Union of Liberia (NAAWUL) was suspended in 1982 (see ILO Case No. 1219). This union is now re-registered.

Socio-economic status:

Data not available.

MADAGASCAR

General remarks:

In 1975, the government was overthrown in a coup. There are still several political parties in the country, but they are expected to join the ruling party, the Avant-Garde de la Revolution Malagache (AREMA). The trade union movement is fragmented, partly because all parties are required to have a labour branch. All unions are expected to be connected to a political party.

Organisations:

Confédération des Travailleurs Malagache (FMM): 30,000 members in 1977 (Mielke:754). Formerly affiliated to ICFTU, now member of OATUU only. FMM was close to the Social-Democratic Party (PSD), which was the ruling party.

Cartel National des Organisations Syndicales de Madagascar (SEKRIMA): 42,000 members in 1977 (Mielke:756). Formerly affiliated to WCL and closely linked to the Christian Democratic Party ("Troisieme Force"). Now member of OATUU. 158 affiliated unions (Coldrick & Jones:301).

Fédéraation des Syndicates des Travailleurs de Madagascar (FISEMA): Formerly affiliated to WFTU and closely linked to the National Marxist Congress Party. 30,000 members in 1977 (Mielke:756).

Union des Syndicats Autonomes de Madagascar (USAM): 30,000 members in 1977 (Mielke:756) in 46 affiliated unions (Coldrick & Jones: 758). No affiliation to international organisations or close links to parties. The result of a splintering of FISEMA, USAM has little political influence (Mielke:758).

Syndicat Révolutionnaire Malagache (SEREMA): Founded by the ruling party (AREMA) in 1972 (Mielke:755). 30,000 members in 1977 (Mielke: 756). Still enjoys close links to the ruling party.

There are altogether 12 national centres in Madagascar, but the ones mentioned above are probably the most influential. The unions' affiliation to political parties and international organisations seems a matter of practical expediency rather than the result of ideological differences.

There are also some independent branch-specific unions. One of them is strong: Fédération de la Fonction Publique de Madagascar, which organises workers in the public sector (Mielke:755).

#### Representativeness:

Scant data are available about the situation on Madagascar. Altogether, the unions organise 22.5% of the total number of wage-earners (Mielke:756). Trade union activity seems rather low on Madagascar, partly because of the individualistic culture on the island (ILO; Mielke:759). It has been especially difficult to organise rural workers. It seems as though the unions often cooperate.

#### Organisational apparatus:

No data available. Mielke mentions that education and information activities are important to the unions (p. 757).

FMM carries out educational programmes supported by ICFTU. FMM also has a vanilla plantation subsidised by ICFTU.

#### Conditions of trade union activities:

Madagascar has ratified 29 ILO conventions, among them the important conventions nos. 87, 98, and 131, but not nos. 141, 151, or 154. Madagascar is classified as a "not free" country, with a rating of 6 in both political and civil rights.

There seems to be little organised opposition in the country. Those who express opposition to the regime are often arrested and

detained without trial, and are often ill-treated (Amnesty International Reports 1981, 1982, 1983).

Trade unions have been allowed to operate rather freely, but strikes in the public sector are illegal. A labour code from May 1975 states that employers shall not put any pressure on the wage-earners either for or against the formation of trade unions (Coldrick & Jones:300). The code promotes collective bargaining. The main influence of the unions seems to be that they elect representatives to the executive council and administration of the social security, both tripartite institutions (Mielke:756).

Socio-economic situation:

The poorest sector of the population are the peasants.

## NIGER

General remarks: Niger is one of the least urbanised countries in the world. Only 3% of the work force are wage-earners.

### Organisations:

Union des Syndicats de Travailleurs du Niger (USTN): The only national centre in Niger, it has 15,000 members in 27 affiliated unions (Mielke:833). Membership amounts to 37% of all wage-earners in the country. Member of OATUU. USTN is not independent of the military government, which has the right to have representatives in all official USTN meetings. In 1976, there was an attempted coup d'etat in Niger. The leader of the union was accused of taking part in this coup; the union was re-named and re-organised, and the general secretary imprisoned. Since then, the government has kept stricter control of the trade unions.

USTN has a large proportion of the workers in the public sector as members.

The unions are weakened by their very bad economic situation (Mielke:834). They are dependent on the government because the unions are not able to raise sufficient funding themselves.

### Representativeness:

As mentioned, only a minor share of the work force of Niger is employed. USTN is the only union in the country and organises a rather high proportion (37%) of the wage-earners.

Data on check-off are not available.

### Organisational apparatus:

The Union Congress, held every second year, is the highest authority in USTN. The Congress elects the 19-member Central Committee,

which is the administrative permanent body of USTN. Important decisions have to be taken by the Union Council, which includes the Central Committee plus the general secretaries of the 27 affiliated unions.

USTN is relatively centralised, and initiatives are taken from above (Mielke:833).

Conditions of trade union activities:

Niger has ratified 26 ILO conventions. Among them are conventions nos. 87, 98 and 131, but not conventions nos. 141, 151 or 154. Niger is classified as a "not free" country with a rating of 7 in political and 6 in civil rights. However, there is a tradition of fair play and justice which tends to reduce the abuse of power. In recent years, there has been a development towards civilian rule (Kurian:1319).

Labour rights, including the right to strike, are respected, but rarely exercised (Kurian:1319). Strikes are illegal, except for within the mining sector (ILO).

Socio-economic status:

No exact data available.

All wage-earners are privileged compared to most of the population (Mielke:831).

## NIGERIA

General

Nigeria has experienced political instability since independence in 1960. The most recent event was the military take-over in 1983. We have found very little information about the situation in the country under the new regime.

The structure of trade union organisations has also been highly unstable. Various attempts to form strong national centres have met with little success. Generally, national centres have had little influence compared to local and branch specific unions.

Organisations

Nigeria Labour Congress: Founded by four national centres in 1975. NLC was not recognised by the military government until 1978. During this period, the government re-organised the trade unions. The number of unions was reduced from some 1000 to 42. NLC membership might have been as high as 791,000 in 1978. In 1981 there was a split in NLC, and 20 of the 42 unions declared that they would form a new national centre. If this centre ever has come into existence, is not known to us. In 1981 it was reported that the civilian government prepared a bill that would legalise a new national centre. It has not been possible to find out whether the union centre called Congress of Democratic Trade Unions (CDTUN) was recognised before the military take-over in 1983. In the Nigerian press, the split in NLC is said to have been caused by political differences. The president of NLC who was elected in 1981 (Sunmonu) was classified as "marxist" and the founder of CDTUN (Ojeli) as "democrat". (Mielke, p.836)

NLC combines a communist and a nationalistic profile (ISS). The national centre is relatively weak, whereas local unions have more influence. (ISS; Blum, p.429) Most of the unions that existed before the government re-organised the trade union movement in 1978 were members of WFTU, WCL or ICFTU trade secretariats. A

presidential decree of 1973 prohibited international affiliation, (Mielke, p. 836) but this law might have been changed. NLC is member of OATUU only. (ISS)

The 791,000 unionised workers in 1978 accounted for approx. 60 % of all wage-earners. The unions have a voluntary check-off system.

### Representativeness

The central organisation of NLC is weak. Some of the affiliated unions are rather influential. (ISS) Among the strongest are the unions in public administration. Unions in the private sector were previously (before 1978) very fragmented.

In 1979 NLC decided that it was to be independent of all political parties. (Mielke, p. 841) When the military came to power in 1983, the unions at first approved the take-over, but lately they have become more critical. (ISS, NLC Resolution, January 6th, 1984) NLC has little control over its members, as can be seen from the number of wildcat strikes. (Mielke, p. 837) Both Mielke, Blum, and sources at ISS imply that connections are poor between leaders of NLC and union members. Moreover, many of the leaders, especially in the industrial sector, are corrupt. Most negotiations take place on a local level. Political and tribal conflicts make it difficult to form strong nationwide unions.

Trade secretariats have played an important role in Nigeria. (ISS) In 1975, the government banned co-operation in international trade union organisations. (Coldrick & Jones, p.323)

In 1978 and 1981, NLC tried to make the government increase the minimum wages. In 1981, they called a general strike and some results were achieved. Now, securing trade union rights is the most important task for NLC. (ISS) The CDTUN union did not take part in the 1981 general strike.

### Organisational apparatus

The highest authority in NLC is the congress, held every three

years. The congress elects the executive board, which is the highest authority between congress sessions.

A major problem of the trade unions has been the lack of qualified leaders. This is one reason why NLC has established the "Trade Union Institute" and the "Patrice Lumumba Labour Academy", which both are institutes for training trade union leaders.

#### Conditions of trade union activity

Nigeria has ratified 27 ILO Conventions. Among them are Conventions Nos. 87 and 98, but not the supplementary Conventions Nos. 131, 141, 151, or 154. Nigeria is classified as a free country with a rating of 2 in political rights and 3 in civil rights. (This rating was, however, given when there was civilian rule in Nigeria.) (Kurian, 1983)

Trade unions were not recognised for a period of three years (1975-1978) under the former military regime. The civilian government respected trade union rights. We have very little information about the situation under the new regime.

In the period 1978-1981, only NLC was allowed to operate, and international affiliation was prohibited. In some professions in the public sector, the workers are still not allowed to organise (electricity supply, policemen, military officers, etc.).

Trade union potential is not very high. Only some 4.5 % of the labour force are wage-earners. Conflicts between various ethnic groups further reduce the potential of trade union impact.

#### Socio-economic status

In Nigeria, GNP per capita was \$560 in 1978 (ranked 76 in the world). Of the population, 30 % live in absolute poverty. Other information on income distribution is not available.

SENEGAL

Organizations:

Confédération Nationale des Travailleurs Sénégalaise (CNTS): The number of affiliates was appr. 80,000 in 1977 (Mielke:985). More recent information indicates that the number has decreased to 60,000 or even 29,000 (Mielke:985). Until 1979, CNTS had formal links to the ruling Socialist Party (PS), and the leaders of CNTS still say that they will follow the ideology of PS. Member of OATUU. (Mielke:984)

Union des Travailleurs Libres du Sénégal (UTLS): 10,000 members in 1976 (Mielke:984). Affiliated to WFTU (ILO). Close to the PSD party (left-wing).

Union des Syndicats Confédérés du Sénégal (USCS): No data available.

Confédération Générale des Travailleurs Démocrates du Sénégal (CGTDS): No data available.

Syndicat Unique et Démocratique des Enseignants du Sénégal (SUDES): Teachers' organisation, with 33% of the teachers. Marxist-dominated. In constant rebellion against the regime, SUDES has been fighting hard both for better educational system and for higher wages (Mielke:985; Delury:890).

Organisational apparatus:

CNTS is composed of 10 unions in 62 professional branches. No other data available.

Representativeness:

The trade union movement in Senegal is the strongest in Western Africa (ILO). A full 60% of the organised workers are members of CNTS (ILO).

Conditions of trade union activity:

Senegal has ratified 32 ILO conventions, including nos. 87, 98 and 131, but not nos. 141, 151 or 154. Senegal is classified as a "partly free" country with a rating of 4 in both civil and political rights. The country has not got a better rating because the constitution limits the number of parties (max. 4) and the ideological basis of these parties (1 conservative, 2 centre/left, 1 left). Amnesty International has no reports on violations of human rights in Senegal for the period 1981-83.

There are more than 4 parties in Senegal, but not all are officially recognised. From 1974, there has been a process towards democracy and pluralism in Senegal (Mielke:984). Less than 8% of the labour force are wage-earners.

Socio-economic status:

GNP per capita was \$340 in 1978 (ranked 89). In Senegal, 36% of the population live in absolute poverty.

## SIERRA LEONE

General:

Until 1981, trade unions operated relatively freely in Sierra Leone. In 1981 and 1982 there were some strikes, and trade union leaders were arrested. We have found little information about the situation in the country after 1982.

