International Mobility of Manpower in Western Europe: I

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It has long been recognised that manpower mobility is one of the basic conditions of economic progress. The building up of an integrated European economy requires enhanced mobility of this kind, and particularly the removal of obstacles to the migration of workers from one country to another. However, the abolition of controls alone does not appear likely to achieve this object. In the following article an attempt has been made, in the light of the experience of the last ten years, to demonstrate the complexity of the problem. The article was prepared in the course of inquiries carried out by the International Labour Office into questions of European migration and manpower surpluses in Europe [1], *but is conceived from a new point of view, for the stress is placed less on the law than on the economic and psychological facts that underlie political action and less on the position of the overpopulated countries than on general trends in the employment situation in Europe that affect the whole of the migration problem.*

THE resumption of manpower movements between European countries that marked the earliest post-war years was a short-term phenomenon that never took on wide proportions. In adjacent regions migration across frontiers recommenced, but such migration, though regular, rarely involves large numbers of persons. Seasonal movements have also developed here and there; these are likewise comparatively regular, though more subject to business fluctuations, particularly in the building industry; but

[1] Previous articles on these subjects published in the *International Labour Review* include "Features of Post-War European Migration", Vol. LXX, No. 1, July 1954; and A. OBLATH: "The Problem of Surplus Manpower in Europe", Vol. LXX, Nos. 3-4. Sep.-Oct. 1954.

here, too, the total volume of manpower able to take advantage of such periodic outlets has not been large. As regards movements over longer periods and not of a frontier character, the total net transfer has for most countries been greatly inferior to the gross figures [1]; even the gross figures were high only during the immediate post-war years of the period and subsequently fell to a rather low level. In the Europe of today "permanent" migration is stationary, or nearly so. International mobility of manpower, far from expanding with the return to normal economic conditions, has on the contrary tended to contract greatly.

It may be asked, in these circumstances, whether a study of the problem of the international mobility of manpower in post-war Europe has not a purely retrospective interest. No doubt this would be true of a study related to the migration movements themselves and not to the general conditions surrounding them. But if one adopts this latter standpoint it becomes natural to include in a single review both the factors that have caused migration and those that have obstructed it : and this examination is of present as well as historical significance, for it enables us to account for both the relative mobility of the immediate post-war years and the relative immobility of today. The efforts made at the international level to facilitate movements of workers from one country to another, and so to obtain a full utilisation of Europe's manpower resources, have hitherto come up against obstacles that rendered them practically useless. In order to understand the sterility of these efforts, which will be examined in the second part of the present article [2], a previous study of the basic data of the problem of manpower mobility seems indispensable. Such a study is the subject of the first part of this article.

The New Situation in the Post-War Period

The movements of workers between European countries that have taken place since the war have been largely due to the same fundamental causes as those of previous periods : more or less extensive underemployment in certain countries, where the increase in the population of working age is not accompanied by sufficient economic development ; manpower shortages in other countries with more capital or resources, where the active population tends to fall short of the over-all demand and the workers consequently tend to abandon the more unpleasant or less well-

[1] The net entry figure, for instance, corresponds to the total number of persons entering the country minus the number of persons emigrating or returning to their country of origin.

[2] To appear in the next issue of the *Review*.

paid occupations ; and—as a result of these more or less opposite conditions—discrepancies, sometimes very pronounced, between the real wages of these two groups of countries. This is naturally only a very rough generalisation, which certainly does not apply to all migration movements. It not infrequently happens that countries have quite large surpluses and shortages at the same time, which they find difficult or impossible to cancel out, and therefore have recourse to immigration in spite of relatively heavy unemployment. Belgium affords an example of this. France, which has taken in the largest number of permanent immigrants since the war, including a large number of foreign agricultural workers, herself suffers from overpopulation in some rural areas. Moreover, the fact that most countries have emigration and immigration movements of more or less unequal dimensions leads to some confusion, for general economic conditions cannot explain everything—short-distance migrations, especially frontier movements, are often governed far more by local circumstances. Moreover, there are cases of temporary or even permanent migrations arising from even more specific causes, which may sometimes be purely individual.

But while it is necessary to make these nice distinctions in explaining present-day migratory movements, it is not here that the new aspects of the problem of the international mobility of workers in Europe are to be sought ; the reasons for the new situation are not to be found in the economic and political causes of the phenomenon but rather in its attendant circumstances.

The first of these new circumstances is a marked shrinking of the European manpower market, from which the Eastern countries have withdrawn for reasons of economic and general policy. A relatively high number of workers originating from Eastern Europe have become integrated since the war into the active population of certain West European countries, but as political refugees. Eastern and Western Europe have not maintained " normal " relationships with regard to manpower.

The second is a new spirit of international solidarity that has emerged in this shrunken Europe since the war and has led to closer economic co-operation than was practised formerly. The Organisation for European Economic Co-operation and the European Coal and Steel Community symbolise this new spirit and represent its major achievements. However, these psychological changes and these new bonds between countries have had little, if any, effect on manpower movements. The ideal of a European Community wherein workers would move as freely as capital and goods has come up against much stronger protectionist tendencies, which do not seem likely to give way.

In this Europe, which seems to be moving towards economic unity and has already made great strides in this direction, one of the most important new factors of the migration problem is not, as might have been expected, a relaxation of the old controls but on the contrary their reinforcement. The paradox is only apparent and can easily be explained. An extension of the responsibilities and role of the State in the economic field has everywhere proved to be—in the light of the experience of the inter-war period—the first requisite for rapid and balanced development. In the field of employment, as in many others, the fulfilling of these new duties called for statutory regulations. Immigration and even, in certain cases, emigration have been subjected to tightened controls, which have enabled the authorities responsible for ensuring the stability of the national labour market to regulate its movements according to the national interests. On this point the international ideal, which directly conflicted with that of the State as guardian of the interests of the community, did not prevail.

