INTERNATIONAL LABOUR ORGANISATION

FIRST AFRICAN REGIONAL CONFERENCE

1960

First Item on the Agenda

REPORT

OF THE

DIRECTOR-GENERAL

GENEVA

INTERNATIONAL LABOUR OFFICE

1960
# CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>INTRODUCTION</strong></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CHAPTER I. The Economic Background</strong></td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CHAPTER II. Patterns of Employment in Africa</strong></td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Population Growth and Density</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Labour Force</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Migratory Movements</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CHAPTER III. Workers' Education</strong></td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diversity of Efforts</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nature of Programmes</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Literacy and General Education</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trade Unions and Workers' Education</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teachers and Organisers</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Study Materials</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Possibilities of International Action</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CHAPTER IV. The Problems Posed</strong></td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CHAPTER V. The I.L.O. and Africa</strong></td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International Institute for Labour Studies</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Application of International Labour Standards</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technical Assistance</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Activities</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Co-operation with Other Organisations</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CONCLUSION</strong></td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
INTRODUCTION

This First African Regional Conference of the International Labour Organisation is meeting in what has been called “the year of Africa”, and certainly there are many current developments in relation to Africa which justify the expression. The year 1960 has witnessed a peak in the movement towards independence of territories formerly of colonial or of otherwise dependent status. This movement has involved territories formerly under four different national administrations—those of Belgium, France, Italy and the United Kingdom—and has resulted in the creation of 15 new and independent States. In the case of Belgium there is the Republic of the Congo; in the case of France, Cameroun, the Republic of Togo, the Federation of Mali, the Malagasy Republic, the Central African and Gabon Republics, the Republics of the Upper Volta, the Congo, the Ivory Coast, Dahomey, the Niger and Chad, with the Islamic Republic of Mauritania due to become independent on 28 November 1960; in the case of Italy there is the Republic of Somali, of which the former British Somaliland now forms part; and in the case of the United Kingdom there is the Federation of Nigeria. These countries have followed closely in the attainment of independence on Libya, Sudan, Tunisia, Morocco, Ghana and Guinea. Others, not yet completely independent, have nevertheless full control over the matters with which this Conference is concerned. And so this Conference is being held under unusually favourable conditions in that the majority of its members will be speaking for the first time with the authority that stems from the representative character of their mandates.

Before introducing my Report I want to mention a consideration which was present in the minds of members of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office when it decided at its 144th Session (March 1960) upon the agenda and geographical scope of the First African Regional Conference. Fears were then expressed that an all-African Regional Conference at the present juncture would tend to assume a political character. From all three groups, however, the view was strongly put forward that the debates at the Conference should be confined to the technical issues arising from the subjects on the agenda and this was clearly the consensus of opinion in the Governing Body. On its behalf, therefore, I would request all members of delegations
to respect that understanding in the course of their intervention in debates. For my part, I will try in the present Report to present the main issues as I see them in as non-controversial and technical terms as possible.

My Report as Director-General is intended to provide some guide lines so as to enable members of the Conference, speaking with direct and authoritative knowledge, to comment upon the main social issues that confront the region at the present time, to direct the attention of the Conference to its needs and to suggest means by which the I.L.O. can help to meet them.

So vast and so diverse a continent as Africa cannot be discussed by way of easy generalisation. Yet within the confines of a short report such as the present, I have perforce had to try to render simple what I know to be complex and to disregard local and sometimes regional variants in favour of broad trends. Such too is the pace of political, economic and social change in certain parts of the continent that what were facts at the time of writing may be mere history by the time this is read. In dealing with Africa I am indeed dealing with a dynamic situation. But my aim at least is constant. It is to point up patterns that may offer a satisfactory way of life for her peoples.

I make no apologies, therefore, for using the illustrative and selective rather than the definitive approach to the problems which are discussed in the following chapters. My task has been to try to present to this First African Regional Conference of the I.L.O. something of the general economic and social background of Africa, to illustrate the changes which are taking place and to pose in broad terms the problems involved as territory after territory emerges to independent nationhood and faces the implications in the social field of the radical transformation of its economy. That transformation is increasingly from an economy based essentially on indigenous subsistence agriculture plus production and export of raw materials, agricultural and mineral, to a more diversified one in which indigenous subsistence agriculture still has a large place but is supplemented in varying degrees by agricultural production for export and for local consumption outside the subsistence economy, and by commerce and industry, the latter varying from simple processing of local products to a wide range of manufactures.

The first chapter, therefore, examines in some detail the economic growth of Africa in recent years. It shows the increasing diversification of economic patterns and discusses their implications.

The second chapter concentrates on the patterns of employment which have grown up as a result of the extent and nature of the economic growth which has taken place. It shows to what extent rural Africa is still the
INTRODUCTION

basic source of manpower, whether for agriculture or for industry, and indicates the problems that this poses for both.

The third chapter deals with workers' education. This subject has been treated specially in my Report at the request of the African Advisory Committee, which met for its First Session in Luanda, Angola, in November-December 1959. No one will deny its importance in African conditions as an aid to the growth of the workers to their full maturity as responsible partners in production and in the social organisation of industry.

In the fourth chapter, I have tried to focus the main problems in the field of action of the I.L.O. in relation to Africa; and in the fifth to indicate the lines of present and anticipated I.L.O. action.

I hope that, with this Report as a stimulus to thought, members of the Conference may be able to indicate the problems and preoccupations of their countries in the field of I.L.O. activities and to proceed to an exchange of experience which will be of value not merely to the participants but also to the Organisation in the planning of its future activities in relation to Africa.

Perhaps I may be permitted to stress particularly the importance I attach to a realistic discussion of the matters raised and the problems posed in Chapters III and IV. As regards the latter chapter, no two countries are likely to see the issues raised in quite the same perspective, since some are largely providers of manpower and others are dependent on workers from outside for the functioning of their agriculture and mining and their manufacturing interest, while others again are more than self-sufficient as regards manpower within their own borders, their main concern being with problems of organisation of underemployed and unemployed manpower. I am sure, however, that to all of them the issues are important and that standards of life and indeed the social peace of Africa may depend on how they are resolved.

* * *

The rapid pace of constitutional changes in recent years has meant that, particularly in relation to statistical material, reference has had to be made to geographical units which no longer exist as such or no longer exist under the same name. The former is true in regard, for example, to French West Africa and French Equatorial Africa, and the latter in regard, for example, to the Malagasy Republic, formerly Madagascar. The general rule has been to use the most up-to-date name whenever possible. The risk of confusion between the Republic of the Congo (ex-Belgian) and the Republic of the Congo (ex-French) has been avoided
by using these expressions when it does not clearly appear from the context to which of the two reference is made. The Egyptian (or Southern) Region of the United Arab Republic has been designated as such or as Egypt (U.A.R.) in formal references and in tables but the word Egypt has been retained for the narrative sections of the Report.
CHAPTER I

THE ECONOMIC BACKGROUND

A fundamental fact concerning Africa is that the living standards of its peoples—at least those of African origin, who represent about 97 per cent. of the population—are extremely low. The figures given in table I, even if exact only to the point of indicating orders of magnitude, prove this beyond doubt.

Low standards of living are of course natural concomitants of an existence based on subsistence agriculture, which is the occupation from which a large proportion of the people gain a livelihood. It is largely in those territories in which the traditional economy has been partly abandoned in favour of an exchange economy based on production of crops or of minerals or both for export, that any considerable proportion of the population—and that composed often of persons of non-African origin—has begun to enjoy incomes appreciably higher than the average. In some cases the concentration of income in the hands of a particular group is very marked. In the Congo (ex-Belgian), for example, a year or two ago it was estimated that "about 38 per cent. of total personal income and 46 per cent. of its monetised component accrue to a small number of Europeans" and in the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland "income accruing to Europeans accounts for 64 per cent. of total personal income and averages 1,712 dollars per capita". These are, it may be noted, both territories in which there is considerable European capital invested in plantation and European-type farming and in industrial and mining enterprises. Money income of Africans is often appreciably smaller than total personal income. For example, the personal income per head of Africans in the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland in 1956 was £14, of which £12 was money income; in Kenya in 1957 the corresponding figures were £12 and £7, while those for the Belgian Congo were 2,157 and 1,574 Belgian francs respectively. These figures are cited simply to give some idea of the very slender money resources which the average African handles and because "only money income carries purchasing power and may therefore affect economic activity". Not only are the

2 Ibid., p. 88.
TABLE I. NATIONAL INCOME OF SELECTED AFRICAN COUNTRIES AND TERRITORIES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country or territory</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>National income</th>
<th>Per capita national income (U.S. dollars)</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Subsistence (Millions of U.S. dollars)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Africa:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Algeria</td>
<td>1956</td>
<td>2,123</td>
<td>221</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Egypt (U.A.R.)</td>
<td>1956</td>
<td>2,622</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morocco, southern zone</td>
<td>1956</td>
<td>1,643</td>
<td>191</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tunisia</td>
<td>1957</td>
<td>667</td>
<td>176</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Union of South Africa</td>
<td>1956-57</td>
<td>4,819</td>
<td>346</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East Africa:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethiopia</td>
<td>1957</td>
<td>604</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kenya</td>
<td>1956</td>
<td>480</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madagascar</td>
<td>1956</td>
<td>586</td>
<td>119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mauritius</td>
<td>1957</td>
<td>132</td>
<td>232</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tanganyika</td>
<td>1957</td>
<td>406</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uganda</td>
<td>1957</td>
<td>586</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zanzibar</td>
<td>1957</td>
<td>27-35</td>
<td>98-126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central Africa:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belgian Congo</td>
<td>1957</td>
<td>976</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rhodesia and Nyasaland (Federation of)</td>
<td>1957</td>
<td>959</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Africa:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cameroons, French administration</td>
<td>1956</td>
<td>451</td>
<td>142</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French Equatorial Africa</td>
<td>1956</td>
<td>614</td>
<td>126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French West Africa</td>
<td>1956</td>
<td>2,523</td>
<td>133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gambia</td>
<td>1957</td>
<td>16-20</td>
<td>56-70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ghana</td>
<td>1957</td>
<td>912</td>
<td>194</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nigeria</td>
<td>1956</td>
<td>2,186</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sierra Leone</td>
<td>1957</td>
<td>147</td>
<td>70</td>
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General Note. The figures relate to periods before the recent change of status of many of the territories concerned and their names at the time have therefore been maintained.


average African's resources so slender as to impose on him a very low standard of living but the manner in which he makes a living renders it extremely difficult for him to accumulate any considerable amount of savings. In all but a few countries of Africa consumption expenditure absorbs from 92 to 98 per cent. of disposable income. Three points may therefore be made at this stage in regard to Africa: low standards of living prevail; there is little indigenous capital formation; and as a consequence there is need to rely largely on public savings in various forms, on savings of private firms and corporations and on foreign funds, as major sources of capital supply. It is important to make these points,
since it is increasing realisation of their verity that is making for a readier acceptance by the outside world of the concept that the economic development of Africa is its concern and cannot be shrugged off as simply a problem for the countries and territories in question. The world is awaking to the truth of the axiom that poverty wherever it exists is an evil not only bad in itself but of universal concern because it is a danger to the peace, stability and economic prosperity of the whole world and not merely to the States directly afflicted by it. It is also increasingly being realised that the poverty from which much of Africa suffers stems from factors which are not even remotely within the control of the African producer of agricultural crops, or of the mining worker, or indeed of individual governments in Africa, and depends upon circumstances which have their focal point elsewhere; and that there is hardly any point at which African economic activity can be severed from the economy of the rest of the world, to which it is now directly and indirectly linked. The question of African economic development has thus become, in an important sense, a world problem, and is expressed in a widespread desire and determination on the part of economically developed countries to co-operate with the countries of Africa which are in course of development, both by providing capital and by supplying various forms of technical assistance. This attitude has a twofold basis: such co-operation makes economic sense in that in the long term at least there are substantial advantages to be gained by all concerned from an increase in world trade; and it is believed that world political stability may be enhanced by a fuller realisation by the "have-nots" of their economic and social aspirations.

The stage then would seem to be conveniently set for a concerted effort in favour of African economic and social development. Perhaps this first African Regional Conference of the International Labour Organisation will provide a convenient opportunity for the representatives of the African peoples to express the aspirations to which I have just referred. In the hope that it may assist in this task by making the background somewhat clearer, I propose in this and the following chapters to outline in the broadest terms the economic and social situation in Africa as I see it, to show the changes which are taking place, the problems which are developing with increased diversification of the economy and the implications in the social field of these changes.

The development of Africa other than the northern coastal fringe and Egypt has been hindered by a number of factors, not the least of which have been climate and geography. Much of the continent was difficult of access, while most of the coastal areas were disease ridden. In the whole of Africa south of the Sahara, only the Congo river offered
a deep water estuary. No river offered an easy approach to or from the hinterland. Internal transport posed formidable difficulties. In the equatorial belt dense forests, and in the south-east a series of high plateaux, have made both railway and road construction difficult and expensive. Nearly a quarter of the continent is composed of deserts and lakes and much of the rest is savannah country, often comparatively unfertile.

Until towards the latter part of the nineteenth century Africa, other than the north, was little more than a series of scattered trading posts as far as the rest of the world was concerned. The slave-trade days were over and the palm-oil and palm-kernel trade had begun, to be followed by exports of such things as groundnuts, rubber and cocoa. The discovery of diamonds and gold in South Africa, however, and their profitable development touched off a chain reaction of capital investment enabling the provision of roads and railways and leading to the building up eventually of a complex of modern industries, including an iron and steel industry, rendered possible by the presence of abundant supplies of coal. Exploitation of minerals, though on a smaller scale, was largely responsible for further investment in Southern Rhodesia. This was later followed by the discovery of the rich copper deposits of the Katanga in the Congo and more recently by those of Northern Rhodesia. Here again investment in the necessary infrastructure followed quickly on proof of profitability of the mining enterprises. Railways, first to the east coast at Beira and later across Angola to the west coast at Lobito, were laid. Roads opened up the hinterlands and led to large-scale farming plantation developments all financed by outside and largely European capital. Gold-mining activities in Ghana and tin mining in Nigeria were directly responsible for rail links from the mining areas to the coast in those territories. Elsewhere south of the Sahara economic development lagged behind. Prospects for profitable investment of capital did not appear bright on the basis of products other than the classics such as palm oil and kernels, cocoa, etc., and the interests concerned were content to continue largely in the role of buyers of produce and sellers of a limited range of articles which proved attractive to unsophisticated local buyers. Governments, however, found themselves getting gradually more committed to action in support of trade and this led to the construction here and there of railways and to the opening up of roads, ports and waterways and finally to the provision of other facilities such as schools, hospitals and medical, administrative and technical services. In the west coast territories this pattern has remained in its essentials unchanged, in the sense that there has been little permanent European settlement and that by and large the land has remained in the hands of the indigenous population. In the east and central areas
and of course in southern Africa, on the other hand, not only did mining enterprise attract outside capital, management and labour, but large-scale farming possibilities also brought a considerable influx of settlers to whom land was allocated and who have been largely responsible for opening up the areas concerned and for ensuring their economic viability. In the light of these developments the governments concerned have been moving steadily ahead with the provision of communications and services appropriate to the circumstances.

In North Africa modern agriculture, mining and manufacturing industries all developed under the influence of capital and skills from outside, although a large traditional sector has remained more or less untouched by these activities. Egypt exceptionally was not the subject of large-scale European settlement although western influence towards the end of the last century and in the early years of the present set in motion a process of change in Egypt’s traditional agricultural economy from subsistence farming to a cash economy centring on the large-scale production of cotton for export. This enabled large-scale investment in railways and harbours and in public utilities and was followed by some expansion of industry, at first largely foreign-owned. More recently, however, Egyptian merchants, industrialists and bankers, with the strong support of the Government, have been playing a dominant role in economic development.

It has been suggested that the pattern of early economic developments in Africa justifies a broad division of territories into two groups—those in which minerals bulk large in domestic exports, and those whose exports are mainly of agricultural origin. It is largely true, as Professor S. H. Frankel has shown, that “mining has been the touchstone of economic development in most of Africa, and the areas most advanced economically are those whose main activities rest on mineral exploitation”. However, other elements do enter into the picture in greater or lesser degree and, with increasing diversification, few territories now present the simple contrast just mentioned. The fact is, however, that in all African economies two systems still exist—a modern and a traditional—their relative importance varying considerably from country to country. The simplest transition has been from a wholly subsistence economy to one in which subsistence farming has been partly transformed into commercial agriculture, usually by peasant agricultural producers of crops for export. In such a situation, foreign investment in large-scale enterprise has been at a minimum and the percentage of the active population engaged in manpower activities relatively small. This has

been the evolution, for example, of most of the West African territories, Ethiopia and Sudan (until the introduction of the Gezira cotton-growing project), although in particular circumstances the development process has been speeded up by discovery and exploitation of minerals. In other territories, such as Kenya and Angola, commercialisation of agriculture through foreign settlement and capital (mainly from the mother country) has resulted in considerable development of secondary industry, though not of mining, and a large outflow of labour from traditional agriculture into both agriculture and industry. Central African territories represent a much more complicated picture of development through foreign investment in large-scale agriculture, mining and industry in proportions which vary considerably according to the territory, labour for these enterprises being supplied sometimes at the expense of traditional agriculture in the territory itself, sometimes by labour drawn from adjacent territories which themselves have remained more or less undeveloped. The main examples of such labour-supplying territories are Ruanda-Urundi for the Congo and Tanganyika, Nyasaland for the Rhodesias and the Union of South Africa, and the High Commission territories of Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland for the Union of South Africa and, in the case of the first two, for the Rhodesias.

The resulting patterns of employment and their implications are more fully discussed in Chapter II. Development in the Union of South Africa (as also in Northern Rhodesia) can be clearly linked to the discovery of minerals. In the former, this has been followed by extensive industrialisation and by large-scale developments in commercial farming, to the detriment of traditional agriculture, which has been disorganised by the demands made upon it for labour. In North African countries such as Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia, as already indicated, development has been stimulated first by European settlement and investment in farming areas, followed by exploitation of minerals such as phosphates and iron ore and a certain amount of secondary industries largely financed by non-Africans, not, however, advanced to any great extent beyond those complementary to natural resources.

It may be convenient to look now at some of the salient facts about recent economic growth in Africa and to start with some generalisations relating to agricultural production—still everywhere, though to differing degrees, the mainstay of the economy.

In the first place it appears that the volume of agricultural production for Africa as a whole has increased by about 40 per cent. between pre-war years and the latest years for which data are available—an annual growth rate considerably in excess of that of total population; and,
while variations between different countries and regions are important, it seems that in tropical Africa agricultural production per head in 1958 was 20 per cent. higher than pre-war. This does not mean, however, that production for domestic consumption increased to the same extent, since agricultural exports also increased and, moreover, the area devoted to subsistence production is still so large and estimates of yield so hazardous that figures for this sector can only be tentative. In tropical Africa as a whole, it may be taken that between two-thirds and three-quarters of the total land area cultivated by Africans is used for subsistence production and that this production is increasing as fast as, or probably faster than, population growth. At the same time the transition to a market economy is proceeding both through increased sales of agricultural produce, either for domestic consumption or for export, and through increased wage employment. Typical examples of economic growth through increased commercialisation of farm products are provided by Egypt, Nigeria and Uganda, and through increased wage employment, by Kenya and Northern Rhodesia. It is probable also that in general the proportion of production that is for subsistence is declining, although conditions are far from being as favourable to this process elsewhere in Africa as in the Congo, where the index of indigenous crop production in 1958 stood at 137 (1947-49 average=100) and the index of quantities sold was 183. This rapid increase in sales, mainly in domestic markets, greatly exceeded the growth of urban population, in spite of the rapid increase in the latter and the increasing domestic market for agricultural products provided by labour employed in the expanding mining industry of the country.¹

As regards production for export, a continuing feature is the extent to which a single crop, or a few commodities, dominate the export markets of particular countries. Single export crop countries include Egypt and Sudan, which depend overwhelmingly on cotton, Ethiopia (coffee), Gambia (groundnuts) and Ghana (cocoa).

In other countries dependence is on a narrow range of commodities: in Liberia on rubber, iron ore and palm kernels; the Republics of Gabon and Chad and the Central African Republic on wood and wood products, raw cotton and coffee; the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland on copper and tobacco; and Sierra Leone on palm kernels, iron ore and diamonds. Only in a few cases has there been any significant lessening of dependence on the items quoted, although there have been considerable shifts in the relative importance of individual exports. The Congo (ex-Belgian) and Ruanda-Urundi, British East Africa, Angola, Mozambique,

former French West Africa, Nigeria, Morocco and Tunisia are examples of countries with a much more diversified range of exports. Even there, however, one or two commodities usually occupy a high place—copper and coffee in the Congo; coffee, cotton and sisal in British East Africa; coffee again in Angola; cotton and sugar in Mozambique; groundnuts in the Federation of Mali; coffee in the Ivory Coast; cocoa, groundnuts and palm kernels in Nigeria; phosphates and cereals in Morocco; phosphates, wine and olive oil in Tunisia. Only in the Union of South Africa do exports of both minerals and manufactured goods figure largely. Indeed, only the Union can be said to have a balanced export economy, with animal and vegetable products representing 24.7 per cent., minerals and metals 24 per cent., gold 33.3 per cent. and manufactured goods 18 per cent. of the total value of exports.

