



DEMOCRACY, HUMAN
AND TRADE UNION RIGHTS IN AFRICA

8th African Regional Conference Abidjan 19-24 Septembre 1994

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The aim of the paper is to examine the issues of democracy and human rights and see how these affect the public sector in Africa. Part of the material for the paper has been extracted from the responses to a questionnaire sent to all PSI African affiliates. There was a good response from the latter, details of which are appended.

Introduction

This paper allows the PSI affiliates to discuss the complex issues of democracy and human and trade union rights in Africa. Although there are definitions for the three concepts, in practice there are differences in application from country to country. On one level there has been a curtailment of trade union activities in recent times, while on the other there has been a move towards democracy and concern on human rights issues. The situation is reinforced by the conditions attached by Western aid donors. Human rights and political reforms in the name of "good governance" and "democracy" have been stressed. Good governance means accountability, openness and adherence to the rule of law, participation of the people in the political process; and a working relationship between governments and the different sectors of the economy and trade unions. Some 30 African countries have abandoned their experiments with socialism for a number of reasons, notably the demands by foreign creditors - in favour of the free-market creed and democracy preached by the IMF/World Bank; and, internal pressures as socialist systems failed to be democratic. For example, the one party system in Zambia faced pressures for the establishment of democratic principles and systems. However, questions are also being asked about the validity of the Western-styled democracy. Some scholars suggest that Africa should work out a model for itself by marrying democratic principles to its own cultural heritage. Others take a contrary view, believing that democracy is a set of universal principles which apply everywhere in the same way. They reject any idea of a specifically African dimension. The fear is that the international community, having acknowledged the right to be 'different', will be much less able to condemn different models of 'democracy'.

An objection of a different kind is to be found in the view that Africa does not meet the optimum conditions for the establishment and development of democratic systems. African countries are very poor and none of the new democracies have been able to pay for the organisation of their own elections. Furthermore, they argue that in African countries a minority of the population is educated. However, there is no marked uniformity in the way political change is occurring in Africa. The goal in most cases is democracy. The mode or the process of the democratisation varies. There is a marked difference between the Francophone and the Anglophone states as regards the mode of launching the process. The National Conference is the form of re-democratisation in e.g. the former Benin, Congo and Zaire; while constitutional revision and direct elections is the form for the Anglophone states.

African people are demanding democratic forms of government but the process of achieving these appear to be painful and disappointing. The demands have been made against the background of increasing poverty and a lack of: pre-conditions for democracy to survive, such as upholding of human and trade union rights; literacy; existence of law and order; and freedom of the press and media; as well as political instability and the adverse impact of the Structural Adjustment Programmes. "The externally influenced and internal, manipulations behind the scenes have left most of these countries more bitterly divided on ethnic, tribal and religious lines than before. Those who emerge as Prime Ministers or as Finance and Development Ministers in the transitional governments have either been former officials of the IMF/World Bank or the indirect nominees of the Bretton Woods Institutions".¹ Before going further, it is important to define the key concepts in this paper, starting with that of democracy.

What is democracy?

In its purest form it means 'vesting national power in the people and giving the people the responsibility of charting their destinies'.² True democratisation consists of real people-power. Though the form and practice of democracy differs from country to country, it is a universal concept broadly defined as 'government of the people by the people for the people'. Democracy has some common features which include:

- multi-party systems;
- democratically elected government which periodically renews its mandate from the electorate;
- freedom of expression, religion and the press;
- independent judiciary;
- respect for human rights and the rule of law.³

The Universal Declaration on Human Rights, 1948, contains provisions that are of relevance to the trade unions, such as: Article 9 which states that "No one shall be subject to arbitrary arrest, detention or exile"; Article 20 on the "right to freedom of peaceful assembly and association"; Article 21 which states that "Every one has the right to equal access to public service in his country" and "Every one has the right to take part in the government of his country directly or through a freely chosen representative"; and Article 23 which states that "Every worker should have the right to form and join trade unions for the protection of his/her interests".

