

Youth Employment and Vocational Training Schemes in the Developing Countries

This article is concerned solely with the methods proposed or employed by the governments of many developing countries to channel the energies of their young people into work of national importance. It does not touch on the general manpower mobilisation schemes affecting people of all ages, which are springing up in certain economically underdeveloped countries. It follows the recommendation of a Meeting of Consultants on the Problems of Young Workers held recently in Geneva under the auspices of the I.L.O., which emphasised the useful lessons to be drawn from an analysis of current schemes to deal with the problems caused by unemployment among young people in the developing countries, and also expressed the hope that with the same purpose in mind an examination would be made of similar experiments attempted in the past.¹ It also follows up a suggestion made by the Committee on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations, which stated in its report to the last International Labour Conference: "The Committee is aware of the various problems, and, in particular, of the problem of youth without work, arising in certain countries which are eager to speed up their economic and social development: it suggests that further research should be undertaken on this question within the framework of the I.L.O." ²

AMONG the serious employment problems now facing the developing countries, the idleness of a large section of their youth is one of those causing most concern to governments.

This phenomenon is particularly apparent in the towns, although there are also large numbers of unemployed young people in the traditional sections of society.

This state of affairs is due to a number of reasons: the high proportion of young people in the population (the number of persons under the age of 15 in 1960 was estimated to be 41 per cent. in

¹ Report of the Meeting of Consultants on the Problems of Young Workers (Geneva, I.L.O.), document GB. 150/9/21, para. 62.

² International Labour Conference, 46th Session, Geneva, 1962: *Provisional Record* (Geneva, I.L.O., 1962), No. 28, para. 54, p. x.

Africa and 40 per cent. in Latin America and Asia)¹; the lack of jobs combined with stagnation in the rural areas, which drives large numbers of young country folk into the towns in search of work, where they merely help to swell the pool of unemployed; and the lack of skills among the young. Many of them settle down as best they can, living from hand to mouth or being supported by a more prosperous relative. Often, they have never worked or held a steady job and they have no idea of labour discipline. Some of them become delinquents. Almost all feel disappointed and bitter and as time goes by tend to become social misfits.

The schools are partly responsible for this state of affairs. Education, which in any case is available only to a section of the young population, is far too often unsuited to the needs of the developing countries. The "educated" young, i.e. to a large extent those with a primary, post-primary or secondary schooling, often prefer non-manual work, if possible in the already overcrowded civil service. It is true however that lately, growing numbers of them have shown signs of willingness to swallow their prejudice against manual work—but there is a shortage of jobs of this kind as well.

The governments of many countries have become increasingly conscious of the paradox of having a large, idle labour force side by side with enormous economic needs, especially since it seems unlikely that the pace of population growth will slacken. Moreover, idleness demoralises the young and fosters anti-social behaviour, which seriously handicaps them both as citizens and as workers. The situation is a constant source of instability and disorder which may take a political turn and endanger the social structure.

As a rule, efforts by voluntary associations, bodies and groups to cope with this situation, despite admirable intentions, have not proved equal to the magnitude of the problem, and governments have felt it essential to take direct action themselves. Only they seem to possess the large-scale financial and material resources needed to carry out a comprehensive scheme with any prospects of lasting effects. Besides, opinion in the developing countries increasingly inclines to the view that young people are the responsibility of the entire nation and, in turn, have a duty to help the community overcome its current difficulties.

Efforts in recent years to help young people out of their idleness and to play a useful part in national life have taken a variety of forms. In some countries the emphasis has been on reducing unemployment and underemployment in general and the measures

¹ United Nations : *Future Growth of World Population*, ST/SOA/ Series A/28, Population Studies, No. 28, 1958, p. 35.

taken apply to young people in the same way as to adults : e.g. the national construction schemes in Dahomey¹, the unemployment relief schemes in Tunisia², human investment in Guinea or the Republic of Mali³, the development schemes in Morocco⁴, community development in a number of Asian countries, the Workers' Brigade in Togo⁵, the Pioneer Corps for agricultural development in Ceylon⁶, etc. In other countries a variety of proposals, declarations or suggestions have been made with special reference to youth, e.g. a "national service" in Brazil⁷, a "compulsory national civic service" in Cameroun⁸, "labour volunteers" in the Congo (Leopoldville)⁹, a "national service for youth" in India¹⁰, a

¹ Each of these schemes intended for the unemployed employs about 100 workers on tasks of national importance. By the middle of 1961, two of these schemes had been started and a third was due to begin shortly.

² These unemployment relief schemes began to operate in Tunisia at the beginning of 1960 ; 359 schemes employing 38,628 workers were reported to be in operation in 1960 (SECRÉTARIAT D'ÉTAT A LA SANTÉ PUBLIQUE ET AUX AFFAIRES SOCIALES, Tunisia : *Rapport annuel sur la législation sociale en Tunisie*, year 1960 (Tunis, 1961), pp. 43-45).

³ Human investment has been defined in Guinea as a form of community development mobilising the masses to enable them to participate consciously in the country's economic and social development. A number of schemes have been carried out in this way (*Liberté*, Conakry, Parti démocratique de Guinée, No. 2, Mar.-Apr. 1960).

⁴ See, *inter alia*, G. ARDANT: *Le problème général du sous-emploi dans les pays en voie de développement — L'expérience marocaine de lutte contre le sous-emploi*, Publications de l'Institut d'étude du développement économique et social (Paris, 1958).

⁵ Order No. 12 issued on 24 Jan. 1961 established a Workers' Brigade in Togo which is open to citizens of both sexes who wish to receive training in useful branches of the economy. It is designed to retrain for the national construction schemes labour which is in over-supply in various occupations. Even before this order was issued, there were voluntary brigades which were popularly known as "Olympio camps".

⁶ The recruitment of a voluntary Pioneer Corps to carry out schemes under the Ministry of Agriculture's plan to create 150,000 jobs was approved by the Government of Ceylon at the beginning of 1962.

⁷ Bill introduced in the Brazilian Congress in 1948 and reintroduced in 1959 by a member of the Economic Council to establish a compulsory civic service for young people not needed by the armed forces ; they would be given instruction and training while simultaneously contributing to national economic development (*Revista do Conselho Nacional da Economia*, year VIII, July-Aug. 1959, No. 4, pp. 316-331).

⁸ A Bill, which has not yet been passed, provides for compulsory national civic service for unemployed young male town dwellers aged between 18 and 25 and a system of rural settlement centres where they can be employed on work of public value. This scheme is akin to that adopted in the Republic of Congo (Brazzaville) (see below).

⁹ Suggestion by the General Secretary for Social Affairs of the Congo (Leopoldville) in 1961 to organise the mass of uprooted young people, who would be assigned to productive work and given moral and vocational training (A. SIRA : *La mobilisation des masses*, Documents pour l'action, Leopoldville. Sep.-Oct. 1961, No. 5, pp. 12-23).

