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THE GHANA TRADES UNION CONGRESS

A BRIEF REPORT

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1.0 THE HISTORY OF TRADE UNIONISM IN GHANA

1.1. THE COLONIAL PERIOD:

1.1.1. PRE-1941 PERIOD:

We have it on record that as early as the 1920's, there were in existence, workers bodies such as "the Gold and Silver Smith's Association", "the Colony and Ashanti Motor Union", and the "Carpenters and Masons Association". The above bodies however remained basically dormant and weak (in terms of present-day assessment) for many years.

The pace of monetization of the economy increased gradually in the 1930s. The search for manganese, diamond, and bauxite coupled with the increasing rate of gold mining led to a concentration of workers - mainly manual labourers in places like Bibiani, Tarkwa, Obuasi, Nsuta, Awaso and Akwatia. Other workers were also engaged on railroad construction at Koforidua, Sekondi and Kumasi.

The above activities, as expected, generated many economic linkage effects - leading to the establishment of small-scale urban industries. This meant more labour had to be sought, recruited and trained. As a necessary step, the Gold Coast Labour Department was established in 1938 with one Captain Dickenson as the first Commissioner for Labour together with a skeleton staff.

1.2 THE 1941 ORDINANCE:

The establishment of the Labour Department was followed by the enactment of the Trade Union Ordinance of 1941. In the following year, the Colonial Office drafted to the Gold Coast Civil Service - a former official of the British Miners' Union - Mr. I. G. Jones. He was made the head of the Trade Union Section of the new Labour Department in the country. His first assignment was to tour the various towns where wage earners were concentrated and to explain to the workers the basic principles of trade unionism as well as the main features of the Trade Union Ordinance of 1941. Opposition from the workers and "Unions" to the activities of Mr. Jones was high in the beginning. Co-operation however eventually came, with the Gold Coast Railway African Employees' Union showing the way.

Co-operation with Mr. I. G. Jones meant registration of the then "Trade Unions" in line with the demands of the 1941 Ordinance. The early unions to comply with the law in this respect were: "the Gold Coast Railway African Employees Union", "the Central Province Motor Drivers' Union", "Cooks and Stewards Union" and the "Motor Drivers Union". Two years later, with the coming of yet another Briton - Mr. Oswald Kiching, the number of such registered trade unions rose to fourteen. The trade union movement in the country at this time however was basically based on the structure of the British T.U.C. - for the latter was the only handy workers' institution at that time to guide the local colonial authorities.

1.3. THE GOLD COAST TUC:

The enactment of the 1941 Trade Union Ordinance and the subsequent registration of Workers Organizations under it led to the formation in 1945 of the first

Gold Coast Trades Union Congress at Sekondi in the Western Province - as that area was then called. About fourteen registered unions were present and the inauguration took place at the offices of the Railway African Employees Union.

Mr. Manfred Gaisie was the first elected Secretary General of the Gold Coast TUC in 1945. His appointment was on part-time basis because he remained a full time employee of the Gold Coast Railway Administration. The tenure of office of Mr. Manfred Gaisie was rather short because he died in the early part of 1947. The Congress however continued to exist. Its problems however were mainly a proliferation of mushroom unions, lack of trade union education, and inadequate funds to operate effectively.

1.4. THE "BIG SIX" AND THE EARLY TRADE UNIONISTS:

The effects of the Second World War started to show on the economy of the Gold Coast at this time (1947 - 48). The scarcity of normal consumer goods coupled with rapid inflation created a serious country-wide anxiety. The situation was made worse by an under-current of political agitation - sponsored by a team of lawyers and ambitious politicians known as the "Big Six" - for political independence or self-rule, for the Gold Coast.

The "Big Six" (made up of Messrs J. B. Danquah, Obetsebi Lamprey, Ako Adjei, William Ofori-Atta, Akuffo-Addo, and Dr. Kwame Nkrumah) operating under a political party called "the United Gold Coast Convention" were arrested and detained by the Colonial Administration for causing a political insurrection in the country. Their detention however sparked-off a country-wide protest which forced the government to impose a "dusk-to-dawn" curfew and to ban the press. At this time, about three Trades Councils were

in existence with the Kumasi Trade Council being the most active. The latter secretly distributed anti-government handbills expressing its disapproval about the detention of the "Big Six". Parts of the secret publication read:

"Release our Political leaders immediately.
Lift the ban over newspapers or else
(face) a general strike. Give us liberty
or give us death,
We the working masses"

The Gold Coast TUC was immediately requested by the Government to send representation from all the provinces to meet the Colonial Administrators at the Castle in Accra to discuss the issue. That representation was an important breakthrough for the worker because it marked a frank recognition (by the Government) of the political might of the trade union movement.

Unsatisfied with the Governor's explanation with respect to the detention of the "Big Six", the Gold Coast TUC made it clear that a general country-wide strike would follow. This indeed, was what happened.

However, even though the general strike and national wide political upheaval brought the ultimate desired result with the release of the "BIG SIX", the Gold Coast TUC and the three Trade Councils almost went to pieces after that. Hard work on the part of a few trade unionists saved the three bodies from final collapse.

1.5. EARLY ATTEMPTS TO ORGANISE TRADES UNIONS ALONG INDUSTRIAL LINES:

The idea to group old and budding trade unions along industrial lines was first conceived in September, 1954 in Accra during the 11th annual Congress of the Gold Coast TUC. A committee was appointed to study the matter and to report to Congress. The next

annual Congress adopted a resolution which authorised the Secretariat of the Congress to launch a country-wide campaign to educate and publicise the idea. As a result of that move, the following industrial and national unions came into being:

- . National Union of Building Trade, Operatives and General Workers.
- . National Union of Maritime and Dockworkers.
- . National Union of Domestic, Restaurant, Hotel and Bar Workers.
- . Union of distributive, retail and allied workers.

Some old but strong house union refused to abide by the new idea of amalgamation. A notable one among the recalcitrant ones was the U.A.C. (United Africa Company) African Employees' Union. This refusal gave room for many interpretations to be given as probable causes for dissent. Notable among such accusations was that of possible communist infiltration somewhere along the line. The proof of such infiltration surfaced in the later years.

1.6. LABOUR MATTERS IN THE NKRUMAH ERA:

1.6.1. THE INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS ACT OF 1958: (Early Post-Independence Period)

In 1958, the Industrial Relations Act (56) was enacted which gave a legal backing to the 12th Annual Congress resolution of the TUC - which recommended the amalgamation of identical unions along industrial lines. Ghana had earlier on (on 6th March, 1957) attained political independence from British Colonial Rule, with Dr. Nkrumah as Prime Minister.

Before the passage of the 1958 Act, the Trade Union scene in the country can best be described as follows:

- . There existed in all the regions, a number of splinter trade union groups.
- . The large number of splinter groups meant there existed a lot of unhealthy rivalry among the unions, with the consequent struggle for recognition and leadership.
- . The large number of different workers groups also led to the existence of weak unions. Even though "wages boards" were created by the Government to take care of such weak unions, one could not say convincingly that they really fought for the interest of the ordinary members.
- . Many employers decided to sponsor their own pet unions, with the resultant cut in effective communication link between workers and genuine union leaders.
- . Violent demonstrations, strikes, and sympathy striked were common.

It was an era of militant trade unionism.

Even though the Industrial Relations Act of 1958 grouped all the trade unions in Ghana into 24 national unions along industrial lines and created a central body - the Ghana TUC - for the labour front, the Act basically infringed upon the workers' freedom of association. The following quoted sections of the Act illustrate this fact clearly:

Section 3 (1) : "There shall be established a body called the Trades Union

Congress which shall act as the representative of the trade union movement".....

Section 4 (1) : "The Congress shall consist of members of the trade unions listed in the first schedule".....

Section 5 (1) : "The Congress shall have power with the approval of the Minister to make rules governing their proceedings".....

Section 8 (1) (a):
"If it appears to the Governor-General that the Congress has taken any action which is not conducive to the public good, the Governor-General may by order, direct that all assets of the Congress shall be transferred to a receiver".

The "receiver in this case the Government or a representative of the Government.

Following vehement protests from observers of the labour scene both at home and abroad as well as from the trade union movement itself, the Industrial Relations Act of 1958 underwent reviews first in 1960 and then in 1963 and 1965. All the enactments improved upon clauses of the original Act to bring it closer to true democratic principles outlined in various Conventions and Recommendations of the I. L. O. We must quickly add, however, that there are still some portions of the current Industrial Relations Act that are against the fundamental principle of Freedom of Association.

1.7 THE INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS ACT OF 1965 (ACT 299)

The enactment of the 1965 Industrial Relations Act - popularly called "Act 299" represents an important land-mark in the post 1958 period. The essential portions of the 1965 Act are:

- 1.7.1. The Act gave legal recognition to the TUC as a body corporate - charged with the responsibility of leading the entire Ghana Labour Movement. (Some observers criticised this aspect and called undemocratic).
- 1.7.2. It re-grouped the national industrial trade unions under ten names. (This number was later raised to seventeen).
- 1.7.3. The Act made Collective Bargaining compulsory and the provisions of such collective bargaining agreements legally binding on both employers and employees.
- 1.7.4. It introduced the principles of conciliation and compulsory arbitration.
- 1.7.5. It laid down explicitly, the procedures to be followed before a party embarks upon a strike or lock-out.
- 1.7.6. The Act gave protection to both employers and employees from any form of interference in the affairs of either party. This includes discrimination of all forms against the employee and victimisation of union officers.
- 1.7.7. The Act gave the check-off system a legal backing.

1.8. GOVERNMENT/TUC RELATIONS IN THE NKRUMAH ERA:

The political alliance between the Convention Peoples Party (CPP) and the TUC was given a backing publicly

in 1958 in Accra during a national conference of the labour movement. Earlier on before the country's political independence in 1957, there had been a split among the "United Gold Coast Convention Party" of the "BIG SIX". Dr. Nkrumah formed his CPP and with its slogan "Independence Now", managed to gain dominance over the UGCC with its slogan of "Independence step-by-step".

At the 1958 TUC Conference, a resolution was adopted appointing a committee to:

"Write out an alliance with the CPP with a view of encouraging National Unions to seek direct affiliation with the said Party and help maintain it as a Socialist Party."

At a meeting of the General Council of the TUC, the above resolution was adopted and it became the task of the TUC to train union leaders of "stature and influence" to take up places in the national leadership of the CPP. This basically meant that the TUC was to become an integral political wing of the CPP.

Against the public criticism which arose as a result of this new CPP-TUC alliance, Mr. John Tettegah, the Secretary General of the TUC, and very instrumental in bringing about the alliance declared that "in the struggle for freedom and independence, the trade unions and the CPP had worked together like "SIAMESE TWINS" and their separation would prove fatal to the two bodies".

It therefore came as no surprise when a few days later, the National Executive Committee of the CPP declared:

"In keeping with the aims and aspirations of the party, CPP members who are workers must not only join trade unions, but must also take active part in the organization and leadership of all other associated party organizations so as to ensure that instruments

for building SOCIALISM were utilised in the true interest of the nation".

The Siamese twins principle helped the loss of grip of the TUC over its own national trade unions. Each national trade union became an affiliate of the CPP and Union membership identity cards gave way to CPP cards. Almost all internal lines of communication within the hierarchy of the TUC broke down and urgent union matters were conducted from the CPP headquarters. The official operating accounts of the TUC became identical with that of the party and official vehicles of Congress displayed party flags and took in fuel from petrol stations with official coupons supplied by the party.

A lot can be said for a trade union movement taking an active and constructive part in politics. However, that involvement for it to help the rank and file union members - must be responsible. Anything short of that leads to intrigue and a callous betrayal of the cause of innocent workers. Unfortunately, it was the latter that happened. The "Siamese twins" situation continued until the military coup d'etat of February, 1966.

2.0 THE TUC UNDER THE NATIONAL LIBERATION COUNCIL (NLC) (1966 TO 1969):

After the overthrow of President Nkrumah's regime in February 1966 by the Ghana Armed Forces, the new National Liberation Council (NLC) Government that came to power decided to infuse true democracy into the TUC by instituting a decree - NLC Decree 134 of 1967. This decree removed clause 24 that made membership in the TUC compulsory for civil servants - under the Civil Service Act of 1960. The implementation of

the decree weakened the TUC financially and numerically - resulting in a drastic drop in membership from 700,000 to approximately 300,000. The Public Services Workers Union was one of those unions adversely affected. Even though many TUC executives were elected by popular vote after 1966, many had to desert their posts because union finances were terribly weak. This phenomenon of union leaders deserting their unions in time of need suggests either lack of commitment on the part of the leaders at trade unionism as a stepping stone to other professions and careers - an aspect that is common in most other developing countries. It may well be that such TUC leaders were mainly interested in promoting their own selfish interests instead of advancing the interest of their rank and file members.

2.1. THE INDUSTRIAL FRONT:

Even though the NLC government very much favoured the growth of the TUC into a modern, dynamic and democratic institution, the industrial scene at this time 1966/69 was very turbulent. The number of unauthorised strikes for example increased from 7 in the Nkrumah era to 147 in the short NLC era. There were several reasons for the sharp increase in strikes:

- . The first can be attributed to the fact that the unions were free and did not fear to go on strike to back their demands.
- . The second reason was due to the massive retrenchment of workers under the government's economic stabilisation policy.
- . The third was due to their apprehension of the delay with respect to the existing conciliation and arbitration machinery.

- . The fourth was due to apparent lack of confidence in some top officers of the TUC by many rank and file members. An example was the throwing of stones at TUC executive members at the gold mining town of Obuasi during a major strike by mine workers.

Let us now explain an example of the turbulent relationship between the NLC government and the labour movement.

About eight months after the NLC had gained power, a dispute at the port of Tema between the Maritime and Dockworkers Union and the Cargo Handling Company (Management) resulted in an untimely lockout of about two thousand workers.

Later, similar disputes involving the Continental Hotel and Accra City Council workers led to a further thousand workers being "wrongfully" dismissed.

The Executive Board of the TUC met on the issue and asked the Secretary General to forward a letter to the Head of State "to use his good offices to arrest a situation which had caused a serious setback to industrial relations in Ghana".

The letter, dated 9th December, 1968, received a cold reply from the Government. The trade union movement even interpreted a section of the letter to mean a threat to the unions with respect to the exercise of their right to go on strike. The situation degenerated into a deadlock. This led the Ghana TUC to lodge a formal complaint on the matter before the ILO in Geneva in January 1969. A decision was however never taken by the ILO on the matter (possibly due to sheer administrative delays) before the NLC government handed over political power in October 1969. The bulk of the dismissed workers were however re-instated after being off for fifteen months. Though some compensation was

paid to the workers, it was not up to their total emoluments for the period.

