

Mission of the Centre for Basic Research

To generate and disseminate knowledge by conducting basic and applied research of social, economic and political significance to Uganda in particular and Africa in general, so as to influence policy, raise consciousness and improve quality of life.

Workers Education

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Workers Education

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Workers Education

A. Introduction and Opening Remarks

Welcome Speech by the Ag. Director, Mr. Murindwa-Rutanga

Dear Participants,

The Centre for Basic Research is most honoured for your accepting its humble invitation to this workshop. The act of putting aside all your schedules and coming to this workshop is a clear testimony of your interest in CBR, in the type of work it is doing and in the actual issues that will be discussed in this workshop today and tomorrow. The membership of CBR is most overjoyed that what looked like a lonely, strange dream, formed in a deserted dreamland seven years ago has reached maturity and is bearing visible fruits for the Uganda community to partake.

It was in 1986 when 8 Ugandan researchers – 6 University Teachers and 2 Trade Unionists resolved and constituted themselves into a research organization with the motive of researching on social and economic issues in the Ugandan society. This was a move aimed at reversing the dangerous trend in which Ugandan researchers were being contracted on Leija Leija (casual) basis by foreign bodies, organizations and individuals. The highest bidder got the best researchers to carry out whatever research, on the payer's terms. There was no autonomy of the researcher – either in determining what to research on, how to research on it or even to analyse and interpret what the researcher had gathered in the field for the benefit of his people. The hirers dressed this research prostitution in an attractive, civilized dress called, "Consultancies".

The 8 researchers felt there was need for creating a research body, which would write different Ugandan researchers with an object of studying in depth the obtaining reality on social and economic issues in Uganda, a body which would then produce their research findings and avail them to Ugandans, a body that would go ahead to discuss their findings with the Ugandan community and then search for solutions, strategies and programs. Conscious of the need of intellectual accountability and responsibility to the Ugandan communities, and not to the outsiders, the 8 researchers embarked on the momentous task. Their first step was taken when they constituted themselves into a "Group for Labour Studies." Was this a dying dream or were they building castles in the air? By 1989, these efforts were bearing results – through the successful completion and publication of six researches on the history and conditions of wage labour in Uganda. For the first time, CBR Working Papers were born. These included Working Paper No.1 by Murindwa Rutanga, No.3 by Asowa-Okwe, No.5 by Mahmood Mamdani, No. 6 by Syahuka Muhindo, No. by Rutabajuka Simon and No.8 by Nyangabyaki Bazaara. This was just the beginning of a new chapter in the history of research in Uganda.

There are 3 major developments in the birth and growth of this research organization.

First, the Group for Labour studies developed into an Education Trust under the name "Centre for Basic Research" in 1988 and was later registered as an NGO in 1990.

With that legal establishment, the group emerged from the underground or the bush and established itself at Kamwokya-Mawanda Road, Plot No.86, from where it has now moved to Kololo, Baskerville Avenue.

Secondly, it began growing up until its membership reached 32 researchers – drawn from different sections of society. It also developed a capacity of labour recruitment and has twelve staff members.

Thirdly, the completion of the Project on Labour and the joining of other researchers gave birth to more research priorities. These include Labour II on Worker's Education, Social Movements and Democratic Struggles, Technology and Farming, The Crisis of Pastoralism in Karamoja, land tenure and Land use in 16 Districts, Rights and Constitutionalism, The Informal Sector and Gender.

It is gratifying to note that a total of 40 working papers are under publication and that CBR has held three workshops to discuss the research findings with different participants from within and without Uganda. The first workshop was in March 1991 on NRC elections which was held at the International Conference Centre. The second on "Pastoralism, Crisis and Transformation in Karamoja was held on August 14-15, 1992 at Faculty of Science, Makerere University. The Third one on "Women and Work; Historical Trends" was held on 7 September 1992 in the same Faculty of Science. This is the fourth CBR Workshop.

These Workshops are aimed at:

- (1) providing workers and researchers with education;*
- (2) Providing the participants with a chance to discuss various issues –both in the papers presented and those that may have been omitted. This is aimed at enriching the research results. At the same time, it enables the respondents to cross-check and point out and correct any inaccuracies and/or incorrectness of facts within the papers. Researchers are no angels.*
- (3) It is an occasion for us and other participants to met and discuss with other workers from other working environments, share experiences, etc.*
- (4) It is also a time for us to share the same platform with bureaucrats, employers, intellectuals and researchers and discuss on equal terms – various issues raised by the papers.*
- (5) It is a time of workers – researchers' reunion. This is drawing away from the tendency where researchers conceive of a research project, rush to the field, raise people's expectations with a milliard questions then rush back never to return there.*

There is need for acknowledgement of their contribution in the research process. In a way, we are fulfilling some form of social obligation and debt-paying to the respondents who offered their valuable time, knowledge, patience, energy and other resources; and who took risks to answer certain questions on the pain of losing their jobs or lives. Such people need to know what we did with their data.

- (6) *This should be also an occasion for the participants to realize the issues being raised and give them deep undivided and collective thinking. The question is what went/goes wrong, who are the perpetrators of the problems and what can be done to halt or reverse the trend and intensity of the crises being addressed.*

In a similar vein, special thanks go to International Development Research Centre (IDRC) Canada for funding this project on "Workers' Education". CBR is equally grateful to all who have assisted in one way or another in contributing to our research process. We may have come to you in unbecoming manner, but you helped. We might have annoyed you in one way or another or done what might have upset you – please accept our heartfelt apologies for any wrong. We are very appreciative of your patience and forgiveness.

Let me once again welcome all of you to this workshop. CBR will try what it can to facilitate your positive participation. We are at your service.

Welcome, Ladies and Gentlemen.

Chairman of 1st Session Dr. J.J. Barya

The Chairman of the First Session, Dr. J.J. B. Barya, began by observing that the Acting Director had told you about the broad aims of CBR. In summary, however, he said, CBR was setup with the following three broad aims in mind:

- (i) to do basic research as opposed to consultancy; to find out basic data or information and put it across to society. In doing research, CBR formulate its own objectives, research agenda and disseminates it to society.
- (ii) Research is done from a nationalist perspective. The interests of Uganda as a nation are put at the forefront whenever any research is conceptualized.
- (iii) Specific interest is put on research on popular classes and historical minorities such as the Karamojong, workers, and women. Through women are in large numbers, they are a marginalized social group.

Workers education project

Dr. Barya informed the participants that the Workers Education Project was conceived long ago with the objective of providing basic knowledge about workers and their work place. What is significant to note is that there are few books on workers in Uganda. The only exception is Rogers' (1966) book on the *Development of Trade Unions in Uganda*. This book, however, was written a long time ago. Conditions have since then changed. There are also two books by Grillo, on Railways Workers Union, and Railway workers. In addition there are few works on Uganda workers found in universities outside Uganda. Workers have never had access to such works. Because of this limitation, the objective of the workers education project was to provide workers with educational materials based on concrete research instead of only depending on information from newspapers, magazines, managers and Ministry of Labour.

The second object of the project was to make research accessible to workers. The intention was to reduce academic papers into forms workers can understand; the main targets were workers at the level of shop stewards, people who are in a position to disseminate information to other workers of various issues.

Research was done in the following places:

- (a) Asowa-Okwe – The National Union of Clerical, Commercial, professional and Technical Employees (NUCCPTE).
- (b) Ahikire – United Garments Industries Limited (UGIL)
- (c) Okuku-Juma – Nytil
- (d) Rubanga – MULCO

Some of the research was however general. This includes Barya's paper dealing with workers and the law in Uganda. Research was done in the National Insurance Corporation, NYTIL, MULCO, UTGWU, URWU, NSSF, and Ministry of Labour. Carasco's paper on Health and Safety conditions of work was done in four industries, notably Uganda Railways, Postal Union, plantations and textile workers. Mamdani's paper is on Uganda's economy in general and the international monetary fund whose conditionalities have diverse effects on the workers in Uganda.

The participants in the seminar, apart from the above-mentioned paper presenters included representatives from the specific work places in which research was done. These include workers, trade unionists, and personnel managers. Representatives from ILO and CCE were also invited.

Procedure

The Workshop coordinator finally advised:

"Each paper will be presented in 45 minutes. It will be followed by a discussion for one hour and 15 minutes. At the end of the seminar, we shall receive a report by the Rapporteurs. Mamdani's paper will be presented by Oloka Onyango due to the former's absence from the country".

B. Presentation of Paper

1. Uganda: Contradictions of the IMF Programme and Perspective

by M. Mamdani

In his introductory remark, the Chairman for the session noted that the choice of the paper was deliberate because IMF conditionalities are affecting the labour process in Uganda. The paper is therefore important because it gives a framework in which to understand the plight of workers both at their places of work and in the economy in general.

Presenting on behalf of Mamdani, Dr. Oloka Onyango noted that he was dealing with an "International Milking Fund", as IMF is increasingly becoming to be known, which determines, and controls peoples daily lives much more than the Untied Nation's Organisation.

The paper introduces the subject with three main assumptions. First, that the debate of capitalism versus socialism is simplistic. What is important is to examine the contradictory path through which capitalism is developing in the third world. The second assumption of the paper is that IMF is not critical of the historical context of the third world countries in general; as a result, its conditionalities are bound to re-compradorize African states. Last, the path of development in the third world should be determined through democratic

methods. This is necessary because of the linkage the economy and the general structure in society with politics.

With the above three assumptions, the paper analyses the crisis in the third world from two perspectives. The IMF perspective and "other views". The IMF perspective on the crisis in Africa is summarized in five related points. First, the problem of African economies is an internal one; the solution therefore, should be internally derived. Secondly, the problem in the short-run is a budgetary failure at practicing good housekeeping, and keeping expenditure within the limits of revenue. This is reflected in the fact that demands for foreign exchange has far outstripped its supply. Thirdly, the problem in the medium and in the long-run is that of increasing supply. Fourth, the agents of change in the African countries are the propertied class. This class, however, has been suppressed by anti-capitalist populism which has built up large but inefficient state enterprises. Lastly, the way to liberate the suppressed African propertied class so that it may play its historical role of developing the productive forces is through a transfer of resources to the entrepreneurial class and ending state restrictions on market transactions.

The "other views" on the African crisis are essentially two. The first according to several African governments is the collapse of infrastructure equipment, lack of productive inputs and expertise. This point of view often takes a "structuralist" position to the crisis in the third world as opposed to the "monetarist" framework of the World Bank. The second view is that of the radicals. This view looks at the crisis of the Africa to be externally motivated. This view, however, is opportunistic. It ignores the internal contradictions the third world countries.