The changes that have taken place in the composition of exports reflect the efforts of producers to protect their interests from the effects of unfavourable world price trends by shifting to products for which world prices were, or were likely to be, more advantageous. Moreover, while only the Union of South Africa may have so far achieved a balanced export economy, there are elsewhere considerable developments by way of new or increased exploitation of minerals, local processing of primary commodities and expansion of industrial capacity. These developments, or some of them, are to be found just as much in the countries listed above where one crop predominates, as in those already producing a wider range of commodities. To take a few examples of significant shifts in the emphasis of exports, however: Liberia's exports of iron ore rose from 1.4 per cent. of the total export trade in 1950 to 18.3 in 1957; wood and wood products constituted 25 per cent. of the export trade of the territories then constituting French Equatorial Africa in 1950 and 41.2 in 1957; iron ore exports from Sierra Leone rose from 19.4 per cent. of total exports in 1950 to 33 in 1957; copper represented 25 per cent. of Congo exports in 1950 and 32.1 in 1957; exports of coffee rose from 22.5 per cent. of total British East African exports in 1950 to 35.4 in 1957; while in Angola they formed 31.7 per cent. of the total in 1950 as against 42.7 in 1957. In Tunisia wine exports rose from 3.9 per cent. of total exports in 1950 to 13.9 in 1957. Significant shifts in the opposite direction were a fall in Mozambique's sisal exports from 20 per cent. of total exports in 1950 to 6.4 in 1957; a similar fall in British East Africa from 25.1 per cent. to 10.4; in Sierra Leone, palm-kernel exports fell from 34.3 per cent. of total export trade in 1950 to 20.7 in 1957; in Morocco, exports of preserved fish fell from 15 per cent. of total export trade in 1950 to 6.7 in 1957. It is not, of course, suggested that the volumes of the export commodities indicated rose or fell to the same extent during
the period. Percentages were obviously also affected by the extent of the change in the export price as compared with other commodities.

This economic dependence of many African countries upon exports of a small number of primary commodities—agricultural or mineral—leads to various unfortunate results. First, these countries cannot rely on an averaging of the price movements of many different types of export goods to maintain stability. Second, the demand for their products is inelastic and is often less in times of low prices than in times of high. Third, and most important, is the relation between the prices fetched by the commodities sold and those of the manufactured goods which must be imported and the fact that the countries concerned have no real possibility of influencing fluctuations in the terms of trade to their advantage to any significant extent. No African country—indeed, not Africa as a whole—is in control of a sufficient proportion of the world production of any major commodity to enable it to exercise pressure on the market, so as to influence the level of world prices. Variations in demand for African products by the industrialised countries which are the main consumers are the main factor determining world prices. As regards imports, the limited purchasing power of African countries equally prevents them from exercising a favourable influence on prices, which have shown a generally upward trend due to inflationary pressures in the main industrial exporting countries.

In fact, the terms of trade for African countries in recent years have undergone considerable fluctuations, as table II (based on 1953 = 100) shows.

**TABLE II. TERMS OF TRADE OF CERTAIN AFRICAN COUNTRIES AND TERRITORIES 1950-58**

(1953 = 100)

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<tr>
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<td>89</td>
<td>107</td>
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<td>70</td>
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<tr>
<td>Belgian Congo</td>
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<td>107</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>70</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>British East Africa</td>
<td>111</td>
<td>131</td>
<td>115</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>106</td>
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<td>103</td>
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<tr>
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<td>121</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>107</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ghana</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>102</td>
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<td>148</td>
<td>132</td>
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<tr>
<td>Morocco</td>
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<td>119</td>
<td>104</td>
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<td>98</td>
<td>102</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nigeria</td>
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<td>103</td>
<td>119</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>102</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rhodesia and Nyasaland</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>121</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>86</td>
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<tr>
<td>(Federation of)</td>
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<td>Sudan</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>126</td>
<td>121</td>
<td>126</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>124</td>
<td>111</td>
<td>—</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Source: United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs: *Yearbook of International Trade Statistics, 1957* (New York, 1958), Vol. I. The terms of trade index is obtained by dividing the export unit value index by the import unit value index.

1 Including Ruanda-Urundi (see General Note to table I, p. 6). 2 Comprising the three High Commission Territories: Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika. 3 Southern zone only. 4 Including the Cameroons under British administration. 5 Including the Gambela enclave in Ethiopia.
It would not be profitable to discuss these fluctuations in detail. It is necessary, however, to note that in the early post-war years prices for African commodities were on the whole high, but by the middle 1950s they had begun to fall off, first in agricultural produce and then in minerals. On the other hand, prices of African imports have continued to rise.

Reference has already been made to the growth in agricultural production in Africa as a whole. Details of the output of the principal agricultural commodities by country, showing changes over the period 1950 to 1958, are given in the Economic Survey of Africa since 1950.¹ Only a few of the more significant of these changes can be referred to here. As regards beverage crops, there has been rapid expansion in production and export of tea and coffee, the former affecting chiefly British East Africa, Mozambique and the Rhodesias, and the latter virtually the whole of tropical Africa, including Ethiopia, the Malagasy Republic, the territories formerly comprising French West Africa, Angola and the Congo (ex-Belgian) as the largest producers. Cocoa production has grown by about 10 per cent., though the production of Ghana, the producer of nearly 50 per cent. of the total, has advanced very little. Sisal production is now about 50 per cent. above the 1950 level, Tanganyika being the main producer, with Kenya, Angola, Mozambique and the Malagasy Republic also important sources. Cotton production, though fluctuating from year to year, has risen some 12 to 15 per cent. Output has been stationary in the main producing country, Egypt, which accounts for about one-half of total African production, but has tended strongly upward in Sudan, the former French Territories, Tanganyika, Nigeria and Mozambique. Wool production, centred chiefly in the Union of South Africa (South-West Africa), has increased by 50 per cent. since 1950, significant upward movements having been also recorded in North African countries, where wool is used chiefly for indigenous carpet-making. Rubber production has more than doubled since 1950. Liberia, by far the largest producer in 1950, has now been nearly overtaken both by Nigeria and the Congo (ex-Belgian), production in the interval having trebled in the former and quadrupled in the latter. Wheat production is concentrated largely in North African countries and output has very considerably increased over the period in that area, though imports are still necessary. The other main producers, the Union of South Africa, Ethiopia and Kenya show a small all-over increase in production during the period. Barley production, confined more or less to North Africa and Ethiopia, has declined slightly. On the other hand rice production has increased by some 15 per cent. ; here the main producers are Egypt.

the Malagasy Republic, West Africa, and the Congo (ex-Belgian). It is important to note that apparent consumption of rice in Africa as a whole has increased from an average 3.4 million tons in 1948-52 to 4.7 million in 1957. Production of maize, millet and sorghum staple foods over large areas of Africa has steadily increased over the period, as has that of potatoes, yams and other tubers. In spite of this there has been an increase in the volume of net imports of potatoes in Africa south of the Sahara from 2,000 tons in pre-war years to between 25,000 and 30,000 tons in the years 1953 to 1956.

Considerable changes have taken place in the incidence of palm products output since 1950, the tendency being to export more in the form of oil and a lesser proportion of kernels. This has been due to the introduction, mainly on government initiative, of improved crushing mills, for example in Nigeria. Groundnut production, coming mainly, as in the case of palm products, from West and Central Africa, has very considerably increased. Copra production, largely undertaken on the east coast, shows a slight upward trend, mainly due to increased output in Mozambique. Production of cotton-seed, the bulk of which is produced in Egypt and Sudan, is expanding slowly, as is that of sesame, of which main producers are Sudan and Somali. Olive oil production, confined to North African countries, is increasing, largely owing to increased output in Tunisia. The two remaining principal crops are sugar and tobacco. Sugar production has expanded by some 50 per cent. since 1948-52. The main producing countries are the Union of South Africa, Egypt, Réunion and Mozambique, but production is building up also in Uganda, the Malagasy Republic, the Congo (ex-Belgian), Tanganyika, Kenya and elsewhere. Much of the production is exported for refining and subsequently returns to Africa in a refined state, the continent’s exports and imports of sugar being in approximate balance. Major producers of tobacco are the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland and the Union of South Africa, though there is some production in North African countries, and elsewhere, e.g. Nigeria. Output has grown steadily in recent years, expansion being particularly marked in Southern Rhodesia.

Africa contains more than a quarter of the world’s goat population and about 15 per cent. of the sheep. Flocks seem to be increasing and efforts are being made to improve quality. Cattle breeding presents particular difficulties owing to lack of availability of grazing land in some areas and prevalence of diseases such as trypanosomiasis in others. Here again improvements in quality are to be noted and expansion has been facilitated by increased attention to watering facilities and improvement of pastures. While local customs in many areas still
result in large numbers of cattle being accumulated for prestige purposes, thus preventing their normal conversion to livestock products, steady if slow increases have been noted in inter-territorial and inter-regional exports of livestock and livestock products, including hides and skins, wool and animal hair.

The area under forest has diminished in recent years but output of forest products has considerably increased. This has consisted largely of fuelwood, but production of industrial wood including logs, pulp wood and pitprops has increased rapidly in the post-war years. Logging has been organised on modern lines in the Gabon Republic, Ghana, Nigeria and the Union of South Africa, the main exporters, and in the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland and the Congo. Exports of broad-leaved wood and sleepers have also risen especially in Ghana. Pulp and paper production is carried on mainly in South Africa, which is now a net exporter of pulp wood. There is a growing paper and cardboard industry in Egypt and the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, relying partly on imported pulp, and a developing plywood industry in those countries, in Nigeria and the Congo.

The volume of mineral production in Africa has been in constant expansion since the Second World War and the upward trend, with minor exceptions, continues. Africa's share in world production in 1956 (the latest year for which statistics are available) was—diamonds 96 per cent.; cobalt, 69 per cent.; gold, 63 per cent.; antimony, 48 per cent.; manganese, 37 per cent.; chromite, 34 per cent.; phosphate rock, 32 per cent.; copper, 24 per cent.; asbestos, 19 per cent.; tin concentrates, 15 per cent.; vanadium, 11 per cent.; with lesser percentages of tungsten ore, silver, iron ore, bauxite and coal. While it has so far produced only minor quantities of petroleum—in Egypt, Nigeria, Morocco and Algeria—prospection has already shown the existence of very large reserves in Algeria, now being developed, considerable resources in Angola and Nigeria, also in course of development, and in Libya, where active prospecting continues. Important increases in output since 1948-50 have been in copper (55 per cent.), manganese (36 per cent.), chrome (45 per cent.), gold (20 per cent.), cobalt (96 per cent.), iron ore (88 per cent.), rock phosphate (67 per cent.) and asbestos (64 per cent.). Bauxite production, insignificant before the war, has increased by more than 400 per cent. since 1948-50. The geographical distribution of mining activities is wide, for while the Union of South Africa, the Rhodesias and the Congo (ex-Belgian) are the mining countries par excellence, others have considerable resources.¹ Some indication of the spread

may be derived from table III, showing the main producing countries of the principal minerals.

**TABLE III. PRINCIPAL MINERAL PRODUCING COUNTRIES AND TERRITORIES**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mineral</th>
<th>Country or territory</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Antimony</td>
<td>Union of South Africa, Algeria, Morocco, Southern Rhodesia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asbestos</td>
<td>Southern Rhodesia, Union of South Africa, Swaziland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bauxite</td>
<td>Guinea, Ghana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coal</td>
<td>Union of South Africa, Southern Rhodesia, Nigeria, Mozambique, Morocco, Congo, Algeria</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cobalt</td>
<td>Congo, Northern Rhodesia, Morocco</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Copper</td>
<td>Northern Rhodesia, Congo, Union of South Africa, South-West Africa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diamonds</td>
<td>Congo, Ghana, Union of South Africa, Sierra Leone, Angola, South-West Africa, Tanganyika</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gold</td>
<td>Union of South Africa, Ghana, Southern Rhodesia, Congo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iron</td>
<td>Liberia, Union of South Africa, Algeria, Tunisia, Morocco, Sierra Leone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lead</td>
<td>Morocco, South-West Africa, Tunisia, Algeria</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manganese</td>
<td>Union of South Africa, Ghana, Morocco, Congo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phosphate rock</td>
<td>Morocco, Tunisia, Algeria (U.A.R.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tin concentrates</td>
<td>Congo, Nigerin, Union of South Africa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tungsten ore</td>
<td>Congo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uranium</td>
<td>Union of South Africa, Congo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vanadium</td>
<td>South-West Africa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zinc</td>
<td>Congo, Algeria, Morocco, South-West Africa, Northern Rhodesia</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Big changes are taking place in the sources from which power is drawn in Africa. The concentration of coal in the South, the discoveries of oil in the North and elsewhere—e.g. Nigeria—and the immense concentrations of water power available in many areas, all indicate that a progressive switch to either oil or water power as conventional sources of energy will take place. Already anticipated economic developments and improvements in the techniques of transmission of electricity have made possible such projects as the Owen Falls in Uganda, the Kariba Dam on the Zambesi, the Cuanza River project in Angola and the Edea Barrage in Cameroun, and have enabled active consideration to be given to such schemes as the Volta River project in Ghana and the Inga Scheme in the Congo. The Aswan High Dam Scheme, while primarily for other purposes, will also supply large quantities of electric power. Expansion of electric power indeed continues to be an important factor in the development plans of most countries due to the need to meet
increasing requirements of urban areas, a wish to encourage industrial development and a desire to further the development of transportation. In this connection, far-reaching considerations of inter-territorial cooperation, both technical and financial, are raised, since not only may the water problems involved need inter-territorial co-operation but that co-operation may also be essential to the economics of the project whose feasibility may depend on the assurance of extra-territorial outlets for the immense quantities of electricity generated.1

Manufacturing industry has assumed a certain importance in Africa only in the last 30 years or so. Table IV shows the indices of production of manufactured articles in selected African countries 1938-57.

TABLE IV. INDICES OF PRODUCTION OF MANUFACTURING INDUSTRIES IN SELECTED COUNTRIES AND TERRITORIES, 1938-57

<table>
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<td>73</td>
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<td>101</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>123</td>
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<td>143</td>
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<tr>
<td>Angola . . . . . . .</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>123</td>
<td>—</td>
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<tr>
<td>Belgian Congo 1</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>126</td>
<td>139</td>
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<tr>
<td>Egypt (U.A.R.) . . .</td>
<td>40 2</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>117</td>
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<td>Mozambique . . . . .</td>
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<td>66</td>
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<td>106</td>
<td>122</td>
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<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
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<tr>
<td>Southern Rhodesia .</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>143</td>
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<td>183</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tunisia 2 . . . . .</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>117</td>
<td>122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Union of South Africa</td>
<td>31 2</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>115</td>
<td>118</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


While these figures give some indication of the growth of industry in various countries in recent years, they do nothing to show either its scope or structure. On those points a few generalisations will, however, have to suffice. By and large industrialisation in Africa is still very much in its first stages. Only the Union of South Africa can be said to have already an industrial economy, with manufacturing providing some 25 per cent. of national income, almost as much as mining and agriculture put together. The Union’s industrial activities are also more advanced and diversified than elsewhere. Such products as rubber goods, chemicals, petroleum and coal products, iron and steel, and metal products, includ-

ing electrical and other machinery and transport equipment, are pro-
minently represented in addition to food, beverages, tobacco, textiles,
clothing and footwear, the staple articles produced by those countries
which are only on the threshold of industrial expansion. Next in line
come Egypt, the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, Algeria,
Morocco and the Congo, all with a wide range of consumer non-durable
manufactures and with other industrial activities varying according to
the country. Egypt's main activity is in textiles, in Algeria and Morocco
food, beverages and tobacco provide the main emphasis, while in the
Rhodesias and the Congo base metal industries are the major branch of
manufacturing. The activities of the remaining countries are more or less
confined to the production of non-durable consumer goods and the
processing for export of some of their agricultural products. Industrial
establishments are usually few and small and manufacturing processes
simple.

An important feature as regards manufacturing enterprises in Africa
is that they are largely foreign-owned and operated, that is to say that
they have been established by foreign capital, entrepreneurship and skill,
or by those of settled immigrant populations—a feature equally of mining
enterprises. Indigenous ownership and direction have, however, devel-
oped significantly in recent years, for example in Egypt, whose nationals
now own the majority of industrial enterprises, and in a few other coun-
tries, such as Ghana and Nigeria. This process has been sometimes
encouraged by the transfer to local private control of industries originally
launched under government initiative. In other cases governments
seem to have had mainly considerations of national interest in mind in
initiating particular industries, for example iron and steel, oil from coal
and associated industries and ammunition in the Union of South Africa.
In Egypt, a single organisation, the Economic Development Organisa-
tion, has been assigned a dominant role in developing the national
economy by engaging in commercial, industrial, agricultural and financial
activities. To this end, it has secured effective control of or strong
influence over the management of decisive sections of the national
economy, including the main new developments, as in iron and steel
production, and production of sugar, alcohol, tobacco, fertilisers,
cement, industrial gases, tyres, paper, ceramics and textiles.

It is estimated that in 1957 value added in manufacturing throughout
Africa was of the order of 3,000 million United States dollars and that
this field occupied about 2 million persons. Of this around two-fifths
of value added and a comparable proportion of manpower employed
might be accounted for by the Union of South Africa alone.¹

¹ Economic Survey of Africa since 1950, op. cit., p. 69
This very general survey of economic growth in Africa in recent years and the indications given of its main structural features may serve as essential background material for some discussion of economic development and particularly of the conditions under which that development can proceed. And here the problems are legion. The central problem is as to the sector or sectors of the economy in which the available resources for economic development should be concentrated. I do not propose to enter here into a discussion of the relative merits of policies aimed, on the one hand, at spreading available capital fairly evenly throughout the economy with the object of benefiting immediately unemployment and underemployment or, on the other hand, at touching off in the long run a chain reaction of economic growth, by the investment of large sums in particular sectors. Such are the differences in resources both natural and human, stage of development, state of communications, modes of life of the population, and in social and political organisation, that the types of investment which should be favoured, large-scale or small-scale projects, rural or urban projects, projects in agriculture, industry, transport or power, projects requiring much or little capital in relation to labour, investments in people (e.g. through education and health services) or in material resources, must vary and are inevitably the subject of differing advice by economists and others. Three examples of the findings of recent surveyors of the economic scene, one each from East, West and North Africa, may be given to illustrate these differences. Take first Nyasaland, which was the subject of a recent economic survey. Nyasaland's economy is characterised by underdeveloped communications, few known minerals and no early prospect of a mining industry, and secondary industries small in number and size, dependent on the scope of the local market, which is predominantly African. Agriculture, therefore, is the main source of income, with an important supplement in the form of remittances by the large number of Nyasalanders employed in other territories. In these circumstances, the authors of the economic survey considered that the available resources for economic development must be concentrated on the promotion of agricultural improvement and expansion, on communications, on water supplies, and on power. They considered that in any such programme the improvement and development of the educational, health and other social services would have its appropriate role but that in the last resort


the effectiveness of the general development programme must depend upon its ability to generate new income and new income-earning opportunities. For all this, public investment was needed, supplemented by private investment to take full advantage of the opportunities created by the former. Finally, in addition to maintenance and enlargement of investment by the numerically small European and Asian communities the authors considered that the African contribution could be considerable if certain conditions were established. Among these were "the spread of technical knowledge and skill, the creation of new trading opportunities, the existence of security favourable to saving and investment, and a desire to participate vigorously in the general development of the country".

The Nigerian approach to development problems is essentially an empiric one. In the Economic Survey of Nigeria 1959¹ the National Economic Council concludes that prospects for increasing the wealth of the country and raising the level of the national income rest largely on the possibilities of increasing exports and developing industry. While hoping that oil exports will become important, the Council considers that prospects for a major increase in export earnings must rest for a long time with agricultural production. The Council recognises that industry can make a slower but nonetheless real contribution to development. It considers industry and agriculture to be complementary and not competitive the one to the other except in their calls on public money. "Industrialisation involves heavy capital investment, and the pace of agricultural development will be conditioned by the money that can be diverted or attracted to it. The many calls on the limited funds at the disposal of Government make it imperative that private investors should be encouraged to finance those forms of development which are normally attractive to them. These include industry and large-scale agricultural development. Where necessary, and within the limits of the funds available, the Governments and quasi-government bodies will also stand ready to invest in industry and in the development of large-scale agricultural units. The greater part of available public monies will, however, have to be used to provide public services, such as communications, health and education, which are essential to the future development of Nigeria and which by their nature are not suitable for financing by private investors."²

Tunisia, among other North African countries, has recently been the subject of a survey by the Food and Agriculture Organisation of the

² Ibid., p. 11.
United Nations. In their outline of action to secure balanced development of the Tunisian economy, the F.A.O. investigators stress that the most essential and fundamental step is the transformation of traditional agriculture. They plan for agriculture to absorb 200,000 additional workers by 1970 and propose a co-ordination of agricultural, grazing and forestry policies, all directed towards the conservation of soil and water. The proposed programme in agriculture includes improvement of agricultural methods, development of new lands and of arboriculture and modification of present stockraising methods; in forestry a series of measures are proposed for fuller employment of the existing forestry domain and its enlargement by afforestation. Land and water conservation measures are also envisaged necessitating the establishment of a special land development fund. A greatly expanded programme of public works is proposed, with emphasis on projects in rural areas to avoid a further influx of population to the towns, including a pilot project in integrated rural development in a particular area.