2.2. GENERAL WAGE REVIEW:

In 1967, the pressure on the NLC government (for higher wages) by workers - unionised workers in particular - was so great that a high level Salary Review Commission under the Chairmanship of Justice Mills Odoi was set up. The Commission did an excellent job and recommended a wide range of new and higher salary ranges for workers. The report was accepted generally by the NLC Government and implemented.

2.3. IMPROVED TUC-NLC RELATIONS:

It can be said that, with a great degree of correctness and with emphasis, the TUC enjoyed great freedom under the NEC regime even though there were lapses here and there. Apart from the drop in membership (due to the removal of the compulsory membership clause) and initial financial set backs, the general atmosphere was very conducive for the building of a strong and independent trade union movement in Ghana. Unfortunately, however, that ideal was never realised. The ushering in of the Second Republic under Dr. Busia changed matters to the utter displeasure of the bulk of trade union members.

3.0 THE TUC UNDER THE BUSIA ADMINISTRATION

3.1. RELATIONS BETWEEN THE BUSIA GOVERNMENT AND THE TUC:

The Progress Party Government under Dr. K. A. Busia came to power on 1st October, 1969 after a landslide election victory. The following year, 1970, saw the TUC holding a Third Biennial Delegates Congress at Winneba to deliberate on many important labour issues. A portion of the Prime Minister - Dr. Busia's Speech to that Congress is quoted below:

(This particular portion of his speech is quoted because the TUC after examining later developments concluded that the Prime Minister's speech was in conflict with the practice of his government.)

I quote: "As you meet to discuss the business of your Congress, I wish you to remember that the problems of trade unionism are problems of human relations, and problems of human relations are always complex and difficult. These require equal goodwill and tolerance from all concerned. Please remember also that our country needs industrial peace without which all our development effort will be in vain. This industrial peace may, to a large extent, depend upon what you may be able to achieve at this Congress. One of the important businesses you have ahead of you is the election of officers. I assure you, Mr. Chairman, that it is in the interest of my Government that there should develop in this country a STRONG and FREE trade union movement. (capitals, mine) The government believes in true freedom, one condition of which is that it should not INTERFERE with your elections. We will work together with whoever you freely choose. I wish to emphasise and also assure you that I believe it is your privilege and right to choose your own leaders without interference That is the essence of democracy." At the Congress Mr. B. A. Bentum and David Egyir were re-elected Secretary General and National Chairman respectively.

Soon after that Third Delegates Congress Dr. Busia personally paid an official visit to the Hall of Trade Unions (the official premises of the Ghana TUC) and expressed his conviction for the "existence of a free and independent labour movement." He further gave his word that he (Dr. Busia) would personally do all he could to help the Congress to grow from strength to strength.

3.2. CHANGING GOVERNMENT-TUC RELATIONS
DURING THE SECOND REPUBLIC:

The minimum wage at this time (1970) was 75 pesewas per day for unskilled workers in the public sector. The TUC considered this amount too low in such a difficult period of rapid inflation, inadequate transport system and expensive educational and health services. Being a well-informed government (at least up to this time,) the Busia Administration appointed a Salary Review Commission under the chairmanship of a Supreme Court Judge - Justice U. V. Campbell. The TUC, workers, farmers, businessmen, and institution were encouraged to send memoranda expressing their views on a national wage review policy. As expected, the TUC also sent in a memorandum on the issue. In that TUC memorandum, it was well explained (with relevant statistics of market prices) why a major salary and wage review was necessary - with the need for a minimum daily wage of at least £1.50 per day for unskilled workers.

The statistical calculations actually showed £4.96 - but the TUC was liberal enough to compromise on £1.50. Unfortunately, the £1.50 suggestion from the TUC received an unexpected rebuff from the government with the explanation that the proposal was highly unrealistic and showed signs of gross ineptitude on the part of the TUC leadership.

The government, a few months later, introduced a tax - called "development levy" on all workers. Workers became more aggrieved.

In order to explain TUC's stand to the rank and file members on the wage review matter, the Secretary General of the TUC Mr. B. A. Bentum undertook a rapid tour of the country meeting workers at their working centres. This behaviour on the part of the TUC boss angered the Progress Party Government. The trek was interpreted to mean a move to insidiously incite

workers to revolt against the elected administration of the nation. Tempers started rising and suspicion was high among both government and TUC circles.

A few months after Mr. Bantum's country-wide trekking episode, (that is, on 12th April, 1971) a "Joint Ghana Students-TUC Council" was inaugurated at the Hall of Trade Unions by an eminent Ghanaian jurist-Justice Nii Armaa Ollenu. According to the TUC leaders, the National Union of Ghana Students (NUGS) and the TUC had agreed on such a joint consultation Council two years earlier in 1969 - after a careful deliberation. The objective according to Mr. Bantum, was to bring "the students closer to the realities of the problems of the society, thus preparing them for the challenge of tomorrow."

The Busia Administration took the Secretary General's explanation with a "pinch of salt" because (according to the government) when one views the timing of the inauguration of the "Joint Student-TUC Consultative Council" against the labour events of that time, the conclusion should be one of imminent danger for government-labour relations.

The TUC leadership, on the other hand, had also a lot of accusations and allegations against the Busia Administration at this time. These accusations include:

- . The Government playing favourites with General Secretaries of National Trade Unions.
- . The Government, using secret agents to compile character and movement reports on individual General Secretaries of the TUC.
- . The Government blacklisting certain outspoken union leaders and making it difficult for them to see through their collective bargaining

agreements. The motive, it was alleged was to make such leaders look inefficient before their members and thus eventually lose their next elections.

- . Unnecessary interference by the Government into the internal affairs of national trade unions. A case in point was the summary dismissal of the General Secretary of the Railway and Ports Workers Union by the Government - acting through the Chief Executive of the Railway Corporation.

The arbitrary and unexplained dismissal of the General Secretary of the Railway and Ports Workers Union (quoted immediately above) prompted the Secretary General of the TUC, Mr. Bentum, to warn that such cowardly and veiled acts by management would "open up a bitter fight between the labour movement as a whole and (the Railway) Administration." Mr. Bentum continued:

"We will resist to the bitterest end, any attempts by Management, OR GOVERNMENT, to interfere either openly or coverly as to who should be elected to the post of General Secretary or Chairman, of any of the national unions affiliated to the Trade Union Congress of Ghana."

3.3. THE DISOLUTION OF THE TUC BY THE BUSIA ADMINISTRATION:

The Industrial Relations Act of 1965 (Act 299) had this to say when establishing the Ghana Trades Union Congress:

Section I (1) "The body which immediately before the commencement of this Act was known as the Trades Union Congress shall continue to be in existence under the same name subject to the provisions of this Act....."

Section I (2) "The Congress shall be a body corporate with perpetual succession and a common seal and shall have power to acquire and hold land and other property.

(3) "Unless and until otherwise decided by the trade unions or any appropriate organization of WORKERS, the Congress shall act as the appropriate representative of the trade union movement in Ghana....

The Ghana Industrial Relations Act 299 had both its admirers as well as those who vehemently opposed and criticised it. The former group praised it for sponsoring a united and formidable labour front in Ghana in the interest of the common worker, while the latter group said it was an unwarranted imposition on workers and therefore undemocratic.

The Busia administration realising the legal weaknesses of Act 299, decided to change it. However, many objective labour observers in Ghana were of the view that, Busia's Government decided to amend the law because to them, that was the only way of getting rid of the then top labour leaders (Mr. Bantum in particular) and pave the way for new officers who were pro-Busia in thought, word and action.

It was Dr. Bruce-Konuah, the then Progress Party Minister in charge of Labour who introduced the amendment bill in parliament in September, 1971. According to Dr. Bruce-Konuah, the reason for the amendment bill was based on "nine principles" - namely: (and I quote verbatim from the Parliamentary Debates of 9th September, 1971)

. "Article 23 (1) of the Constitution of the Second Republic guarantees freedom of association It therefore follows that a monolithic trade union congress to which all trade unions are bound to

to belong, particularly in order to entitle them to collective bargaining privileges has no place under our Constitution.

- . "the second principle is that deductions from wages of workers belonging to any union by employers will have to be bargained for between the employers and the unions concerned.....
- . "the third principle is that where an agreement has been reached between employers and the union for the deduction to be made, the payments shall be made directly to the unions concerned.
- . "the fourth principle is that the assets and liabilities of existing trade unions or the Trade Union Congress imposed by law, will be shared and distributed to those unions which have been contributing to it.
- . "the fifth principle is that in the light of all the illegal strikes which have been plaguing this country, the Government has thought it fit to provide or make a provision in the amendment Bill to allow for a 90-day cooling off period during which all efforts will be made by the Chief Labour Officer to procure a settlement.
- . the sixth principle is about continuity. "Collective agreements which have not expired shall not be affected by this amendment."
- . "the next principle is that in future, applications by unions for collective bargaining certificates shall be dealt with by the Chief Labour Officer instead of going through the TUC.

. "There is another principle which is the eighth principle of this Bill. That is the most fundamental principle and that is, the government is guaranteeing the rights of a person to join or not to join a trade union, as guaranteed by our Constitution. Accordingly, the right of a person to be employed - whether he is a member of a union or not, is also guaranteed.

. "The ninth principle is that, the light of the democratic Society that we are trying to build, we must also make provision for a more democratic determination of the wishes of the union members in respect of any matter affecting the union through a secret ballot....."

After outlining the above principles behind the amendment to Act 299, the Labour Minister went on further to warn the other parliamentarians of "certain incipient threats" to the new born Ghanaian democracy a - threat which he claimed were coming from "COMMUNIST-TRAINED LEADERS" of the TUC. Thus Parliament sitting for marathon 17½ hours under a certificate of urgency, succeeded in passing the Industrial Relations (Amendment) Act 383 of 1971, thus dissolving the Ghana Trades Union Congress. The assets of the TUC were frozen by Legislative Instrument number 323 of 6th September, 1971. Act 383 itself came into force on September 13th, 1971.

Factions and splinter groups started to form within the Ghana TUC after the dissolution episode. But that was to last for only four months. On 13th January, 1972, a section of the Ghana Armed Forces led by Colonel I. K. Acheampong overthrew the Busia Administration.

One month later, 11th February, 1972, the new military government bearing the name National Redemption Council (NRC) restored the TUC back to its former position through a decree (N.R.C. Decree 22) that repealed Act 383 of 1971.

4.0 RELATIONS BETWEEN THE NATIONAL REDEMPTION COUNCIL
(NRC, UNDER ACHEAMPONG) AND THE TUC:

4.1. INITIAL PROBLEMS OF TUC:

Even though the military government of the NRC gave legal recognition to the revived TUC in February, 1972, it was not until May the same year that the Congress actually operated with Alhaji Abdul Mumuni Issifu (from the General Agricultural Workers Union) as acting Secretary General. Problems regarding finance and adequate staff were very acute. There were also problems caused by disunity and suspicion among union leaders.

4.2. MR. BENTUM'S UNNERVED PERIOD:

At the time the TUC was dissolved, the Secretary General Mr. B. A. Bentum was in the second of his four-year term of office. When the TUC was restored, he was technically, still in office. However, he had earlier on (when the TUC was no more) accepted an appointment with the ILO and was thus out of Ghana. He was contacted by the Executive Board of the TUC to return, but he turned the offer down. The race for leadership was thus thrown open for Alhaji A. M. Issifu and any other leadership aspirants. That was exactly the time Mr. John Tettegah, Secretary General of the TUC during the Nkrumah era, emerged from political exile. Mr. Tettegah immediately declared his intention to contest for the vacant post of Secretary General, on the ticket of the Industrial and Commercial Workers Union (ICU) - a union he had re-joined as head of Industrial Relations. Thus Mr. Tettegah and Alhaji Issifu emerged the two leading contestants for the post of TUC boss. Both contestants had large teams of followers among workers. Unconfirmed reports had it that Mr. Tettegah had a slight edge over his opponent.

4.3. GOVERNMENT INTERVENTION AND FINANCIAL SUPPORT:

As the TUC feverishly prepared to hold a national congress to elect a new leader, an unexpected letter was received from the military government saying that the period was not suitable for a national Congress of the TUC. The letter said:

"It is now time for the present congress to streamline its affairs before the Constituent Trade Unions (can) think of setting a new Congress."

The letter from the Government cleared the way partially for Alhaji Issifu. In August, 1973, Mr. John Tettegah was arrested together with some soldiers for planning to forcefully overthrow the military government of the NRC. He was tried with his other colleagues and jailed. The coup attempt finally closed matters on Mr. Tettegah's candidature at the 1974 National Congress on 5th May, 1974. Alhaji Issifu was overwhelmingly elected Secretary General at that Congress.

Within three years of coming to power, the NRC displayed much understanding regarding financial matters of the wobbling TUC. The following monetary and material aids helped to rid the TUC of some of its nagging problems:

- . A loan of \$179,000.00 was granted to the TUC by the government to help the movement pay monetary entitlements of staff members affected by the dissolution exercise. The loan attracted a moratorium period of two years.
- . The NRC instructed the Accra City Council to write off an amount of \$172,000.00 that was owed to the City Council by the TUC.

- . The government also wrote off a total of \$2million that the TUC received in loans - particularly from the Nkrumah administration.
- . The NRC also intervened on behalf of the TUC for electricity and telephone facilities that had been disconnected (from the Hall of Trade Unions) to be re-extended at heavily slashed rates.
- . On 1st May, 1974 (MAY DAY), the government of the NRC officially transferred ownership (from Government) of the mighty five storey "HALL OF TRADE UNIONS" in Accra to the Ghana TUC.

4.4. THE PRESENT CONSTITUTION, RULES, AND BYE-LAWS AND STRUCTURE OF THE GHANA TRADES UNION CONGRESS

P L E D G E

We the representatives of the workers of Ghana DETERMINED to uphold the dignity of Labour by maintaining a genuine organisation of workers which is independent of external control or domination and which therefore is to decide its own policies and actions in response to the workers true needs, and conscious of our duty to serve faithfully and un-servingly the Nation and the workers, PLEDGE ourselves:

- to effective organisation of working people, which is the ultimate guarantee for the protection and promotion of the rights and duties of labour,
- to achievement of high living standards, improved wages and better working conditions,
- to the attainment of shorter hours of workd to extend the enjoyment of leisure,

- to improvements in security against sickness, unemployment, invalidity, old age, accidents and other hazards of life and work,
- to the struggle for the recognition and the defence of all legitimate rights of labour.