Turning to Uganda's experience, the paper argues that external and internal, technical and social developments combined to create a crisis dramatic proportion. The external factors include a deterioration Uganda's external trade during the last phase of the Amin's regime up to the beginning of the first IMF programme in 1981. The terms of trade dropped sharply from 158 in 1977 to a mere 45 in 1981. Similarly, the purchasing power of Uganda's exports dropped from 184 to 42 in 1981. These trends have continued right through the first IMF programme to the beginning of the second programme in 1987, with the commodity price index for coffee, the source over 95% of Uganda's foreign exchange, falling from 100 in 1981 to 61 in 1987.

Internally, the "Economic War" of 1972, is taken as the starting point of a period of sharp economic destabilisation and 'mismanagement'. In its economic dislocation, the 'economic war' was responsible for the sudden departure of a settler bourgeoisie, whose managerial vacuum could only be filled by a sudden erratic expansion of the state sector. The private enterprises were stripped precisely to form the foundation stone for state enterprises. Other than being a source of revenue for the state, however, the state enterprises turned out to be

sources of private accumulation to the corrupt state management. This ultimately created deficits for the state.

In addition to the above, the “economic war” gave rise to big proprietors, popularly known as the *mafutamingi*. This class was state-created and state-protected. The paper holds this stratum, responsible for the fiscal crisis of the Uganda state that the NRM inherited in 1986. This stratum, despite its economic gains, did not constitute a significant source of government revenue. As a result, government revenue was derived almost exclusively from taxation of incomes of peasants and workers.

From the above explanation, the paper argues that the fiscal crisis of the state lies on the side of the revenue not on the side of expenditure. The *mafutamingi*, while they account for the highest share of import demand, have been paying a dramatically declining share of state revenue. For which state expenditure is one of the lowest in the world as a % GDP. State revenue as a % of GDP is even lower. The shortfall between revenue and expenditure was made up over the years through deficit financing.

In order to overcome the above economic crisis, the IMF programme includes “almond management’ by reviewing current demand, a sharp devaluation, and an equally sharp credit squeeze, liberalization. The paper argues that these policies have had contradictory effects on Uganda society. The first contradiction is that the reduction IMF demands on social expenditures put the burden of ‘Adjustment’ primarily on the working and poor majority in society. This and the process it sets into motion that redistributes income further in favour of the rich, can only serve to exacerbate the woes of the down-trodden in contemporary Uganda.

The second contradiction relates to the policy of devaluation. The paper argues that continuous and protracted devaluation has led to the loss of confidence in the value of Uganda’s currency. This in turn has led to an all-round increase in prices as traders exchange liquid money for physical assets for speculative purpose. There is also an increase in black market price of the shilling as the traders also try to transfer their savings overseas to immunise them against the effects of the expected round of devaluation. In addition to the above effect, the paper argues that internally every devaluation in Uganda has turned into a contest between different classes in society. The overall internal effect of evaluation has been double: first to transfer saving from the working class people to the propertied classes, but second, also to redistribute income inside these classes. The tendency has been for those on fixed incomes – particularly workers and civil servants to supplement their regular activities by moving into the sphere of distribution, thus leading to a further disintegration of the wage-earning class by its gradual movement into petty trade. Similarly in the class of proprietors, there is a parallel movement of capital away from productive investments to commercial and speculative investments. In this context, where market incentives give no preference to productive over speculative investments,

the net results of more money in the hands of proprietors is to further skew both investment and consumption activities in favour of luxury activities.

The flow of social savings to the *mafutamingi* is further increased by the shift in bank lending policy from productive activities to commercial and speculative ventures. While social differentiation in putting more and more of the social savings at the disposal of the local propertied *mafutamingi*, these savings are becoming more the source of unproductive investments combined with increased consumption revenue rather than capital accumulation.

The third contradiction arises from the policy of liberalisation. Liberalisation in essence gives the *mafutamingi* the freedom to determine how to utilize the savings. This policy orientation is summed up in a single policy instrument. OGL (Open General Licence). The experience of the OGL policies in the 1st IMF programme in Uganda was that 40-60% of imports under the auction system were those of consumer goods. The difference between the 1st IMF programme is that in the latter, the timetable for liberalization is a phased one. But the concessions made by the IMF to the sensibilities of the government of the day are only tactical; the strategic orientation of the programme remains unaltered. The strategic objective is to put the power of defining social priorities into the hands of dominant agents on the market, the *mafutamingi*. Market determination of priorities, that is a complete ODL means that emphasis will be on the importation of those commodities for which trading profits will be the highest. It means, in a nutshell, accepting the priorities of the *mafutamingi* stratum as those of the society as a whole. In a setting where short term tradition profits directly contradict medium term growth needs, this is equivalent to losing control over the very direction of the process of development.

The fourth contradiction lies in the policy of curbing inflation by increasing reliance of foreign markets and foreign capital. According to paper, IMF boasts of two successes in today's Uganda: rehabilitation of the infrastructure, and curbing inflation. The major instrument that has led to dramatic decrease in inflation is a sharp squeeze in bank credit available to the state. This policy instrument, however, has created its own negative consequence: a shrinking domestic market. This creates a crisis for industries producing for the local market.

The other side of the process that leads to shrinking local markets is greater reliance on foreign capital and foreign markets. This process, however, has seen an aggravation of the foreign debt of Uganda, rather than a movement towards solvency.

With the above contradictions in the IMF programme in Uganda, the paper argues that there is need for an alternative. In search for an alternative, the paper argues that the minute one goes beyond the immediate question of trade and markets, to pose the question of production and accumulation, three inescapable questions must arise: (a) the agent of change, in agriculture and industry; (b) the nature of markets for expanded production, whether principally

local or foreign; and (c) the sources of finances for industrialization, also whether mainly local or foreign. The answers to these questions are grounded in the historical experiences of Uganda.

As far as the agents of change are concerned, the answer lies in small peasant production who has demonstrated resilience in the face of adversity. As far as industrial production is concerned, the paper argues that the state should play a leading role in devising an appropriate structure of rewards and punishments that makes it rational for owners of large-scale property to move into industrial investments. On the question of markets for expanded production, the paper argues that it is expanding local markets and not any new suddenly discovered or captured external market which can sustain industrial investments. This can be achieved by increasing the wages of the working class in real terms. As far as markets for the agriculture sector are concerned, the solution lies in creating and expanding domestic markets for agricultural products. As for the sources of finances for industrialisation, the paper argues that accumulation has to be based primarily on local savings but not the international climate whose interest rates are high. These savings necessarily have to come out of agriculture, and do imply developing policies which call for terms of trade against agriculture and in favour of industry. But this policy has to be accompanied by institutional reforms at the centre of which the key one is the land reform based on the principle of "land to the tiller". This reform is significant in two aspects. First, it distributes productive property to the majority; second, it creates a substantial internal market in mass consumption commodities. In other words, the emancipation of the peasantry creates a large peasant market for both industries producing agricultural tools and those producing mass consumption commodities. Closely tied to the land reform should be an active state role in the economic sphere, whose economic policies should have a dual orientation of protecting the internal market for domestic manufacturers, and to direct local capital into investments necessary from the point of view of long term economic development.

In conclusion, the paper argues that the terms of the debate as cast by the IMF – state vs – market – fails to capture the needs of the hour in contemporary Uganda. That need is not for statism, nor for privatization, but for democratisation

Discussion

The discussions revolved around several issues, notably, alternatives to IMF markets, investment, question of democracy, character of the African state, role of Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare, alliance between workers and peasants, popular organizations, that is Trade Unions, co-operative unions and resistance councils, workers representation to the Board of Director privatisation and retrenchment.

On the question of alternatives to IMF, it was generally agreed that there is need for one. African economists should work out an alternative to the IMF. It was observed that even though some alternatives exist such as Lagos Plan of Action and Report of the Economic Commission for Africa, there is a general lack of political will to execute these programmes.

As for the markets, it was observed that the problem is aggravated by the fact that the agricultural sector in Africa is based on primary commodities for export whose prices are declining. Increases in supplies are hampered by narrow market. Peasant produce in Uganda remains unsold. In addition to strengthening the local markets through expanding the purchasing power of peasants and workers, African states should organize themselves, on the basis of existing resources, into viable regional groupings comparable to the Group of 7 and the European Economic Community. It was, however, observed that the expansion of economic market should go hand in hand with the expansion of the political market. Increasing purchasing power should be accompanied by increased political power.

The paper drew some criticism on the issue of speculative investment. Apart from the character of the propertied class, the *mafutamingi* and economic policies which favours speculative investment, it was observed the fluid political situation in Uganda gives rise to such trade practices. No sensible entrepreneur can make meaningful investments in an area of insecurity. On this note, it was observed, that it is important to tackle the question of speculative investment from a historical perspective. One question which can be asked here is at what moment in history does speculative investment become the dominant mode of economic practice? From the economic point of view, it was noted that every capitalist aims at maximum profits. If speculative investment gives more profit than productive investment, any capitalist, elsewhere in the world will shift to speculative investment.

On the question of democracy, it was generally observed that IMF conception of democracy was inadequate. Democracy according to IMF is concerned with manner of changing people in power and often this is done. It does not take into account the democratic content of the policies of the successive regimes especially in their relations to the oppressed and exploited classes.

There was a general agreement that the African state is besieged by IMF and the World Bank. In the final analysis, the African state has become an agent of IMF. Because of its besieged character, it is unable to come out to defend either peasants being evicted from land or workers being laid off. This raised constant questions of who is to intervene in case of a crisis in the economy affecting not only the working class but also production. Another question asked in this regard was whether we can do without the state in Africa. Put differently, it was often asked whether the African state is politically, socially and economically relevant as far as the working class was concerned.

A related issue was that of the role of the Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare. It was observed that the Labour Ministry is encouraging retrenchment of workers. It is working in conjunction with IMF. It was noted that this is a crisis because once the workers are retrenched; the ministry loses the *raison d'être* for its existence. In case of workers strikes, it was noted that the Ministry of Labour always intervenes on behalf of the management. Examples were drawn from MULCO where a Minister of Labour at one time closed the factory after a workers strike. On the whole, it was observed that the Labour and Social Welfare Ministry tends to concentrate on the welfare department and marginalizing the labour department.