As regards industry, which it is hoped will provide 200,000 new jobs by 1970, the investigators consider that, having regard to its weak competitive position in overseas markets, Tunisia must orient its industrial production towards meeting the growing domestic demand for clothing and textiles, shoes and leather goods, fertilisers and farm machinery, pharmaceutical products, processed foodstuffs and other consumer goods. A considerable development of the tourist industry is also foreseen and measures for its encouragement proposed. For the implementation of all these measures considerable foreign financial assistance is envisaged. According to the investigators, in view of the exceedingly small margins available for savings in rural Tunisia, most of the investment in the rural sector will have to be public investment. Moreover, in the absence of a strong tradition of private initiative in industry, it will also be necessary for the Government to take an active role in industrial development. The final words of this part of the F.A.O. report may be worth quoting here, since they have a wide validity for Africa today:

The natural desire of underdeveloped countries to increase domestic supplies of goods that people buy and use frequently leads to undue stress on so-called "productive" investments, meaning agricultural and industrial investments that give early and calculable returns. There is a growing body of evidence, however, to support the thesis that investments in education and research are among the most "productive" that can be made. Like other important investments, they must be planned with care.

Requirements for teachers, scientists, engineers, administrators, doctors, accountants, foremen, and technicians and specialists of all kinds must be

estimated. Ways must be found to discover the persons capable of benefiting from training in these fields, and to assure them of the necessary instruction. Technical assistance from abroad can be crucial in providing—temporarily—skills needed to complement those available domestically and to expedite training at all levels of society.

As the report goes on to say, the obstacles to development are human and institutional as well as economic and financial. The rate of progress will be profoundly affected by the attitudes of the people towards institutional change and new ways of doing things, by governments' capacity to formulate broad programmes for human betterment and to mobilise domestic resources to carry them out; by the vigour with which foreign technicians and capital, public and private, are sought and utilised; and by the spirit with which citizens join together in completing useful projects that correspond to the needs which they recognise. I shall return to certain aspects of this theme in Chapter IV.

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1 FAO Mediterranean Development Project, op. cit., p. 156.
CHAPTER II

PATTERNS OF EMPLOYMENT IN AFRICA

POPULATION GROWTH AND DENSITY

The total population of Africa is estimated to be from 200 to 220 million, of which from 150 to 160 million are in Africa south of the Sahara and from 50 to 60 million in North Africa; 21 per cent. of the total population are thus to be found in North Africa and 73 per cent. in tropical Africa.¹ Of the 50 to 60 million in North Africa, about half (26 million) are in Egypt and the rest distributed between Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia and Libya. Ninety-seven per cent. of the persons residing in the sub-continent are of African descent, with a total European population of 5.7 million residing mostly in the Union of South Africa, East and Central Africa and North Africa, and 800,000 Asians in the Union of South Africa and in East Africa.

The average density of population in Africa is estimated at 7.4 persons per square kilometre, as compared with Asia at 54.8 and Europe at over 80 persons. However, the over-all density has little or no meaning in view of the uneven distribution of population within the continent and consequential wide range of density figures; the average density is from 1.2 persons per square kilometre in the arid zone of North Africa to around 500 persons per square kilometre in the Nile valley of Egypt. In North Africa especially population is largely concentrated in the coastal fringes and in the Nile valley, as much of the rest of the area is too arid for stable cultivation. Thus, nine-tenths of the population of Algeria reside in the northern part, 99 per cent. of the population of Egypt are in the Nile valley and one-sixth of the population of Tunisia resides in the city of Tunis itself. In Africa south of the Sahara there is a similar uneven distribution of population, with 63 per cent. of the population of Tanganyika, for example, residing in 10 per cent. of the territory and two-thirds of the land area practically uninhabited, while extremely low population densities are also recorded: two persons per square kilometre in former French Equatorial Africa, five in the Congo (ex-Belgian) and less than one in Bechuanaland.

¹ Economic Survey of Africa since 1950, op. cit.
Moreover, as elsewhere, population density in itself has little significance for Africa since, apart from the fertility of the land itself, which varies considerably, the forms of cultivation differ widely according to climatic conditions as well as farming methods. These vary from subsistence farming with primitive hand tools to European style and plantation farming, often highly mechanised, and from nomadic agriculture in the semi-desert regions of northern Africa to intensive agriculture on irrigated land in the Nile valley and elsewhere.

Density of African populations in various parts of Africa has also been partially influenced by land alienation policies pursued by or with the approval of governments. While in the majority of African countries 90 per cent. or more of land is held or controlled by Africans or by the government, there are local situations of a very different character. For example, 89 per cent. of the total land area in the Union of South Africa and 49 per cent. in Southern Rhodesia are restricted for European occupation only. In Kenya large areas of what is now the best agricultural land was alienated to Europeans at a time when it was seemingly unused by Africans. These measures no doubt increased the pressure of population on other lands, particularly African reserves, and contributed to situations such as exist in the African reserves of Kenya, where population density ranges from 600 to 1,200 persons per square mile. In North Africa large areas of the best arable land were, during the colonisation period, ceded to or purchased by Europeans. The result in such circumstances has inevitably been increased pressure of African population on the remaining arable land.

With its high general annual rate of increase of population, Africa, and especially North Africa, is facing a "population explosion" of some magnitude. The average birth rate is estimated to be around 40 to 50 per thousand and the death rate is in the neighbourhood of 25 to 30 per thousand; between the years 1951 and 1955 the annual rate of population increase was around 2.2 per cent. per annum. In fact the birth rate has remained more or less unchanged since the Second World War, whilst the death rate has fallen with the improvement in hygiene and medical services. It is expected that the gap will widen even further in view of the increased expenditure on better health and medical facilities for the populations. Indeed, in some areas of Africa the death rate has already declined to from 10 to 20 per thousand, with the rate of population increase ranging from 2 to 3 per cent. per annum. North Africa has entered into a period of rapid population growth, so that the rate of population increase in Tunisia is expected to rise from 1.5 per cent. per annum to 2.35 per cent. per annum in the period 1956-76; in Morocco from 1.4 per cent. to 2 per cent. and in Algeria from 1.5 per cent. to
2.6 per cent. Egypt has already reached a population increase rate of 2.3 per cent. In the 25-year period from 1955 onwards, the population of Algeria is expected to double. Africa south of the Sahara has not as yet reached this stage in population growth but in suitable conditions may be expected to do so.

It is of interest also to note that in the 20-year period between 1937 and 1957 the trend has been for the percentage of the population living in rural areas to decline, with a consequent increase in urban populations. Between the years 1937 and 1957 the rural African population of Egypt as a percentage of total population declined from 74.6 to 66.9; of Morocco from 86.1 to 79.1; and of Tunisia from 83.1 to 81.7. The percentage in Algeria on the other hand rose from 81.9 to 82.5 between 1936 and 1954. In Africa south of the Sahara the same trend is in evidence; in West Africa (former French territories) the fall was from 98.6 to 95.4; in the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland from 92 to 90.7; in South-West Africa from 84.4 to 78.9; and in the Union of South Africa from 59.2 to 49.2. The rate of increase in urban populations in the last ten years has indeed been considerably greater than that of the African population as a whole, though the percentage of all Africans living in rural areas is still very high. This drift to the towns will no doubt grow progressively as economic development, bringing with it further wage-earning opportunities, increases.

THE LABOUR FORCE

The proportion of population given as economically active in the various African countries varies from 29.5 per cent. in Mozambique to as high as 61.1 per cent. in Portuguese Guinea. These figures are of limited value since they depend partly on the definition of the term "economically active" as used by the different census authorities and partly on differences in cultural patterns in the case of the various countries as, for example, in conditions where women are discouraged from engaging in wage-paid employment. Figures available suggest, however, that on the average about 40 per cent. of the population of Africa as a whole may be considered as economically active.

The important fact about the active population is that to a large extent it is not static within any particular occupational group. The main categories of African workers that can be distinguished include—
(1) independent workers within the traditional or subsistence economy;

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(2) similar workers producing cash crops for local sale or export; (3) workers on their own account in commerce, handicrafts and independent minor industries; (4) wage-paid workers in organised agriculture and mining, commercial and industrial undertakings. The proportions of workers in these groups vary, however, very considerably according to the state of the economy and the opportunities for this or that form of activity. The independent agricultural worker of today may be a wage earner tomorrow, depending on his need for cash or the relative profitability of cash crop agriculture as compared with wage earning. Likewise there is, in most African countries, an amorphous mass of people engaged in petty trading, artisanal activities and casual service jobs of all kinds. In some countries—those in North Africa, for instance—handicrafts represent a considerable slice of these activities; in others the emphasis is on petty trading and marketing, but when due account has been taken of genuine activities of these kinds, there usually remains a considerable mass of people earning very small sums on a casual basis who are in fact virtually unemployed. Their presence in and around the towns is one of the most significant features of African life today.

Another main feature is the extent to which, in recent years, wage-earning employment has increased. In Morocco, for example, wage earners now constitute some 32 per cent. of the economically active population, while in Egypt they are some 42 per cent. In Africa south of the Sahara between 1938 and 1955 the proportion of Africans working for wages increased from 7.9 per cent. of the economically active male population to 17 per cent. The situation varies, however, considerably as between the different territories. In the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland wage earners constitute in the different territories between 40 and 50 per cent. of the total economically active male population, while in the Union of South Africa the figure is probably even higher. In the Congo, Angola, Mozambique and Kenya the proportion varies between 30 and 40 per cent. Next come countries—like Ruanda-Urundi, the Malagasy Republic, Uganda, Cameroun and Ghana and finally Nigeria, Gambia, Sierra Leone and the main countries of the Community in West and Central Africa—where the proportion of wage earners in the economically active male population is below 10 per cent., falling to 4 per cent. in the case of Nigeria.

This variation needs to be explained at greater length, since it is related to the basic economic development within the territories concerned. Thus in certain territories wage-paid employment is low because Africans have remained subsistence farmers or have turned to cash crop farming on small and medium sized family holdings. Since mining and
industry are so far little developed in these territories, there has been no strong incentive for labour to move out of the rural sector. In other areas such as Northern and Southern Rhodesia, the Congo and the Union of South Africa, the development on a considerable scale of mining and industry and sometimes organised farming or plantations has led to demands for labour over wide areas and to the building up of a vast complex of migratory labour whose movements in and out of mining, industry or organised agriculture have had social and economic repercussions far beyond the confines of the countries in which the workers concerned earn their wages.

The majority of African wage earners are still unskilled. This is not merely a consequence of the migratory character of a large part of the total labour force, which by this very fact is largely untrained and untrainable, but also because at prevalent low rates of wages it has hitherto been possible to maintain policies whereby a large mass of unskilled, undifferentiated local labour was employed, buttressed by skilled workers and technicians often largely of non-African origin and frequently engaged from abroad for the purpose. This situation is changing, more rapidly in some countries than in others, as a result of Africanisation policies, vigorous programmes of vocational and technical training and positive action by employers to utilise African labour and to provide in-plant instruction for it to the maximum extent possible. There is thus emerging a small but growing group of African entrepreneurs, managers, skilled and semi-skilled workers who will clearly be of vital importance for the economic development of Africa.

Persons of European origin in Africa are both self-employed in agriculture, business, industry and mining as well as in employment in these sectors, mostly in highly skilled technical and executive jobs. In North Africa and again in the Union of South Africa, in the Rhodesias and in Angola and Mozambique among other areas, however, they may be found occupying a whole range of jobs down to the virtually unskilled level. Asians are found for the most part in East, Central and South Africa, firmly entrenched in business and trade, but also in particular situations occupying a wide range of skilled jobs, sometimes to the virtual exclusion of Africans from the skilled ranks of the occupations concerned.

Economically Active Population Engaged in Agriculture

Of the economically active population, the majority are engaged in agriculture. To take a few instances, it is estimated that in Libya some 87 per cent. of the active population are so engaged. The economy of Sudan is even more agriculturally biased, with 90 per cent. of the active
population dependent on agriculture, including those working in the Gezira Development Scheme. Nigeria would no doubt show just as high a proportion so engaged. The proportion of population dependent on agriculture is somewhat less for countries like Egypt and the Union of South Africa which are industrially more advanced—around 66 per cent. in Egypt and 40 per cent. in the Union of South Africa. In the Congo 70 per cent. of the economically active population are dependent on agriculture. These figures only tend to emphasise the extent to which Africa as a whole is still dependent on agriculture for its livelihood.

Of the active agricultural population, the largest proportion is self-employed in the traditional subsistence sector. In countries like Morocco and Tunisia, for example, the traditional economy occupies some two-thirds or more of the active population, the activities being largely subsistence agriculture and associated occupations. In the same way, a survey made recently in nine countries of tropical Africa revealed that 60 per cent. of the men over 15 years of age were engaged in the traditional subsistence sector. In this connection, it must be borne in mind that in Africa subsistence farming may vary from that typical of most less developed countries—the cultivator eking out a bare living on a small area of land using the primitive techniques and equipment that have been used for generations—to much more elementary forms involving shifting cultivation or even the mere gathering of fruits and nuts or hunting. Considerable numbers are also engaged in pastoral activities, either in nomadic or semi-nomadic form as in the semi-arid areas of North Africa or of a more settled nature where livestock production is associated with crop cultivation. In some areas ordinary economic considerations do not operate, since livestock is considered more in terms of a store of wealth and as a sign of social prestige than as a means of livelihood.

Other special situations may occur where large numbers of the active males are absent for long periods, engaged in wage-paid employment, for example in the case of Nyasaland and the High Commission Territories of Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland. In such circumstances subsistence farming is carried out for the most part by women, old persons and boys and commercial farming has little or no opportunity to develop. On the other hand, the economy may benefit by the money injected into it from the savings of wage earners elsewhere.

Employment of hired workers is found both in small-scale commercial production and in large-scale farms and plantations. Nevertheless, in African peasant farming, whether cash crops are grown or not, a proportion of all services is still performed on a customary non-cash basis. More formal arrangements are, however, gradually replacing customary
services and, with the development of the money economy, the tendency is more and more, even as between Africans of the same family or clan, to make some sort of cash payment. In such countries as Ghana, Gambia and Nigeria and Community countries in West Africa, where cash crop cultivation on a peasant basis prevails, a variety of forms of contract have developed. There is the permanent labourer who is engaged for a year at a time, the share cropper, who is essentially a labourer but paid in the form of a share in the crop (e.g. the abusa of Ghana), and the casual labourer employed by the day. Many of these workers continue to maintain their own holdings in the traditional sector but work for temporary periods on small commercial holdings; others are seasonal migrants who come for specific periods for specific work, e.g. the Mossi to Ghana or the Ruanda-Urundians to Uganda. In Egypt there is a considerable amount of wage-paid employment on medium and large scale farms producing such crops as cotton. In Sudan there are 200,000 permanent workers and from 150,000 to 200,000 seasonal workers in the Gezira scheme, in addition to the 29,000 cultivators. Here and over wide areas of North Africa generally, there is a growing population of landless agricultural workers, many of whom are consistently underemployed in agriculture and serve to add to the increasing numbers rejected by the countryside who drift to the towns hoping to eke out an existence doing odd jobs if, as is likely, they cannot obtain regular employment there.

The largest employers of agricultural wage-paid labour are, however, European-style farms and plantations. On them, the terms on which labour is employed vary immensely according to circumstances. Over large parts of North Africa, in Egypt, Kenya, the Rhodesias and elsewhere in East, Central and Southern Africa, labour is organised largely as it would be on farms of a similar size in other parts of the world. The more skilled workers are virtually permanent, often resident on the property with their families, sometimes cultivating small plots for their own account, and having more or less broken their links with the traditional milieu from which they came. Where local social organisation so dictates, they may, while working permanently on the farms, live in villages alongside the small peasant cultivators of the neighbourhood. In other circumstances, farm labour may be essentially migratory in character, semi-permanent in the sense of being non-seasonal but with its family ties elsewhere—ties which it is anxious to maintain. Yet again, labour may be purely seasonal or casual, seasonal in the sense of making itself available at times of exceptional pressure of work, e.g. in harvesting, or casual, as combining work on its own holdings in the vicinity with occasional work on the larger farms. Seasonal workers may equally be
migratory and may follow a well-determined cycle of agricultural and other activities during the year, these activities extending over a wide area as, for example, in the case of the semi-nomads in parts of North Africa or the tribes who provide seasonal labour for plantations on the Ivory Coast and elsewhere. Finally, much seasonal and casual work may be done by the families of permanent workers or other women and young persons of the neighbourhood.

_Economically Active Population Engaged in Non-Agricultural Activities_

Non-agricultural activities can also be classified into modern and traditional, the modern including mining, manufacturing, building and construction, transport, commerce and services and the traditional consisting of handicrafts and minor trading activities.

Around 1 million persons are employed in mines throughout Africa, of whom 90 per cent. or more are Africans. Of these about half are employed in the Union of South Africa and half the rest in the Rhodesias, the Congo and Nigeria. Nearly all Africans employed in mines in the Union are migrants, the majority recruited from outside the country in conditions to which I shall refer later. While a proportion of the others are also recruited migrants, more and more engagement on the spot is taking the place of recruitment from a distance.

Manufacturing now occupies somewhere between 2 million and 3 million people, mostly males, since women have not yet entered industry to any great extent except in a few branches such as textiles, cigarette making and food processing. In North Africa there are over a million workers in industry, of whom about three-quarters are in Egypt. South of the Sahara, the Union of South Africa has probably about half the total, with the Congo, Kenya and Southern Rhodesia next in order. The indices of production of manufacturing industries in selected African countries and territories given in table IV show the orders of magnitude of the growth of manufacturing in recent years in selected countries and suggest the extent to which employment in this field has increased.

An important aspect of manufacturing in Africa is the concentration of industrial establishments in a few towns such as Cairo, Alexandria and certain others in Egypt, Casablanca in Morocco, Salisbury in Southern Rhodesia and Jadotville, Elisabethville and Leopoldville in the Congo. Industry in the Union of South Africa is somewhat more dispersed, although still located in urban areas.

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1 See p. 18.
Apart from mining and manufacturing, considerable numbers are employed in building and construction (around 1,200,000), transport and communications (around 1,100,000), commerce (around 800,000, with probably as many more engaged on their own account or in family concerns) and services. It is difficult to put a figure on this last category, since the statistics given have widely different coverages, including sometimes office workers, the public services and domestic service. An important feature throughout many parts of Africa is the large numbers employed in domestic services of various kinds, the numbers probably being of the order of 800,000 or more for the region as a whole. This is the case with developing countries in general. Domestic service at least in Africa south of the Sahara is still largely a male occupation; only in certain areas is there any tendency towards the employment of women for general domestic duties.

Varying proportions of the Africans engaged in manufacturing and other manual occupations, including domestic service, are migrants (the proportion is fairly high in East, Central and Southern Africa), but the tendency is more and more for these industries to attract persons who have already had some experience in employment centres and who wish to remain, more or less indefinitely, in wage-paid activities. Where most of the employment opportunities which the occupations concerned provide are in the towns (e.g. in Western and North Africa) the supply—as concerns unskilled jobs at least—is constantly greater than the demand.

Leaving aside the modern non-agricultural sector, handicrafts—usually organised in small family enterprises—also provide employment to both the rural and the urban populations. Handicrafts have assumed particular importance in North Africa, where those engaged in them are passing through a severe crisis.

Artisanal activities are considered as covering a whole range of occupations, from those of a traditional nature—such as production of textiles (including carpets), leather, metal, wood and basket work, pottery, jewellery and wrought iron—to skilled work in modern building and construction trades and also service activities such as speciality bakers, hairdressers and workers to order in a whole series of service trades. Many of these artisanal activities are capable of adaptation to the developing economic and social structure; and the indications are that the process of adaptation is gradually taking place. Yet the drama of the struggle of the small artisan working with hand tools against the machine-made article is everywhere to be seen. In the traditional sector the situation is more complex and difficult. Apart from the general economic recession, which severely affects artisanal products
(largely sold within the countries concerned), a whole series of factors contribute to the present crisis. Competition from machine-made articles, both imported and home manufactured, the evolution of public taste, outworn working methods, insufficient control of production standards, lack of capital, high costs of materials—all play their part. Nevertheless, artisanal activities still provide a livelihood for a considerable sector of the population in most African countries. In Morocco, for example, where these activities are to be found in the towns, in the villages and in the country—even in the most isolated hamlets—the products made cater to virtually all the needs of the rural masses and to a large part of those of the town dwellers; handicraft workers number some 200,000 to 225,000. On the basis of one worker representing a family of five persons, it is probable that about 1 million people, or one-tenth of the population of Morocco, live wholly or partly on the proceeds of handicrafts.