AWARE of our rights and responsibilities as citizens at the collective bargaining table in the community, in the exercise of the rights and responsibilities of citizenship:

SHALL serve the interest of labour and of the people of Ghana.

SHALL work for the strengthening of our national institutions in conformity with our national way of life and aspirations, our attachment to freedom, justice and democracy.

SHALL resolutely defend and uphold the democratic foundations on which the future of our Nation must be built.

SHALL strive to win full respect for the dignity and rights of the human individual whom we serve.

SHALL seek the fulfilment of our aspirations and hopes and the achievement of our objectives, through democratic processes and within the framework of constitutional government and concern for the welfare of the country.

ARTICLE 1 - NAME AND OFFICE

The name of the Organisation Constituted by these Rules and Bye-Laws shall be the Trades Union Congress (Ghana) and its Headquarters shall be at the Hall of Trade Unions, Accra or any other place as the Executive Board may decide, subject to the approval of the Congress.

ARTICLE II - OBJECTIVES

1. To secure complete organisation of all workers in Ghana into the ranks of a united trade union movement.
2. To help build in Ghana a society in which social and economic justice prevail and with this in view generally to improve the social and economic conditions of workers by collective action through the GUG and by promoting the interests of its affiliated unions specifically in securing improved wages, shorter hours of work and better conditions of service at the work place.
3. With the same object in view to promote the provision of social services by State and Local Government Authorities, such as unemployment and sickness insurance, old age pensions etc., and also to promote adequate arrangements for the workers to participate in the control and management of public services and industries.
4. To maintain, establish, promote and to assist Regional District and Branch Labbur Councils or Committees composed of respective regional, district and local units and branches of National Unions for the purpose of co-ordinating their work and efforts, particular in organising the workers as well as for community projects and other matters concerning communities.
5. To aid and assist National Unions of the TUC to extend the benefits of protection, mutual assistance, collective bargaining and economic advancement to the workers without regard to race, colour, creed, nationality, religion or ancestry and giving full recognition to the fact that the United Brotherhood of Workers is the accepted policy of Congress.

6. To preserve and maintain the integrity of National Unions of the TUC to the end that each Union shall respect the established bargaining relationship of every other union, refrain from ruining such relationship and encourage the elimination of conflicts, disputes and publication through the process of agreement, under the jurisdiction of and in consultation with the appropriate committee of Congress.
7. To support the National Effort of Economic Development through efficient workmanship and maximum productivity and to work for a more equitable sharing of the national income.
8. To affiliate with or to subscribe to or assist any organisation within or outside Ghana having similar objects to those of Congress.
9. To promote, aid and encourage the establishment of co-operatives and other economic enterprises owned wholly, partly by workers or by the Congress on their behalf; to encourage the sale and use of Union goods and services.
10. To protect, strengthen, preserve and develop the cherished traditions and institutions of democracy, and to secure fully the rights and liberties to which labour is entitled.
11. To give constructive aid in promoting the cause of National freedom of subject peoples and world peace, and to this end, to aid, assist and co-operate with free and progressive labour Movements throughout the World.
12. To maintain and safeguard the democratic character of the labour movement; to protect it from outside hostile forces and from infiltration or penetration by subversive elements opposed to democratic and free trade unionism.

13. While preserving the independence of the Labour Movement from outside control we shall encourage workers to register and vote to exercise their full rights and responsibilities of citizenship and to perform their rightful part in the political life of the Local, Regional and National Communities and in the building of a welfare state of Ghana.
14. To secure the ratification and application of ILO Conventions, the enactment of legislation for the defence and promotion of the rights and interests of labour and of the objectives of the Congress, as laid down in this Article; and to oppose through Constitutional means, legislation and policies contrary to the interests of labour and to the objects of the Congress.
15. To engage in and foster educational and publicity work with the object of increasing the knowledge and understanding of national and international problems confronting the workers which will enable them to make their struggle for economic and social freedom more effective.
16. In pursuance of these objectives the Congress may do or authorise to be done all such acts and things as it considers necessary for the furtherance of these aims.

ARTICLE III - MEMBERSHIP

1. As Congress is fully conscious of the necessity for the largest measure of unity and natural coherence in the trade union structure of Ghana, it shall consist of the fully representative trade unions in each of the following areas of jurisdiction:-

1. Construction and Building Trades
2. Industrial, Commercial and Catering Trades

3. General Agricultural Work
4. Public Services
5. Local Government
6. Mines
7. Maritime and Dockwork
8. Seafaring
9. Railway Engine-work
10. Railway and Ports
11. Reaching and Educational Institutions
12. Posts and Telecommunications
13. Health Services
14. Timber and Woodwork
15. Private Road Transport
16. Transport and Petroleum
17. Public Utility

Sub-Section (i)

- (a) National Unions of the Congress before the adoption of these rules shall make such arrangements as to be absorbed in the appropriate trade union or trade unions in the above areas of jurisdiction; the Congress shall, if necessary, assist in the re-arrangements.
- (b) Should there be any separation by a division of a National Union such break should be decided by a majority vote of at least 80 per cent of all branches of that particular National Union.

Sub-Section (ii)

1. Affiliated Unions of the Congress in accordance with this Article shall be issued with Certificate(s) under the seal of Congress which carries with it the rights, obligation, privileges and honour of membership and which can be withdrawn for non-compliance with the Rules and Resolutions duly passed by the Congress.
2. Affiliated Unions of Congress shall issue new application/membership cards to all their members which shall include the acceptance of deduction

of Union Dues at source in accordance with the Rules and Bye-Laws of the Union.

2. Affiliated Unions shall respect the views and decisions of Congress. Observance of the Rules and the declared policies of the Congress entitles the Unions to enjoy all its services and privileges and carries with it the right to vote on all appropriate occasions.

ARTICLE IV - RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF NATIONAL UNIONS

1. National Unions of the TUC under its Charter and Seal shall have right to establish their constitution, rules and programmes, to elect officers, representatives and governing bodies, and to carry out their activities in accordance with the policies of Congress and its Rules and Bye-Laws.
2. The National Unions shall exercise their right to bargain collectively with employers within their areas of jurisdiction as stipulated in Article III of this Constitution.
3. The National Unions shall report to the Executive Board of Congress any disputes with employers, including disputes likely to arise and shall submit to the Executive Board such information on disputes and on collective bargaining within their jurisdiction as may be required by the Executive Board.
4. The National Unions may request Congress assistance in collective bargaining. In the event of strikes such requests shall be dealt with by the Executive Board in accordance with Article VII.

5. The National Unions shall accept the authority of the Executive Board of Congress in the settlement of industrial disputes as laid down in Article VII.
6. The National Unions shall accept as binding the resolution of the Congress and Extraordinary Congress laying down objects for collective bargaining provided that such resolutions contain express provisions regarding their mandatory character.
7. The National Unions shall accept the authority of the Executive Board in the Establishment of specialised groups within the National Unions, or in joining any international organisation.

ARTICLE V - DISPUTES BETWEEN NATIONAL UNIONS

1. The National Unions shall submit to the Executive Board jurisdictional disputes with other National Unions of the TUC and, subject to their right to appeal to the Congress or Extraordinary Congress shall accept the settlement of such disputes by the Executive Board as binding.
2. Where disputes arise or threaten to arise between National Unions of the TUC, the Executive Board shall use its influence to promote a settlement and shall have the power to summon the contending National Unions to appear before it or a committee appointed by the Executive Board and to require such Unions to submit all evidence and information that such committee may deem necessary to enable them to adjudicate.
3. Upon application from a National Union, the Executive Board shall also have the power to investigate cases of disputes or disagreement between National Unions whether relating to general industrial or demarcation disputes.

4. If the parties to a dispute fail to submit the case to the Executive Board as provided by this Rules, it shall not be permissible for such disputes to be raised at any Congress or Extraordinary Congress.
5. If the result of such an enquiry be that the complaining Union fails to prove the charge, it shall bear the whole cost of the investigation including the expenses incurred by the defending Union. Where this is not applicable, the loser shall bear the cost.
6. Should any National Union or official of the Union not carry into effect any decision of the Executive Board in connection with cases under this Rule, the Executive Board may at once issue a Report to all National Unions of the TUC. If thereafter, the decision of the Executive Board is still not carried out the Executive Board may at its discretion, adopt either of the following methods of procedure.

The Executive Board may:-

7. (i) Report the matter to the next National Executive Council of the National Union concerned to deal with it as may be decided upon.
- (ii) Should the TUC be dissatisfied with the manner in which the case so reported was handled, it shall report the matter to the next delegates conference of the National Union concerned.

ARTICLE VI - CONDUCT OF NATIONAL UNIONS

1. If at any time there appears to the Executive Board that there is justification for an investigation into the conduct of affairs of any National Union, its officer or officers on the grounds that the activities of such National Union Officer or

Officers are detrimental to the interest of the Trade Union Movement or contrary to the declared principles and policies of the Congress, the Executive Board shall report the matter to the Executive Committee of the National Union concerned.

2. If after such investigation the Executive Board decides that the activities of the National Union concerned are detrimental to the interest of the Trade Union Movement or contrary to the declared principles of Trade Unionism, the Executive Board shall direct the National Union to discontinue such activities forthwith and undertake not to engage therein in the future.
3. Should the National Union, Officer or Officers concerned fail to carry out direction, the Executive Board is hereby empowered in its discretion to order that the National Union, Officer or Officers responsible be forthwith suspended for membership of the Congress.
4. The Executive Board shall submit a report upon the matter to the Congress.
5. No National Union or member of the Executive Board shall circularise whether in writing or by general oral communication to other National Unions upon any matter concerning the business of the Congress without first securing the Executive Board's authorisation for such circularisation.
6. Should any such unauthorised circularisation take place concerning a motion for the Agenda of the Congress or Extraordinary Congress or any Special Congress and the Executive Board after investigation decides that those responsible for such motion connive at or were party to or concerned with such circularisation, it shall be at the discretion of the Executive Board to determine whether or not the motion shall be included in the Agenda.

7. The Executive Board may investigate any violation of the provisions in Sub-Section (5) above and if after such investigation it decides that any Union has acted deliberately in such violation, it may deal with the Union by suspension or expulsion and report under the terms of provision (1) (2) and (3) of this Article.
8. Any National Union dealt with under this Rule shall have right to appeal to the next Congress Conference and may appoint representatives to represent the Union at the Congress Conference. Where such representatives' appeal pends, it shall take precedence over every other business on the Agenda. The Congress shall upon the appeal have final authority to deal with the matter in the manner the Congress may deem expedient.

ARTICLE VII - INDUSTRIAL DISPUTES

1. It shall be an obligation upon the National Unions of the TUC to keep the Executive Board informed with regard to matters arising between them and their Employers/and/or between one organisation and another in particular where such matters may involve directly large bodies of workers. The Executive Board shall, if it is deemed necessary, disseminate the information as soon as possible to all National Unions of the TUC which may either directly or indirectly be affected.
2. With the object of promoting a just settlement the Executive Board shall, and upon the formal application of the Union concerned intervene in all industrial disputes threatened or actual, provided that it is satisfied that a stage has been reached in which the Union concerned does in effect need such assistance and provided it is satisfied that sufficient time has elapsed for the Union itself to have reached a settlement.
3. The Executive Board shall also help to institute

an adequate negotiating machinery where no such machinery exists; or help to improve such machinery where it has proved inadequate.

ARTICLE VIII - FINANCE

1. The funds of the Trades Union Congress shall be derived from a percentage of dues collected through the appropriate voluntary check-off by the affiliated National Unions.
2. Membership dues of every worker who is a member of an affiliated National Union shall be not less than 1% of the monthly wage/salary of the worker.
3. The TUC shall have the right to appoint an Auditor to investigate the accounts of any affiliated National Union when necessary and make recommendations to the National Union concerned.
4. The establishment of voluntary check-off system whereby Union dues are deducted by employers from wages and paid shall be an objective of the TUC and its National Unions for the purposes laid down in Article II.
5. Dues collected through (Check-off) system unless otherwise directed by the general Congress, shall be payable by employers directly to the following:-

Local Union	20%
National Union	50%
TUC	30%

ARTICLE IX - CONGRESS OR EXTRAORDINARY CONGRESS

1. In the interpretation of this Constitution and in the determination of the programme and policy of

this Organisation the supreme authority shall be the Congress of Delegates and except as otherwise provided in this Constitution, its decision shall be by majority vote.

2. Unless otherwise decided by the Executive Board the date for the opening of the Congress which will take place once in every four years shall be in September.
3. In the event of any change in such date, the Executive Board shall direct that notices of such change shall be given to the National Unions of the TUC a month before the date of the Congress.

COMPOSITION OF CONGRESS DELEGATES:

4. The following shall be entitled to attend meetings of the Congress or Extraordinary Congress:-

a. Accredited Delegates

b. Representation at the Congress by National Unions shall be as follows:-

Membership up to	20,000 - 5 delegates
Membership between 20,001 &	25,000 - 6 delegates
Membership between 25,001 &	30,000 - 7 delegates
Membership between 30,001 &	35,000 - 8 delegates
Membership between 35,001 &	40,000 - 9 delegates
Membership between 40,001 &	45,000 -10 delegates

Any additional 5,000 members shall attract one more delegate.

- ii. No Union shall be entitled to representation at Congress which is in arrears of dues due to its own default.

- b. Officials of Congress
Officials of Congress shall be the Secretary-General and Heads of Specialised Departments of Congress.
 - c. Members of the Executive Board not elected by their Unions as delegates.
 - i. Observers: Observers of Congress shall be guests invited by the Executive Board or on its authorisation by Secretary-General from Friendly Organisations and National Unions affiliated to the Trades Union Congress (Ghana).
5. Business of the Congress or Extraordinary Congress:
- a. Report on the activities of the Trades Union Congress for the period under review.
 - b. Resolution laying down general policies on wages, better conditions of service, higher standards of living and other industrial matters affecting workers in this field with the view of implementing these resolutions.
 - c. Audited Financial Report.
 - d. Amendments of the Constitution in accordance with the procedure laid down in Article XVII.
 - e. Election of Chairman.
 - f. Election of the Secretary-General when so required.
 - g. Election of members of the Finance Board.
6. Quorum for the Congress or Extraordinary Congress
Three-fifths (3/5) of the National Unions of the TUC shall form quorum at the opening of every Congress in the course of the Congress, half of the delegates shall form a quorum at every session.