¹⁰ A scheme for a compulsory national service to enable the educated young to take part in the country's economic and social reconstruction as

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“special military service” in the French Antilles and French Guiana ¹, a “civic service” in Niger ², a “development corps” in Pakistan ³, etc.

In other cases a variety of methods of mobilising the energies of youth have developed in practice. The objects, which are both economic and social in character, are three-fold: to give young people immediate employment by providing them with work on constructive tasks connected with economic development needs; to give them vocational training to fit them to play a more useful part later in the community; and to inculcate the habit of work (especially manual work), a sense of discipline, a feeling of belonging to the community and an attitude of responsibility towards it.

Although some schemes are based on the voluntary system, most of them are compulsory. This is because of the belief that “economic defence” is as binding a duty as military defence in countries that are only beginning their development. In other words, labour service is treated in the same way as military service. Particularly in the former colonial countries, compulsory labour is not regarded in the same light as the forced labour of bygone years, for it is felt that the latter was wrong because it was imposed or exacted by an alien authority, whereas with the achievement of independence the position has changed. Moreover in the opinion of some people the urgency of the need justifies the use of methods employed in cases of emergency.

The I.L.O. has already defined its position on the subject of forced labour not only as regards its incompatibility with the Forced Labour Convention, 1930, and the Abolition of Forced Labour Convention, 1957, but also as regards the administrative, psychological, economic and other difficulties that might be involved in the establishment of a compulsory scheme. The Committee of Experts on the Application of Conventions

well as in ensuring its security was proposed in the draft third five-year plan (*Third Five-Year Plan, a Draft Outline*, New Delhi, June 1960, p. 105). It was not incorporated in the final plan.

¹ A plan for the purpose of giving young military conscripts civic, vocational and technical training and of employing them on works of public importance (*Le Monde*, Paris, 12 Dec. 1961, p. 5).

² A report to the I.L.O. by the Government of Niger mentions the possibility of a civic service, similar to military service, for young people which will give them vocational and civic training while at the same time employing them on tasks of national importance.

³ Proposal contained in the Second Five-Year Plan for Pakistan to utilise each age group for defence and also for development by giving it vocational training (Pakistan, Planning Commission: *The Second Five-Year Plan (1960-1965)*, June 1960, p. 375).

and Recommendations has just reviewed this question once more.¹

The aim of this article, however, is not to weigh the pros and cons of compulsory or voluntary systems, but to examine the problems created by their organisation, operation and purposes and to describe a number of fairly similar experiments from which it may be possible to draw some useful lessons.

METHODS EMPLOYED IN THE PAST

A number of approaches have been made at various times in the past to the problem of providing young people with work and vocational training. Only a superficial account can be given here of the schemes employed in the economically less advanced countries. Many of them exist only on paper, and the structure of others has altered as they have been put into practice. In addition, the information available to the I.L.O. is usually very fragmentary and there is good reason to believe that the account given below is incomplete. A distinction is drawn between the most recent schemes and those in existence for a number of years which, even if they cannot always serve as an example, can at least provide useful guidance. With the same purpose in mind and in order to draw lessons from other schemes whose experience may be helpful, the last section of the first part deals with similar schemes which have existed or still exist in the economically more advanced countries.

¹ The Committee of Experts on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations held its 32nd Session in Geneva from 15 to 27 March 1962. It pointed out that the use of forced labour was permitted by the 1930 Convention only in a genuine case of *force majeure*: that is, to combat a calamity or threatened calamity. On the other hand the Committee emphasised that the 1957 Convention, which contains no general prohibition of forced labour, does not prohibit use of forced labour in cases of *force majeure* as thus defined, when there are guarantees to prevent abuse. Even if certain work performed in cases of *force majeure* may contribute to economic development in a country, use of forced labour in the case of *force majeure* does not appear to be prohibited by the 1957 Convention, which states that forced or compulsory labour must be abolished "as a method of mobilising and using labour for purposes of economic development". However, it must be a genuine case of *force majeure* endangering the existence or the well-being of the population and not aimed at economic development. The Committee expressed its regret that forced labour seemed to be reappearing in some countries, pointed out "once again the retrograde character of an economic policy calling for forced labour", and warned governments against "recourse to certain methods of mobilising enthusiasm [which] may, in given circumstances, be equivalent in practice to the imposition of forced labour". (International Labour Conference, 46th Session, Geneva, 1962, Report III, Part IV: Report of the Committee of Experts on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations (Articles 19, 22 and 35 of the Constitution) (Geneva, I.L.O., 1962), paras. 64, 199 and 200, pp. 211 and 244.)

*Schemes Existing or Planned in the Economically
Less Advanced Countries*

The Most Recent Schemes.

The schemes that have been established in recent years vary in character. Some form part of the armed or military services, others are largely independent of them ; some emphasise training, others seem to favour production ; some are voluntary, others compulsory.

In Africa a number of countries have made plans to find work on economic development schemes for young men who are fit for military service and are surplus to the needs of the armed forces. In the United Arab Republic they must be placed in special formations where they can be used on work of national importance.¹

The legislation on the organisation and recruitment of the armed forces in Chad ², the Ivory Coast ³ and Gabon ⁴ states that young men who are fit for military service may be required to perform work of national importance, while the legislation of the Congo (Brazzaville) states that they can discharge their military obligations by military service in the armed forces and by serving on public works schemes.⁵ In the Republic of Mali, a civic service has been established and those who serve in it are not liable to be called up into the army ⁶ ; young men are given political training designed to foster civic spirit, together with vocational training in all the techniques calculated to improve living standards in rural areas.⁷ Senegal ⁸ and the Malagasy Republic ⁹ have established a national service comprising both military and civic service. In Dahomey ¹⁰ provision has been made for com-

¹ Military and National Service Act No. 505, amended by Act No. 149, dated 15 May 1960.

² Ordinance No. 2 dated 27 May 1961 respecting the organisation and recruitment of the armies of the Republic.

³ Ordinance No. 61-209 dated 12 June 1961 for the organisation of national defence and the armed forces.

⁴ Legislative Decree No. 4 dated 6 Dec. 1960 respecting the organisation and recruitment of the armies of the Republic of Gabon.

⁵ Act No. 17-61 dated 16 Jan. 1961 prescribing the organisation and recruitment of the armed forces of the Republic.

⁶ Act No. 60-15 dated 11 June 1960 establishing a rural civic service. This service is now no longer called "rural".

⁷ Decree No. 300 dated 29 Oct. 1960 establishing a rural civic service.

⁸ Ordinance No. 60-54 dated 14 Nov. 1960 establishing a national service.

⁹ Ordinance No. 60-118 dated 30 Sep. 1960 prescribing the organisation of defence in Madagascar and the establishment of a national service.

¹⁰ Order No. 1 dated 15 Jan. 1962 prescribing the organisation of the Dahomey armed forces.

panies of "pioneers" to be formed within the army. Lastly, the Constitution coming into force in Morocco in 1962 provides for a compulsory national service.¹ It is impossible in the case of all these schemes to say as yet where the line between military service and civic service will be drawn in practice or how far the one will replace the other.