The almost generalised tendency towards a reinforcement of controls in the field of international migration is not, however, the only factor in contemporary economic policies that has had an adverse influence on manpower mobility in Europe—perhaps it is not even the most important factor. In general an effort has been made to obtain the desired increases in production by increasing the number of workers as little as possible and raising their output as much as possible. Direct or indirect incentives to productivity given by the authorities have led to improved equipment and better working methods—in other words, to the performance of as much and even more work by fewer workers. On the whole the negative effects on the level of employment of this systematic quest for productivity have been compensated by expanded activity in certain branches of industry and certain services, but they have usually been felt most in those industries that made the greatest call on foreign labour in the traditional countries of immigration.[1]

Moreover productivity policies have been accompanied by measures for ensuring the highest possible level of employment for native manpower. In particular, all possible means have been used to cope with shortages by internal methods : mobilisation of all national manpower reserves, overtime, vocational guidance of the young towards undermanned occupations, occupational training of the unemployed with a view to redistributing them into expanding fields of activity, and action on the part of employment services

[1] This applies in general to agriculture and is also true in France and Belgium in the case of coal mines and, in France, of iron and steel. See European Coal and Steel Community : *Documentation sur les problèmes du travail dans les Industries de la Communauté (Emplois et Salaires)*, May 1954.

to compensate as far as possible regional or national manpower shortages or surpluses by encouraging workers seeking employment to change their domicile. New activities have even been created in certain areas with endemic unemployment, in order to absorb on the spot surplus workers who were reluctant to move, or for whom it was preferable to provide work near their place of origin. Doubtless these measures have not everywhere resulted in a perfect balance on the labour market or the reduction of unemployment to an ideal minimum but they have at least contributed towards reducing chronic manpower shortages to very low levels, even in the countries that used to suffer most from such shortages and were still very short of manpower immediately after the war. Thus, while national employment markets were shielding themselves more effectively against the competition of foreign manpower, every opportunity was taken to make the national economy independent of such manpower.

However, action on the part of the authorities with regard to productivity and employment is not enough to explain why the supplementary manpower needs of countries of immigration have diminished. In so far as labour costs, taken as a whole, have gone up, the need for undertakings to save manpower has increased and certain technical improvements have become more imperative. This general observation is illustrated by the case of French agriculture.

Finally, another feature of the new situation as compared with the old is the ever-more marked disparity between the kind of manpower available in countries of underemployment and the needs of other countries. Countries of immigration, which have effected their greatest economy in manpower in the field of unskilled work, offer much fewer openings for the unskilled, whereas the bulk of surplus workers available in the less developed countries of south Europe come from overpopulated rural areas and are without special skill. On the other hand there are more and more shortages in skilled occupations that require relatively advanced occupational training, and these shortages are fairly general throughout Europe. Farmers without land or with insufficient land also raise a general problem—even France is showing concern about it—and a solution seems difficult at the European level.

The hopes that some countries with surplus manpower, especially Italy, had placed in an expansion of the emigration of their unemployed towards other European countries were thus disappointed. The countries with major shortages at the end of the war and whose working population has increased but little have been able to attain their economic objectives without having to call regularly on large numbers of extra workers from abroad.

This result, achieved partly through deliberate action on the part of the authorities, met the wishes of the trade union organisations of these countries, which constantly fear either a reduction in the volume of employment through depression or non-compensated structural cuts.[1] Experience has not confirmed these fears—these countries, since the war, have constantly been in a position near to full employment. But neither has it proved that more liberal immigration policies would not have endangered this situation, and so this attitude has remained unchanged. Hence, countries with surplus manpower have been obliged to seek other ways of solving their employment problems and not to rely too much on the meagre outlets offered by the rest of Europe.

Shortages and Surpluses of Manpower in Europe during the Past Ten Years

If we attempt to trace the evolutionary trend of the European manpower market since the war, we are faced at once with a problem of method. The manpower situation is characterised by two basic factors : the general level of employment, which is dependent upon the number of persons employed and average weekly hours of work, and the state of the manpower market, which may either be balanced or show shortages or surpluses of varying degree. It is the second factor that we are concerned with here.[2] But the statistical information available is not adequate to give a satisfactory picture of the amount of the shortages or surpluses. The difficulty lies, in the case of shortages, in the absence or unreliability of the directly relevant data. In the case of surpluses it is due to the fact that it is usually difficult to establish the relationship between official unemployment—the only measured form of underemployment—and underemployment in its larger sense (corresponding roughly with the concept of surplus manpower), which may in some cases be far greater than the unemployment recorded.

There is no satisfactory solution to this problem. With regard to underemployment, only very rough estimates can be made. As for shortages, immigration statistics will give the least inaccurate picture of these, since they generally represent the minimum figure. It is these two series of data that will be used in this article.

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[1] Trade unions, moreover, tend to believe that a certain scarcity of manpower is likely to favour a rise in wages and that immigration, by diminishing it, will slow down such a rise.

[2] The first cannot, however, be ignored where unemployment figures are insufficient to indicate a situation of underemployment.

Shortages

Major shortages, such as make it necessary to introduce foreign manpower on a large scale, have occurred in only five countries : Belgium, France, the United Kingdom, Sweden and Switzerland. These shortages have led Belgium, France and the United Kingdom to follow—at least during the first post-war years—active immigration policies ; Sweden and Switzerland have generally confined themselves to allowing into the country the necessary foreign workers who came of their own choice under the current regulations. In the first four of these countries there has been a decrease in the demand for permanent manpower from abroad ; only the manner in which this trend occurred has varied from one country to another.

Belgium.

Belgian immigration and emigration statistics, by countries of origin and destination, give an approximate idea of the global volume and rate of entries of foreign manpower for the period 1948-54.[1]

TABLE I. FOREIGN IMMIGRATION TO BELGIUM (1948-54) FROM OTHER EUROPEAN COUNTRIES

(In thousands) [1]

Year	From Italy		From other countries		Total	
	Gross	Net	Gross	Net	Gross	Net
1948	48.9	35.8	33.1	11.7	82.0	47.5
1949	9.1	—6.0	15.4	0.3	24.5	—5.7
1950	6.9	—4.3	13.3	1.4	20.2	—2.9
1951	38.1	27.2	14.5	3.5	52.6	30.7
1952	28.6	16.1	15.3	5.8	43.9	21.9
1953	14.3	2.3	16.7	6.8	31.0	9.1
1954	9.5	—1.5	15.9	5.9	25.4	4.5
Total ...	155.4	69.6	124.2	35.4	279.6	105.1

Source : Ministère des Affaires Economiques, Institut National de Statistique : *Annuaire Statistique de la Belgique et du Congo belge* (Brussels), 1948-54.

[1] In order to simplify this table and the following tables, round figures are given. As a result, the totals based on the original figures may differ slightly from the totals resulting from the addition of the round figures.