Organisations:

Sierra Leone Labour Congress (SLLC): Formed in 1976 by coalition of the two national centres. Different sources give contradictory information on the number of unions that are member of SLLC: 12 (Amnesty International, 1982, p.71 and Delury, p.1580), 20 (Mielke, p.991), and 22 (Coldrick & Jones, p.356). The number of affiliates reported varies from 50,000 (Coldrick & Jones, p.356), 20,000 (Mielke, p.991) to 18,000 (Delury, p.1580). There are 72,000 wage-earners in Sierra Leone (1981) (ILO), so SLLC organises somewhere between 69 % and 25 % of the total. The unions that are members of SLLC are general unions. In 1976 SLLC decided to restructure by organising industrial unions. (Mielke, p.991) We have no information to indicate whether this reorganisation has taken place.

Some years ago, SLLC had very close links to the sole political party in Sierra Leone (APC). The President saw the union as an instrument for his own policies. (Mielke, p.991) However, this good relationship must have deteriorated, to judge from the events in 1981 and 1982.

SLLC is a member of ICFTU.

There are reports of other unions in Sierra Leone. Delury reports on 15 unions that are not members of SLLC (p.1580). No other information is given about these unions.

Representativeness:

Several sources characterise SLLC as a strong and powerful union. In 1981, there was a split in SLLC. One of its members (Sierra Leone Motor Drivers' Association) did not participate in the general strike called by SLLC, and this union was later suspended from SLLC.

Organisational apparatus:

As mentioned, SLLC was an association of general unions until 1976. This structure was not appropriate for the work of the union and weakened the unity within. (Mielke, p.991) This structure may have been changed since then.

In 1980 the unions in printing and construction negotiated agreements on a check-off system. If the unions had a share of the wage-earners higher than 50 %, check-off was to include all the workers in a company. (Social & Labour Bulletin, 3/80) We lack information about similar systems in other sectors.

Conditions of trade union activity:

Sierra Leone has ratified 32 ILO Conventions. Among these are conventions No. 87 and 98, but not supplementary Conventions Nos. 131, 141, 151 or 154.

Sierra Leone is classified as a partly free country with a rating of 5 in both civil and political rights. (Kurian, 1983) Prior to 1980 there had been no reports of arbitrary arrest, but this situation has changed. Amnesty International has expressed concern over the arrests of trade union leaders in 1981. These leaders were freed later in 1981.

In 1982, the SLLC Executive Committee was dissolved and a caretaker committee was set up under Labour Ministry supervision, comprising one member from each union affiliated to SLLC. Later on the same year, the congress of SLLC was postponed twice due to government pressure. (ICFTU report from 13th World Congress)

More recent information has not been available.

In February 1982, a commission appointed by the Government completed a report on the laws on labour relations in Sierra Leone.

The commission concluded that reforms were necessary to make labour relations smoother. (ICFTU report from 13th World Congress) Prior to 1982, wages and conditions of employment were regulated by a joint national negotiating board in 14 trade union councils. The secretary of union calling a strike had to give the Ministry of Labour 21 days' notice before starting the strike, if workers on strike were to retain ordinary labour rights. (Coldrick & Jones, p.356)

Socio-economic status:

GNP per capita was \$210 in 1978, ranking Sierra Leone as no. 110 in the world. Of the population, 39 % lived in absolute poverty.

TANZANIA

Organisations:

Jumuiya ya Wafanyakasi wa Tanzania (JUWATA): Membership: 350,000, or some 63% of all wage-earners. JUWATA is the sole national centre in Tanzania and is an affiliate to the only political party in the country, Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM). JUWATA is a member of OATUU. The General Secretary of JUWATA is also Minister of Labour.

Representativeness:

As mentioned above, JUWATA organises some 63% of the wage-earners and is a part of the ruling party. CCM seems to enjoy broad public support and there is no organised opposition to the party. JUWATA has gained relatively high minimum wages, although these minima are set by the government. There is collective bargaining on wages, but if agreement between the union and the employers cannot be reached, the Minister of Labour can dictate the result. The main function of JUWATA is as a communication system (Mielke:1081).

Organisational apparatus:

The Secretary General and the Deputy are appointed by the government. The Secretary General appoints the other 7 members of the Executive Board, which appoints the leaders of the 7 affiliated unions. In each plant, there are "Workers' Committees" elected by and among the workers. These committees do not function as the employers' counterparts, but as tools for improving work discipline and for giving the workers a feeling of identity with both their plant and the party (Mielke:1081).

Conditions of trade union activity:

Tanzania has ratified 18 ILO conventions. Among these is convention no. 98, but conventions nos. 87, 135, 141, 151, and 154 have not been ratified. Tanzania is classified as a "not free" country, with

a rating of 6 in both civil and political rights. Only the party (CCM) has the right to arrange political meetings and rallies. There are probably some political prisoners in the country, but since there is no organised opposition, political confrontations are few.

The right to strike is limited; in fact there are never legal strikes. The compulsory procedure when voluntary agreements are not reached in collective bargaining gives the government the possibility to dictate a result. However, some strikes do take place.

Socio-economic status:

Trade union influence on the socio-economic status of its affiliates is difficult to estimate. According to Mielke (Mielke:1082), JUWATA has achieved significant results in increasing minimum wages.

Generally, peasants are poorer than wage-earners in Tanzania; the poorest are often the unemployed.

TOGO

General: Togo has been under military rule since 1963. It is a one-party state. Only 3% of the labour force are wage-earners.

Organisations:

Confédération Nationale des Travailleurs du Togo (CNTT): Founded by the government in 1973 after the dissolving of two existing unions in 1972. There are no other unions in Togo. CNTT has 37 affiliated unions with a total membership of 75,000 (Mielke:1090). In contrast, Encyclopedia of the Third World puts the number of wage-earners at 30.000 (Kurian:1761)

CNTT is a member of OATUU. Some of the affiliated unions are members of international secretariats. Both ICFTU, WFTU and independent trade secretariats have member organisations in Togo.

CNTT is very closely linked to the ruling party (RTP). The programme of CNTT states that the union will support the government in its struggle against underdevelopment and international dependence. There have been few conflicts between employers and employees in Togo in recent years. This is probably due to the country's rapid economic growth, resulting from the increase in the price of phosphate (Mielke:1091).

Representativity:

It is not possible to give any figure of the membership percentage for CNTT, but presumably it is rather high. One reason for this may be that trade union membership carries a lot of advantages (Mielke:1091). CNTT is economically strong, due to a compulsory check-off system and additional fundings from the government. (Mielke:1091).

Organizational apparatus:

The highest authority lies in the Congress, which meets every 5 years. The Congress elects the Executive Committee, which is next in authority. The Committee meets at least 4 times a year. Day-to-day matters are handled by the secretariat. The 37 affiliated unions and 21 regional branches have little power and receives only 40% of the income from the check-off system (Mielke:1092).

Conditions for trade union activities:

Togo has ratified 12 ILO conventions. Among these is convention no. 87, but none of the other important conventions.

Togo is classified as a not free country, with a rating of 7 in political and 6 in civil rights. Amnesty International claims that there are numerous political prisoners in Togo.

The constitution of Togo does not guarantee human rights (Kurian: 1757), but the regime has granted greater freedom in later years than in the beginning of its period in power (Kurian:1757).

Socio-economic status:

GNP per capita was \$320 in 1978, giving a world rank of 73. 43% of the population live in absolute poverty.

UGANDA

General: In 1979 armed forces, consisting of Ugandan oppositional groups and the army of Tanzania, overthrew the regime of Idi Amin. In 1980, Milton Obote came into power. The government is not in full control of the country, and in some regions events occur that is verging on civil war.

Organisations:

National Organisation of Trade Unions (NOTU): Formed by legislation in 1973. Affiliated to ICFTU in 1980. 150,000 members (ICFTU report from 13th World Congress). No information on the profile of NOTU is available.

Representativity:

There are approximately 300,000 wage-earners in Uganda (Kurian: 1845), of which NOTU organises 50%. The economically active population is 4.799 mill. (1981).

No other data is available.

Organisational apparatus:

No data available.

Conditions for trade union activity:

Uganda has ratified 21 ILO conventions. Among these is convention no. 98, but not conventions nos. 87, 131, 141, 151, or 154.

Uganda is classified as a partly free country with a rating of 5 in both political and civil rights. However, Amnesty International has reported on detentions without trial, torture, extra-judicial executions etc. (Amnesty International Report 1981, 1982, and

1983). Armed bands and army personnel terrorise the population in parts of the country.

Socio-economic status:

GNP per capita was \$290 in 1978. This gives a world rank of 99. 64% of the population live in absolute poverty.

## UPPER VOLTA

General: Of the 3.3 mill. economically active population, only approx. 1% are wage-earners. At any given time, 20% of the labour force is employed outside the country, mainly in the Ivory Coast.

### Organisations:

Confédération Nationale des Travailleurs Voltaïques (CNTV): 4,300 members in 14 affiliated unions (Kurian, 1972). Associated with WCL and member of OATUU.

Organisation Voltaïque des Syndicates Libres (OVSL): 2,500 members in 7 affiliated unions (Kurian, 1982). 6,000 members (ICFTU report from 13th world congress, Coldrick & Jones:424). Affiliated to ICFTU and OATUU.

Confédération Syndicale Voltaïque (USTV): 4,300 members in 14 affiliated unions (Coldrick & Jones:425). Affiliated to WFTU and OATUU.

Union Générale des Travailleurs Voltaïque (UGTV): Established in 1978 by suspended OVSL leaders. The smallest of the unions.

Most of the unions belonging to national centres are affiliated to international secretariats.

Altogether, the unions organise 50% of the wage earners in Upper Volta (Mielke:856).

The unions in the public sector (especially CSV) are the most influential (Mielke:856).

### Representativeness:

The national centres in Upper Volta adhere to the principle of pluralism in the trade union movement, but generally they cooperate

well in crisis situations. The CNTV, OVSL, CVS, and USTV alternate in sending representatives to ILO congresses. CVS is expanding in the public sector, especially at the expense of USTV. In recent years, they have also started to expand in the private sector, where OVSL and CNTV have dominated trade union activity (Mielke: 857).

The trade unions are traditionally independent of the political parties in Upper Volta (Mielke:857).

In 1980, the two teachers's unions, both affiliated to CVS, went on strike. The other national centres were, however, not willing to support the strike (Mielke, 1983).

The trade unions are highly influential, partly because they organise employees with central positions in public administration (Delury, 1149).

#### Organisation:

All the national centres consist of several industrial unions. None have a check-off system, but get funds from selling membership cards (Mielke:856). The unions have great economic difficulties and are dependent on foreign support to be able to carry out training programmes (Mielke:856).

#### Conditions of trade union activity:

Upper Volta has ratified 32 ILO conventions, among them conventions 87, 98, and 131, but not conventions nos. 141, 151 or 154. Upper Volta is classified as a "partly free" country, with a rating of 6 in political and 5 in civil rights. The country has a tradition of democracy; before the military take-over in 1980, human rights and trade union rights were respected with a few exceptions. However, the trade unions had a rather strained relationship to the last civilian government and supported the military take-over in 1980. Since then, the new regime has banned one national centre (CVS) and has arrested several trade union leaders. Strikes were banned for

one period from 1982-1983. This ban has now been lifted, but there are still some restrictions compared to the regulations before the ban. The most recent development seems to be in the direction of greater freedom, however.

The potential of trade union activity is limited, since only 1% of the labour force are wage-earners. Upper Volta is one of the poorest countries in the world, which is one reason why the trade union movement has such strained economic conditions.

Socio-economic status:

GNP per capita was \$160 in 1978, which gave a world rank of 117. Furthermore, 75% of the population live in absolute poverty.

No other relevant information is available.

ZAIRE

Organizations

Union Nationale des Travailleurs du Zaire (UNTZ): Established in 1967 after pressure from the government. UNTZ has 1.6 mill. affiliates in 18 industrial unions, and is closely linked to the government which has full control over unions (Mielke:1202-1205). In the latest UNTZ election, President Mobutu was unable to make one of his allies win, and this may cause some change (ILO). Generally, many trade union leaders have also been prominent leaders of Zaire's only political party: Mouvement Populaire de la Révolution (MPR).