Concluding the debate on the African state, it was noted that expecting the state to intervene on behalf of the working class is negating the historical origin of this institution. The burden of struggling for the improvement of the conditions of the working class was to be shouldered by the working class itself, not through interventions by either the state or the Ministry of Labour for that matter. On matters relating to economic production, however, it was noted that there is no country in the world where state intervention does not exist in the regulation of its economic affairs. What differs is the degree of intervention.

Turning to the alliance between workers and peasants, it was argued that the dichotomy of "peasant" and "worker" is divisive. It stems from the failure to recognize or evaluate work performed by the peasants on one hand and workers on the other. The debate looked at these social categories as a single class performing different work loads in the production process. It was generally agreed that the working class is the most effected by the austerity measures of IMF. There is need to unite the entire working class against the policies of IMF. At this point it was observed that the intelligentsia has a role not only in writing about the working class but also providing the leadership necessary. Occasionally, the Centre for Basic Research was called upon by the workers to perform this role. One discussant suggested that there is need to create a "Labour Rights Protection Group" in Uganda whose role shall be the protection of the rights of labour.

On workers representation on the Board of Directors of the various economic enterprises in Uganda, it was noted that the situation was very disappointing. Normally workers are represented by two members who are normally out-voted at the decision making stage. This puts the workers representation in a crisis for they are normally held partly responsible by their fellow workers for bad decisions made at the Board meetings. It was generally agreed that there should be an increase in workers representation at the Board meetings.

Lastly, the debate on popular organization was essentially on evaluation of the role of the Trade Union Movement in Uganda. In the discussion, it was noted that the Trade Union Movement in Uganda spends most of its time quarrelling and manoeuvring how to stay in power. Contributing towards the

debate on why Trade Union leaders do not wish to leave power, one discussant argued that after distinguishing themselves as workers leaders, and especially to in workers strike, trade union leaders find it difficult to secure employment outside the trade union hierarchy. Another weakness of the Trade Union Movement in Uganda was its regional character. It was observed that despite the various activities all over Uganda involving salaried workers, Trade Unions are only concentrated in Kampala and Jinja. There are no Trade Unions in West Nile, the North and West.

2. Workers and the Law in Uganda

by Jean-John Barya

Dr. Barya said he was discussing a very wide topic but the time to present it was very limited. This why he was force to dwell on the main issues. The main issues he dealt with were the following:

1. Trade Unions in Uganda
2. Contract of employment
3. Conditions of labour
4. The National Social Security Fund (NSS)
5. Conclusion and Summary

The author clarified that the paper is written to assist in educating workers especially beginning with the role of Trade Unions. He made the following points:

- The ahistorical education of trade unions right from the 1930s was given to make sure that peace and non-antagonistic relations between workers and employers could be maintained. This, he contended is a premise from which the work began.
- He clarified that the positive operation of the law depends on the presence of Trade Unions.
- What understanding should workers have about the law, was also a concern of the author.
- As far as law was concerned the following issues were raised:
 1. The law is a weapon used in class struggle between employers and employees i.e that workers can deploy it against the employers and ignorance of the law by the workers can be used by employers to weaken them.
 2. That the doctrine of the “Rule of Law” has been used by state and employers against the workers.

3. That labour law discourages collective rights but insists on rights of individuals. The law therefore will not be used in the liberation of workers unless the workers themselves operate in unions as a class to change the law.
4. To be able to use existing rights one should be conscious of them although in some cases there have to be some compromises.
5. That the state has used divisive and coercive methods in some case disregarding the law which is stipulated in Article 18, Sec.1 of the constitution i.e. freedom of association for workers. The state can also make other laws, to hinder what is stipulated in the article as has historically happened.

On Trade Union Legislation, the following points were made by the author:

- The First Trade Union Ordinance in Uganda was issued in 1937, giving Trade Unions the right to exist and the registration of trade unions was made compulsory. The trade unions were created as a reaction to the workers uprisings that had taken place in Kenya which colonialist did not want to happen in Uganda.
- The existence of a law should be a reaction to happening at the time in the country concerned. Basing the law on outside experience must was problematic as is seen in the 1952 Trade Union Ordinance. As per the Ordinance, no trade union was allowed to espouse as its objective, political activities.
- The state employed one major mechanism to restrict trade unions: compulsory registration. And in some cases, some Trade Unions were deregistered especially those under the leadership of Ignatius Musazi whose objectives were political.
- This Ordinance was followed by the 1965 Trade Union Act which stipulated that if one was to be a trade union Leader, he had strictly to be a citizen of Uganda.
- The author observed that after independence - 1962, there were militant attempts to organize strikes, a tendency that threatened the UPC government then and consequently the militant Uganda Federation of Labour (UFL) was forced to dissolve itself. This was the same period that the UPC Youth League under the leadership of John Kakonge who was then the Secretary General of UPC party was also agitating for

better conditions of workers together with UFL. In 1964, in the UPC Annual conference in Gulu, Kakonge was maneuvered out of the post and replaced by the reactionary Grace Ibingira as the new Secretary General of UPC.

- Towards the 1966 crisis, the right wing of UPC was supporting Eliab Kibuka's FUTU (Federation of Uganda Trade Unions). Ibingira, a Minister supporting FUTU was opposed to government. The two merged after Ibingira was arrested in the 1966 crisis.
- In 1968, Eliab Kibuka staged a coup against the ULC (Uganda Labour Congress) leadership.
- Following this "coup", the government closed the ICFTU Labour College because government had failed to control workers.

On the 1976 Trade Union decree that author argued that:

- Under the 1976 Trade Union Decree workers were allowed the right to organize in unions.
- The Decree also allowed some rights and immunities to Trade Unions. For instance a Trade Union cannot be sued in a civil court for an act done in contemplation or furtherance of a trade dispute.
- The paper clearly argued for freedom of association, the right to bargain collectively and for most employees the right to join Trade Union which was recently emphasized in two Industrial Court awards. This was during the period 1984-1986. The two cases are: *Uganda Electricity and Allied Workers' Unions vs UEB* and the other is of *Amalgamated Transport and General Workers Union vs The Oil Industry Joint Industrial Council*.
- These cases emphasized the rights of workers to associate and any right of workers can be further negotiated about and made better and any attempt by the employer to interfere with collective bargaining is a criminal offence.
- On the question of state control, the author argued, that the device of registration is still restrictive to the Trade Union Management thus maintaining the number of trade unions at 15 and secondly maintaining the membership of 1000 workers for every union.
- According to the author, the most unfortunate legislation is one of which gives the Minister of Labour the power to

interfere in the working of Trade Unions and to refuse the withdrawal of labour.

- Another issue raised is that all public servants are not allowed to unionize at all unless they are group employees.

Behaviour of Trade Unions *vis-à-vis* the state

Between 1980-1985, Trade Unions divided into two factions: the anti-government and the pro-government (UPC) factions. For instance in the textile union (UTGWU) the Mutete faction and the Amandra faction arose. Later on Amandra was vindicated but Mutete refused to vacate the office until force was used. The measures used were, however unconstitutional. Both factions looked at their foreign donors as their constituencies. According to the author, leadership wrangles disrupted both the leadership and the membership of the Trade Unions.

Uganda Railways Workers' Union (URWU)

- One of the problems of URWU is that the full-time employees are appointed and not elected, except the General Secretary. And since there is no election, the leadership can be manipulated by the cabinet.
- For instance, some manipulation took place in 1985 when it was agreed in a meeting that the leaders of the Trade Union would be bought a suit and a brief case. After this the old leadership was elected by acclamation!
- Apart from this, there has been conflict between the Kampala Branch and the national union leadership.

On contracts of Employment the following were noted:

- The minimum wage law is no longer operational.
- The author requested for the position of the Ministry of Labour on maternity leave.
- The author contended that according to the common law when worker is dismissed, he cannot be reinstated.

It was the author's view that:

1. Workers should be aware of the provisions of the labour laws.
2. Workmen's compensation of a maximum of (U) shs.38,000 should be raised. And those workers should make sure that the law is

amended and should not be limited by a specific figure but a percentage or other formula.

National Social Security Fund

- In the author's view, there's need to struggle to change the present position of NSSF.
- The NSSF should be democratised.
- NSSF should not be a monopoly but competitors should be allowed to make it efficient and allow workers different pension and retirement schemes.

Discussion

a) General:

- Out of the discussion, a number of issues were raised. These included: the inadequate 1992 Labour Laws-Bill as a result of the 1988-89 proposals.
- That in respect to the law, the manner in which those subjected to the law react matters a great deal.
- That some people were trying to use the struggle by the Trade Unions opportunistically as a step to go to parliament.
- The seminar was informed that amendments have been made, but they are still inadequate as they exclude, Head Teachers, their deputies, Heads of departments etc from joining the Trade Union Movement. These restrictions should be removed.
- That the machinery of the state is prohibitive of free association apart from the internal weaknesses (opportunism) within trade unions.
- The issue of NSSF: it was mentioned that NSSF does not seriously emphasise the conditions of trade unions and interest of workers.
- It came to light that the mode of election of union of officials is a bit corrupt in that there is a lot of politicking and after election, the leader become a liability to the movement. They become dictatorial.
- That workers are rendered helpless by the low level of education they attained.
- That when one attains a leadership position, he psychologically becomes a member of the middle class, even starts firing those that elected him to the position.
- That nobody controls the constitution and therefore it is not easy to change it. All these and many others render the worker's unions

liable to manipulation. Therefore, it was argued that there should be a mechanism for democratisation.

- On the NOTU election: It was clearly put forth that representation of 11 delegates per union is faulty, undemocratic and should be changed to proportional representation.
- It was mentioned that NSSF though 100% owned by workers, 99% of the board members are non members which is not right.
- That the 1976 decree has a lot of loopholes which enable leaders to keep in power for life.
- That Trade Unions in our conditions are not independent and as per the definition of Trade Unions, there are actually State Unions in Uganda especially and there is no democracy in Trade Unions.
- That the 3 positions that were given to Trade Unions in NRC may not be useful, their views may not be taken seriously by the other members.
- That workers may not be recognized because they are not properly unionized.
- That for workers to feel that they cannot work unless they are in a leadership position is wrong.
- That it is wrong to think that in order to liberate workers one needs to be the General Secretary.
- Labour officials argued that compulsory registration is not prohibitive and:
 - That it is only a formal way of having Trade Unions formally recognized. That there is no way we can do without such restrictions.
 - That the restrictions are necessary for some purposes but they can be reviewed to allow workers more freedom of association.
 - It was put to light that on maternity leave, government allowed 45 days of maternity leave on the assumption that the women in question would have reserved their 30 days leave to make them 75 days in all.
 - On reinstatement of a dismissed worker, it was felt that one's dismissal is a sign of incompatibility which the law can note easily force.
 - On the issue of the maximum compensation of (U) shs.38,000/= they suggested a self-adjusting index.

b) On URWU

The method of Elections in Uganda Railways Workers Union of the Quinquennial Delegates Conference prohibits the recruitment and active participation of the elites in the corporation. The method enables only the semi-illiterate to attend the Q.D.C., most of whom represent up country stations. The three delegates who represent Kampala Branch are all time outvoted and avoided when it comes to gathering of ideas. This means that the Branch which represents about 75% of the workers of URC and who consist the majority of elites is underrepresented and this is very prohibitive particularly the recruitment of elites in the union. Therefore delegates are easily manipulated.

