




# **Nigerian Labour Studies**



on microfiche



Editor: Peter Waterman, ISS, The Hague

 **IDC**

# Collection 1

## Nigerian Labour Archive



The personal archive of Chief O.A. Fagbenro Beyioku, a veteran Port and National Trade Union leader, industrial relations consultant, and politician, covering the period 1943-1975.

Order no.: A-749

61 microfiche

Chief O.A. Fagbenro Beyioku has been a leading figure in Lagos Port trade unionism throughout this period. He was a national trade union leader from the 1940's to the 1960's. He now acts as an industrial relations consultant to managements and unions.

Chief Beyioku has made his personal archive available for research.

Files A - H cover a period during which Beyioku was most active at the national trade union level. They contain material on national developments not so far used or referred to by the two standard books on the subject. Files G and I - R are more narrowly concerned with port-worker unionism. They provide an unworked mine of information on public-sector trade unionism.

Taken together, the files provide the basis for historical work on the development of trade unionism within Nigeria. Due, perhaps, to his disappearance from *national level* trade unionism in the 1960's Beyioku does not rate an index reference in the standard works - even for the period when he was a national figure. The archives could be used for a biography of Beyioku, who comes out of this material as a central figure in the history of trade unions and labour relations in Nigeria, a man whose personal trajectory provides us with new insights into the nature of these phenomena.

A Yoruba, born in Aworo in 1913, Beyioku was from 1928 to 1945 a clerk in the Marine Department that preceded the creation of the Nigerian Ports Authority in 1955. From 1939 to 1945 he was active in the Nigerian Civil Service Union, as President of its Calabar Branch and Vice-President of its Port Harcourt branch. From 1946 to 1964 he was a professional trade union organiser, being the General Secretary of what came to be called the NPA Workers Union.

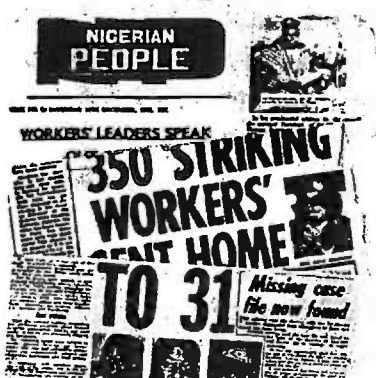
During the above period Beyioku held many trade union and industrial relations positions. He was also active politically in the late 1940's as Secretary of the Lagos Branch of the moderate-nationalist Nigerian Youth Movement.

### CONTENTS OF THE MICROFICHES

- A. Trade Union Congress of Nigeria (1943-8)
- B. African Civil Servants Technical Workers Union: Personal: Vol. I (1946-8)
- C. Trade Union Congress & African Civil Servants Technical Workers Union General Council, Working Committee and Session Papers: Vol. 2 (1948-9)
- D. Nigerian Labour Congress (1947-56)
- E. Nigeria Trade Union Federation (1953-60)
- F. All Nigeria Trade Union Federation (1957-8)
- G. Nigerian Maritime Trade Union Federation
- H. United Labour Congress (1959-63)
- I. Nigerian Ports Authority Workers Union/Nigerian Trade Union Congress (1960-62)
- J. Nigerian Maritime Trade Union Federation (1963-4)
- K. Port Authority Junior Supervisory Staff Association of Nigeria: Decree 53 of 1969: Matters Relating to Arbitration and Industrial Arbitration Tribunal (1969-74)
- L. Ports Authority Junior Supervisory Staff Association of Nigeria First Conference (1969)
- M. Port Authority Junior Supervisory Staff Association of Nigeria (1970-71)
- N. Nigerian Ports Authority Craftsmen and Allied Workers Association: First Conference (1970)
- O. Nigerian Ports Authority Craftsmen and Allied Workers Association: Second Conference (1972)
- P. Nigerian Ports Authority Workers Union (1974-5)
- Q. Joint Committee for Representation, Nigerian Ports Authority: Meetings Management Headquarters Level (1973-4)
- R. Joint Committee for Representation: Udoji and Relevant Matters (1973-5)
- S. Background reading

## Collection 2

# Labour in the Nigerian Press, 1976-1977



Detailed clippings from the Nigerian press, October 1976 - September 1977, covering labour relations, wages and prices, rural development, indigenous capitalists, cement importation, shipping and Lagos Port congestion, radical and socialist politics etc. Occasional clippings cover 1970-1974, January - September 1976, October - December 1977, and 1978.