Representativeness:

UNTZ organises 20% of the workers. The union's representativeness is closely linked to MPR's public support, since the two organisations are closely linked. The union is also highly centralised. UNTZ's policy is that the union must take careful consideration of the effects of wages on inflation and competitiveness (Mielke:1204). There have been some wildcat strikes opposing UNTZ policies.

Organisational apparatus:

UNTZ has a large administrative apparatus. It was previously the only trade union in black Africa with a research department. The leadership is dominated by university graduates (ILO).

Most funding comes from the check-off system, but UNTZ also receives substantial financial support from the Afro-American Labour Centre and Institut für Internationale Solidarität (Mielke:1205). The highest authority in UNTZ is its Congress, which meets every 5 years. No other information is available on the UNTZ administrative apparatus.

In all undertakings, there are "Workers' Delegations", which are the workers' representatives on the local level. They are protected

against discrimination by the employers and are entitled to some days off for union duties. They function as consultants on hiring and firing workers, workers' training and education etc. The delegations also carry out the collective bargaining. The trade union has representatives in the National Labour Council. This is a tripartite consultative institution where the government, the employers' organisation and the trade union all have equal representation (Mielke:1203).

Conditions for trade union activity:

Zaire has ratified 35 ILO Conventions. Among these are conventions Nos. 131, 141 and 151, but not Nos. 87, 98 or 154.

Zaire is classified as a "not free" country with a rating of 6 in both political and civil rights.

Amnesty International has reported on several violations of basic human rights.

Only MPR has the right to organise social, sport, youth or political associations.

However, there exist several minor underground oppositional organisations (Delury:1205-1208).

In recent years, it seems as though Mobutu has loosened his grip on the political life of Zaire somewhat.

There is a formal right to strike, but all the procedure to be followed in calling a strike makes it possible for the government to deem the strike illegal. There have been several illegal strikes, some of which have won benefits for the workers (Kurian, 1981).

Socio-economic status:

GNP per capita was \$210 in 1978, giving Zaire a world rank of 112. Furthermore, 60% of the population lived in absolute poverty.

Minimum wages are set by government decree and varies with region.

ZAMBIA

Organizations:

Zambia Congress of Trade Unions: 266,905 members, est. 71% of all wage-earners. Affiliated to OATUU. ZCTU has 18 affiliates, but only a few of these are affiliated to trade secretariates. Those who are, are affiliated to ICFTU-affiliated secretariats. The government has tried to control the unions. This has caused a difficult relationship, leading to wild-cat strikes, imprisonment etc. Before nationalisation of the mines in 1978, ZCTU often supported the ruling party, United National Independence Party (UNIP).

ZCTU is particularly strong in the mining sector, represented by Mineworkers' Union of Zambia (MUZ). Their leadership is often characterised as the country's second government.

Zambian African Mining Union - Membership: 40,000.

Representativeness:

ZCTU is the only national centre in Zambia. It organises 71% of the wage-earners. The structure of ZCTU is pyramidal: In each plant there are workers' councils. These send delegates to the conference, which in turn elects the executive board of the union.

Organisational apparatus:

The electorate system is mentioned above. ZCTU has a well developed training department. MUZ has the best organisational apparatus. The union has its own farm and carries out information programmes.

Conditions of trade union activity

Zambia has ratified 35 ILO conventions, but not the important conventions Nos. 87 and 98. Zambia has ratified supplementary conventions Nos. 135, 141, 151 and 154.

Zambia Congress of Trade Unions - Membership

<u>Union</u>	<u>1973</u>	<u>1982</u>	<u>Difference</u>
1. Mineworkers Union of Zambia	53,558	54,570	+ 1,012
2. National Union of Public Services Workers	49,000	67,000	+18,000
3. National Union of Commercial and Industrial Workers	19,303	28,361	+ 9,058
4. National Union of Building Engineering and General Workers	23,252	25,887	+ 2,635
5. Zambia National Union of Teachers	15,001	26,000	+10,999
6. Civil Servants Union of Zambia	5,001	30,000	+24,999
7. Zambia United Local Authorities Workers Union	19,500	25,649	+ 6,149
8. Zambia Union of Financial Institutions & Allied Workers	4,574	8,200	+ 3,626
9. Guards Union of Zambia	4,527	7,543	+ 3,016
10. National Union of Postal & Telecommunications Workers	4,000	4,000	NIL
11. Airways and Allied Workers Union of Zambia	1,400	3,000	+ 1,600
12. National Union of Transport & Allied Workers	10,700	12,000	+ 1,500
13. University of Zambia & Allied Workers Union	1,700	2,500	+ 800
14. Railway Workers Union of Zambia (formerly ZRAWU)	7,553	11,161	+ 3,608
15. Hotel Catering Workers Union of Zambia	3,022	3,022	NIL
16. Zambia Electricity Workers Union	3,400	4,538	+ 1,138
17. National Union of Plantation & Agricultural Workers	11,493	11,340	- 153
18. Zambia Typographical Workers Union	1,540	2,434	+ 894
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>238,524</b>	<b>266,905</b>	<b>28,381</b>

Zambia is classified as a partly free country with a rating of 5 in civil and 6 in political rights.

Amnesty International has been concerned about detentions without trial. In 1982, four of the leaders of ZCTU and MUZ were imprisoned accused of taking part in underground movements planning to take power in the country. The four were released after five months. These arrests occurred after there had been a series of strikes, mainly in the Copper Belt.

The government has tried to control the unions, among other things by putting restrictions on maximum wage increases. The unions have reacted with strikes. Generally, wages are settled by collective bargaining.

The conflict between the unions and the government seems to have calmed down since 1982.

#### Socio-economic status

The mine-workers in Zambia are among the best paid wage-earners in Africa. In 1980, average wages in mining were K 282, in manufacturing K 180, in construction K 136, in transport K 221, yielding a national average of K 202.

ZIMBABWE

General remarks: Zimbabwe gained legal independence in 1980. Since 1981, the ZANU party has been in power. In recent years, ZANU has tightened its grip on the country's political life and is expected to become the only legal party from 1985.

Organisations:

Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions (ZCTU): Founded in 1981 on government initiative. Before 1981 there were 5-7 national centres and several other unions.

ZCTU had 52 affiliated unions in 1981. The aim has been to reduce the number of unions to between 17 and 22, but we do not know how far this process has come.

ZCTU membership is approximately 200,000. As there are approx. 1.5 mill. wage-earners in Zimbabwe, this yields a share of organisation of 13.3%. Various sources give somewhat differing figures, but this could be due to the time of registration.

ZCTU is a member of OATUU. Most of the unions are members of trade secretariats with ICFTU affiliation.

The ZANU party has tried to dominate ZCTU and to centralise its structure. The leaders of ZCTU are mostly ZANU supporters, but some of the unions have leaders with other or unknown affiliation.

We lack reliable information on whether there are still unions that are not members of ZCTU. In 1981, a commission of inquiry led by R.C. Ridell delivered a report to the government on industrial relations, wages, prices, etc. Later on, the government passed a bill on industrial relations, containing rules for the registration and certification of unions. We have not been able to ascertain if existing unions had to re-register according to the provisions of the new law.

The ZCTU constitution states that ZCTU shall "... protect and assist in strengthening the democratic and socialistic institutions of the Republic of Zimbabwe ...", and shall "... assist any organization within or outside the Republic of Zimbabwe which has similar objectives to those of the Congress". ZCTU is to "... discourage splinter and competing trade unions", and "... constitute a channel for communication between the trade union movement and the government".

#### Representativeness:

Only a minor proportion (8-13%) of the workers in Zimbabwe are members of trade unions. There are conflicts within ZCTU. These are not always conflicts between supporters of different political parties or ethnical groups, but also among ZANU members. There also seems to be disagreement within ZANU about ZCTU's ties to the party.

There have been some wildcat strikes in Zimbabwe since independence, but no union has since 1981 called a strike. All strikes have been more spontaneous actions, nationwide within one industrial or professional sector.

#### Organizational apparatus:

The highest authority of ZCTU is the Congress. This is to be held every 4 years, with the exception that the next in authority, the General Council, may change the place and date of the Congress on grounds of economy (§ 7 (b) in the ZCTU Constitution).

The General Council consists of the Executive Committee and members elected by the affiliated unions. The Executive Committee consists of the President, Vice-President, the Secretary General, two Assistant Secretary Generals, the senior Trustee and nine members of the General Council, elected by the General Council. All members of the General Council are elected every 4 years at the Congress. The Congress also elects the other officials.

At the time of the first Congress, there was no check-off system in Zimbabwe. Later, in 1981, the General Engineering and Metalworkers' Union managed to make an agreement with the employers on such a system. In the ZCTU Constitution it is stated that ZCTU shall "... work for a compulsory check-off system". Whether "compulsory" is to include only trade union members or all workers in certain sectors or undertakings, is not known to us.

Both the Executive Committee and the General Council have meetings every 3 months.

### Conditions of trade union activity

Zimbabwe has ratified 7 ILO conventions, but none of these are generally considered important conventions.

Zimbabwe is classified as a 'partly free' country with a rating of 3 in political and 4 in civil rights.

In 1981, a government-appointed commission on restructuring labour relations delivered its report. Among the commission's recommendations:

- wage rates should be determined through collective bargaining, within the framework of a national policy of wage adjustments;
- collective bargaining should be industry-based;
- (advisory) workers' committees should be set up in all undertakings with 5 employees or more;
- only registered unions may levy dues. The registrators' decision may be appealed by existing unions or the employers.
- only certified unions may enter into collective bargaining. The registrar decides on the certification.
- a union must give the employers two weeks' notice before calling a strike. The Labour Relation Officer or the Zimbabwe Arbitration Tribunal may decide that a strike is illegal and that compulsory arbitration is to decide the conflict;
- the Minister of Labour may reject the result of collective bargaining if the agreement is considered unfair to the consumers in the country;

- there should be a check-off system;
- union membership should be compulsory for all employees.

(Report of the Commission of Inquiry into incomes, prices, and conditions of service, under the chairmanship of Roger C. Ridell.)

Socio-economic status:

GNP per capita was \$480 in 1978, giving Zimbabwe a world rank of 82.

AMERICA

## ECUADOR

(1) IMPORTANT NATIONAL CENTRESDevelopment of the trade union movement

The first national trade union centre in Ecuador, CEDOC (see below), was established in 1938. Basic funds from WCL-CLAT and the Catholic Church helped the development of an elaborate structure covering education, urban services, rural services and social research. (Coldrick & Jones, p.1094)

The Communists established their own national centre during the Second World War (1944) through general funds from WFTU-CPUSTAL; in 1962, Social Democrats established CEOSL (see below) with basic funds from ICFTU-ORIT and US trade union technical and economic assistance. CIA ex-agent Ph. Agee states that the CIA made its 'contribution' to this establishment as a part of its general 'containment' strategy. (Dunkerley & Whitehouse, p.91. See also Coldrick & Jones, p.1027ff.) However this may be, this strategy has hardly brought any success, because it seems clear that CEOSL was radicalised during the 1970-79 military dictatorships of Ibarra, Lara, and Burbano.

In 1969, the three national centres (the moderate conservative CEDOC, the social democratic CEOSL and the communist CTE) agreed on some common demands to the government of Ecuador. The three demanded formation of minimum salary committees, workers' representation in all public institutions, agrarian reform and the establishment of a workers' bank (as an anti-usurer strategy).