There is now a tendency of the worker representation undermining the process of collective bargaining. This has been expressed by some General Secretaries who claim that some issues of a collective bargaining nature are discussed at the Board and the Board claims legitimacy of decisions taken simply because they have been endorsed by the union representative on the Board.

Recommendations

1. That there is need to remove all the constitutional restrictions on labour's right to organize under Art. 18 of the 1967 constitution. Only the simple and clear positive right to organize should remain.

In connection with this, restrictions against civil servants and Bank of Uganda worker's rights to organize under the public Service Act & The Trade Union Decree should be removed.

2. The right to form a trade union should not be artificially restricted. Since 1976 only 15 Trade Unions exist in Uganda. The requirement of a minimum of 1000 people is too high and prohibitive; it should therefore be repealed.
3. There is need to change from the 51% membership to between 20-30% for compulsory recognition of a Union. This is to allow unions to receive some support from the law.
4. The decision of *ATGWU vs The Oil Industry* Joint Industrial Council should be followed and probably reflected in legislations as far as the question of who, in the private sector, can join a Trade Union is concerned.
5. State restrictions should be repealed e.g. compulsory registration, grounds for refusal of registration, etc. Cancelling of registration should be done only if members request it or the union is involved in gross illegalities. Also rights of inspection by government should be removed and only judicial organs should have such powers.

6. As far as the foreign Aid is concerned, the state should only be informed. The state should not stop aid unless such aid is against national interests. In this regard, NOTU could formulate policy on foreign aid which is known to government and which all unions should follow.
7. There is need to reform Trade Union structures to ensure that the voice of the rank and file is supreme. This should be reflected in the organs of the Unions especially the ADC. The right to recall leaders at any time should be emphasized.
8. Workers also need to be aware of their rights at their work place.
9. There is also need to expand the term workman in the Workmen's Compensation Act to include all those that may be affected directly by their work at their work place.

Response

- That workers should not only take up the 3 seats given to them but should also demand for more.
- That NSSF monopoly should be removed and some kind of competition allowed.
- On the issue of democratization, it was argued that most of the Trade Unions came after independence, but the problem is that control of Trade Unions' constitutions. What is important therefore is the legal form of struggle for workers to control their constitutions.
- That there is no reason for the law to prevent an individual from going to the Industrial court if he is aggrieved; they need not go through trade union.
- There is no need for compulsory registration of Trade Unions.
- He disagreed with the issue that dismissal is a result of incompatibility. He argued that even if two people were incompatible, a worker would be transferred elsewhere especially in public enterprises.
- That there is need for proliferation of Trade Unions.
- The workers allowed to form a Trade Union should be between 100-200.

3. **The Dynamics of Women participation in Workers' Struggles in Uganda: A Case Study of the National Union of Clerical, Commercial, professional and Technical Employee (NUCCPTE)**

by C. Asowa Okwe

The paper discusses the participation of women in labour and labour struggles in Uganda. It specifically deals with NUCCPTE. It argues that literature on labour has not critically appreciated the differentiation of labour along gender lines. It views the concept of participation in terms of both involvement and awareness on the part of the workers, both in the workplace and beyond. This, the paper argues that women participation encompasses membership to labour organizations, voting and contesting in elections as well as withholding labour.

The paper argues further, that the history of the working class in Uganda is a product of colonialism. It describes its character and social formation as being different from that of the European working class; as much as it is different from that of the Kenyan, Zimbabwe, or South African and Algerian cases where settler farming and industrialization generated a massive labour outflow to urban industrial locations, and led to a permanent displacement of the total populace from the land. The Uganda case did not lead to the evolution of a full-fledged proletarian (working) class. Rather it evolved a class that vacillated between the workplace and the land.

The pre-capitalist African society was essentially self-reliant. As colonialism came in, it found it quite difficult to extract labour in the initial processes. It had to use coercive approaches to solicit for labour. Part of the approach was to designate some areas of the country as labour reserves, which meant a denial of other forms of income like growing cash crops etc, leaving them with only one inlet deriving income – wage labour. The tapped labour was predominantly male, and tended to be migratory in character. It tended to isolate and confine female mobility. Colonialism was reluctant to develop a full-fledged working class, and used traditional customs and norms to legitimate and restrict female labour mobility.

The introduction of formal education also greatly discriminated against women. When they were allowed to attend the few schools available to them, in most cases it was to prepare them for domestic labour – to prepare good wives' for the male working class.

The Clerical Union emerged in 1950 and the colonial government was very nervous about its evolution, lest it articulated radical political interest like I.K. Musaazi had done. The women were at first very few in the union. Reasons for their limited membership and participation was both in and out of the workplace. Domestic obligation outside the workplace and work hours was one major reason. Lukewarm participation of women should therefore not be taken as sign of their lack of interest.

The paper observes that workers' struggle in the clerical union for better wages has witnessed a high level of commitment from both the men and the women. It argues further that at such times, the union leadership sometimes represented positions and views contrary to that of the mainstream labour-force i.e. the workers. This, the paper contends, partly explains why the bankers have been seeking to be autonomous from the clerical union. It is further highlighted in how the narrow conception of the gender question has been recurrent within the union, especially by the men. The tendency for some union officials to belittle and ridicule female participation with prejudice was also noticeable, the paper contended. More to this communication within the clerical union seems to be in a state of imbalance, tending to be technocratic, vertical in a top-down formation, and lacking any organic forward-backward linkages.

Within the statute books there are legislations which uphold the principle of equality of the sexes. That there is also an ominous silence over customary laws, especially those that which discriminate against the women. The paper argues for the need for both women and men to develop the capacity to ask for more reforms and changes. Within the trade unions and specifically in NUCCPTE, there exists the need for house cleaning, especially in terms of leadership. The paper concludes that the women still remain a marginalized social minority and there exists a strong need for further reflection on this.

Reactions

On the general low female participation in NUCCPTE it was the general feeling of members that this was in contrast with the case of the other unions where the women participation has led to positive constitution amendments.

The issue of workers' education at the branches and its consequent fruition has not been the case with NUCCPTE where the trend has been to dismiss beneficiaries of workers' education, and that intolerance of women seems to be justified along religious beliefs. It was also observed that the 1989 women's festival depicting women's plight and struggles in workplaces had been the product of all unions except NUCCPTE. The apparent deliberate effort to frustrate women in NUCCPTE was viewed as a case of double women's oppression in largely undemocratic unions. The need to critically analyse the magnitude, form and nature of women's marginalization was emphasized including the oppression of women by fellow women in the trade unions.

The need for alliances between females and males, and of lobbying and working between branches and national unions' headquarters was stressed. The need for special provision for them in Annual Delegates' Conference of NOTU was equally stressed.

4. **Workers' Conditions and Struggles at Nyanza Textile Industries, Jinja, 1970-1990** *by J. Okuku*

The thrust of the paper was first on the conditions of workers and secondly on the struggles of the workers. The paper examined the relationships between the workers conditions defined broadly as a totality of complex relationships at the place of work and the process of reproduction outside it; and the struggles that have taken place over time within these conditions. It also examined the effect of Structural Adjustment Policies (SAP), mismanagement and political strifes which the country has gone through.

The paper employed a historical perspective in discussing the conditions of workers and the subsequent struggles by workers to ameliorate their conditions.

In the paper is generated a debate that there exists the working class in Uganda, though small. The truth of the matter is that the working class exists, and is conscious of its conditions as being exploited, oppressed and repressed.

The paper discussed the character and levels of organization that help to conceptualise certain issues to the workers. The character of exploitation determines the level of consciousness and subsequently organization and mobilization and the willingness to struggle basing on class interests. This is through a process; it does not happen over night but through a period of time.

Nyanza Textiles Industries, established in 1956 as one of the subsidiaries of Uganda Development Corporation, was concerned with light industrialization to substitute for imported consumer items, cloth inclusive. It was owned by a Manchester-based textile company, Calico Printers Association. It was basically meant to serve colonial interests. The industry recruited mainly semi-skilled and unskilled workers who had been involved in the construction work of Owen Falls Dam. More labour was got through labour exchange at the Ministry of Labour.

The history of struggles is as old as the factory, the first phase being characterized by desertion and absenteeism especially by workers from distant districts. The second was one of demands to form a trade union. A union was formed in 1958 and recognized in 1959 after which workers went on strike demanding wage rise. A number of strikes then followed in different years - for instance 1961, 1981, 1985. All these were responses to unfavourable terms of employment.

The total reproduction process of a labourer, entails his access to all elements that lead to his increased capacity to produce. However, the most immediate obstacle to this process are the occupational hazards.

There is a high level of infection among the workers as a result of dust and many others which lead to chest infections, diarrhea and also accidents. This is due to failure to provide them with special masks for protection against dust. Workers are treated at the factory clinic which is quite inadequate. This poor

medical care obviously constrains the workers' level of production. The situation remains bad in the spinning section.

The concern of the trade union is limited. It appeals to the state to intervene to correct the situation. It has hope that the Minister of Labour can ameliorate their worsening working conditions. However, the attempts to redress the workers' conditions seems to have ended with the appeal to the state. But with regard to struggle for better conditions, the trade union seems to have folded its hands.

There has been an attempt to influence workers by management. This is done through a number of control strategies especially supervision, conduct bonus, punishment for breaches of rules and record keeping through a system of log book. The role of supervision is meant to ensure a smooth production process.

The work process in the industry is based on the shift system with on-line supervision for maximum extraction of labour power. The long duration on the machines during shifts, makes workers tired and reduces their delivery capacity.

Because wages depend on profitability of a production process, the wages in the textile industry have remained low. Apart from that the wages have been rendered more useless by inflation. Because of low wages in the industry, some workers have deserted to or flirted with the informal sector. There has been a constant decline in the labour force since 1983 because of the ever-decreasing value of our currencies, which causes workers to look for alternative employment especially within the informal sector (e.g. *Boda-Boda* bicycles).