The African Leadership Forum meeting in 1990 agreed with the important aspects of democracy listed above, but then added the following: Public accountability, promotion of literacy, provision of independent mechanisms to prevent the violation of human rights. They argued that the application of the rule of law, the respect for

basic human rights and popular participation in development can only occur where individuals are allowed to operate in open and fair legal systems. Individuals, businesses and non-governmental organisations can operate in a market economy, but only where legal redress is possible under the transparent rule of law. There is also the need for accountability and openness of public officials. This refers to the ways in which decision makers at the national, local and village levels are held accountable for their performance and their decisions by the citizens and non-governmental institutions of that country. Openness, meaning the access of the public to information, is closely related to accountability and is enhanced when press, publishing and information systems are free of government control and open to the entire population. Without openness, there are opportunities for deception, inequitable treatment of some citizens and corruption. Good governance implies that public services will be delivered in ways that are affordable and sustainable. While competition and market forces can bring efficiency to the private sector delivery of goods and services, public sector management of both external and domestic resources requires more than just openness in budgetary allocations. It is necessary to ensure public accountability for results and public information on costs, especially when there is little to show for public expenditure. For the public sector, there is the need for efficiency and cautious management of public resources.

Democracy, therefore, is a system composed of several inseparable elements which are: respect for human rights, freedom of expression, religious freedom, the right to be critical, tolerance, respect for differences and diversity and respect of minorities. These fundamental elements are of universal value. The African democratic choice, as defined in the Tanzanian African Charter for Popular Participation adopted in Arusha in 1990 and endorsed the same year by

the OAU, is based on 'popular participation, the empowering of the people, accountability and social and economic justice'. The Charter expresses the belief that popular participation is, in essence, the empowerment of the people to effectively involve themselves in creating the structures and in designing the policies and programmes that serve the interests of all, as well as to make an effective contribution to the development process and share equitably in its benefits. Therefore, there must be an opening up of political processes to accommodate freedom of opinion, tolerate differences, accept consensus on issues as well as ensure the effective participation of the people and their organisations and associations. This requires action on the part of all, first and foremost of the people themselves. But equally important are the actions of the State and the international community, to create the necessary conditions for such an empowerment and to facilitate effective popular participation in societal and economic life. This requires that political systems evolve to allow for democracy and full participation by all sections of the society. The movement to democracy in Africa has raised issues such as:

- (a) Insufficient participation of the people;
- (b) Absence of accountability and probity in government operations;
- (c) Pervasiveness of competition;
- (d) Absence of predictability;
- (e) Transparency in the regulatory environment; and,
- (f) Undue limitations on the exercise of a free and diverse press, the erosion of the rule of law and the need for free, fair and regular elections.

The imposition of democracy from outside has been painful. The disregard of the cultural nature of African societies and of their socio-economic and political setting has contributed to the failure of democracy to date. Often Western governments and institutions forget that there

were political structures and processes in Africa before their interference. The conduct of business by traditional rulers, the village meetings, age group and youth movements, age and peer group organisations are examples of democratic tradition. This tradition had been based on African cultural attributes such as political accountability, religious tolerance, racial tolerance, and the principles of brotherhood, sharing and reciprocity. The policy of divide and rule nurtured by the West, the emphasis on ethnic differences, and the insistence that the African way of life was backward or primitive led to a breakdown of the political, social, economic and cultural structures and processes in Africa. The democracy which the Western world wanted to impose on Africa was a 'democracy that would keep the African people on the passenger seats'.⁴ This form of democracy is sure to disempower the people and will result in the government of people by the elite. Government by the elite has been the root cause of indebtedness and poverty in Africa for three decades. Also, there is a misunderstanding of how democracy functions. In most of Africa, people believe that democracy consists only of voting their representatives into government. Once in power, it is not for them to question what these officials are doing because they know best.

Human Rights: An Overview

Human rights could be generally defined as those rights which are inherent in our nature and without which we cannot live as human beings. Human rights and fundamental freedom allow us to fully develop and use our human qualities, intelligence, talents and conscience and to satisfy our spiritual and other needs. They are based on people's increasing demand for a life in which the inherent dignity and worth of each human

being will receive respect and protection. The denial of human rights and fundamental freedom is not only a personal tragedy but also the cause of social and political unrest, sewing the seeds of violence and conflict within and between societies. Respect for human rights and human dignity is the basis of freedom, justice and peace in the world. The link between human rights and development has now been expressly recognised. Since June 1981, Africa has had its own regional human rights treaty - The African Charter on Human and People's Rights which has been ratified by 40 countries.⁵ An independent Human Rights Commission based in Banjul, Gambia, has been set up under the Charter to oversee its implementation. The Charter, the Commission and the national courts all need support in their work of protecting human rights.

