

since 1986, when his National Resistance Movement (NRM) triumphed after a five-year guerrilla war. As in many African states, a degree of political pluralism was introduced in the early 1990s, and political parties are now permitted, although a system of non-party elections and government has been retained. In the most recent elections, Museveni retained the presidency with 69% of the vote in March 2001, while his supporters won a majority in the National Assembly in June of that year. There is continuing rebellion and acts of terrorism in the north and west of the country.

Uganda's economy is based on agriculture (which generates virtually all export earnings and accounts for over 80% of the workforce). The country has substantial natural resources, including fertile soils, regular rainfall, and considerable mineral deposits of copper and cobalt. Coffee accounts for the bulk of export revenues. Since the mid-1980s, the government, with the support of foreign countries and international agencies, has acted to rehabilitate and stabilize the economy by undertaking currency reform, raising producer prices on export crops, increasing prices of petroleum products, and improving civil service wages. It became the first country to receive debt relief under the Initiative for Heavily Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC), after being declared eligible in 1997.

GDP (purchasing power parity) \$36.1bn. (2004 est.); GDP per capita (purchasing power parity) \$1,400 (2004 est.).

2 Trade Unionism

Uganda ratified ILO Convention No. 98 (Right to Organize and Collective Bargaining, 1949) in 1963, but it has not ratified Convention No. 87 (Freedom of Association and Protection of the Right to Organize, 1948). Trade unions developed after 1940 under British colonial rule and were given legal recognition in 1952. Under the 1976 Trade Union Decree 1,000 members are required to form a union, and 51% of the workforce must be in membership in order for it to be recognized for collective bargaining purposes. In 1993 the National Assembly enacted legislation amending the 1976 decree to permit unionization of the public service (including teaching) and the central bank, the Bank of Uganda, although the police, armed forces, school heads and senior civil servants may not join unions.

The National Organization of Trade Unions (NOTU) is the single centre to which all unions are by law affiliated. However, recently formed trade unions of public servants and teachers have according to the ICFTU not been required to affiliate to NOTU. In October 2003 five unions abandoned the NOTU and formed a rival centre, the Central Organization of Free Trade Unions (COFTU).

Where the majority of the workforce are in a union, it may engage in collective bargaining. The government is the major employer in the formal sector, in the civil service and state-owned enterprises. Uganda has a tripartite framework, which brings together NOTU with the Federation of Ugandan Employers (FUE) and the Minister of Labour. Bargaining has tended to be highly centralized. There is an Industrial Court but the

FUE has charged it with bias and appealed decisions to the High Court, where unions have often lost cases because they could not afford the legal costs.

Notice of strike action must be given to the Labour Minister, who generally refers the matter to the Industrial Court. In practice, in the absence of rulings from the Court, strikes have often been declared illegal, although they have still occurred, sometimes being broken up by police action. Under the Trades Dispute (Arbitration and Settlement) Act of 1964, workers in "essential services" may be prevented from terminating their contracts of service and strikes may be prohibited.

Under the electoral system, representatives for special interest groups have reserved places in the National Assembly, and the unions have three seats.

3 Trade Union Centre

National Organization of Trade Unions (NOTU)

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Leadership. L.O. Ongaba (general secretary); David Nkojjo (chairman general)

History and character. The Uganda Trade Union Congress (UTUC), the first national trade union centre, was formed in 1955 with the assistance of the ICFTU. In 1964, however, a Federation of Uganda Trade Unions (FUTU), affiliated to the WFTU, was formed as a splinter from the UTUC. In 1966 the trade unions reunited in the Uganda Labour Congress (ULC), and this was succeeded in 1974 by NOTU. NOTU comprised 17 unions in both private and public sectors. However, in October 2003 five of the unions abandoned NOTU and formed a rival centre, the Central Organization of Free Trade Unions (COFTU). The rebel unions accused NOTU of not effectively intervening in a recent dispute concerning the Tri-Star Apparel Factory.

NOTU states that it is non-political and seeks to build a strong labour movement in Uganda without interference in the internal affairs of other organizations. It is represented on a number of government bodies such as the Industrial Court, Social Security Fund and the Industrial Training Council.

International affiliation. ICFTU; CTUC

Ukraine

Capital: Kyiv (Kiev)

Population: 48.5 m. (2004 est.)