The wages paid are too small to allow workers to reproduce themselves. Actually, the fall of the real wage value has devalued the work force; in some cases workers have deserted work and gone to villages and the informal sector which has consequently caused less output due to absenteeism. This has led to the dampening of workers' consciousness, hence seeking individual economic solutions. This is a limitation to the impetus of the workers to struggle for better condition

Labour turnover and the intensified relation with the informal sector has also taken place through dismissals and lay-offs or fear of state repression especially through *Panda Gali* round-ups by security forces in early 1990s, IMF instance on standard staffing, hence laying off some workers and also the 1990 cabinet ruling on rationalizing labour, or retrenchment. The labour lost mostly comprises the unionized labour. The consequence of this is that it has reduced the powers of the labour force to struggle.

Other factors that have led to loss of labour are:

1. Market structures confronting poor marketing strategy
2. Competition with second hand clothes
3. Financial constraints which have led to high levels of indebtedness to the tune of billions of dollars

4. Wrong solutions especially in regard to production of raw cotton.

On the forms of struggles of the workers, there are mainly two:- overt actions such as strikes, lockouts and go-slows and also covert actions such as absenteeism, desertion and anonymous letter writing. A number of strikes since 1961 have been staged. In 1961 there was a strike against autocratic management, racist attitude to union leaders and workers, and against intensifying work and close supervision. Another form of unrest was experienced in 1968 against mistreatment by management. In 1969, some experienced workers especially from Kenya were expelled, hence getting rid of a substantial section of the work force. The 1970s was a period characterised by silent struggles - covert - as a direct response to increasing repression. This was a period when army officers held important positions which had an implication to the labour struggle. This was also a period characterised by wrangles for union leadership for example - the Mutete, Owa and Ongom group on the one hand and Amandra and Onzi on the other.

The 1980s saw a number of struggles for improved working conditions with the climax coming in 1985 when the workers demanded for the dismissal of Otile, the General Manager. This was basically more against the IMF conditionalities and their devastating effects plus autocratic management and wrangles for union leadership. The economic conditions had worsened in the work place and there was a tendency to apply confrontational methods of struggle. A number of strikes took place but orders came from President's Office condemning the strikers e.g. in 1982. With total disregard of inflation, the leadership got involved in class collaboration and signed a pact with management on behalf of the "workers". This attempt was not a feasible approach in view of the intensifying bad economic conditions.

Of recent, the workers have been weakened more especially because of fear of the impending retrenchment exercise and also direct state confrontation. Because of this another method has been resorted to which is collective bargaining instead of confrontation. And in some cases union leaders have sometimes connived to frustrate workers in their struggle. An example was the retrenchment exercise where management plus union leadership worked together to lay off people and no one questioned it.

The only solution to these weaknesses of the workers lies in alliances with all wealth producers.

Discussion

- That trade unions should focus on the question of a living wage or subsistence allowance in order to avoid worries of workers. This would reverse the need for entering the informal sector.

- That Nytil cannot be isolated from the national economy. Both endogenous and exogenous factors must be put into consideration if the analysis is to be fair.
- That the paper seemed to have a negative bias about the management which caused an unfair conclusion about the management in Nytil.
- That the paper makes some false allegations about the Personnel Manager
- The researcher should revisit his source of statistics on page 19.
- That the question of *Panda Gali* was not lay off, but redeployment.
- That though there are clinics in the factory, they are for handling simple cases. For complicated cases, reference is made to hospital.
- In Nytil, the management is not only pro-production and anti people but pro-both. This was Nytil management's view.
- That the question of a living wage is not particular to Nytil as it is portrayed in the paper, it is a nation-wide problem.
- That now the question of marketing strategy is properly done, thought it may have been poor in the past.
- Nytil no longer depends on a sellers market but on a buyers market. But the problem is the financial standing of the industry. Also total overhead costs are very high.
- Workers with government plus management are co-partners in business, and hence the need for mutual understanding rather than confrontations.
- In Nytil branch, there is no wrangling, but the wrangles exist there only because Jinja has the headquarters of the National union. Hence the wrangles are at the National level.
- That management plus leadership worked together to retrench workers is not true. This was a directive from government as a response to IMF conditionalities. After all, retrenchment was a national issue, even in the army.
- On wages, the paper has been overtaken by events, wages have been increased by a high percentage.
- On matters concerning retrenchment, if the author was a trade unionist, he would be aware that Trade Unions have a provision concerning redundancy. Trade Unions should get involved in this issue of retrenchment as it has become a source of controversy.
- There can be no Trade Union devoid of wrangles if one seriously studies labour movement of this country.
- Workers are not fully fledged workers and hence their stand may not be informed by their condition but also by the way through which one was employed.

- The issue at stake therefore is how to overcome weaknesses of the working population.

5. Workers Dynamics: Organisation and Struggle in United Garments Industry Limited (UGIL) by Josephine Ahikire

The main issue in the analysis is to discern the role of workers in the creation of their own history, a history in which workers help to define change rather than merely responded to it. The paper is an account of what workers have done and failed to do within the context of Uganda society. The objective is to show what labour has achieved as a result of coming together thereby establishing a rationale behind workers organization.

In order to achieve the above objective, the paper analyses the dynamics within United Garments Industry Limited, a Kampala-based textile factory, and subsequently within the union for textile workers, the Uganda Textile and Garment Workers Union (UTGWU).

In the first section, the paper argues that the study of labour cannot strictly be tied to the notion of exploitation. Using specific cases from UGIL, the paper argues that in some cases, parastatals might actually not be making profit but workers are still exploited because they expend energy which is only misappropriated.

In UGIL, management has interests in the factory as far as they can draw fat allowances from it. In addition, management concentrates on control other than production: production is greatly below capacity.

On workers struggles, the paper examines a series of struggles in UGIL *vis a vis* the conditions of work and how these have progressively improved. The paper recognizes that a strike in most cases is the only weapon available to the workers. Other struggles like collective bargaining exist in UGIL but are not easily used. The long and complex negotiation and arbitrary machinery coupled with the employer who must be dragged on to the negotiating table necessitates another form of resolving grievances; hence the swift use of strike weapon. In such situation where industrial relations cannot work and even the existing laws cannot be fulfilled, it is mainly through the strike weapon that workers can actualize their demands. Intellectual development for workers in order to use other weapons of struggle such as labour courts has a context: there should at least be the minimum condition for this such as the rule of law.

A number of strikes in UGIL appear to be impulsive and unorganised, bring to the fore the controversial concept of spontaneity. The paper argues that spontaneity is not wholly negative. The struggle of workers against capital should be seen in all aspects, and more so on how workers are able to respond to specific instances. With considerable consciousness against work abuse and slavery policies by management, through spontaneous strikes, workers in UGIL

were able to make gains from management. These gains include lunch, a redefinition of unionisable workers, a general annual leave and at times wage increases. With the above gains, the paper argues that spontaneity and organization cannot be viewed as polar opposites, they actually complement each other.

Apart from strikes, there are other covert forms of resistance in UGIL. These include 'loitering', outward exodus of workers, desertions, deliberate failure to achieve targets, and individual response such as 'theft'. Though management calls such actions indiscipline, the paper argues that such acts are a result of poor remunerations. This particular struggle, according to the paper, is almost solely for survival. It does not adequately address the question of exploitation.

In order to control workers struggles, the management has evolved a number of control strategies. Control infers relations and a response. The nature and character of control is largely built on the labour activity. Management has utilized loopholes left by the union and taken advantage to deal with individuals instead of an organized labour force, using pre-emptive material rewards. Control is noted first in the security system. An individual worker who catches a 'thief' is rewarded four times his monthly wage! According to the paper, this reward system emphasizes control at the expense of production. It also creates divisions within the workers since they tend to police each other.

Other control measures include factory closure which is used to break workers power after strikes with the objective of intimidating them to resubmit themselves for employment on conditions decided by the company. Intimidation, however, has not been very successful as a control strategy. Workers continue to come late and absent themselves despite the several warnings. Nevertheless, the strategy has proved to be a divisive instrument because it plays workers against each other. Patronage, school-type assemblies and the possibility of being promoted are yet other forms of control. The possibility of being promoted, however, is a stumbling bloc to workers' unity. The manner in which people are given promotions is haphazard. The expectations of acquiring privileges emphasizes individual advancement and not collective effort. Interestingly, promotions are more prevalent in the years of high union activity.

In the analysis of worker struggle, the Uganda Textile and Garment Workers Trade Unions is the major focus. In general, the paper points out that the major role of any trade union is the mobilization for workers for collective action. It means that in order to strive to attain the needful, the majority of the members must be aware of what is going on around them and, therefore, clear about what course of action is most appropriate. This means that there should be adequate communication between the rank and file. In as far as it is only the leadership exposed to negotiations with the employer, it is vulnerable to being manipulated. It is important that there is a holdingbond between the leadership

and membership. In UGIL, however, most of the communication that takes place between management and the leadership of UTGWU is at the national level. The workers are remotely informed, if at all. The paper argues that much as trade unions are treated as principal to further workers interests, at times they may be turned into instruments of control. This is especially so when the trade union leaders have personal interests above those of the organization. This raises an important question in workers struggle: the question of collective identity. Once a social group identifies its collective interests, and, therefore, strikes to achieve them, it cannot easily be manipulated by other social forces which do not have similar interests or in fact have an objective interest in the perpetuation of the status quo. According to the paper this is what is lacking in Uganda's labour movement in general and UTGWU in particular. Working class interests are brushed aside and this issue at hand is power.

Gender as another aspect of workers struggle is one other issue discussed by the paper. Other than the conventional issues related to workers struggles, gender uncovers other specific issues. The paper notes that 85% of the labour force in UGIL is female. The explanation advanced is that tailoring is women's job. What is more important, however, is that this work is associated with low wages. Workers believe that wages are low at UGIL because it is a female-dominated labour force. However, there is a problem in taking issues concerning women for granted. The paper dismisses the view that wages are low because the majority of the labour force is female. In fact, though low, it is better than some factories in Uganda where the labour force is male-dominated. There is no remarkable discrimination between sexes in terms of pay. However, the basic problem is the arbitrariness in the pay. Wages are haphazardly determined. There is no clear relationship between either education or experience. People with similar experiences and training often get different payments. Wages are determined by non-market variables such as gender, nationality and age. This arbitrariness in wages breeds two problems. First, workers are put in a disadvantaged position as they cannot predict their wages. Secondly, it creates a particular pattern of labour relations. It divides the workers and breeds a set of alliances where workers cannot have a collective identity.