It will be seen from table I that the excess of arrivals over departures of foreigners from and to the rest of Europe amounted to a little over 100,000. But the net continental immigration was probably little more than 80,000 ; the major part of net foreign emigration to overseas countries (about 20,000—perhaps even

[1] No figures are available for 1946 and 1947.

more) can be ascribed to the emigration surplus of foreigners of European origin residing in Belgium.[1]

A comparison between the census figures of 31 December 1947 and the census of foreign residents of 1 November 1954 shows (after allowing for the number of persons who acquired Belgian nationality during the period) an increase in the foreign population of 50,000 only [2], and a fall in numbers of all residents of foreign nationality except Italians. This suggests that the figure for net European immigration obtained from migration statistics is too high, and that the true figure is probably between 50,000 and 80,000. This increase, due entirely to Italian immigration, indicates a net immigration of the order of 30,000 to 40,000 workers—and the former figure is probably the nearer.[3] This approximate figure may be taken as the measure of the new permanent openings that Belgium has been able to offer to foreign workers since 1948. Belgium's needs have therefore been rather modest, in spite of the first impression given by migration statistics.

In the absence of more accurate information, it can be considered that the curve of net male migration between Italy and Belgium reflects fairly closely manpower shortages in the past few years. The figures (in thousands) for this migration between 1948 and 1954 are as follows: 29.5 (1948); —8.7 (1949); —6.1 (1950); 22.8 (1951); 8.9 (1952); —2.2 (1953); —4 (1954).

An examination of Italian expatriation and repatriation statistics for previous years shows a net global (male and female emigration) movement of 21,300 for 1946 and 23,700 for 1947. The trend therefore rose at first, to reach its first peak in 1948. This is the period of the great post-war shortages, which were found in a number of countries, and which led Belgium, like France, to introduce a large number of Germans and refugees in addition to Italian workers. The less favourable economic situation of the next two years caused a contraction in the volume of employment, followed by a sharp recovery in 1951. The position has since become more or less stable ; new arrivals of foreign manpower do little more than balance the departures.

Statistics concerning work permits, which have been published since 1950 by the Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare,[4] give an

[1] The majority are displaced persons and refugees who entered Belgium during the first post-war years.

[2] Figure based on data in *Annuaire statistique de la Belgique et du Congo belge*, op. cit., 1951, pp. 40-41, and *Bulletin de statistique*, Apr. 1955, pp. 718 ff.

[3] The second figure. which is based on net male immigration from Italy. would correspond to a total net immigration of 80,000, which is difficult to accept if the 1954 census is accurate.

[4] See *Annuaire statistique de la Belgique et du Congo belge*, op. cit., 1952-53, for the years 1950 to 1952 and *Bulletin de statistique*, op. cit., 1954-55, for the years 1953 and 1954.

idea of the industries in which there has been a shortage of manpower. Table II shows, on the basis of the average number of permits delivered between 1950 and 1954, the industries in which shortages were most acute.[1]

TABLE II. DISTRIBUTION OF MANPOWER SHORTAGE IN BELGIUM

(Percentages)

Male workers		Female workers	
Extraction industries	69.7	Hotel trade and personal services	14.1
Manufacturing industries [1].	18.4	Manufacturing industries	42.7
Building and construction industries. .	4.1	Other activities	43.2
Other activities	7.8		
	100.0		100.0

[1] Including 7.3 per cent. for iron and steel and the mechanical industries.

Nearly 70 per cent. of the requirements in male workers concerned extraction workers (i.e. coalminers), and this average proportion has again increased in the last few years. Workers are forsaking mining more than any other industry in Belgium. The particular lack of stability of mineworkers shows to a large extent how great is the movement of workers between Italy and Belgium.

France.

French immigration statistics [2] are in one way easier to use for this analysis than the Belgian statistics, for they are specifically manpower immigration statistics compiled by the National Immigration Office, which enjoys a legal monopoly with regard to the introduction of foreign workers. Unfortunately, they refer only to entries of workers : there are no data on returns or departures.

To this permanent and seasonal immigration, which is shown in tables III and IV, may be added frontier migration from Belgium, which has involved on the average some 40,000 workers.[3]

If permanent immigration alone is considered, to the exclusion of frontier movements and seasonal migration, French and Belgian

[1] Averages in absolute figures amount respectively to 76,000 for male workers and 9,900 for female workers.

[2] Published in *Travailleurs étrangers en France*, the mimeographed bulletin of the French Ministry of Labour.

[3] See *Annuaire statistique de la Belgique et du Congo belge*, op. cit., years 1950 and 1952.

TABLE III. PERMANENT WORKERS INTRODUCED INTO FRANCE OR PERMITTED TO WORK [1] BY THE NATIONAL IMMIGRATION OFFICE (1946-54)

(In thousands)

Distribution	1946 [2]	1947	1948	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953	1954	Total
By nationality :										
German. . . .	—	3.4	14.3	12.3	1.9	1.2	1.2	0.6	0.5	35.4
Italian	27.8	51.3	27.9	36.9	6.1	15.9	27.9	11.2	8.5	213.5
Miscellaneous [3].	3.4	13.4	14.9	9.6	2.6	3.9	3.7	3.6	3.2	57.3
Total . . .	30.2	68.2	57.0	58.7	10.5	21.0	32.8	15.4	12.3	306.1
By industry :										
Agriculture . .	2.5	11.6	18.2	23.2	4.5	6.3	11.6	6.3	4.3	88.5
Building [4] . .	5.5	11.1	2.3	4.9	1.7	3.5	10.5	4.4	4.0	47.9
Extraction [5]. .	5.6	13.9	14.4	15.7	0.3	4.9	1.6	0.1	0.3	56.8
Iron and steel [6]	—	13.4	6.2	2.9	0.7	—	3.7	0.8	0.5	28.2
Miscellaneous .	16.6	18.2	16.0	12.4	3.4	6.2	5.4	3.8	3.1	84.5
Total . . .	30.2	68.2	57.0	58.7	10.5	21.0	32.8	15.4	12.3	306.1

[1] Workers who entered as tourists and whose position has since been regularised. [2] Last six months only. [3] Chiefly displaced persons from 1947 to 1949 and Spaniards since 1952. [4] And public works. [5] Coal mines. [6] And mechanical industries.

immigration have shown very similar characteristics : the same over-all fluctuations in the curve for workers introduced into the country and the same general tendency towards a falling-off of needs once the gaps of the first post-war years had been filled.[1] On the other hand manpower needs in France have been markedly more varied, and it is from agriculture that the strongest and most regular demand has come, although the level of employment in this branch is constantly becoming lower, since workers are leaving it at an even faster rate.

In view of the very moderate figures for immigration during the past few years, the question arises whether the introduction of foreign manpower has done more than balance departures and whether the immigrant workers were not in fact used to meet

[1] A few differences nevertheless emerge from a comparison of the figures. The peak of immigration into France was in 1947, not 1948 ; moreover to the 1947 total should be added 40,000 prisoners of war who became free workers and decided to settle in France when their contracts expired. On the contrary, a lag in the opposite direction is to be noted during the following years ; the effects of the unfavourable economic situation in 1949-50 and of the recovery of 1951 were felt later in France than in Belgium. But these are differences of detail, which can partly be explained by the slowness of French immigration machinery and by the buffer effect of the immigration of agricultural manpower. They only emphasise the remarkable over-all parallel between the two movements.