The Charter not only protects the rights of both individuals and groups, but also lays down their corresponding duties, including duties of the state towards the individuals and groups whose lives it governs. The Charter protects the rights of individuals providing them with equal treatment before the law, a fair trial and freedom from both torture and inhuman and degrading treatment. It protects the rights of the groups as well as individuals, providing them with freedom of speech, association, movement and assembly. Individuals have duties towards their families, society, the state and the international community. States have a duty to assist the family, to eliminate discrimination against women and to protect the disabled. The Charter contains some provisions not always found in other regional treaties: the right to social and economic development, to self determination and to assistance; liberation from foreign domination. In effect, the Charter contains two concepts of civil and political rights found in the West and the concept of social and cultural rights found in Africa.

Regimes in Africa have recently been ratifying

human rights treaties. The main reason for this is that the term human rights has recently entered the vocabulary of international aid donors. The West is now concerned with human rights when it comes to giving aid. In fact, violation of human rights is seen as a condition for not giving aid. Yet the very same governments violate the universal charter by supporting unpopular governments and increasing poverty with their support for Structural Adjustment Programmes in Africa.

Democracy - Human and Trade Union Rights in Africa.

Popular participation is essential for sustaining economic reform and beginning political modernisation. There is considerable evidence that democratic processes have been successful in lowering infant mortality, raising literacy rates, mounting environmental safeguards and providing for certain societal groups more equitably, particularly women.⁶ It should be remembered that a high literacy level in countries like Japan and South Korea is one of the major factors in their rapid development. They have a high literacy rate and consider human resource development as a high priority.

In most of Africa there is no existing forum where a systematic dialogue can take place between trade unions and the government. The IMF/World Bank have pitched the unions as being antagonistic towards government policies. Attacks on trade unions and their members have been on the increase. Such attacks are a threat to the labour movement and to democracy itself. Freedom of association has been threatened by authorities imposing conditions on unions. Unless people are allowed to cooperate so that they can advance their interests, other freedoms

will be meaningless. This is the main reason why the IMF/World Bank have advised the ruling elites to attack the unions and curtail their operations. The ruling elites in Africa now argue that the trade unions hinder development; frustrate competitive companies; and get in the way of those who want to transform poor countries into rich ones.⁷

At this point it is important to examine the responses to the PSI questionnaire that were sent to affiliates. The tables indicating the responses have been attached as appendices. In responding to the question of dispositions on both a legislative and practical level, a large number of unions indicated that their countries have ratified ILO Conventions of relevance to trade union rights (see appendix 3). Ghana recorded the highest number of conventions ratified as they had ratified 45 ILO Conventions. Zambia (38), Senegal (34), Sierra Leone (33), Burkina Faso (32), Mauritius (32) and Côte d'Ivoire (30) all recorded 30 or more conventions ratified - as indicated in the brackets. Countries which have ratified less than 30 ILO Conventions include Uganda (26), Benin (20), Chad (19), Togo (18), Congo (6) and Zimbabwe (5). The unions in Kenya and Tunisia failed to indicate the number of ILO Conventions ratified by their governments. The unions were familiar with those conventions which were of particular relevance to trade union rights, such as No. 87 on Freedom of Association/protection of the right to organise; No. 98 on the right to organise and to collective bargaining; No. 100 on equal remuneration; and No. 135 on worker's representatives. In addition to ratification, 26 unions indicated that national legislation covering human rights existed in their country. These took the form of provisions in their constitutions such as Article 6-13 of the Senegalese constitution and Article 10 of the Congolese constitution. Unions in five countries stated that there were no provisions in their constitutions for human rights - Chad, Kenya,

Uganda, Zambia and Zimbabwe (see table A). 16 unions stated that they had a national commission on human, such as the Côte d'Ivoire League of Human Rights (LDHO) and the Niger Human Rights Association.