One other issue that women in UGIL hesitate to talk about is sexual harassment. Supervisors and the management use the probation period to force women into sexual relations with them. The probationary period in this case is not necessarily an opportunity to test whether one is capable of doing the job but rather a time to try to please the supervisors. Sexual harassment has serious implications. First, it is an additional weapon of control by management. Sexual relations with management consolidate the gender specific ideologies which require women to be feminine, calm and passive in the face of their husbands, or sexual partners. Such relations have a bearing on the course of strikes as some of the culprits identify themselves with supervisors and hence act as scabs in the event of a strike.

But sexual harassment is not confined to supervisors *vis-à-vis* women workers but also occurs among workers themselves. The trade unionists particularly supervisors, are supposed to defend the workers in any controversies with the management; but some trade unionists have often taken advantage of this position to force the women into giving in to sexual advances. In this case the trade unionists have aggravated sexual harassment because if both sides are hostile then women workers would rather opt for a supervisor who has more power and subsequently more economic rewards.

Apart from sexual harassment, women have been subjected to other forms of harassment including undressing them at check points, beating, harshness at late coming irrespective of the workers domestic problems. These actions have been met by various forms of struggle, including active participation in strikes. As a result of this resistance, a lot of achievement has been made. For example, allowances such as annual leave are given irrespective of gender, and maternity leave has been successfully pushed from the original 14 days to the present 60, 45 paid and 15 unpaid. It is significant to find a male-dominated trade union leadership pressing for sanitary towels. Thus women have relatively succeeded in resisting a productionist view which on the one hand claims a preference for females, almost appealing to their biology, and on the other seeks to penalize that biology.

Several lessons are drawn for the workers from the experience of UGIL. First, workers at UGIL have learnt that rights have to be struggled for and that nothing comes by freely. Secondly, having experienced the faults of a bureaucratized union, an effort should be made to structurally change the textile union. This is not merely a call for more democratic and militant leaders but actually a total restructuring of the present trade unionism. It calls for a total redress of the hierarchy in the union and the roles of the leadership and membership. Workers should have full knowledge of the constitution such that it should not be the leaders to decide to have annual and quinquennial delegates conferences which they try to postpone in order to hang on to power. Workers, therefore, must ensure that they are first of all acquainted with the constitution and then seek to enforce it. This essentially means that workers must have some ongoing activity autonomous from the national union in order to influence it and not the other way round.

Though the workers need a relatively autonomous organization at the work place, they ultimately need a national union, with other textile workers to give them larger parameters. It is the character of that very union that they should struggle to change and not to think of breaking away from it.

Restructuring of the union involves the task of ensuring accountability within the union. The present system of having a fulltime paid official who receives salary and allowance whether or not she is doing union work or not, or actually compounding the oppression of the workers, must be redressed. Finances should not always be available even for oppressors under cover of

being trade unionists. There should be mechanisms to recall incapable and corrupt leaders. Hence, the branch union should empower itself such that it can meaningfully influence the course of action and can control the funds to the national union.

The relaxation to individual actions such as stealing may yield material or other gains only in the short-run. They are essentially destructive in the long run and hence detrimental to the factory thereby hindering worker struggle for rights because it is much more difficult to press for your demands in a collapsing industry.

Employers also have to know that adamant suppression of the workers breeds underground activity which has adverse effects on production and general performance. Stern warnings, suspensions and dismissals are not the best solution for ensuring high production and discipline. Management, therefore, has to learn to reassess the labour relations if only for the sake of having a viable enterprise.

Education for workers must underline how they ought to contend with divisions among them. These divisions provide particular advantages for the employer to deal with workers especially along gender and nationality lines. Workers must know that nationality should not be elevated to such a level as to use them to identify with sections of management because whatever gains may be got are short-lived. Nationality is only a tactical option for management to manipulate labour and can change with a new crisis or when the management is changed.

The gender question is of specific importance not only in a factory like UGIL where the majority of the workers are women but also because gender oppression is very complex and has been so internalized as to be almost natural. The education to workers must, therefore, be *gender sensitive* and address such issues critically. For instance, issues like sexual harassment must be problematized to show the women that it is one way of oppressing women to reduce them to sexual objects - a situation that makes them vulnerable and not self-assertive individuals.

Struggles against gender oppression should not be viewed as distinct from the struggle for the rights of labour. Gender oppression and exploitation at the place of work is part of the subjugation of workers who are women. The fact that they are women can be exploited even by women employers. Therefore, in the light of the gains already achieved by women within the trade union, women should strive to strengthen the union, heighten their activity to include pushing for those demands that concern them as women workers. Women should view gender as an additional arena of struggle and not a point of division.

The tendency of union leadership being a preserve of men and women only featuring in the post of secretary should be addressed. Although it can be seen that women have been able to push for their demands even when they are not in the leadership, if finally matters who is in command. Women must contest

for leadership posts in order to have decisive impact and not to think that leadership is only for men. This is because men may not have the capacity to perceive particular problems that affect women. For example, society has been conditioned to disregard *motherhood* or to give it low status and in turn use it to put women in a disadvantaged position. Male leaders are most likely to regard such issues as the need for the factory to take responsibility of child care (as part of societal roles) as irrelevant to rights of labour and hence may not be particularly keen to pursue them. It is only the women that deconstruct this situation so that, for instance, their reproductive role is given its due reverence.

Discussion

In the discussion which followed, there was total support for workers education to take into account the historical context of the workers. For this reason, it was observed that whenever research is being conducted about workers, questions about workers' history should be taken into consideration.

As for the weaknesses in the trade union movement at UGIL, it was advised that the leadership should try to get the following three instruments: a constitution, which should define their mode of operation with the national union and management: recognition agreement; and a collective bargaining agreement. Without the above three instruments, it was noted that there could not exist any element of industrial relations. To strengthen the trade union further, there should be adequate education of the trade union members in particular and sensitization of the workers in general.

On the issue of target setting in UGIL, it was noted that whenever a factory sets unrealistic targets beyond its capacity, this can be a course of workers exploitation and oppression. Workers will be harassed by management with the objective of realizing the target. It was, therefore, recommended that management should set up manageable targets.

On the gender question, there was an appeal to male workers to stop sexual harassment against female workers but instead struggle jointly against the poor conditions of work.

Although the paper castigated the system of the "closed shop" whereby every worker within a specific grade is automatically a member of the trade union, and the "check off" system where management was entrusted with the task of deducting union dues and handing over the money directly to the trade union leadership, there was a general agreement that these systems were not necessarily bad because they were reached by agreement and it was possible to withdraw membership.

The discussants castigated the archaic or reactionary management not motivated by the maximization of profit through the exploitation of labor which characterizes the true capitalist class. It was observed that such a class which is not interested in maximization of profit, is fake or at most a class of feudal lords

in a capitalist set-up. It was recommended that when you have an undeveloped capitalist class with a primitive management style of public enterprises, it is better to privatize the enterprises. The other alternative is to democratize the public enterprise with workers being given a much greater role in the process of management. Otherwise, if you have in the management of state enterprises people who are not nationalistic, the whole economy will be in a problem necessitating a political struggle at most in order to transform the situation. The crisis of management, however, was partly traced in the nature of the import substitution industries set up during the colonial period.

An explanation was given as to why there is a tendency for traded union leadership to cling to power. It was suggested that during the leadership period, trade unionists lose their jobs; and after leading workers in several strikes, management cannot employ them again after their term of office. In short, trade union leadership in one way causes job insecurity.

5. Workers' Control: The struggle to take over MULCO textile factory in Uganda *by Edward Rubanga*

The paper castigates what it terms as "lumpen management", that is incompetent management which has placed the working class in very abject living and working conditions. It discusses the concept of workers' control and isolates three basic factors that bring it about. These are the threat of job loss, injustice of the employers to labour and the unequal share or surplus value. In the paper it is argued that exploitation breeds struggle, and that workers' control should be seen in this context.

Workers' control is a new but developing concept. It refers to workers' power of veto to determine the outcome of their labour. It asserts that workers' defeats and set-backs are not new, nor are they unfamiliar. It highlights the MULCO case of the 27 October 1988 to 17 March 1989. It was when workers took over control of the factory, the first ever such case in Uganda's industrial history. It emphasizes the need to derive significant lessons from the MULCO case.

There are three types of workers' control. The first is government-initiated control. The second is management-initiated control and the last type is workers-initiated control. The case of MULCO was that of workers-initiated control. The question to answer is why the control lasted that long and why management and the state did not crush it.

Workers' success in taking over MULCO and imposing their control arose from the oppressive management of the Madhvani Company International. The failures were a result of the pressures from the state and partly due to the nature of the very localized level of the struggles. It lacked a large national impact and had a poor political strategy in the context of these merits and demerits. It would seem that on taking over, the union officials were satisfied with the state of affairs. They failed to project themselves into the future; instead of contending

with social, economic and political forces at play. Victory in social struggles is never permanent, it breeds the enemies' anger and requires reorganization; hence the need to project ahead.

MULCO textile factory was built in 1964 and workers have battled the management and state-influenced legal, economic and social problems. Most labourers at first were unskilled. The factory changed hands in 1972 during the "economic war" and yet the departure of the Asians was not to end their problems, if they had though so. The general atmosphere of state repression was not to make things better.

With the return of MULCO to the Madhvani family in 1984, the internal wrangles within management led to a strike which was "quelled" through state intervention. The 1988 take-over and control was a new trend and a radical departure from any form of struggle witnessed before in Uganda's history. That it lasted that long is proof of its legitimacy and of worker collective consciousness and initiative. Its failure and weakness was to look at control only in terms of management and not of union democratization and control of production. The division, in the period of workers' control, between the union officials and the workers over control also tells of the need for understanding and transparency between union official and the membership in the collectives struggle for common good.

Lesson to Learn:

1. National Unions are important; this should not be little the role of shop stewards and leaders in the branches especially during specific moments of struggle as was the case of the MULCO take-over.
2. There is need for workers to distinguish between withdrawal of labour and control, both as concepts and as practice in terms of their contextual strength and limitations.
3. Take-over and control by workers must reckon with the task of management and the requirements of managerial skills, as a means of transforming the work place.
4. Workers should exploit internal divisions within management, especially the sympathetic section.
5. To expect too much sympathy from the state whose interest may run counter to that of the workers may be a weakness on the part of the workers' perception and strategy.
6. Workers' experiences should be shared among the various groups, in a variety of forums, between branches, unions and other pressure groups.