Similar schemes have recently been introduced in other parts of the world. Thus in Ceylon the Government asked at the end of 1960 that the Army Act should be amended to enable recruits to be employed for non-military purposes, and in the middle of 1961 the Army Pioneer Corps began to help the Government in its food production campaign, while the Ministry of Agriculture drew up a programme of work for submission to the Army General Staff.² Recruitment of this Corps is voluntary, like military service itself. In Taiwan the Government decided at the end of 1960 to ask the army to devote about 6 million man-days a year to economic development projects.

Although provision is usually made for the entry of younger volunteers, the great majority of these schemes have the obvious drawback that they take in young men only at the age of 20 or 21. But the problems of idleness among young people or of training them in their responsibilities towards the community begin well before the age of 20. Many countries have set up organisations in which young people above a certain age (which may be anything from 16 to 18) can engage in productive employment while preparing themselves for their later training and developing their civic sense.³ In the Congo (Brazzaville), the Ivory Coast and Senegal these organisations exist side by side with the labour services referred to earlier. The Congolese scheme is compulsory—the Civic Service for Unemployed Youth⁴, which caters for young people between the ages of 18 and 23 who have lived for more than six months in urban areas and cannot produce evidence of stable employment. The service is divided into two stages. First there is a year of "remodelling" in rehabilitation centres, during which the young people perform tasks which accustom them to working together; this is followed by a year in rural settlement centres, for which priority is given to volunteers, or in centres where they

¹ Article 13 of the Constitution.

² *Ceylon News* (Colombo), Vol. 25, No. 46, 17 Nov. 1960, p. 1, and Vol. 26, No. 27, 6 July 1961, p. 8.

³ There are also youth movements which cater for younger age groups but in their case, training, instruction and recreation appear to come before productive employment and they are therefore not dealt with here.

⁴ Act No. 44-59 dated 2 Oct. 1959 establishing adaptation, rehabilitation and rural settlement and employment centres for unemployed urban youth.

are employed on projects of national importance. The mobilisation of young people for compulsory civic service was carried out in two stages. At the beginning of 1961 a "planning and organisation agency" examined the scope for rehabilitation in rural or urban areas and a school for instructors, opened in April 1960, was said by the Government to have been very successful among the youth of Brazzaville. Between April and December 1960 the service assembled all the staff and equipment it needed.¹ In the Ivory Coast, the national civic and rural education service caters for volunteers aged 18 to 25 who do a job and at the same time are given civic, moral and practical training to fit them to take part in rural modernisation schemes.² In Senegal the youth camps established in 1959 for young men and women between the ages of 16 and 30, who spent a minimum of three months in them³, were recently superseded by school camps open to young volunteers between the ages of 16 and 19.⁴ Trainees spend two years in these school camps, divided into three periods: six months' manual work on the scheme combined with civic and vocational training, followed by a spell of work of national importance and a period of further training in a skill for which the trainee has been found to have aptitude.

In the Central African Republic labour camps have been established with the same aims, for all citizens between the ages of 16 and 25 who apply.⁵

In Dahomey, the Government has organised a novel scheme to enable young people to go back to the land. This consists of a

¹ *Rapport annuel du gouvernement de la République du Congo relatif à la convention sur le travail forcé, 1930, pour la période du 1^{er} juillet 1959 au 30 juin 1961.*

² Act No. 59-113 dated 26 Aug. 1959 establishing a national civic and rural education service.

³ Act No. 60-002 dated 12 Jan. 1960 establishing youth camps. The first camp was opened in Apr. 1960 and seven others followed during the same year. A total of 100,000 working days were devoted to the building of roads and road works, village housing, sanitary facilities, etc. In 1961 their part in national development was more clearly defined. Those in which substantial investments had been made became production camps responsible for the permanent development of their areas; the others, which were temporary mobile camps, would be established for particular short-term projects (République du Sénégal, ministère de la Jeunesse et des Sports: *Le ministère de la Jeunesse et des Sports en 1960*, Dakar, May 1961, pp. 19-21).

⁴ Decree No. 62-019 dated 23 Jan. 1962 establishing school camps for youth. Decree No. 60-301 dated 1 Sep. 1960 prescribed the organisation of voluntary youth camps, which might be set up for young people between the ages of 14 and 25 by various associations or bodies wishing to qualify for public grants.

⁵ Act No. 61-225 dated 27 May 1961 establishing and organising youth camps. A decree issued on 14 Nov. 1960 provided for a compulsory census of all unemployed young people between the ages of 16 and 25 who were not attending an educational establishment in the commune of Bangui.

farming co-operative of 53 young non-owners in Hinvi, and youth villages which will develop out of a number of collective farms on which about 200 young men between the ages of 18 and 30 are now working. They are clearing the land, putting up buildings and other facilities and also attending classes designed to reinforce their practical training in living together by fostering the idea of co-operation. These farms will later develop into production co-operatives. Initially, it was intended to establish six collective farms in 1961 but this number has had to be cut because of the difficulties in selecting and obtaining the land. There are large numbers of volunteers.¹

In Ceylon a national service for school children of both sexes over the age of 14, as well as for their teachers, was established at the end of 1961. They are required to work for one day a month on the maintenance of their schools and the development of nearby communities; four Saturdays a month are devoted to national service.² In Singapore a work brigade gives vocational training to young people of both sexes to help them to find jobs while at the same time giving them employment on public works schemes.³

Earlier Schemes.

Even before the beginning of this decade, however, some schemes similar to those just referred to were already in existence.

In Africa it is worth recalling the agricultural schemes for youth in the Congo established by the Belgian Government from 1958 onwards. Each of these schemes catered for about 260 young volunteers aged 16 and over, who were under Native instructors, assisted and advised by social workers and agricultural experts. The trainees were given general and technical instruction and were employed on practical tasks in agriculture and building.⁴

¹ By 10 Sep. 1961, 649 young people from Cotonou had applied. A sample survey of 218 of them showed that 85 were between the ages of 15 and 19, and 38 were between 20 and 24; 53 had at least their primary school-leaving certificate and 65 were able to read and write.

² *Ceylon News* (Colombo), Vol. 26, No. 39, 20 Sep. 1961, p. 4, and No. 41, 12 Oct. 1961, p. 3.

³ *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Vocational and Technical Education in Singapore* (Singapore, 1961), p. 5.