1 Political and Economic Background

Ukraine achieved independence with the dissolution of the Soviet Union in 1991. The Communist Party was banned in August 1991 but restored by 1993 and has

remained largely unreformed. In subsequent parliamentary elections, most recently in March 2002, it has still been the largest single party, but its influence has been gradually decreasing with its electoral support narrowed to the ageing generation of pensioners. The majority of the Ukrainian parliament, the Verkhovna Rada, comprises pro-governmental parties of the “oligarchs” with “national democrats” representing a formidable opposition. The executive President has substantial powers, and nominates the Prime Minister and other members of the government.

Ukraine steered an uncertain course after independence with a lack of a clear mandate for, or commitment to, major political and economic reform. Initial efforts at deregulation of prices and markets met resistance and were stalled. President Leonid Kuchma was first elected in 1994, as the candidate of the Inter-Regional Bloc for Reform, on a platform including a cautious programme of free market reform. However, he was also supported by the Communists, and the continued influence of communists and former apparatchiks throughout the bureaucracy has been reflected in the slow pace of change, notwithstanding a continuing growth in the private sector. Kuchma was re-elected in November 1999 and served a full term to January 2005. Opposition leader Viktor Yushchenko managed to secure his victory as Kuchma’s successor as president only after mass street protests, termed the “orange revolution”, against election fraud and attempts to impose Kuchma’s chosen successor, Prime Minister Viktor Yanukovich (whose support lay mainly in the eastern, Russian-oriented, part of the country). There were widespread hopes that the new government of President Yushchenko would bring swift changes to the economy, eliminate corruption and bring Ukraine into NATO and possibly the EU. However, it was thought that the large unreformed Eastern Ukrainian industrial lobby with links to Russia and with the support of the communists might attempt to slow down reforms.

Ukraine was the breadbasket of the former Soviet Union as well as an industrial stronghold and it has struggled to maintain its economy in the post-Soviet era. Industrial output declined during the 1990s to only 40% of its 1991 level and many industrial enterprises were engaged only in part-time working or were virtually closed, although official unemployment in 1999 was only 4%. Wage arrears were widespread and there was a large informal sector. The economy has shown some recovery since 2000, recording annual growth of 8-15%, largely due to steel, textile, agricultural as well as arms exports. The outgoing government of Prime Minister Yanukovich claimed annual GDP growth of 12% for 2004. Foreign investment, however, has been discouraged by corruption, opaque regulatory and licensing regimes, and arbitrary and onerous taxation, when most enterprises remain controlled by individuals with political links.

GDP (purchasing power parity) \$260.4 billion (2004 est.); GDP per capita (purchasing power parity) \$5,400 (2004 est.).

2 Trade Unionism

Independent Ukraine has inherited the Soviet era ratification in 1956 of ILO Conventions No. 87 (Freedom of Association and Protection of the Right to Organize, 1948) and No. 98 (Right to Organize and Collective Bargaining, 1949).

Under the law all employees are free to form and join unions of their own choosing. There was no major development of opposition to the regime within the trade unions prior to the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, however, and after independence the reorganized official trade unions retained their dominance. The Federation of Trade Unions of Ukraine (FPU), the successor to the Soviet unions, had the great majority of the workforce in membership, and claimed 26 million members in the early 1990s. In contrast, although independent unions existed in a number of sectors, their total membership was variously estimated at only between 100,000 and 300,000. By the year 2000 overall membership of the FPU and a couple of dozen independent unions had fallen to 17.4 million, of which 14.4 million were associated with the FPU. As in the USSR, membership of the official unions is generally passive and linked to their administration of a range of benefits through the social insurance fund. The official unions retained the property and other assets of the Soviet era unions. In practice giving up membership in the official unions is often difficult. Similarly, the official unions include enterprise managers and directors as members and the unions have retained much of their former character of working closely with management. They have come into conflict with the government, however, over the problem of unpaid wages. In 1997 the FPU created a political party, the All-Ukrainian Party of Workers.

The most influential of the independent unions is the Independent Miners’ Union of Ukraine, which is affiliated to the ICEM. Mikhail Volynets, the president of the miners’ union, also became president of the Confederation of Free Trade Unions of Ukraine, which is now affiliated to the ICFTU. The All-Ukrainian Organization of Solidarity of Working People (VOST) is affiliated to the WCL.

In September 1999 Ukraine adopted a new trade union law that independent unions saw as weakening their position by setting high barriers to achieving ‘national status’, which confers a range of privileges including participation in national-level bargaining. The legislation also made registration with the Justice Ministry compulsory and provoked fears that the government might refuse to register unions it did not favour. However, the Constitutional Court subsequently ruled the key clauses of the law unconstitutional.