Out of 32 unions who indicated that there were human rights campaigns in their country, more than three-quarters stated that such campaigns were led by lawyers, academics, and human rights organisations. The campaigns take the form of lectures, debates, seminars and conferences. Some unions expressed the view that the organisers of such campaigns were militants, despite which nearly all joined the campaigns (see table D). As in table D2, 34 unions said they had joined the campaigns out of which 5 indicated that the action taken was the ratification of the African Charter of Human Rights. The unions in Ghana stated that action was in the form of educational programmes. On the whole, the campaigns centred on the creation of awareness of human rights issues. On the question as to whether the campaigns had aspects relating to women and development, 28 unions said yes. These included freedom from harassment, the right to education, equal rights for women and aspects relating to forced marriages. Of the 28 responses, three unions - Ghana (2) and Côte d'Ivoire (1) - stated that women's organisations were spearheading the campaigns. In the case of Ghana, the National Council on Women and the 31st December Women's Movement were responsible for projecting women's concerns. (By way of observation about 10 unions did not give any answer to this question which might indicate a lack of interest on women and development or a lack of awareness of such campaigns).

Efforts are being made by a large number of countries to adjust their industrial relations systems and practices to the new situation of trade union pluralism and political democracy. A principal part of this task will be to provide a

proper framework in which to exercise the right to strike or to exercise collective bargaining, both of which have been denied to millions of working people in Africa in the past. 33 unions said they had the right to negotiate - a high proportion given that the total number responding was 38. The unions were aware of and used national policy organs and legislation designed for such purposes. In the case of Ghana, they have a Management/Union Standing Joint Negotiating Committee and provision for collective bargaining of 1 - 3 years. In the Côte d'Ivoire they have the Congress of the Trade Union Council and the National Executive Committee. There is the National Joint Negotiating Council (Forum) in Kenya and the regulation of Wages/Industrial Relations Act No. 18 (1971) in Sierra Leone.

Questioned on the right to strike, 32 unions said that this was recognised by the government; 5 unions stated that there were no restrictions on the right to strike. However, 26 unions indicated that there were several restrictions imposed by the government. There was a catalogue of measures which included the Industrial Relations Act (Ghana); Trade Dispute Act (Kenya); 5-10 days notice of intention to strike (Niger), Tunisia (10 days), Sierra Leone (20 days); threats, intimidation, suspension and dismissal of strikers - in the Côte d'Ivoire, the emergence of a new trade union organisation in 1993 led to repression by the authorities and the independent teachers' union was the subject of government surveillance and harassment. Its General Secretary, Marcel Atté, was the victim of a kidnapping attempt which forced him to operate underground; Law no. 69 - 14/MFPRA of 19 June 1969 which allows for the deduction of 10 days strike from the salaries of workers; imprisonment of trade unionists and invasion of meeting places by the police.

What are the conclusions for trade unions in Africa?

The trade unions are going through difficult times in Africa. The general situation as regards human and trade union rights continues to be marked by government control over the trade unions. There are several restrictions on the right to negotiate and the right to strike. Forms of protest are also limited due to government regulations and decrees in cases such as Nigeria where there is a military regime. As indicated in the paper on SAPs, trade unions are also losing members due to increased membership fees. Human rights issues are also causing concern as evidence of violation are documented by Amnesty International and by the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, in its Annual Survey of Violations of Trade Union Rights 1993.

Recommended actions open to the trade unions in Africa

1. Since the late 1980s it has been clear that unions are under immense pressure due to government actions and the fact that the public are not fully aware of the benefits of the public sector. While the unions have to encourage popular participation in politics and development, they must continue to work for the projection and protection of both trade union and human rights. Members of trade unions are also the citizens of their countries. Therefore, advocacy and networking are essential tools for the mobilisation of workers and the general public. In most cases, the unions have failed to make people aware of their situations and of the positive aspects of the public sector work. There is a strong case for saying that in Africa today, the public sector is the best channel for delivering health care, education and housing, and for developing the infrastructure. In the fight to

establish their credibility, the unions have to work with each other to increase their effectiveness, cut down on duplication of effort and increase solidarity. This could be achieved through close cooperation with other unions at the national, regional and international level.

2. Unions have to organise campaigns which illustrate the work their members are doing, the costs of providing such services and why the public sector is essential for Africa's future development. An essential part of the campaign is to create a forum for dialogue with the government. The forum has to be kept open at all times for consultation, sharing of information and negotiating workers rights. The forum should consist of representatives of governments, especially ministries relating to the public sector, and representatives of trade unions. The case has to be put forward that the unions and government have similar interests. Both sides are concerned about poverty and the reduction of tension and threats arising from gross inequalities and social injustice. The unions should also seek informal methods of meeting government officials as well. In some cases this may be more effective. Here the emphasis is on trying alternative approaches to resolve issues without resorting to industrial action.