Order no.: A-751

30 microfiche

The systematic part of this collection, covering October 1976 - September 1977 (fiche item 2.2) was made as part of a research project on labour in Nigeria. The clippings cover labour in its broadest definition, thus including industry, urbanisation, radical politics, and peasant protest, as well as trade unions, labour relations and wage policies. The clippings were made from a broad range of daily papers and from significant weeklies.

Letters to the press were examined for labour content, and the collection includes occasional press releases on labour questions.

The period covered was a dramatic one for labour in Nigeria. This was the year immediately following the government Tribunal of Inquiry into the Activities of the Trade Unions. We can therefore read of the banning of 12 prominent union leaders, of the state decision to administratively centralise and restructure the union movement, and of the frequent and even violent strikes that continued to occur despite restrictive anti-strike legislation. But the clippings also provide coverage of general industrial, political and social developments in Nigeria, as the military government grappled with hyper-inflation, with port congestion, and the anarchic growth of commercial and industrial capitalism in Nigeria, and as discussion continued on a civilian constitution. The military actions against the people of Oogoro Island and the popular musician Fela Anikulapo-Kuti (and complaints about these) also find their place in the collection, which thus provides a social chronicle of Nigeria for the period. An analysis of the historical background and social setting of labour in Nigeria in this period is provided by Peter Waterman's Study: *Capitalist Development, Labour Control Strategy, and the Working class Movement in Nigeria, 1979*. (included in the microfiche collection).

Specialists on labour in Nigeria will already know the value of Umoh J. Umoh's weekly 'Labour Notes' in the *Daily Times*, as well as the coverage of labour and industry in the weekly *Business Times*. These papers are available in a number of libraries outside Nigeria. But there are

unlikely to be more than one or two libraries (even within Nigeria) that have complete sets of the national press, and the search for labour news is evidently a time-consuming operation. The collection, therefore, may be of value not only for the news it covers, but also the possibility it offers for specialists on newspapers and the media to study newspaper treatment of labour news in Nigeria. Due to the dramatic developments, that took place at this time there was an increased amount of commentary on unions and labour relations in the press. From this there can be established an image of press manipulation of labour issues, and comparisons can be made with such existing studies in industrialised capitalist societies.

### AREAS COVERED

#### Incomes/wages/prices policy

**Industry:** ports, shipping; cement importation, distribution, usage; indigenisation and local capitalist development; state sector and corporations

**Labour relations:** strikes, legislation, arbitration and collective bargaining, social security, education

**Politics:** labour, radical, socialist, student, communist

**Trade Unions:** structure and organisation, education, leadership

#### Urbanisation/housing/transportation

**Workers/labourers:** farmers, industrial, clerical, educational, professional, service

### PUBLICATIONS CLIPPED

**Dailies:** *Daily Times*, *Daily Sketch*, *The Punch*, *Nigerian Herald*, *New Nigerian*, *Nigerian Tribune*

**Weeklies:** *Business Times*, *Sunday Times*, *Sunday Punch*, *Sunday Sketch*

## Collection 3

# The Lagos Port Labour Archive



An extensive collection of original documents covering industrial organisation, capitalist and state enterprise, industrial relations and trade unions. The materials span a 20-year period and include documents on the Nigerian Ports Authority on the Association of Nigerian Dock Labour Contractors, and on the company of W.H. Biney.

Order no.: A-752

217 microfiche

### CONTENTS OF THE COLLECTION

The materials collected within this archive represent a unique resource for those interested in the following areas: industrial organisation, capitalist enterprise, state enterprise, industrial relations and trade unions. Collections on these subjects may exist within occasional deposits, but are few and virtually inaccessible.

#### RESEARCH AREAS COVERED

This archive offers research materials on such topics as: **State Enterprise**, exemplified here by the Nigerian Ports Authority

**Private capitalist enterprise**, exemplified by the dock labour contractors and documents on W.H. Biney  
**Industrial relations**, particularly within the local capitalist sector, in which the Association of Nigerian Dock Labour Contractors was a pioneer

#### Worker organisation and action

**Biography**, the archive materials contribute to the biographies of the capitalist Hamilton Kweku Biney, and to such trade unionists as Michael Imoudu, Alhaji H.P. Adebola, O.O. Zudonu, A.E. Okon, J.K. Abam, Bernard Odulana, and several others.