Wage levels are set in the state sector through agreement between the government and the official unions. The independent unions have little access to or involvement in collective bargaining. The value of agreements is often undermined by the widespread problem of wage arrears. Many enterprises retain workers on their books who are effectively redundant. This is preferable for the enterprise as it avoids paying compulsory redundancy of three months’ salary, while

workers also prefer to retain their jobs in hope of a recovery and to maintain pension and other benefits. The Law on Disputes Resolution, which came into force in March 1998, provided for the creation of national arbitration and mediation services, though these were not in practice immediately set up.

There is a constitutional right to strike but the constitution also says that strikes must not jeopardize national security, public health, or the rights and liberties of others. Public servants, the military and those engaged in the administration of justice, may not strike. Strikes aimed at overturning the constitutional order are banned. The leading cause of strikes and other forms of unrest, such as occurred in the mines and nuclear power plants throughout the 1990s, were wage arrears, mostly caused by inter-enterprise debt. By the end of 1999, unpaid wages in the mining sector alone were the equivalent of \$532 million, resulting from the situation that the power generation industry was only able to pay 5% of its obligations in cash, with the rest bartered or unpaid.

The situation has changed since 2000 as Yushchenko's and subsequent governments have managed to pay off wage arrears in the state sector. Privatization of large state-owned enterprises in coal and steel production led to job losses and subsequently new trade union actions. Unlike in Russia, Ukraine preserved small but vociferous independent trade union organizations that opposed mass redundancies. However, lack of judicial independence in Ukraine means that courts could be influenced by power-holders and oligarchs to weaken unions' actions. A regional court banned an Independent Union of steel workers at "Azovstal" in February 2004 on demand of the administration. The union opposed a lay-off of 4,000 workers after "Azovstal" was privatized by the Donetsk oligarch Renat Akhmetov.

Although traditionally the most influential unions in Ukraine were in the mining industry, a number of high profile murders among journalists with alleged involvement of top ranking government officials led to the creation of the first independent media trade union. The Independent Media Trade-Union of Ukraine was set up in 2003 and is associated with IFJ. It provides monitoring of threats, unfair dismissals and attacks against journalists and media organizations in Ukraine. The independent union played an active role in promoting freedom of the press during the presidential elections in 2004 when journalists of the leading TV channels refused to work according to "temnyky" i.e. under censorship especially after the second round of voting.

With the government of Ukraine under President Kuchma favouring the old and "tamed" ex-Soviet trade unions, independent unions inevitably tended to associate with opposition parties. This dual dependence on government and the opposition parties continued until the "orange revolution" at the end of 2004 when the House of the Republican Unions (FPU) on Independence Square became de facto the headquarters of the National Salvation Committee led by the leaders of the opposition. In the conflict over the presidential succession, the official unions (FPU) dismissed Oleksandr Stoyan on Nov. 27, 2004, for sup-

porting Viktor Yanukovych and elected a new leader – Oleksandr Yurkin. This was partly in reaction to the creation of the National Confederation of the Trade-Union Organizations of Ukraine (NKPU) a day earlier. The NKPU united 17 independent unions with a claimed membership of 1.5 million and elected Petro Petrychenko as its secretary general. The new confederation became the second largest all-Ukrainian union organization and immediately proclaimed support for the future reformist government of Viktor Yushchenko.

3 Trade Union Centres

Confederation of Free Trade Unions of Ukraine (KVPU)

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International affiliation. ICFTU

Federation of Trade Unions of Ukraine (FPU)

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History and character. The FPU is the successor to the Soviet-era official unions. It retained a substantial part of the old official unions' membership and benefited from inheriting their considerable assets. Under Kuchma it was generally seen as associated with the government, but the leadership's support for Kuchma's preferred successor, Viktor Yanukovych, in the struggle over the presidential election in late 2004 led to the break away of a substantial section of its membership and the consequent dismissal of FPU leader Oleksandr Stoyan.

National Confederation of the Trade-Union Organizations of Ukraine (NKPU)

Leadership. Petro Petrychenko (secretary general)

Membership. Claims 1.5 million

History and character. The NKPU was created on Nov. 26, 2004, by unions breaking away from the FPU official unions in protest at the FPU's backing for Viktor Yanukovych in the disputed presidential election. It claimed a membership of 1.5 million in 17 unions on its formation.

United Arab Emirates

Capital: Abu Dhabi

Population: 2.52 m. (2004 est.)

1 Political and Economic Background

The UAE is a federation comprising seven sheikhdoms, each of which is governed by an hereditary ruler with absolute power over non-federal matters. The highest federal authority is the Supreme Council of Rulers, comprising the seven hereditary rulers of the sheikhdoms. There are no political parties