An Overview of Industrial Relations within the context of Labour Administration

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Historical Background

The development of labour and industrial relations in the English-speaking Caribbean can be traced to the emergence of trade unionism during British colonial rule, when trade unions had to struggle for political and social status in the post-slavery and indentured labour era. Trade unions originally had difficulty in establishing their legal position. Their legal existence was eventually based on Trade Union Laws enacted between 1919 -1950, with subsequent legislation incorporating and maintaining the original protection of their immunities from criminal prosecution for breach of contract, agreement or trust.

Trade Unions joined the political struggle for voting rights, public education and social legislation in a fight against the interests and prejudices of the traditional colonial society. They were initially, in essence, part of the nationalist political movements for political independence. In this context, where the trade unions had to fight for political and social status, the labour relations systems reflected a greater degree of political involvement and action to influence public policy. In many instances, their successes could be attributed to their combative and adversarial approaches in alliances with political forces.

Industrial politics, political unionism, and trade union-based political parties are rooted in the history and tradition of Caribbean societies. The tradition of pure industrial or business unionism, vis-à-vis political unionism, was therefore not part of the culture of trade unionism in the Caribbean. This reality still influences the dynamics of contemporary labour-management relations.

Labour relations were accordingly shaped by the authoritarian nature of social relations with the plantocracy, which controlled and dominated the way in which labour issues were dealt with in major industries and enterprises. This was countered by political actions on the part of the trade unions. Their agitation and protests led to the enactment of labour legislation by the colonial power, which recognized and protected trade unions' rights, and established state institutions to promote a system of industrial relations designed to manage industrial conflicts, but without a corresponding emphasis and institutions to minimize such conflicts and promote the forging of greater consensus. However, given the nature and development of social and political systems, labour relations largely were conducted in an adversarial manner and

this approach still persists in contemporary systems among Caribbean countries both in the political and industrial relations arenas.

Plantation life and poor social conditions for the national communities in the Caribbean provoked unrest and upheavals on a wide scale in the 1930's throughout the British West Indies. This led to the appointment of a Royal Commission under Lord Moyne in 1938 to investigate and report on the labour and social conditions in the British West Indian colonies. The Commission reported that the conditions were harsh and oppressive for workers whose employment and human rights were virtually unprotected. Among the Commission's recommendations was one for the enactment of labour laws. Labour Ordinances (Labour Acts) in the English-speaking Caribbean were consequently enacted in the 1940s and provided for the establishment of the Labour Departments under Commissioners of Labour "for the regulation of the relationship between employers and employees and for the settlement of differences between them". This was against a background of ongoing industrial conflicts and manifest adversarialism which continued, and still persist into the twenty-first century.

These developments contributed to the foundation and the institutionalized framework for the conduct of industrial relations. Industrial relations is therefore located and anchored within the system of labour administration. The Labour Departments and the social partners, represented by trade unions and employers and their organizations, constitute the tripartite pillars of the industrial relations system.

At the national level, the trade unions are organized under national congresses, while the employers are organized under the banner of national employers' federations. The Labour Departments are required to provide effective labour administration services to workers, trade unions, employers and their organizations. This is done through the Labour Commissioners and the technical staff of the Departments of Labour in their technical and advisory services with respect to national labour policies, labour relations including conciliation/mediation, labour inspection, employment and labour market, tripartism and social dialogue, and other labour administration functions in terms of coordination with state and social partners' agencies.

The Voluntarist Tradition

The Caribbean inherited from the British, a "tradition of voluntarism" in industrial and labour relations, a tradition which enabled trade unions and employers to regulate their own relations, and one which is premised on fundamental freedoms. These were based on freedom of association and the right to collective bargaining, and initially on legal abstention in industrial and labour relations. There were however, in the post political independence era, significant

deviations from the voluntary system through legislative interventions by many Caribbean states resulting in a mixture of voluntary and compulsory systems among Caribbean states. These started in 1965 when Trinidad and Tobago created a strong legalistic system with its *Industrial Stabilisation Act* and its successor, the *Industrial Relations Act* of 1972, which established the first Industrial Court in the English-speaking Caribbean.