7. Extraordinary Congress:

- a. The Executive Board may, at its discretion convene an Extraordinary Congress, or at the request of at least three-fifths (3/5) of the National Unions of the TUC shall convene an Extraordinary Congress within one month of the receipt of the request.
- b. Representation at an Extraordinary Congress shall be governed by the Rules applying to the Congress or Extraordinary Congress (See Article IX (4)).
- c. The specific business for which the Extraordinary Congress is convened shall receive precedence over every other business.
- d. The quorum for the Extraordinary Congress shall be the same as for the Congress.
- e. The Extraordinary Congress shall unless otherwise provided in these Rules and Bye-Laws, have the same powers as the Congress.

ARTICLE X - THE EXECUTIVE BOARD

1. COMPOSITION:

The Executive Board shall be composed of:-

The Chairman

The Secretary-General and the Chairmen and General Secretaries of the National Unions affiliated to Congress or their alternates who shall be elected officers of their National Unions. Heads of Specialised Departments of Congress shall attend as Ex-officio members.

2. QUORUM OF EXECUTIVE BOARD:

Three-fifths (3/5) of the members shall form a quorum at meetings of the Executive Board.

3.1 POWERS AND DUTIES OF THE EXECUTIVE BOARD:

- a. The Government and functions of the Congress during the period between Congress and/or Extraordinary Congress shall be vested in the Executive Board.
- b. The Executive Board shall meet at least once a quarter, shall transact all business between Congress and shall consider reports of the Secretary-General and of such Committee and bodies as may be appointed by the Congress or Extraordinary Congress or the Executive Board. The meetings of the Executive Board shall be convened by the Chairman and the Secretary-General on their initiative or at the request of not less than 3/4 members of the Executive Board.
- c. It shall consider reports received from the National Unions in accordance with Article VII, review developments in the relations between National Unions and Employers, between Congress and Employers' Organisations and in Collective Bargaining; it shall give assistance in Collective Bargaining to National Unions which request such assistance and shall decide on application from National Unions for strike assistance from the appropriate Congress Fund.
- d. It shall endeavour to adjust disputes and differences between National Unions and shall settle disputes concerning jurisdiction of National Unions. A report on all outstanding jurisdictional disputes between the National Unions shall be made by the Secretary-General on behalf of the Executive Board to the Congress.
- e. It shall have authority to approve of Budgetary Proposals and other financial transactions of the Congress as laid down in Article VIII, and shall make grants to trade union organisations

whether in Ghana or abroad as it deems desirable.

- f. The Executive Board shall have authority to enter into any transaction and to execute any contract in the name and on behalf of the Congress.
- g. The Executive Board shall have the power whenever it deems it necessary to convene an Extraordinary Congress to deal with any contingency that may arise, and to arrange the Agenda for such Congress.
- h. The Executive Board shall prepare a report of its work for submission to the Congress. The report shall contain a list of the Executive Board meetings with dates, and also the names of those members who were present at such meetings. Any amendments to the Standing Orders of Congress and the Executive Board shall be published with the report of the Congress.
- i. The Executive Board shall encourage and promote the establishment of regional district and branch councils of Labour. The Rules of such Councils shall require the approval of the Executive Board. The Councils shall be composed of representatives of respective regional bodies, district and local branches of the National Unions. The Councils shall not intervene in or initiate collective bargaining with employers without prior agreement of all their constituent bodies concerned with the matter and shall not declare an industrial action unless expressly authorised to do so by the Executive Board.

STANDING POLITICAL COMMITTEE:

The Executive Board of the TUC shall appoint a Standing Political Committee which shall examine and make recommendations on the country's political matters to the Board from time to time as expedient.

SPECIAL FUND:

The Executive Board of Congress is empowered to create and administer a Special Fund to promote organised labour's participation in national affairs. Contributions to this fund shall be made up of - up to 5% of monthly dues and voluntary contributions from affiliated national unions and their members.

j. AD-HOC COMMITTEES:

The Executive Board shall appoint Ad-Hoc Committee to deal with any particular questions that may arise from time to time.

k. ACCEPTANCE OF ASSISTANCE BY THE EXECUTIVE BOARD:

The Executive Board shall have the right to accept on behalf of the workers of the affiliated National Unions, gifts, donations and endowments for the purposes of providing amenities for the welfare of the workers; provided that the acceptance of any such assistance shall not compel the TUC to adhere to the dictates of the body making the offer. Any such assistance accepted by the TUC shall be made known to the Congress.

l. INTERVENTION:

Subject to the provisions in Article X Rule 3, the Executive Board shall have authority to intervene in disputes between National Unions and employers if such disputes affect large groups of workers, or are in the opinion of the Board likely to affect large groups of workers,

outside the jurisdiction of the National Unions directly involved in such disputes, shall endeavour to bring about solutions to such disputes in accordance with the interests of all the workers affected by them, and shall have authority to direct if it deems necessary the solutions through arbitration.

ARTICLE XI - WORKING COMMITTEE

1. There shall be a Working Committee of the TUC with the Chairmen of the Executive Board and the Secretary-General as permanent members to manage the Affairs of Congress between meetings of the Executive Board.
2. The other members of the Working Committee to be chosen by the Executive Board, at its quarterly meetings shall be composed of the following:
 - a. Four General Secretaries of the National Unions.
 - b. Four Chairmen of the National Unions so however, that no one Union shall be represented, at any one time, by both its Chairman and General Secretary.
 - c. Heads of Specialised Departments.

ARTICLE XII - SPECIALISED DEPARTMENTS OF TUC

There shall be created the following Specialised Departments which shall assist the Secretary-General in the performance of his duties viz:-

1. Administration
 - (a) Legal
2. Industrial Relations Department.
3. Economic & Research Department.

4. International Department
5. Finance Department
6. Publications/Information Department
7. Education and Training Department
8. Organisation and Welfare Department.

The Heads of these departments shall be appointed by the Executive Board upon the nomination by the Secretary-General.

ARTICLE XIII - OFFICERS OF THE TUC AND THEIR DUTIES

The Officers of the Congress shall be a Chairman and the Secretary-General.

1. CHAIRMAN

- (a) Congress shall at a session elect a Chairman of the TUC who shall be a serving National Chairman or Vice National Chairman of any of the National Unions and who must have held office for a period of not less than three years.
- (b) The duties of the Chairman shall be to preside at all special Conferences for four years following the date of his election, enforce observance of the constitution and decisions of the Congress, the Executive Board and the Finance board and shall be the Chairman at Congress during his term of office.
- (c) He shall in conjunction with two other authorised persons sign cheques and documents on behalf of the Congress.
- (d) He shall serve four years and shall be eligible for re-election.

- (e) In the absence of the Chairman, the Executive Board shall have power to elect one of its members present at a meeting to conduct the business of that particular meeting.

2. SECRETARY-GENERAL

- (a) The Secretary-General shall be elected at the Congress by the Congress delegates, who in accordance with the Standing Orders of the Congress have the right to vote. The Secretary General shall serve at the pleasure of the Congress.
- (b) Subject to these rules, only serving General Secretaries or Deputy General Secretaries of the National Unions who have held office for a period not less than three years shall be eligible for nomination and election to the office of Secretary-General of the Congress.
- (c) A vote of non-confidence by two-third majority of delegates shall be required to demand the resignation of the Secretary-General.
- (d) He shall devote his whole time to the work of the Congress and the Executive Board and shall be the Chief Executive Officer of the Trades Union Congress and Supervisor of its Specialised Departments and adviser to the National Unions; he shall be responsible for the recruiting of staff of the Congress subject to the approval of the Executive Board and co-ordination of work of the Heads of Specialised Departments ensure the implementation by such officers of the decisions of Congress.
- (e) He shall submit to the Congress or Extraordinary Congress and when directed so to do by the Executive Board, submit a Report on activities,

statement of accounts, Financial Statement and Budget and proposals concerning future activities; he shall submit to the Congress on behalf of the Executive Board a report on the settlement of jurisdictional disputes between National Unions affected by the Executive Board.

- (f) He shall be provided with all necessary personnel, transport, office accommodation and all other facilities for conducting the business of the Congress and the Executive Board.
- (g) He shall, duty bound, be responsible subject to the provisions of these rules and Bye-Laws for the Financial Books and for the good administration of the funds of the Congress, in accordance with the decision of the Congress and of the Executive Board.
- (h) In the event of the absence from the country or on leave, resignation, death or permanent in-capacity of the Secretary-General occurring in the period between two Congress, the Executive Board shall appoint an Acting Secretary-General who will assume the duties and powers of the Secretary-General until the next Congress or Extraordinary Congress or until his return to Ghana.

ARTICLE XIV - FINANCE BOARD

1. Finance Board:

There shall be a Finance Board of not more than Seven (7) members who shall be elected at the Congress from among the delegates.

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Membership:

Members of the Finance Board elected by Congress shall serve for four years.

- (a) The Board shall elect a Chairman from among its members.
 - (b) The Accountant of Congress will be Secretary
 - (c) The Secretary-General and the Chairman of the Executive Board shall be ex-officio members of the Board.
2. Members of the Finance Board shall hold office until they resign or until their respective successors have been duly elected as laid down and shall be eligible for re-election.
3. No expenditure unprovided for in the estimates of revenue and expenditure of the Financial Year in respect of which the expenditure is to be made shall, without the prior approval of the Executive Board be authorised by the Finance Board.

The Finance Board shall deal with the funds and property held by them in accordance with the directions of the Executive Board and shall invest any funds available for investment in accordance with such directions.

The Bank Accounts shall be in the name of the Trades Union Congress but Executive Board may by resolutions authorise for cheques to be signed, in addition to the Chairman by any two of the persons named in the resolutions in which case the Finance Board shall give such direction and shall be relieved from all liability in respect of payments made in the manner authorised by the resolution whilst it is in force.

Borrowing Power:

The Secretariat of Congress is empowered to seek Financial assistance in the form of an overdraft from their Bankers whenever the need arises with the proviso that the overdraft so granted will be one to be repaid on instalment basis.

The Executive Board shall approve of Budgetary proposals which shall form basis of work of the Finance Board.

4. Audit & Accounts

i. The Financial Year of Congress shall be the 31st of December each year.

ii. The Accounts of Congress shall be audited by an Auditor appointed by the Executive Board not later than the 31st of March of the following year. Copies of the Audited Report shall be made available to all affiliated National Unions and members of the Executive Board.

a. a statement showing in detail the items of income and expenditure and profit and loss account of the Congress and,

b. a statement of the assets and liabilities of Congress for the year ending 31st December each year,

shall be distributed to all affiliated National Unions immediately after publication.

iii. The Finance Board shall appoint a Board of Survey of 3 members who shall conduct physical check of cash balances declared at the close of each financial year.

ARTICLE XV - REGIONAL ORGANISATIONS

The TUC shall have the following Regional Offices:

1. Eastern Region
2. Central Region
3. Brong Ahafo Region
4. Western Region
5. Ashanti Region
6. Accra/Tema Region
7. Northern Region
8. Volta Region
9. Upper Region.

The post of Regional Secretary shall be filled by appointment by the Executive Board on the recommendations of the Secretary-General.

ARTICLE XVI - SUSPENSION OF ARTICLES

Articles in the Constitution and the Standing Orders in Part II following, may be suspended on a motion duly seconded. Such suspension shall only be effected if the motion is carried by at least two thirds of the votes cast by the representatives present at that particular Congress or Extraordinary Congress of Executive Board meeting.

ARTICLE XVII - AMENDMENT OF ARTICLES

1. The Congress or Extraordinary Congress shall make any amendments, rescission or addition to or deletion from the Articles of the Constitution and the Standing Orders that it deems necessary subject to the approval of not less than two-thirds of the votes of duly accredited delegates present at the Congress or Extraordinary Congress.
2. Constituent National Unions may put forth motions for the amendment of the Articles of the Constitution and the Standing Orders for the decision of the Congress or Extraordinary Congress.

3. No resolution passed by the Congress or the Executive Board shall be rescinded or amended at the same meeting at which it was passed except at another meeting of Extraordinary Congress or Executive Board by the consent of two-thirds of the votes cast at the meeting.

ARTICLE XVIII - DISSOLUTION

1. The Trades Union Congress may be dissolved by a resolution of the Congress or Extraordinary Congress provided that the Congress delegates voting in favour of such a resolution represent together no less than five-sixths of the National Unions of the TUC at the time the Congress is called.
2. In the event of a resolution on the dissolution of the TUC being adopted in the manner laid down in paragraph 1 of this Article, the Congress shall appoint a Committee to wind up the affairs of the Congress. The failure to appoint such a Committee shall be deemed to be a decision to appoint the Executive Board, existing at the time of the opening of the Congress in question, to be such a Committee.
3. The Committee appointed, or deemed to have been appointed in accordance with paragraph 2 of this Article to wind up the affairs of the Trades Union Congress shall meet the outstanding financial liabilities of the Congress out of monies accumulated in Congress funds, by sale of Congress assets, and by collection or calling in of debts to the Congress including outstanding fees of National Unions. Any funds remaining after all the liabilities of the Congress have been duly met shall be distributed among the National Unions in proportion to the membership at the time of dissolution.
4. The Committee established under paragraph 2 of this Article shall have the right in the name of the Congress, to institute such legal proceedings as may be necessary to fulfil the obligations imposed upon the Committee by paragraph 3 of the Article.

PART II - STANDING ORDERS

ARTICLE I - ADMISSION TO THE SESSION OF CONGRESS
OR EXTRAORDINARY CONGRESS

The following shall be entitled to attend meetings
of the Congress or Extraordinary Congress:

- (a) Accredited Delegates of the affiliated
National Unions;
- (b) Members of the Executive Board;
- (c) Observers from Friendly organisations;
- (d) Guests invited by the Executive Board, or
on its Authorisation by the Secretary-General;
- (e) Members of the Secretariat of the Congress
or Extraordinary Congress, appointed by the
Secretary General.

2. In accordance with this provision, voting at the
Congress or Extraordinary Congress shall be on the
Following basis:-

One vote per each accredited delegate of Congress.

3. Officials of the TUC who are not delegates of the
Congress or Extraordinary Congress shall have the
right to attend the Congress or Extraordinary
Congress meeting and take part in the debates, but
shall not have the right to vote.

4. Observers from organisations with which the TUC
maintains friendly relations will be allowed to
address the Congress or Extraordinary Congress with
the permission of the Chairman, but shall not have
the right to vote.