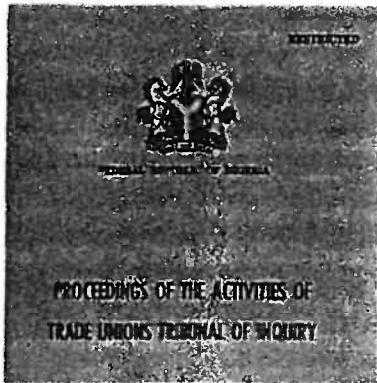
#### In microfiche form:

- III. 1. Nigerian Ports Authority files
2. Dock Labour Contractors (general) files
3. Biney and Co. Ltd. files
4. Trade Unions (general) files
5. N.P.A. Publications
6. Nigerian Government Publications
7. Dock Labour Study (Nkamare)
8. Draft Materials of Peter Waterman, relating to Lagos Port Labour

In both the NPA files and the Dock Labour Contractors (General) files the first three sections are concerned with industrial organisation, the labour force, and industrial relations, the rest with trade unions. The same pattern is followed with the Biney and Co. files, which were in such quantity as to justify their separation. The Trade Unions (General) files deal with subject areas additional to the sectoral. The great bulk of the materials in sections 1 - 4 consists of reports, leaflets, minutes, and other such ephemera. Under NPA Publications will be found mainly NPA materials of a bulkier or more permanent nature, usually meant for either internal or external circulation. The Nigerian Government Publications are of a similar nature, and consist basically of government inquiries and reports concerning the industry. The Dock Labour Study is included as the sole published Nigerian analysis of dock labour apart from the official ones. It also provides insight into the industrial relations thinking of a US-trained and modern-minded Nigerian capitalist pioneer, U.U. Nkamare. The last section contains drafts prepared in the course of Waterman's study. These not only serve as a detailed guide and commentary on the source materials, they also provide a fuller study than his complete draft (collection 5) does.

## Collection 4

# The Nigerian Trade Union Tribunal of 1976



The word-by-word proceedings of a public inquiry concerned with industrial relations, and with union structure and financing, leadership, and international relations. These proceedings (some two million words) have now been indexed by name, subject, and organisation. A printed booklet with these indices accompanies the microfiches.

Order no.: A-750

73 microfiche

The Tribunal of Inquiry into the Trade Unions (or Adebisi Tribunal, as it is called after its Chairman) was set up by the Federal Military Government of Nigeria in 1976. Called after a major strike wave, and at a time when the unions were themselves moving - awkwardly - toward national unity after decades of division, it is to be seen as part of the state's efforts to reorganise the traditional pattern of labour relations in Nigeria, and to restructure the trade union movement so as to be better able to control it.

The Tribunal was followed by a 100-page report (Adebisi Report 1977) and a brief government white paper (Federal Military Government Views 1977). Although the Tribunal was intended to cover a series of issues, both the Report and the Views concentrated on financial mismanagement and foreign patronage. The outcome was an immediate banning from trade union activity of 11 leading national trade union officers of various political tendencies, and the eventual restructuring of the trade union movement into 40 or 50 'industrial' trade unions, under close state supervision (1977-1978).

Although the Tribunal is mostly remembered for its political significance in the above process, it did, in fact, range over the whole area of trade unionism and labour relations in Nigeria. It called before it and closely questioned some 71 witnesses, including the longest-lived and most-experienced Nigerian trade union leaders, and a number of government labour officers. It went into the history of the national central trade union organisations, as well as into the structure and functioning of a number of major Nigerian unions. It examined the nature of trade union leadership, and of the Ministry of Labour and its various adjuncts. Little, if any, of this is to be found in the brief published reports.

Where it is to be found is in the Daily Proceedings of the Tribunal (Adebisi Proceedings 1976). This is the verbatim report, containing over 80 volumes. Whilst both the bulk of the Proceedings (side by side they are 90 centimetres thick) and their scarcity make them inaccessible to researchers (journalist, unionists, or academics), they represent the most important primary source for research on this area to have become available.

This microfiche edition of the Adebisi Tribunal materials consists basically of the Proceedings and Indexes. The Eye-legible indexes, containing subjects and names of organisations and individuals, will enable researchers to find all references to their topic of interest.