⁴ For an account of an example of agricultural schemes for youth see "Visite au chantier agricole de Duale", in *Belgique d'Outre-mer* (Brussels), No. 294, Sep. 1959, pp. 544-545. In the Congo, the Government found that the way had been paved by the exertions of a number of voluntary organisations over the previous decade. It is worth mentioning the example of the youth camp in Katuba (a district of Elisabethville), which was opened in 1957 with the support and assistance of the Centre for the Study of Congolese Social Problems (C.E.P.S.I.) and the Association of Friends of the Institute of Sociology of Liège University. This scheme is now in abeyance

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In Ghana a builders' brigade was established in 1957¹ to provide employment for all volunteers, whether men or women, who cannot find any, but above all (and to an increasing extent) for primary and post-primary school leavers. Members of the brigade must perform tasks which are useful to the community and at the same time are given civic and vocational training which will help them to find work afterwards, especially in agriculture. In the early part of 1960, the emphasis on agriculture was increased and the brigade was described as "Ghana's agricultural army". Its name has now been altered to the Workers' Brigade. By the end of 1959 it had more than 10,000 members in 28 camps²; there were still far more applicants than vacancies, most of them young school leavers. The Brigade has now accumulated sufficient experience to provide an instructive example of the problems which are often liable to face any government that wishes to provide work for its young people. It is, moreover, the only scheme regarding which detailed information is available on this point.³ A variety of practical difficulties have been encountered—e.g. the selection and the proper preparation of the projects to be undertaken, the recruitment of staff, the establishment and siting of new camps, the purchase of supplies and other administrative details, the shortage of qualified instructors, the lack of money, the need for a guiding policy, the difficulty of enforcing discipline, etc.

In the United Arab Republic the Government has been trying for several years past to give the youth of the country a part to play in its development, and since 1955 students recruited by the Egyptian Youth Labour Camps Organisation have taken part in a number of community development projects of the Arab States Centre for Education for Community Development⁴ together with the trainees from the Centre. In addition, thousands of young people were due to take part in the widening of the Suez Canal in 1959 and special camps were built to house them. The Egyptian authorities

because the number of applicants taken on depends on the prospects of employment, which are now limited because of the stagnation of the economy. It caters for backward school leavers who come into contact for the first time with the outside world while learning to become specialised labourers. An interesting feature of this scheme is that it is closely linked with a comprehensive community development programme. (On this subject see: *Problèmes sociaux Congolais*, Quarterly Bulletin of the C.E.P.S.I., No. 41, June 1958, pp. 9-24 and No. 53, June 1961, pp. 3-62).

¹ Act of 30 Dec. 1957.

² Ministry of Finance (Ghana): *Ghana, Economic Survey, 1959* (Accra, 1960) p. 24.

³ Dean COCHRAN: *Report to the Minister for the Builders' Brigade, Government of Ghana*, 8 Feb. 1960, photocopied document.

⁴ An organisation in which the United Nations and a number of specialised agencies are participating.

are now examining the possibility of employing the students on village development projects.

In Burma a Rehabilitation Brigade was founded in 1950¹ for men between the ages of 18 and 35, especially for former rebels, members of resistance movements, the unemployed and displaced persons. The members of the Brigade—now numbering about 3,000—are all volunteers and sign on for a minimum of five years. They are given vocational training and also carry out productive tasks. The Brigade has become the main public works contractor within the Union.

In other countries again the army is used for work of a non-military nature but in these cases such schemes are not designed for the purpose of providing training and employment for young people.²

Past or Present Experience in the Economically more Advanced Countries

Schemes for channelling the energies of youth into development projects are not unknown either in the economically more advanced countries.

In Yugoslavia the People's Youth Organisation has been organising brigades of young volunteers for several years past and they have made a valuable contribution to the country's development. For example, in 1946 over 60,000 young people built one economically important railway and a second was made by 211,000 young people; a motor road was laid down by 300,000. The Organisation tries to ensure that young people derive the greatest possible benefit and training from this type of activity so that they are better prepared for the work in industry that they take up, sometimes immediately they leave the brigade.³

The many schemes for finding productive employment for young people in the industrialised countries after the great depression⁴ were also akin in some ways to the experiments being made now in the economically less advanced countries. Owing to lack of space, it is impossible to quote more than one example—that of

¹ Act dated 19 May 1950.

² This seems to be the case in Bolivia, Brazil, Cuba, Greece, Israel, Mexico and Peru.

³ A speech by Mr. Potrč, Yugoslav Government delegate at the 44th Session of the International Labour Conference, 1960 : *Record of Proceedings* (Geneva, I.L.O., 1960), pp. 28-29.

⁴ On this subject see : International Labour Conference, 19th Session, Geneva, 1935, Report III : *Unemployment among Young Persons* (Geneva, I.L.O., 1935), especially Chapter IV, "Productive Occupation for Unemployed Young Persons", pp. 90-126.

the United States Civilian Conservation Corps (C.C.C.), which was formed in 1933¹ under the emergency conservation programme authorised by Congress in that year to conserve natural resources, while providing employment, vocational training and education for young unemployed workers and enabling them to give financial aid to their families. Between 1933 and 1941, 2,400,000 young men passed through the Corps.² The minimum and maximum ages for entry varied. Between 1937 and 1941 they were from 17 to 23 and at that time there was a marked predominance of young men under the age of 20. Members of the Corps helped to carry out more than 150 projects, most of which involved soil restoration, protection and improvement of forests, re-forestation, the expansion of recreational facilities, the conservation of fauna and flora, and anti-flood measures. The Corps provided opportunities of vocational training not only in the execution of projects, but also in the maintenance and running of the camps themselves. Classes, usually of a more general character, were also held in the members' leisure time.³

However, although the C.C.C. and similar schemes for unemployed young workers in other industrial countries had in some respects the same employment and training objectives as the schemes of the developing countries, their social and economic background was quite different. The C.C.C. had the advantage of ample resources in the shape of equipment, capital and staff, the existence of a complete infrastructure and a wealth of experience accumulated through decades of industrialisation and social progress, so that the economic need for aid was far less acute than in the developing countries.

The same is true of the Israeli kibbutz, now attracting the attention of a number of underdeveloped countries which see a certain similarity between the degree of development reached by their economies and that of Israel. But the kibbutzes were greatly helped in their growth by the fact that they enjoyed strong financial backing, up-to-date equipment and an ample supply of administrators and technicians. Moreover, their success was due

¹ Public Law No. 5, 73rd Congress, S. 598, "An Act for the relief of unemployment through the performance of useful public work, and for other purposes". The C.C.C. was reorganised for a period of three years in an Act dated 28 June 1937 (75th Congress, First Session—C.H. 383, 28 June 1937, "An Act to establish a civilian conservation corps and for other purposes").

² "Eight Years of C.C.C. Operations 1933 to 1941", in *Monthly Labor Review* (Washington, U.S. Department of Labor), Vol. 52, No. 6, June 1941, pp. 1405-1413.

³ "Six Years of C.C.C. Operations", *ibid.*, Vol. 49, No. 6, Dec. 1938, pp. 1409-1412.

to a large extent to the community ideal which inspired their members.¹

Despite all these qualifications, there can be no doubt that, if only from the standpoint of organisation, training of staff, technical methods of preparation and execution, etc., the experience acquired under the schemes that have just been described should make it possible to avoid a good deal of the trial and error which is liable to take place when launching production and vocational training schemes for young people in the developing countries.