TABLE IV. SEASONAL WORKERS INTRODUCED INTO FRANCE BY THE NATIONAL IMMIGRATION OFFICE (1946-54)

(In thousands)

Nationality	1946	1947	1948	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953	1954
Agriculture :									
Belgian	10.9	17.5	14.3	11.9	7.6	9.2	12.3	10.2	9.0
Italian	0.7	2.0	1.6	3.8	4.8	13.3	18.3	19.5	16.6
Total . . .	11.5	19.4	15.9	15.7	15.9	22.5	30.5	29.7	26.9[1]
Other activities [2] *:*									
Belgian	—	—	5.9	4.3	3.5	3.3	3.2	3.0	1.9

[1] This total includes 1.1 thousand Spaniards.

[2] Chiefly the flax and sugar industries.

fresh shortages resulting from economic expansion.[1] In the case of France at any rate the present shortages, which are confined to certain skilled occupations in agriculture, building and the metal trades, are insignificant.[2] For the past few years the labour market has shown obvious signs of saturation, and it would appear that this cannot be regarded merely as the consequence of a perhaps over-cautious manpower policy and of North African immigration [3] but also as the result of certain structural changes in the economy.[4]

Since there are no direct data on the departures or returns of immigrant workers, only an estimate can be made of net manpower immigration. On the basis of the figure for net global immigration, resulting from a comparison of the figures for the 1946 and 1954 censuses [5], viz., 277,000, it seems reasonable to suggest a figure of approximately 200,000, to which should be added some 50,000

[1] The 1954 census revealed a net immigration of only 277,000 since 1946, whereas gross immigration probably amounted to twice this figure (393,000 official immigrants and former prisoners of war, workers who entered surreptitiously in 1946, refugees and foreigners not gainfully occupied or whose occupation was not registered). The proportion of departures as against entries of foreign workers, while not so great as in Belgium, seems to have been much higher than had been thought (at least 30 per cent., probably more).

[2] As regards the building industry, where activity is expanding, the Ministry of Labour is endeavouring to meet the relatively large needs that have emerged lately by mobilising all the resources available on the national employment market and by intensifying the vocational training of workers preparing for this branch.

[3] Of which the net balance is probably in the neighbourhood of 250,000 ; a large number of the immigrants are without regular employment.

[4] See Xavier LANNES : *L'immigration en France depuis 1945*, Publications of the Research Group for European Migration Problems, No. VIII (The Hague, Martinus Nijhoff, 1953), pp. 56 ff.

[5] See *Population* (Institut National d'études démographiques), No. 1, Jan.-Mar. 1955, pp. 135 ff.

frontier migrants and about 30,000 seasonal workers, in order to ascertain approximately the volume of stable jobs that have been made available since the war to foreign workers—a small figure for France, particularly in view of the long-term forecasts of immigration needs made immediately after the war.

United Kingdom.

In the absence of statistics on migration proper, most of the post-war immigration to the United Kingdom from Europe is covered by the data collected by the Home Office concerning foreigners of European nationality entering and leaving the country [1], the figures collated by the Ministry of Labour and National Service on the control of the admittance of foreign workers [2] and the report of the National Assistance Board concerning the operations of the Polish Resettlement Corps.

TABLE V. NET IMMIGRATION TO THE UNITED KINGDOM OF FOREIGNERS OF EUROPEAN ORIGIN, 1946-53 [1]

(In thousands)

Nationality	1946	1947	1948	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953	Total
German	–0.1	5.6	1.8	15.3	7.9	2.2	0.5	1.0	34.2
Baltic and Finnish	1.0	21.2	5.4	–0.5	–0.4	–1.9	–2.5	–0.6	21.7
Italian	0.8	2.9	3.6	3.8	4.3	7.3	2.3	2.9	27.9
Polish.	11.9	8.4	24.1	–4.6	—	–8.1	–4.2	–1.1	26.4
Miscellaneous [2] . .	8.0	22.5	23.0	5.7	2.5	2.1	–2.1	3.7	65.4
Total [3] . . .	21.5	60.6	57.9	19.6	14.2	1.7	–5.9	6.0	175.6

Source: *Statistics of Foreigners Entering and Leaving the United Kingdom*, op. cit.

[1] Balance of arrivals and departures by sea and air. [2] The majority are nationals of Eastern European countries. [3] This total does not take into account an important category of passengers of doubtful nationality, the majority of whom are probably Europeans. However, the balance for this item is negligible.

The net immigration of foreigners of European origin during the period 1946-53 was about 175,000 (table V). However, this figure does not represent total emigration from Europe, for there were in addition some 94,000 Polish officers and soldiers who settled in the country under the auspices of the Polish Resettlement Corps, and about 24,000 German, Ukrainian and Italian former prisoners of war who chose to remain in the United

[1] Home Office: *Statistics of Foreigners Entering and Leaving the United Kingdom*, 1939-51 and 1952-53, Cmd. 8967 and Cmd. 9290.

[2] Ministry of Labour and National Service: *Report for the Years 1939-1946*, Cmd. 7225, and *Reports* for the years 1947-53, Cmd. Nos. 7759, 7822, 8017, 8338, 8640, 8893 and 9207.

Kingdom after they were freed.[1] This gives a total in the neighbourhood of 300,000, over 80 per cent. of them immigrants of the immediate post-war period.

Out of this total, most of the ex-soldiers of the Polish army and the former prisoners of war can be considered as having become permanently incorporated into the British active population.[2] They found employment in the branches of activity in which there were the most severe shortages immediately after the war—agriculture, forestry, brick-making, mining, building and public works. The vast majority of the immigrants accounted for by the Home Office have also settled in the United Kingdom in order to carry on an occupational activity. They are divided into two major categories :

(1) workers recruited collectively in agreement with the Ministry of Labour and National Service to meet the requirements of certain essential industries (European volunteer workers), and their dependants ;

(2) workers who obtained individually from the Ministry of Labour permission to carry on an occupational activity in the United Kingdom (individual permit holders), and their dependants.

For both these categories reliable statistics have been drawn up by the Ministry of Labour and National Service ; for the second category a parallel series of statistics is issued by the Home Office.