Additionally, the microfiche reproduces the Adebisi Report, the FMG Views, and other materials relating to the Tribunal. Amongst the latter is an extract from a study by Peter Waterman, which helps to place the Tribunal within the development of Nigerian labour relations and the Nigerian labour movement.

Other very helpful instruments which have been added to the eye-legible indexes are: a list of witnesses, a chart of the central trade union organisations in Nigeria, 1941-1976 and a chart, explaining the development of central national trade union organisations in Nigeria, 1941-1976, showing moderate and radical tendencies and united action committees.

### CONTENTS OF THE COLLECTION

#### In printed form:

- I. Introduction by Peter Waterman
- II. Indices and Charts
  1. Name Index
  2. Subject Index
  3. Organisations Index
  4. Exhibits list
  5. List of witnesses
  6. Charts

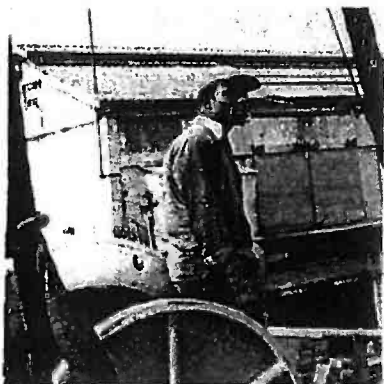
#### In microfiche form:

- III. 1. Proceedings. Vol. 1 - 79
2. Report of the Tribunal of Inquiry into the Activities of the Trade Unions. 104 pp.
3. Federal Military Government's Views on the Report of the Tribunal of Inquiry into the Activities of Trade Unions. 8 pp.
4. Miscellaneous Submissions to the Tribunal
5. Background reading

## Collection 5

# Wage Labour Relations in Nigeria

State, Capitalists, Unions and Workers in the Lagos Cargo-Handling Industry  
(First Complete Draft, 1979)



Order no.: A-753

16 microfiche

The first complete report on a five-year research project, this major study (over 600 pages), combines a review of Nigerian labour relations and a detailed case study, the material being analysed separately from the case study material within an original Marxist framework.

This is the first complete report on a five-year research project. Microfiche publication makes it available immediately and in full. The title suggests that it is a detailed case study of labour relations in one Nigerian industry. It is, indeed, the first such book-length study in a generation. It goes into exceptional detail on the various parties mentioned in the title, thus penetrating beneath the generalities of the (few) past national-level studies.

The work is, however, more than a detailed empirical study. It also offers an original conceptual framework, developed out of contemporary Marxist theory. It is, thus, the first attempt at a Marxist interpretation of labour relations in Nigeria.

The problem with which the work is concerned is that of uneven capitalist industrialisation, and the implications of this for working-class structure, consciousness, organisation and collective protest activity. The industry is chosen because there can be found within it two major sectors of the Nigerian (African, or Third World) working class - the 'labour aristocrats' securely employed within the state or multinational sector, and the 'semi-proletarianised peasants' precariously employed as casual labourers within the local capitalist sector. The work rejects the opposition of interests that the above conceptualisation suggests, arguing that such divisions are universal under capitalism, and that the development of 'wage labour' into a 'working class' is precisely the struggle to overcome them.

The main part of the work consists of structured but untheorised historical/descriptive material followed by theoretical discussion. This not only makes it possible for the reader to see how the author uses the theory set out in the Introduction, but also to make her or his own analysis of the case study material.

## CONTENTS OF THE MICROFICHES

### INTRODUCTION

1. The nature of this study
2. Nigerian Society, Labour control and the Labour movement

3. Marxist socio-analytical concepts
4. Marxism as approach, method and exposition

### PART ONE: THE FORMATION OF A WAGE LABOUR FORCE

- Chapter 1. Industrial structure
- Chapter 2. Labour force
- Chapter 3. Labour control strategy

### PART TWO: THE DEVELOPMENT OF A WORKING CLASS MOVEMENT

- Chapter 4. Trade union development
- Chapter 5. Trade union structure
- Chapter 6. Collective worker protest action

### CONCLUSION

1. The case studied
2. The implications for Nigerian labour relations
3. Reflections on theory
4. Implications for the Nigerian labour studies

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

### APPENDICES

1. The port and dockworker interview schedule
2. The open-ended interviews
3. The union officer interview schedule
4. Profiles of Biney workers
5. Archival sources