PRACTICAL PROBLEMS

In practice it is impossible to establish youth employment and vocational training schemes, operate them efficiently and make them contribute towards economic development and the reduction of unemployment and underemployment among young people, without encountering a variety of problems which are very largely due to economic underdevelopment and are aggravated by it. The universal shortage of capital, the lack of equipment and technical and administrative staffs, the relative stagnation of the economy, the disintegration of traditional social patterns and the slowness with which new patterns are emerging, the often sketchy character of the facilities necessary to efficient administration—all have an influence on the operation of these schemes.

Recruitment

Recruitment problems appear to be inevitable whatever the system employed. In the case of a compulsory scheme, shortages, especially of money, may rule out any possibility of a large-scale call-up. For example, the legislation of Cameroun, Gabon and Chad does not specify to what extent young men who are not liable for military service can be called upon to perform work of national importance. In Mali, all young men who are not liable for military service are required to perform 12 months' civic service but in January 1961 the total number of recruits was only 1,560 distributed among 30 camps. In the Congo (Brazzaville)

¹ On this subject see: H. DESROCHE: *Au pays du kibboutz — essai sur le secteur coopératif israélien*, La coopération dans le monde, Vol. IV (Basel, Union suisse de coopératives de consommation, 1960); *Hevrat Ovdim* (Tel-Aviv, General Co-operative Association of Jewish Labour in Eretz-Israel), Aug. 1951; W. PREUSS: *Co-operation in Israel and the World* (Jerusalem, 1960); D. R. BERGMANN: "L'expérience agricole israélienne", in *Economie rurale* (Paris, Bulletin de la Société française d'économie rurale), No. 35, Jan. 1958, pp. 39-51; Ihoud Habonim, Département des publications du Secrétariat mondial: *Israël an X — 1948-1958* (Tel-Aviv, 1958).

the two call-ups for compulsory civic service affected 150 and 500 young men respectively. The number of trainees at the present time is about 1,500. In the Ivory Coast, 2,000 young men were to be enrolled in the national service in 1961. In the case of voluntary systems, experience has shown that it is essential not to admit more trainees than can be absorbed by the existing camps and to take in recruits as the camps expand in accordance with a properly thought-out plan. This is worth emphasising, as volunteers seem to have been plentiful in the experiments which have been tried hitherto and there may be a strong temptation for political reasons to carry out a spectacular, rapid expansion instead of carefully planning a long-term but more efficient scheme.

In so far as it is necessary to limit the number of individuals called up or admitted, some selection must take place. The need to take account of applicants' physical fitness is widely acknowledged, but the other criteria are a matter of choice. Moreover, to what extent can the social aim of helping the unemployed and the misfits be reconciled with the economic aim, which calls for the keenness and enthusiasm of the pick of a country's youth? To what extent should a scheme cater for young countryfolk or young town dwellers? How can it be ensured that all the young workers, whatever their origins or environment, are treated the same in these labour services or are given equal chances of benefiting by the voluntary schemes? These are but a few of the questions which arise in selection.

The voluntary system is often regarded as a good form of selection because it enlists the support of those who are most willing to serve the community. For example, under the Congolese compulsory civic service scheme, volunteers have priority for training courses for supervisors and specialists and for entry to the rural settlement centres. If this form of selection is to work properly, young people must of course be well informed about the aims of the scheme, and should not expect from it what it cannot give.¹ Moreover, if a scheme becomes well known for one reason or another as a "soft option", the voluntary system will no longer operate in the same manner.

¹ Cf. the experience of the youth camp in Katuba (Elisabethville): "Most of the trainees entered the scheme full of enthusiasm, which is quite understandable because all education as it was known to them was directed towards the acquisition of a definite trade such as joinery, fitting, shoemaking, or towards teaching, office work, etc. In their minds any new schools should continue this tradition. Another factor which partly accounts for the large number of applicants is their belief that they will spend a few years in the school and on leaving will receive a diploma or certificate. The result was that during the first terms of the scheme's operation some trainees had to be dismissed and some others dropped out." (*Problèmes sociaux congolais*, No. 41, June 1958, p. 18.)

The need for active selection is, however, equally obvious. In the United Arab Republic, for example, account must be taken wherever possible of the educational and technical qualifications of applicants in assigning them to national service formations. In the Ivory Coast a proper geographical balance is one of the criteria in recruiting young people for compulsory civic service. The Cameroun and Congolese schemes select applicants for the training centres after the first year of civic service. In Senegal the committee which interviews applicants for the training camps must include a psychologist wherever possible. In Ceylon members of the Army Pioneer Corps are recruited through the employment service and are personally interviewed at the employment office before being taken on.

Two features are brought out by past experience in these schemes, viz. the advisability of making groups of young people fairly homogeneous and the special position of girls.

Differences in social, cultural and matrimonial background as well as ethnic origin may seriously complicate the organisation and running of the schemes. Differences in social origin and background are one of the reasons given for the failure of a labour brigade established in Togo a few years ago, and differences in origin and marital status were among the reasons for the failure of a collective farm in Dahomey. In the Congo (Brazzaville) married men, fathers of families or family breadwinners are exempt from civic service and if they agree to join, the authorities do not recognise any obligation regarding their families or standards of accommodation.

The admission of young people from both sexes is also liable to create special difficulties. The need to provide separate camps for women presumably explains why, in view of the great need for economy, very many schemes cater for young men alone. Civic services linked with military service are naturally wholly masculine organisations (although the idea of a national service for women is said to be "in the air" in the Ivory Coast). Moreover, many people argue that sooner or later women automatically settle down when they marry and that a special effort to help young women is less important for the time being. On the other hand, since a spell in these camps is one of the few opportunities of acquiring a skill and since work of public importance need not necessarily be manual work, the exclusion of girls from these schemes amounts to closing the door to promotion for them and condemning them to the subordinate and often physically arduous jobs which are the lot of many women in certain countries. There is also unemployment among women and girls in the towns and anxiety has been expressed in some quarters about the possible

moral consequences. Experience in Ghana has shown that women can make a valuable contribution to the work of a brigade.¹

Activities

In deciding what activities should be undertaken by these schemes, a number of choices are open, and they will govern the economics of the schemes. A comparison between the costs involved in capital expenditure and running expenses and the foreseeable short and medium-term results (especially in the case of major public works schemes) or long-term results (e.g. investment in better training) should give a clear pointer to the nature of the work required or should show whether the schemes ought to be started at all. In any event a choice must be made between activities producing immediate results and those with only longer term consequences and it is necessary to decide how far the two can be combined to be most effective. Many of the labour schemes linked with military service seem to be concerned solely with tasks of national importance that will produce immediate results, whereas other schemes take a longer term view in that they provide instruction which will help the trainees to find employment later. A judicious combination of production and training would appear to be the best way of achieving both economic and social aims of these camps.² It has the advantage of being cheaper than school training and is more suited to the circumstances of poor countries, where learning and earning must go hand in hand. In addition, such a scheme is likely to prove more lasting.³

The nature of the productive work to be performed and the training to be given will depend on a number of factors, such as the particular aims of the scheme and the prospects of being able to provide the necessary facilities. As far as production is concerned, some schemes may develop to the point where they become self-supporting, such as the collective farms in Dahomey, which

¹ "The women's phase of the Brigade has received nothing more than a gesture. It has received no leadership whatever. Fortunately the women appointed as Camp Superintendents of the women's units have displayed outstanding qualifications and have made the most of their meagre facilities in providing activities for the members of their camps. They are among the most able officers of the Brigade." (D. COCHRAN, *op. cit.*, p. 7.)