5. Guests invited to attend the Congress or Extraordinary Congress will be permitted to address the Congress or Extraordinary Congress at the request of the Chairman, but shall not have the right to vote.

ARTICLE II - TRAVELLING EXPENSES

Except members of the Secretariat of the Congress or Extraordinary Congress, the travelling expenses of those attending the Congress or Extraordinary Congress shall be borne by their respective trade union organisations.

ARTICLE III - PLENARY SITTING OF THE CONGRESS OR EXTRAORDINARY CONGRESS

- (a) The Plenary Sitting of the Congress or Extraordinary Congress shall be public except in cases in which it is expressly decided to the contrary by the Congress.
- (b) Seats in the Congress or Extraordinary Congress Hall shall be assigned by the Secretary-General.

ARTICLE IV - THE OFFICERS OF THE CONGRESS OR EXTRAORDINARY CONGRESS

- (a) The Officers of the Congress or Extraordinary Congress shall be the Chairman, Secretary-General and the Heads of Specialised Departments.
- (b) The Chairman of the Executive Board of the TUC shall preside over the Congress or Extraordinary Congress. In carrying out this duty, the Chairman shall adhere to the Standing Orders of the Congress or Extraordinary Congress and the Constitution.

- (c) In the absence of the Chairman during a sitting of any part thereof, the Executive Board shall elect an Acting Chairman from among its members to conduct the business of that particular meeting.

ARTICLE V - SECRETARIAT OF THE CONGRESS CONFERENCE

The Secretary-General of the TUC shall be the Secretary-General of Congress or Extraordinary Congress. He shall appoint members of the Secretariat attending the Congress and shall be responsible for their work.

ARTICLE VI - THE CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE

- (a) There shall be a Credentials Committee elected by the Congress or Extraordinary Congress. It shall elect its chairman and Rapporteur from among its members. Its Secretary shall be appointed by the Secretary-General.
- (b) It shall:
- (i) Prepare lists of persons attending the Congress or Extraordinary Congress.
 - (ii) Report to the Congress or Extraordinary Congress on the voting power of the affiliated National Unions represented.
 - (iii) Consider any objections to the credentials of members.
- (c) Objections raised to the sitting of any delegate shall be submitted to the Credentials Committee. Pending final decision by the Congress or Extraordinary Congress on his admission, any member to whose sitting objection has been raised shall enjoy full rights as a member.
- (d) Members shall hand their credentials to the Secretary-General who shall submit them to the Credentials Committee.

- (e) The reports of the Credentials Committee shall be considered by the Congress or Extraordinary Congress immediately after their submission to the Chairman.

ARTICLE VI - STANDING ORDERS COMMITTEE

- (a) There shall be a Standing Orders Committee elected by the Congress. It shall elect its Chairman and Rapporteur from among its members, its Secretary shall be appointed by the Secretary-General.
- (b) The Standing Orders Committee shall:-
- (i) Consider the Standing Orders and Report on them to Congress or Extraordinary Congress.
 - (ii) Fix the time for plenary sitting;
 - (iii) Consider the provisional agenda and recommend a final agenda for the approval of the Congress or Extraordinary Congress;
 - (iv) Make proposals relating to the setting up, the size of the question to be dealt with and the terms of reference of the Congress or Extraordinary Congress Committee; make proposals with respect to any motions and resolutions not included in the printed agenda of the Congress or Extraordinary Congress.
- (c) No literature or printed matter other than official Congress or Extraordinary Congress documents may be circulated to the Congress or Extraordinary Congress or in Congress precincts without prior consent of the Standing Orders Committee.

ARTICLE VIII - GENERAL PROVISION COVERING COMMITTEES

- (a) The sitting of a committee shall be private.
- (b) The following shall be entitled to such committee by the Congress:
 - (i) members duly appointed to such a committee by the Congress or Extraordinary Congress.
 - (ii) an adviser or secretary nominated by a member serving on the committee; such persons shall not have the right to take part in the debates or to vote;
 - (iii) staff members appointed by the Secretary-General.
- (c) A committee dealing with a resolution emanating from a constituent National Union not represented on the committee may invite a representative from such National Union to attend the Committee sitting(s) during the discussion of its resolution.
- (d) The Officers of the Congress or Extraordinary Congress may attend the sittings of any Committee. The Secretary-General may appoint an Executive Secretary to act on his behalf at sittings of any Committee.
- (e) Voting in Committees shall be by show of hands.

ARTICLE IX - CONGRESS OR EXTRAORDINARY CONGRESS COMMITTEE

After deciding to set up Congress or Extraordinary Congress Committee, the Congress or Extraordinary Congress shall immediately determine the composition of such a committee. As soon as practicable each committee shall meet and appoint its Chairman and Rapporteur from among its members. Each Committee shall submit its report to the Congress or Extraordinary Congress.

The Secretary-General shall appoint the Secretary of each committee.

ARTICLE XI - LANGUAGE

The official languages of the Congress Conference shall be in any Ghanaian language and English. Any member wishing to speak in any foreign language shall do so as an interpretation into the official language of Congress.

ARTICLE XI - RULES OF PROCEDURE

- (a) Every representative shall stand when speaking and address the Conference through the Chair. If the Chairman rises or calls a representative to order or for any other purpose connected with the proceedings, the member speaking shall thereupon resume his or her seat, and no other representative shall rise until the Chairman has authorized the discussion to proceed.
- (b) No person shall speak more than once on the same subject unless otherwise agreed by the Chairman except, however, that the Rapporteur of any committee shall have the right to reply at the close of the debates. The mover of a motion, resolution or amendment except on a point of order or procedure shall have the same right.
- (c) The Secretary-General shall at all appropriate times have the right to speak on any subject.
- (d) Should the Chairman consider that there is no real difference of opinion among the members, he shall have the power to close the debate and if so required proceed to the taking of the vote.

- (e) The Chairman may require a speaker to resume his or her seat if his remarks are not relevant to the subject under discussion.
- (f) Unless otherwise agreed by the Congress or Extraordinary Congress no speech shall exceed five minutes exclusive of the time for interpretation, except that members appointed to introduce agenda items and Rapporteurs when presenting a report shall be allowed a time limit of ten minutes.

ARTICLE XII - MOTIONS, RESOLUTIONS AND AMENDMENTS

- (a) No motion, resolution or amendment shall after having been moved, be discussed unless it has been seconded.
- (b) All motions, resolutions or amendments (other than motions on a point of order or on procedure) must be submitted to the Secretary-General, in writing.
- (c) A motion or resolution other than a motion on a point of order or on procedure which is not included in the printed agenda paper of the Congress or Extraordinary Congress shall be sent for advice to the Standing Orders Committee before being submitted to the Congress or Extraordinary Congress. This rule shall not apply to motions or resolutions submitted by a Committee of the Congress or Extraordinary Congress.
- (d) Subject to Article XII (c) no motion or resolution shall be discussed by the Congress or Extraordinary Congress unless it has been circulated to delegates.
- (e) If there are several amendments to a motion or resolution the Chairman shall determine the order in which they shall be discussed and put to vote.

- (f) Any motion may be withdrawn by the member who moved it unless an amendment to it is under discussion or has been adopted. Any motion so withdrawn may be moved without previous notice to any other members.
- (g) A member may not submit a motion, resolution, or amendment except on a point of order or on procedure in a personal capacity, except only on behalf of a delegation.
- (h) Motions of procedure may be moved verbally and without notice.
- (i) Motions of procedure shall include the following:-
 - 1. Motion to refer the matter back;
 - 2. Motion to postpone consideration of the question;
 - 3. Motion to adjourn the sitting;
 - 4. Motion to adjourn the debate on particular question;
 - 5. Motion to vote on the subject under discussion;
 - 6. Motion that the Congress or Extraordinary Congress proceed with the next item on the Agenda;
 - 7. Motion to suspend Standing Orders;
- (j) A motion on procedure shall be put immediately to vote. The Chairman may allow one member to speak in favour of it and one against it.

- (k) Any member at any time may draw attention on the fact that the Standing Orders or the Constitution of the TUC are not being observed and the Chairman shall give an immediate ruling on any question so raised.
- (l) A motion challenging the Chairman's ruling on any matter shall be put immediately to the vote and one member shall be allowed to speak in favour of such motion and one other member against it.
- (m) No resolution passed by the Congress or the Executive Board shall be rescinded or amended at the same meeting at which it was passed except 4 years of the date of passing it and by the consent of two-thirds of the votes cast at the meeting.
- (n) Should any representative cause any disturbance at any session of the Conference or special conference or Executive Board meeting and refuse to obey the Chairman when called to order, he shall be expelled from the meeting immediately for the remainder of the session. He shall not be allowed to take part in the Congress or Extraordinary Congress proceedings without a majority consent of the representatives. The decision of the Chairman on a point of order shall be final.

ARTICLE XIII - VOTING

- (a) Voting shall be by show of hand.
- (b) The Chairman at his discretion may decide that a secret ballot be conducted among the accredited delegates in appropriate cases, such as an election contest, or important issues on which Congress appears to be equally divided.

- (c) A secret ballot shall also be held at the request of one-third of the accredited delegates registered. Two tellers shall be chosen by Congress and ballot boxes shall be provided.
- (d) At the request of any two or more delegation representing not less than 33.1/3 per cent (thirty-three and one third per cent) of the represented aggregate membership, a roll call vote shall be taken. In the event of a roll call vote, each organisation shall cast its vote as a unit on the basis of the membership it represents.

ARTICLE XIV - MAJORITY

The endeavour of the Congress or Extraordinary Congress shall be to secure the widest possible measure of agreement rather than the carrying of simple majorities. When a vote is called for, however, the decision of the Congress or Extraordinary Congress shall be by simple majority, except in the case of the suspension of Standing Orders which must secure two-thirds (2/3) of the votes cast, and amendments to the Rules, dissolution and expulsion.

ARTICLE XV - GENERAL RULES

The provisions of the Standing Orders shall apply to Committee meetings, Executive Board, Special Congress meetings and all other meetings of the Congress.

4.5 MEMBERSHIP OF NATIONAL TRADE UNIONS (FROM 1974)

The statistics below indicate the numerical strength of the seventeen national unions that form the TUC. The 1977 figures are compared with that of 1974.

NATIONAL UNION	1977 MEMBERSHIP	1974 MEMBERSHIP	% INCREASE OR DECREASE
1. INDUSTRIAL AND COMM MERCIAL WORKERS UNION	115,052	80,000	43.8
2. GENERAL AGRICUL- TURAL WORKERS UNION	111,184	42,000	164.7
3. CONSTRUCTION AND BUILDING WORKERS UNION	68,820	40,000	72.0
4. LOCAL GOVERNMENT WORKERS UNION	36,000	28,000	28.5
5. TEACHERS AND EDUCATIONAL WORKERS UNION	34,000	14,000	142.8
6. PUBLIC SERVICES WORKERS UNION	28,000	15,600	79.4
7. MARITIME AND DOCK- WORKERS UNION	22,250	18,660	19.2
8. GHANA PRIVATE ROAD TRANSPORT UNION	21,700	20,000	8.5
9. GHANA MINeworkERS UNION	21,200	23,074	-8.0
10. TIMBER AND WOOD- WORKERS UNION	20,850	14,000	48.9
11. PUBLIC UTILITY WORKERS UNION	18,000	12,000	50.0
12. RAILWAY AND PORTS WORKERS UNION	13,587	10,180	33.4
13. HEALTH SERVICES WORKERS UNION	12,000	7,895	53.9
14. POSTS AND TELECOM- MUNICATIONS WORKERS UNION	11,200	7,422	50.9
15. GENERAL TRANSPORT, PETROLEUM AND CHEMICAL WORKERS UNION	10,000	4,500	122.2
16. NATIONAL UNION OF SEAMEN	5,716	7,000	-18.3
17. RAILWAY ENGINE- MEN'S UNION	701	816	-14.2
TOTAL	550,260	345,047	59.5

4.6

THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE GHANA TUC

The national industrial relations system of Ghana, like in most other countries, depends on a number of inter-related factors. Important among these factors are:

- . the "actors" in the system - that is, employers, workers and the Government,
- . the technological context within which the "actors" function,
- . the economic constraints and other market flexibilities or rigidities in the system,
- . the power of the actors and the propensity on the part of the actors to resort to "power-actions" - legal or illegal, to ensure conformity or obedience from other parties,
- . the philosophy or ideology of the "actors" in the industrial relations system.

The above factors can be expressed symbolically as follows: (adapting Professor Norman Duffy's model)

$$S = f(a, t, m, p, i)$$

when 'a' = actors in the industrial relations system

't' = technological context

'm' = market and economic constraint

'p' = power context

'i' = ideology

S = the (national) industrial relations system.

The Ghana TUC under Albaji A. M. Issifu, is quite aware of the existence of the above factor-relationships. In this sense therefore, one can say that the TUC has a philosophy of its own. Some objective labour observers in Ghana are however of the opinion that the current leadership of the TUC is giving too much weight to "ideology" in the equation - thus causing an unnecessary imbalance in the system. To illustrate this fact further, let us refresh our minds with a few quoted speeches or official pronouncements of TUC leaders and representatives on the issue of philosophy and ideology:

.. "I want to assert that the Trade Union Organisation is not an instrument of co-ersion - neither is it a doll to be toyed with by employers and managements. It is on the contrary a positive instrument for the defence and protection of the workers, and through mass participation in national efforts - for the transformation of the society, for the economic and Social benefit of all"

(Source: TUC Secretary General's
Quadrennial Congress Speech - 3/5/74)

Following the announced intention in October, 1976 of the Military Government of the Supreme Military Council (SMC) - under General Acheampong - to hand over power to a "Union Government", the entire Ghanaian public was invited to submit proposals on the form that the proposed government should take.

The TUC - through a special committee appointed by its Executive Board, submitted a proposal also on the

subject. A portion of that proposal is as follows:
"In making its submission on the proposed Union Government, the Ghana TUC proposes to state its fundamental position based on two main principles, that is:

- (a) That a Union Government for Ghana should be one in which there is genuine mass participation and should lead to the creation of a Socialist State of Ghana....
- (b) That, as a necessary condition for the realisation of a Socialist State, there must be established a mass movement to play a Vanguard role to mobilise the people at all levels and in every segment of the Society. That the mobilization of the people should not be undertaken by the machinery of the bureaucracy....."