To the total of 98,000 workers recruited collectively should be

TABLE VI. WORKERS RECRUITED COLLECTIVELY, 1946-53 [1]

(In thousands)

Object of recruitment	1946	1947	1948	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953	Total
Hospitals and domestic services[2]	0.9	2.6	2.0	5.7	1.9	—	—	—	13.1
Miscellaneous activities [3]	—	31.7	37.0	1.8	0.8	—	—	—	71.3
Textiles [4]	—	—	0.8	0.9	0.6	—	—	—	2.3
Mining and iron and steel [5]	—	0.3	0.1	—	—	4.5	2.6	1.0	8.1
Miscellaneous	0.3	—	0.1	0.4	1.4	0.3	—	—	2.5
Total	1.2	34.6	40.0	8.8	4.7	4.8	2.6	1.0	97.7

Source : Ministry of Labour and National Service : *Report for the Years 1939-1946*, op. cit., and *Reports* for the years 1947-53 inclusive.

[1] European volunteer workers. [2] Baltic and German women recruited 1947 and 1948-50. [3] Men and women recruited from among displaced persons of various ethnic groups for agriculture, mining, iron and steel, textiles, the hotel industry and hospitals. [4] Austrian women. [5] Italian workers.

[1] *Statistics of Foreigners Entering and Leaving the United Kingdom*, op. cit., 1939-51, p. 5.

[2] A certain number of these have emigrated overseas during the past few years.

added approximately 4,000 dependants, giving a gross global immigration figure of about 100,000.

TABLE VII. EUROPEAN WORKERS ADMITTED TO THE UNITED KINGDOM UNDER AN INDIVIDUAL WORKING PERMIT [1] AND THEIR DEPENDANTS (1946-53)

(In thousands)

Nationality	1946	1947	1948	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953	Total
German . .	—	—	1.0	6.4	9.3	10.7	6.5	6.3	40.2
Austrian . .	—	1.5	2.4	2.1	2.2	2.8	1.5	2.0	12.7
French. . .	0.8	2.3	3.5	4.6	5.2	6.0	3.0	3.0	28.4
Italian. . .	0.3	1.9	2.9	4.1	5.8	7.7	5.8	5.1	33.6
Scandinavian. . .	1.5	3.0	3.8	4.6	3.9	4.3	3.2	3.1	27.4
Swiss . . .	1.2	4.5	5.4	6.2	5.6	4.9	3.9	4.1	35.8
Miscellaneous . . .	3.8	8.8	5.6	5.4	5.6	6.5	4.5	4.9	44.8
Total [2] . . .	6.4	22.4	24.5	33.4	38.0	42.5	27.9	27.4	222.8

Source: *Statistics of Foreigners Entering and Leaving the United Kingdom*, op. cit., 1946-51 and 1952-53.

[1] Workers and their dependants admitted under the collective recruitment procedure also appear in the figures from 1952. [2] This does not include those in the "doubtful" category.

According to Ministry of Labour statistics [1], 64.2 per cent. of the permits issued during this period were for domestic workers, 10.7 per cent. for artists and only 8.8 per cent. in respect of industry and commerce. This distribution explains the very great preponderance of women in the figures for immigration through individual permits.

In the final analysis these two forms of immigration have had but one aspect in common : the very small number of dependants accompanying the workers admitted. They differed both as to the type and the duration of the job. The first form principally met the needs of agriculture, mining and the textile industries, and provided relatively few domestic workers (less than 10,000), whereas the second provided mainly domestic workers. To a very large extent, probably 90 per cent., the first form of immigration was permanent, whereas the second was very largely temporary.

The other categories of immigrants settled in the United Kingdom for reasons other than that of carrying on an occupation. They include the families of Polish servicemen, distressed relatives of refugees who had settled in the country, spouses or future spouses of British citizens, and residents authorised to prolong temporary stays.

[1] *Report for the Years 1939-1946*, op. cit., and reports for the years 1947-53 inclusive.

In all, the various categories do not seem to represent much more than 50,000 persons ; it can therefore be said that the net immigration of workers between 1946 and 1953 probably amounted to nearly 250,000. In addition, a proportion of the immigrants authorised to settle in the United Kingdom for other reasons subsequently joined the active population.

Hence the figure arrived at is approximately of the same proportion as that estimated for France and Belgium. And it is even more evident in the case of the United Kingdom than in the case of these two countries that the manpower shortages that justified the recruitment of large numbers of foreign workers for essential branches of industry ceased in 1949. Since then the United Kingdom has required in large numbers only domestic workers, chiefly because of the instability of foreign workers in this branch. In industry the shortages that could be remedied by immigration have amounted to some few thousand persons only.[1]

As for Irish immigration, which is subject to no control, it is well-nigh impossible to ascertain its volume. The Ministry of Labour and National Service has assisted in some of this immigration ; male workers have been recruited chiefly for agriculture and non-skilled work in mines and industry, female workers mostly for domestic work and hospital service. The figures show a rapid decrease in this assisted immigration between 1947 (29,000 immigrants) and 1953 (700).

But this form of immigration by no means represents the complete movement of workers, for which, unfortunately, no other direct data is available. The downward trend in assisted immigration is no indication that the global movement has followed the same trend. British statistics of passengers leaving and entering the Republic of Ireland by sea or air seem to show the contrary. The balance of entries and departures between 1946 and 1953 inclusive shows a net immigration of 146,000 persons into Great Britain, of which more than half was between 1951 and 1953. But if this figure is taken as the net Irish immigration for the period, it would still give a very inadequate picture of the immigration of workers, many of whom cross the Irish Sea every year for seasonal work. Ireland remains for the United Kingdom an important source of unskilled manpower, which seems to suffice it for the moment.

Sweden.

The statistical information available for Sweden is similar to that for Belgium and even a little more complete : there are

[1] Shortages of skilled workers are much greater, in the light metal trades in particular, but manpower with the necessary skill is not available in Europe.

statistics of immigration, emigration and residence permits, and periodical censuses of foreigners in employment.[1] The immigration movement during the last few years can therefore be examined with sufficient accuracy.