² On this point see: *Report of the Meeting of Consultants on the Problems of Young Workers*, *op. cit.*, pp. 12-13.

³ The statement of the purposes of the Act establishing the Congolese compulsory civic service said: "This method [work camps] is temporary and has no educational, social, civic or technical effects. It never paves the way to lasting rehabilitation. Once the camp closes down the problem recurs. No scheme of this kind in Africa for adults who are accustomed to work has yet succeeded. There is all the more reason to expect failure when dealing with young people, most of whom have no experience at all."

are becoming production co-operatives, or the Congolese rural settlement centres, which are developing into non-tribal villages. Others may be opened specially to carry out certain tasks, like the temporary camps near large projects such as dams or big industrial plants, or the mobile camps which move about to assist urban or rural communities in the building of roads, bridges, dikes, land clearance, re-afforestation, soil restoration, etc. Often the camps engage in a number of activities—growing food, for instance—in order to make themselves as self-supporting as possible and keep costs down to a minimum.

The training given will obviously depend on the nature and purpose of the scheme but generally speaking it must be related to the needs of underdeveloped countries. It should be simple, practical in nature and sufficiently flexible and comprehensive to fit the trainees for a number of different jobs. Further general education is also essential. By and large, the authorities in the countries which have established production and vocational training schemes have not worked out the best type of training to give to young workers, partly because the experiment is still only in its early stages and also because this fairly new approach to vocational training means overhauling existing theories and methods and requires specially trained instructors. Moreover, it is essential to be thoroughly familiar with the needs and development opportunities of each area. One original attempt to devise a type of training which should prove useful in the underdeveloped countries has been made by the Institut de Recherche et d'Application pour les Méthodes de Développement (I.R.A.M.)¹, which has a certain amount of experience in training organisers and instructors for employment in rural areas and has given assistance in this field² to a number of French-speaking African countries, such as the Central African Republic, Gabon, Mali, Senegal and Togo. Moral and civic training is also planned in nearly every case, but this is a largely unexplored field and care will have to be taken to ensure that this fairly novel type of instruction is not distorted into political propaganda.

Co-ordination is one of the major problems in administering the programmes carried out by these schemes. From the administrative

¹ The I.R.A.M. was founded in France about five years ago to deal, on behalf of the Abbé Pierre, with the many people who wanted to discuss his work with him and inquire into his methods. This body later began to study ways and means of transferring the methods worked out in the advanced countries to the underdeveloped countries in the hope of bettering the lot of their inhabitants.

² See for example: "L'Animation des communautés de base en Afrique", in *Développement et Civilisation* (Paris, Institut international de formation et de recherche en vue du développement harmonisé), No. 2, June 1960, pp. 39-47.

point of view, for example, the civic service in Mali involves the Ministries of the Interior and Defence, Rural Economics and Planning, Health and Education, and the Office of the High Commissioner for Youth and Sport. In Ghana, the Builders' Brigade, which at first was placed under the Ministry of Labour, Co-operatives and Social Services, was later transferred to the Ministry of Transport and Communications, then to the Ministry of Social Services and Community Development, and lastly to the Ministry of Agriculture. In countries where the administrative structure is being only slowly built up and is often by no means stable, overlapping is liable to complicate still further the purely technical difficulties.

On the technical side, co-ordination entails a comprehensive approach to each scheme as well as to national planning, having regard to the needs and the opportunities. The work of the individual schemes must be organised in such a way as to ensure that productive work does not hamper training, and vice versa. The schemes should be started in places where the need is greatest and at the most suitable time. They must be fitted into the economies of the area and the nation—for example, arrangements must be made to market a scheme's products if it is supposed to sell them, to maintain roads once they are built, to exploit the opportunities of irrigation created by the building of a dam, to train instructors before beginning a particular type of course, to relate the training to the projects being planned, etc. The need for close co-ordination with general economic development plans is widely acknowledged, and a number of countries allow for these schemes in their development plans. In Senegal, the National Council for Production Schools, which is responsible for co-ordinating the work of all the ministries concerned as well as for general policy, includes a representative of the General Planning Commission in addition to a representative of each ministry.

Operation

One of the first conditions that must be fulfilled by any programme—whether for work or training—is that there must be sufficient numbers of trainees available at the right time and for as long as is necessary. Compulsion is not necessarily the best way, as the element of constraint may lead to resentment and desertions.¹ If

¹ Cf. the statement by a deputy in the Legislative Assembly of the Congo (Brazzaville) during the debate on the proposed compulsory civic service: "If right from the start, you tell these young people, who think they can do what they like, that you are going to impose a compulsory scheme on them then, gentlemen, I can tell you that your plans are doomed to failure. . . . The word 'compulsory' will be enough to make the children of Poto-Poto say 'the deputies want to make prisoners of us'." (Legislative Assembly

the voluntary principle is employed, a special effort is required to make the scheme as attractive as possible in order to secure volunteers.¹ This means using the incentives that are likely to be most effective among the population concerned. However, the problem of inadequate numbers has not yet occurred in the voluntary schemes now in existence. Moreover, while a realistic minimum length of service seems to be necessary, a maximum is also essential because these schemes provide an exceptionally high degree of welfare and security which might make the trainees unwilling to leave. In the case of the Ghanaian Brigade, no maximum was laid down at the beginning but it was subsequently found necessary to introduce one.

There are also serious difficulties in finding the necessary technical staff and instructors. Irrespective of the system employed, technicians will always be needed to survey the sites of camps, to decide on the nature of the work to be performed and to supervise its execution. Instructors will be needed to give vocational and general training and to organise games and sports. Administrators will be needed to operate the schemes efficiently and there will have to be supervisors to direct the work and maintain discipline, etc. Some countries have already taken steps to train the staffs, but the great majority of them have not tackled the question. In the Congo (Brazzaville), 200 instructors have been trained to deal with the first batch called up under the compulsory civic service. They will be expected to teach young unemployed workers habits of smartness and discipline, and inculcate civic consciousness. They will give them a largely practical training designed to detect any individual aptitudes which might benefit by further training and to teach the elementary facts that any young farmer or manual worker should know. In Senegal the first youth camp superintendents were given two-week training courses in 1960.

Some countries have received assistance from the industrialised countries, especially from those which had made experiments somewhat similar to their own in training the necessary staff. The experience acquired by youth movements all over the world should also provide some useful lessons and new schemes such as the Peace

of the Congo: *Comptes rendus*, Extraordinary Session, 1-2 Oct. 1959, mimeographed document, no date or place of publication, p. 44.)