In Africa south of the Sahara (except for parts of West Africa) the techniques of handicraft production are for the most part primitive to the same extent as those applied to agriculture; moreover, there has been a very definite decline in recent years in ancient crafts and industries so that, in rural areas especially, communities formerly based on a diversified rural economy have been reduced to sole dependence on agriculture. In Nigeria the traditional guilds of smiths have decayed and there and elsewhere in Africa the household utensils formerly produced by native craftsmen have mostly disappeared. However, part of this loss has been replaced by the development of new crafts and skills: for example in Northern Rhodesia, where in the markets the traditional native crafts are little in evidence but there are to be found craftsmen representative of a class of independent workmen that has arisen to deal with modern demands. This trend is, of course, more in evidence in urban than in the rural areas. In both urban and rural sectors African trade and commerce are developing in competition with non-Africans. In the rural areas especially, women carry on a considerable amount of trade, though generally on a small scale. Indeed, in some areas of West Africa, internal trade in local products is carried on almost entirely by them; this is the case in regard to trade in Kola nuts in Nigeria, which are marketed by the farmers' wives at the nearest roadside market. In the urban areas particularly, African traders face strong competition from Asians and other immigrant groups who are already well established in the towns. As a consequence of this competition, Africans are frequently found to have their retail trading establishments on the outskirts of the city in areas inhabited largely by African workers.
Women in the Labour Force

It is difficult to generalise about the activities of women in Africa, since the situation differs from country to country and the statistics are far from uniform in character. Generally speaking, however, it may be said that their main occupation is as unpaid family workers in agriculture: and this in spite of the fact that the statistics often do not so classify them. The Congo (ex-Belgian) shows a situation which is thought to be largely typical of many territories south of the Sahara, particularly where the men go off to seek wage-paid work. There the 1955 estimates showed 3,156,885 females in the active population all engaged in unpaid family duties in agriculture, as against 2,123,175 men in agriculture, of whom 285,818 were wage-paid workers. Indeed, in some areas subsistence agriculture is often carried on largely by women, old persons and boys below the age of 15 years. In these areas, from which the men migrate in search of paid employment, the women especially have to bear the major portion of the agricultural work load, so that they are called upon to maintain the family under conditions of dwindling soil fertility and diminishing grazing capacity, and generally with irregular financial support from the husband. In the case of some tribes, women alone do the cultivation. But, in this also, the situation varies greatly as between different areas, the women in other parts of Africa being engaged in household tasks only.

In North Africa there are now fair numbers of women employed in manufacturing industry, commerce and services, probably largely of a domestic character and, in Egypt in particular, large numbers are shown as engaged in trade on their own account. This is a feature of women’s activities in West Africa, as has already been mentioned. Looking at Africa as a whole, it can be seen that participation in industry and commerce by women to the extent attained elsewhere has yet to come; though it cannot be long delayed and account must be taken of the problems which this will pose.

Young Persons in the Labour Force

The extent of youth employment in African countries is impossible to evaluate. Probably some 10 per cent. of wage-paid labour is juvenile labour, i.e. under 18 years of age: the percentage is probably higher in agriculture, since much of the seasonal work, such as weeding, harvesting and sorting, is carried out by women and boys. While engagement and employment of young persons in industry and commerce of an organised nature follows a normal pattern, the large majority of young workers
are to be found as so-called learners and apprentices in small workshops or other workplaces run by fellow Africans in circumstances which do not assure either reasonable conditions or proper training. It is here that abuses are manifest and supervision non-existent or inadequate. Similar unsatisfactory conditions exist in small shops and commercial establishments. Even worse are the conditions in which, particularly in North African countries, young people are forced by poverty to indulge in a series of petty trading activities for their own account, for infinitesimal gains. These evils are however, being combated by the progressive application of social legislation and the extension of compulsory education.

Unemployment and Underemployment

The supply and demand situation for labour in North Africa is in many respects quite distinct from that in Africa south of the Sahara. In North Africa suitable arable land is limited, the pressure of population on such land is high, techniques of cultivation in the subsistence sector have remained unchanged for generations and industrial development, although rapid, is not able to keep pace with the natural increase in population. At the same time traditional agriculture and handicrafts are unable to provide full employment. As a consequence underemployment is widespread, the number of landless agriculturists is increasing and, with the rapid flow of labour to towns, urban unemployment also.

In Algeria, where the proportion of landless agricultural labourers to the total rural population is very high, some relief is gained by emigration to France, where some 260,000 Algerian males live and work. Remittances to their families are of material assistance in enabling some 2 million people—about one-quarter of the population of Algeria—to live in tolerable conditions. Even so, unemployment and underemployment in normal conditions is still high and may be of the order of 400,000 unemployed and 450,000 underemployed. In Morocco probably some 20 per cent. of the urban population is unemployed and rural underemployment may be around 50 per cent., a figure which is probably even higher in Tunisia, though efforts are being made in both countries, as in Algeria, to provide employment by public works programmes, in urban and in rural areas, as well as by the development of industry. In Egypt there is also chronic underemployment in the agricultural sector and in the towns there are considerable numbers either unemployed or engaged in unproductive occupations—a feature of life in North Africa generally. Here again efforts are being made to ameliorate
the situation by increasing the area of arable land through irrigation, and
by encouraging and assisting the establishment of small enterprises in
rural and semi-urban areas, using locally available materials; this in
addition to the drive in favour of greater industrialisation to which I have
referred earlier in this Report.

Concurrently with this general situation of unemployment and
underemployment there is a serious shortage of skilled workers in
various North African countries. This has resulted both from increasing
industrialisation and from the departure of Europeans who occupied
skilled jobs and technical and supervisory positions. However, this
is a transitional situation which will no doubt be remedied by time and
training.

In Africa south of the Sahara the situation, generally speaking, is
of a different order. Except in local situations there does not seem to
be any considerable degree of involuntary unemployment. On the
other hand there is undoubtedly underemployment in the sense of a
difference between the actual employment of labour resources and the
full employment of such labour resources as might be made available
under certain conditions. In this sense, there is considerable under­
employment, seasonal or chronic, in certain sectors of African agri­
culture and also in many of the towns. Underemployment also exists
in a latent or disguised form, in the sense that introduction of fresh
capital, modernisation of plant and of methods of production, rationali­
sation of work and changes in the agrarian structure could release
considerable quantities of manpower from various sectors of the economy
without any ensuing reduction in total output. As it is, there are quite
generally indications of shortages of skilled and semi-skilled labour and,
in local situations, of both shortages of unskilled workers and sufficiency
of the supply. Availability of manpower, in fact, is influenced by a
number of factors, including the state of indigenous agriculture and its
returns in relation to wage rates, the nature of the work offering and
the conditions attaching thereto. Seasonal shortages of manpower in
the wage-paid sector are likely to be felt in the peak periods of work
in agriculture, just as offers are likely to be greater than demand during
slack periods; this state of affairs will no doubt continue as long as
there is any considerable two-way movement of labour between subsis­
tence agriculture and wage-paid employment.

**Migratory Movements**

The extensive movements of population, both in Northern and
Southern Africa, which have been in existence for many generations
have, in the past, been essentially either seasonal displacements in search of pasture and water for livestock, as in the case of the nomad tribes of North Africa, or, more generally, movements to new homes in more fertile areas or arising from floods or famines. In some situations, transfer to other and less fertile areas was forced upon the peoples concerned by colonisation and occupation by nationals of the colonising power of the more productive lands. Increases in populations have also been responsible for opening up of new areas for agriculture and here again the lands were not always of high fertility. With the development of mining, industry and organised agriculture, however, a new and important reason for migratory movements has been the demand for wage-paid labour, coupled with the migrants’ desire to maintain contact with their homes in the rural areas.

It is estimated that in East, Central and Southern Africa, where the main migratory movements of labour occur, the African population numbers some 60 million, of whom between 12 and 13 million are adult able-bodied males, i.e. healthy and between 16 and 45 years of age. Of these, some 5 million are at any given moment absent from their tribal homes, engaged in wage-paid labour. Indeed, in particular areas the proportion of the total adult able-bodied male population absent from their homes may be as much as 75 per cent. or more. Some territories, e.g. Nyasaland, Angola, Mozambique, Ruanda-Urundi, Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland, are in fact big reservoirs of labour for other countries, such as the Union of South Africa, Northern and Southern Rhodesia, Tanganyika and Uganda. Major migratory movements also occur in the Congo, where large proportions of all adult able-bodied males are often absent from their homes engaged in wage-paid labour elsewhere. Other large movements, often of a seasonal character, occur throughout West Africa.

The distinctive feature of labour migration in Africa south of the Sahara is that in the main the men who leave their homes in search of work move away temporarily and return when they have achieved their purpose: they undertake long and hazardous journeys to seek employment, spend months or sometimes years away, and then return, perhaps over thousands of miles, to their village, there to remain until there is need for another journey of similar magnitude. An analysis of labour migration in Africa, therefore, needs to explain not only the causes of labour movement out of the tribal surroundings but also the reason for the constant circulation between the tribal home and centres of employment.

It is agreed that the basic cause of labour migration is economic: the low returns from impoverished land and the lack of alternative
opportunities of acquiring a cash income. Africans as a whole have acquired new wants in terms of clothes, household necessities, bicycles, radios, school fees, etc., which can only be satisfied in cash. Notably, it is the young men who migrate to earn cash for marriage payments or to repay debts already incurred or to acquire the wherewithal to set up a home.

Migration is greatest from areas where, for one reason or another, commercial farming has not developed; and it declines in places where Africans have taken to the cultivation of cash crops. There are also areas where lack of contact with the money economy means that the inhabitants have not acquired many of the wants which can only be satisfied by means of money. Once the pattern of migration has started, however, it gathers force through the years, since the returning migrants develop new needs which are adopted by the local population and thereafter men are forced to seek outside employment in order to meet these needs. Migration is sporadic, also, because the need for cash is intermittent—due to expenses on marriage, payment of taxes, purchase of clothes, etc.—after satisfying which the migrant settles back in his non-commercialised economy till a new need for cash arises. Thus to many Africans in this part of Africa wage earnings represent merely an ancillary income for meeting cash payments.

But aside from economic factors causing migration, there are social, psychological and personal reasons why people leave the tribal areas. In many areas migration carries with it a prestige value, since it is only after a man has left his tribal surroundings to seek outside employment that he is considered to have been initiated into manhood, and a tribal youth gains in prestige when he returns after obtaining a paid job. In this sense migration may be thought of as a substitute for fighting and hunting, which in former days also provided prestige for youth striving for adult status. Migration may, therefore, be considered in terms of adventuresome escape from boredom, initiation into manhood, escape from tribal obligations; besides which there are personal reasons for migrating, such as domestic disputes, a desire to escape tribal control and fear of witchcraft.

The back and forth movement of population has been compared to two forces simultaneously at work, pulling and pushing the migrants, the one being the desire of the men to seek adventure and cash, and the other the security and community life provided by the tribal organisation, which is seriously lacking in most places of employment. The African worker, even whilst desiring the goods of western civilisation, essentially retains his allegiance to the tribal way of life, which tends to pull him back to tribal security and surroundings.
Some of the methods used in the past to induce workers to leave the subsistence sector and seek employment on plantations, in industry and in mines, have been condemned on both humanitarian and practical grounds. These methods included official pressure, direct and indirect. In most countries and territories concerned, however, legislation based on the provisions of the Recruiting of Indigenous Workers Convention, 1936, and the Contracts of Employment (Indigenous Workers) Convention, 1939, and ancillary instruments, has been enacted and has served to regulate favourably methods of recruitment, transport to and from tribal homes and the conditions of employment of migrants. Officials in most of the territories concerned are now forbidden to interfere in recruitment. Private recruiting agencies continue to operate under government supervision, particularly in South and Central Africa. These agencies provide transport and rest camp and medical services to Africans who are recruited for employment, arrange the details of employment contracts, see to arrangements for family remittances and deferred pay and for repatriating workers at the end of their period of employment. Recruiting agencies are, however, becoming less and less necessary both from the point of view of the worker and the employer, as there is an increasing tendency for the worker to come forward voluntarily to seek wage-paid employment and to choose the industry and the employer he wants.

It is difficult to obtain a clear perspective of the advantages and disadvantages of labour migration on the scale prevalent in Africa. On the one hand, the movement of population from the rural areas to urban centres of employment is a necessary part of economic development and the fact that the worker maintains a link with the rural sector has its advantages in the sense that there is a flow of money to the subsistence sector which, in favourable circumstances, may cause a rise in the standard of living in that sector. Besides, maintenance of contact with the subsistence sector provides the worker with a security which would otherwise not be available in the present circumstances, as wage rates are low and arrangements for relief in case of sickness, unemployment or old age non-existent or inadequate.

But the disadvantages of excessive movement and instability of labour far outweigh the advantages. The to and fro movement of labour means a loss of time and energy; migrant workers are by their nature untrained and untrainable and remain therefore mainly unskilled labourers earning very low wages based on their needs as bachelors and with little possibility of improving their status. Whatever little knowledge the migrant acquires in a spell of outside work is forgotten or in any case not applied during his sojourn in his village where, in
any case, the tribal set-up does not encourage individual initiative. Moreover, in the absence of the able-bodied males, agricultural operations are left to women, children and old men who are overburdened with work and therefore not inclined to undertake improvements involving increased effort. The result is that agricultural yields suffer and in many areas even the cash that is pumped into the economy from the remittances of migrant workers may not be sufficient to maintain standards of living.

Even more serious are the social consequences of the migrant labour system. The failure of employers and administrations in general to make any provision for treating the migrant worker as other than single means that he must live separated from his family. The result is often the formation both in the home villages and in the towns of illicit unions which upset the whole basis of family life, leading to disintegration of existing social structures, without their replacement by viable structures suited to the circumstances of the majority of the workers concerned. I shall examine the implications of all this in terms of policies for the future in Chapter IV.

In North Africa population movements are especially extensive amongst the nomadic and semi-nomadic peoples dwelling in the desert areas whose economy is based on the rearing of livestock, particularly sheep, and who wander from place to place in search of grazing, often following well defined seasonal itineraries. The nomadic and the sedentary populations of North Africa belong to the same ethnic groups, so that during certain seasons of the year the nomads visit their settled kinsmen and find among them work for temporary periods. In fact, some are only semi-nomads, combining pasturing with agriculture and having permanent settlements or homes to which they retire at the appropriate season for cultivation purposes.

In recent years there has been evident, especially amongst the younger nomads, a trend to settle down permanently and to take to either wage-paid employment or settled farming. In the different countries of North Africa different factors are responsible for this move towards settled living. In Libya, for example, the discovery of oil has opened up a new avenue for employment which if continued is likely to have a profound effect on nomadism. In Tunisia the same effect has been produced by the development of fixed cultivation and the growth of olive and other plantations which have created increased opportunities for wage-paid employment. Thus in the centre and in the south a new form of migratory development has come into existence, with the workers following a fairly well-established circuit of harvesting, olive picking and other seasonal jobs. For more or less the same reasons, pure nomads in Egypt
have declined, from 70,000 in 1898 to 49,000 in 1947. In Algeria one-third of the present population is said to be of pure nomadic strain but successive droughts have forced the nomads to seek wage-paid employment. At the same time the general state of unemployment and under-employment and the lack of cultivable land make permanent renunciation of nomadic life far from easy, in spite of loss of former pasture land.

Apart from the economic considerations, the hardships and insecurities of nomadic life also work in favour of a settled existence. Moreover, the provision of schools and hospitals and the development of means of transport act as inducements towards settlement. As a result, the Sahara as a whole is finding itself short of shepherds, without whom no nomadic life is possible. An added factor is that many younger men tend to renounce the nomadic life in favour of more lucrative employment, for example as construction workers and in the rapidly developing oil industry.

Some of the governments in North Africa now have in hand projects for the sedentarisation of nomadic populations. These projects generally envisage bringing more land under cultivation, introducing new pasture plants which can subsist with even less water, finding new sources of water supply and developing crafts and industries to provide employment for the former nomads. Reaction by the nomads themselves to these attempts at settlement on the part of the governments is somewhat contradictory. Those who are essentially semi-nomads and have for some time past had contact with settled life welcome the government measures, while the pure nomads resent this interference with their way of life.

The projects, extensive in nature, are expected to affect all aspects of life among the nomads: to relieve pressure of population on land, provide alternative sources of employment not only for the nomads but also for the population of the densely settled areas, relieve the government from the task of making provision for the nomads during periods of drought and, finally, to assist in the breakdown of the formerly close-knit tribal society of the nomads. The settlement of the nomads, however, involves a number of problems, such as the limited range of activities to which for one reason or another they are prepared to adapt themselves. Further investigation into possible solutions is therefore necessary.
CHAPTER III

WORKERS' EDUCATION

The ferment of social change pervades the life of the African worker, whether he is the docker in Mombasa or Dar-es-Salaam, the miner in the Copperbelt, the textile worker in the mills of Dakar, or any of the millions of working men and women of a continent of many peoples and varied ways of life. The processes of change require the creation of new attitudes and the development of social skills needed for modern forms of organising human co-operation. It is indeed fitting that, following a suggestion of the African Advisory Committee at Luanda last year that I include in my Report a chapter on workers' education, I turn now to this important matter of providing African workers and their representatives with opportunities for acquiring more knowledge on social and economic subjects of direct concern to them.

The quickening pace of economic development, the impact of industrialisation and attendant problems of urbanisation and stabilising migrant labour, the emergence of trade unions and the very requirements of self-government and nationhood—all point to the need of the African worker to understand better the problems confronting him and his fellow workers, to meet the challenge of new opportunities and to play an effective role in the social and economic life of his community.

Many African workers need knowledge about their rights and responsibilities under social legislation, the relations between labour and management, the factors determining conditions of work and employment, and above all the significance of such basic institutions of modern societies as trade unions. The growth of collective bargaining and the participation of workers' representatives in joint consultation and other advisory bodies in various African countries have increased educational needs for developing effective cadres as well as for informed members of workers' movements. Many more African workers, coming as they do from rural and tribal backgrounds to the life of the factory, office, shop, or even large plantations, need the knowledge to adapt traditional outlook and patterns of behaviour to the exigencies of modern industrial organisations of production, distribution and consumption.
Although, as I have pointed out elsewhere in this Report, industrial wage earners and organised labour still constitute a minority in the economically active population in African countries, they are constantly growing in number and exercise an influence out of all proportion to their numerical strength, in the building of new States and new societies. In urban communities springing up with little tradition of modern social organisation and few institutions capable of influencing democratic processes, even a small labour movement may be called upon to play an important role not only in the promotion of social progress in the field of labour but also in the strengthening of the basic structure of a democratic society itself.

This trend would be in line with the experience of other countries at other times that workers' education in social and economic subjects would benefit society as a whole by facilitating the development of a healthy climate of industrial relations and the building of democratic institutions. The measures taken and the methods used would have to be adapted to the special conditions of African development and would bear the imprint of the African personality, but there can be no doubt of the importance and urgency of workers' education in Africa today, where efforts are being made to accomplish in one generation what other countries have taken centuries to achieve.

The I.L.O. Meeting of Experts on Workers' Education held in 1957 stated that—

Africa was one of the regions where the least work in workers' education had been done and the needs of this region for workers' education were growing rapidly under the impact of economic and social change and development. It was necessary that as African countries industrialised, workers should be given opportunities to understand the new social and economic problems which this progress implied instead of becoming the victims of this progress itself.¹

**DIVERSITY OF EFFORTS**

There are signs of growing realisation of this situation by all responsible elements in African countries today, especially under the triple impact of economic growth, political independence and social development. The trade unions, first of all, are increasingly concerned with their basic responsibility for trade union education in promoting the confidence, capacity and determination of African workers to act through their organisations for the purpose of organising the unorganised, improving their standard of living, extending their influence over social

and economic development and playing a self-reliant part in the democratic processes of their countries. This concern has been manifested at a national level by the establishment of such training institutions as the central school and regional centres of the U.G.T.T. (General Union of Tunisian Workers), the various courses organised by the U.M.T. (Union of Moroccan Workers), the Labour College of the Ghana Trade Union Congress, the education committees and activities of the Nigerian T.U.C., and the new classes organised by the Kenya Federation of Labour, as well as such plans as those initiated by a recent resolution adopted by the National Confederation of Trade Unions of Mali (C.N.S.M.) on workers' education. Efforts towards attainment of the broader horizons of workers' education in social and economic subjects are evidenced in the initiative of workers' organisations and the interest of governmental authorities in promoting workers' education through a national workers' education body with three operating centres in the United Arab Republic. The constitution of the Tanganyika Education Trust Fund, through the initiative of the major political party and workers' organisation in that territory, for the purpose of establishing the Kivukoni College is an instance of efforts to provide adult education of the type furnished by Ruskin College. Last but not least there is the pioneering work of the major international trade union movements, such as the African Labour College of the I.C.F.T.U. and its various educational activities in East, West and North Africa, the regional seminars held at Lomé, Brazzaville and Cotonou by the I.F.C.T.U. and its affiliates, and recent courses organised by the U.G.T.A.N. (General Workers' Union of Black Africa) at the Conakry Trade Union University of that body.

Workers' educational organisations outside of the trade unions themselves have also been active, some for a considerable number of years, in providing various types of education for workers. The I.F.W.E.A. (International Federation of Workers' Educational Associations) made one of the earliest international attempts to stimulate the development of adult education movements in Africa when, in collaboration with the Extra-Mural Department of the University College of the Gold Coast, it organised an Inter-African Seminar at Accra in 1954. The annual industrial relations courses at the University College at Ibadan (Nigeria) and the Trade Union Residential School organised by the Extra-Mural Department of Fourah Bay College in Sierra Leone are instances of the interest manifested by university bodies in English-speaking Africa. The Douala Workers' College established by the Young Christian Workers in Cameroun, short courses organised by various bodies in certain African republics of the Community, and the corres-
ondence course on social and civic education initiated by the Social Secretariats at Dakar are other instances of a rather wide range of diversified action taken in various fields of workers' education in Africa.