The principles of voluntarism have therefore been substantially challenged and subsequently modified by other legislative interventions in the industrial relations arena in the Caribbean for the:

- regulation of collective bargaining relations;
- provision of mandatory dispute resolution means and procedures for the parties;
- determination of appropriate bargaining units;
- determination of trade union recognition;
- intervention of the state in the national/community interest;
- compulsory dispute resolution machinery in the essential services/ industries;
- statutory powers to establish arbitration tribunals or boards of inquiry;
- establishment of final adjudication machinery in the form of Industrial Courts and Standing Industrial Tribunals;
- requirements for greater accountability by trade unions and employer organizations to their membership and for fulfilling their statutory obligations; and
- greater employment and other social protection including protection of fundamental rights in line with ILO's core Conventions, and occupational safety and health (OSH) at the workplace and the environment.

These interventions present a mixture of voluntary and compulsory systems: voluntary in the initial stages of consultations, negotiations, conciliation and mediation. It then becomes compulsory when final adjudication machinery is required. There is also a mixture of the use of the political method and the industrial or business method as expedient, and the continued encouragement by actors in some national systems to retain the political method along with the industrial method in the conduct of labour relations.

CARICOM Model Labour Laws

In 1995 and 1997, the Caribbean Community's (CARICOM) Standing Committee of Ministers with responsibility for Labour, in an effort to promote harmonization of essential labour standards through the enactment of a common floor of labour laws and regulations within the Community, adopted the following model labour laws on:

• termination of employment, which provides for protection of employment

- through contracts, redundancy, and severance pay;
- equality of opportunity and non-discrimination in employment, providing for protection against unlawful discrimination, and employment discrimination.
 It also provides for an equal remuneration for work of equal value;
- registration, status and recognition of trade unions and employers' organizations which provides for compulsory recognition and exclusive bargaining rights to majority unions, certified by an independent tripartite body; and
- occupational safety and health at the workplace and the environment, providing for the registration and regulation of industrial establishments, and for occupational safety and health of persons at work.

The model laws were presented to member states with the view to enactment in national laws where appropriate, as either new labour laws, in whole or in part, or as the basis for updating existing labour laws. Collectively, the model laws give effect to several ILO Conventions, in addition to the UN Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women. They balance the power of the employer with the rights of the employee and trade unions. They also reflect both the provisions of settled law, and law in the making.

The Caribbean Community's (CARICOM) labour policies commit member states to observe the labour policies of CARICOM as set out in its *Revised Treaty of Chaguaramas Establishing the Caribbean Community, 2001; Charter of Civil Society, 1997;* and its *Declaration of Labour and Industrial Relations Principles, 1998.*

Article 73 on Industrial Relations of the Revised Treaty of Chaguaramas Establishing the Caribbean Community Including the CARICOM Single Market and Economy requires the Council on Human and Social Development in consultation with the Council for Trade and Economic Development to promote the objectives of: full employment; adequate social security; cross-border mobility of labour; non-discrimination in the pursuit of employment; sound industrial relations through collective bargaining; the importance of international competitiveness for economic development; and consultations among governments and the social partners.

Article XIX of the *Charter of Civil Society* provides for the right and protection of every worker to:

- freely belong to and participate in trade union activities;
- negotiate and bargain collectively;
- be treated fairly at the workplace, and to enjoy a safe, hygienic and healthy working environment;
- reasonable remuneration, working conditions, and social security; and
- utilize/establish machinery for the effective conduct of labour relations.

CARICOM's Declaration of Labour and Industrial Relations Principles outlines the general labour and industrial relations policies to which the CARICOM states aspire. The Declaration is informed by ILO labour standards (Conventions and Recommendations) and reinforce the standards relating to: consultation and tripartism, freedom of association, collective bargaining, non-discrimination in employment and occupation, employment policy, labour administration, and industrial dispute settlement.

Fundamental Principles and Rights

ILO's Declaration on Fundamental Principles and Rights at Work, adopted by the International Labour Conference in 1998, marked a recommitment and a re-affirmation of the obligations of member states to respect, realize and promote in good faith the principles concerning:

- the right of freedom of association and effective recognition of the right to collective bargaining;
- the elimination of all forms of forced or compulsory labour;
- the effective abolition of child labour; and
- the elimination of discrimination in respect of employment and occupation.

These guiding principles and rights exert enormous influence in the conduct of industrial relations in the Caribbean.