¹ The author of the project for a voluntary labour scheme in the Congo (Leopoldville) proposes "a series of benefits ranging from a small amount of pocket money, to cover food and uniform, to a brass band and a savings insurance scheme. We would also like to include a system of bonuses for every six months of voluntary service. . . . But the best, and in fact an essential, condition of success is the engagement for short periods of large numbers of young volunteers, students, manual workers and office workers." (A. SITA, op. cit., p. 3.)

Corps launched in the United States in 1961¹, which has aroused interest in other countries as well, might also be able to make a worth-while contribution.

As regards the staff needed to maintain discipline in such schemes, it is very hard to find a way of reconciling the demands of efficiency with the personal preferences of individuals, especially since these schemes cater for young people who as a rule are lacking in any self-discipline and are not accustomed to work. The result is that many countries prefer the method of military supervision, which at first sight is simple and somewhat less expensive. This method is used in voluntary schemes as well as in those which are linked with military service. For example, in Ghana the Workers' Brigade is under military discipline; in the Congo (Brazzaville) the armed forces service regulations apply to the rural settlement and public works centres, while in Morocco the armed forces will provide the staff for the general labour mobilisation scheme.

However, by the very nature of the work performed, discipline has to be quite different from the military variety. Military discipline, moreover, risks a reversion to forced labour, even in schemes based on the voluntary principle. Apart altogether from the condemnation in the Forced Labour Convention, 1930, and the Abolition of Forced Labour Convention, 1957, forced labour has a number of technical drawbacks which have been emphasised by the Committee of Experts on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations:

In the first place, the economic results obtained appear hardly to have justified the hopes of those who initiated the schemes in question. The output of a forced worker is always very low and frequently the value of his work barely covers the cost of his maintenance. This finding is confirmed by the results of studies which have been made for the purpose of discovering means of increasing labour productivity.

Recourse to forced labour for the purposes of economic development also demands a considerable number of supervisors. Countries with limited human and financial resources may find it difficult to solve the problems involved in recruiting such supervisory staff and paying the wages required by them.²

¹ The Peace Corps, which was established on 1 Mar. 1961 on a temporary basis, is designed to contribute to the mutual assistance programme by creating a pool of trained manpower which will help other countries to cope with their urgent needs. The Corps is open to all United States citizens over the age of 18 with qualifications of practical value. Its members, who receive a very small allowance, are required to work in close contact with the peoples they have come to help and to live in conditions as similar to theirs as possible. (*Peace Corps—Fact Book*, Washington, 1961.)

² International Labour Conference, 45th Session, Geneva, 1961, Report III (Part IV): *Report of the Committee of Experts on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations* (Geneva, I.L.O., 1961), p. 327. The Workers'

Limited finances are also the source of another serious problem—"remuneration" for the work done on the schemes. This problem was specifically referred to in the introduction of the Cameroun Bill to establish a national labour service (the Bill was not passed) :

It has not been felt possible to apply to them [the volunteers for the service] the full provisions of the Labour Code. If they were paid the national minimum inter-trade wage or the national minimum agricultural wage, it would be pointless to begin such schemes. It would be sufficient to make the necessary appropriations in the budget and to allocate them to the departments concerned, which have no shortage of projects. . . . Moreover, this method, in addition to being a considerable burden on the finances of the Government, would not be in accordance with the spirit which should animate a project of this kind. The aim is rather to employ on work of national importance those who at present are unable to work but are willing to do so. Since military service cannot yet be introduced in Cameroun, this would be a genuine voluntary civic service. Accordingly it has been provided that workers who enter the scheme should be paid on the same basis as soldiers during their first year of service, and should receive benefits in kind such as housing, food and working clothes.

The originators of some of these labour and vocational schemes believe that, given the spirit behind them, the very idea of remuneration can be held to be inappropriate. The minister in charge of the Ghanaian Brigade has stated, for example, that the Brigade does not pay people to join it and that a small allowance is desirable to help to defray personal expenses but not as pay for work done.¹ Sometimes, for example on the collective farms in Dahomey, no cash payment is provided for. Some argue that the work is a kind of payment for the training received.

Most of these schemes provide that the young workers should be fed, clothed and housed and should be given free medical and pharmaceutical care, etc. Some schemes, e.g. the Ghanaian Brigade, also pay a very small sum as pocket money and a gratuity on leaving. The decree establishing a civic service in Mali also speaks of a gratuity. This method has the advantage of providing an incentive for the workers and helps to cover the cost of subsequent

representative of the Congo (Brazzaville) at the 44th Session of the International Labour Conference also commented : " It is at any rate necessary that such undertakings should be governed by democratic and independent institutions on which government delegates, workers and employers are represented and also young peoples' movements and families so that we can avoid the reappearance of a more or less disguised system of forced labour which would be nothing more than the slavery of former times." (International Labour Conference, 44th Session, Geneva, 1960 : *Record of Proceedings*, op. cit., p. 312.)

¹ *Press Conference of Builders' Brigade*, by the Hon. Krobo Edusei, Minister of Transport and Communications and in charge of the Brigade, in D. COCHRAN, op. cit., Appendix 3-3.

resettlement. It was also used in the youth camps in the former Belgian Congo and in the C.C.C.¹

The method of payment is, of course, a matter of some concern to the workers, since certain forms of payment may undermine the benefits provided under certain regulations.² Close co-operation with the workers' organisations in the experiment of labour and vocational training schemes is therefore essential in order to devise ways and means of safeguarding the workers' rights while making due allowance for development needs.

Follow-up

Follow-up is of course inseparably connected with some of the problems discussed earlier. For example, rehabilitation will be more lasting if individuals are selected for employment and training because of their ability to benefit by it, and the number of jobs created will be greater if the schemes are closely co-ordinated with other efforts to speed up economic development. However, special measures are necessary as soon as training is finished if the problem of underemployment and unemployment among the young is not to become as bad as before, if not worse.

If young people are simply employed on work of national importance without any emphasis being placed on the acquisition of useful skills, the problem of finding work for them later may be acute, especially when it is borne in mind that, for example, the building of dams and large industrial plants may require several thousand workers, whereas once the construction is completed the number of new jobs created locally is often only a few hundred, many of them for highly skilled workers.

Irrespective of the type of aid required, the State has a very important part to play. On the one hand, it has a duty to expand employment opportunities to the greatest possible extent as part of its general economic policy. To this end it must ensure that expansion is balanced, so that the schemes do not simply have the effect of shifting unemployment. For example, if the rural areas continue

¹ The members of the C.C.C. drew \$8 a month in cash and \$15 were paid to their dependants, while a further \$7 were credited to their account until they left the C.C.C.