These glimpses of the panorama of developing education for African workers indicate the variety of efforts made so far in this field. They show also that, while the basic need for workers' education is common in greater or less degree to all African countries and territories, Africa is so vast and varied that considerable differences exist in the specific ways in which this need is being met. Differences in educational background and methods are noticeable, not only between North Africa and the countries and territories south of the Sahara, but also between East and West Africa, and between areas influenced by various European institutions. They indicate above all that, in spite of an awareness of the importance and urgency of workers' education in many parts of Africa, the efforts made have only begun to meet the great needs in the field, which are increasing daily. I should like to present to the Conference, as a basis for your consideration and discussion, some views on current problems and possible remedies, partly drawn from the direct experience of the I.L.O. in helping in the development of workers' education in African countries and elsewhere.

**Nature of Programmes**

It has been established beyond all doubt that, at this juncture of African history, there are urgent needs for education of all kinds: vocational and technical education, literacy and remedial education for inadequacy of general instruction, mass education for community development, cultural and recreational education and workers' education in social and economic subjects. This multiplicity of needs poses difficult problems of priority and concentration of limited resources for the various agencies, governmental or voluntary, engaged in attempts to meet them. It also raises questions of division of responsibilities, conditions of co-operation, and, in some fields, co-ordination of efforts. All these questions relate to the nature of programmes undertaken by different agencies.

In Report II indications have been given of the ways in which vocational and technical training may be dealt with. I have touched elsewhere in the present Report upon the problems of mass education for community development, primarily in the rural context, which is of prime importance in an Africa where the majority of the working population is engaged in agriculture. It is evident that workers' organisations in Africa, with limited resources and preoccupied with their special
educational needs, cannot be expected to contribute substantially to those two types of programmes, which are the responsibility of governments and other bodies, but they are entitled to have a say in the formulation of policies and the implementation of programmes, to ensure that the educational content is related to the real needs of working men and women.

It is fitting that the majority of educational programmes organised by trade unions in Africa lay heavy emphasis on practical subjects of union organisation and administration, union aims and policies, training of workers' representatives in collective bargaining, shop stewards and joint consultation, and related subjects, and on the activities of the union at the national, industrial and local levels, as well as on solidarity with international trade union movements. Many of the short courses are characterised by a sense of urgency, with education closely tied to organising and other action. The complete and long-term programmes of certain national and international unions give, in addition, a thorough grounding in broad social and economic subjects, with emphasis on African conditions. While African trade union leaders are well aware of the importance of workers' education for training both officers and rank and file members and as an instrument for developing their unions into effective and responsible institutions, the work done so far, with some notable exceptions, has been concentrated more on officer training than on education for members, and even less for unorganised workers. This is quite natural at the present stage of union development, in most African countries, and it has what might be regarded as a temporary advantage of avoiding any difficult issues of co-ordination with the programmes of non-labour agencies.

It should be noted, however, that governmental and other non-labour agencies have in some cases included in their programmes not only subjects of broad interest, such as labour laws and the principles of labour-management relations, but also certain subjects which many trade unions would consider as the sole prerogative of trade union training. This is an issue of increasing importance in many parts of the world where some non-labour agencies consider the trade union movement would not have sufficient means to satisfy all the needs for the education of trade unionists in the foreseeable future. It is a complex and controversial issue that may be resolved not only in the light of the historical development and present circumstances in a particular country but also in accordance with basic concepts as to both trade unionism and workers' education.

I shall not attempt to generalise on this question except by referring to the following conclusions of the I.L.O. Meeting of Experts on Workers'
Education, which may have some relevance to existing conditions in Africa:

It was recognised that the magnitude of needs for workers' education and the general scarcity of resources to meet them often required some form of co-operation between organisations engaged in this field, although it was neither possible nor desirable to establish rigid lines of division of labour between the programmes of various bodies. While it was necessary to take into account all the possible resources available, it was even more essential to ensure that they were utilised effectively and under the proper conditions of co-operation and co-ordination.

The Meeting was of the view that the most appropriate institutions for promoting workers' education were organisations of the workers themselves. It recognised that trade unions operating independently or by affiliation with federal working-class bodies established for the sole and specific purpose of workers' education, or in both ways, were essential instruments for the education and training of their own members. When they had to consider outside help, which was sometimes necessary, particularly in the economically less developed countries, their decision should depend on whether the aims of the other organisations were compatible with those of the trade unions and on the content of the education to be conveyed. Another basic condition was that co-operation should be based on mutual acceptance and full agreement as to all aspects of the programme envisaged.1

**LITERACY AND GENERAL EDUCATION**

In Africa as elsewhere, workers' education is not a panacea. Its success depends to some degree on the progress made in literacy and general education. Where high rates of illiteracy exist, as in some African countries, the task becomes more difficult. An illiterate worker can benefit from imaginative methods of audio-visual education but progress with literacy and general education would obviously facilitate workers' education.

The relative importance attached to education of the young and to the eradication of illiteracy among adults is a question particularly relevant to the development of workers' education in Africa. Expansion of school education, especially of free and compulsory primary schooling is, in the long run, the surest way to eradicate illiteracy, but in the meantime generations of adult population cannot be allowed to remain illiterate. The situation is complicated by the fact that the growth of population in some African countries may outstrip both the progress in reducing illiteracy and the expansion of school education. Workers' education in Africa is affected also by a number of other problems in general education: the low percentage of school-age children enrolled in schools; the question of the language of instruction at different levels; the variety of vernacular languages; the existence of different ethnic

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groups and the need to promote equal educational opportunities among them. In addition to the introduction of compulsory education, the questions of prescribing a school-leaving age and of prohibiting employment during school hours of children below that age also influence the subsequent needs and possibilities of workers' education. Those questions are in turn tied to the expansion of school facilities, the nature of plans for educational development and the rate of progress in their implementation.

It is evident that the educational problems in Africa must continue to be attacked simultaneously through the formal school system, technical training institutions, adult education, literary campaigns and workers' education programmes. The work of U.N.E.S.C.O. in such fields as the activities of its regional centre at Sirs-el-Layyan, or the 1960 survey and meeting of Education Ministers and Directors on the educational needs of tropical African countries in primary and secondary education, not to mention its various adult education missions in the region, has therefore an important bearing on the future development of workers' education. Co-operation between U.N.E.S.C.O. and the I.L.O. to promote at the international level concerted action in appropriate fields would usefully supplement the national efforts made in the African countries themselves.

**Trade Unions and Workers' Education**

Experience has shown that strong, responsible and independent trade unions are often a corollary of the rapid development of workers' education. Trade union observers have themselves recognised that workers' education in Africa may be handicapped by the fact that the young trade unions, particularly in Africa south of the Sahara, are often weak in membership and resources, with some outstanding exceptions in various parts of the continent and among certain industrial, transport and civil service groups. There is not only a multitude of small unions and a low proportion of organised workers in relation to the total labour force but also in many cases relatively few dues-paying members as compared with the aggregate membership. The special problem of migrant workers who return to their villages and tribes after short periods of employment has aggravated the instability in union membership. The concentration of wage-earning workers in African cities and centres of industrial development has created opportunities for contact, organising and education, but it also throws into sharp relief the masses of rural, nomadic or seasonal workers who need educational improvement but who do not have much chance to obtain it under existing circumstances.
All these problems are in many ways unavoidable at the present stage of development of African trade unions, when many of them are devoting every effort to winning recognition and to improving the conditions of life and work of their members. Union funds collected from an unstable membership are often not enough to finance systematic efforts of workers' education. In addition the political ferment in African countries and territories has inevitably affected the trade unions and this, in turn, has influenced the content of some educational programmes. In some cases divisions in the trade union movement itself have acted as an extra impediment to the growth of workers' education, since they split the total resources available and may lead to educational programmes devoted to sectional pursuits. On the other hand, the competition between different union tendencies has often produced tangible proof of the value of educational activities as a means of building a strong movement.

The existence of great difficulties has not, however, deterred African trade unions from undertaking the kind of dynamic action that I mentioned earlier in developing workers' and trade union education. There is, in fact, a rapidly growing appreciation of the importance of such education as an integral part of trade union activities, of the relation between educational work and the immediate tasks of improving working and living conditions, and of the need to allocate more material and human resources for this work. Given the numerous other urgent demands on their time and resources, the trade unions in most African countries have made an appreciable effort—which is expanding—for the development of workers' education, particularly with the help and advice of the international trade union bodies.

**TEACHERS AND ORGANISERS**

The shortage of qualified teachers is a problem recognised in all African countries. The important part played by the teacher in the life of African communities has accentuated the need for trained personnel. The special requirements for teaching in workers' education programmes make it even more difficult to find suitable teachers for educating workers than for service in the general educational system. An ideal teacher in workers' education needs not only a basic knowledge of teaching methods suitable to adult workers, an aptitude for group activities and a familiarity with social problems but also an understanding of trade unionism and preferably a record of trade union service testifying to his devotion to the ideals of the labour movement, while maintaining the scientific nature of his teaching.
Persons of this kind are needed not only to teach but also to organise and to administer workers' education programmes. Trade union officers would be logical candidates for both teaching and organising workers' education but many of them would be too occupied with other union activities and some may lack aptitude for educational work. While it may not be possible, or desirable in all cases, to separate educational work from other union activities, a gradual formation of a cadre of full-time or part-time education officers within trade unions would facilitate the development of union educational activities. Some knowledge of methods and techniques of workers' education would in any case be useful for both union personnel specialising in education and those engaged in organising and other tasks. This approach is implicit in the curriculum of some of the major training institutions for African trade unionists and it seems worthy of wider use.

The teaching of certain technical and specialised subjects in workers' education programmes offer possibilities of collaboration between trade unions and non-union bodies. Except in a major labour college, like that at Kampala, there is usually no ready alternative to seeking the cooperation of specialists from outside institutions for teaching such subjects as general economics, statistics, wage determination, constitutional law and history. Non-union personnel seconded to teach such subjects in union programmes would of course require a good understanding of the workers' aspirations and needs.

I am glad to mention here that one of the basic activities under the I.L.O.'s Workers' Education Programme is to make possible the training and further education of workers' education teachers and organisers, and that the I.L.O. experts in this field who went to Nigeria and the United Arab Republic (whose missions I shall refer to later) both conducted demonstration courses for potential workers' educationists in those countries and gave practical advice on further training programmes.

**Study Materials**

A basic problem in the promotion of workers' education in Africa is the need for study materials of various kinds designed for adult workers, with an African background and adapted to local conditions. In view of the variety of vernacular languages and differences between African countries and territories in relation to the language of instruction, those African workers who are able to read and write often lack suitable reading material, especially on labour questions. Some interesting materials of this kind, such as a Hausa edition of a booklet entitled *An Introduction to Trade Unions*, issued in Northern Nigeria, have been produced locally, but they are the exception rather than the rule.
The problem is less acute as regards trade union officers and instructors able to use English or French material; a variety of study guides, teaching manuals and reference texts on trade unionism and related subjects in those languages have been utilised at training courses in Africa. Not all those materials from non-African sources, however, are directly or completely suitable for use under African conditions and a good deal of selection and adaptation has to be done. The paucity of material dealing specifically with African problems has led to the direct preparation of instruction materials in some workers' education centres in Africa, such as the African Labour College at Kampala.

The most intransigent problem relating to reading materials for African workers concerns, however, not the minority of workers who have already acquired some ability in reading and studying but the majority, comprising workers who have just emerged from illiteracy. Literacy and fundamental education programmes and literature bureaux in some African countries and territories have tackled the problem by producing general reading material in a considerable number of vernacular languages, but the preparation and supply of suitable reading matter for new or semi-literate workers on labour questions close to their everyday lives remains one of the most challenging tasks in the field of workers' education in Africa today. The concerted efforts of all interested organisations, including U.N.E.S.C.O. and the I.L.O., are required to meet this challenge.

In this connection mention might be made of a series of I.L.O. manuals designed for instructors in workers' education and dealing with such subjects as co-operation, social security, freedom of association and collective bargaining, as well as reports on methods and techniques of workers' education. These manuals are available in eight languages, including English, French and Arabic. A new series of simplified booklets on similar subjects and designed for new or semi-literate workers is planned, with four on the subject of co-operation being prepared in Arabic with the collaboration of U.N.E.S.C.O.'s regional centre at Sirs-el-Layyan. Consideration is being given to the possibility of producing such material in other languages used by large numbers of African workers.

POSSIBILITIES OF INTERNATIONAL ACTION

I have attempted to analyse briefly in the preceding pages some current problems in the field of workers' education, against the background of recent developments and available facilities. My task would be incomplete if I did not express some thoughts as to the possibilities of regional and international action in strengthening programmes of workers' education in African countries.
Advisory services on methods and techniques of workers' education and the planning and organisation of workers' education programmes may help to stimulate national activities. Such assistance missions serve to bring to African trade unions and other workers' education bodies the benefit of the experience and knowledge of recognised experts. One of the functions of such an expert would be to train workers' education personnel capable of continuing his work after his departure from the country and to facilitate the implementation of the workers' education scheme suggested by him.

Advisory missions of this type have been carried out by I.L.O. experts in Nigeria and the United Arab Republic. A brief examination of their work might be of interest in showing the possibilities and limitations of such missions.

The Office was requested by the Trades Union Congress of Nigeria through the federal Government to send an expert in workers' education at a time when approaching independence made more acute than ever the need for trade unionists equipped to run sound and independent workers' organisations and to play an effective role in the social and economic life of the country. The I.L.O. expert, a German trade unionist with an international reputation in directing trade union schools, spent four months in 1959-60 in Nigeria assisting the T.U.C. in establishing a Central Education Committee at Lagos and conducting a five-week course in trade unionism and related subjects, as well as a second course on workers' education methods, designed to produce a body of trained trade union instructors to carry on after his departure. The expert also helped the T.U.C. to establish regional subcommittees on workers' education and conducted local classes at principal towns of the major regions of the country.

This project benefited from the importance placed on education by the trade unions, from the support of the federal Government, which supplied physical facilities such as lecture halls and transport, and from undertakings which released workers to attend courses. Some of its success must be traced to the favourable atmosphere created by such pioneer work in adult education as that done by the Extra-Mural Department of the University College at Ibadan and by the trade union courses and seminars organised by the I.C.F.T.U. in Nigeria.

The difficulties encountered in developing workers' education in Nigeria are themselves worthy of notice. The existence of several regions with distinct educational needs, the areas to be covered, problems of providing adequate transport in some cases and of holding full day classes during the wet season, point to the kind of practical difficulties which challenge the educationist in some African countries.
In order to improve methods, techniques and organisation of workers' education programmes on social and economic subjects rather than strict trade union training, the United Arab Republic asked the I.L.O. to send an expert to give technical advice to the competent services and to workers' organisations engaged in workers' education. An I.L.O. expert seconded from the Swedish Workers' Educational Association spent six months in 1958-59 in various centres in Egypt, planning a permanent workers' education organisation and conducting a four-weeks' course on workers' education techniques, designed to train instructors and develop pedagogical methods suitable to conditions in a country like the U.A.R. In recommending the establishment of a National Institute of Workers' Education the expert urged adequate representation of workers' organisations on its governing board and suggested that the Institute should not only spread pedagogical information and knowledge of civics, labour and industrial questions but should also, as its ultimate aim, encourage the growth of a voluntary workers' education movement among trade unions and other interested bodies. A national workers' education organisation was established soon after the expert's departure and public funds were allocated to launch it. Three months' courses at Cairo and two other centres have since been held.

Advisory missions of the type just described have been requested from the I.L.O. by several other African countries. Assistance is the keynote of these missions; the I.L.O. has no intention of duplicating any workers' education activity that the organisations in a country can carry out themselves alone or with aid from other sources. It is indeed for the African countries themselves to explore the various sources from which they may seek aid of this kind and for the organisations rendering such assistance to consult one another whenever necessary, either to avoid duplication or to combine forces for achieving better results.

Another means of mutual help is the holding of seminars on specific aspects of workers' education which are of common interest to countries of Africa and have not yet been fully dealt with by other meetings. Some of the current problems discussed in the preceding pages, such as the preparation of study materials suitable for workers' education in Africa and the training of teachers and organisers of workers' education, seem to be worthwhile subjects for discussion at seminars organised on a regional basis.

The I.L.O. is holding a series of regional seminars for the discussion of special questions of workers' education in a particular region, thus coming to grips with problems at their source. In 1959, for example, an Asian Regional Seminar was held in which workers' education specialists familiar with the needs and problems of workers' education in Asia
exchanged views on the basis of a complete and analytical report prepared by the Office, and made detailed suggestions on how trade unions and other workers' educational bodies in Asian countries may strengthen their educational activity. A similar seminar is being held in 1960 for Latin America and another is planned for Arab countries in 1961. There appears to be ample ground for considering next a regional seminar for Africa, in view of the important and urgent needs of African workers for knowledge in social and economic subjects vital to the strength and independence of their own organisations and to the interests of their respective countries.

The actual preparation and supply of study materials of all types—teaching guides, instruction manuals, reference texts, correspondence courses, or simply reading materials for self-study—is a broad field of activity which needs further development, either nationally or on an international basis. The I.L.O. is prepared to offer its co-operation to interested organisations in supplying technical material on labour questions for adaptation or other use in the light of local conditions.

Opportunities for African trade unionists or workers' education personnel to study abroad is another interesting avenue not yet fully explored. Efforts have been made in this direction by international workers' organisations and their affiliates, as well as governmental and inter-governmental bodies, including the new U.N.E.S.C.O. Study Tours for African Workers. The I.L.O. itself has provided some opportunities for African trade unionists to study abroad and has begun this year, under its Workers' Education Programme, a number of fellowships of six to 12 weeks for qualified persons to study methods and techniques of workers' education and the labour questions within the competence of the I.L.O. This is a new venture for the Organisation, and its programming and implementation will have to be developed with due consideration of African needs as well as those of other regions.

There are, of course, other ways of promoting workers' education in Africa through international or regional means. The Conference will no doubt wish to discuss this matter in the light of problems and programmes and to express its views concerning the development of workers' education activities in the region, and of the role of national, regional and international bodies, including the I.L.O., in co-operative efforts toward the common aim.
CHAPTER IV

THE PROBLEMS POSED

The previous chapters of my Report will, I hope, have served to depict something of the background against which the work of the I.L.O. in relation to Africa must be carried out. In the present chapter I shall endeavour to put into some kind of focus the main problems in the field of action of the I.L.O. which seem to be posed by economic growth in Africa and the ways in which that growth is manifesting itself. In Chapter V some indications will be given of the lines of present and anticipated I.L.O. action in relation to Africa. On the basis of the statement of problems thus made and of the evolution of I.L.O. activities connected therewith, I hope that a useful discussion can take place in the course of which not only will present preoccupations of the countries concerned be evoked, but comments made upon I.L.O. action. A discussion of this nature would be of the greatest value in assisting me as Director-General and also the Governing Body of the I.L.O. in the planning of future I.L.O. activities in relation to Africa.

The indications as to prevailing patterns of employment in Chapter II have revealed the essentially rural origin of a large proportion of Africa's manpower, the extent to which, and the reasons for which, manpower is leaving rural areas to seek a livelihood in towns and other employment centres and the difficulties created by this process. It has been noted that in some circumstances the "drift to the towns" has been largely caused by overpopulation of the rural areas, with resultant pressure on existing land resources, and in others by the opportunities in wage-paid employment and the attractions of a wider horizon as compared with work in subsistence agriculture. The existence of large to and fro movements of labour from the subsistence agriculture sector towards employment centres and back again has also been noted and the causes of these two-way migrations examined. Africans have certainly taken to wage-paid labour in very large numbers but in spite of their employment they remain, in many areas, attached to or at least undivorced from the rural surroundings from which they originally came. The economic and social consequences of their failure to become stable elements in wage-earning communities, or to devote themselves consistently to rural pursuits
provide much of the drama of Africa today. It may be suggested that the present situation is only a transitional stage on the road towards complete commitment of a section of the population to industrial work. In many areas, however, the to and fro pattern has been deliberately fashioned and encouraged by governments and, unless existing policies are altered, this pattern will remain, since existing living and working conditions in the urban areas do nothing to encourage permanent installation there or to break the attraction which the eventual security of village life affords even at a low level of existence.

The dual nature of the African economy, characterised by the growth of a modern mining, industrial and organised agricultural sector alongside a largely stagnant agricultural and artisanal sector operated on traditional lines, has already been stressed. The problem facing Africa is how best to promote development in both these sectors in the greatest interest of the populations engaged in them and this raises fundamental questions of economic and social policy, including labour policy. It is obviously impossible to lay down any one programme designed to meet the vastly different conditions to be found in the various countries of Africa. Nevertheless, I think that it is nearly everywhere necessary to try to move progressively towards a reorganisation of present economic and social structures with a view to the gradual emergence of two clearly differentiated communities—a revitalised rural community consisting of peasant farmers, rural artisans, a wage-earning element in agriculture and rural industry, adequate for local needs, small traders and the like, and an urban community composed largely of wage earners in mining and industry, trade, commerce and public services, who will have only tenuous links with the rural areas from which many of them have come. What does this involve?