In 1971, CTE and CEDOC established a united front (Frente Unido de Trabajadores) and agreed to strike (28 July 1971). The strike was heavily repressed by the government: the leaders were put in jail, anti-strike legislation was introduced and thousands of workers were dismissed. In 1974, CEDOC, CTE and CEOSL united in protesting

against the rising costs of living, lack of agrarian reform and the lack of social protection for rural workers. The three centres also fought the monetarist policy of the government, demanding instead agrarian reform, a ban on luxury imports and nationalisation of the petroleum industry. The three unions also acted jointly when Alvear attempted a coup d'état in November 1975. (Ibid., p.1094) In 1977 the three (CEDOC, CTE and CEOSL, but not the recently established CEDOC-T) declared a general strike against government-monetarist policy which was causing depressed wages and an increased cost of living. The three unions demanded an immediate 50 % wage increase for all workers.

Basic data:

Economic active population: 2.5 mill.

Unemployment: 5 %.

Underemployment: 50 % (unemployed not included).

Unionised: 22 % (c. 700,000 persons).

There are four national centres in Ecuador:

Confederacion Ecuatoriana de Organizaciones Sindicales Libres  
(CEOSL)

Established: 1962.

International affiliation: ICFTU-ORIT.

Membership: 180,000 (ICFTU); 35,000 according to Mielke, 1983;

32,500 according to Dunkerley & Whitehouse, 1980. Organised in 16 provincial federations, 8 cantonal federations and 19 trade federations.

Profile: Social democrat.

According to Dunkerley & Whitehouse, CEOSL was established by US trade unionists in cooperation with rather conservative political forces, in hopes of restraining the influence of more militant trade unions on the Ecuadorian trade union movement ('containment'). (Ibid., p.91) Coldrick & Jones state that CEOSL was radicalised during military rule, from 1970-79. At present CEOSL is regarded as moderate left ORIT. (Ibid., p.1095)

Central Ecuatoriana de Organizaciones Clasistas (CEDOC)

Established: 1938, divided into two organisations in 1976.

International affiliation: Independent, the radical section of CEDOC broke out of WCL-CLAT in 1976, but kept the original name of the organisation.

Membership: 37,500 (1973); 45,000 according to Mielke, 1983.

According to ICFTU some 100,000 members in 1982, but we do not know if this membership figure covers both sections of the 'old' CEDOC.

Profile: Originally Christian Democrat, established and developed by funding from CLAT (financial sources in Europe). Broke with the Catholic Church in 1972 and changed name from 'Cristianias' to 'Clasistas'. The dominant affiliate is Federacion Nacional de Organizaciones Campesinas (FENOC), a peasant organisation covering 60 % of total CEDOC membership.

CEDOC de los Trabajadores (CEDOC-T)

Established: 1976, broke out of CEDOC when the left militants received majority in the organisation.

International affiliation: WCL-CLAT.

Membership: No data. According to Dunkerley & Whitehouse, CEDOC-T increased its membership during the 70s, partly due to the fact that some moderate unions left CEDOC and partly due to CLAT funding. (Ibid., p.93)

Profile: Moderate conservative (traditional Christian Democrat, oriented towards the Catholic Church).

Central de Trabajadores de Ecuador (CTE)

Established: 1944.

International affiliation: WFTU-CPUSTAL.

Membership: 48,000 according to Mielke, 1983; 40,000 according to Dunkerley & Whitehouse, 1980; 150,000 according to ICFTU. CTE controls the large peasant organisation, Federacion Ecuatoriana de Indios (FEI).

Profile: Communist.

There are some 2,200 independent trade unions with more than 110,000 members. (Ibid., p.91) According to ICFTU, the three (or actually four) national centres organise 430,000 workers, and the independent trade union movement organise some 270,000 workers. ICFTU claims that public servants' union organise 150,000 workers, the Professional Drivers' Federation organises some 60,000 employees and the National Union of Educators (schoolteachers) organises some 30,000.

The national centres claim independence from political parties. CTE leadership is no longer formally affiliated to the Communist Party or the Revolutionary Socialist Party (PSRE) of Ecuador. CEDOC was affiliated to the Conservative Party before 1964 and the Christian Democratic Party until the early 70s. Now CEDOC is regarded as 'socialist' and 'independent'. CEOSL is now closely related to the Democratic Left Party, which indicates the radicalisation of the trade union centre during the military dictatorship of the 1970s. It is probably correct to claim that the 'political unionism' of the 60s is no longer predominant. (Mielke, 1983, p.410ff.)

### Representativeness

Some 22 % of the economic active population are organised in trade unions (i.e. some 700,000 workers). This proportion may represent inflated membership figures. According to Kurian and Delury only 10% of the economically active population are unionised (Kurian, p.527, Delury p. 284). Of the economically active population 46% are employed in agriculture, 25 % are employed in manufacturing, 4% in construction, 7 % in commerce, 4 % in public services/administration and 14 % in other services. 43 % of the economically active population are generally regarded as either self-employed or employers, 48 % are wage earners and 7 % are unpaid family workers. (Delury, p.526)

CEDOC primarily organises peasants and plantation workers (FENOC, which stands for 60 % of total CEDOC membership). The independent trade union movement seem particularly strong among public servants, teachers and transport workers (drivers). We do not know the strength of CTE and CEOSL in different economic sectors, but

these organisations probably have most affiliates in manufacturing and private services.

Delury gives this assessment of the impact of trade unions on Ecuadorian society and politics:

"Labour unions in Ecuador have traditionally been weak, owing in large part to the low level of economic development ... organized labor has not been particularly important either in deciding the agenda of politics or through disciplined support of parties." (Ibid., p.284)

This may be a too negative judgement, but it seems clear that, despite fighting hard to defend workers' interests, the unions did not succeed in stopping the fall in real wages during the military rule of the 70s. Still, it would probably be unjust to demand effective nationally based union protection against the negative impact of international market forces on national wage levels (effects of a monetarist-free trade policy).

#### Organisational apparatus:

Lack data. CEOSL is organised among geographical lines (16 provincial and 8 cantonal federations) and occupational lines (19 trade federations).

## (2) GENERAL CONDITIONS OF TRADE UNION ACTIVITY

Ecuador has ratified 52 ILO Conventions, including the important Convention No. 87 (Freedom of Association) and Convention No. 98 (Right to Organise and Collective Bargaining).

In September 1983 ICFTU and IFPAAW presented a complaint against the government of Ecuador to ILO . Some trade union leaders (peasant leaders) had been killed and others seriously injured by the local police because a local landowner claimed private ownership of Indian communal land. The local community demanded 600 hectares, to which they were entitled by state deed. The local

landowner did not accept this demand, offering only 100 hectares to the community. It belongs to the story that the landowner controlled 1,800,000 hectares of most of which area is unfarmed. The government of Ecuador answered (to ILO) that it did not believe the story of the complaintants, trusting instead the version of the incident put forward by the local police and the landowner. The ILO Committee of Experts expressed the hope that the legal proceedings under way would make it possible to identify the murderers. We do not yet know the outcome of these proceedings. (ILO, 25 February-3 March, 1984, § 187, Case No. 1230)

This story seems indicative of the status of local peasant communities (Indian tribes) in Ecuadorian society. The sierra area (high land) is dominated completely by a land-owning elite. The landowners are the law in this area. Although the government did carry out a land reform in 1964, a NORAD evaluation team reported that rural Ecuador still presents a picture of incredible poverty among (Indian) peasants and agricultural workers (NORAD, June 1983).

Labour relations are much more advanced in other sectors of the economy. Industrial relations are regulated by law, and collective bargaining is normal in manufacturing, construction and services. (Coldrick & Jones, 1983)

In terms of political and civil rights, Ecuador is ranked as a "free" country with a rating of 2 in political rights and 2 in civil rights (1: highest freedom, 7: lowest freedom) (Kurian, p.520). There are no political prisoners reported in the country.

We do not, however, believe that this "high" level of freedom applies to the Indian population of the sierra - even though some 40 % of the population are Indians and the majority belong to the sierra tribes.

(3) SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS

Basic data:

GNP/C: US\$910 (1978), world rank no. 64.

GNP/C growth rate: 6 % (1970-77), world rank no. 13.

Income distribution: 3 % of national income is received by the bottom 20 % of households, while the top 5 % receive 42 % of all income. 70 % of the population receive 33 % of the national income while the top 3 % receive 20 %.

Percentage of population in absolute poverty: 12 %.

(Kurian, 1983, p.522)

This extraordinarily uneven income distribution tells its story: The economy of Ecuador is completely dominated by a sierra elite of landowners and a coastal elite of business-men and industrialists.

This elite (c. 10 % of the population) controls nearly 60 % of the national income.

There is a small, but politically significant middle-class of well-paid self-employed, small employers and workers with permanent employment. The underemployment rate is more than 50 % (unemployed included), which indicates that the rest of the population is generally struggling and poor.

ILO reported these average wage levels in 1981:

Nominal hourly wage (sucres) in major sectors 1981

average, manufacturing	39.9	
lowest: workers in wood and wood products except furniture	31.5	
highest: workers in manufacture and repair of rubber products	71	variation, manufacturing 1 : 2.2
mining & quarrying	49.9	
construction	no data	
transport, storage & communication	no data	
agriculture	no data (generally low, with heavy underemployment/seasonal employment)	

Source: ILO, 1983.

JAMAICA

(1) BASIC FACT SHEET

Date of independence: 1962 (from British rule)

Population: 2.3 mill (1983)

Population growth: 1.4% p.a., 2.0% in 1983

Labour force: 998,800 (46% female) (1983)

Religion: Christians (some Jews, Hindus, Muslims, and Pocomania-African religions)

Race: Negro (77%), Mulatto (14%), White (3%), others (6%; this includes Chinese, Afro-Chinese, East Indians, among others)

Language: English

Literacy: 82% (Kurian, 1983). 75.3% (1981 survey)

Unit of currency: Jamaican dollar (US \$1=JD 1.78, Aug. 1980; US \$1=JD 3.85, 1984)

GNP/C: US \$1,100 (1978), US \$730 (1983)

GNP/C annual growth rate: -2% (1970-77)

Inflation, annual rate of increase: 17% p.a. (1970-78)

Income distribution: 2% of the national income is received by the bottom 20%, whereas 30% of the national income is received by the top 5%.

Proportion of population in absolute poverty: 9%.

Production: Jamaican agriculture is divided into a modern plantation sector and a small-scale agricultural sector consisting of smallholders. Principal products are sugar, rice, bananas, cocoa, coconuts, corn, ginger and pineapples. Agriculture, forestry and fishing employ 34% of the labour force. Manufacturing is concentrated in the Kingston area. Important products are clothing, footwear, textiles, glass, tools, paper and cement. Jamaica is one of the largest bauxite producers in the world. Manufacturing, mining, construction and installation employ nearly 18% of the labour force. Public administration employs 14%, commerce 14% and other services 18% of the labour force.

Unemployment: 26.4% (1982), 27.4% (1983)

Underemployment: 18% (unemployed not included)

Constitution and government: The executive is formally vested in the British Monarch represented by a governor-general. Real power is lodged with the prime minister, who is the leader of the majority party in the House of Representatives. The legislative body is bicameral. The Senate is appointed by the governor-general (13 representatives on the advice of the prime minister and 8 representatives on the advice of the opposition leader). 'The House' is elected by popular vote, for a four-year period. Bills may be introduced both by the Senate and by the House of Representatives, but money bills can only be introduced by the House. The House of Representatives is elected for a five year period. The judiciary is based on English common law and procedures.

Jamaica Labour Party (JLP): Liberal-conservative. Emphasises the private sector as the engine of growth. Discounts public ownership. Pro-US foreign policy. In power since 1980.

Peoples National Party (PNP): Social democrat. Stresses self-reliance, non-alignment and anti-imperialism. Works for a mixed economy with strong emphasis on employment creation and social policy (literacy campaigns etc.). Foreign policy of non-alignment, south-south cooperation and new economic order.

Table 1. Elections (1972-83): seats in the House of Representatives

	1972	1974	1980	1983
JLP	15	12	51	60 (no other party contested)
PNP	37	48	9	-
Others	1	-	-	-
Total	53	60	60	60

Source: Delury (ed.), 1983, p. 549.