3. There are several provisions in the PSI Charter on Trade Union Rights. The most important ones concerning the issues of trade union/human rights are as follows:

3.(i) The PSI Charter reaffirms the internationally recognised right of all workers to establish or join a trade union. The Charter refers to the rights of the trade unions to: draw up their constitutions and rules and to elect their representatives in full freedom; organise and administer their own activities and funds; formulate their programmes and policies; acquire, where necessary, a legal status without being

subjected to any conditions that limit their freedom; protection against being dissolved or suspended by any government or government agency; and join or establish any federation or international organisation of workers.

3.(ii) The Charter states that trade unions must have the right and freedom to bargain collectively on behalf of their members, whether the employer is a private entity, a corporate body, the state or a public authority. It also says that no regulations shall be enacted to limit the scope of collective bargaining between trade unions and employers; nor shall there be any interference in the collective bargaining process.

3.(iii) The Charter spells out a number of workplace activities that are a recognition of basic human rights - these include union notice boards, literature and meetings.

3.(iv) Strikes, including other forms of industrial action, are an essential means by which workers defend and promote their rights and interests. The right to strike does not in itself lead to strikes.

3.(v) The right of workers to withdraw their labour is a fundamental human right.

References

1. Hassan A. Summonu, 'Hunger for Democracy', in Index on Censorship, vol. 4, 1992, p. 13.
2. New Africa, July 1991, p. 11.
3. Index on Censorship, Vol. 4, 1992, p. 13.
4. Ibid.
5. The Courier, No. 128, July 1991, p. 65.
6. Global Coalition for Africa: Documents on Development, Democracy and Debt, Development Co-operation. Information department of the Netherlands, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, January 1992, p. 272.
7. Annual Survey of violation of Trade Unions Rights 1993. International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, Belgium.

Appendix 1

Country representation of PSI Affiliates whose questionnaires were used for this paper (16 countries responded)

* The number in brackets indicates the number of questionnaires received from each country.

** 38 questionnaires were returned on time.

1. *Benin (3)*

Syndicat National des Conducteurs de vehicules Administratifs et des Sociétés d'état du Bénin (SYNCASEB)

Syndicat autonome des infirmiers et infirmières du Bénin (SYNAIB)

Syndicat national des agents des Collectivités locales (SYNNACOB)

2. *Burkina Faso (1)*

Fédération Syndicate des Travailleurs du Livre

3. *Chad (1)*

Fédération Syndicale des Travailleur des affaires Sociales et de la Santé (FESTASST)

4. *Congo (1)*

SIPAM

5. *Ghana (4)*

Teachers and Educational Workers Union of TUC

Local Government TUC Workers' Union

Health Services Worker's TUC Union

Public Services Workers' Union of TUC

6. *Côte d'Ivoire (3)*

Syndicat national des Travaileurs des Cliniques et Cabinets Médicaux Privés de Cote d'Ivoire

SY.NA.PER.FI

Syndicat national du personnel interministeriel de la fonction publique (Cote d'Ivoire)

7. *Kenya (1)*

Union of Kenya Civil Servants

8. Mauritius (1)

Governments Servants' Association

9. Niger (5)

Syndicat unique des agents des travaux publics de l'habitat et des transports

Syndicat national de l'administration général

Syndicat Unique du Personnel des ressources Animales (SUPRA)

Syndicat unique de la Santé et de l'action sociale du Niger

Syndicat des Travailleurs de L'administration Centrale (STACE)

10. Senegal (2)

Confédération Nationale des Travailleurs du Senegal

Syndicat national des travailleurs des travaux publics et de l'hydraulique

11. Sierra Leone (4)

Artisans, Public Works and Services Employees Union

Medical Dental and Health Services Workers Union

Municipal and Local Government Employee's Union

* A questionnaire with no name of union attached

12. Tunisia (5)

Union générale tunisienne du travail

Fédération général des eaux

Fédération général des municipaux

Fédération général de l'électricité et de gaz

13. Togo (3)

Syndicat National des Travailleurs de l'Administration Générale et des Services Assimiles du Togo (SYNTRAGESSATO)