TABLE VIII. EUROPEAN IMMIGRATION TO SWEDEN, 1946-54
(In thousands)

Year	Country of origin											
	Germany		Denmark		Finland		Norway		Others [1]		Totals	
	Gross	Net	Gross	Net	Gross	Net	Gross	Net	Gross	Net	Gross	Net
1946 . . .	2.0	1.9	3.7	1.7	4.0	3.7	3.6	1.7	16.3	15.6	29.5	24.4
1947 . . .	3.0	2.9	6.2	4.7	6.6	6.2	4.2	3.0	9.6	8.9	29.6	25.6
1948 . . .	3.6	3.3	6.9	5.0	8.9	8.3	1.5	3.1	10.4	6.8	31.4	26.6
1949 . . .	3.3	2.9	5.0	2.1	6.4	5.4	3.9	2.5	3.7	2.4	22.2	15.2
1950 . . .	4.1	3.6	4.1	1.4	11.9	10.7	3.2	1.5	3.2	1.9	26.0	18.5
1951 . . .	6.1	5.5	4.8	2.4	12.8	10.8	3.2	1.6	2.9	1.7	29.6	21.7
1952 . . .	6.6	5.4	4.1	1.5	8.2	4.5	2.3	0.4	3.1	1.9	24.3	13.7
1953 . . .	3.9	1.9	2.6	0.4	6.8	2.9	1.9	0.2	1.9	0.2	17.1	4.3
1954 . . .	3.5	1.7	2.8	0.3	8.4	5.5	1.8	0.3	1.9	0.4	18.5	8.3
Totals . .	36.1	29.1	40.2	18.7	74.0	58.0	28.3	13.9	50.2	39.8	228.2	158.3

Source : Statistiska Centralbyrån *Statistisk Årsbok*, op. cit., years 1947-54, and for 1954, communication from the Swedish Government to the International Labour Office.

[1] Chiefly Balts and Poles, 1946-48.

Net immigration from the rest of Europe for the period 1946-54 amounted, according to these figures, to nearly 160,000 persons, of which a little more than half settled in the country during the first three years.[2] Immigration dropped to some extent in the period 1949-50, rose sharply in 1951 and then fell again. Taken as a whole, therefore, the fluctuations in immigration due to economic reasons ran parallel with those of France and Belgium with, however, a markedly less accentuated drop in the period 1949-50.

It is difficult to give precise figures of the increase in manpower that resulted from post-war immigration. The statistics of foreign workers in employment are not very helpful, owing to the variations in the employment level of foreigners caused by changes in

[1] Statistiska Centralbyrån : *Statistisk Årsbok*, years 1947-54 inclusive.

[2] This figure can be broken down by means of other sources (1945 census and statistics on naturalisations and residence permits), as follows (figures in thousands) :

Foreigners having a residence permit (1st quarter 1954)	+ 111.1
Naturalisations, 1946-53	+ 31.6
Census of foreign population in 1945	— 35.1
Net adult immigration . . .	+ 107.6

The major part of the difference between this second figure and the first is due to the fact that minors aged 16 are not required to have a residence permit. Nevertheless, the figure of 160,000 is probably a little too high.

the current economic situation. Moreover these statistics have been published only since 1949. On the whole statistics of residence permits are probably a more reliable source, since they cover temporarily unemployed foreign manpower and comprise but a small number of inactive persons.

TABLE IX. FOREIGNERS RESIDING IN SWEDEN AND HOLDING A RESIDENCE PERMIT (APRIL 1954)

(In thousands)

Nationality	1946	1947	1948	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953	1954
German . . .	5.7	5.3	7.2	8.4	10.3	12.1	17.7	18.4	20.7
Baltic	25.4	26.3	24.4	24.6	21.8	21.9	20.0	18.8	16.9
Danish	4.3	11.1	16.4	17.5	15.8	14.7	17.2	15.8	14.4
Finnish	6.8	7.0	8.1	10.6	14.0	19.7	27.0	25.5	28.4
Norwegian . .	6.3	10.0	10.8	12.1	12.7	12.1	12.8	11.1	10.6
Miscellaneous .	5.5	16.4	20.8	21.9	22.3	21.8	21.2	20.4	20.1
Total . . .	63.0	76.5	87.7	95.1	96.9	102.3	115.9	110.0	111.1

Source : *Statistisk Årsbok*, op. cit.

It appears from table IX that the foreign population holding residence permits increased by approximatively 50,000 between 1 April 1946 and 1 April 1954. By adding a proportion—a reasonable estimate would be two-thirds—of the foreigners naturalised between 1946 and 1954, i.e. about 25,000, the figure for net immigration of manpower for 1946-54 may be estimated at some 80,000, i.e. at least 50 per cent. of net global immigration and probably more.

The influx of foreigners occurred mainly in the following industries : extraction and metal industries (19.1 per cent. of foreigners in employment on 1 April 1954), agriculture and forestry (11.1 per cent.), the hotel industry (10.8 per cent.), domestic services (9.1 per cent.), clothing (6.2 per cent.), textiles (5.8 per cent.) and maritime transport (5.3 per cent.).[1]

Of the four countries reviewed, therefore, the number of foreign workers admitted has been relatively highest and most regular in Sweden, though the Swedish employment market has also given signs of saturation in recent years. This is remarkable in view of the fact that the active population of Sweden was not depleted as a result of the war.

Switzerland.

Swiss statistics do not permit a full analysis of recent immigration. Only two sources are available : statistics of residence permits

[1] Statistics compiled by the Organisation for European Economic Co-operation.

issued to foreign workers [1], and the annual census taken since 1949 of foreign workers subject to control.[2]

TABLE X. RESIDENCE PERMITS ISSUED TO FOREIGN WORKERS BY THE FEDERAL AUTHORITY OR THE CANTONAL AUTHORITIES (1946-54)

(In thousands)

	1946	1947	1948	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953	1954	Total
Type of worker:										
Seasonal [1]	34.3	95.6	107.7	47.4	31.6	50.0	63.5	72.0	81.1	583.2
Non-seasonal	6.3	39.4	5.7	27.6	31.6	62.9	66.5	66.7	73.0	379.7
Frontier	8.0	14.5	16.0	11.0	12.0	23.9	19.8	23.6	27.5	156.3
Total	48.6	149.5	129.4	86.1	75.2	136.8	149.8	162.3	181.6	1,119.2
Origin:										
German	—	5.9	8.5	8.2	10.1	25.6	28.0	32.9	40.1	159.3
Austrian	—	2.7	9.5	9.6	11.6	20.1	21.7	25.5	26.7	127.4
French	—	8.5	9.8	8.2	5.0	6.1	5.8	6.6	6.2	56.2
Italian	—	126.6	95.3	35.9	46.0	82.1	91.1	93.8	105.1	695.9

Sources: *Annuaire Statistique de la Suisse*, op. cit., years 1946-53, and communication from the Office fédéral de l'industrie, des arts et métiers et du travail to the International Labour Office.

[1] For the years 1946-48 the figure for seasonal permits also includes longer-term permits issued to agricultural workers, domestic servants and lower-grade hotel staff.