(2) GENERAL CONDITIONS OF TRADE UNION ACTIVITIES

Labour-management relations are governed by the Labour Relations and Industrial Disputes Act of 1974. This Act makes it possible for the government to prohibit industrial action in 'essential' services. By this is meant services where actions are defined as harmful to the national interest (Coldrick/Jones, 1979, p. 654).

Jamaica has ratified the basic two ILO Conventions No. 87 (Freedom of Association) and No. 98 (Collective Bargaining). Of the important supporting Conventions No. 134 (Workers' Representatives), No. 141 (Rural Workers' Convention), No. 151 (Public Service) and No. 154 (Collective Bargaining Specified), Jamaica has ratified the two first mentioned. The Unions of Schools, Agricultural and Allied Workers presented a complaint against the government for violating the principles of the Freedom of Association- and the Collective Bargaining Conventions in 1982. The Jamaican government refused to accept the USAAW as a representative of workers because it did not organise the requisite 40% of the labour force in the specific 'bargaining unit' (Act of 1975, introduced by the Manley Government). The ILO Committee of Experts advised the Seaga Government to recognise the union and to change the 1975 Act according to 'the spirit' of the No. 98 ILO Convention (Ninth Item-Report, § 85-102, 15.18 November 1983).

Jamaica scores 2 in political rights and 3 in civil rights (high freedom: 1, low freedom: 7) (Kurian, 1983). There are no political prisoners.

Jamaica is now under de facto International Monetary Fund rule. This is a political-economic factor of enormous importance for the freedom of trade union actions in a country. The IMF demands reduced government spending, wage regulations (in order to reduce total demand for goods and services), tight money policy and in most cases also devaluation of currency. In such a situation, it is very hard to obtain even nominal wage increases in most sectors of the economy; this is especially difficult for civil servants.

The Manley Government introduced industrial relation laws which were heavily misused by employers. According to these laws, most labour disputes could rather easily be brought to court, a procedure which is both expensive and time-consuming (and gives favour to only one profession: the lawyers). It has created several financial and technical difficulties for most of the leading trade union centres in Jamaica.

Conclusion: Trade union activity is hampered by a political climate which is receptive to employer aggression, and economic climate of austerity lay-offs produced by IMF 'medical care' and by the legal framework of the Labour Relations & Industrial Disputes Agency (LRIDA). Still, we would regard Jamaica as a fairly free and democratic country. The legal conditions for trade union activities (at least) seem good.

### (3) MAJOR TRADE UNIONS AND TRADE UNION ORGANISATIONS

LO-Norway supports the Joint Trade Unions Research Development Centre in Jamaica. Four trade unions are supported through this bilateral agreement: BITU, NWU, TUC and JALGO.

#### (a) Bustamente Industrial Trade Union (BITU)

Date of establishment: 1938

International affiliation: ICFTU.

Membership: BITU claims 159,000 members

Mielke, 1983: Of the 159,000 claimed, only 116,000 pay dues.

LO-Norway: This number is far too high. BITU does not organise more than 65,000 workers, and no more than 45,000 pay check-off dues.

#### (b) National Workers' Union (NWU)

Date of establishment: 1952

International affiliation: ICFTU, ORIT, CCL, FIET, IMF, IFPAAW, PITI, PSI, ITF, CBMMWF, IFPCW, ITGLWF

Affiliation to political parties: According to NWU-ordinances of the '70s, the union is no longer affiliated to PNP. Still, it must be regarded as very close indeed to PNP.

Membership: NWU claims 152,000 members

Mielke (1983): 36,000 of these pay dues.

LO-Norway: 65,000 members. Some 36,000 paying dues.

(c) Trade Union Congress of Jamaica (TUC)

Date of establishment: 1949

International affiliation: ICFTU, CCL

Affiliation to political parties: Independent (seems closer to PNP  
than to JLP)

Membership: TUC claims 20,000 members

(d) Jamaican Association of Local Government Officers (JALGO)

International affiliation: CCL/ICFTU

Affiliation to political parties: Independent

Membership: 18,000 (according to LO-Norway)

The other trade unions in the public sector are:

- The Jamaica Civil Service Association (JSCA)
- The Jamaica Teachers Association (JTA)
- National Union of Democratic Teachers (NUDT)
- Public Employees (JUPOPE)
- The Nurses Association of Jamaica (NAJ)
- University and Allied Workers' Union (UAWU)

UAWU is a small "blanker" union affiliated to the Communist Workers' Party of Jamaica (WPJ).

(4) ORGANISATIONAL APPARATUS AND REPRESENTATIVENESS

Organisational apparatus:

BITU: Trade union leaders at top level are not elected. BITU's last Congress was held some 12 years ago. The Executive Board makes nearly all major decisions in the organisation. Strongly centralised.

NWU: The President and Vice-Presidents are elected at the Bi-Annual Congress. The administrative body is appointed by the General Executive Council which is identified by the Constitution. The top leaders of the organisation are the General Secretary, the Island Supervisor and the President. The latter is a figure-head whose influence will depend on the mix of personalities in the union. Michael Manley recently rejoined NWU as President. The NWU is not heavily centralised.

TUC: The TUC is more closely alligned to the PNP than to the JLP. It is, however, regarded as independent with no political links. TUC is heavily centralised.

JALGO: Is a democratic organisation following the lines of NWU. It has an elaborate organisation headed by regional officials. The whole structure is operated through the medium of a Bi-Annual Conference and regular Executive Meetings. The dominant personality is E. Lloyd Taylor who has been the General Secretary for over 35 years.

Generally personalities have considerable importance, both in the Jamaican trade union movement and in the political parties of Jamaica.

### Representativeness

Jamaica is dominated by a system of political unionism. The two dominant trade union centres, BITU and NWU, are in fact affiliated to the two dominant political parties, JLP and PNP. The two unions are rivals in most economic sectors in the country. Only some 30% of the labour force are organised. The unorganised part of the labour force functions as supporters at each plant. When one union gets bargaining responsibility in one plant, all workers in that plant are automatically regarded as 'members' of the union. This member-supporter relationship makes it possible for different trade unions to compete at each plant, and this competition actually takes place everywhere.

Sectoral distribution of unionised labour is a matter of conjecture

Small scale agriculture - no unions

- Sugar 50,000 joint BITU/NWU representation. The bargaining position is very weak because of the divestment programme which has led to the closure of three estates out of twelve.
- Bauxite About 4,000 employees - unionised by NWU. They are the highest paid, but their bargaining position is affected by the drop in bauxite demand 1981-1982. 37% decline in value of bauxite/alumina exports in 1982. About 2,000 workers laid off 1982-1983 and one company out of five pulled out.
- Hotel/  
Tourism Some 16,000 workers in hotels, most are unionised by TUC, BITU and NWU
- Industry/  
Manuf. 16% of GDP, 15% of employed labour force. The quality and strength of unionisation varies because of variations in size and profitability of the companies. There are many small companies not unionised. The sector is organised by BITU, TUC, NWU as well as small unions like UAWU.
- Services This is a broad category including large numbers of workers who cannot be unionised. BITU, TUC and NWU organise the bulk of this sector along with smaller unions. Generally salaries (for white-collar workers mainly) are high and benefits are good.
- The Public  
Sector The public sector is organised mainly by NWU, BITU, TUC, JUPOPE, JALGO, UAWU, JTC, NAJ, NUDT and JCSA. The strength of these unions which are entirely public sector, e.g. JALGO, is being severely sapped by government's divestment programme and budget cuts.

In general, the organisational structure seems very complicated. There is great competition between unions in most sectors of the economy.

(5) SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS

(Data not available; indirect measures must be used here.)

The basic fact sheet shows 9% of the Jamaican population close to absolute poverty. As the general unemployment rate is 27%, we may conclude that Jamaica is faced with a problem of massive poverty. While a small elite of wealthy families and businessmen rules the economy, the majority of Jamaicans are very poor indeed. Still, there are considerable disparities between different categories of workers.

The highest paid workers in Jamaican industry are employed in the bauxite mines. They are organised in NWU. The lowest paid workers are employed in the plantation sector of Jamaica, and are mainly organised in the BITU and the NWU. Data on subsistence level are not available, but subsistence level is probably close to the income level of plantation workers.

Table 2. Relative wage-differentials between various categories of Jamaican workers

Bauxite miners/Hotels/Plantation workers:	4.5 : 2.1 : 1
Skilled workers/Unskilled workers:	3 : 1
Subsistence level:	close to 1

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Source: Mielke, 1983, p. 617, and LO-Norway.

## MEXICO

(1) POLITICAL SYSTEM

Mexico is a parliamentary democracy with an elected president and a bicameral parliament (the Senate and the National Assembly). In practice, power is vested in the President and the dominant political party, Partido Revolucionario Institucionalizado (PRI). The President of Mexico is at the same time president of PRI. In the 1982 elections PRI won 299 of the 300 seats in the National Assembly. Another 100 seats (there are 400 seats altogether) are filled by minority party deputies. In the 1982 election there were six minority parties represented in the National Assembly. They received some 38-39 % of the popular votes. The most significant oppositional party is the conservative Catholic Partido Accion Nacional (PAN). PAN captured nearly 10 % of the popular vote in the 1976 election and won 56 of the 100 minority party seats in the National Assembly in the 1982 election. Other opposition parties are the conservative PARM (no seats), the socialist PPS (10 seats), and the communist PCM (16 seats), the Marxist PST (9 seats) and the democratic-liberal PDM (9 seats). There are also many small, unregistered, illegal political movements within the country.

At ILO level we were told that this one-party dominance can only be understood as an 'normal' expression of the very hierarchic and static social system of Mexican society. It is also (probably) important to stress the heterogeneity of PRI profile. This political movement articulates different interests and orientations, and does allow for some fractioning and internal debate at top level. The structure of the party mirrors the social structure of the society. Its president is the supreme executive both in the party, and in the state apparatus. He is elected for a six-year period (non-renewable), and in practice the power of the President is limited only by his personal capacity to use it. The Presidential election is often called 'an election for six years dictatorship'. (ILO; Kurian, 1983, pp.1223ff.; Delury, 1983, p.674) Still, there are elections, both for the Presidency and for Parliament, and some

political opposition (within 'acceptable' and 'responsible' limits) is not only tolerated, but even encouraged by the ruling party. The very existence of the minority seats in the National Assembly serves as an example of this.

## (2) GENERAL CONDITIONS OF TRADE UNION ACTIVITY

Mexican labour relations are regulated by the Federal Labour Act of 1970. This law requires an employer to negotiate a collective contract if the union demands negotiations. Collective bargaining has been the practice in Mexican industry for many years. Industry-wide bargaining is practiced only in the strongly unionised petroleum, textile, and sugar industries. Labour legislation regulates minimum wages, holidays, conditions of work and job security, among other things. The right to strike is guaranteed by law, but strikes are allowed only when a dispute has been settled through conciliation (compulsory). Kurian reports that only 50-70 % of the firms in urban areas and some 20 % of firms in rural areas actually pay the required minimum wage. Non-regulated firms pay the going price of labour settled in a market dominated by severe unemployment, underemployment, and poverty on the 'supply side' (i.e. 'primitive' labour market relations). (Kurian, p.1230) More than 45 % of the labour force must be regarded as underemployed. (Dunkerley & Whitehouse, 1980, p.109) The UN Women's Conference in Mexico City 1975 stressed the exploitation of women in domestic enterprises where women work 14 to 18 hours a day without social security benefit.

Mexico is a member of ILO and has ratified 62 ILO Conventions. It has ratified the Freedom of Association Convention (No. 87), but not the Right to Organise and Collective Bargaining Convention (No. 98).

In terms of political and civil rights, Mexico is classified as a "partly free" country with a rating of 4 in civil rights and of 3 in political rights (1: highest freedom, 7: lowest degree of freedom).