Syndicat national des travaux publics, garages administratifs et voiries du Togo

Syndicat national de l'informatique et de la statistique

14. Uganda (1)

Uganda Public Employees' Union

15. Zambia (1)

Zambia National Union of Health and Allied Workers

16. Zimbabwe (2)

Zimbabwe Nurses Association

* Union's name not attached to the questionnaire

Appendix 2

ILO Conventions relevant to the public sector

- 2 Unemployment Convention, 1919
- 4 Night Work (Women) Convention, 1919
- 5 Minimum Age (Industry) Convention, 1919
- 6 Night Work of Young Persons Convention, 1919
- 11 Right of Association (Agriculture) Convention, 1921
- 13 White Lead (Painting) Convention, 1921
- 14 Weekly Rest (Industry) Convention, 1921
- 18 Workmen's Compensation (Occupational Diseases) Convention, 1925
- 26 Minimum Wage - Fixing Machinery Convention, 1928
- 29 Forced Labour Convention, 1930
- 33 Minimum Age (Non-Industrial Employment), 1932
- 41 Night Work (Women) Convention (Revised) 1934
- 65 Penal Sanctions (Indigenous Workers) 1939
- 81 Labour Inspection Convention, 1947
- 85 Labour Inspectorates Convention, 1947
- 87 Freedom of Association and protection of the right to organise, 1948
- 95 Protection of Wages, 1949
- 98 Right to organise and collective bargaining, 1949
- 100 Equal Remuneration, 1951
- 102 Social Security (Minimum Standards), 1952
- 104 Abolition of Penal Sanctions (Indigenous Worker), 1955
- 105 Abolition of forced labour, 1957
- 111 Discrimination in Employment, 1958
- 117 Social Policy (Basic Aims and Standards) 1962
- 119 Guarding of Machinery Convention, 1963
- 131 Minimum Wage Fixing Convention, 1970
- 135 Worker's Representative, 1971
- 138 Minimum Age Convention, 1973
- 143 Migrant Workers, 1975
- 151 Labour Relations (Public Service), 1978
- 154 Collective Bargaining, 1981
- 156 Workers with family Responsibilities, 1981
- 158 Termination of Employment Convention, 1982

Appendix 3

African countries and the number of ILO Conventions ratified

* The countries with highest number of ILO Conventions are placed at the top.

Name of Country	Number of ILO Conventions ratified
Ghana	45
Zambia	38
Senegal	34
Sierra Leone	33
Burkina Faso	32
Mauritius	32
Côte d'Ivoire	31
Niger	30
Uganda	26
Benin	20
Chad	19
Togo	18
Congo	6
Zimbabwe	5
Kenya	not indicated
Tunisia	not indicated

Table A

*What are the dispositions in your country on human rights, on a both legislative and practical levels?

No. of Variables	Number of unions with responses
Existence of national legislation on human rights	26
Existence of national commission on human rights	16
Non-existence of national legislation on human rights	5
Campaigns on human right issues	27
Ratification of Universal Declaration on human rights	1
Existence of branch of Amnesty Int.	3
Unions with no answer to practical level disposition	7

Table B

*Are there any human rights campaigns in your country?

Number of variables	Number of unions with responses
Yes, human rights campaigns exist	33
Unions with no answer to the question	5
Total =	38

Table C

*Are there aspects of human rights campaigns relating to women?

Number of Variables	Number of unions responding
Yes, aspects relating to women exist	28
Unions with no answer to the question	10
Total =	38

Table D

*Are the trade unions involved in any way in the human rights campaigns?

Number of variables	Number of unions responding
Trade union involvement in campaigns	32
Non-involvement of trade unions	2
Unions with no answer to the question	4
Total =	38

Table D2

*What sort of actions do they undertake?

Number of variables	Number of unions responding
Unions joining national campaigns	34
Unions with no answer to the question	4
Total =	38

Note: Out of the 34 trade unions joining in the national campaigns 5 indicated that action undertaken included the ratification of the African Charter of Human Rights; 4 Unions had educational programmes and they were unions in Ghana.

Table E

* Does your union have the right of negotiation?

Number of variables	Number of unions responding
Yes, unions have a right to negotiate	33
Unions with no answer to the question	5
Total =	38

Table F

*Is the right to strike recognised and do the workers use it?

Number of variables	Number of unions responding
Right to strike recognised	32
Right to strike restricted	26
Right to strike not restricted	5
Union with no answer to this question	1