TABLE XI. FOREIGN WORKERS SUBJECT TO CONTROL IN SWITZERLAND, 1949-55 [1]

(In thousands)

Nationality	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953	1954	1955
German	—	12.9	15.6	28.1	32.4	38.6	45.3
Austrian	—	11.8	15.7	22.4	24.7	28.9	30.9
French	—	6.7	6.3	6.9	6.2	6.5	7.0
Italian	—	54.0	53.6	70.2	71.4	71.3	77.9
Miscellaneous	—	4.7	4.4	4.8	4.7	4.7	5.1
Total [2]	106.1	90.1	95.4	132.3	139.4	150.0	166.2

Sources: *Annuaire Statistique de la Suisse*, op. cit., year 1953, and communication from the Office fédéral de l'industrie, des arts et métiers et du travail to the International Labour Office.

[1] Position in Feb. each year. [2] The number of seasonal workers included in these totals for the years 1949 to 1954 is as follows (in thousands): 11.6; 6.5; 10.0; 16.6; 15.9; 18.5.

According to these the total number of permits issued to foreign workers since 1946 amounted to over 1,100,000, of which 380,000

[1] Bureau Fédéral de Statistique: *Annuaire Statistique de la Suisse*, years 1946-53.

[2] Ibid., year 1953.

were to non-seasonal workers.[1] Immigration, which was high in 1947-48 and markedly lower during the next two years, rose steeply in 1951 to reach its highest level in 1954. The Swiss trend, therefore, deviates clearly from that of the four countries reviewed above, and seems to show no trace of a structural decrease in manpower requirements.

It is difficult to ascertain accurately the volume of net immigration of workers. Taking into account foreign workers who have obtained residence permits after a few years' stay and who do not appear in the statistics of foreign workers subject to control, it seems possible to suggest a figure of roughly 150,000 for the period 1946-54, well over half of them Italian. In addition to the 150,000 permanent jobs there are seasonal jobs, the volume of which seems to have been settling during the past few years around a figure of 70,000. Non-seasonal immigration was chiefly into domestic service (25.6 per cent. of workers subject to control in February 1954); the hotel trade (20.6 per cent.); the metal trades and mechanical engineering (12.5 per cent.); agriculture (9.6 per cent.) and the textile industries (6.5 per cent.). Seasonal immigration principally affected the building industry (50.3 per cent. of permits delivered in 1953), agriculture (23.6 per cent.) and the hotel trade (20.6 per cent.).

Since 1946, therefore, Switzerland has received many more immigrants than Belgium or even Sweden. During the past few years it has been by far the most important country of immigration in Europe. In relation to its active population the figures for post-war immigration seem very great—at all events incomparably greater than that of the other major countries of immigration.

It is clear from the above that Belgium, France, the United Kingdom and Sweden no longer suffer from manpower shortages such as might set off again widespread migration. Belgium has relatively widespread unemployment and resorts to foreign labour only for its coal mines; France's needs seem more and more to be covered by North Africa and certain of its own overpopulated rural areas; the United Kingdom is open to immigrants from Ireland; and Sweden's needs are covered by the availabilities of the other Scandinavian countries. If these conditions continue, particularly the present attitude of the public authorities towards immigration, intra-European migration, which played but a small part in the reabsorption of the manpower surpluses that accumu-

[1] Considerably more if account is taken of the fact that non-seasonal temporary permits issued to agricultural workers, domestic servants and lower-grade hotel staff were grouped together, in 1946-48, with seasonal permits.

lated in Western Germany and Austria as a result of the war, seems unlikely to contribute any more than it has contributed in the past to the solution of the problem raised by the overpopulation of Southern Europe, where the employment situation has eased but little in the past ten years.

Availabilities

Whereas manpower shortages have dwindled rapidly in most countries to small—sometimes very small—proportions, a much greater volume of manpower has become available on the European manpower market in the ten post-war years from two distinct sources: refugees of various origins, who thronged into Western Germany and Austria, and the chronic manpower surpluses of certain underdeveloped areas or countries, mainly in the Mediterranean peninsulas. The first source is now well-nigh exhausted; the second supplies most of the subsisting migratory movements, the volume of which is out of all proportion to the reserves of unutilised labour to be found in the areas of underemployment.

It should be noted, however, that a large proportion of the manpower available from these sources has not truly constituted a supply of manpower for European countries of immigration. An unemployed or underemployed person is not necessarily prepared to emigrate to any country whatever, or even at all. Many of the unemployed have passed the age at which they can still adapt themselves easily to new living conditions; others have been trained for occupations for which there are not openings abroad and they are either unwilling or unable to change their occupation; others again still hope to find a suitable job in their own country and prefer in the meantime to accept a low standard of living rather than expatriate themselves; others, finally, for personal reasons or because the material living conditions in overseas countries are more attractive, are prepared to emigrate overseas but not to another European country, or to one European country rather than another. It should be added that the governments of certain countries with surplus manpower have not encouraged the emigration of their nationals to other European countries, and this is probably one reason why the pressure from this direction on the countries of immigration has been low. A study of the evolution of underemployment since the war will therefore not be sufficient to reveal this pressure. However, since there is no way of identifying it more accurately, we will turn now to an analysis of unemployment, with a view to obtaining information regarding the extent and nature of the manpower that has been available to countries of immigration and which they have utilised only to a slight extent.

Displaced Persons and Refugees in Germany and Austria.

At the end of the war there were 10 million uprooted persons in Western Europe, most of whom had found refuge in the occupation zones in West Germany. In the following years at least another 2 million men came from Eastern Europe—mostly from Eastern to Western Germany. This influx of peoples who had lost everything constituted the greatest manpower reserve available to post-war Europe; and it is probable that an appreciable number of these persons would have been prepared—at least during the first few years—to settle in certain European countries in which living conditions were better than in Germany, Austria or Italy, where they had gone by force of circumstances in many cases rather than by choice. But there was little demand for all these workers, and as a result of a number of factors this source of recruitment for European countries with manpower deficits rapidly dried up; to those refugees who were prepared to emigrate, overseas countries offered much wider and on the whole more attractive outlets, but above all the economic situation of West Germany recovered rapidly after 1948, so that it was possible for the majority of refugees of German origin to be integrated little by little. Many Germans who were not refugees but had been led by the disastrous situation of their country at the end of the war to consider finding work in other European countries soon changed their minds. Meanwhile the bulk of refugees and displaced persons who were the responsibility of the International Refugee Organisation left Germany under the auspices of this organisation, mainly for countries overseas.[1] Thus, West Germany soon ceased to constitute the great manpower reserve that it had been during the first post-war years, in spite of the large volume of unemployment still remaining up to 1955 [2] and the large number of unabsorbed refugees in Germany still under the mandate of the High Commission of the United Nations.[3] The major part of this un-

[1] Of the 1,039,000 refugees and displaced persons settled by the International Refugee Organisation, European countries received less than 160,000, and of these the United Kingdom alone received one-half. Moreover, some of those who elected for Europe did not stay there.