Corruption, a problem of national proportions, has begun to receive official attention. In 1979, some 760 officials were prosecuted for severe corruption. (Kurian, 1983, p. 1221) It is also important to stress the Mexican debt crisis which currently binds up nearly 50 % of all export earnings. It has meant the introduction of IMF rules, all of which limit the possibility of unions to defend the interests and needs of their members.

### (3) IMPORTANT TRADE UNION CENTRES

Formally, the republic of Mexico is a constitutional democracy, in practice it is ruled by one dominant political party, Partido Revolucionario Institucionalizado (PRI). The trade union wing of PRI is the Confederacion de Trabajadores de Mexico (CTM) which was founded in 1936. Relations between PRI and CTM are indeed close. CTM has by the Mexican government been given the role as the workers representative in the social security institute, the national commission on minimum wages and in several other bodies.

The history of the Mexican trade union movement has followed these lines:

In 1918, Confederacion Regional Obrera Mexicana (CROM) was formed. CROM organised nearly 1 mill. workers in 75 unions. This union operated in close relation to the government, opposed by the anarcho-syndicalist Confederacion General del Trabajo (CGT) (established in 1921). The slogan of CGT was 'class struggle and direct action'. Between the two World Wars, the government tried to unite the labour movement. This led to the formation of CTM (1936), which united strong metalworkers' unions, railwaymen's unions, electricians' and peasants' unions. CTM, CGT, and CROM signed an agreement in 1942 in order to avoid strikes during the war. In 1947, a bitter dispute in CTM led to the formation of Confederacion Unitaria de Trabajadores (CUT), which later became Union General de Obreros y Campesinos (UGOC). UGOC strongly opposed the close cooperation between PRI and CTM in the '50s and '60s. It claimed that workers' interests were being sacrificed to national interests and to the political considerations of the ruling PRI-party. In

this period CTM developed a large bureaucracy with rather centralised lines of influence and command. (Coldrick & Jones, 1979, p.1115, and Dunkerley & Whitehouse, 1980, p.109ff.)

In the 1970s an independent labour movement was formed (Tendencias democratas). The independent labour movement enjoys considerable strength today, threatening the hegemony of the CTM-PRI axis.

The old rivals - the pro-government CTM, the anarcho-syndicalist CGT, and the communist-oriented UGOC together with some independent unions - formed the Congreso de Trabajo in 1966. It was agreed that each union should have the same influence (one vote each) and that majority decisions were to be regarded as recommendations only. The 'Congress' meets every fourth year. According to Dunkerley & Whitehouse, UGOC has now left the 'Congress' while CGT still is represented. (Ibid., p.109)

CTM proposed the formation of a tripartite council in 1971, which allowed for equal participation of workers, employers, and government officials. Ten sub-commissions were formed to analyse social and economic problems. In 1973, the CTM ran a campaign for a five day, forty hour week, with fifty-six hours pay. This was greatly opposed by the employers' associations; only the strong unions of petroleum workers, sugar workers, and some professional unions were able to obtain these conditions of work.

In 1976 thousands of small peasants occupied large estates all over the country. The problem of rural Mexico is that a few prosperous families own most of the land while millions of peasants are extremely poor. (Coldrick & Jones, 1979, p.1116)

#### Confederacion de Trabajadores Mexicanos (CTM)

Established: 1936.

Membership: 2 mill. in some 10,000 unions. Organised in national centres, federations (branch/industry/regional based unions) and local unions all over the country.

Large affiliates are peasants' unions (CNC), textile workers' unions (STITRM), miners' and metal workers' unions (STMMSRM),

oil workers' (STPRM), and electricity workers' (SUTERM).  
International affiliation: ICFTU-ORIT.

National affiliation: Represented on the Congreso de Trabajo.

Political affiliation: CTM is the trade union wing of the  
Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI).

Confederacion Revolucionaria de Obreros y Campesinos (CROC)

Established: 1952.

Membership: 140,000 in 254 unions. Strong in textile, food,  
hospitals, and transport.

National affiliation: Represented on the Congreso de Trabajo.

Confederacion Regional de Obreros Mexicanos (CROM)

Established: 1918.

Membership: 150,000 members in 193 unions. Strong in textile, shoe,  
clothing industries. Concentrated in Puebla, Vera Cruz, and  
Baja California.

National affiliation: Represented on the Congreso de Trabajo.

Federacion de Sindicatos de Trabajadores del Estado (FSTSE)

Established: 1936.

Membership: 416,000 members employed by the state in 29 national  
unions.

International affiliation: ORIT/ICFTU.

National affiliation: Represented on the Congreso de Trabajo.

Confederacion General de Trabajadores (CGT)

Established: 1921.

Membership: 22,000 in 34 unions organised in 8 federations.

Organise workers in construction, textile, bakery, and bus  
companies (drivers).

International affiliation: No data.

National affiliation: Represented on the Congreso de Trabajo.

Profile: CGT has traditionally an anarcho-syndicalist orientation.

It organised most of the strikes in Mexico before the Second

World War. It probably operates more 'responsibly' now, but is still strongly opposed to CTM and PRI labour policy.

Dunkerley & Whitehouse mention three major independent unions:

Frente Autentico de Trabajadores (FAT)

Established: 1960.

International affiliation: WCL-CLAT.

Membership: 50,000 in 53 unions. Strong in motor industry, especially in the Renault and Volkswagen plants.

Federacion Nacional de Sindicatos Independientes (FNSI)

Established: No data.

Profile: Organise 145,000 workers in Monterrey. It is controlled by employers.

Union General de Obreros y Campesinos (UGOC)

Established: 1949.

International affiliation: WFTU-CPUSTAL.

Political affiliation: The Communist Party, PCM ?

Membership: No data.

(4) A NOTE ON TRADE UNION PROFILE AND REPRESENTATIVENESS

CTM plays a central role in the Mexican trade union movement. It organises nearly 2 mill. employees - i.e. 10 % of the economically active population and nearly 40 % of all unionised workers, according to Dunkerley & Whitehouse, p.109. All the same, the 'independent' and the opposing trade union movements have apparently had a rapid growth from the '70s due to labour dissatisfaction with CTM actions and profile.

Mexico has faced (and still faces) serious economic tensions due to general lack of rational economic policy, a debt-trap, and the economic recession the last decade. Originally, the government

believed that the oil industry would provide the needed economic freedom/opportunity to improve the standard of living of most Mexicans - and indeed it ought to have - but general political mismanagement seems to have destroyed most hopes for the future. CTM has been heavily criticised by the 'opposition' for its part in this mismanagement. In the '70s, the organisation undercut the collective bargaining role of individual unions and accepted moderate wage increases in most sectors, for reasons of 'national interest'. This was probably the case in the early '70s (1970-74) where net profits in foreign companies (covering 16 % of all Mexican employment) increased 180 %. With centralised bargaining this of course means a bad result for the negotiating union. (Ibid., p.110ff.) At the same time, oppositional negotiating units were faced with a strong alliance between government employers and CTM, operating through tripartite commissions. Also they obtained but little.

Later CTM has not played that 'responsible' role. In 1974, it announced a general strike, but this was not implemented. As mentioned, CTM demanded reductions in the working-week with more than full wage compensation in 1973. It obtained the result demanded in the petroleum, sugar, and professional sectors, but did not obtain anything in other sectors.

CTM is a member of ORIT and represents the left-wing of that organisation, together with NWU in Jamaica. This is probably a result of independent Mexican foreign policy, which stresses non-alignment and to some extent even anti-imperialism (with one address especially: US interference in Latin America policy and economic life). ORIT is an inter-American organisation (compared to ARO and AFRO which consist only of Third World Unions), and this 'conflict of interest' runs through the heart of that organisation.

#### (5) SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS

Principal economic indicators:

GNP/C: US\$1,290 (1978).

World rank: 52.

Income distribution: 2.9 % of national income is received by the bottom 20 %, while 23.9 % is received by the top 5 %.

Percentage of population in absolute poverty: 10 %.

Average rate of inflation p.a.: 17.5 % (1970-78).

Income is very unequally distributed in Mexico. In 1977, the top 20% of the households received nearly 60 % of net national income, and the top 10 % of households received nearly 40 % of the income (WDR). The economy is dominated by a small group of prosperous plantation owners, merchants, speculators, industrialists, and officials. There is a significant middle class of employees in strong sectors (petroleum, state corporations, and multinationals), but the vast majority of Mexicans are struggling and poor.

Wages in major sectors 1973-82 (pesos, hourly wage)

	manu- facturing	con- struction	mining & quarrying	transport, storage & communica- tion	agri- culture (daily wage)	agriculture, estimate on wage/h, 10 h per day
1973	10.64	7.63			-	-
1974	13.80	10.48			-	-
1975	15.44	11.51			46.10	4.61
1976	22.16	15.56	no	no	-	-
1977	25.56	18.23			76.48	7.65
1978	28.16	20.73	data	data	88.50	8.85
1979	31.88	22.21			106.81	10.68
1980	39.02	29.13			134.16	13.42
1981	54.68	34.92			178.87	17.89
1982	-	-			-	-

Source: ILO, Annual Labour Statistics, 1983.

The Table present average figures in major economic sectors. In manufacturing, wages per hour varied between 41.47 (for production of furniture/wood) to 73.17 (rubber products) according to ILO, p.572 (average on branches/industries). If we take 1973 as base year (1973 = 100), average hourly wages in manufacturing increased from 100 in 1973 to 513.9 in 1981. According to Kurian, consumer prices increased from 100 in 1970 to 404.5 in 1980 (all items). This means that average real wages in manufacturing increased during the '70s. Nominal wages in construction increased from 100 (1973) to 457.7 (1981). Thus this sector also saw a real wage increase in the period. In agriculture, nominal hourly wages increased from 100 (1975) to 388.1 (1981). This means that hourly average wages in agriculture increased c. 15 % from 1977 to 1978, 20 % from 1978 to 1979, c. 25 % from 1979 to 1980, and c. 33 % from 1980 to 1981. This nominal wage increase is also above the average rate of inflation during the same period (c. 18 %) and above the increase in consumer prices (all items) in the period. This means that all groups of employees, agricultural workers included, improved their real wages on average during the '70s.

The variation in nominal hourly wages, according to the Table, is in the order of 1 (agriculture) : 2.5 (construction) : 3.3 (manufacturing) for 1975; and in the order of 1 (agriculture) : 1.9 (construction) : 3.1 (manufacturing) for 1981. Thus agricultural workers have experienced a relative improvement in purchasing power in the period from 1975 to 1981, on average, according to ILO statistics.

Variations in income levels between sectors of workers are probably underestimated in our calculation. Nearly 45 % of the Mexican labour force are underemployed (and there are many self-employed throughout the country). If we had compared monthly or annual wages, income differentials would probably have been larger than stated above. The mere fact that some 9. mill. Mexicans (mostly rural) have migrated illegally to the USA the last 20 years clearly indicates this problem of underemployment and poverty in rural Mexico.

ILO statistics on income levels probably refer to required minimum wages. According to Kurian some 80% of the rural firms and possibly 50% of the urban firms actually payed a wage less than this minimum. This indicate that the ILO data may overestimate the average wage increase from 1975 to 1981 (Kurian p.1230).

## PERU

(1) IMPORTANT TRADE UNION CENTRES

## Basic data:

Population: 15.3 mill. (1978); 17.4 mill. (1980) according to Kurian, p.1432.

Economically active population: 5.5 mill. (1978).

Unionised: 25 % according to Kurian, 1983, p.1444.

Unemployed: 6.5 % (1978, official estimate. Increased since that).

Underemployment: c. 40 % (unofficial estimate which includes the unemployed).

In the late 1940s and early 1950s, the APRA party and its trade union wing, the CTP (see below), were the leading bodies mobilizing and organising workers in Peru. APRA (Allianza Popular Revolucionaria Americana) and CTP were heavily repressed by various military governments until 1956. Repression of labour unions was then lifted, and the early 1960s witnessed a rapid growth of CTP as well as numerous new independent unions with a sectoral and/or regional basis.