It involves in the first place rural development in order to give greater employment opportunities for unemployed and underemployed rural manpower and more generally, better conditions of life and work, thus helping to restrict the outflow of workers to the towns to levels commensurate with employment opportunities and availability of decent living conditions. And if such development is dovetailed with the development of industry to achieve a balanced growth appropriate to local conditions, it is likely to be sustained by the increased demands for agricultural products coming both from the rural population itself and from an increased urban population enjoying a better standard of living.

But rural development is itself a many-sided process, requiring measures to be taken in concert on a series of fronts and in a manner designed to preserve the wholesome features of the traditional rural pattern and to carry the consent and participation of the people con-
cerned. There can therefore be no question of slavishly imposing patterns taken from outside, since it must be recognised that different peoples have their own particular genius for contriving acceptable solutions and for evolving economic and social relationships suitable to their circumstances. Yet there is much to be learnt from the variety of experience to be found in countries where the process of economic and social change is in full effervescence and from the people who are actively caught up in this process. It is in this respect that the exchange of experience and the discussion of common problems may assist in mutual education and in the evolution of viable solutions. If, therefore, I now touch on a few matters which seem relevant to the process of rural development, I do so subject to the considerations and reservations I have just indicated.

Perhaps the key to rural development in many situations in Africa lies quite simply in the improvement of existing farming methods and practices. In practice, however, this involves government assistance to promote knowledge and skills among numerous small and very small farmers, often lacking any formal education. It means improved tools, better farm lay-outs and cultivation practices, use of better quality seeds, greater use of fertilisers, measures to improve water control and to prevent soil erosion and the like. Under proper guidance, much of all this can be accomplished by the farm population itself without much capital outlay. The main problem is how to attack successfully age-old prejudices, to convince the people that beneficial changes are possible and to stimulate within them the necessary spirit and drive without which progress cannot be made. Large-scale rural public works are, however, often an essential complement to development efforts at the local level, since they provide the necessary proof that these efforts will be rewarded. Irrigation, afforestation and soil conservation can often only be successfully accomplished through large-scale projects. Moreover, comprehensive programmes of adjustment in the whole agrarian structure may be necessary, including some redistribution of ownership of land, consolidation of holdings, the promotion of land settlement in various forms, the launching of large-scale group farming schemes and the like. Let us look at some of these matters.

The question of vocational training in agriculture need not be examined here, since it forms partly the subject of a special item on the agenda of the Conference. As regards reforms in the agrarian structure, these matters as they affect North African countries have been discussed at length in the recently published *FAO Mediterranean Development Project*¹ and proposals made for future action both as regards them and

also as to special projects for irrigation, afforestation and soil conservation in particular countries. A few examples of approaches to certain aspects of the problems involved in other areas might be given. Large-scale group farming schemes have been initiated in various countries. These usually involve co-operation between the government, an operating agency and the local inhabitants (or settlers brought from elsewhere). The government usually furnishes the basic capital equipment, including irrigation works where the land is to be irrigated, the agency is responsible for the management of the scheme (such as cultivation by mechanical means), and the farmer provides the labour needed, in return for which he gets his share of the crops and a more or less permanent right of usufruct over, or sometimes even ownership of the land and a village community life not unlike his customary milieu. The most spectacular of such schemes, which vary considerably in details of organisation and in the degree of success which they have achieved, include the Office du Niger in Mali, the Gezira Scheme in Sudan, the Niari Valley Scheme in the Congo Republic (ex-French), the Niger Agricultural Project at Mokwa in Northern Nigeria, the Gonja Development Scheme in Ghana and the Caonda and Chiumbe Land Settlement Schemes in Angola. Large-scale plantation type enterprises have also been initiated by public corporations; these include the banana plantations of the Cameroons Development Corporation in the Southern Cameroons, the Colonial Development Corporation Schemes in Tanganyika, Nyasaland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland and various other agricultural enterprises launched by individual governments. Noteworthy also are the irrigated rice growing scheme at Richard Toll on the River Senegal run by the Mission d'Aménagement du Sénégal and the groundnuts scheme in the Casamance under control of the Compagnie Générale des Oléagineux Tropicaux, the latter also incorporating a successful peasant farming experiment.

A different approach to reorganisation of the agrarian structure is the system of paysannats indigènes providing for organised peasant settlement in conditions which secure the soil against erosion and provide for cultivation according to good farming practices. For example, a large paysannat programme to this end has been developed in the Congo (ex-Belgian) and has provided ideal conditions in which to carry out experiments in community development, including co-operatives, marketing and credit facilities, dispensaries and schools, with meeting houses as the centre of communal activities.

Land reform measures are, of course, widely spread. The Land Reform Law of 1952 in Egypt was designed to spread land ownership by reducing the maximum area of individual holdings to 200 feddans. The Native Land Husbandry Act of 1951 in Southern Rhodesia was
conceived to give individual ownership rights to cultivators as an incentive to better farming. It has, in doing so, inevitably increased the numbers of landless cultivators, many of whom have sought work in urban areas, thus adding to the urgency of reforms in that sector. Elsewhere, the desirability of extension of a system of individual land holding has been recognised and steps taken to encourage it, though often on tentative and experimental lines only, since all governments recognise the tenacity with which populations cling to their customary rights in land. The problem is to reconcile those rights with the requirements of economic and social development. As was said in the *African Labour Survey*:

> It is recognised that agricultural development is dependent upon a system of land tenure which will make available to the African farmer a unit of land and a system of farming which will give a yield sufficient to support his family at a level comparable with those attainable in other occupations. He must be provided with security of tenure through such an indefeasible title as will encourage him to invest his labour and profits in the development of his farm and enable him to offer it as security against such financial credits as he may wish to obtain from the sources open to him. In short, land may have to be held under such conditions as will enable it to be given as security against loans for agricultural development, with the possibility that it can be foreclosed and sold if the indigenous mortgager defaults. This would in effect involve a reversal of policy for those governments which up to now have set themselves the task of preventing alienation of land and in particular transfers as between persons of different races. However, some governments are feeling their way towards a solution of this problem; while they try as much as possible to recognise communal forms of tenure they are at the same time providing more and more facilities for the grant of individual tenure rights to farmers who cultivate their land according to generally accepted modern rules of good husbandry. In this way forms of individual ownership of land are being developed and promoted.¹

Reference has been made in the preceding paragraphs to co-operatives and credit facilities. Both are important ingredients of rural development. Co-operatives have shown their possibilities and advantages in a wide variety of circumstances in Africa as elsewhere. Within an appropriate legislative and administrative framework and under sympathetic and understanding official supervision and guidance, they have much to contribute by their creative influence at the level of the mass of the rural population. It is important to stress, however, that it is only through devolution of responsibility that they can exercise that influence. While the exact relationship of the State to co-operatives must evolve in accordance with the degree of development and other conditions prevailing, success can only finally come through abandonment of ideas of official regimentation of co-operatives or of considering them as cogs in

the administrative machine, in favour of seeking the active collaboration
of the people themselves in their management and control. This may
still mean far more positive efforts than have been made by way of
organisation and education in order to give the co-operative movement
the necessary impetus: it may mean the creation, where it does not
already exist, of an autonomous department of government with staff,
adequate in numbers and properly qualified technically, to serve as the
sole agency for the administrative control and supervision of co-operative
institutions of all kinds. Such a department would naturally assume
responsibility for guiding and assisting as necessary co-operative office-
holders and members and for training them and their staffs in their duties
and responsibilities. On it also would devolve the task of guiding further
development or regrouping of co-operative activities on lines appropriate
to local circumstances. For if, in so far as co-operatives exist in rural
areas in Africa, producers' co-operatives predominate, carrying out
such activities as supplying farmers with commodities and services
required in their work and in processing and marketing their products,
there are considerable possibilities of co-operative action in connection
with other activities, such as irrigation and co-operative farming, at
least to the extent of organising the central co-operative supply of
agricultural machinery and services for the cultivation of individual
holdings, a form of activity which has already had considerable success
in various parts of Africa. The role which co-operatives can play in
conveying to policy-making bodies, local or national, the needs and
views of farmers in relation to programmes affecting agriculture should
equally not be lost sight of.

Credit co-operatives adapted to the needs of agricultural producers
are already being extensively used but there is room for further examina-
tion of existing structures so as to create a rational system of co-operative
credit based on adequate links between state sources of finance and credit
and the co-operative movement. The co-operative credit movement,
to be really effective, must operate right down at the village level and in
conditions which encourage the people concerned to act in a spirit of
mutual responsibility.

I do not suggest, however, that co-operative credit institutions or
indeed ordinary commercial banks can meet all needs for agricultural
credit and this has been recognised in various countries by the setting
up of specialised agricultural banks, for example, in Libya and Sudan,
and of agricultural development and finance corporations. The diffi-
culties of providing other than limited short-term credit to farmers in the
absence of any means of mortgaging land owing to the customary
nature of land tenures has already been referred to. These form a con-
tinuing obstacle to the improvement of agricultural credit facilities in many areas.

Handicrafts and small-scale industries are important potential sources of additional employment in rural areas. The difficulties which are being experienced in connection with them both in town and country have been noted in Chapter II. It is appropriate, however, to refer to them again here in a somewhat more constructive way since, in spite of the handicaps from which they suffer they can, with proper guidance and assistance, make a significant contribution to economic development. Apart from their employment producing and diversifying potential and the possibilities which they offer for supplementing, to the extent necessary and when there is time to spare, agricultural or household activities, they also help to collect and utilise such capital as is available. In the form of small-scale industries they provide a limited amount of practice in management and as handicrafts they enable the acquisition of artisanal skills. In favourable circumstances they may form nuclei around which larger industrial units may develop. But co-ordinated means whereby training, technological advice, consultancy and marketing services could be made available to them are often lacking. Credit facilities need to be developed, since the only sources are often the suppliers of their raw materials or the buyers of their products and in any case they need means to enable them to build up a certain amount of stock for disposal in the most favourable circumstances. In some countries action has been taken, either by government or through cooperative institutions, to provide the necessary services, but much remains to be done.

I can make only a brief reference to the need for the improvement of education, health services, sanitation, nutrition and housing in rural areas. The difficulties posed by the vast distances involved, the scattered and sometimes nomadic nature of the populations, their isolation, poverty and lack of cash resources, are legion. In the field of health there have been some significant new approaches, such as the setting up of village health centres in Egypt and elsewhere and the introduction of mobile field medical units in some of the countries of the Community. As regards housing, such improvements as are taking place in rural and village housing are largely on the initiative either of farmers who need resident labour or of plantation owners who are required by law to observe certain housing standards, or on government initiative in connection with large-scale agricultural developments or agrarian reform measures. It would be invidious to mention particular schemes or areas, since examples are to be found throughout Africa. While inevitably limited in amount, such housing is generally much better than prevailing
standards and it sets useful examples to the rural population in general. Without government co-operation and guidance and some measure of financial help or provision of credits, however, private initiative is unlikely to lead to general raising of rural housing standards, though much can be done by housing co-operatives and communities themselves working in collaboration.

Collaboration at the village level is indeed probably the key to efforts to improve local facilities, such as water supplies and sanitation, and to promote proper measures of hygiene and infant and maternity welfare, to spread literacy and provide adult education, as well as to improve agricultural techniques and practices. In the face of general poverty and lack of financial resources, it is now widely recognised that a whole range of rural betterment activities can only be carried out if the communities concerned undertake them on their own initiative, stimulated as necessary by the provision of technical and other services, in ways which encourage their own efforts and promote mutual self-help. This approach to rural improvement is now widely known in Africa, as elsewhere, as community development. The name itself has no magic in it—the important things are the aim and the method. The aim is to canalise those reserves of enthusiasm and energy which lie dormant in every community into channels which will lead to betterment of conditions and a raising of standards of living, and this through local popular initiative and ideas of self-help.

There is no doubt that many governments in Africa view with increasing concern the failure of normal techniques of development to harness effectively the immense capital resource which everywhere abounds—whether the country concerned is "overpopulated" in the usual sense or not—namely unused or underemployed manpower. This is not a problem which is confined to the rural areas. It is clearly evident in the numbers of young people who are idle or underemployed in the towns as well. The execution of economic and social development plans, including public works programmes conceived along conventional lines will, of course, tend to absorb some of the unemployed; the development of further training facilities in carefully selected fields will also help to provide opportunities in skilled and semi-skilled jobs for which there is usually a dearth of qualified candidates; development of vocational guidance and placement facilities may be of assistance. These measures will largely benefit town-dwellers, yet the heart of the problem, to my mind, lies in the countryside. It is here that the main reservoir of manpower is, or has its roots, and it is in the rehabilitation of the countryside that the work of a man with his hands, aided by simple tools, can be put to most fruitful use.
The failure to utilise fully and effectively this reservoir of unused or underemployed manpower is no doubt understandable, since it involves nothing less than the evolution of a new approach to life and work. The task is a formidable one and the difficulties enormous—illiteracy, poverty, superstition, apathy, faction and suspicion of government or other external interference. Even where the idea of progress is accepted, there is too great a disposition to imagine that it can be effected easily, painlessly and quickly; and indeed the elaboration and perfection of new attitudes and aptitudes in all the multifarious aspects of daily life cannot be an easy or quickly realisable task.

Something has already been done, through the techniques of community development to which I have just referred, to utilise energies and resources at the local level to better advantage. Efforts have, however, been largely directed towards essentially “welfare” projects. The pressing need now is to concentrate appropriate techniques on activities which would yield substantial results in the economic field. But whatever the nature of the activities upon which effort should be concentrated—and the choice is essentially a matter of local circumstances—the problem is above all a human one and must be approached with full respect for the dignity and personality of the populations involved. It is suggested in some quarters that the developing countries have not got time to wait for evolutionary processes of the type which, as indicated above, are involved, and that therefore resort should be had to the compulsory mobilisation of labour to carry out the necessary improvements. The world specifically condemned such methods 30 years ago when the International Labour Conference adopted the Forced Labour Convention of 1930: it reinforced and reaffirmed that condemnation in 1957 when the Abolition of Forced Labour Convention of that year was adopted. The latter Convention outlawed forced labour “as a method of mobilising or using labour for purposes of economic development.” Whatever the superficial advantages, therefore, of compulsory mobilisation of manpower, centrally or locally, in the guise of para-military formations or otherwise, in the interests of economic expansion, it can have no place in the plans and policies of a free Africa. Compulsion to labour tends to undermine the personal sense of responsibility and initiative of the individual, qualities which are essential for the creation of that spirit of progress and of the desire to strive for a better future through which alone real advances can be made.

But respect for human dignity, personality and freedom does not mean that the populations concerned should be left to work out their economic salvation simply according to their own lights and without advice, assistance and inspiration from outside the community, or that
organised efforts should not be made to utilise to the full existing un­employed or underemployed manpower. Men are needed, possessing the necessary competence and personality, who have not only the technical and local knowledge necessary for the planning of the improve­ments to be carried out but the ability to inspire others to work with them; basic education must be provided, realistic in form for the tasks ahead and appropriate in approach for the outlook and prejudices of the community involved; and leadership must be forthcoming that will conquer mass inertia so as to get things done, with more long-term action to give permanence to temporary changes in age-old habits and customs. Here a heavy task and responsibility rests on administrators, teachers and leaders in public life to provide the vital spark that will arouse the populations from apathy, convince them of the need for greater pro­ductive efforts freely undertaken, and assure their active and enthusiastic co-operation in the struggle against underdevelopment.

This may be a convenient point at which to leave consideration of the countryside and look at the implications for the towns of economic development and the more complete commitment of increasing numbers of the population to industrial work. I have already indicated that as a corollary to measures designed to ensure fuller and more productive employment in the rural areas, policies need to be evolved with a view to creating conditions in urban and peri-urban areas that will lead to the greatest possible stabilisation of those elements in the industrial labour force who might be expected, given reasonable conditions, to pass their working life in wage-paid labour. It would be in the highest degree foolish to imagine, however, that the problem is a simple one or that any one solution would meet the varying circumstances of Africa. In some areas there is already a considerable degree of permanent urbanisation, movements between town and country being largely confined to the normal gravitation of young people towards centres of economic opportunity and the withdrawal of older people to the comparative security of rural life. In areas where industrialisation has so far not been rapid and where there has been no attempt to control movements, urban populations have built up gradually and often haphazardly, modern amenities may be largely lacking but the village structure, with opportuni­ties of cultivating land, often reaches right up to the town boundaries and provides at least a cushion against irregularities of employment. In areas of rapid industrial and other economic growth, however, it has often been necessary to seek manpower, sometimes from long distances away. It is from this situation that many of the most intractable diffi­culties stem. Here we can leave aside normal seasonal migrant labour movements within determined areas, which form part of an ordered
cycle of activities, as well as the problems posed by the sedentarisation of nomad and semi-nomad populations which present special features into which it is not proposed to enter.

While a system of recruiting unskilled, inexperienced workers in rural areas, transporting them to the employment area, providing them with bachelor housing, food and a small cash wage and, after a stated period, returning them where they came from, might have suited both the needs of employers and the circumstances of the workers concerned at a given moment in the economic development of Africa and may still be justified in particular circumstances, it has never had within it the elements of a viable, progressive economic and social policy. In the same way policies which, while not involving recruitment or the formal return of labour after a stated period of work, make instability of labour inevitable, are also inherently unsound. If the only accommodation offered or available is bachelor accommodation; if the African worker is denied the right to own or occupy a piece of land in an urban area, or to build a house there or to bring his wife and family there; if he has to live under the restrictions, irritations and frustrations of the Pass Laws or similar controls; if he is denied access by law or by powerfully enforced custom to all but unskilled jobs; if his opportunities to acquire education or training are minimal; if any form of security against sickness, unemployment or old age is denied him—he is bound to be an unstable element in the industrial society which, while needing his services, is not prepared to remunerate them on terms which can possibly be permanently acceptable to him. Indeed, even in circumstances which are far from being so unfavourable to him, it is natural that, where the comparative security of his rural background is still available, he should be constantly weighing the relative merits of remaining in a milieu whose operative processes do not make much sense to him or of returning to more familiar surroundings; and his views on this may change with his age or other circumstances.

The need to pursue policies tending towards the stabilisation of labour at or near the place of employment, in all cases where employment opportunities are likely to be of a long-term continuing character, is, however, being increasingly recognised, though it is conceded that difficult questions may arise if the policies adopted result in permanent urbanisation of Africans in places where employment opportunities may fall away after a period of years. In some conditions action has been largely forced upon authorities by ancillary economic growth around individually large enterprises, such as mines. In spite of policy or custom, it has often proved in practice impossible to control the flow of Africans to these new economic opportunities or to maintain restrictions on the range of jobs which they may fill. Employers have been generally willing
to give them in-plant training sufficient for the efficient performance of a whole range of jobs at wages which, if still low, offer some inducement to persevere. Provided that other conditions are not too discouraging, the first element favourable to stabilisation is, in such conditions, assured. But if the need for action is increasingly apparent in these often rapidly developing situations, the signs that policies are being consciously directed towards tackling the problems whose prior solution is essential to success are less evident, though not wanting.

Yet, in many areas and particularly in some where migrant labour still forms a large proportion of total industrial manpower, the situation is intrinsically favourable to the gradual introduction of stabilisation policies, since administrations can plan in the reasonable expectation that the demand for manpower for industry, commerce and services, far from decreasing, will be likely steadily to increase, and this in spite of labour-saving policies which would naturally follow stabilisation measures. Already there are evidences in some areas of strain in the manpower situation. But even where there is an over-abundance of labour on offer, it is normally unskilled and much of it is only the raw material from which, in appropriate conditions, an efficient industrial labour force can be created. Measures favourable to stabilisation are an essential preliminary to putting in hand the education and training which alone will make the evolution of such a force possible. And only in stabilised conditions will there come about the transformation of attitudes towards work and the other social and psychological adaptations that are necessary to the same end.

While it would not be realistic to talk in terms of "solutions" to the problems of stabilisation of labour, I might be permitted to suggest that there are four main fields in which anxious scrutiny of existing policies is needed.

In the first place, there is widespread need for reconsideration of the whole basis upon which wage rates are determined. Present wages for large proportions of all workers are not enough to cover essential family needs. By "family" in this connection is meant simply the worker's wife or wives and children, and not the family in the extended sense among the members of which, over large parts of Africa, there is a traditional and still very real duty of hospitality and support of the have-nots by those who are earning. The payment of a wage sufficient to support the family in the limited sense is, however, at the basis of any policy of stabilisation, since it is the failure to maintain wages at a family needs level which is responsible for much of the to and fro movement of workers between town and country. As long as the wife is in the country and can work on the land, she is an asset to her husband but,
settled in town, she constitutes a liability to be met out of wages, unless, of course, she can find some subsidiary occupation. A family wage policy also implies that the wage should be wholly or mainly in cash, to be spent in accordance with individual family needs. Stabilisation cannot be achieved by wage policies which consist of payment of a very low cash wage plus provision of food and accommodation for the worker considered as a bachelor. Recognition of family responsibilities through payments of family allowances in cash or in kind is accepted policy in Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia, as well as in the former French territories including Guinea, south of the Sahara and in the Congo (ex-Belgian). In territories under United Kingdom administration, generally speaking, no account is taken of family responsibilities in fixing minimum wage rates, but policy seems gradually veering towards the view that minimum wages currently in force in the towns must be progressively increased to a point at which they are sufficient to support a decent standard of life according to local standards, not only for the worker himself but also for his family, in an urban environment. In spite of no doubt justified differences of approach by the various countries, and however far the actual situation still falls short of it, this seems to be the end to which most policies are gradually aiming.