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7. Survey of safety/health conditions of workers in four specific industries in Uganda *by Joseph Carasco*

The main objective of the paper is to prepare educational materials for workers on four main issues. These include workers and the political economy of Uganda: the law and workers; labour organization and changing conditions of work. The paper handles conditions of work and their impact on the safety/health of workers as its focus.

For several decades, political leaders managing dependent economies have put forward “development” and “production” as a major cornerstone of the programmes of their movement or party. In the attempt to rapidly industrialise, some elements of the production process have been neglected at the workers’ expense. One important element is that industrial labour has brought with it an artificially created environment which may be potentially hazardous to the health of workers.

Historically, a number of conferences discuss workers health conditions have been held over a stretch of time. A number of legislations have been published subsequently but besides the international legislation for labour which continued until the First World War enabled two international labour conventions to be passed by diplomatic conferences – the two being adopted at a conference in 1906. One was to reduce the use of white phosphorus, a poisonous substance used in match production while the other was intended to ban night work for women. This step opened a new chapter in the history of international relations. Many other conferences followed thereafter and subsequently came the creation of International Labour Organization (ILO).

During the colonial period, a number of legislations which are still relevant were made in the UK. These include the following: Workmen’s Compensation Act, 1897, the Factory and Workshop Act, 1901, Notice of Accidents Act, 1906, the Factory Act, 1937, and the Factories Act, 1961. All these dealt with the use of safety provision, design of machinery and many other worker’s health conditions.

In Uganda, by the late 1940s, ordinances were introduced and applied to factories with power and aimed at producing cleanliness, lighting, air space, sanitary, accommodation, dust-free conditions, fire fighting and safety in the use of materials injurious to health. These Ordinances remained operational until they were replaced in 1952 by a wider one which was later amended in 1953.

The health conditions in the textile industries are not good. There is, especially, a high incidence of respiratory infection. This is particularly so with chest problems. This is because of the dust from the cut material particles. A number of factors are not put into serious consideration and yet have an effect on the health of the workers. These are heat, noise, light, ventilation and chemicals. A number of accidents have also happened and yet about half of the victims have not received any compensation.

On the average, the textile workers see a doctor once in three months. Apart from chest pain, other complaints include malaria, flaut ulcers. Problems of hearing, seeing, speaking, remembering, walking, sleeping or sex are not reported.

Plantation workers on the other hand face problems - related both to parasitic and infectious diseases. These include schistosomiasis, and in cases of overcrowding, unsanitary diarrhoeal diseases are common. Other diseases are also introduced such as byssionosis. Also new risks of accidents from unguarded machinery and poorly maintained equipment are introduced.

Another health hazard is pesticides. A number of prohibited pesticides in the developed world are imported in the country,. In the tea plantation, apart from there being too much noise, there is the health hazard of tea dust.

In the railways, the health hazards are not as many as in other industries perhaps because of the nature of the industry. However, there is a high death rate among railway workers. This is caused by accidents resulting from stepping on sharp and hot metals and falling from signal posts. Noise is also a big problem in the workshop section.

During the colonial period, the Labour Ministry used to have a department of Occupational Health and Hygiene. However, the department had a problem just like the Ministry of labour forty years ago. The department has been holding seminars to educate workers once in two years. However, though they have been carrying out these, the work has not been adequate. Even their publications, especially those of ILO, are not accessible to the workers.

In education, especially formal education at Makerere University Medical School, of the 130 hours of Public Health only 10 are dedicated to industrial workers health. However, the post graduate diploma in Public Health, devotes three weeks to the area.

With regard to trade union action, one of the causes of strikes among workers in health hazards. However bargaining for an increase in the wage and this is done, the issue of health is forgotten and ignored. This reveals that they only use it to make their case stronger but it is never their concern. However, occupational health hazards should be looked at even where the workers stay. One of the reflections of health of people is the infant mortality rate and also the number of dependants. There is overcrowding in the labour camps which has over time been complained about but with nothing being done by the mother ministry.

Another issue regards importation of dangerous chemicals which have been banned in the developed countries. However, government response is very slow.

There is a government inspector, but when those coming to repossess come they first switch on to see whether the machines work without consulting the inspector. This may cause destruction by fire in the industry.

Discussion

- The Ministry of labour and some of the trade unions have not addressed health and safety of workers. Very few units have addressed this issues .
- Certain things are imported into the country without prior testing. An example are the motorcycles imported by UEB and UP & T which are not supposed to be ridden on roads but which are ridden there hence causing accidents.
- Another cause of the problem to the labour force in Uganda and the third world as a whole is the IMF which forces our countries to import certain dangerous chemicals. Therefore, the greatest health hazards are ignorance, the IMF and the Bureau of Standards.
- The health problem is always considered when some one is hospitalized. No care and preventive measures are taken.
- That due to use of chemicals in tea estates, men's sexual power been affected.
- Overcrowding in tea estates has led to deaths due to meningitis. The problem lies in the Ministry of Labour and the trade unions.
- Some people don't have pit latrines and therefore use sugar can plantations. When it rains, the waste matter is pushed into the water, which water they fetch again and use at home.
- Dangerous hydraulic equipment is also imported. Some does not brake or has no lights. All this puts drivers at a risk.
- Records are available on accidents especially on conveyor belts.
- It is not true that the Ministry of Labour is not doing anything about occupational health hazards. The legislation that is yet to come out is intended for promoting health rather than for curative purposes.
- Trade Unions should not keep waiting for the 'mother' Ministry. At the moment trade unions are already of age. Trade unions should therefore struggle to the end.

C. Recommendations and Closing

a) Organisational Rights

1. There is need to remove all the constitutional restrictions on labour's right to organize under Art.18 of the 1967 constitution. Only the simple and clear positive right to organize should remain.

In connection with this the restrictions against civil servants' and Bank of Uganda workers' rights to organize under the Public Service

(Negotiating Machinery) Act and the Trade Union Decree respectively should be removed.

2. There right to form a trade union should not be artificially restricted. Since 1976 by administrative dictation, to some extent, only 15 trade unions are registered and legally exist in Uganda. There is no need for this. Further the requirement for a minimum of 1000 members for a union to be registered or recognized by government should be removed.
3. For compulsory recognition of a union there is need to change from the 51% membership to something between 20-30%. This is important because many employers do refuse to recognize unions and unions should receive some support from the law.
4. For existing unions, state control in the following provisions should be repealed:
 - (i) compulsory registration should not apply; some further benefits should be provided to registered unions but those which do not wish to register could be allowed so long as they operate within the law.
 - (ii) all grounds for refusal of registration be removed unless the organization is not really a union.
 - (iii) cancellation of registration of a union should be done only if members request it or the union is involved in blatant illegalities; crimes of individual officers should not be used against a union - the individuals should be punished as individuals.
 - (iv) rights of inspection and investigation by government should be removed and only judicial organs like the High Court or the Industrial Court should have such powers following union members' complaints or complaints/charges by the state.
5. As for as foreign aid is concerned, the state should only be informed. It should not have the right to stop aid unless it can show that such aid is against the national interest. In this regard, NOTU could formulate policy on foreign aid which is known to government and which all unions should follow.
6. There is need to reform trade union structures to ensure that the voice of the rank and file is supreme. This should be reflected in the organs of the unions especially and ADC. The right to recall leaders at any time should be emphasized.

7. Trade unions and the workers need to appreciate and analyse their struggles and rights in the broader context of the national social and economic development.
8. Workers and Trade Unions should emphasize and practice the writing and analyzing of their history in relation to the history the other sectors of the working classes.
9. Workers and Trade Union members should become researchers so as to document and inform themselves about their branches, the other unions and the union experiences in other countries as part of the broader programme for workers' education.
10. There is need for workers' unions to form alliances between the branches and the unions as means of furthering the struggles to improve workers' welfare. This is because of the small number of the working class in Uganda.
11. Workers and the Trade Unions should ally with other pressure groups, e.g. the intelligentsia the press, other organizations, etc.
12. The question of gender in the Trade Union branches, unions an at the Annual Delegates' Conferences and in terms of official representation in all those forums needs to be addressed. In the same way the struggle for gender equality should be seen in the broader context of the struggle for the rights of labour to organize. There, therefore, exists the need for alliance and complimenting in gender struggles.
13. Trade Unions as they exist in Uganda today show the need for internal democratization for the betterment of these struggles for rights and conditions of the working class and the larger society.
14. Workers' Education should be emphasized within the Trade Unions, both in terms of its relevance and exposition.
15. The intelligentsia should join hands in the analyses of workers' struggles and in the production of materials for workers' education, although ideally, workers should produce their own educational materials.
16. The affirmative right to strike by the working class as a means of furthering workers' rights and struggles should be upheld and recognized.
17. Workers and Trade Unions should have a right and access to information for negotiation with management.
18. The National Social Security Fund (NSSF) should lose dominance and should be made to compete with other social security funds. At the same the NSSF should furnish the contributors to that Fund with an annual bank statement for purposes of NSSF's transparency, and in view of the employers being the contributors.
19. The uppermost limit of the age of 55 by the NSSF before a member can benefit from his contribution should be removed. What should apply

is that a member should benefit at the time he leaves employment. He or she can start all over again if he gets a new job.

20. All workers disputes with management should be referred by the Unions directly to the Industrial court, rather than through the Labour Department and the Minister. This should reduce the uncalled for delay in the settlement of labour disputes.
21. The competence of expatriate staff should be assessed and screened by a specific body set up for that task, so as to avoid having incompetent expatriates cheating on local labour.
22. The rights of the civil society (including workers) to resist all forms of corruption and social abuse should be recognized and upheld.

(b) Substantive Rights

As far as substantive rights are concerned there is need for unionists and workers to be aware not only of statutory rights but also rights at common law as well as common law restrictions which should be removed by statutory provision.

1. The most important of these is that the right to reinstatement where one is wrongfully dismissed should be laid down by statute.
2. Workers need to be aware of their rights at common law; for instance the right to a safe place and system of work and all these should be clearly included in collective agreements.
3. There is need also to reduce the basic provisions of the Factories Act into some Code of Rights for Factory Workers in an accessible form and in a language that workers understand.
4. For Workmen's Compensation, there is need to expand the definition of workman to include all labour that is likely to be injured or killed while at work. There is an urgent need to remove the 1964 figures of money for compensation and to provide realistic figures/formulae to calculate the injured/killed worker's entitlement.
5. For the Social Security Fund there is need to invest the money so as to guard against inflation. Secondly the discretion of the Managing Director to exempt some employers from contributing to the Fund should be repealed unless a clear criterion which is acceptable to Parliament is laid down.