The civilian government of Terry (1963-68) encouraged the moderate elements of CTP while clamping down on the more militant unions. This strategy of encouragement and repression probably led to the formation (or actually rebirth) of CGTP in 1968. CGTP argued that it was impossible to alter the CTP profile from within and that it was necessary to establish a new trade union basis in order to defend workers' interests. The establishment of CGTP was sponsored by Peruvian communists (CP).

The military coup of 1968 changed this situation radically. The military regime took a strong nationalist stand, banned all parties, and began by nationalising the International Petroleum Company. It also introduced a series of industrial, agrarian and educational reforms. At first CTP strongly opposed the military

government of Alvarado, but at the 6th Congress in 1970, the CTP supported the petroleum nationalisation and the agrarian reforms introduced by the government. Still, CTP held a 'management-like' attitude towards the plan for 'industrial community' in Peru: "But CTP's leaders expressed great scepticism about the plan for 'industrial community' - which consisted of workers' participation on management boards, workers' shares in industries and their profits - since none of them had ever been consulted about the proposals." (Coldrick & Jones, p.1143)

The government tightened its grip on trade unions in the early 70s by forming government-sponsored unions (CTRP) and by strict regulation of collective bargaining. This led to a series of anti-government strikes and finally to the replacement of Alvarado by the conservative General Bermudez (1975). In 1976 the new military government declared a state of emergency, and strikes were violently crushed by the military. In this period CTP became more isolated within the Peruvian trade union movement due to its opposition to other striking unions (especially during the general strike of 1977, which paralysed Lima and other major cities) and virtual support to government-imposed measures (arrests without trial, emergency procedures, occupation of mines and enterprises by the military and the Civil Guard, among others). Even CGTP developed an ambiguous attitude to many government actions and thereby lost affiliates (metallurgical workers, miners and teacher left CGTP and joined the independent Comite de Coordinacion y Unificacion Sindical Clasista, CCUSC). It would appear that the increased government repression of radical trade unions, together with the ambiguous attitude towards these actions shown by the existing strong trade union centres (CTP especially, but also CGTP), stimulated the growth of the independent trade union movement in Peru.

The civilian President Terry once again won an overwhelming electoral victory in 1980. Still, he lacked support from organised labour outside CTP and his government has faced numerous strikes and work stoppages as inflation and underemployment have continued unabated. (Kurian, 1983, p.819) There were general strikes in 1980 and 1981. (Mielke, p.896)

Confederacion General de Trabajadores del Peru (CGTP)

Established: 1968.

International affiliation: WFTU-CPUSTAL.

National affiliation: Established as a reaction to the APRA domination of CTP. Supporters among most Leftist parties, from pro-Moscow communists to Trotskyists and Maoists.

Membership: 250,000 (Mielke, p.897), 400,000 according to ICFTU. Dunkerley & Whitehouse claim that CGTP is the largest national centre in Peru (Ibid., p.120). This is rejected by Kurian (p.1444). CGTP organises workers in food industry, shoe and leather, civil construction, bank and metallurgic enterprises. According to Delury, CGTP finds core support among the miners, university students, urban intellectuals and peasants/plantation workers' associations . (Delury, p.817)

Confederacion de Trabajadores del Peru (CTP)

Established: 1944.

International affiliation: ICFTU-ORIT, CIOSL.

National affiliation: APRA.

Membership: 300,000 (1969); 500,000 (1969) according to Coldrick & Jones, p.1144; 350,000 according to ICFTU. Strong in sugar, textile, hospitals, and among railway workers.

Confederacion Nacional de Trabajadores (CNT)

Established: 1971.

International affiliation: WCL-CLAT, CIO SCL.

Membership: 120,000 according to ICFTU.

National affiliation: No data. Claims independence. Supported by the Christian Democratic PPC. Moderate opposition to the military government after 1968. (Mielke, p.897)

There are several minor unions strongly based in specific economic sectors. The CTRP (Confederacion de los Trabajadores de la Revolucion Peruana, established in 1972) organises petroleum workers and fishermen. It was backed by the previous military

government. There are also strong miners' and metalworkers' unions (FNTMMP) with 50,000 members and teachers' unions (SUTEP) with 80,000 members regarded as independent of political parties and of government sponsoring. (Dunkerley & Whitehouse, p.120 and Mielke, p.895)

#### Representativeness:

Some 25 % of the economically active population are organised in trade unions, according to Kurian. Dunkerley & Whitehouse report that 5.5 mill. persons were economically active in 1978 (Kurian: 5.3 mill.). If we take the higher of these two estimates as our basis, some 1.4 mill. workers were organised in 1978. The membership claimed by CTP accounts for 25 % of the organised, and the membership claimed by CGTP accounts for some 28 % of the unionised labour force in Peru (ICFTU estimate). The rest are members of the WCL affiliate, the government sponsored CTRP, and the 'independent' trade union movement of Peru, covering some 47 % of organised labour. This share has probably increased lately.

Mielke reports that both CTP and CGTP lost affiliates (and individual members) during the '70s. Especially CGTP faces a strong 'new left' opposition from within, threatening the traditional communist leadership of the organisation. (Mielke, p.897)

#### Profile:

Traditionally Peru has been characterised by 'political unionism', a trend broken under military rule from 1968 to 1980. The military regime banned all political parties. After the election of a civilian president in 1980, politicisation of the trade union movement has once more increased.

#### Organisational apparatus:

Only some informations are available.

CTN and CTP, no data.

CGTP: Organised in a central apparatus dominated by traditional communists (Pro-Moscow) and branch/industry based unions. Strong rivalry between different political fractions within the apparatus (both in the central apparatus and in the various affiliated federations). Two strong affiliates are the sugar workers' union with 25,000 members and the textile workers' union with some 25,000 members.

## (2) GENERAL CONDITIONS OF TRADE UNION ACTIVITY

Of the economically active population 1.9 % were classified as employers, 38.5 % as self-employed, 48.1 % as wage and salary earners, and 9.1 % as unpaid family workers.

Wages and working conditions are governed by law and are generally considered more generous than in most Third World countries. 'White-collar workers' (empleados) have generally better conditions of work (wages, working hours, protection by law, etc.) than 'blue-collar workers' (obreros). Minimum wages are determined by tripartite councils, generally for a two-year period. There is no unemployment compensation, but both empleados and obreros receive substantial severance pay on discharge. Job security and conditions of work (pay, legal protection, etc.) are probably not so advanced in the agricultural sector. (Kurian, p.1443) Peru is a member of ILO and has ratified 62 ILO Conventions, among these the two important Conventions, No. 87 (Freedom of Association) and No. 98 (Right to Organise and Collective Bargaining). The National Trade Union of Workers of the Banco de la Nacion presented a complaint against the government of Peru to ILO because this trade union was not allowed to function as a bargaining unit. Trade union leaders were dismissed and the government refused to recognise the NTUW because it claimed independence from the existing trade union system of public servants. The ILO Committee of Experts stated in its reply to the government of Peru that it regarded this as a case of relevancy both with regard to the principles laid down in the two Conventions 'Freedom of Association' and in 'Collective Bargaining and Right to Organise'. ILO expressed the hope that the government would introduce Bills to determine the legal and labour

status of the employees of the Banco de la Nacion in the future. (ILO, 15-18 November, 1983, § 402ff., Case No. 1181)

Amnesty International has expressed grave concern about the detentions of trade union leaders (representing peasants' associations and small independent mineworkers' unions) and representatives of community councils under Decree 046. Both ruthless torture, poor prison conditions, and several deliberate killings of prisoners by security personnel were reported to an Amnesty International delegation visiting Peru in May 1982 to examine the conditions of poor peasants in Peru especially and the conditions of the imprisoned in general. (Amnesty International, Annual Reports, 1981, 1982, and 1983)

Kurian classifies Peru as a "free country" with a rating of 2 in political rights and 3 in civil rights (1: highest freedom, 7: lowest freedom). (Kurian, p.1436) In view of the deteriorating human (and trade union) right conditions reported by Amnesty International, this is probably an overly optimistic classification. In particular, poor peasants and agricultural workers seem to have faced worsening conditions of life and increased government repression under the civilian leadership of Terry.

### (3) SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS

Principal economic indicators:

GNP/C: US\$740 (1978), world rank, no. 81.

Income distribution: 1960: 2.0 % of the national income was received by the bottom 20 % of households, while 50 % was received by the top 5 %.

1978: 3.1 % of the national income was received by the bottom 20 % of the households, while the top 5 % received some 29 %. (Kurian, 1983)

Percentage of population in absolute poverty: 12 %.

Inflation, food prices: 100 (1970); 1,447 (1978). (Kurian, 1983)

ILO reports the following nominal daily wages (soles) for major groups of workers 1973-1982:

	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1982
Manufacturing	196	242	255	325	394	539	786	1477	4115
Construction	176	200	289	337	384	516	808	1414	4211
Storage, transport, communication	222	183	299	335	403	514	834	1787	5062
Agriculture									no data
Mining and quarrying									no data
Inflation, average p.a. (140 units sum p.a.)	100	240	380	520	660	800	940	1080	-

Source: ILO, 1983 and Kurian, 1983.

Kurian claims that real wages increased from 1970 to 1978, while Mielke claims a 50 % fall in the same period. If the average data shown in the table are correct, Mielke is right. Average real wages in manufacturing, construction, and storage, communication, and transport fell drastically from 1973 to 1977/1978. After that, real wages improved. The introduction of a civilian government in 1980 seems to have had a positive effect on real wages. We lack data on mining and quarrying and on agriculture, however.

The effect of the military government from 1968 to 1980 on general income distribution was a redistribution of income which benefited middle income and high middle income groups. The working population improved their real earnings during the '70s (on average), but lost purchasing power between 1973 and 1978. This sector has gained since 1978. The Peruvian economy and politics are still dominated by rural and urban (coastal) elites. Agrarian reform, introduced by the military government, broke some of the traditional sierra

landowner dominance, and forced the urban (coastal) elites to adapt to a new policy of redistribution and nationalisation, but the reform hardly benefited the poor in the direct manner intended. The 20 % increased their share of the national income from 2.0 % in 1960 to 3.1 % in 1978, which of course indicates better living conditions (on average). Still, this lowest 20 % (of households) must be regarded as living close to absolute poverty. In agrarian districts the standard of living is low not only because of low wages, but also due to serious underemployment. (Kurian, 1983) On average an agricultural worker was employed only some 120 days a year in the early '80s.



EUROPE



## PORTUGAL

(1) IMPORTANT TRADE UNION CENTRESBrief history

The first important trade union centre in Portugal emerged in the 1850s. The period following this was marked by strong rivalry between social democrats, 'communists', and anarcho-syndicalists. In the late 1890s the social democrats claimed control over more than 300 unions with some 150,000 members in the Porto-Lisbon area, while the anarcho-syndicalists claimed nearly 35,000 members in 100 unions. This rivalry continued until the late 1920s, when the fascists established a long-lasting dictatorship and reorganised the trade union movement along corporativist-fascist lines, inspired by Mussolini's system in Italy. The dictatorship formulated a constitution which required that workers belong to one centralised national union in the industrial sector. Public servants and agricultural workers were also organised along corporativist lines, but they were not allowed to join the national trade union centre. (Coldrick & Jones, 1979, p.960ff.)

The fascist dictatorship in Portugal lasted for nearly fifty years. The socialist revolution of 1974 changed this political situation radically, but the centralised industrial trade union centre was kept nearly unchanged until 1977. The strong Communist Party (PCP) and its supporters in the trade union movement took control over the only existing national centre without changing the structure of the organisation at first. The old national centre became the Intersindical Nacional-Confederacao Geral dos Trabalhadores Portugese CGTP/IN). In 1974-75 the Communist-led government tried to introduce a law forbidding the establishment of competing trade union organisations but the law did not pass Parliament (which was dominated by Socialists and Liberals from 1975). The Socialists (PS) and Social Democrats (PSD) established their own national trade union centre Uniao Geral de Trabalhadores (UGTP) in 1978,

with organisational basis among 'white collar' workers. It is probably correct to claim that UGTP was established by foreign funds (through the Jose Fontana Fund (PS) and the Oliveira Martins Fund (PSD)). CGTP/IN also received money from outside (Eastern Europe), but it had a solid financial basis in an already established check off system established by the earlier dictatorship.