.. "As a Trade Union Organisation representing the mass of the working people both organised and unorganised including the peasantry, we shall only be interested in supporting the formation of and participation in a form of government that is dedicated and unalterably committed to the welfare and progress of the mass of the people especially the poorer sections of the Community. The (political) system must have as its avowed aim the elimination of oppression and any form of exploitation.

The system must be based on respect for the dignity of man and offer equal opportunity for all irrespective of sex, tribe, religion, or social status. It is therefore the view

of the Trades Union Congress that the only government that is capable of achieving these objectives is an unperverted socialist form of government" (Source: "The Ghanaian Times" 30. 4. 77 - Published May Day Speech of the Secretary General of the TUC).

From the above quotations, it can be seen at least theoretically that the Ghana TUC apart from trying to fight for and protect the interests of its members in the traditional narrow sense also believes in doing something practical regarding fundamental changes about the entire Ghanaian society. Well-informed labour observers in Ghana are however of the opinion that the Ghana TUC over the past decade in particular (1968-78) has been rather conservative in its activities. By that they mean the TUC has put emphasis mainly on higher wages negotiations for its members while other interests of workers have just ended after pronouncements of hackneyed slogans.

5.0 SOME MAJOR ACTIVITIES OF THE TUC:

NB: Emphasis will be placed on activities of the last six years owing to non-availability of reliable material on the activities of the TUC in earlier periods.

5.1. ADVICE AND ASSISTANCE ON COLLECTIVE BARGAINING:

Every National Trade Union that is affiliated to the TUC is supposed to handle its own Collective Bargaining matters with the employers that the union deals with. The TUC however puts its Industrial Relations Department at the service of all national unions with respect to any assistance (special or otherwise) that a union might need concerning the preparation of collective bargaining cases.

What are the general rules regarding arbitration in Ghana?

Until the 1958 Industrial Relations Act, there were no legal provisions for Collective Bargaining in Ghana as we know them today.

In the Civil Service, conditions of service were laid down in the General Orders. Consultations were through "Whitley Councils" which were established mainly in Government technical departments and some of the clerical establishments. In the private sector, negotiations were voluntary, depending on the employer's recognition of the union - and in the case of most large firms, approval with respect to recognition had to come from head office of the firm overseas. Like the Civil Service, such negotiations could only be termed "consultative" since all final decisions were made by the employer.

The Industrial Relations Act of 1958 provided the legal framework for collective bargaining in Ghana. After a number of amendments, Act 299 of 1965 emerged. Section three of Act 299 empowers the Registrar of Trade Unions to issue a certificate of bargain to a Trade Union to enable that union bargain on behalf of a specified class or category of employees earlier on declared in the application form. However, the law also says that that application form from the union must first be channelled through the Ghana TUC before reaching the Registrar of Trade Unions.

Section 5 of Act 299 provides the procedure for negotiations. The "Certificated" trade union and the employer are required by law to nominate representatives who are authorised to negotiate as members of a "STANDING JOINT NEGOTIATING COMMITTEE", (SJNC). The SJNC can appoint sub-committees to which it may delegate any of its official functions.

The SJNC is empowered to make rules to guide its meetings. All official matters which are handled by the committee and agreed upon become the official Collective Bargaining Agreement that becomes binding upon the union and the employer.

If the parties are unable to reach agreement, they may "agree to disagree" and declare a deadlock. The issues involved may then be referred by either party to the Minister responsible for Labour - who will then appoint a first Conciliation Officer. The law allows for a Second Conciliation Officer in case the issue is not resolved completely by the first Conciliation Officer. Compulsory arbitration stage is reached after the attempts of the Second Conciliation Officer. It must be realized that, Act 299, when properly interpreted, has room for voluntary arbitration as well.

5.2. SETTLING INTERNAL DISPUTES:

The Ghana TUC, either through the National Executive Board or some other committee officially appointed - assists in settling disputes among the seventeen affiliated national unions.

5.3. HELP TO OTHER WORKERS GROUPS:

Colonial convention has it in Ghana that "Senior Officers" of companies, corporations and Government establishments may not be members of a trade union. Recent events have however proved that, for most "Senior Officers" to be well protected against arbitrary decisions by unscrupulous employers - the blanket word "Senior" has to be rigorously defined to include only personnel in "genuine managerial" positions. Such a rigorous definition will then release a large group of "Senior Officers" to join the Union if they so desire. The Ghana TUC has been fighting this issue of "correct definition" for a long time now on behalf of that category of workers. The issue is

still not fully resolved yet. The fight continues.

In establishments (public or private) where Senior Officers associations are permitted to function freely, the TUC, upon request, always extends its helping hand whenever required on issues of negotiations and dispute settling.

5.4. INCIDENCE OF CONCILIATION AND ARBITRATION
(1974 to 1977 By National Unions)

NATIONAL UNION	CONCILIATION			ARBITRATION		
	TOTAL	SETTLED	PENDING	TOTAL	SETTLED	PENDING
1. INDUSTRIAL AND COMMERCIAL WORKERS UNION	27	25	2	2	2	-
2. MARITIME AND DOCKWORKERS UNION	6	5	1	1	11	-
3. TEACHERS AND EDUCATIONAL WORKERS	6	6	--	-	-	-
4. TIMBER WORKERS	5	4	1	-	-	-
5. GENERAL TRANSPORT	4	4	-	-	-	-
6. CONSTRUCTION WORKERS	3	3	-	-	-	-
7. PUBLIC SERVICES	2	1	1	-	-	-
8. RAILWAY WORKERS	1	1	-	-	-	-
9. MINeworkERS	1	1	-	-	-	-
TOTAL	55	50	5	3	2	1

The main issues involved in the above "conciliation cases" were:

- . Arbitrary Dismissals
- . Disputes over hours of work
- . Salary, wages, and legal arrears of pay.

- . Gratuity award
- . Dispute over collective agreement clauses
- . Terms of maternity leave etc.

5.5. TRADE UNION EDUCATION

One of the major activities of the TUC is in the area of worker education. Between 1974 and 1977, the TUC on its own, organised one hundred seminars as follows:

TYPE OF SEMINAR	1974	1975	1976	1977	TOTAL
Basic Trade Union Seminars	9	11	10	8	38
Intermediate Trade Union Seminars	3	11	7	7	28
Advanced Trade Union Seminars	3	2	4	1	10
Women Seminars	2	1	-	6	9
Special Seminars	1	3	4	7	15
TOTAL	18	28	25	29	100

Between 1974 and 1977 about eighty seminars were organised and ran by the TUC in conjunction with the following international bodies:

- . The Friedrich Ebert Foundation
- . The African-American Labour Centre of USA.
- . The International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU)
- . The All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions of the USSR.
- . The Confederation of East German Trade Unions.
- . Prague based "World Federation of Trade Unions" (WFTU)
- .

The Statistics on seminars with international bodies is as follows:

BODY INVOLVED	1974	1975	1976	1977	TOTAL
International Secretariats	8	5	2	5	20
Friedrich Ebert Foundation	5	7	4	9	25
African-American Labour Centre	1	3	11	15	30
W. P. T. U	-	-	1	1	2
USSR-East German Unions (Joint)	-	1	1	1	3
TOTAL	14	16	19	31	80

The Ghana TUC deals mainly but not exclusively with the following international trade Secretariats from the free world:

- . The ICFTU
- . Postal, Telegraph and Telephone International
- . International Transport Workers Federation
- . Retail Clerks International
- . The Miners International Federation
- . The International Federation of Plantation, and Agricultural and Allied Workers.
- . The International Textile Garment and Leather Workers Federation.
- . The Public Services International
- . The International Federation of Petroleum and Chemical Workers.

5.6. TUC CORRESPONDENCE COURSES

To augment the impact of normal TUC seminars, the Congress through its Labour College in Accra runs a

correspondence course programme on "Industrial Relations".

The correspondence course is divided into three parts - with part three being the advanced course. As at the beginning of 1978, about 600 workers had received regular tuition by post.

The (TUC) Labour College also runs a fairly regular "basic literacy programmes" - with the objective of teaching registered illiterate workers how to read and write simple English. Some workers of the Electricity Corporation, Civil Aviation, and the Ministry of Health (Hospitals Section) are among those who have so far benefited from the scheme. The literacy programme has however now run into difficulties partly due to lack of incentives for voluntary instructors, and also due to frequent transfer of learners.

5.7. CO-OPERATIVE ACTIVITIES

In the effort of the TUC to minimize the impact on workers of the present high cost of living in Ghana, a number of co-operative activities have been embarked upon in the country since 1974. According to the Secretary General of the TUC (Alhaji A. M. Issifu), the main reasons for engaging in co-operative ventures include:

- . "freeing the worker from the scourge of unscrupulous money lenders.
- . inculcating in the worker the habit of saving to improve his standard of living and thus provide a better future.
- . boosting the worker's social image by making him part-owner of a sizeable proportion of retail trade of the country.
- . bringing the worker's requirements of consumer goods at reasonable prices right to his

door step thereby eliminating the unscrupulous middleman.

- . providing various types of (co-operative) insurance to the worker to ensure that his properties are safe, and that on his demise, his consort and offsprings do not suffer.
- . mobilising domestic capital for development projects in the country thereby helping to solve the unemployment problem.
- . providing the necessary machineries for the gradual and systematic socialisation of the means of production and distribution in the country."*

*SOURCE: TUC 1976 Congress Report.

The main TUC co-operative activities include:

- . Credit Co-operative Societies (Credit Unions)
- . Consumer Co-operatives
- . Co-operative Mutual Insurance Society Limited
- . Co-operative wholesale unit.

The total amount of money the TUC had invested in all these co-operative ventures together was approximately £250,000.00 by the beginning of 1978.

5.8.

CREDIT UNIONS;

STATISTICAL INFORMATION ON INDUSTRIAL CREDIT UNIONS

	1974	1975	1976	1977	% INCREASE 1974/7
Number of Societies (TUC Affiliates)	258	347	464	524	103%
Membership	23,416	32,707	39,970	41,770	78%
SAVINGS (£)	1,362,682	2,312,306	3,430,544	4,530,646	232%
LOANS (£)	1,046,212	1,731,972	2,423,190	3,245,405	239%
Unused Savings £	316,476	360,334	1,007,454	1,285,241	306%

SOURCE: TUC, Organization Department: Official 1978 report.

On 3rd April, 1974, a Credit Union Central Fund was established (together with other non-united groups) to mobilise surplus savings by primary societies from which fund loans could be granted to primary societies in need. By 1975, forty-two primary societies had paid a total of £21,000.00 into the Credit Union Central Fund but by 1977, the membership had risen to 135 and the total amount in the fund stood at £105,810.00 as at the end of June, 1977. The increase in the fund became possible mainly due to educational work - through seminars specifically - co-sponsored by the TUC and the Friedrich Ebert Foundation of West Germany. There is still much room for improvement and the top leadership of the TUC is very much aware of that fact.

INFORMATION ON CREDIT UNION SEMINARS

	1974	1975m	1976	1977	TOTAL
Number of Seminars	7	10	16	9	42
Number of Participants	245	300	480	370	1,395

5.9 WORKERS CONSUMER CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETIES:

NATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF WORKERS CONSUMER CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETIES AS AT 1ST JANUARY, 1978

REGION	NUMBER	MEMBERSHIP	TOTAL INVESTMENT ₵
UPPER REGION	25	5,018	34,448.00
BORG AHAFO	35	3,868	35,755.00
ASHANTI	46	35,903	270,651.00
WOLTA	23	6,814	67,490.00
GREATER ACCRA	219	159,517	1,490,570.00
WESTERN	36	36,040	200,000.00
CENTRAL	17	2,557	13,265.00
EASTERN	9	35,143	315,450.00
NORTHERN	30	6,036	60,362.00
TOTAL - 9	440	290,896	2,523,979.00

SOURCE: Organisation Department - TUC

5.10 THE CO-OPERATIVE WHOLESALE UNIT

To enable the Ghana Co-operative Consumers Association (to which the TUC also belong) to purchase goods in bulk for sale to its primary societies, the NRC Government in 1976 announced that it would guarantee it a loan of ₵800,000.00. Since the Association estimated to start useful wholesale buying business with ₵1,000,000.00, it meant that the Association together with the TUC had to raise a further ₵200,000.00 to reach the ₵1 million mark. The additional ₵200,000.00 was

to be raised as follows:

. Ghana (National) Consumer Co-operatives Association	\$100,000.00
. Other Co-operative groups	60,000.00
. Ghana TUC	40,000.00
	<hr/>
	\$200,000.00
	<hr/>

Unfortunately, the NRC government never fulfilled its promise and the \$200,000.00 never came to the Wholesale Unit. This compelled the Ghana TUC to raise its overall contribution to the Wholesale Unit \$100,000.00 in September, 1977. Other national co-operative groups like the distillers, bakers and poultry farmers together also managed to raise \$69,400.00 early in January, 1978.

5.11 PROBLEMS OF WORKERS CONSUMER CO-OPERATIVES IN GHANA

- . Irregular supply of commodities.
- . Insufficient funds to enable the managers to widen their product lines outside normal items like soap, milk, sardines, rice, flour, and drinkables.
- . Lack of trained full-time, dedicated executives or managers.
- . Untrained members (in co-operative principles)
- . No proper books of account, thus leading to cheating on the part of Managers.
- . Suspicion on the part of members.
- . Lack of transport facilities to cart goods to shops.
- . Inadequate shop and other retailing facilities and hardware.

- . Lip-service on the part of the government in terms of effective consumer co-operative development.

5.12 THE CO-OPERATIVE MUTUAL INSURANCE SOCIETY LIMITED

The Ghana TUC owns about 50% of the total shares of the Co-operative Mutual Insurance Society Limited. This Co-operative insurance establishment was inaugurated on 5th August, 1977 by the Head of State himself. The main insurance business that it handles are:

- . Group Life Insurance
- . Loans protection Insurance
- . Directors Group Accident Insurance
- . Coverage for Co-operative Buildings
- . Personal Accident

Apart from the above businesses, it handles other types of insurance on Agency basis for other companies for commission. The Society is in close touch with the Ghana State Insurance Corporation and "the Co-operators" of Canada - each of which helps the Co-operative Mutual Insurance Society Limited to train its staff. "The Co-operators" of Canada once sent a co-operative insurance expert in 1977 to Ghana to help the young insurance company in Ghana.