The Millennium Development Goals

The Millennium Development Goals adopted by world leaders at the United Nations in September 2000 will no doubt also influence the agenda and approach to labour relations and collective bargaining. By 2015, all United Nations Member States pledged to:

eradicate extreme poverty and hunger; achieve universal primary education; promote gender equality and empower women; reduce child mortality; improve maternal health care; combat HIV/AIDS, malaria, and other diseases; ensure environmental sustainability; and develop a global partnership for development.

These goals are of interest to the human community and are consistent with the principles and the notion of social justice inherent in industrial relations and human development in the context of globalization of labour, social, and political relations.

Ministries/Departments of Labour

Ministries/Departments of Labour, which provide the core labour administration services in the Caribbean, are generally under-resourced with many staff vacancies on account of frequent staff turn over of the more experienced and qualified ones. This is largely attributable to the inability of the civil service to recruit, attract and retain high quality staff, and the comparative lower priority accorded to the labour administration function in relation to other public administration services.

The remuneration packages, which are considered unattractive for labour administration staff, are tied to the civil service pay structure and grading system apparently without adequate consideration for the importance, scope, nature and the responsibility inherent in labour administration. There is always bureaucratic justification, citing budgetary constraints and regulated rigidities in difficult economic circumstances in many instances.

This has impacted negatively on the capacity of the labour administration staff to assume the higher responsibilities inherent in an effective labour administration system of which the labour department personnel are the principal technical and advisory service providers. This situation has inhibited their capacity to be proactive players on national development issues. Departments of Labour deliver essentially the key elements of labour administration - in a "good industrial relations maintenance, housekeeping way" including effective dispute resolution and active tripartism in many countries. The prevailing view - that many Ministries of Labour/Departments of Labour are only carrying out the basic and routine service functions in labour administration with inadequate resources - must be reversed by appropriate corrective measures.

Many member states have expressed concern and are seeking measures for improvement. They recognize the need to improve the quality and output of the work of the Departments of Labour; to be departments with good work ethic, high productivity and quality customer-oriented service. Consequently, the International Labour Organization in collaboration with governments and the social partners and with the support of Ministers of Labour, conducted several studies in labour administration to better equip Departments of Labour to contribute to, and participate in national planning as key departments in public administration. These studies point to the requirements for an adequate number of suitably qualified technical staff and other resources to enable the Department of Labour to contribute more to national social and economic development.

Kieran Mulvey, Chief Executive Officer of the Irish Labour Relations Commission, did one of the studies of labour administration in Barbados, Guyana, Jamaica, and Trinidad and Tobago. His report calls for a more strategic focus for Ministries of Labour for future developments in the Caribbean. He underscores the need for reform and the importance for ministries of labour to be

equipped to respond to the rapid pace of change within the framework of globalization and market changes.

Mulvey advocates a wider strategic vision for social partnership and development in labour administrations, for public service reform to revitalize and provide for a more strategic policy, planning and functional role for Ministries of Labour. Ministries of Labour must be revitalized and upgraded in their role and status in a re-organized enterprise and employment-oriented direction to be responsible for industrial policy, manpower planning, and the development of new plans for national industries, and for the implementation and coordination of all existing and new labour market regulations and measures.

Strong labour administrations require that the Departments of Labour should assume the full responsibility of their mandates for an effective labour administration system and service as outlined in ILO standards with active tripartite arrangements for regular consultation on national labour policy and the labour market.

The Scope of Labour Administration

The scope of the system of labour administration is established within the framework of the architecture of ILO Convention No. 150 and ILO Recommendation No. 158 (1978) on labour administration. Both the Convention and Recommendation define labour administration as: "public administration activities in the field of national labour policy".

These instruments also define the system of labour administration as:

all public administration bodies responsible for and/or engaged in labour administration - whether they are ministerial departments or public agencies or any other form of decentralized administration - and any institutional framework for the co-ordination of the activities of such bodies and for consultation with and participation by employers and workers and their organizations.

The ILO Convention and Recommendation establish and provide essential guidelines, principles and organizational framework for effective labour administration within ILO member States. The guidelines permit the discretionary right to delegate certain activities of labour administration to non-governmental organizations, particularly workers' and employers' organizations. The principles require that employers' and workers' organizations participate in the formulation and regulation of national labour policy. The organizational framework calls for a system of coordination, monitoring, reviewing and reporting on the administration of national labour policy and in particular, employment policy and practices and

international labour affairs.