### Confederacao Geral dos Trabalhadores

#### Portugueses-Intersindical-Nacional (CGTP/IN)

Established: 1970, extended/reformed in 1974, reorganised in 1977.

International affiliation: WFTU. Member of Euro-LO (ETUC) in 1983.

Political affiliation: PCP (Communist Party of Portugal, pro Moscow) (c. 20 % of the national votes).

Membership: CGTP/IN claims 1.6 mill. members in more than 200 unions, i.e. 70 % of all unionised workers. CGTP/IN claims 95 % of all blue collar workers. According to UGTP, CGTP/IN membership is no more than 600,000 (paying members).

According to the Danish and the Norwegian Embassies, CGTP/IN organises some 700,000-1,000,000 workers, mostly blue collar. All sources report stagnating membership.

Organisational apparatus: The existing national centre from the period of (fascist) dictatorship was not based on affiliated branch/industry federations, but was divided into geographical regions and districts. It was heavily centralised. CGTP/IN took over this apparatus in 1974, but reorganised it in 1977. Today CGTP/IN is governed by a collective leadership. The superior executive is the Executive Committee (19 members) elected from a National Secretariat (33 members). The leader of the organisation, A.T. da Silva (M.P. for PCP) is the Coordinator between the Committee and the Secretariat. After the 1977 reorganisation, the Central Organisation generates a 'super-structure' of branch- and industry-based federations all over Portugal. CGTP/IN organises blue collar workers (mostly) and is particularly strong in chemical industries, iron-metal plants, transportation, shipyards, and among agricultural

workers (plantation labour). At LO-Norway level we were told that CGTP/IN had lost its dominance in textiles. It has also met strong competition (from UGTP) in shipyards and in chemical plants lately. According to our information, the CGTP/IN leadership is highly competent and professional.

Profile: CGTP/IN is the most active trade union on the Portuguese labour market, organising strikes and go-slow actions. It is strongly opposed to the policy of the present Soares government. Most strikes run by CGTP/IN are based on political considerations (politically motivated), but it is probably correct to claim that CGTP/IN actions are not simply a mirror of PCP policy. Instead, they reflect decreasing real wage levels in Portugal since the late 70s, a threat now consolidated after the introduction of IMF-rule in 1983/84. Inflation is running at nearly 25 % annually, while the IMF requires a nominal wage ceiling of 7.5 % p.a. guaranteed by the government. (Coldrick & Jones, p.961; Danish & Norwegian Embassies; LO-Norway)

### Uniao Geral de Trabalhadores Portugeses (UGTP)

Established: 1978

International affiliation: ICFTU (1979), ETUC (1983)

Political affiliation: Socialist Party (PS) (actually social democrat) and Social Democratic Party (PSD) (actually social liberal or right-wing social democrat). (c. 60 % of the national votes).

Membership: Claims 984,000 members (reported to ICFTU, 1983).

According to CGTP/IN, UGTP organises 250,000 members (1981) who pay dues; CGTP/IN claims that UGTP organises white collar workers only.

According to Danish and Norwegian Embassies, UGTP covers some 800,000-1,000,000 members, and some 600,000 pay check-off dues. LO-Norway reports that UGTP originally organised white collar workers only, but that this is no longer true: at present, UGTP organises both employees in services and in manufacturing. All sources, except CGTP/IN, report rapidly increasing membership for UGTP.

Organisational apparatus: UGTP is not so centralised as CGTP/IN.

The supreme executive is the Executive Secretariat (10 members, 5 from PS and 5 from PSD). The Executive is elected from a National Secretariat (32 members), which is elected from a General Assembly (164 members). The General Secretary of UGTP, M.T. Couto, is a member of PS. Below this 'superstructure' of the central apparatus are branch and industry based federations. UGTP organised some 130 unions (out of altogether 400 in Portugal) in 1980, a figure which has also been growing. It would appear that UGTP organised white collar workers originally, but has gained some support from blue collar unions (leaving CGTP/IN) in recent years. UGTP organises a federation of chemical workers (10,500 paying members), and a mineworkers' union (some 2,000 members, total for Portugal: 4,500 mineworkers). According to LO-Norway, UGTP now controls textiles and has increased its influence in shipyards, chemical industries, and transportation.

Profile: Moderate, with tensions between the two political orientations represented in the central apparatus. So far the strength of UGTP has been that it has represented the profile of 60 % of the Portuguese voters. With the liberalistic orientation of the present (Soares) government, and the increased pressure for a stronger anti-workingclass policy put forward by the IMF, it is clear that UGTP is faced with serious problems. The PSD fraction supports government policy, while the PS fraction is working for a clearer profilation of UGTP opposition. These tensions may of course weaken the UGTP (and strengthen the CGTP/IN) in the long run. It is in fact impossible for any trade union organisation to keep legitimacy in the working class and also support IMF policy.

UGTP and CGTP/IN organise some 50 % of the Portuguese labour force of c. 4,5 mill. workers (Danish Embassy, 1983). This would mean that both CGTP/IN and UGTP probably organise nearly 1 mill. workers each (CGTP/IN possibloy 1,2 mill. according to the same source). Most sources state that CGTP/IN has its strength among blue collar workers, and UGTP among white collar workers. One simple event illustrates that this was the case in 1982, although considerabl

changes have occurred since then. Here we will present the 1982 case only: CGTP/IN organised two general strikes during the first four months of 1982. 25 % of all workers in Porto and Lisbon supported the strikes, but employees in banks, insurance and shops did not support the CGTP/IN actions. This indicates that CGTP/IN had little support among white collar workers in the two cities. The same source reported that some textile plants, electronical industries and iron-metal plants had strike actions in 1982/83 independently of CGTP/IN actions. These strikes and go-slow actions were not politically motivated, but occurred in relation to government-imposed wage regulations, local negotiations and a struggle about the interpretation of signed agreements. These unions were probably affiliated to UGTP. (Source: Danish Embassy, 1983.)

UGTP and CGTP/IN represent the Portuguese labour movement at ILO Annual Conferences, with representation alternating between the two.

It seems clear that the rivalry between CGTP/IN and UGTP also mirrors East-West relations in general. The break down of détente in the early '70s has sharpened this rivalry and has also led to a more isolated CGTP/IN in Western Europe.

Most commentators feel that the split in the Portuguese labour movement has weakened its position in Portuguese society. East-West relations must take their share of the responsibility for this development since 1974.

## (2) GENERAL CONDITIONS OF TRADE UNION ACTIVITY

Portugal is a free country, exhibiting all the characteristics of a democracy; an independent judiciary, a free press (despite state ownership), regular elections, voting rights for all citizens and a politically controlled military apparatus. Still, there are limitations on trade union activity, due to political and economic factors. We shall mention some of them here.

Portugal is a member of ILO and has ratified 74 ILO Conventions.

This includes both the important Conventions Freedom of Association (No. 87) and Right to Organise and Collective Bargaining (No. 98).

CGTP/IN presented a complaint against the government of Portugal to ILO for not recognising CGTP/IN affiliates as representative bargaining units in 1982 and 1983. A union of baking workers covering 50 % of all workers in the sector and two postal/telecommunication workers' unions covering 24,000 of the 29,000 workers in the sector were neglected by the employers' associations and the Ministry of Labour. The reply of the government states that the employers' associations preferred to negotiate agreements with affiliates of the competing UGTP in the two sectors. The negotiated agreements were then extended to all employees, according to Portuguese law. The law requires equal conditions of work for all workers in each sector. The Portuguese government does not reject the figures of representativity presented by CGTP/IN in the cases covered by the complaints. ILO's Committee of Experts concluded that the negotiating unions were not representative unions and that the cases presented by CGTP/IN are relevant to the application of both the Freedom of Association Convention and the Collective Bargaining Convention.

We believe that this case illustrates 'political unionism' in Portugal since the revolution of 1974. In this case the government allowed the employers to choose the negotiating counter-part without requiring representativity of the negotiating unions. The negotiated agreement was then sanctioned by law (to cover all workers in the sectors with no regard to representativeness). The Communists used parallel methods when in power (1974-75), trying to forbid other unions than CGTP/IN (i.e. trying to create a Communist trade union monopoly). Today CGTP/IN faces similar difficulties. (Source: ILO, 15-18 Nov. 1983, §172ff., case no. 1174.)

Introduction of IMF rule in Portugal in 1983/84 also represents a limiting factor. IMF has demanded a government guaranteed 'wage-ceiling' of 7.5 % annually - in a situation with inflation rates of more than 20 % p.a. This restricts the trade unions' freedom of negotiation. IMF is in fact requiring acceptance of real wage decrease in a country with some 35-40 % underemployment and a

BNP/C income (1982) of US\$2,300.

Migration could be regarded as a limiting factor since 1974. Some 800,000 'returnados', mostly from former Portuguese colonies in Africa, were originally absorbed in the Portuguese labour market after the revolution and after the end of Portuguese overseas colonialism during the late 70s, nearly 200,000 of them migrated to America (Brazil, Argentina, USA), Western Europe, and the Middle East. Still it has been difficult to employ all, and this migration has created great disruptions on the labour market.

Export of capital creates limitations on trade union activity in an indirect (but still significant) manner. Payment for 'Portuguese' services (plantations and tourism) is not spent in Portugal, but is transported to a Swiss bank or directly to Brazil due to the fact that hotel owners and plantation owners live outside Portugal. This mechanism reduces the Portuguese level of economic activity in general, imposes balance of payment problems, and a more restrictive government economic policy. This could be coupled to the case of IMF rule.

Collective bargaining occur in most sectors in the Portuguese economy. Unions negotiate at plant level in the private sector (creating severe income differentials) and at branch/industry level in the public sector. Minimum wages are regulated by law. The press, banks, insurance, transport, shipyards, and breweries were all nationalised after the 1974 revolution. Some wages are adjusted to the price index increase each year. Most collective agreements regulate wages for two years. It is also important to stress that public servants (all public sectors) can not be sacked. It is 100 % job security in all public services and corporations all over Portugal. There is a social security system, but it does not cover the majority of workers.

### (3) SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS

Income distribution: No data.

GNP/C (1982): US\$2,300, characterised as upper middle income country.

Wages are generally lower in rural and none metropolitan districts than in the big cities.

Danish Embassy reported these wage levels in 1983:

Lisbon: Average, manufacturing	25,000	escudos	per	month
The whole country:				
Min. wage, manufacturing	13,000	"	"	"
Househelpers, min. wage	8,300	"	"	"
Agricultural workers, fisher-				
men, forestry, min. wages	10,900	"	"	"
Growth of minimum wages from 1982 to 1983:	17	%		
Inflation rate:	20-25	%		

LO-Norway reported that wage levels in cheramical, glass, and textile industries and in plantation estates are close to the minimum wage of the agricultural sector. The workers in the private sector suffer due to severe unemployment (more than 12 %) and underemployment (35-40 % ?). Wage levels in the public sector are generally low (high in shipyards and chemical industries), but here employees have a 100 % job security and a full year income.

The existing (but slightly controlled) social security system of Portugal is built on the following principles:

- Wage increases above 17 % is taxated (30 %) and the tax is put into a social security fund.
- 21 % of the wage received is payed by the employer to a social security fund which covers illness, injury, pensions.
- 3 % of the wage is paid by the employer to an unemployment fund.
- The employer must pay an extra monthly wage to a holiday fund (covers summer holidays and Christmas).
- Most employers pay 200 escudos per day for meals.
- 8 % of the wage to a social security fund (employee's share).
- 3 % of the wage to the unemployment fund (employee's share).

(Source: Danish Embassy.)

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