[2] From 1949 to 1954 the trend of unemployment was as follows (in thousands) : 1949 : 1,229.7 ; 1950 : 1,579.8 ; 1951 : 1,432.3 ; 1952 : 1,379.2 ; 1953 : 1,258.6 ; 1954 : 1,220.6. An examination of these figures alone might suggest that the situation has not markedly improved since 1949. In reality, the active population increased by 2,500,000 persons between Sep. 1950 and Mar. 1955, and the index of the general level of employment has risen rapidly : 100 in 1948, 106 in 1950, 116.8 in 1952, and 128 in 1954.

[3] About 100,000, according to the report submitted by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees to the First Session of the United Nations Executive Committee for Aid to Refugees (roneoed document A/AC.79/3, 30 Mar. 1955, p. 6).

occupied population raises difficult problems of occupational adaptation and has neither the possibility nor the wish to emigrate.

The shortages that are beginning to emerge in the German economy—in agriculture, the building industry and domestic service in particular—suggest that the position has reversed, and that it may become necessary to resort to foreign immigration, not, however, without further endeavours to eliminate one of the major causes of the present lack of balance in the labour market —the faulty geographical distribution of manpower. The fact remains that, paradoxically, German emigration has continued to the United Kingdom, Sweden and especially Switzerland ; this is, however, a temporary emigration of female staff for domestic service and the hotel industry rather than a permanent emigration of male workers for essential branches of industry, and may be due more to local or personal circumstances than to the effect of general economic conditions.

In Austria the refugee problem has been rather less widespread but nevertheless considerable in relation to the economic capacities of the country. Despite extensive emigration, first under the auspices of the International Refugee Organisation, then of the International Committee for European Migration, the number of refugees living in Austria without normal means of existence is still over 100,000, after long having been much higher. But, to those who were prepared to change their residence again, Europe held less attraction than certain overseas countries, and it was to these that almost all the emigration took place. At all events refugees from Austria no longer represent an appreciable source of recruitment for those European countries that still have manpower shortages. It is true that there is still some movement, mainly of female domestic staff towards certain European countries, especially Switzerland, but this seems to be quite unconnected with the refugee problem.

Manpower Surpluses in Northern and Southern Europe.

The overabundance of manpower in West Germany and Austria was an accidental and temporary phenomenon. In other European countries, on the contrary, the global surplus of labour supply over demand has been of a chronic nature, and the situation during the past few years has not markedly improved. The resulting unemployment may be called either " overpopulation unemployment " or " underdevelopment unemployment ", according to whether emphasis is placed on the demographic or economic causes, the too rapid increase of the population of working age or the insufficiency of industrial development and consequent lack of

new jobs. This is the situation chiefly in those regions of Europe where agriculture still predominates—mainly the Mediterranean peninsulas and also, to a lesser extent, in Ireland and Finland. But it is also found in highly industrialised countries with a surplus rural population that does not find sufficient outlets in occupations outside agriculture, for example the Netherlands and even Belgium and France. In Italy, the north of which is industrialised whereas the peninsular part is not, overpopulation is general in the south, sporadic in the north.

Unemployment statistics do not give a true picture of this phenomenon, since the underemployment is largely invisible. As a general rule the problem of underemployment is far greater than the unemployment figures would suggest, even where these figures are significant, for rural overpopulation manifests itself both by a pressure on the labour market in the towns, where a flood of unskilled manpower seeks employment, and by invisible unemployment in the countryside. At best, unemployment statistics isolate only the former of these phenomena, not the latter.[1]

Thus in Spain, where official unemployment figures have moved since 1947 between 100,000 and 150,000, manpower surpluses have been assessed at some 2 million.[2] In Italy, where the unemployment officially recorded is much greater (over 1.5 million ever since the war and near to 2 million in 1954), the total of underemployed plus totally inactive persons is about twice this figure. In Greece unemployment was officially estimated in 1954 at 160,000, but agricultural underemployment probably affects 1 million people. And while such discrepancies between the unemployment officially recorded and total unemployment are not to be found in the countries of Northern Europe, their statistics likewise do not show rural unemployment.

The large supply of manpower released by " underdevelopment unemployment " for the European employment market has nevertheless been more virtual than real. In order to form a major emigration current the supply from southern countries, which largely consists of workers ill-prepared to change their mode of life, would have had to be channelled towards countries of immigration through a bilateral recruitment organisation. No such organisation

[1] The large-scale inquiry on unemployment in Italy conducted at the request of the Chamber of Deputies furnished important particulars on the various forms of underemployment that an analysis of statistics alone could not have provided. See R. TREMELLONI : " The Parliamentary Inquiry into Unemployment in Italy ", in *International Labour Review*, Vol. LXVIII, No. 3, Sep. 1953.

[2] See R. DUMONT : " Les excédents démographiques de l'agriculture méditerranéenne—Italie et Espagne ", in *Population*, No. 4, Oct.-Dec. 1951, p. 599.

exists for Spain or Portugal, and it is only recently that Greece has begun to consider one.[1]

In these circumstances only Italian underemployment exerted full pressure upon the European market. Moreover, the great bulk of surplus agricultural workers in the south have little education and but slight occupational skill.[2] For immediate purposes, and in so far as they meet the necessary physical requirements, they are suitable only for manual labour in agriculture, mining, building, road construction, etc. The tendency is for the countries of immigration to require to a greater extent than formerly workers who are skilled or are capable of acquiring rapidly certain skills. Italy and some countries of northern Europe have had available enough manpower reserves meeting these requirements to cope with the needs that have arisen ; otherwise the countries of immigration would have made an effort to give occupational training to the necessary foreign workers—the lack of skill of would-be emigrants is only a relative obstacle. While the population surpluses of Belgium, Ireland, and Finland find temporary or permanent outlets in France, the United Kingdom and Sweden, which meet the problem to a certain degree, the surplus in Italy is out of all proportion to the present demand in Europe for Italian workers. And the Italian surplus is but a fraction of the considerable bulk of unutilised or badly utilised manpower to be found in the Mediterranean peninsulas ; for these the outlets offered at present by the rest of Europe are negligible.

(To be continued)

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[1] The first manpower agreement between France and Greece was signed on 3 Jan. 1955.

[2] This was made clear in the case of Italy by the 1952 inquiry ; cf. R. TREMELLONI, loc. cit.