The ILO Convention and Recommendation also underscore the importance of effective implementation of the applicable principles. In this regard, the Convention and Recommendation enjoin member States to provide an adequate number of suitably qualified persons with access to training and who are independent of improper external influences to be engaged in labour administration. In addition, member States are required to provide adequate material and financial resources for effective labour administration.

Labour administration is not isolated from the confines of public administration and government. It has a broader social and political function. According to Courdouan and Lecuyer, the efficacy of the labour administration system rests on its ability to achieve consensus between public authorities and employers' and workers' representatives; its relevance depends on its ability to reach all in the national community; and for ensuring that regulations are applied uniformly throughout national territory and within the structures making up the system. Crucial to its success is the participation of social partners, the reach of the system, and the resources made available to it.

Labour administration must take into account the evolving context within which it functions. It must function within the context of the new global economy and in particular the strategic response that is required for effective participation by the Caribbean economies in terms of labour and employment policies.

Accordingly, labour administration services in the Caribbean need to provide adequate institutional, administrative and organizational arrangements to enable the formulation, development and management of decent work labour policies along with the supporting legal service in areas relating to:

- a. labour standards (industrial relations, labour administration, working conditions, wages, employment conditions, occupational health and safety, working environment, social security, labour inspection);
- research in the labour and the social fields (data collection, studies, background papers, surveys, forecast analyses, dissemination of information);
- employment (national employment policy, strategies for stimulating and generating new employment, employment protection, vocational guidance, vocational training programmes, employment services);
- d. industrial relations (services provided to employers and to workers, collective bargaining, settlement of labour disputes in conciliation/ mediation);

- e. effective secretariat services for tripartite collaboration and consultation (national labour policy and standards); and
- f. regional, hemispheric, and international labour affairs (ILO Caribbean, CARICOM, Organization of American States (OAS), International Labour Conference, Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA).

The general consensus from several ILO studies and reports was that the Departments of Labour should be equipped with a full complement of suitably qualified staff, adequate office accommodation and conference facilities, modern technology, and training and exposure of staff to enable the Departments to undertake the broader and wider responsibilities inherent in a strong labour administration system with the active involvement of representatives of the workers and employers and their organizations. This would require an enhanced capability of the staff in the Departments of Labour to enable them to:

- contribute to national labour policy development and formulation including a review of labour legislation;
- actively promote tripartism and social dialogue leading to social accords at the national, sectoral and enterprise levels;
- participate in national employment/manpower planning, labour force surveys and investment initiatives; and embark, in collaboration with the relevant agencies, on a programme of human resource development, particularly in the field of technical and vocational training, retraining of the workforce and the training of new entrants in keeping with the skills needs of the country;
- embark on a pro-active programme of advisory outreach to employers, trade unions, workers and the national community;
- undertake other preventive strategies in labour administration, as suitable to the national situation; and
- promote, advocate, and implement the ILO's principles of *Decent Work*.

The ILO General International Survey of 1997, dealing with ILO Convention No. 150 and ILO Recommendation No. 158 on *Labour Administration*, affirms that:

the appropriateness and relevance of these instruments continue intact to the extent that their flexibility permits and accompanies the various adaptations made in the structures and methods of work of numerous systems of labour administrations.

Industrial Relations Methods as Alternative Dispute Resolution (ADR)

Negotiation, conciliation, mediation, and arbitration in the settlement of industrial disputes have special significance for the social partners and are valued, effective dispute resolution methods in the context of labour relations. These tried and tested methods are frequently and extensively utilized in industrial relations as routine conciliation services of Ministries/ Departments of Labour, mediation

services, and other labour dispute resolution institutions. Within the industrial relations context therefore, one cannot correctly refer to these methods as ADR. It is a misnomer, for the methods used in ADR, are essentially industrial relations methods – *negotiations, conciliation, mediation, and arbitration.* These methods and processes have had a long tradition and history of success in industrial relations.

When these methods are used in civil society matters, they are referred to as ADR – alternative to the protracted, expensive, judicial system. This is a valuable contribution of industrial relations to civil society. It is to be noted also that conciliation, mediation and arbitration have long been used in the field of international relations, civil society, family and community relations, and in the commercial world in place of the costly, protracted and time-consuming litigation through the judicial system.