The second great need is for appropriate measures of social security. In North African countries considerable advances have already been made with state schemes and in the Congo, besides family allowances, a start has been made with sickness and invalidity schemes as well as with a retirement pensions scheme, all for African workers. Elsewhere, there are numerous examples of more modest efforts, official and unofficial. I do not propose to discuss the nature of any of these schemes, their coverage or their adequacy. The whole subject of social security in African conditions merits a comprehensive survey—which incidentally the African Advisory Committee suggested should be undertaken by the I.L.O. as its programme of work permitted. All I would say here is that it is not possible to rely on traditional methods of long-term social security—to the extent that these still exist—and upon mutual aid among Africans themselves as the basis upon which to build social security schemes suitable to stable industrial communities and that therefore policies tending towards stabilisation must envisage the eventual introduction of state systems of social security appropriate to what will be rapidly evolving social situations. This does not mean that existing systems of self-help ought to be disregarded: on the contrary they should continue to be valuable additions to more formal schemes which, given present social, financial and administrative difficulties, must inevitably have severe limitations.
The problem of the provision of housing for African workers, in pursuance of a stabilisation policy, is the third need and one of the most crucial of all. With the breakdown of the recruiting system responsibilities of employers for housing their workers are of necessity becoming more ill-defined and, where they still exist, often do not meet the real needs of more than a small proportion of all workers, since normally only bachelor accommodation is specified. Even housing allowances do not meet the problem where existing accommodation is already dilapidated and largely unsuitable for urban conditions, where water supplies and other services are inadequate or wanting and where, owing to official restrictions, workers are forced out into peri-urban areas, with consequential heavy transport costs, as an alternative to long and tiring journeys twice a day on foot or by bicycle. All this is not to deride employers’ efforts, which are often noteworthy and indeed the main existing contribution to alleviation of workers’ housing problems in many situations. But where stabilisation and particularly urbanisation is the aim, the responsibility of governments for general planning and co-ordination of housing policy, for creating the necessary financial machinery and, if need be, for finding the resources to make adequate housing available, is clear. Certainly workers are in general too poor and too lacking in the necessary technical skills to be able to provide housing suitable for urban conditions unaided. In practice, measures of town planning, followed by the combination of a series of approaches, each of which will contribute something to the solution of the problem, will no doubt be needed. “Self-help” housing, employer-provided or subsidised housing, loans to municipalities and building societies, loans or credits to employers and workers, houses built for sale, houses to rent at figures consistent with the low levels of workers’ earnings, will all have their part to play. To add to the difficulties, the provision of housing and associated facilities must compete for priority, in conditions of financial stringency which are everywhere prevalent, with such other needs as better communications and other essential public services, better public health and medical facilities and more opportunities for education and training and, more generally, with projects of economic development likely to give a more immediately productive return.

The fourth field in which there is urgent need for a new approach is that of education and training. No effective training policies can be developed for workers who are essentially migratory. No significant degree of industrial experience and skill can effectively be acquired and maintained by workers who retain all the characteristics of a floating and unsettled rural proletariat. Even in-plant training must perforce be perfunctory in character if it is known that the workers concerned are
likely to be only very temporary members of the industrial labour force. Instability is therefore a major obstacle to the efficient functioning and steady growth of industry and accordingly policies tending towards the stabilisation of wage earners at or near their places of employment are likely to prove the key to the removal of this handicap. Once workers, and their families—from whom will come the workers of the future—are stabilised and permanently incorporated into an economic structure operating on modern lines, programmes of general education and vocational training can be properly co-ordinated so as to form an integral whole.

It will no doubt be maintained that the implementation of a policy of stabilisation and eventually of urbanisation and particularly its implications in terms of higher wages and the granting of other benefits will place a heavy burden on industry and upon territorial finances which is not likely to be offset by a commensurate increase in productivity. I want to suggest that this pessimism may be unjustified, since not only will increased training possibilities open up opportunities for less wasteful and massive use of manpower but experience in some situations already shows that increases in wage rates have been accompanied by significant increases of output. It may be that in particular areas basic wages themselves will have to reach levels considerably higher than those at present in force in order to provide the minimum conditions in which workers regard further effort and application as worth while. Once this wages "threshold" has been reached, output may continue to respond favourably to monetary and other incentives.

Nothing that has been said, either about rural development or stabilisation, is meant to imply that policies should be directed towards rendering manpower static. On the contrary, it is fully recognised that the processes inherent in economic development make transfers of manpower from one region to another or from one occupation to another essential. The problem is therefore how best to organise manpower movements, how sometimes to stimulate and direct them and how to effect all this with full regard to the human and economic interests involved. The first need in many countries is information—basic information as to the manpower resources available, their geographical distribution and their skills, and on the other hand, information as to manpower needs, actual and anticipated. Few countries in Africa have yet been able to establish fully satisfactory services to meet these needs.

It is evident, however, that there is a great and growing need for skilled workers and for technicians. This is true both where there is overpopulation in relation to present resources, for example in North Africa, and in Africa south of the Sahara where, by and large, manpower,
though badly distributed and organised, is not overplentiful. The problem is not merely one of providing or arranging access to facilities for training in the appropriate subjects and at appropriate levels. It is first and foremost a matter of ensuring a sufficient basis of general education to enable those undertaking vocational or technical training to profit by it; of overcoming an all too prevalent bias against manual work and also of ensuring that the training given is practical as well as theoretical in character and is solidly linked to the types of work that trainees will be called upon to do afterwards and to the specific skills most urgently required.

These are, however, all matters which will be more fully discussed under item II on the agenda of the Conference and I therefore do not propose to elaborate them here except on one point—that of discriminatory practices in regard to training and access to employment, which are all too prevalent in some areas. It goes without saying that, where such practices exist, measures should be taken with a view to ensuring that all training facilities and opportunities of employment when training is completed are in practice available equally and on equal terms to all sections of the community. Only thus can there be that encouragement to acquire skill and to make efforts on the basis of which output will be raised and resultant benefits in terms of increased earnings and standards of living made possible.

A problem which in many African countries is allied to the paucity of skilled workers and technicians for industry is the lack of any considerable number of indigenous inhabitants with experience of running a business. This means that an important element is lacking in the economic development process which must to a large extent interrupt the chain reaction which might otherwise take place with the introduction either by the State or by private enterprise of large-scale mining, industrial or even agricultural undertakings, mainly and often necessarily directed and operated by foreign personnel. The result is that these undertakings operate more or less as isolated pockets of development, surrounded by a stagnant and backward economy. There do not spring up within and around them those smaller indigenous undertakings providing complementary and consequential services which would tend to extend the total area of development. This lack of an indigenous entrepreneurial class may be due to a combination of factors. Technical training may be deficient or opportunities lacking. Knowledge of business methods may be wanting; capital may be unavailable, or not available in suitable form; no facilities for credit suitable for the purpose may be obtainable. Even more important may be the low esteem in which business and industrial pursuits are held as suitable careers for persons of some educa-
tion. Existing methods of association—in partnerships or limited companies—may be not properly adapted to local psychology.

In all events, something must be done both to train Africans in business methods and to encourage private investment by them in businesses run by members of their own race. This must inevitably be a long process. The initiation of Africans into and their adaptation to modern methods of economic development cannot be effected overnight. A new economic structure must be created in ways and by methods that will ensure its social stability. Unfortunately, there is little in indigenous economic and social organisation which provides any basis of experience tending to facilitate the transition to the production patterns necessary for modern industrial processes. The fact is that an entrepreneurial class and entrepreneurial skills have not developed because they form no essential part of the indigenous economic and social structure. Moreover, the tendency in many countries to continue patterns of production characterised by the employment of a very large proportion of unskilled undifferentiated African workers, and the failure wholly or in any substantial degree to train and use Africans for skilled jobs and organisational and executive responsibilities has perpetuated a gap which only time and vigorous training and adaptation policies can fill. Until it is filled Africa will remain essentially a series of pockets of Western-style economic development in the midst of immense areas of largely subsistence agriculture and primitive cottage industries. No doubt there are somewhat shapeless, shifting areas of transition to be found but the development process will not be complete until the links between the indigenous and the modern industrial economy are strongly reinforced. On this question the need for further research and experiment is obvious and urgent, though there is nothing to suggest that the structural evolution involved can be quickly achieved.

Labour services are a necessary instrument for applying and guiding the policy of social progress which must go hand in hand with economic development. The growing importance of wage-paid labour in the economy; the need for ensuring effective application of complex labour laws and regulations aimed at applying the many aspects of government social policy; the development of labour-management relations; the urgency of the problems raised by the existence of unemployed and underemployed manpower—all serve to underline the need for adequately staffed specialised services to ensure the administrative supervisory and law enforcement functions which are grouped under the heading "labour administration".

It cannot be said that labour services throughout Africa are as yet fully satisfactory. In many cases personnel is too few in number to
ensure that inspections are sufficiently frequent; staff members have often received no specialised training; in particular, specialists in such matters as occupational health and safety and persons with statistical training are often completely lacking or too few for the jobs to be done; the range of services provided is often extremely limited.

The aim should be to have a Labour Department in every territory in Africa and, until this is practicable, to have within an existing department an administrative unit capable of ultimate emergence as a separate Labour Department.

Labour Departments should follow the principle of regular consultations on appropriate matters with employers' and workers' organisations. They should be required to provide the government with all useful information for, or to advise it with regard to, the elaboration of government labour policy and, where necessary, the preparation of laws and regulations. They should be entrusted with the administration of labour laws and regulations, the implementation of government labour policy and the handling of labour questions. They should participate on the highest level and on an accepted and reciprocal basis with other government departments in the elaboration of policies concerning such objectives as full employment, industrial relations, industrial peace, and other questions which normally fall within the administrative competence of the labour department. They should have at their disposal a competent and adequate staff and administrative resources such as will enable them to perform their functions efficiently and impartially.¹

I acknowledge the extent to which the various member States in Africa or responsible for non-metropolitan territories in Africa have accepted the obligations of the Conventions dealing with labour inspection. The gaps are, however, still considerable: they include Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland among territories under United Kingdom administration, the Portuguese and Spanish territories, Ethiopia, Liberia, Libya, Sudan and the Union of South Africa. I do not suggest that labour inspection services do not exist in certain of these countries—though they do not exist in all of them even in a rudimentary form—and of course in some, wage-paid labour is not important. Nevertheless, as the appropriate I.L.O. Committees have repeatedly stressed, a well organised labour inspection service not only ensures the effective implementation of national laws but also constitutes the best guarantee for the implementation of the international standards to which this legislation gives effect. It is my hope, therefore, that those countries in Africa which have not yet done so will soon find it possible to become parties to the appropriate labour inspection Conventions which are fundamental instruments in the effective application of social and labour policy.

If in this broad survey of problems in the field of action of the I.L.O. I have not touched on a matter so vital to the future as the harmonious

¹ African Labour Survey, op. cit., pp. 520-521
development of industrial relations, it is because the problems in con-
nection therewith are fully dealt with in the report dealing with item III
on the agenda, including those in connection with freedom of association,
joint consultation and collective bargaining.

I would hope, however, that this broad survey of the problems posed
in the field of action of the I.L.O. in the circumstances of Africa today,
including those of workers' education treated in Chapter III, will, as I
suggested at the outset of the present chapter, enable a useful discussion
to take place. I have been concerned to stress that these problems arise just
as much among the rural communities as in the urban areas. I have
discussed the many ingredients of rural development—the improvement
of existing farming methods and practices, vocational training, reforms
in the agrarian structure, the extension of co-operatives and of credit
facilities, the modernisation of handicrafts, and the improvement of
education, health services, sanitation, nutrition and housing. I have
also referred to the failure of normal techniques of development fully
to harness existing manpower resources and have discussed the conditions
in which energies and resources can be utilised to better advantage
without resort to methods which would affront the dignity and personality
of the populations concerned.

From there I have passed to the implications for the towns and their
populations of economic development and the more complete commit-
ment of increasing numbers of the population to industrial work. In
doing so, I have weighed the advantages and disadvantages of the migrant
labour system and analysed the need to pursue policies tending towards
the stabilisation of labour at or near the place of employment. In this
connection four main fields, in which anxious scrutiny of existing policies
is needed, have been indicated—the basis of existing wage rates, social
security, housing, and education and training.

Finally reference has been made to such specific matters as discrimina-
tion in employment and occupation, lack of entrepreneur skills, the
need for building up labour services: all matters of concern and impor-
tance in Africa today upon which an exchange of views and experience
cannot fail to be helpful.
CHAPTER. V

THE I.L.O. AND AFRICA

Some three years ago a Committee of the I.L.O., in the course of a general examination of the social problems confronting Africa at the actual stage of her economic and social development, and after referring to political developments, wrote:

It is therefore a matter of urgency that the International Labour Organisation should, by placing its experience and resources more fully at the disposal of governments, employers and workers alike, progressively equip itself to render to the peoples of Africa, in a manner comparable to its activities in other parts of the world, whatever services the special needs and problems of Africa, as interpreted by the governments, employers and workers concerned, may require.  

As a background to its future work in relation to Africa, the I.L.O. published in 1958 a comprehensive African Labour Survey, which was designed to give as objective and authoritative a picture as possible of the existing situation in Africa south of the Sahara as regards matters within its purview and to help to make the problems arising in connection therewith more fully understood throughout the world. A similar study, the Labour Survey of North Africa, covering the countries in Africa north of the Sahara, is now in course of publication.

An important impetus to the I.L.O.'s work in the region was given by the opening in 1959 of the African Field Office in Lagos, Nigeria, which has enabled the establishment of closer and more effective links between Africa and the Geneva headquarters of the I.L.O. in the day-to-day administration of its operational technical assistance and educational programmes.

A further development in the activities of the I.L.O. in Africa took place with the first meeting of the African Advisory Committee in Luanda, Angola, late in 1959. At that meeting, the governments of 18 States and non-metropolitan territories were represented, along with 10 worker and 10 employer members. The delegates represented countries and territories in the region lying south of the Sahara, government

members being named by the governments concerned and worker and employer members through the corresponding groups of the Governing Body of the I.L.O. The Committee gave preliminary consideration to the two technical items which the Governing Body subsequently placed on the agenda of the present Conference: vocational and technical training; and relations between employers and workers, including freedom of association, joint consultation and collective bargaining. In addition, in considering the I.L.O.'s future programme of work in Africa, the Committee recommended to the Governing Body that the following five subjects, among which it did not attempt to establish any order of priority, should be considered for inclusion in the agenda of future meetings: (1) employment conditions of women and young persons; (2) industrial safety and hygiene; (3) minimum wage-fixing machinery; (4) productivity of manpower in agriculture and industry; (5) legislation on compensation for industrial accidents and occupational diseases, as the first part of consideration of social security questions. Work on these subjects is being put in hand to the extent possible, having regard to other commitments.

As regards North Africa, it has not so far proved practicable to hold a meeting of the Committee of Experts on Social Policy in North African Countries constituted at the end of 1959, though its members were consulted in connection with the preparation of the Labour Survey of North Africa.

INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE FOR LABOUR STUDIES

The need for education has already been underlined in Chapter III. As economic and social development gathers momentum this need will be felt in increasing measure. It is therefore of particular significance that the I.L.O. is putting greater stress on its educational and promotional activities. One recent venture on which the I.L.O. has embarked must I think be of special interest to the countries of Africa. I refer to the International Institute for Labour Studies which the Governing Body, in March 1960, decided to set up.

The Institute will bring together people with experience of labour problems from different countries and with different occupational backgrounds so as to provide them with an opportunity to learn from each other while they study in company. The educational work will be directed towards specific problems affecting a number of countries, particularly those in course of development, and the participants will be people chosen because they have had some practical experience of such problems, for example in Africa. The emphasis will be on analysis of the
facts about specific cases and upon the discussion of factors which must be taken into account for the formulation of policies geared to the particular needs of countries with different social and economic conditions. The Institute will thus serve as an advanced staff college in the field of social and labour policies, dealing with matters within the competence and experience of the I.L.O. The inquiries already received about the future work of the Institute from African countries suggest that it may meet a real need as regards that continent and help towards the development of appropriate policies in the labour field.

The Institute's work will be developed under a Board appointed by the Governing Body of the I.L.O. There will be an Advisory Committee of prominent educators and specialists in labour questions drawn from different parts of the world and familiar with the conditions of different regions, who will advise on curriculum and programme questions. The United Nations and U.N.E.S.C.O. will play important roles in collaborating with the I.L.O. for the success of the Institute's work. The Institute is to be financed principally from revenue from an endowment fund with an initial objective of $10 million and it is open to governments in the first instance to contribute to this fund. Grants for special projects might be accepted from private foundations or other sources.

APPLICATION OF INTERNATIONAL LABOUR STANDARDS

The definition of policy objectives and the elaboration of potentially binding obligations in terms of international Conventions and Recommendations was originally the main preoccupation of the I.L.O. in relation to Africa as to other regions of the world. Indeed some of the key Conventions which have been adopted over the years, such as the Forced Labour Convention of 1930, were prepared with conditions in Africa specifically in mind. The initiation of large-scale technical assistance activities, and more recently of a diversified educational programme, both of which have also particular importance for Africa, while heightening the practical impact of the I.L.O.'s work and spreading the range of its attack on social problems, have done nothing to minimise the importance of its standard-setting activities. On the contrary, the standards laid down over the years by the International Labour Conference provide essential bench-marks guiding and orienting the operational and educational work to which increasing attention has been devoted in recent years.

The evolution which has taken place in Africa in the years following the Second World War is illustrated by the extension of the application of international labour standards in the various African countries. While the application of these standards during the first 20 years of the I.L.O.'s
existence was concentrated particularly in European countries, the number of ratifications by countries outside Europe has grown considerably since the war. During the same period the application of Conventions in territories for whose international relations member States were responsible has similarly made considerable progress. In this evolution African countries, particularly during the last ten years, occupy an ever-growing place. Both as regards the number of ratifications by States situated in this part of the world and as regards the number of Conventions applied in accordance with the terms of article 35 of the Constitution of the I.L.O., the African countries have, in the course of this brief period, attained the level of countries situated in other regions. Already several African member States have ratified an appreciable number of international labour Conventions. The number of ratifications of certain of these States exceeds the average number of ratifications by non-European States. Sometimes the number of ratifications is greater than the average of ratifications by all States Members of the I.L.O.

It is also particularly interesting to note that, on admission to the I.L.O., all the newly independent States have recognised themselves to be bound by the obligations of those Conventions which had earlier been accepted on their behalf or in their name, by the member State which was responsible for their external relations. In numerous cases States, after being admitted as Members, have made a point of ratifying other Conventions which, though already fully applied within their territory, had not, internationally, been the object of formal acts of acceptance of obligations.

Examination of table V, which shows the present extent of application of international labour Conventions in the various countries of Africa reveals that, generally speaking, the conclusions I have just drawn in respect of member States situated on this continent as regards the number of ratified Conventions are also valid for the States and territories whose international relations are assured by a State Member of the I.L.O. as far as concerns the number of Conventions applied.

Although it has not been possible in table V to give details in respect of the Conventions which are in force or completely applied in each of the countries concerned, a study of available data enables a certain number of interesting conclusions to be drawn.