2. Closing Speech

Mrs. Anna Magezi, the President of the Industrial Court closed the workshop. She expressed happiness for having been invited to participate for the two days and said that she had understood all that had been discussed in the

workshop. Nothing has passed her. She told a very interesting story of a judge and an advocate where the advocate talked a lot in defence of his client, and after speaking, the judge said, whatever you have talked has passed through one ear to the other. "Yes My lord, said the advocate, because there was nothing to stop them."

In her own words she had learnt much about CBR and its goodwill to educate workers. She was grateful that what had been taken as research objects (the workers) had been allowed full participation in the discussion of the research findings about them.

There was need to lay strategies by the workers and their allies in work in order to know how to tactfully treat the services of their problem including the IMF and its conditionalities.

"The historical legacies of women oppression we were told about should be struggled against at the work places by both women and men who have taken the workshop seriously," she advised.

On the law, she argued that laws should contain and be shaped by the aspirations of the people.

On occupational and health hazards in the work places, workers present needed to have closer control of their health conditions. They should also take up the leadership role in health training to the rest of the workers. Workers should continue struggling to make their conditions better. For example, there was no reason for men to be impotent because of the work conditions in tea estates as discussed in the workshop. If workers were let to be impotent, our society would fail to reproduce itself.

The traditional National Social Security Fund had outlived its usefulness and hence we should struggle to make its operations useful to the owners. Its monopoly should be removed by allowing competition.

She cautioned, however, that workers' struggles should not be in conflict with the perspectives of social justice lest they should be isolated.

List of invited Participants to the Labour II Workshop

| | | | |
|-----|----------------------------------|---|-------------------------------------|
| 1. | Personnel Manager | - | Lugazi Sugar Works |
| 2. | General Secretary | - | UTGWU Jinja |
| 3. | Branch Chairman | - | UTGWU – Nytil Jinja |
| 4. | The Branch Chairman | - | UTGWU – UGIL Kampala |
| 5. | Organising & Education Secretary | - | “ “ “ |
| 6. | Mr. Adrama | - | MULCO – Jinja |
| 7. | Mrs. Babita | - | MULCO – Jinja |
| 8. | Personnel Manager | - | MULCO – Jinja |
| 9. | Branch Secretary | - | “ “ |
| 10. | Shop Steward | - | “ “ |
| 11. | Personnel Manager | - | NYTIL |
| 12. | General Secretary | - | Plantation Union Lugazi Sugar Works |
| 13. | Shop Steward | - | Plantation Union Lugazi Sugar Works |
| 14. | The Secretary | - | NUPAW Kakira Branch |
| 15. | Personnel Manager | - | Uganda Railways Kampala |
| 16. | Branch Secretary | - | URWU –Kampala |
| 17. | General Secretary | - | “ “ |
| 18. | Organising & Education Secretary | - | “ “ |
| 19. | Mr. E. Baingana | - | Postal Union - Kampala |
| 20. | Mr. Kisembo Mijumbi | - | “ “ |
| 21. | General Secretary | - | “ “ |
| 22. | Shop Steward | - | “ “ |
| 23. | Representative Women’s wing | - | “ “ |
| 24. | Personnel Manager | - | U.P.T.C. Kampala |
| 25. | Personnel Manager | - | UGIL - Kampala |
| 26. | Mr. Mulekezi | - | “ “ |
| 27. | The Branch Secretary | - | “ “ |
| 28. | Ms. Binta | - | F.U.E. |
| 29. | Executive Director | - | “ |
| 30. | The Corporation Secretary | - | N.S.S.F |
| 31. | The ILO Rep. in Uganda | - | Kampala |
| 32. | The Labour Commissioner | - | Min. of Labour & Welfare |
| 33. | Commissioner | - | Factories Inspectorate |
| 34. | Commissioner | - | Occupational Health & Hygiene |
| 35. | The President | - | Industrial Court - Kampala |
| 36. | The Director | - | Uganda Management Institute |

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|-----|------------------------------------|---|------------------------------|
| 37. | Mr. Mike Onzi | - | C.C.E. – Makerere University |
| 38. | The Director | - | “ “ |
| 39. | The Secretary General | - | NOTU – Kampala |
| 40. | Director – Education | - | “ “ |
| 41. | Director – Research & Economics | - | “ “ |
| 42. | Director – Womens’ Wing | - | “ “ |
| 43. | The Director – Workers Desk | - | NRM Secretariat |
| 44. | The Editor-in-Chief | - | The Star |
| 45. | The Editor-in-Chief | - | Munno |
| 46. | The Editor-in-Chief | - | Weekly Topic |
| 47. | The Editor-in-Chief | - | The New Vision |
| 48. | The Editor-in-Chief | - | The Monitor |
| 49. | The Personnel Manager | - | N.I.C. |
| 50. | The General Secretary | - | Clerical Union |
| 51. | Branch Leader or Shop Steward | - | “ “ |
| 52. | Woman Branch Leader | - | “ “ |

Names of People who Attended the Labour II Workshop

| Name | Organsiations |
|-----------------------|--|
| 1. Osman George | Uganda Railways |
| 2. Khaukha J.B. | NYTIL |
| 3. Owor J.K. Tabhu | NYTIL |
| 4. Bildad Nabondi | NYTIL |
| 5. James Okello | NYTIL |
| 6. Ivan Kaahwa | Ministry of Labour & Social Affairs |
| 7. Olweny | Labour Commissioner – Min. Labour & Social Affairs |
| 8. E.N. Ssali | Min. of Labour and Social Affairs |
| 9. Anna Magezi | President – Industrial Court |
| 10. J.E. Muhuruzi | Railway Union |
| 11. Mayambala Anthony | UGIL |
| 12. M.A. Abei | UGIL |
| 13. Obirai S. | UGIL |
| 14. Mulekezi Joan | UGIL |
| 15. David Etukey | Madhvani Group of Companies |
| 16. E.Y. Baingana | Postal Union |
| 17. Mijumbi-Kisembo | Postal Union |
| 18. W. Wakabi | The Star |
| 19. Kefa Wandera | NUPAW |
| 20. Mukasa-Lubukwa | NUPAW |
| 21. Bidi Saida | NUPAW |
| 22. Okello Namrod | U.R.W.U |
| 23. M. Kasubawa | U.R.W.W. |
| 24. Norman Isingoma | Uganda Management Institute |
| 25. Elizabeth Nviri | New Vision |
| 26. Augustine Kalenzi | New Vision |
| 27. Serugga Samuel | C.I.S. |
| 28. Rose Babita | UTGWU |
| 29. Adrama Gastro | MULCO |
| 30. Mike Onzi | CCE – Makerere University |
| 31. Mike Osonge | UTGWU |
| 32. Bwaba G. | NRM Secretariat |
| 33. Barya J.J. | CBR |
| 34. Ahikire J. | CBR |
| 35. Carasco J. | CBR |
| 36. Murindwa-Rutanga | CBR |
| 37. Murari-Muhwezi | CBR |
| 38. Sayunga S. Sallie | CBR |

| | | |
|-----|---------------|-----|
| 39. | Okello Ogwang | CBR |
| 40. | Asowa-Okwe | CBR |
| 41. | Rubanga E. | CBR |
| 42. | Bikaako W. | CBR |
| 43. | Juma Okuku | CBR |
| 44. | Oloka-Onyango | CBR |

CBR Workshop Reports

1. **Pastoralism, Crisis and Transformation in Karamoja**; Report of a Workshop Organised by CBR and held at the Faculty of Science Makerere University, August 14 - 15, 1992, by Joe Oloka-Onyango, Zie Gariyo and Frank Muhereza; 26p.
2. **Women and Work: Historical Trends**; Report of a Workshop Organised by CBR, and held at the Faculty of Science, Makerere University, September 7-10, 1992, by Expedi Ddungu, James Opyene and Sallie Kayunga; 61p.
3. **Workers' Education**; Report of a CBR Workshop held at the Faculty of Veterinary Medicine, Makerere University, March 19-20, 1993, John Jean Barya, Sallie Simba Kayunga and Ernest Okello-Ogwang; 47p.

Programme

Friday 19 march 1993

| | |
|---------------|---|
| 09.00 - 9.30 | Registration |
| 09.30 - 10.00 | Introductions and opening Opening remarks by the Director CBR Introductory remarks by the Coordinator of the workshop |
| 10.00 - 10.45 | M. Mamdani: "Uganda: Contradictions of the IMF Programme and Perspective" |
| 10.45 - 11.15 | Break Tea |
| 11.15 - 12.30 | Discussion of m. Mamdani's Paper |
| 12.30 - 02.00 | Lunch Break |
| 02.00 - 02.45 | J.J.B. Barya: "Workers and the Law in Uganda" |
| 02.45 - 04.00 | Discussion of J.J.B. Barya's Paper |
| 04.00 - 04.30 | Evening Tea |
| 04.30 - 05.15 | Asowa-Okwe: "The dynamics of Women's Participation in Workers' Struggles in Uganda: A Case study of the National Union of Clerical, Commercial, Professional and Technical Employees (NUCCPTE)" |
| 05.15 - 06.30 | Discussion of Asowa-Okwe's Paper |

Saturday 20 March 1993

| | |
|---------------|---|
| 09.00 - 10.40 | J. Okuku: "Workers Conditions and Struggles at NYTIL" |
| 09.40 - 10.20 | Ahikire Josephine: "Workers Dynamics: Organization and Struggle in United Garments Industry Limited (UGIL)" |
| 10.20 - 11.00 | E. Rubaga: "Workers Control: The Struggle to Take Over MULCO Textile Factory in Uganda" |
| 11.00 - 11.30 | Break Tea |
| 11.30 - 01.00 | Discussions of by case study papers by Ahikire, Okuku and Rubaga |
| 01.00 - 02.00 | Lunch Bread |
| 02.00 - 02.45 | Discussions Continue |
| 02.45 - 03.30 | J. Carasco: "Health and Safety Conditions of Work in Four Industries in Uganda" |
| 03.30 - 04.30 | Discussion of Carasco's paper |
| 04.30 - 05.00 | Evening Tea |
| 05.00 - 06.30 | Sum-up: Rapporteurs' Report and Recommendations |
| 06.30 - 07.00 | Transport arrangements |
| 07.00 - 09.00 | Reception |

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