Professional Relations between the Minister and Public Officers

The Ministries of Labour/Departments of Labour would need strong internal management support, oversight and direction from senior policymakers. This support naturally can come from the Permanent Secretary, the Deputy Permanent Secretary/Principal Assistant Secretary, and the Minister with responsibility for labour through an effective management system for labour administration.

The public administration system in the Caribbean, in line with national Constitutions and other laws, mandates that where any Minister has been charged with the responsibility for any department of government, he/she shall exercise general direction and control over that department and, subject to such direction and control, every department of government shall be under the supervision of a public officer whose office is referred to as the Permanent Secretary. This direction and control is of a general and policy nature.

While the Minister is primarily concerned with the determination of policy, the Permanent Secretary and the technical and other staff under the Permanent Secretary, particularly the Labour Commissioner/head of labour administration in line with his/her duties as defined by labour laws, are required to faithfully implement the policy decisions of the government of the day in an impartial and professional manner.

The Permanent Secretary prepares papers for Cabinet, and is also the accounting officer who manages the funds voted by Parliament for the ministerial departments, and is answerable to the Public Accounts Committee of Parliament for public expenditure. The Permanent Secretary and the Minister's principal technical staff are further concerned with providing advice and assistance in policy determination and formulation. This calls for a cordial working relationship between the Permanent Secretary and the Labour Commissioner/head of labour

administration, and the Minister and the permanent staff of the civil service in a spirit of mutual respect and confidence between the Minister and the staff.

Industrial Relations and the Public Service

The climate of labour and industrial relations in any country has a direct impact on its economic and social development, which requires a conducive environment in which labour relations can be conducted in an orderly and responsible manner. This means that industrial relations must be conducted within the norms of applicable International Labour Standards, relevant labour legislation, and agreed, established procedures at the enterprise and national levels. This also requires suitable institutional and procedural arrangements, along with adequate resources to enable the system of industrial relations to function effectively.

In the Civil Service, state corporations, and statutory bodies, industrial relations and collective bargaining had been more regulated and restricted by legislation or practice than in the private sector. With the introduction of structural adjustment measures in some countries, and the attempts by governments for greater control, industrial relations drifted from the traditional system of free collective bargaining.

Deviations and new practices by agencies of the state challenged the free collective bargaining model and autonomy of the parties through greater state direction, intervention, regulation, legislation, and wage policies. These developments were understood against the earlier emergence in some countries of dominant state enterprises, created largely through nationalization of the major companies in industry and commerce or through the creation of new national enterprises. In these situations, governments, as employers of the major portion of the national workforce, exercised a dominant influence and direction in industrial relations, under the notion of promoting the national community interest.

In some countries, government, both as a government and employer, promoted changes in the system without agreement with the social partners and without legislation within the context of an apparent voluntary framework in collective bargaining, much to the disquiet of trade unions and workers. In other cases, changes were introduced by legislation. In the state sector, greater control and regulation were imposed on collective bargaining. These affected wage fixing and remuneration settlements in particular; and as the state sector became more centralized, central government implemented unilateral wage policies through rigid wage guidelines. Both the trade unions and the managers of the state enterprises lost their autonomy in collective bargaining as a consequence.

In these situations, the right to bargain collectively as defined in ILO

Conventions No. 98 and No. 151 raised several questions in connection with the attitude of public authorities. For example, an administrative direction whereby the conclusion of an agreement is subject to prior approval of a government authority, or modifying conditions agreed and written in collective labour agreements or preventing negotiations of such conditions as may be considered desirable, constitute infringements of the right to bargain collectively. Restrictive measures, rendering it extremely difficult for wages to be settled freely through collective bargaining, can be justified on the grounds of exceptional circumstances of a serious economic nature. However, this could be justified only for a limited period and kept to a minimum.

Politics of Industrial Relations

Major industrial relations issues are politically sensitive once they affect any state agency, and especially if opposition-linked unions are involved. Inevitably, any labour issue must have a political dimension by the very nature of the relationship. Experience has shown that if an issue is perceived, deemed, or interpreted by governments as having political motives, or if it is seen as a challenge to governments, or if it would affect the national interest as defined by governments, then one can expect responses from the state and its machinery. In such a situation, traditional and established industrial relations principles and practices may be under severe strain.