SCHEDULE OF SHAREHOLDERS OF THE CO-OPERATIVE MUTUAL INSURANCE
SOCIETY LIMITED AS AT 1ST JANUARY, 1978

NAME	NUMBER OF SHARES	AMOUNT
1. Ghana Co-operative Bank	1,651	165,100.00
2. Ghana TUC	1,001	100,100.00
3. Ghana Co-operative Council	56	5,600.00
4. Ghana Co-operative Marketing Association Ltd.	1	100.00
5. Ghana Co-op Transport Association Ltd.	1	100.00
6. Ghana Co-op Poultry Farmers Ltd.	1	100.00
7. Ghana Co-op Distillers Association Ltd.	1	100.00
8. Ghana Co-op Housing and Builders Ltd.	1	100.00
9. Ghana Co-op Fisheries Association Ltd.	1	100.00
10. Ghana Co-op Consumers Association Ltd.	1	100.00
11. Volta Co-op Bakers Union	1	100.00
12. Volta Co-op Builders	1	100.00
13. South Volta Co-op Union	1	100.00
14. Peki Co-op Production Society	1	100.00
15. Agbesin Co-op Farming Society	1	100.00
16. Kadjanga Co-op Transport Society	1	100.00
17. Nsawam Drivers Co-op Transport Society	1	100.00
18. Ghana Co-op Pharmaceutical Society	1	100.00
19. Kotobaabi Workshop Co-op Society	1	100.00
20. Sekondi Takoradi Tailors Co-op Society	1	100.00
21. Wesleyan Head Office	1	100.00
22. Kumasi Electricity Corp.	1	100.00
23. Greater Accra Co-op Distillers Union	1	100.00
TOTAL	2,747	274,700.00

Persistent efforts are still being made to enable participating societies increase their shareholding.

5.13 THE TUC HOUSING PROJECT

In 1976 a limited liability Company known as "Workers Housing Society" was registered through the instrumentality of the TUC. The new Company could not commence business quickly owing to initial problems concerning the transfer of assets (and liabilities) from the defunct TUC Housing Project to the new Company. An amount of £18,247.82 has now been transferred to the new company. However outstanding debts still owed by the defunct TUC Housing project to outside parties as at 1st January, 1978 was:

. Messrs A. Lang Ltd (Contractors)	= £116,700.00
. State Insurance Corporation	= £173,321.15
	<u>£290,021.15</u>

This is an unfortunate "beginning" for a Workers Housing Project. No wonder, a philanthropic organisation like the FHS which has been assisting the TUC in the project has decided to pull out under the present state of arrangements.

6.0 THE FINANCIAL POSITION OF THE GHANA TUC

The last officially addited accounts statement of the TUC at the time of writing this report is dated 30th December, 1977. The auditing was done by officials of the State Auditor-General's Department. This portion of our report is based on the official findings of that audited statement.

6.1. INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNTS OF THE TUC (1973 - 1976)

	1973	1974	1975	1976
	¢	¢	¢	¢
TOTAL INCOME	241,539.96	305,946.78	585,959.72	745,603.92
TOTAL EXPENDITURE	236,951.74	289,789.54	416,936.33	522,541.49
SURPLUS	4,588.22	16,157.24	169,023.39	223,062.43

A typical expenditure pattern of the TUC - using 1975 and 1976 as examples is as follows:

EXPENDITURE ITEM	1975 £	1976 £
Salaries and Wages	92,643.69	191,938.61
Seminars, Meetings	8,280.23	48,339.22
Allowances	14,622.72	22,984.89
Travelling (Local and Foreign)	9,879.01	26,250.69
Office Rent payable	7,930.00	9,399.00
Building Maintenance	2,977.98	5,443.80
Office Expenses	7,075.53	8,892.05
Stationery	9,934.11	15,599.28
Stamps, Telephone, Cables	5,811.86	8,119.31
Electricity and Water	2,267.58	4,883.68
Medical Expenses	7,221.70	9,200.00
Vehicle Maintenance Allowances	6,468.00	6,379.00
Legal Services	3,000.00	3,300.00
Donations	935.55	440.72
Printing	2,595.58	2,383.24
Income Tax (on Rent)	24.50	57.50
Bank Charges	644.48	806.21
Social Security Contribution	17,773.49	21,305.66
Motor Vehicle Expenses	22,986.67	42,144.03
Loan Repayment	24,000.00	24,000.00
Leave Allowance	3,155.00	3,260.00
Debt Arrears	343.83	388.16
Contribution to OATUU	5,100.00	7,490.07
Arrears to Social Security	6,000.00	12,000.00
MAY DAY Celebrations	7,793.50	8,702.07
Other Public Celebrations	150.00	382.20
Foreign Guests	3,891.61	4,898.23
West African Tour	853.35	
Depreciation	12,306.26	12,557.27
Annual Bonus	14,290.17	16,327.34
Honorarium	-	6,500.00
TOTAL	416,936.33	522,541.49

6.2. THE BALANCE SHEET, AS AT 31. 12. 76

6.2.1 ACCUMULATED FUND:

As a result of the excess of income over expenditure in 1976, the TUC Accumulated Fund increased from £157,452.09 in 1975, to £346,678.24 in December, 1976.

6.2.3 CURRENT LIABILITIES (31. 12. 76)

. Social Security Fund	£ 2,661.07
. Central Revenue Department ..	3,376.34
. Public Services Union	312.75
. TUC Employees Union	125.08
. TUC Employees Credit Union Association	21.00
. African Liberation Trust Fund	250.00
. Audit Service	100.00
. Ghana National Trust Fund ..	2,611.81
. Unpaid Legal Services	750.00
TOTAL	£10,208.25

6.2.3 FIXED ASSETS (31. 12. 76)

. Furniture and Equipment	
Less Depreciation	£16,230.98
. Labour College New Building ..	3,931.00
. Volta Regional Secretariat ..	31.68
. Motor Vehicles less depreciation	38,356.41
TOTAL	£58,550.07

6.2.4 INVESTMENTS (31. 12. 76)

. Treasury Bills	£10,000.00
q / Ghana Government Stocks ..	£220,000.00
. Pioneer Tobacco Co. Shares ..	5,467.50
. Co-operative Insurance Shares	100.00
	£235,567.50

6.2.5 CURRENT ASSETS (31. 12. 76)

. TUC Housing Project	¢ 8,631.26
. Drugs (In Stock)	766.00
. Receivables (Internal) ..	14,429.13
. Car Advance to Staff	23,741.59
TOTAL	<u>¢47,567.98</u>

7.0 SOME COMMENTS REGARDING TUC/NRC/SMC (I)
AND SMC (II) RELATIONS:

The relationship between the NRC/SMC (I) Government and the TUC was best described by the Secretary General Alhaji Issifu himself as follows:

"We (TUC) and Government are like the two super powers - the USA and the Soviet Union. We have our basic differences, but we can never clash headon, because we (both) realise that we shall annihilate ourselves."

It is on record that it is the NRC/SMC government under Acheampong that tops the list in terms of granting periodic arbitrary wage increases to workers. General wage increase to workers was quite meaningful up to 1974 because agricultural production in the country (especially local food stuff) was on the increase at that time. However, after 1975, over ambition on the part of General Acheampong, the impact of the Sahelian drought, rapid inflation, chronic shortage of consumer goods on the open market, uncontrolled and naked cheating, and sheer financial mismanagement made nonsense of all further arbitrary wage increases for workers. Thus even though on the face of it the NRC/SMC under Acheampong seemed to be very much concerned for the rank and file workers, economic mismanagement at the national

level took away whatever benefits that would have lightened the financial burden of labour as a whole.

However, one thing was certain for labour under Acheampong. It was that, the TUC had been re-born within a fairly large aura of freedom. Ghanaian workers always expressed their gratitude to the NRC/SMC for being given the opportunity again to manage their own affair, no wonder the TUC refused to join the other professional associations to bring down Acheampong's regime.

7.1. THE SUPREME MILITARY COUNCIL II
(SMC UNDER GENERAL F. W. K. AKUFFO)

General Akuffo overthrew General Acheampong in what some observers call a "Palace Coup" on 5th July, 1978. General Acheampong during his last days tried to court the labour movement to support his "Union Government" concept but without much success. In one instance, the General publicly announced that he had "elevated" the TUC Secretary General (Alhaji Issifu) to the office of "Special Aide to the Head of State". The offer was cleverly declined by Issifu.

The coming into office of Akuffo brought with it a wave of industrial strikes in Ghana (particularly between September and December, 1978) involving Refinery workers, Teachers, Civil Servants, Dockworkers, Railwaymen, and Electricity workers.

Some observers were tempted to brand the strikes as political. However, every objective analyst of the events of the period should conclude that the wave of strikes were caused by mainly economic factors: the monthly salary of the average Ghanaian could no longer bear the high rate of inflation in the country. The TUC under Akuffo has been trying to put pressure on the government for generous salary reviews. This

pressure however has - to a large extent - fallen on deaf ears. This is basically because Akuffo has and is still trying to pursue a policy of austere stringency with regard to economic matters.

7.2. THE TUC AND PRIVATE EMPLOYERS

During the past four years, some factors have led to occasional friction between the TUC and many private employers - particularly Ghanaian industrialists. These factors include:

- . Non-payment of workers' Social Security Contributions to the appropriate authority.
- . Delays in the implementation of collective bargaining agreements.
- . Unsatisfactory working conditions.
- . Victimization of shop stewards.
- . Low pay.

Unfortunately (for the labour movement) the Ghanaian economy has been very badly managed recently. One of the worst hit class of victims were Ghanaian manufacturers. They had to operate below 30% of their normal production capacity for most months in 1977, 1978 and 1979. Employers thus hide (understandably) behind the popular excuse of "NO RAW MATERIALS, NO PRODUCTION, THEREFORE, NO NEW BENEFITS." Since one cannot kill the hen that lays the golden egg, labour has had to suffer in silence with the TUC watching helplessly. One should however expect the TUC to be more demanding, though reasonably - when the performance of the economy improves.

this clause: "at the appropriate time," that the TUC Executive Board - with Issifu as its chief spokesman, interpreted to mean "now" - that is, January, 1979 being the appropriate time. However, instead of the TUC being an integral wing of a political party, it decided to co-sponsor one.

The TUC, led by its leaders like Issifu and Kwaku Haligah, started to organise secret political meetings and to scrutinize the various political groups that started to erupt after January 1st, 1979. One obvious group that the TUC wanted to help build was the People's National Party then led by Imoru Egale, who claimed that the PNP had its roots in the proscribed CFF of Dr. Nkrumah. Sharp differences of opinion soon surfaced between the TUC spokesman and the old CFF disciples. The TUC group insisted on the following:

- . That whatever major party that emerged to take over from the CFF should be jointly nurtured by politicians (young and old) who were "clean" as well as the TUC leadership - together.
- . That all old CFF brigades who had soiled their hands through misappropriation of public funds, fraud, nepotism, or utter mismanagement during the First Republic should give way to new hands so far as top party leadership and administration were concerned.
- . That the basic ideology of the new party should be Socialism tailored to meet the Ghanaian situation.

The old CFF leaders however disagreed (through their behaviour) with the TUC spokesman on all the principal points tabled by the latter. The old politicians

went ahead and launched the PNP even without informing the top spokesmen of the TUC - contrary to decisions that both groups had earlier on agreed upon behind closed doors. That was the parting point. The TUC hierarchy, thinking it had a moral obligation to fulfil the promise it had made to the rank and file members to co-sponsor a political party - went ahead and launched the National Democratic Front (NDF) on 9th January, 1979, together with certain individuals and (what it called) progressive youth organisations.

8.2. MERGER

On 14th February, 1979, about five weeks after the launching of the NDF, it merged with another party - the Social Democratic Party that had strong roots in the northern and upper regions of Ghana. The new name that resulted from the merger is "SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC FRONT." (SDF). The party's major principles include:

- . Serving as a vigorous and conscious political vanguard for the establishment of a socialist but democratic society.
- . Erasing all forms of oppression and exploitation from the country.
- . Securing and maintaining the complete unity of all the people of Ghana.

8.3. LEADERS OF THE SDF:

At the party's first national congress in Accra on 5th April, 1979, a 43 year old private legal practitioner from Northern Ghana by name Alhaji Ibrahim Mahama was elected unopposed as leader (and presidential candidate) of the SDF. Alhaji Mahama studied law at the University of Ghana from 1962 to 1966, when he was called to the Bar. The National Liberation Council (NLC) which overthrew Dr. Nkrumah's government appointed him Commissioner of Information.

During the Second Republic, he was the General Secretary of the National Alliance of Liberals (NAL) - the then major opposition party in parliament. That was in 1969. When all the opposition groups (to Dr. Busia's government) merged in 1971 under the name "Justice Party", Alhaji Ibrahim was again elected general secretary.

The national deputy leader of the SDF is Professor Mawuse Dake - a professor in electrical engineering. His last university was the University of Zambia. Before then, he lectured at the University of Science and Technology at Kumasi in Ghana. Other leaders of the SDF include Dr. E. V. C. de Kraft-Johnson, an Accra legal practitioner; Mr. Albert Adomako, a former Governor of the Bank of Ghana; Mr. K. B. Asante, former Ghana Ambassador to the EEC; Dr. Ansah Asamoah, acting head of the Sociology Department, Cape Coast University; Alhaji Abubakar Alhassen, a University lecturer and leader of the Social Democratic Party that was started in Northern Ghana; Mr. Nopa Yomekpe, an Accra Businessman; Colonel Baidoo, a retired Army Officer who served in General Acheampong's government, Dr. H. S. Bannerman, an Accra Medical Practitioner; and Alhaji A. M. Issifu, Secretary General of the Ghana TUC.

8.4. SDF SHORT-LISTED:

On 6th April, 1979, the Electoral Commissioner pruned (from 16) to six, the number of political parties that had registered with his office to contest the June 1979 parliamentary elections. The SDF was among the six parties that were short-listed. The others were the Peoples National Party, the Popular Front Party, the United National Convention, the Action Congress Party and the Third Force Party.

At the time of concluding this report, the heat of the political campaign is nearing its peak. However, one can reasonably conclude that the SDF could not

win the elections basically because most workers think that the type of forces and reasons that push one into the lime light of the Ghana labour scene are quite different from those that can win a country-wide general elections. Within the TUC itself, there are many general secretaries of national unions who are convinced that the formation of the SDF is not the right answer to Ghana's labour problems now. A little over forty per cent of the TUC leaders think that way.

9.0 SOME SELECTED OPINIONS ABOUT THE TUC

Many individuals (both union members and non-union members) as well as certain identifiable groups have made many statements about the Ghana TUC in recent years. A few of such brief statements are quoted below:

9.1. FIRST STATEMENT:

"While it is amusing that anyone from the TUC, much less from the top leadership, should apportion blame for its ineffectiveness, there is much to say on how to make the Congress really effective.