Thus it is pleasing to be able to note that the international labour Conventions whose aim is to secure the protection of certain fundamental human rights are already very widely in force or applied. As regards forced labour, the I.L.O. Convention of 1930 is actually in force in nearly all African countries. Already the application of the 1957 Convention on the abolition of forced labour is being progressively extended to numbers
TABLE V. APPLICATION OF INTERNATIONAL LABOUR CONVENTIONS IN AFRICA

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State or territory</th>
<th>Number of Conventions</th>
<th>State or territory</th>
<th>Number of Conventions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Angola</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Morocco</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basutoland</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>Mozambique</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bechuanaland</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>Republic of the Niger</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cameroun</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>Federation of Nigeria</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cape Verde Islands</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Portuguese Guinea</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central African Republic</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland:</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Republic of Chad</td>
<td>22</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comoro Islands</td>
<td>24</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Republic of Congo (former Belgian Congo)</td>
<td>21</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Republican of Congo (former French Equatorial Africa)</td>
<td>22</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Republic of Dahomey</td>
<td>24</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gabon Republic</td>
<td>22</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethiopia</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France: Algeria</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>Republic of Somali:</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Réunion</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>Former British Somali-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French Somalliland</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>land:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gambia</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>Former Trust Territory</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ghana</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>Spanish Guinea</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Republic of Guinea</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>Spanish West Africa</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Republic of the Ivory Coast</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>Republic of Sudan</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kenya</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>South-West Africa</td>
<td>5</td>
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<tr>
<td>Libya</td>
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<td>Swaziland</td>
<td>12</td>
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<td>Malagasy Republic</td>
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<td>Tanganyika</td>
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<td>Federation of Mali:</td>
<td></td>
<td>Republic of Togo</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Republic of Senegal.</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>Tunisia</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sudanese Republic</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>Union of South Africa</td>
<td>8</td>
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<tr>
<td>Islamic Republic of Mauritania</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>United Arab Republic</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mauritius</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>Republic of Upper Volta</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The numbers given correspond: (a) as regards member States, to the number of Conventions ratified (excluding the Final Articles Revision Convention, 1946 (No. 80)), plus, where appropriate, Conventions whose provision the State concerned has undertaken to continue to apply; (b) as regards States and territories for whose international relations an I.L.O. member State is responsible, to the number of Conventions declared applicable without modification plus the number of Conventions fully applied (assessment made in 1957 by the Committee of Experts on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations).

of such countries. In the same way the international standards relating to freedom of association, either those specially adopted by the Conference for non-metropolitan countries, or those of a more general character contained in the Conventions of 1948 and 1949, are in force in a very great majority of African countries. Finally, the Convention relating to discrimination, adopted only two years ago, has already been ratified by (among African Members) the United Arab Republic (Egypt), Liberia and Tunisia, as well as by Portugal, responsible for various territories in Africa. It is evident, of course, that the application of this Convention to the other countries in Africa is eminently desirable.
Numerous other Conventions are in force or fully applied in more than half the countries of the continent. This is the case as regards the Conventions relating to the minimum age of entry into industrial employment and employment at sea, and to the underground work of women, those relating to industrial accidents and occupational diseases, and those dealing with protection of wages and methods of fixing minimum wages, as well as the labour inspection Conventions.

It is of course necessary to bear in mind that in a great many African countries wage earners represent only a very small proportion of the active population: in such circumstances, it is no doubt often true that the “application density” of those international labour standards which concern only wage-paid workers or only certain categories of workers is, as yet, relatively weak. Nevertheless, the very existence of this social infrastructure constitutes, at a time when most of the countries concerned are embarking, or about to embark, on a process of economic development, a basic guarantee. The existence of standards of protection for wage-paid workers may perhaps enable the new Africa to avoid, as regards such workers—whose numbers are bound to increase—the restrictions or sacrifices imposed upon or demanded from workers in countries in other parts of the world and particularly those prevailing in European countries during the development of industrialisation in the nineteenth century.

TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE

Until 1958 the technical assistance work of the I.L.O. in relation to Africa was largely concentrated in the north, in such countries as Egypt, Libya, Morocco, Somalia, Sudan and Tunisia. The political changes that have occurred since then south of the Sahara and the setting up of the I.L.O.’s African Field Office in Lagos have resulted, however, in a gradual increase of interest on the part of various countries in the latter region in technical assistance possibilities. So far, work has been largely concentrated on study missions aimed at assessing the extent of the problems and analysing their characteristics. These studies have shown that the basic problem of aid is one of creating or strengthening, over the shortest possible period, administrative, technical and social institutions and services, upon the basis of which economic and social development can take place. This involves, among other things, continuing knowledge of manpower needs and resources and provision of means whereby an indispensable minimum of administrators, technicians and other elements at various levels of the hierarchy are available, not only to direct and operate all parts of the economic structure and supply the necessary administrative services (including labour administration), but also to provide the
training essential to ensure a continuing and developing supply of efficient personnel for the whole range of revealed manpower needs. High among priorities must also be assistance in connection with rural development on the lines indicated earlier in this chapter. In discussing technical assistance possibilities with the governments concerned, therefore, the I.L.O. has continued to stress these points and to urge that, in so far as suitable provision has not already been made to meet them, they should figure in the forefront of development plans and programmes.

The central problem of technical assistance in Africa created by requests from newly independent and other countries is that of finding finance for assistance on anything like the scale warranted by their circumstances. Simply to effect reductions in programmes in other parts of the world is no solution, since needs there are also vital and programmes already laid out often require sustained investment in staff and funds in order to yield proper returns. Increasing I.L.O. aid to Africa, therefore, implies an expansion in its total programme of work and not a diminution of its commitments in other regions. The Organisation will do its best to secure increased allotments from funds available under the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance and to step up the amounts available for African projects from its regular budget. Indeed, draft programmes for 1961 and 1962 already show considerable advances on current figures. The nature of the problems facing a number of African countries suggests that projects financed from the United Nations Special Fund, which is earmarked for long-term projects likely to have a considerable impact on economic development, would be fully justified from the technical point of view and discussions are going on with a view to their elaboration in certain instances.

The technical assistance now being given to the Congo (ex-Belgian) by the I.L.O. in connection with future minimum wage policy, referred to later in this chapter, by means of funds in trust, that is, advanced by the government concerned to cover the cost of the project, suggests that there may be further possibilities on the same or similar lines in connection with other newly independent countries. It may be that former Administering Powers, in connection with arrangements they might make for continuing assistance during the early years of independence, would welcome this means of associating themselves with specific I.L.O. technical assistance projects.

Let me now turn to the main fields of I.L.O. technical assistance activity in Africa. They are as follows: Manpower and Vocational Training; Productivity; Co-operation and Handicrafts; Social Security; Labour Legislation and Administration; Minimum Wage Policy; Labour Statistics; and Workers' Education.
Manpower and Vocational Training

Assistance in regard to vocational training has been given to most of the North African countries, including the organisation of vocational training centres and technical schools, as in Libya, Somalia and Sudan, in-plant training, as in Egypt and Tunisia, and the setting up of instructor training centres, as in Morocco. While only in Ghana has there so far been, apart from training-within-industry projects, I.L.O. assistance of these types furnished to countries south of the Sahara, several possible projects are now under discussion, in particular as regards Cameroun, Guinea, Liberia, Nigeria and Togo. In Ghana in 1959 assistance in connection with in-plant training was given and an expert is in process of reviewing existing legislation, administration and working methods relating to apprenticeship.

A number of countries are being or will be given assistance towards improving their manpower services, particularly as regards securing continuing information about changes in labour supply and demand. These include Ghana, Nigeria, Cameroun and Sudan. An I.L.O. expert is at present reorganising the employment service system in Morocco. In setting out to study the composition of their human resources various African countries are being faced with the need to develop a national occupational classification system for use in population censuses, labour statistics, and employment market information studies. The I.L.O. has accordingly arranged, in collaboration with the Inter-African Labour Institute—the competent organ of the Commission for Technical Co-operation in Africa South of the Sahara in the labour field—for a regional project directed towards the review of existing occupational classification work in countries wishing to participate in the project, the study of requirements in the different countries, and recommendations on methods for developing effective systems. In a further phase of the project it is hoped to cover the training of national officials and the introduction of such technical collaboration as may prove possible.

Several projects are in hand dealing with vocational rehabilitation. Assistance is being afforded to the Government of Morocco towards solving the problem of rehabilitating and resettling the many thousands of persons in the Meknes and Fez areas suffering from paralysis brought about by consuming adulterated oil. An analysis and classification of the cases needing resettlement is being undertaken and a survey made of the employment possibilities for the persons concerned. In Nigeria a mission was carried out in 1959 to investigate numbers and needs of the disabled, to assess the possibilities of setting up a vocational training scheme for them and to advise on the most appropriate action to be taken to assist
them to obtain employment. In Ethiopia a preliminary mission has been undertaken to advise the Government in establishing a national scheme for assistance to the blind, with a view to setting up a practical programme of rehabilitation in urban and rural areas, including a pilot centre in Addis Ababa.

**Productivity Improvement and Management Development**

During the last eight years the I.L.O. has been providing technical assistance in industrial engineering and management techniques to developing countries in different areas of the world. The objective has been to promote their economic development by the application of techniques which enable better use to be made of existing resources of capital, equipment, raw materials and human effort with little or no new capital investment. The importance of this is all the greater since capital for the further expansion of productive facilities in the developing countries is normally scarce. The better use of existing resources can make significant contributions to over-all economic development. I.L.O. technical assistance in this field has endeavoured as far as possible to further these objectives by training nationals of the countries concerned in the above-mentioned techniques and by encouraging the establishment of a permanent institution, such as a productivity centre, to ensure that the work begun by the I.L.O. experts can be carried on effectively after their task has been completed.

Two projects in this field are in course of implementation in Africa. A productivity and vocational training centre project has been proceeding, with I.L.O. assistance, in Egypt since 1954. As regards the productivity side, in the earliest stage a series of top management seminars, dealing with such matters as organisation and general management, production planning and control, costing and budgetary control, maintenance, safety, work study, wage incentives and industrial and human relations were held, in which over 300 top executives from the Alexandria and Cairo areas took part. Pilot productivity projects were conducted in six plants during this first phase. These activities were followed by training courses for middle management and in 1957 the third phase, a five-year programme consisting of the setting up of permanent work study, production planning and control and cost accounting sections or functions in 100 plants, was launched and is still continuing. Special courses in other subjects for top executives and trade union leaders have also been included. The fourth phase, now under consideration, consists of the institution of a broadly based management development programme which would aim especially at improving the understanding by
top managers of the value of modern management techniques in solving their business problems and in promoting efficiency in their plants generally.

A Productivity Mission consisting of two experts was sent to Sudan at the request of the Government for three months at the beginning of 1959. The Mission carried out a survey of Sudanese industry and on the basis of its findings a report was submitted to the Government which summarised the Mission’s work and made certain suggestions regarding the lines along which productivity improvement work and management training might be developed in the country. Under a funds-in-trust arrangement the Government requested longer term assistance in these fields by two I.L.O. experts and this has already begun.

Co-operation and Handicrafts

I.L.O. action in relation to co-operation and handicrafts has been extremely varied and has covered countries both north and south of the Sahara. Since 1953, the I.L.O. has participated in the activities of the regional centre at Sirs-El-Layyan (U.A.R.) run by U.N.E.S.C.O., particularly artisanal activities, and a large number of trainees, including students not only from Egypt but also from Libya, Somali and Sudan have been given instruction in this field. Likewise, since 1953 an annual study course for co-operatives’ personnel has been organised in Denmark, the 1955 session being wholly reserved for participants from African countries, while individual trainees from these countries have taken part in other sessions. In 1959 a study course of the same kind was organised, in conjunction with F.A.O. and the Commission for Technical Co-operation in Africa South of the Sahara, in Kenya, and this year a similar course is being run for French-speaking Africans.

Experts in co-operation questions have carried out missions in Egypt, Morocco, Sudan, Togo and Tunisia, covering such aspects as co-operative legislation, education and training, financing of co-operative societies, industrial and consumer co-operatives, co-operative marketing and credit and, more generally, reviews directed towards the preparation of suitable measures to develop co-operatives’ activities in the countries concerned.

As regards handicrafts, an expert has been working in the Fezzan on handicraft training and production centres and has now assumed responsibility in matters relating to training, equipment, organisation and marketing for small-scale industries covering the whole of Libya. In Morocco an expert is providing advice and assistance to improve and
modernise the textile weaving trades. Particular attention is being focused on the development of a national handicrafts research and extension centre, the organisation and functioning of a co-operative common facilities plant for textile weavers and the establishment of textile production groups.

Social Security

The main area of operations of the I.L.O. in regard to social security in Africa has been in the north. In Libya, following on expert assistance given by the I.L.O., a social insurance law was passed in 1957. Since then four experts have worked out detailed application texts, organised the necessary administrative and financial services and trained their personnel. With a view to extending the law from Tripoli, in which it is now operative, to Cyrenaica, further expert assistance is now being given. Actuarial assistance in connection with revision of the financial basis of sickness and maternity insurance and workmen's compensation and the extension of sickness insurance to members of the family of insured persons, the latter due to come into force in March 1961, is also being provided.

In Morocco, after preliminary studies and recommendations by an I.L.O. mission, an expert of the Office was invited to prepare a draft law for the institution of a system of social security. By a dahir of 31 December 1959 the proposals of the Office expert were in broad terms given the force of law and further assistance is now being given in connection with the administrative problems posed in order to apply the law. As regards Egypt, I.L.O. assistance is being given towards solving the administrative, financial and actuarial problems raised by the coming into force of the social security law of 6 April 1959 and particularly those relating to the institution of a sickness insurance system and the eventual conversion of the existing provident fund system based on individual savings into a system of old age and invalidity pensions insurance. Fellowships to enable officials to study the operation of social security schemes elsewhere have also been granted.

In Somali an expert has studied the possibilities of extending the existing scheme to other categories of workers and of introducing a sickness insurance scheme and has made suggestions to the Government regarding future policy. Similar studies and suggestions have been made in Tunisia and more recently experts have worked out the text of a social security law and the financial implications of covering various risks. Assistance is also being given in regard to the administrative problems arising out of the possible fusion of the existing family allowances system with other risks. Here again fellowships abroad have been given to
officials to enable them to acquire experience in social security administration.

In Guinea existing measures of social security, which cover workmen’s compensation and family and maternity allowances, have been studied with a view to considering the possibilities of adding provisions covering loss of wages during sickness and pensions in cases of old age, invalidity and death of the breadwinner. The proposals made include a draft law providing for the progressive institution of a social security system. Meanwhile, a fellowship has been awarded to an official of the National Social Security Fund for study abroad.

In Sudan proposals have been made for the incorporation in a new draft Labour Code of provisions covering workmen’s compensation and maternity allowances. In Ethiopia negotiations are well advanced towards the conclusion of a long-term programme of technical assistance, which would include examination of the financial and actuarial implications of a pensions system for civil servants, members of the forces and staffs and workers in state-controlled enterprises.

The possibilities of development of social security in Nigeria have recently been studied at the request of the Government, including those of instituting a National Provident Fund. Negotiations are in course with the governments of other African countries with a view to expert study of the possibilities of extending further their coverages in matters of social security and further developments in this connection should shortly take place.

Labour Legislation and Administration

The I.L.O. has at the request of the governments concerned drafted complete Labour Codes for Liberia and Libya, the latter of which is now law, and has assisted in the revision of the labour legislation in Guinea and Sudan. A particularly interesting assignment was the preparation of a scheme for the regulation of employment of dockworkers in Port Sudan and the drafting of safety and health regulations. The latter regulations, originally intended only for Port Sudan, are to be extended to apply also to the inland ports on the Nile.

A number of fellowships have been granted to officials of various governments in Africa to study labour administration abroad, including courses at the Labour Institute in Istanbul. In 1961 and 1962 two seminars, at which courses in labour administration will be given, are to be organised by the I.L.O. for labour department officials from African countries, one for French-speaking persons and the other for English-speaking.
Minimum Wage Policy

An important technical assistance mission has just been carried out in the Congo and Ruanda-Urundi with the following terms of reference:

With a view to enabling the Government to carry out its policy of progressive improvement of workers’ standards of living, starting from a rational basis and balanced structure—

(a) To define the economic and other criteria which would permit of the periodic fixation of the legal minimum remuneration on as rational a basis as possible. Remuneration should be understood here as meaning cash wages, allowances in kind (rations and housing allowances) and family allowances.

(b) To suggest rational methods of classification of occupations in the various branches of economic activity so as to enable the Government to recommend the conclusion of collective agreements providing for minimum wages appropriate to each class.

The mission was entrusted to three experts of the Office and three highly qualified outside experts who are in the course of completing their report.

Labour Statistics

Experts on family budget inquiries and consumer price indices have undertaken or are about to undertake technical assistance missions in Cameroun, Egypt, Guinea, Togo and Tunisia. Requests have been received for expert assistance in regard to organisation of labour statistics from several countries. It is accordingly envisaged that an expert will proceed to examine how best the problems involved can be handled in all the countries concerned and the possibilities of any regional cooperation in connection therewith.

Workers’ Education

Since the question of workers’ education has been specially treated in Chapter III, no reference need be made here to technical assistance activities in that regard.

Other Activities

It is, of course, impossible, within the confines of a report of this kind, to pass in review each and every activity of the I.L.O. which may have significance for Africa. I should have liked, for example, to have included more adequate reference to the recent action by the I.L.O. in relation to the defence of an important range of fundamental human
rights, such as freedom of association, abolition of forced labour, prevention of discrimination in employment and equal pay for work of equal value. In regard to the first, however, the Conference will, of course, have a full opportunity of discussing the matter in connection with item III of the agenda. As to forced labour, I have earlier in my Report commented on it in terms which leave no doubt as to where the I.L.O. stands. If references to prevention of discrimination in employment have related only to the necessity of providing equal opportunities for all in connection with vocational and technical training and access to employment thereafter, on which the Conference will have possibilities of commenting in the course of its examination of item II of the agenda, I should not wish to leave the question without reference to the Discrimination (Employment and Occupation) Convention, 1958, which is now in force, and to the Recommendation which supplements it. In July 1959 the United Nations Economic and Social Council, in noting with satisfaction the adoption of these instruments, invited the Governments of States Members of the United Nations and the I.L.O. to ratify or to take other appropriate action with regard to the Convention and to adjust their policies to the Recommendation. The question of equal pay for work of equal value, upon which a Convention was adopted in 1951, is perhaps less acutely posed in African conditions than elsewhere, owing to the comparatively small numbers of women workers employed, but the possibilities that numbers will greatly increase with the development of commerce and industry must be borne in mind. Indeed, the present paucity of women wage and salary earners provides an opportunity for legislative or other action on the matter in the most favourable conditions, since conventional differences in pay scales have not so far become rigid.

Other problems of women workers are to be the subject of further study by the I.L.O. following on the recommendations of its tripartite panel of consultants on these matters, which met in 1959. Included in the proposed programme of work are the vocational preparation of girls and women, to which the panel gave the highest priority, conditions of women in agriculture, with special emphasis on health and safety, the impact of technological developments on women's employment opportunities, and the problems of domestic service workers and industrial homeworkers. The desirability of organising regional seminars to discuss and deal with problems of particular concern to women workers in the different regions was also urged by the panel.

A broad review of the content and orientation of the I.L.O. youth programme and activities was undertaken by the International Labour Conference in June last, when the discussion on the Director-General's
Report centred around youth and work. The suggestions made in the course of the debate, many of them extremely pertinent to African conditions, will be fully taken into account in connection with the studies which the African Advisory Committee suggested should be undertaken into problems connected with employment of young persons.

The question of employment problems and policies has been placed on the agenda of the 1961 Session of the International Labour Conference for a general discussion, which is expected to cover problems of creating employment opportunities, including measures to overcome under-employment in economically less developed countries, a matter to which I referred earlier in this chapter. A body of experts is at present studying employment objectives in current development plans and policies in newly industrialising countries and the manner in which employment problems are dealt with in these plans. Their conclusions will be taken into account in the preparation of the report for the 1961 Session of the Conference.

CO-OPERATION WITH OTHER ORGANISATIONS

In harmony with its tripartite character, the I.L.O. seeks to maintain constant liaison not only with the governments concerned but also with the employers’ and workers’ organisations in the African region through the African Field Office and otherwise, thus helping to ensure that its work reflects both the aspirations of the workers and the practical problems of the employers. Co-operation is also maintained in an appropriate manner with the various international organisations interested in Africa. This means that continuous contact is maintained with the regional organs and representatives of the United Nations and in particular with the secretariat of the Economic Commission for Africa in Addis Ababa and the regional representatives of the Technical Assistance Board, with the regional offices and representatives of the World Health Organisation, the Food and Agriculture Organisation, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation and other specialised agencies. There is equally close co-operation, in terms of an agreement between the two bodies, with the Commission for Technical Co-operation in Africa South of the Sahara and its organ in the labour field, the Inter-African Labour Institute, as well as with the Foundation for Mutual Assistance in Africa South of the Sahara. Regular consultation on matters of common interest is also undertaken with the League of Arab States, in terms of an agreement with it. In connection, for example, with

a Social Welfare Seminar for Arab States to be held in 1962, which will concentrate on the question of manpower development, a general report will be prepared by the Secretariat of the League in collaboration with the I.L.O. This report will deal with such matters as labour legislation, industrial relations and industrial welfare in the region. Measures are being taken to strengthen I.L.O. contacts with appropriate non-governmental organisations operating in the region.
CONCLUSION

When we look at the vast, varied and urgent problems of the African Continent, the temptation is sometimes great to endeavour to find the solutions to them by merely transplanting techniques and approaches which have been used outside Africa, without taking sufficiently into account the particular conditions and circumstances of the different and differing areas of this huge continent.

It is both desirable and inevitable that African countries, in the fields of activity with which the I.L.O. is concerned, as in other fields, should draw upon the wealth of accumulated experience of other regions. But the adaptation of the results of that experience to the needs of African countries can be fruitful only in so far as the practical problems to be dealt with are clearly defined in their African context.

In this Report, and the other reports laid before this Conference, these considerations have been kept steadily in mind. But, if the International Labour Organisation is to be of service to Africa through action and programmes based on the realities of the situation existing in the African Continent, it needs to be guided by those having intimate knowledge and experience of the precise nature of the practical problems to be solved and the special difficulties they present in the different parts of Africa. It is therefore my hope that the representatives of governments, employers and workers participating in the work of this Conference will strive to make the greatest possible contribution to elucidating the specific characteristics in African conditions of the problems which the Conference will be examining and the nature of the practical solutions which the tempo of change and the circumstances of Africa require.

6 September 1960.

DAVID A. MORSE.