² The Moroccan Workers' Union, for example, commented in connection with a report by the Moroccan Subcommittee on Employment: "The Union fully appreciates the desire of the Committee to stretch the scanty financial resources available to cover a large number of underemployed and unemployed workers by paying each individual a remuneration lower than the statutory minimum wage. But in the view of the Union, this desire cannot under any circumstances serve as a pretext for endangering the statutory minimum wage." (Annex I to the *Rapport de la sous-commission du marché de l'emploi*, Rabat, 1 Sep. 1959, mimeographed document.)

to stagnate, the young workers from the towns who are absorbed by the schemes will immediately be replaced by the influx of young people from the countryside, and the existence of the schemes may even accelerate this migration if the young country-dwellers place false hopes on them. When they leave the camps, young people will often be unwilling to go back to their villages, and if they agree to do so, they are liable to forget all they have learned if their home communities prove too conservative.

The authorities must also make a special effort to help young people who have served on these schemes. In Dahomey the collective farms will continue, after they become production co-operatives, to receive advice from experts and instructors of the Ministry of Agriculture on efficient farming methods and they will be granted loans by the agricultural credit agencies. In the Congo (Brazzaville) young people who have passed through the compulsory civic service will be given priority in jobs on road and dam building schemes. In the former Belgian Congo, young people in the Duale agricultural scheme could settle on sites chosen by the provincial agricultural department, surveyed and found to be fertile. It was planned to supply them with specially selected livestock from a breeding station to enable them to form their own herds.

These are only some examples of what the State can do to continue the work of rehabilitation begun in the camps, but it is possible to imagine others : tax exemptions, the granting of farm land, establishment of agricultural communities for young people trained in farming techniques, gifts and loans in kind, various subsidies and credit facilities, priority in employment on public works schemes and in the civil service, special efforts to provide employment for trained young men in the occupations they have mastered and on reasonable terms—the State as an employer should be able to set an example and make other employers pay higher wages to skilled workers. In some cases, changes may be necessary, in systems of land tenure for example, to make room for young people. All these measures will also have the advantage of attracting large numbers of volunteers and arousing young people's keenness and readiness to work and to serve.

The schemes themselves should be organised in such a way as to promote the maximum employment. The choice of the vocational training programme is particularly important because it must be related to the possible outlets, e.g. large construction projects, handicrafts, agriculture, community development, etc. But this in itself is not enough. The schemes must not be allowed to disrupt the play of supply and demand in the labour market. A number of measures have been taken with this end in view. For example in the United Arab Republic a special committee has been set up to devise

ways of establishing national service formations without disturbing the employment market. In Tunisia, whenever these schemes have mopped up unemployment, the labour inspectorate takes action to steer the workers into private firms which need them. In the C.C.C., young men could leave the Corps if they had a firm offer of employment.

Those in charge of the schemes can also do a good deal to help young workers to find jobs, especially by maintaining constant contact with employers. For example, in the case of the Katuba scheme it was agreed with various employers even before the workers were taken on that the scheme would provide them with a specified number of specialised labourers. The employers in turn assisted in providing the young workers with technical training at the worksite. On completing his apprenticeship, each young man was then given a job in one of these firms and generally helped to settle down. After three months' work and provided his employer reported favourably on him, the scheme then paid him a gratuity based on the value of the work he had done in it. In the United States there was close collaboration between the C.C.C. and the employment service, which ensured that, for example, the information on young volunteers was fully used in placing them in employment later. Officials of the employment service had talks from time to time with members of the C.C.C. so as to give full weight to their personal preferences and to let them know about anything that might help them to settle down again in productive employment.

This last example brings us to one of the main conditions governing the success of the schemes—the need for the fullest possible information on every aspect of present and future job opportunities and on the preferences and aptitudes of the young workers, so as to eliminate as far as possible trial and error or waste. But the departments involved in this process, such as employment services, employment forecasting departments, vocational guidance departments, are often wholly or largely lacking in the developing countries. By establishing or expanding such services and co-ordinating their work with the schemes, the State can help the latter to succeed. Until the efforts being made in this direction bear fruit, it may be advisable for the schemes themselves to try to make up for the absence of these key services and to devise simple methods of doing so.

* * *

At first sight the establishment of labour and vocational training schemes may appear to be a fairly easy and rapid way of absorbing unemployment among young people in the developing countries. However, when examined more closely, they are seen

to involve many problems of principle and many technical difficulties. Setting young people to work cannot be considered in isolation, for it involves many aspects of state economic and social policy. From the human standpoint, it raises a number of thorny questions, either because the schemes are compulsory or because the voluntary schemes are liable in practice to become compulsory if economic considerations make it necessary. The Asian Advisory Committee of the I.L.O. emphasised this point at its last session :

... special care would have to be taken in order to see that these voluntary services did not degenerate into forms of forced or cheap labour. These services should be completely voluntary and should be used on productive schemes allied to national development plans.¹

If these labour and vocational training schemes manage to overcome the material and psychological difficulties in their way, they can undoubtedly help to improve the position of young workers on the employment market. Success will also ensure that the problem of forced labour does not arise, because young people will be far more ready to work willingly and efficiently if they are convinced that they are also helping themselves. States which establish such schemes have a duty to themselves to overcome the problems involved in operating them efficiently. Some have already sought the help of the countries with experience in this field. Some have also expressed the hope that the International Labour Organisation will take an interest in their problems. The Meeting of Consultants on the Problems of Young Workers made a recommendation which is applicable to this point :

... the International Labour Office should assist governments on request to develop short-term labour-intensive programmes and projects susceptible of creating additional employment opportunities for young entrants to employment as well as for others.²

At the 46th Session of the International Labour Conference, the Director-General of the International Labour Office emphasised in this context that—

The I.L.O. does not conceive its primary role as one of condemning those who do not observe the letter of its Conventions. Its primary role is to do everything possible to help member States, new and old, to live up to its standards and to attain its objectives. . . . The remarks of the Committee of Experts on the question of forced labour are directed as much perhaps to the I.L.O. as to the African States concerned. The Experts fully recognised the real problem with which these States are confronted : the large numbers of unemployed, untrained youth, the shortage of capital and the great need

¹ *Report of the Asian Advisory Committee at Its 11th Session, 6-10 Nov. 1961, G.B. 150/10/22, p. 16.*

² *Report of the Meeting of Consultants on the Problems of Young Workers, op. cit., p. 26.*

for development works. They urged the I.L.O. to find acceptable ways of helping these countries to overcome these problems. We have not put sufficient efforts and thought into this ; and we must try to make good the time we have already lost in a rapidly moving and changing situation . . .

There is, as has been mentioned, a certain intellectual fashion which sees individual freedom and democratic forms as being in conflict with the exigencies of economic development. I do not believe this. I believe this is a false antithesis. The good society moves towards greater freedom and greater well-being at the same time. Our main purpose here should be to arouse the determination and find the means to work, severally and together, towards this goal.¹

¹ International Labour Conference, 46th Session, Geneva, 1962 : *Provisional Record* op. cit., No. 39, 26 June 1962, pp. 470 and 472.