We say none of the TUC leaders can accuse any of their colleagues of not making it effective for two reasons:

(a) Given the historical circumstances of the nation, all the conditions do not exist under which the TUC can play its full role.

(b) No one in this country today is also capable out of any special individual endowment, of transforming the TUC overnight into what it can be....."

9.1.1. SPEAKER:

Editorial Comment of the "Ghana Times", state-owned daily newspaper dated 14th September, 1978.

9.2 SECOND STATEMENT:

"The decision of the TUC to co-sponsor a political party, (the SDF), is unfortunate. This is because that decision cuts short the list of genuine grievances that ordinary workers can have redressed by the government during the Third Republic. Unscrupulous politicians will be too prone to interpret most genuine worker grievances as politically motivated particularly if the SDF happens to be in the opposition."

9.2.1. SPEAKER:

An important private industrialist and an important member of the Ghana Employers Association.

9.3. THIRD STATEMENT:

"The TUC still remains respected by most Ghanaian workers today. This is because the leadership is well-informed and is always trying to do its best. The constraints within which the TUC operates are many and formidable. The movement needs sympathy and encouragement from the rank and file, instead of cheap condemnation."

9.3.1. A (Tema) local union member from the Railway Corporation. He is a workshop supervisor at the work-place.

9.4. FOURTH STATEMENT:

"The leadership of the Ghana TUC has lost touch with the floor members. The latter bears the burden of economic mismanagement which the leaders enjoy the comforts of high office supported by Government as far as the union leaders remain submissive and do nothing. The leaders never push anything - they do not demand their rights."

9.4.1. SPEAKER:

An executive committee member of Ghana Association of Professional Bodies.

9.5. FIFTH STATEMENT:

"The Secretary General of the TUC, Alhaji Issifu is an intelligent man but over-cautious. It takes time for him to sort out what is courageous or merely foolish in the acts of policy. But it should be stressed that human hesitancy may instantly weaken a man's ability to lead. One may say that Alhaji Issifu takes refuge in collective leadership. No doubt his opponents call it club-house leadership."

9.5.1. SPEAKER:

A university lecturer writing in the journal "LEGON OBSERVER" on the topic:
"The politics of the Second Quadrennial Conference of the TUC."

9.6. SIXTH STATEMENT:

"The Ghana TUC as at 30th December, 1977 does not possess an assets registrar in which to record its assets"

9.6.1. SPEAKER:

(Government) Auditor-General's official written report on the TUC dated 30. 12. 77.

9.7. THE SEVENTH STATEMENT

"Communism according to Churchill is not only a creed. It is a plan of campaign. A communist is not only the holder of certain opinions; he is the pledged adept of a well-thought out means of enforcing them.

.....The Ghana TUC is exploiting industrial disputes to cause confusion and disaffection in the country. The TUC has actively encouraged and organised illegal strikes to achieve political ends. Under our very noses, it has made attempts to infiltrate student unions, and it always chooses students who are more or less having some temporary grievances about a government policy. The Progress Party Government has been

watching all these, and we feel that the interest of the ordinary worker and the general public should be protected, and also the interest of democracy should be protected from such clandestine institution."

9.7.1. SPEAKER:

Labour Minister in the Second Republic -
on the occasion of a parliament debate
to disban the Ghana TUC in September, 1971.

9.8. THE EICHER STATEMENT:

"In every country, whenever the trade union movement decides to carry the burdern of state responsibilities or plunge too deep into national affairs, the movement naturally ignores some basic duties that it was set up to do for the rank and file members. That is bbound tp happen - and the Ghana EUC will not be an exception."

9.8.1. SPEAKER:

A (Government) Principal Labour Officer,
Labour Headquarters, Accra.

APPENDIX: I

1.0 NAMES OF GENERAL SECRETARIES OF THE NATIONAL UNIONS OF THE TUC

<u>NAME</u>	<u>UNION</u>
1. MR. BEN K. XDJAH	- INDUSTRIAL AND COMMERCIAL WORKERS UNION
2. MR. CHARLES K. ATTAN	- CONSTRUCTION AND BUILDING TRADES WORKERS UNION
3. MR. KWAKU HALIGAH	- GENERAL AGRICULTURAL WORKERS UNION
4. MR. B. K. SHANG-QUANTHE	- PUBLIC SERVICES WORKERS UNION
5. MR. JONATHAN MAMMAH	- GHANA MINE WORKERS UNION
6. MR. A. E. FORSON	- RAILWAY AND PORTS WORKERS UNION
7. MR. E. BRUCE-MILLS	- LOCAL GOVERNMENT WORKERS UNION
8. MR. J. RICHARD BAIDEN	- MARITIME AND DOCKWORKERS UNION
9. MR. S. ACKOM-MENSEN	- TIMBER WORKERS UNION
10. MR. E. A. KORANTENG	- GHANA PRIVATE ROAD TRANSPORT UNION
11. MR. MARTIN R.A. ACQUAYE	- POSTS AND TELECOMMUNICATIONS WORKERS UNION
12. MR. A. K. YANKY	- GENERAL TRANSPORT PETROLEUM AND CHEMICAL WORKERS UNION
13. MR. J. G. AKOTO	- HEALTH SERVICES WORKERS UNION
14. MR. D. B. JONAH	- PUBLIC UTILITY WORKERS UNION
15. MR. A. K. TEVIE	- NATIONAL UNION OF SEAMEN
16. MR. C. K. AHIABLE	- TEACHERS, EDUCATIONAL WORKERS UNION
17. MR. R. A. B. LANYEA	- RAILWAY ENGINEERS' UNION.

200 HEADS OF TUC DEPARTMENTS: (FULL-TIME POSTS) APRIL 1979

- 2.1. SECRETARY GENERAL - ALHAJI ABDUL MUNINI ISSIFU
- 2.2. INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS DEPT.- MR. ALBERT QUARMINE
- 2.3. EDUCATION DEPARTMENT - MR. J. R. MORTY
- 2.4. ECONOMICS AND RESEARCH - MR. J. TETTEH
- 2.5. INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS - MR. MUNOO-QUAYE
- 2.6. ADMINISTRATION - MR. A. R. OKOE
- 2.7. ORGANIZATION AND DEVELOP-
MENT - MR. H. T. MBIAH
- 2.8. PRINTING AND PUBLICITY - MR. J. ANINFUL-QUANSAH
- 2.9. FINANCE AND ACCOUNTING - MR. G. A. VAN-ESS
- 2.10 CHAIRMAN OF TUC
EXECUTIVE BOARD (PART-TIME)- MR. E. O. AMOAH

APPENDIX II

A DRESS STATEMENT BY MR. J. R. BAIDEN, GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE MARITIME AND DOCKWORKERS UNION OF THE TUC ON THE EVE OF THE 2ND TUC QUADRENNIAL CONGRESS IN SEPTEMBER, 1978

THE GHANA TUC - WHY LEADERSHIP AND STRUCTURAL CHANGES ARE NECESSARY AND URGENT

Comrades and Friends of the Ghana Labour Movement wherever you may be,

1. During the course of this month, to be precise, from 18th to 20th September, 1978 the Ghana TUC holds its 2nd Quadrennial Congress, at Winneba.
2. Delegates numbering about 147 drawn from the 17 affiliated national Unions of the TUC and representing the working force of this country, will be attending this all-important Congress.
3. No doubt, the major issues that the Congress will consider will include: a review of the achievements and set-backs realised in the implementation of its action programme policies and resolutions adopted at the previous Quadrennial Congress held 4 years ago; choose a new team of leaders; draw up a new action programme for the future; and give a clear mandate to the leadership to carry out the programme as well as policies that will be set out.
4. Before going to the impending Congress, there are few important issues that need to be brought to the attention of the working people of this nation.
5. In the supreme interest of the suffering workers of this country, kindly bear with me a little, if I have to bother you by asking you to spare some of your precious time to go through this paper, in order not to miss the whole point it is after.

..../.

6. It stands to reason that those who understand the requirements of progress will be able to make greater headway than those who do not.
7. Far too often many of us fail to listen, appreciate and accept the vibrations of the heart and conscience of our labour movement and therefore appear not to be more meaningful to her.
8. At this time of the country's search for effective political stability and economic rediscovery, structural and leadership changes in the country's labour movement are considered to be urgent, pressing and indeed, unavoidable. This, as a matter of fact, has been and continues to be the persistent clarion call of many workers.
9. To them, the present leadership of the country's labour movement does not only suffer from ineffectiveness, indecisiveness, lack of courage to speak out loud and clear and constructively on matters of importance and concern to the worker and the nation, but also grossly lacks dynamism, competence, direction and motivation.
10. To the workers, the present leadership of the TUC takes decisions on major issues which, in most cases, do not reflect their wishes and aspirations. And those who dare to raise a dissenting voice in support of the very workers through whose sweat and labour and financial support the TUC thrives, are either made scape-goats, blackmailed, considered "reactionaries", reported and placed under unwarranted surveillance or unjustly victimised under any flimsy excuse.
11. A case in point was my unwarranted arrest and detention by the Special Branch from 2th to 14th December, 1976 and that of nine leaders from the Seamen's Union during almost the same time, for no just cause and the luke-warm attitude shown by the leadership of the TUC. It was through the concerted action of the entire members of the Maritime and Dockworkers' Union that I and the others were released from detention. Thanks to the Executive Board which

..../..

immediately after my release called for the setting up of a fact-finding committee to investigate the circumstances leading to my arrest and detention.

12. As a matter of fact, many consider the present leadership of our labour movement too complacent, too ready to compromise on issues of principle, too weak to fight back, merely reacts to government's proposals and policies instead of making the Government responding to labour's proposals. Seriously speaking, many consider the TUC leadership not to be anything more than a bureaucratic negotiating outfit with very little roots or influence among even the workers.
13. At the moment, because the leadership woefully lacks dynamism and vision, and appears not to know where the labour movement itself is going and its projections into the future, the affiliated national unions do not have much influence on what is happening in this country. Because of this, the unions and for that matter the workers are often ignored when vital social, economic and political decisions or measures affecting the destiny of the nation and particularly the workers are being taken.
14. For example, how many times have we as workers not resolved on drastic cuts in taxation generally, with particular reference to tax exemption on overtime pay, bonus, rent subsidy or housing allowance, end-of-service benefits and other fringe benefits etc. and called for effective measures to control prices and rents, improvement in public transportation, review of outmoded labour laws, etc. at various conferences? And for how long are we to wait thinking "manner will fall from heaven"?
15. This does not, however, infer that there are no cases that stand to the credit of the leadership. Surely there are, but they are not quite substantial and up to the expectation of many workers to warrant mentioning.

16. I regret the necessity of detailing to you, so much information but taken together they highlight the weakness and lack of initiative and dynamism in the present leadership of the TUC.
17. Certainly, with these happenings and performances, the workers and peasant farmers' interests and those of society will better be served if structural and leadership changes are seriously undertaken during the impending Quadrennial Congress.
18. As workers and leaders, we all face together one of the great historic challenges of our time: to ensure that the unions are not reduced to mere bargaining agents but that they look and work beyond the narrow confines of employment relationship; to secure for the workingman better conditions of living; to be concerned with the workingman's health and diet, his continuing education and self-improvement, his shelter, his cultural upliftment, to mention just a few.
19. On all these matters, the labour movement should come out with its views; bring to the attention of the administrators and the country as a whole, the true miserable lot of the workingman; increase demand for the rights of the worker; ensure that the labour movement is involved in the total development (production and distribution) of the nation's resources.
20. We live in an economic system which is neither of our making nor our choosing. It is a system of inherent contradictions and we, as a movement are increasingly caught up in the vortex being created. Over the last six years, through import restrictions, the flow of essential commodities has been stifled. These restrictions have led to hoarding, blackmarketing, scarcity, profiteering and an alarming rate of inflation. Our system of distribution is ridden with corruption. Distribution of essential commodities is not determined by what you need but by "whom you know". Thus most workers have been forced to live in sub-human standard.

21. The way out is to pursue vigorously the participation of workers in the management of enterprises they work for. They should be allowed to express their views on how the enterprises are run. Much attention should be paid to agriculture, rural development, local government, efficient national transport system, foreign exchange and balance of payment problems, the rate of national development, efficient distribution and marketing of commodities, rural migration, and so on.
22. The labour movement should be organised in such a way to include all exploited and deprived people as well as the intelligentsia in the country. It should be the torch-bearer of the revolution. In short, it should be capable of self-exceeding; have power of vision and an adaptability changing conditions and an effectuating will to realise the vision of the future. It should also be a significant social institution, providing a variety of services to the working population, by way of workers' education and housing, consumers' and producers' co-operatives, workers' social insurance, participation in economic planning and in the proper utilisation of our manpower resources. And this is what we are all about and want - A change in the present leadership of the TUC.
23. Honestly, the challenge that faces the country's Labour Movement is enormous, formidable and exacting, yet there are men in our midst with the capabilities and the requisite dedication to steer the affairs of the TUC better and bring to the ordinary suffering worker the respect and dignity he naturally deserves.
24. After seven years of 'club-house' leadership in the TUC, I offer the Labour Movement a new generation of leadership. Let us wipe out from the TUC leadership the stigma of fear, weakness and indecisiveness. Let us instil into the TUC a new spirit of unity, brotherhood, and service. It is on this keynote that it is necessary for all of us to work hard to bring about changes which will make the leadership of the Labour Movement united and independent, dynamic, positive, and responsive to the aspirations of the working people. We must remain valiantly active in our tasks and

ensure that the TUC and its affiliated 17 National Unions become the centre for harmonising the actions of workers in the attainment of these common ends.

25. This is why after consultations with many of my colleagues in the unions, I have decided to sacrifice everything and make myself the instrument of change in the Labour Movement by vigorously contesting the post of Secretary-Generalship, come what may, during the forthcoming 2nd Quadrennial Congress of the TUC. I am sure I can count on the support and encouragement of all workers and their leaders, as well as well-wishers far and near.
26. The struggle for leadership and structural changes in the labour movement has begun in earnest and I venture to say that there is no turning back until the forces of progress have succeeded in effecting the desired changes envisaged.

COMMENT:

Mr. J. R. Baiden who contested for the post of Secretary General, lost to the incumbent - Alhaji A. M. Issifu. Mr. Baiden walked out of the Congress Hall just before the elections began in protest against the "indirect or block voting" method adopted.