That major issues in the public sector are not without their political dimensions and motives may be understood in terms of the history of Caribbean labour relations. In spite of genuine industrial issues which could be represented, their industrial nature may be overshadowed by partisan political considerations. Often controversial issues are seen as contests between the political parties; from the government's point of view, as attempts to destabilize the economy, to ferment unrest and civil disobedience, or to dislodge the government; from the opposition, non-government's point of view, as attempts by governments to muzzle, undermine, or keep the trade unions in line.

The important question impinging on industrial relations in the state sector is the extent to which management is authorized by the government, to take decisions committing the employer (the government). The margin of decisions, in the context of structural adjustment type measures may be fairly limited on the question of remuneration. This is posing some problems in terms of collective bargaining negotiations, which imply increased costs to the public treasury. Governments as owners and employers may see it as their responsibility and not wish to give full independence to the management of state enterprises in industrial relations matters.

Governments, some argue, are politically responsible for the way public entities are managed, and that may influence governments' determination to

maintain control and supervision, and retain certain decision-making powers, in particular those relating to wages and salaries administration. Collective bargaining, which places employers and unions on an equal basis at the bargaining table, may be considered as incompatible with governmental powers of decision, for ultimate accountability rests with the governments. To achieve other policy objectives, governments may consider that it is necessary to intervene in industrial relations, for industrial relations are seen as part of, and not separate from other aspects of governments' economic policy for development.

The government is the main actor; it is the only actor in the dual role of both government and public sector employer who can change the rules of the system; the unions are sometimes forced to take a passively defensive position, and accept the priorities and rules determined by government, and then impose the required restraint on their members. Pay in the public sector is subject to restraint since government has an overriding concern for the state of the economy and unions' collective bargaining activities have implications for the economy.

Industrial and Political Dilemma

The division between the industrial and political orientation has been one of the sources of difficulty for the union leaders in periods of crisis and active state intervention. There are concerns about union leaders acting with political motives when they threaten or use industrial power for political ends or in support of a political party's position. But it is just as political to support political action of a government or to accept wage restraints in favour of a presumed national interest.

Trade union leaders face a dilemma in responding to the challenges and opportunities of a political role without sacrificing their independence and their permanent mission of promoting and protecting their members' immediate economic interests for improved wages and employment conditions. The dilemma is more pronounced given the central role of the government in wages regulation in the public sector. They are faced with the following options:

- engage in a determined struggle for the exercise of free collective bargaining;
- maintain a passive acceptance of government's position and the role circumscribed by government for the trade unions; or
- pursue their own independent, industrial and political demands.

Many trade union leaders are ambivalent and often vacillate on these options.

Challenges

A review of Caribbean labour laws reveals that there are substantial bodies of legislation on the statute books of member States. These seem to be adequate for the conduct of labour relations if used positively in a timely manner. The legislation in the Caribbean deals with (among other matters): protection of trade unions, employment protection, fundamental rights, labour institutions, and various methods and machinery for dispute resolution – a concentration on the management of conflict. The consensus-based mechanisms beyond the conciliation and mediation process are still to be widely promoted and institutionalized or incorporated into law. The systems accommodate and provide the avenues for effective dialogues, which can lead to national consensus.

However, under the current system, there are still compelling challenges, which require the governments and other actors in the labour relations systems to:

- proactively and strategically utilize the national labour policies, institutions, mechanisms, means and procedures available in a timely manner;
- consolidate, revise, rationalize and incorporate the fundamental principles and rights enshrined in international labour standards into a comprehensive national labour code to facilitate the effective conduct of labour relations;
- empower and strengthen the capability of the Labour Ministry and the
 Department of Labour, and the trade union and employers' organizations
 to enable the personnel of these institutions to maximize the use of the
 consensus-based methods of good faith negotiations, and effective
 conciliation/mediation with its inherent problem-solving approaches; and
- equip labour administration to foster an active advisory outreach service, aimed at a reduction of conflict through preventive strategies, and development of partnerships at the enterprise, industry, and national levels. In particular, the Ministries and Departments of Labour should be: -provided with the requisite high-level specialist skills to enable research and their participation in national planning, enterprise development, investment initiatives, and a competitive economy within the context of fundamental principles and rights at work, which are essential for decent work.

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